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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 is information about Classics programmes in African universities and schools, news about museums and articles on classical artefacts in museums in Africa, and the B. X. de Wet Essay. (Not all sections necessarily appear in any single volume.)

Manuscripts: Potential contributors should read the 'Notes for Contributors' located at the back of this volume and follow the suggested guidelines for the submission of manuscripts. Articles on classical antiquity and the teaching of Classics in Africa are particularly welcome. Submissions are usually reviewed by two referees. Time before publication decision: 2-3 months.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Scholia is progressively upgrading its web site, which it has established at the Classics home page at the University of Natal: <http://www.classics.und.ac.za/home.html>. Information about the journal, its contents (including abstracts but excluding the text of articles) may be accessed directly through this site. The next stage of upgrading will entail placing the printed text of all articles published since *Scholia* 1 (1992) on to the web site. It is hoped that this can be completed sometime during 2000.

Scholia Reviews, an electronic reviews journal, is also accessible at the Classics home page mentioned above. A selection of reviews are published annually in printed form in *Scholia*. Subscription to *Scholia Reviews* is free and can be obtained by sending a request to the Reviews Editor at scholia@classics.und.ac.za. The *CASA Directory of Classical Scholars and Research for Higher Degrees at Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa (1999-2000)* (ed. W. J. Dominik) can also be found in its electronic form at the Classics home page as well as information about the Museum of Classical Archaeology and the Department of Classics at the University, Natal, Durban, which hosts this site. In addition, there is a number of useful resources for classicists, including a list of publishers active in the field.

Since 1992 *Scholia* has published or undertaken to publish over ninety articles by scholars and academics from Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malawi, New Zealand, Nigeria, Russia, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom, USA and Zimbabwe.¹ *Scholia* is distributed to thirty-eight countries and is exchanged with over one hundred journals. In addition, the nine members of the Editorial Committee, which produces the journal, and thirty members of the Editorial Advisory Board, which is responsible for refereeing the articles, originate from twenty-one universities in seven countries. Without the advice and assistance of these panels, *Scholia* could not be published in its current form and would be unable to serve such a broad spectrum of the scholarly community in the discipline.

Two of the problems faced by *Scholia* in publishing articles from a number of different countries with different scholarly traditions is the difficulty of maintaining a relatively uniform style of presentation and a roughly comparable standard of scholarship between articles. For this reason the Editor requires that articles accepted for publication must adhere not only to the 'Notes for Contributors' located at the back of each volume but also the suggestions contained in the letters of acceptance posted to contributors. When contributors have not followed these instructions, the publication of their articles has sometimes been delayed beyond the original volumes specified in the original letters of acceptance.

¹ The acceptance rate of articles submitted for each volume has averaged about fifty-five per cent; a small number of articles not accepted initially for publication are accepted after being revised and resubmitted.

One of the features of *Scholia* is the B. X. de Wet Essay, which is published annually as part of a competition designed to encourage promising undergraduate and Honours students in Africa to pursue their interest in Classics. Essays on any aspect of Greek or Latin language or literature, or classical history or civilization may be submitted. The idea is that students should submit work done as part of their courses, but they may of course write specifically for the competition if they choose. The final editing and preparation of the essay for publication are done by the B. X. de Wet Essay Editor and the members of the *Scholia* Editorial Committee. The Classical Association of South Africa not only contributes to the cost of publishing the winning essay in *Scholia* but also sponsors the cash prize of R250.

The B. X. de Wet competition is open to undergraduates every year and to Honours students in even-numbered years only. While the competition was open only to undergraduates only in 1999, undergraduates and Honours students are eligible to compete in 2000; in addition, students who completed Honours in 1999 will be allowed to submit essays completed in that year for the competition in 2000. Essays may be submitted in English, Afrikaans or French and may deal with any area of Classical Studies, but since space is limited they should not exceed 3 000 words in length; exceptions will only be made if space is available and if the quality of the work warrants this. The competition is advertised throughout the year, especially toward the end of each academic semester, but enquiries may be directed to Richard Evans (University of South Africa), the head of the adjudicating panel, or to Mrs A. Gosling (University of Natal), the B. X. de Wet Essay Editor for *Scholia* 9 (2000).

In 1999 entries were received from fifteen students at universities in southern Africa. The essays were judged by Richard Evans (University of South Africa), André Basson (Rand Afrikaans University) and Betine van Zyl Smit (University of Western Cape). The winning essay entitled 'Tiberius as *Princeps* (AD 14-26): Fulfilling the Expectations of a Unique Position' was written by Susan Haskins (University of Natal) and is published in this volume.² Joint second essays entitled '*Ars Feminae*: An Annotated Rebuttal of Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1.335-342' and 'Nature and Love in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*' were written by Carolyn Weir (University of Stellenbosch) and Brian Bebbington (University of South Africa) respectively, while the titles of joint third essays were 'The Most Important Transformations in Culture and Ideas in Ancient Greece' by Chantal Stewart (University of South Africa) and 'Ovidius se *Ars Amatoria*: 'n vrye vertaling van 2.493-510 en 3.38-48' by Peggy Le Roux (University of Stellenbosch). *Scholia* expresses its gratitude to the adjudicators and especially to the contributors for submitting their essays.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

² See pp. 169-79.

HORACE TALKS ROUGH AND DIRTY: NO COMMENT (*EPODES* 8 & 12)

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Abstract. Can abusive insult be given a history? If the question is brought to classical Antiquity, to Rome, Horace's book of *Epodes* is the crucial test-case. Scholarly strategies for mediating the force of the insult in the scandalous pair of women-baiting poems (*Epodes* 8 and 12) are reviewed, and a strong reading of *Epode* 12 as erotic play with verbal violence is outlined, against the simpler abusive scenario of *Epode* 8, in accordance with the contemporary critical model of writer-reader relations as 'staining': the bind of reading into social discourse.

The Fragility of Insults

Abusive insult survives from Roman culture in well defined, all too well-defined, pockets.¹ True, accidental survival hands us robust performances that were never designed for *reading*—Pompeian and other graffiti, for instance, that went (as they were meant to go) unremarked in the authorized culture that was deliberately delivered to posterity. But besides this jetsam, both primary and secondary Roman texts themselves present, identify and construe a welter of material which ancient historians can re-read, hard, until cultural locations for *conuicium* ('abuse') can be recognized and construed, ranging from stylized, ritualized, routinized 'vocal mobbing', through to casually improvised occasions for 'expressive versions of flyting'. Overviews have been organized, analysis progressed.²

One general feature of this terrain is a given: when it comes to classical texts that host or feature this aeschrology, we can be sure that across the millennia between their writing and our reading, they have been filtered, weeded, and censored through successive revisionary interventions, with their

¹ This paper was given at the Warburg Institute on 29 November 1997 for the colloquium on *Insults and Abusive Language: Historical Perspectives* organized by Peter Burke, David Chambers, and Will Ryan.

² Cf. esp. A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*² (Yale 1983 [1992]), esp. 109-14; I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen: Eine Typologie* (Heidelberg 1965); S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim-am-Glan 1980); F. Graf, 'Cicero, Plautus and Roman Laughter', in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (edd.), *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge 1997) 29-39.

various criteria, imperatives, and hang-ups. Thus expurgation, sanitization, and defusion strongly intervene to shape the transmission, forever threatening the lifeline of infamy. We know too that this constitutive aspect of tradition was in on the act right from the very start of Latin Literature; it was already theorized by Greek critics, philosophers, writers, and was one of the basic assumptions built into the cultural production and consumption of writing, along with the panoply of terms and manoeuvres for its abjection, erasure, and pulping. Romans could not pre-date this industry of monitoring by the agents of decorum; they were latecomers to license.

The *opprobria* ('insults') of *Latinitas* ('Latinity'), then, fly under customized flags. There are the mannered topics of invective in court; there is a slot for the mandatory rudeness of the matey lyrics associated with sympotic bonhomie; in another package, find the stylized comic theatre and mime neatly tagged as popular festival, carnival license, and official arena for *parrhesia*, or 'paraded freedom of speech' (in Latin, *libertas*). As a particular badge of Romanness, however derivable, plottable, theorizable and therefore ratified by Hellenism it might be (and was), the naming of names in *ad hominem* mockery of important citizens before their assembled community was adopted as the specific of Lucilian *satura* ('satire'); and, ever after, it was thematized as the generic limit to the production of contemporary satire, which must wear on the sleeve its own caution. This was Latin Literature's insult to, and abuse of, the epic hexameter, and Romans could wear Satire as their *getting real* badge (true-to-life = slumming it; = gutter-sniping).

When the Late Republic set about generating upbeat subjectivities for the élite male as a central project for 'poetry', particularly in the trajectories of the first person in Elegy, free spirits such as Catullus and friends could find precedents and springboards in Hellenistic institutions such as Epigram, which allowed virtually any mix or slice of content, provided that no attempt be made to elaborate the product beyond a single breath, and off into the realm of *argument*. Their *scurrilitas* ('laddishness') courted oblivion, trading authority and prestige for urbanity in a haze of nonchalance: only Catullus is extant—in a single MS, saved by a fellow gentleman of Verona proud of his town.³ Martial would later become the classic instance, the instant classic, and the classic of the instant, of this epigrammatist's self-marginalization: Martial's swarming minimalia are predicated on variety as the pledge of inconsequentiality, and transgress more by their performance of self-cancellation than by either their (in)famous motley of ultra abasement before the Lord God Almighty Caesar (Domitian), or by their Sadean *ingenuity*—the ingenious performance of

³ For exemplary exploration, cf. W. Fitzgerald, *Catullan Provocations: Lyric Poetry and the Drama of Position* (Berkeley 1995), esp. 59-86, 'Obscenity Figures'.

language as body-stain in every crevice; artifice through every combination of orifice. In short, the axiom of Epigram is the paraded refusal to recognize the importance of *anything*; for the moment.

So a comprehensive account of Roman abusive insult would need to take in many a location on the cultural scene; and, as I have indicated, all this *is* more or less securely mappable. Yet in scarcely any area is there the possibility of a genuine narrative of change, of diachrony. No, Roman vituperation has range, but hardly a *history*. Accordingly, this essay will instead focus on a star item that would necessarily headline in any *grand récit* of aeschrology in the western tradition, precisely so as to trouble any such project, and contend that ‘history’ would only represent one variety of critical feint to detoxify abuse.⁴ Working back from the instance, I shall take the risk of denouncing subsumption within ‘a historical perspective’ as *prophylaxis*, as a deliciously academic manoeuvre to disarm the insult. Rubbing noses in an *undeniable* scandal from (literary) history is, in any case, the necessary antidote to scholarly *understanding*. As plenty of contemporary criticism has demonstrated, the insistence of the instance always embarrasses un(der-)problematized deployment of general concepts and categories. ‘The Insult’ (there’s no such thing; what makes us think we know what we’re talking about; who are you to compare my insult with yours; don’t pretend you can speak for your history, your language, your people, let alone mine; XXXX!; and so on) surely calls for insulting treatment. Abuse *must* have it coming.

The Epodes Limp Through

Iambic lyric was the one department of ancient sympotica where unruly transgression of politeness was *constitutive*. And this is where abusive insult infiltrates the literary canon by right. Roman readers could make the acquaintance of pre-classical Greek poems from beastly Archilochos and from the specially foul and *déclassé* Hipponax, could read them with Hellenistic commentaries and could try out revivals of the genre, especially in Callimachus’ book of *Iamboi*. Miserable scraps of this tradition survived Antiquity, either in short quotes hygienized by citation or on tattered papyri rescued from Egyptian cartonnage and rubbish-dumps. In Latin, however, we do have one complete collection of iambs. This is Horace’s book of seventeen *Epodes*.

⁴ ‘The outstanding examples of invective against old women in Latin are, surprisingly, by Horace—*Epodes* 8 and 12. The two poems are not only the longest and most personal attacks on old women, they are also even more than usually savage. . . . *Epode* 12 outdoes *Epode* 8’ (Richlin [2] 109, 111).

The instant canonization of Horace, always just one step behind his comrade Virgil, secures this book for eternity (like the *Eclogues*); these poets became standard-bearers of Roman culture for the rest of Roman time, paradigmatically enlivening the mutation of Roman order from the chaos and socio-political obscenity of triumviral proscription and civil war into the ideology of consensual compromise which inaugurated the autocracy of the Caesars as quasi-perpetual Presidential Leadership. The transformation of the boy Octavian into the first Emperor Augustus provided the foundation myth for all the monsters, usurpers and strong men that followed. These poets were instantly and indelibly installed at the core of the imperial curriculum and book-culture for the Latin-speaking West. It is extremely probable that the juvenilia of neither Virgil nor Horace would have been prized and conserved had their authors not gone on to lift their sights progressively toward producing their Augustan *chefs d'oeuvre*, as the model writers at court.

Now the *Epodes* embody textually the officially and unanimously recognized watershed moment of paradigm-shift, the battle of Actium and its triumph (31 and 29 BCE); the same critical moment that Virgil articulated as the *Georgics* (where his earlier *Eclogues*, like Horace's first production, *Satires* 1, operate in the menacing uncertainties of the world cracking apart, between Octavian and Antony, and then who knew what waited in the wings). As such, the *Epodes* are virtually 'undeniable' as a key component in the narrative of legitimation for the autocracy. As their author had made clear in his first publication, they were written by a convert to Octavian's ascendancy, a former rebel who had as an undergraduate fought against the united Caesarian forces for the tyrannicides, but lived on to join the new faction as it made up an acceptable and winsome face for itself, and othered Antony as Cleopatra's eunuch and minion princeling. The *Epodes* were hard to obliterate, or disavow, for all that they incarnate juvenile excess and reflect forward regrettably on their eventually laureate poet. These are prize insults that Classics must swallow.

Hitting the Sack with Horace

We shall be getting to grips with the eighth and twelfth *Epodes*, where the iambic staining of writer, victim, and reader performs abusive *erotics*. After brusquely indicating how scholarship formerly negotiated these challenges to decency, I shall notice the strategies adopted in current Latin criticism; finally I shall poke round these texts to question what histories they may belong to—in the perspectives of *erotics*, gender, subjectivity. To make sure of implicating us all in the *contrectation* programmed into these stunts, let me forewarn you: try

not to denounce the tastelessness of 8; and don’t look a gift-horse in the mouth of 12.⁵

These iambs are as finished, controlled, and crafted a coup of verse-composition as you could wish; but they are energized, worded, and voiced as raw as the crudest bawdy from any mouth almighty: I therefore defam(iliariz)e Horace with abusive translation. This will be an insult, for a start, to Translation, but Horace is just asking for it, out loud:

Epode 8

<i>rogare longo putidam te saeculo / uiris quid eneruet meas</i>			
<i>cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis uetus / frontem senectus exaret</i>			
<i>hietque turpis inter aridas natis / podex uelut crudae bouis?</i>			
<i>sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres / equina quales ubera</i>			
<i>uenterque mollis et femur tumentibus / exile suris additum.</i>			10
<i>esto beata, funus atque imagines / ducant triumphales tuum</i>			
<i>nec sit marita quae rotundioribus / onusta bacis ambulet.</i>			
<i>quid quod libelli Stoici inter sericos / iacere puluillos amant?</i>			
<i>illiterati num minus nerui rigent / minusue languet fascinum,</i>			
<i>quod ut superbo prouoces ab inguine / ore allaborandum est tibi.</i>			20
1	Ask YA have to ask uh	Get lucky n in death	11
	long lifetime stink a she	parade conquistadors	
	whats zapping heman me	prize body guard all yours	
3	you u huh toothsome black	an a missus nowhere	13
	an bygone years gone down	with still mo orotund	
	plough creases cross frown	load a pearls about town	
5	& opened wide horrid	are there hardcover Thoughts	15
	in among some dried bums	in among some satin	
	farthole flop like cow's run	loveprops to lie back in?	
7	it gets me on you bet	dont suppose lack a school	17
	the breast an udder sags	stiffens up hemen less	
	mare-ish sorta horse dug	or droops the less er sex	
9	& a womans belly	to coax it up from swank	19
	an the thigh plus bulbous	a scrotal area	
	calves sums up twigginess?	mouthwork wwanted from YA.	

⁵ ‘The word “contrectation” . . . usefully combines all those activities whereby the male and female attempt to *approach* each other sexually, whether by sight, smell, touch, or any other sense’ (G. Legman, *Rationale of the Dirty Joke: An Analysis of Sexual Humour—First Series* 1 [London 1972] 245).

Epode 12

	<i>quid tibi uis, mulier, nigris dignissima barris? / munera quid mihi quidue tabellas</i>	
	<i>mittis nec firmo iuueni neque naris obesae? / namque sagacius unus odoror,</i>	
	<i>polypus an grauis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis, / quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.</i>	6
	<i>qui sudor uietis et quam malus undique membris / crescit odor, cum pene soluto</i>	
	<i>indomitam properat rabiem sedare; neque illi / iam manet umida creta colorque</i>	10
	<i>stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando / tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit.</i>	
	<i>uel mea cum saeuis agitat fastidia uerbis: / 'Inachia langues minus ac me;</i>	
	<i>Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum / mollis opus. pereat male, quae te</i>	16
	<i>Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstrauit inertem, / cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,</i>	
	<i>cuius in indomito constantior inguine neruus / quam noua collibus arbor inhaeret.</i>	20
	<i>muricibus Tyriis iteratae uellera lanae / cui properabantur? tibi nempe,</i>	
	<i>ne foret aequalis inter conuiuia, magis quem / diligeret mulier sua quam te.</i>	
	<i>o ego non felix, quam tu fugis ut pauet acris / agna lupos capreaeque leones.'</i>	26
1	Whaddy a, SHE, take a 'Flop with Inez, worse wid me	
	whole herd of trunks to tar YA, Inez O.K. three times a night,	15
	what's my freebies, why the fax I every time get the one	
3	coming when this boy's not steel, go outa softy. Curse the one picked YOU,	
	his snout aint blocked? Madonna, a motor was needed	
	cos I'm the one can smell real sharp & you outa gas,	17
5	any squid growth holed up when I had Ashley de la Couche	
	armchair goat in pits of hair— on wild him stands firmer	
	beat keen hound to under cover pig rod in crotch	19
7	The sweat every shrivelled bit than new tree rooting in the hills	
	of body that foul all over Purple for a prince, double-fast	
	rising smell, while shot prick fur soaked again—	21
9	calms her fit of wild whose express delivery? Rushed just for you	
	rush, & now no way HER so none in your bunch	
	foundation loses gloss can go party & get more	23
11	croc-shit factor make-up, real lurve outa his SHE than YOU.	
	& now the sow on heat Ah I'm so outa luck, you run away	
	strains a bed n busts a ceiling, like panic at wild	
	or while this savage gets me sick with abuse: wolves, she-lamb, deer n lions'	

We're All in This Together

To let this sink in, I now take another gentle swipe at what scholars of abusive insult have been getting up to, or at least at some likely versions of that—as if no one has thought of it.

In most senses of 'history', a history of insults in ancient culture would be uncomfortably like a history of the unconscious. Nice to refer to (but preferably from a different discipline). In a straightforward way, a chronotopically organized narrative would insult 'The Insult' (like The Proverb, The Joke, The Gesture) by displacing the effectual narratives that are the

condition of its possibility. Namely the histories of the processes of intervention, of interference with the traces of insult: the reception history of successively compounded censorship, and the diligent militance of repression and distantiation.

Take any model for dealing with The Insult by appeal to ‘authority’, postulating and operating a hierarchic relation of extrinsic ordering: imagine *telling* abuse to fit into a story of ours. This fits into the familiar pattern of condescension to lowlife as comedy and comedy as lowlife which traditionally dominated criticism. This is the strategy which governed approaches to Insult, too, unchallenged before the relatively recent incursion of the model of ‘staining’, of participation in social discourse, blew it away, by opening scholarly analysis to communality: ‘Horace’s poems are not detached representations of society but *consequential acts within society*’.⁶

For the *Epodes*, this shift can be given an effective date *post quem* of *circa* 1982:

Needless to say, the unpleasant epodes . . . were omitted by the Victorian commentaries; and as these admirable scholars have not yet been superseded it still has to be pointed out that Horace was not invariably polite.⁷

Before the 1980s, that is, historical perspectives on the *Epodes* as insult would necessarily take the form of imperious modes of containment: ‘No comment’. The *Epodes* were hidden away in editions, as in MSS, tucked away after four books of *Odes* and the *Carmen Saeculare*, out of the sequence of composition which otherwise reigns as the cardinal principle of such series as *Oxford Classical Texts* and the *Teubner* library. They were kept off-limits, out of public examinations and missing from such canons as Oxbridge B. A. syllabuses. Bowdlerized and euphemizing translations were all that there were. One way or another, the grossest abuses were simply suppressed: indicatively, the *woman-baiting* poems 8 and 12 (and only these poems) altogether disappeared from virtually all editions which carried commentary.

⁶ E. Oliensis, *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority* (Cambridge 1998) 2f.; cf. W. I. Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Harvard 1997). This principle was most clearly formulated for the *Epodes* by E. Oliensis, ‘Canidia, Canicula, and the Decorum of Horace’s *Epodes*’, *Arethusa* 24 (1991) 107-38, at 126: ‘The author of the *Epodes* is no more omnipotent than his various personae; Horace is not a detached analyst of current events but a compromised participant’ (Repeated, but with ‘an enmeshed participant’ at Oliensis [1998] 77). It remains to enfold reader-Horaces (see Oliensis [1991] n. 33 = [1998] 77 n. 36).

⁷ N. Rudd, ‘Horace’, in E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 2 (Cambridge 1982) 370-404, at 372.

More subtly, this material was studied as *instances of insult*. Scholarship could reputably do its linguistic and lexicographical duty, identify which subject is which-verbing-what to whom, so long as the vernacular could be decently avoided.⁸ And as respite from sweeping them under a carpet of *Quellenforschung*, criticism could objectify the poems, too. Self-referentiality as the pledge of literariness could evince the ‘anti-Muse’ of Iambic, analogizing the female figures in 8 and 12 as the mock-inverted poetics of this urbane genre: these literary tropes *complete* the classical canon, and bear with them the legitimation of traditionality (Hellenism as sanction).⁹ Other, less theory-laden (= more positivistic) readings sieve *Epodes* 8 and 12 for thematic threads, then defuse them as ancillary to the referentiality that stakes out the collection as a whole: the mock-referential status of these unnamed SHE’s (‘probably the same woman’, ‘probably the same as Canidia’ . . .) subordinates them to the rank of atmospheric colouring, emblematic coding, backdrop to the world stage bestridden by Maecenas, by Caesar, and Actium. Strong ‘historical’ (even ideological) reading works away from these vignettes of ‘Hag §1’ and ‘Hag §2’,¹⁰ to concentrate on the grand masculinism of feud, vendetta, aggressive militarism, the cosmogonic triumph and victory.¹¹

But The Insult *scorns* referentiality. Its *point* is performativity. (Monstrous) Categorization of these poems as ‘Vetula-Skoptik’ (‘crone-baiting’) can only be an insult to The Insult: there are *no* ‘Hags’ here, in either poem. Far from it: these are *bad-mouthed* females, women treated to bad-mouthing, and made to bad-mouth. Yet virtually everything in print on *Epodes* 8 and 12 falls at this first fence round abuse.¹²

⁸ Indispensable: V. Grassmann, *Die erotischen Epoden des Horaz: Literarische Hintergrund und sprachliche Tradition* (Munich 1966), esp. 70-90 on *Epode* 12.

⁹ Esp. D. L. Clayman, ‘Horace’s *Epodes* VIII and XII: More than Clever Obscenity?’, *CW* 69 (1975) 55-61, esp. 60; E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford 1993) 288f.

¹⁰ Perpetuated in the spanking new commentary of D. Mankin, *Horace: Epodes* (Cambridge 1995) 153 (‘the hag’), 205 (‘a hag’).

¹¹ Esp. W. Fitzgerald, ‘Power and Impotence in Horace’s *Epodes*’, *Ramus* 17 (1988) 176-91, at 189f.

¹² Typical: ‘The issue is this: how on earth has Horace become embroiled erotically with a hag of almost unparalleled repulsiveness?’ (L. C. Watson, ‘Horace’s *Epodes*: The Impotence of *Iambos*’, in S. J. Harrison [ed.] *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration* [Oxford 1995] 188-202, at 191). Distantiation from the reader is salient here: ‘Of course the *vetula* is made to appear every bit as ridiculous as Horace—with her unseasonable and insatiate sexuality, her insensitivity to her raddled exterior, and her absurd and disagreeable mealy-mouthedness at 12.13ff. Such even-handedness in dispensing mockery . . .’ (Watson, p. 196). On classical impotence in Antiquity: J. M. McMahon, *Paralysin caue: Impotence, Perception, and Text in the Satyrica of Petronius* (Leiden 1998) 32f. (on *Epodes* 8 and 12).

For all that, we are in fact being treated to a dousing in the *gendering of Lifetime*, which traditionally confines female existence to the sex-market of male selection ('Totty, and non-totty', as the [self-?]satirising lads sum up women in the sit-com *Men Behaving Badly*). Sure, for whatever it's worth, the unnamed *male* in our poems is in some senses Horace, the poet (for example) of the book, and Maecenas' sidekick; but for all that, these SHEs get no names (once they are no husband's wife, no son's mother or father's daughter, any name would scarcely function as a status-marker within civic discourse—Inachia, or Lesbia, *uel sim.*). But none of this can securely other any of the *dramatis personae from the reader*. Rather, both poems body forth provocation in the form of pollution of writer/reader relations. I submit that there is now no escaping this.

Stop It, HE Likes It (Epode 8)

First things first, the badmouthing of 8's 'genital kiss' forces readers to perform in the theatre of Roman masculinities. Reading is folded here into the erotics of phallocracy, as we get to play (our own) victim when *malediction*, verbal abuse, collapses to *male diction*, the utterance of sexual abuse. For when poetry plays oral rape, so directly, *in second person 'exchange'*, make no mistake about it, we are handed parts in a scene that violates standards of public hygiene. This will have been abusive *profanation*.

Hence the 90s debate has been whether the Roman insult of irrumation, forced fellation, mixes in fear with the hatred, betraying or parading the denial of phallic autonomy implicit in the degradation of demonized woman. Is the axiom here impotence defensively exorcised as disgust displaced onto HER? Is the glimpse of HIS vulnerability the acceptable price of the demonstration that the writing male always retains control of representation of the written female? Or is the floppy male's powerlessness-in-power an exposé of the problematic impossibility of a fully vindicated masculinity, proof against sentiment, ironclad in the unfailing mechanics of HIS potency? Maleness sets so high a threshold for inclusion that inadequacy is, not the exception, but the norm—is that it? Did Romen make very sure that *none* of them can qualify *securely* as Men? If anyone did count as a man among men, what kind of *amor* ('love, lust, desire, . . . ?'—ask Aeneas) could they ever risk letting within their defences?

All (as promised) *in the worst possible taste*, unforgivably ROUGH *Epode 8* stages personal politics such that the utterance compromises each of us

On the crone at Rome, cf. V. Rosivach, 'Anus: Some Older Women in Latin Literature', *CW* 88 (1994) 107-17; K. S. Myers, 'The Poet and the Procuress: The *Lena* in Latin Love Elegy', *JRS* 86 (1996) 1-21.

as participants—as *Horaces*. Through every reading of this mouthful of invective, potent myths of sexual rapacity operate dynamically: and, one way or another, we are left with a very particular taste in the mouth.¹³

Don't Stop, HE Likes HER Like That (Epode 12)

If that was rough trade, impure and simple, now for ROUGH-AND-DIRTY, rather more of a complex, and a collaborative pastime. In *Epode* 12, we act out play between second and third person insult, and savour lengthy ventriloquist mockery of the SHE: does this decisively shift the dynamics around?¹⁴ Here the repulsion is positioned *within* a liaison, for this woman knows her man—he has been HERS. Inadequately, SHE is made to say. Made to say this *to* him, for us to hear. So he's her butt—he's our butt *and* HERS? And, no doubt, since no one stays clean when abuse hits the fan, both of them are ridiculed, ineluctably. This, then, is (it must be) a skit. In which he is playing, at playing the victim.¹⁵ These misfits, notice, aren't even iambics, but dactylic verses (the Alcmanian: 'ironically . . . the metre closest to elegy')¹⁶ trapped in a wilting book that prematurely waved iambic couplets goodbye a couple of pieces back, and now goes off half-cocked.¹⁷ The HE is taking another transgressive role, as he pleases, to show that in erotics men can take any mask, they can sing HIMs to pleasure themselves.¹⁸

To date, *Epode* 12 has scarcely been read any more intimately than this. I must then sketch out a line you could hate yourself liking, and then point out what may be happening to The Insult in *this* abuse of insult. As we remarked, this poem too no longer awaits our bidding. Horace again confronts us with ourselves, affronts all reading. No, there is no staining without being stained,

¹³ An infamous essay on *Epode* 8, J. Henderson, 'Suck It and See', makes an unwelcome come-back (with make-over) in Henderson, *Writing down Rome: Satire, Comedy, and other Offences in Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1999) 93-113.

¹⁴ For the shift from the second person addresses of lines 1-3 to the third person at line 13, cf. R. Carrubba, *The Epodes of Horace: A Study in Poetic Arrangement* (The Hague 1969) 49-51.

¹⁵ This is the laddish line taken by Watson [12], esp. 202: He 'succeeds chiefly in repeating and indeed bolstering the case he sets out to overturn' (Oliensis [6] [1998] 74 n. 26).

¹⁶ S. J. Heyworth, 'Horace's *Ibis*: On the Titles, Unity, and Contents of the *Epodes*', *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 7 (1993) 85-96, at 89.

¹⁷ Cf. Oliensis [6] (1998) 93.

¹⁸ 'In the social situation of love-making, the male retains control by his right to choose how he will perceive the female' (A. Richlin, 'Invective Against Women in Roman Satire', *Arethusa* 17 [1984] 67-80, at 75).

and certainly not here. That was just the old self-protection agency putting the poem where it belongs, telling it where to go. Not an option for us.

To get involved, feel what happens if you underscore that the phrase *mea . . . agitat fastidia* ('gets me sick', 13), at the hinge of the poem, is irremediably caught straddling the two senses 'attacks my scorn for her' and 'provokes my scorn for her'. Now match the parallel *cum*-clauses of lines 8f., 'while shot prick calms her fit of wild rush' (*cum pene soluto / indomitam properat rabiem sedare*), and line 13, 'or while this savage gets me sick with abuse' (*uel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia uerbis*): and you will find her *sexual* rush and her *verbal* rush inter-implicated between our othering of her and our impersonation of her.¹⁹ Her body and her speech are super-imposed, in ours. We speak her savage insults, at our own peril.

Next reflect on the presents and the messages she sends, *munera . . . tabellas* ('freebies . . . fax', lines 2f.). These are pictured again in their caricatures at line 21, *uelleria* ('Purple for a prince, double-fast fur soaked again'), and at lines 13-26, in . . . her whole speech. For purple dye *stinks*, as Martial's epigram on Philaenis immortalizes (9. 62):²⁰

She wears purple-dyed robes night and day—why?
delectatur odore non colore:
She's turned on by the stench, not the blench.

So the love-gift SHE furiously works to deliver, in order that he can be beau of the ball, is retaliation in kind for everything in HIS volley of olfactory abuse in lines 3-11: the underarm and all-over body odours of sex as sweat, scent and stink, re-doubled in the caked-on crocodile dung for face-paint.²¹ That twice-dyed fleece rushed over to HIM, SHE says, and tells us that she wants more than one shot of love, his usual ration (15f.):²² we can't miss it, surely, when we

¹⁹ Add that 'The . . . word order . . . may suggest that H.'s *fastidia* are also *saeua*, and, on another level, that the woman's words are in a sense his own (*mea*), since she is a character in his poem' (Mankin [10] 210 *ad loc.*).

²⁰ The *dibaphos* (purple-dyed cloth, literally 'double-dyed') was a specially conspicuous item of waste (Pliny, *NH* 9.63), so a lavish token of unconditional lurve. . . . For '(Fear of) The Female Genitals' and Freudian 'velvet and fur', see Legman [5] 383. For olfactory tolerance and repression in modern texts, cf. H. J. Rindisbacher, *The Smell of Books: A Cultural-Historical Study of Olfactory Perception in Literature* (Ann Arbor 1992), esp. 27-142, 'The German Realist Project of Deodorization'.

²¹ The exotic foundation lightened skin tone: M. Hendry, 'Rouge and Crocodile Dung: Notes on Ovid, *Ars* 3.199-200 and 269-70', *CQ* 45 (1995) 583-88, esp. 584 and n. 3.

²² From time out of mind, females gave men cloth, as seduction, in entrapment: J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric* (Harvard 1996) 70f.

say she's being 'impossible'—in a *rush* again, and needs someone who can stay with her, ride out HER *wildness*:

properabantur ('rushed just for you', 22) ~ *properat* ('calms her fit of wild rush', 8);²³

indomito ('on wild him . . . rod in crotch', 19) ~ *indomitam* ('her fit of wild rush', 9).

And so it is that getting to grips with the responsion between the two halves of the poem is the fate of the reader, as our paper-lovers couple textually, the only way they can. In our performance of their abusive insults, we get them, and we get it, together. In a lather of make-up on the run and streaming pores, courtesy of our bodily inter-locking of their mutual aggression. For this is what our voicing of HIM and HER comes to, in the end: the exchange in which they share *sexual response*.²⁴

Now just as *agitare* (13) is commonly used of sexually pulsating bodies (wiggling, waggling, wanking . . .), so *munera* ('gifts', 2), in erotica signify sexual 'services' rendered, so 'freebies'.²⁵ And what we are reading is a 'message' (*tabellas*, 2), so 'fax'. A message that writes in a return-message from the other. HE is making HER talk as rough as he wants, maybe as rough as he does, about how rough he treats her, making him loathe her/let her down, by giving him all a real man could ever want, except that she ruins it by saying so, this 'impossible' woman, this 'nympho', and thus matches him *all the way*.²⁶ Yes, on his account, she must be his rough trade; and he, hers (the pronouns tango through the lingo: *minus ac me / . . . te / . . . mihi . . . tibi . . . , te / . . . ego . . . quam tu . . . ,* 'worse wid me / . . . you / . . . I . . . for you . . . , you / . . . I . . . you', 14-25).

²³ '*Propero* seems to have been idiomatic in much the same sense as Eng. *come*' (J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* [London 1982] 144): hence the propriety of the Latin Joy-King's name *Propertius*.

²⁴ Just as the cue for HER tirade, *cum saevis agitat fastidia uerbis* ('while this savage gets me sick with abuse', 13) succinctly defines iambic modality, so *semper ad unum / mollis opus* ('every time . . . the one go outa softy', 15f.) boasts of the integrity of each composition (*opus*) and its consistency with the ensemble of the poet's book (*opus*), in its self-glorified phallocratic power to unman all—including itself, himself.

²⁵ '*Agito* had various sexual uses. . . . [I]t could be used of the motions of the passive partner in intercourse . . . ; and for the meaning "masturbate" . . .'; '*Munus* could be used of the services of either partner' (Adams [23] 144, 164).

²⁶ Female sexual desire insulted as her 'impossible' lack of a male to mate: S. Purdie, *Comedy: The Mastery of Discourse* (Hemel Hempstead 1993) 134-37.

True, several third persons in this poem do surround the duet—a menagerie of metaphors, and a human zoo. As if the performance is for the implied audience of *aequalis inter conuiua* ('none in your bunch can go party', 23), to chortle over: that sex-machine Inachia, the cursed Lesbia, the trainee toy-boy Amyntas from Cos.²⁷ But the sympotic listener is compromised, all the same, by the erotic exchange *about* erotic exchange: can any of them boast that *their* SHE loves them more, or less, than this?—No way! (23f.) She's quite a catch, this too much of a Good Thing, this Sure Thing? So hasn't this HORACE got it made (with HERace)?

Always, the poem brags, brags of her insults, even as his insults include them as his brag: he's here to wag his multi-performance (with Inachia) in *our* faces, to tell us this is how (much) SHE wants him, she goads-and-spurs him to it.²⁸ Surely these are *lovers*, not a smart-talking young poet with 'The Hag'. And these lovers talk DIRTIER than we are prepared to admit we could. They talk sex, ROUGH-AND-DIRTY. They verbalize sex as insult.

Is this, then (it is), the closest we are likely to get to pillow-talk in Latin? Is this how the lads improvised slagging off women, for each other's benefit? Look at what SHE needs from a man, begging for it—what HE needs her to want: if she was after a 'bull' and turned down a 'tree rooting in the hills' (17, 19f.), and she's worth a pack of 'wolves', a pride of 'lions', scaring the boys into a bunch of 'she-lamb' and 'does' (25f.), then she takes a lot of living up to.

Now the question Horace set himself at the outset was, in fact, *quid tibi uis, mulier* ('Whaddya at, SHE?', 1; = 'What does a woman want?'; = 'What does woman mean?'). And his answer was cued at once, in *nigris dignissima barris* ('take a whole herd of trunks to tar YA', 1). For this creature incarnates

²⁷ These names crackle with kudos and infamy: *Inachia* is myth's tragic princess Io, named for her father: she resounds with keen grief (*acer*, 'sharp'; ἄχος, 'pain'): M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford 1997) 251; *Lesbia* spells the charged erotics of Sappho and Catullus, and λεσβιάζω—'virtually the *vox propria* for fellatio' (J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* [New Haven 1975] 183); *Amyntas* was the name of many a wielder of Hellenistic power, and via classical pastoral poetry has come to code gay attraction, = '(Keep your filthy) Han(d)s Off' (from ἀμύνω, 'ward off'): W. Clausen (ed.), *Virgil: Eclogues* (Oxford 1994) 108 on 3.66, cf. A. Gide, *Amyntas* [trans. R. Howard] (New York 1988), with D. Kandiyoti, 'Roland Barthes Abroad', in J.-M. Rabaté (ed.), *Writing the Image after Roland Barthes* (Philadelphia 1997) 228-42, at 239f.; *Cos* was a respectable Greek isle, home of poets and physicians, until Latin made it reverberate with *coitus* ('intercourse'), cf. material in Mankin [10] 211 on *Epode* 12.18.

²⁸ Watson [12] 193 rightly concludes: 'For her, man exists only in so far as he has the capacity to service her sexual needs'. But he elides the status of HER speech as the creation of HIS fantasy, malice, turn-on: 'a complaint which is really a back-handed compliment' (Oliensis [6] [1991] 124 = [6] [1998] 75).

the ‘blackness’ of malice, *iambic* malice,²⁹ and ‘merits’ a virtuoso *Epode* of the ‘choicest’ abuse. Fit for her, a whole herd of ‘well-endowed’ elephants.³⁰ Waving their ‘trunks’ in tribute to her, and ready to *trumpet* phallic menace at her body and soul (*barris*, ‘elephant’, 1, the onomatopoeic name).³¹ So this challenge to scream pure HATE is set too high for any mere male to live up to; and at the same time the insults he hands her to roar at him are, he told us from the start, a work of adoration, the loving craft of abuse. The scream of pure HEAT, body heat, sex, rough-and-dirty. Don’t we even know that?

Effacing, Defacing, and Facing Up

For the *Epodes*, at any rate, the history of any critique but evasion of reading (‘no comment’) has now had a very shallow time-depth—about the fifteen year span that ancient Rome gave any grown female before she was on the discard pile (and ripe for *Vetula-Skoptik*, ‘crone-baiting’). Classical scholarship is no isolated case where academic strategies have sought to abjure the insult *in* insult, displacing insults on paper with papers on insult so as to occlude the performativity which abusive language generates within the specifics of its discursive context. But now there is nothing to protect us from The Insult, and this (per)verse is out to make Whoraces of us all—whether ROUGH, or ROUGH-AND-DIRTY, well worth insulting:

Two Trappist monks sitting in separate cubicles have been busy copying old manuscripts for years, without ever speaking. Late one afternoon, during a thunderstorm, one whispers to the other, ‘Let’s talk’. The other whispers back, ‘Well, all right. What shall we talk about?’. ‘Let’s say dirty words.’ ‘I don’t know about that. You say one first.’ ‘Hair under your arms. There! Now you say one.’ ‘I can’t’, says the other; ‘I’m cccccccooooommmmmiiiiinnng!’³²

²⁹ Cf. the ‘black tooth’ of *Epodes* 6.15 and 8.3; M. W. Dickie, ‘The Disavowal of *Invidia* in Roman Iamb and Satire’, *Papers of the Liverpool International Latin Seminar* 3 (1981) 183-208, at 205 n. 37.

³⁰ Oliensis [6] (1991) 124; for nose = proboscis = trunk = penis = dangling projection, cf. M. Garber, ‘Out of Joint’, in D. Hillman and C. Mazzio (edd.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York 1997) 23-51, at 32; Legman [5] 57, 200-03 (The elephant’s ‘cryptorchidism is a well-kept secret’, Legman [5] 201).

³¹ *Nec firmo iuueni neque naris obesae* (‘this boy’s not steel, his snout ain’t blocked’, 3) at once trumps the leering innuendo, as the male protests he’s no bull elephant, and doesn’t pack a ‘trunk’.

³² G. Legman, *No Laughing Matter. Rationale of the Dirty Joke: Second Series* (London 1978) 781.

RAPE AND CONSEQUENCES IN THE LATIN DECLAMATIONS

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Abstract. A comprehensive overview of episodes of rape reported in the Latin declamations, and issues debated in connection with these episodes, suggests that the death-or-marriage outcome called for by the law of rape recorded in the declamations corresponded to alternative motivations ascribed to the rapist. The many and painful issues debated indicate that neither outcome is without risk to either victim or rapist, and are perhaps to be understood as an indication that declamation was meant to be educational to young men in ways that went beyond the development of public speaking.

Surviving texts of Latin declamation offer examples of practice oration ranging from full texts of individual speeches, in the major declamations attributed to Quintilian, to small excerpts from many speeches on the same subject, in the fully preserved sections of the elder Seneca's *Controversiae*, with more or less extensive excerpts, usually from one speech, or one on each side of the dispute, in the minor declamations attributed to Quintilian, and in the declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus. Another element found in Seneca's *Controversiae*, and some of the minor declamations of Quintilian, is the *sermo*, or *divisio*, the rhetor's advice on the proper presentation of one side or the other in the dispute to be debated. But the first element appearing, after a title, in texts of the Latin declamations is the theme, or preface, in which there appears a very brief statement of what might be called common cause, or established fact, concerning the case which is to be discussed in the *sermo* ('discussion'), if present, and debated in the speech or speeches which follow. This is the only element in the Latin declamation which is always present in full, and it amounts to a short short story, capable of being expanded upon by speakers with additional 'facts' which would lend color to the positions they defended in their speeches—but also of interest in and of itself, for the persons and events it describes, the laws it sets forth, and the issues it presents for debate.

Modern study of the Latin declamations, apart from that dedicated to the establishment of the texts, has concentrated on their place in the history of ancient rhetoric and oratory.¹ Attention to the short-story prefaces or themes has

¹ See the bibliographies in J. Fairweather, 'The Elder Seneca and Declamation', *ANRW* 2.32.1 (1984) 514-46; L. Sussman, 'The Elder Seneca and Declamation Since 1900: A Bibliography', *ANRW* 2.32.1 (1984) 557-77; and L. Håkanson, 'Die quintilianischen und

concerned itself for the most part² with the debate, begun in antiquity, as to whether they do, or do not, describe realistic situations, and did, or did not, serve a proper pedagogical function in the rhetorical schools where the issues proposed in them were debated.³ The theme of rape is one which appears in thirty-five Latin declamation texts, and figures prominently among those referred to as fantastic or melodramatic by those who doubt its relevance to Roman life or the practice of the Roman courts,⁴ and as lurid or sensational by those who regard it as more realistic.⁵ In what follows, I propose to canvas the prefaces of the Latin declamations for the theme of rape, the perpetrators, victims, and circumstances involved, the outcomes for all parties, and the issues that arise in connection with such episodes, on the presumption that, as a body of fiction, these stories present a view of this subject which it was thought worthwhile to develop, define, and hold up for consideration, particularly by the young. The question of how that view relates to the life and law of Rome, and the pedagogical purposes of the rhetorical schools, will be briefly touched on at the end of this study.⁶

pseudoquintilianischen "Deklamationen" in der neueren Forschung', *ANRW* 2.32.4 (1986) 2272-306, as well as those in texts cited below.

² Exceptional in this respect is the appreciative account of the style of the prefaces in E. Pianezzola, 'Spunti per un'analisi del racconto nel thema dell *Controversiae* di Seneca il Vecchio', *MCSN* 3 (1981) 253-67. Directly addressed to the fictional aspect of the prefaces, and the interpretation thereof, is the especially valuable essay of M. Beard, 'Looking (harder) for Roman myth: Dumézil, declamation and the problems of definition', in F. Graf (ed.), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: Das Paradigma Roms* (Stuttgart 1993) 44-64.

³ See, e. g., S. F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation* (Liverpool 1949), especially Chapter IV: 'Declamation and its Ancient Critics'. For a general defence of the role of declamation in Roman education, see E. P. Parks, *The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a Preparation for the Courts under the Early Empire* (Baltimore 1945).

⁴ E. g., M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome* (London 1953) 91.

⁵ E. g., J. Evans-Grubbs, 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity', *JRS* 79 (1989) 59-83 (see especially p. 68).

⁶ Texts cited below are: for Calpurnius Flaccus (referred to as CF below), L. A. Sussman, *The Declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus* (Leiden 1994); for the major declamations attributed to Quintilian (referred to below as MD), L. Håkansen, *Declamationes XIX Maiores Quintiliano Falso Ascriptae* (Stuttgart 1982); for the minor declamations so attributed (referred to below as DMin), M. Winterbottom, *The Minor Declamations Ascribed to Quintilian* (Berlin 1984); for Seneca's *Controversiae* (referred to below as Contr.), L. Håkansen, *L. Annaeus Seneca Maior: Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores* (Leipzig 1989). Introductions, commentaries, and translations in these editions, particularly Sussman's and Winterbottom's, have been of great help to me in interpreting the texts. As this study is directed almost entirely to matters recorded in the prefaces to the declamations, section numbers are normally omitted in my references. These are employed, however, in the

It is natural to a modern reader to think, where incidents of rape are referred to, in terms of female victims, and this expectation is met, by and large, in the Latin declamations, where women are the victims of reported rape in thirty surviving texts. In some few cases, however, the victim of rape or attempted rape is male, and as these cases differ from the others in terms of circumstances and outcomes, they will be considered first.

In the corpus of Latin declamations, significantly, homosexual rape is reported as accomplished and proven only in the single case where a young man has gone out in public—on a dare—in women’s clothing (*Contr.* 5.6). Rape is alleged in another case where a young refugee billeted upon an Athenian man is found dead of hanging, a presumed suicide, in the morning after his first night in the assigned home (*DMin* 292). The outcome of this case is uncertain, as the issue debated in the text is the charge against the host, not of rape, but of being *causa mortis* (‘cause of death’) to the youth—a charge elsewhere shown to be punishable by death (*DMin* 270 and 289).⁷ In the case of the boy raped while wearing women’s clothes, the victim survives, while his attackers have been charged, condemned, and presumably executed for *vis* (‘violence’)—but the victim himself has been barred from public life on the grounds of *impudicitia* (‘sexual misconduct’), his appeal against this debarment, in the form of a charge of *iniuria* (‘mistreatment’) against the magistrate who has acted against him, being the case argued in the text.

Attempted rape is alleged in two cases, one where the intended victim has killed the would-be rapist (this case is argued in two surviving texts, *CF* 3 and *MD* 3), and another where the house in which the intended victim was detained has been burned down by an indignant crowd, resulting in the death of both victim and assailants (*Contr.* 3.8). The first alleged victim has survived but stands trial for murder under military law, this being the case argued in the text, as he was a soldier and the would-be assailant his superior officer. The other alleged victim has been killed in the fire set to punish his assailants—and his father, whose outcry caused the crowd which set that fire to assemble, is charged with ‘riotous assembly’—*coetus et concursus*.

On the basis of this small sampling of cases, it can be deduced that, in the world of the Latin declamation, rape or attempted rape of a young man is a highly dangerous business. In three out of four cases encountered, the rapist or rapists, proven or alleged, have either died in the attempt or been executed by way of punishment; and in the fourth case, the accused rapist is on trial for his

few cases where arguments of speakers are cited—always supposing the text is lengthy enough to make them useful.

⁷ As stated, e. g., in *DMin* 270: *qui causa mortis fuerit, capite puniatur* (‘Anyone who was the cause of death shall be punished by death’).

life. The outcomes for victims are not much better: one alleged victim has killed himself, and another been burned to death along with his alleged assailants. A third is on trial for murder, a fourth barred from public life despite having proved a charge of forcible assault against his attackers.

All male victims of rape or attempted rape, as indicated above, are represented as very young men. Assailants, if acting singly, are older—the commanding officer in *CF* 3 and *MD* 3, the host/homeowner in *DMin* 292. Where operating in gangs, as in *Contr.* 3.8 and *Contr.* 5.6, the assailants are represented as young men. In combination, these representations lend a presumption of superior strength, either in numbers or in age and rank, to the assailants, so obviating any suggestion, in instances where the victim has failed to defend himself successfully, that he may have cooperated in his own debasement.

It is to be noted that, in three of the four cases where the texts of Latin declamations record alleged rape or attempted rape of young men, the event is located in historical circumstances: in Athens, after the fall of Olynthus in 348 BC, and the reception of refugees therefrom, in two cases (*DMin* 292 and *Contr.* 3.8);⁸ in the third (*CF* 3 and *MD* 3) in the army of Marius at the end of the second century BC.⁹ The effect is to distance these cases of homosexual rape, in time, and for two of the three cases, in space as well: contemporary young Romans considering a stint in the military are to be shielded from anxiety, as are those living safely at home with their own families. By contrast, the case of the young man attacked while dressed up as a woman takes place in the same unspecified time and space, probably more or less contemporary, as that in which the more frequent attacks upon genuine young women take place: anxiety about cross-dressing is not to be discouraged.

In the majority of cases where rape or attempted rape is reported in the corpus of the Latin declamations, as stated, the victim, proved or alleged, is female, and in every one of these cases, reported in thirty texts,¹⁰ she is represented as a young girl of citizenship status, which is to say marriageable, but not as yet married. No other victims are reported—no wives, widows, slaves, foreigners, old women, or young children, although there is one case in which a marriageable girl has been raped by a man who mistook her for a slave (*DMin* 301), and another where one of the same status, but kidnapped, sold for a

⁸ For the Athenian-and-Olynthian theme in the declamations, see the notes of Winterbottom [6] to *DMin* 292, introductory and on section 3.

⁹ For the historical incident and its appearance in the declamations, see the introductory note to *CF* 3 in Sussman [6].

¹⁰ *CF* 16, 25, 34, 41, 43, 46, and 51; *DMin* 247, 251, 252, 259, 262, 270, 276, 280, 286, 301, 309, 343, 349, 368, 370, and 383; *Contr.* 1.2, 1.5, 2.3, 3.5, 4.3, 7.8, and 8.6.

slave, and placed in a brothel, has in effect been attacked by mistake for a prostitute (*Contr.* 1.2).

The rapist, for his part, is normally represented as a young man of citizenship status, which is to say, also marriageable and as yet unmarried: there is only one case reported (*DMin* 262) where the rapist is already married, which, as will be seen below, does not prevent him from being regarded as marriageable, pending divorce from his present wife; and another where the rapist is a *parasitus* ('parasite', *DMin* 252 and the very similar *DMin* 370), which is to say a man of citizenship status but without property, and so marriageable in legal terms, but perhaps not in economic reality. In one case (*Contr.* 1.2, where the citizen-class girl has been kidnapped and placed in a brothel), the rapist is a *miles* ('soldier'), which is to say, if the conventions of Roman comedy are understood to be in play, a mercenary, non-citizen of the place in which the events transpire, and therefore unmarriageable. In *Contr.* 7.6, background events include rape of freeborn women by slaves, after seizure of a city by a tyrant: the case debated is a charge of *dementia* ('insanity') against the father of a girl who was not raped by their household slave, to whom the father married her out of gratitude.

In cases where rape is admitted or proven, the rapist, while he may have been abetted by friends (as in CF 41, for which see below), is always the sole person to have had sexual contact with the victim. There are no cases of gang rape in the Latin declamations. The reasons for the relatively narrow range of character types—to use the language of Roman comedy role designations—among victims and perpetrators of rape in the Latin declamations can probably best be left for consideration after an examination of the circumstances and outcomes of incidents of female-victim rape in that body of texts.

Where a young woman has been raped, the Latin declamation seldom describes the circumstances of this event, by contrast with the cases where males have been raped, as reported above. This is probably due in part to the fact that it is seldom the fact of rape, and still more seldom the identity of the rapist, which is at issue in the case posited for debate. One case where the fact of rape is at issue is *Contr.* 8.6, where a form of marriage has been effected under circumstances—shipwreck on the shores of land belonging to a thrice-rejected suitor—where the consent of the young woman's father, and presumably of the young woman herself, has been gained under duress. A case where the identity of the rapist is at issue, in a sense, is CF 41, where a young man has kidnapped a girl, taken her home, and turned her over to a friend who then attacked her sexually. With the young man guilty of the sexual attack under threat of execution, the friend who kidnapped the girl in the first place demands that he himself should be held responsible. This debate hinges on the ambiguous nature of the term *rapere*, or rather the development of that term's meaning—

originally kidnapping, with an assumption, where the victim is female, of sexual assault; in the Latin declamations, sexual assault, with whatever seizure of the victim's person is required to accomplish it.

The circumstances of the assault are described in cases mentioned above: that of the girl abducted and assaulted in the abductor's home (CF 41); that of the girl put through a form of marriage without, as is alleged, the proper consent of her father (*Contr.* 8.6), because the would-be husband held both him and the girl herself wrecked and helpless on his property; and that of the girl who was the object of forcible sexual contact, or an attempt thereat, when placed in a brothel after kidnapping by pirates (*Contr.* 1.2): she managed to fend off brothel patrons by describing to them her circumstances and her birthright status, until one soldier attempted to force himself on her—upon which she ran him through with his own sword, subsequently being tried for and found innocent of murder, and returned to her family. In just one other text (CF 43), we hear of vigorous resistance on the part of the rape victim—a young girl sexually assaulted has fought back so fiercely as to have blinded her assailant—but not of any other circumstances surrounding the attack. In *Contr.* 4.3, the speaker reports that a rapist has gained access to a girl by attacking her home with the help of a whole gang of friends, and raped her there, and at *Contr.* 2.3.4, again, assault upon a home is reported by the speaker, with a door broken down, and the victim assaulted while crying out and calling on the laws. In *Contr.* 3.5, too, an assault on the victim's home is referred to. For the rest, and therefore in the majority of cases where episodes of rape are alluded to in the Latin declamations, there is little attention to the circumstances under which these took place—probably because these are assumed to be indifferent to the outcomes of the cases debated, where the significant factor is whether, not how, the rape took place.

Those outcomes are chiefly determined by the law of rape, as posited in the Latin declamations: for the rapist, once his guilt is established, either death or marriage to the victim; for the victim, correspondingly, either mortal revenge upon her attacker, or marriage to him—and the choice is left up to the victim. Establishment of guilt, like establishment of circumstances, is little attended to in the surviving texts. We hear in two cases (*DMin* 309 and *Contr.* 7.8) that a young man's guilt has had to be established in a formal trial, but the charge of rape itself is never the basis for debate in the declamations themselves, probably because proof would naturally depend mainly on the evidence of witnesses, particularly that of the victim, rather than upon the kind of argument which the art of declamation is intended to promote and display. In other cases, it is clear that the assailant has admitted responsibility, most noticeably in CF 34 and *Contr.* 3.5, where the speaker demands in effect that action be taken against him on the basis of the law of rape, as already described. In most cases where the point is not established, which is to say the majority of those recorded in the

Latin declamations, we are probably to understand that the rapist has admitted guilt, whether spontaneously or in certainty of conviction if the case should go to trial.

Death or marriage, and specifically marriage without dowry: these are the alternatives facing the rapist, and in a sense the rape victim, in terms of the law of rape as expressed in all but two of the Latin declamations.¹¹ The exceptions are *DMin* 252 and 370, both cases where a young girl standing for a priesthood is raped by a *parasitus* (‘parasite’) associated with the father of another candidate for this honor. The law put forward in these cases is almost identical: *raptor decem milia solvat* (‘A rapist shall pay a fine of ten thousand’, *DMin* 252) and *qui ingenuam stupraverit, det decem milia* (‘Anyone who has raped a freeborn woman shall pay ten thousand’, *DMin* 370). In both cases, the *parasitus* (‘parasite’) has been convicted of rape, and paid, with the help of his patron, his fine. In each case that patron is sued by the father of the raped girl for ‘unspecified offence’ (*inscriptum maleficium*), on the proposition that he instigated the assault so as to render the victim unfit for the priesthood, and so clear the way for his own daughter to gain that office.

DMin 252 and 370 are the only cases reported in the Latin declamations where rape has allegedly been committed for reasons of interest to a third party, although *Contr.* 7.6 shows again that politically motivated third-party rape was conceivable: background events in this case include the seizure of a city by a tyrant who had then granted slaves permission to attack the freeborn females of their households. In cases reported in the remaining twenty-seven texts where the issue arises, the motive for heterosexual rape in the Latin declamations is either desire or contempt on the part of the rapist himself, with the options exercised by the rape victim corresponding to those motives. The regular declamation law of rape is fully expressed in prefaces to *CF* 34, *Contr.* 1.5, *Contr.* 4.3, and *Contr.* 7.8: *rapta raptoris mortem aut indotatas nuptias petat* (‘A victim of rape shall seek the rapist’s death, or marriage to him without dowry’). In prefaces to two other texts (*DMin* 280 and 286), the same law appears without mention of dowry, the absence of which may however be taken for granted, since the victim’s choice obviously does not depend on the negotiation of a dowry with the rapist’s family: *rapta raptoris aut mortem optet*

¹¹ In historical reality, sexual assault upon a Roman girl might have resulted either in a private action for *iniuria* (‘maltreatment’), where conviction would result in a fine, or in a criminal charge of *vis* (‘violence’), where the death penalty was possible. The death-or-marriage choice presented in the declamations is not, of course, recorded in the texts of Roman law. For the declamation law of rape and its relationship to the historical laws of Greece and Rome, see Bonner [3] 89-91, or Sussman [6] 142; or, for a recent study of traditional Roman law in this area, E. Fantham, ‘Stuprum: Public Attitudes and Penalties for Sexual Offenses in Republican Rome’, *EMC* 35 (1991) 267-91.

aut nuptias ('A victim of rape shall choose either the rapist's death or marriage to him'). This law is so well established that it is often referred to in the prefaces of Calpurnius Flaccus (CF 25, 41, 43, 46, 51) as, simply, *raptarum lex* ('the law for victims of rape'), while in the minor declamations of Quintilian it is often left unexpressed, but taken for granted, as revealed by expressions like *optavit illa nuptias* ('She chose marriage', *DMin* 247, 259, 262, 270, 286, 301, 309, 368, and 383; cf. also CF 16).

In *Contr.* 8.6 only, the wording of the regular declamation law of rape is slightly altered, to: *vitiata vitiatoris aut mortem aut indotales nuptias petat* ('A woman who has been violated shall seek either the death of the violator, or undowered marriage to him'). This is the case where a form of marriage has been engineered by a thrice-rejected suitor who found his would-be bride and her father shipwrecked on his land, and the rephrasing of the law acknowledges that no forcible seizure of her person has taken place, although sexual contact may have been gained through another form of duress. *DMin* 276 is the one place where the law is rephrased to: *rapta raptoris mortem aut bona optet* ('A victim of rape shall choose the rapist's death or his property'). This case is one where the rapist, in despair over the fate awaiting him, has killed himself: the issue is whether the victim's choice can be pre-empted in this way, or whether she can choose to place herself in the position she would have occupied had she married and then been widowed through suicide. In the very similar case of *DMin* 247, where again the rapist has committed suicide, but where the victim has chosen marriage before he actually expired, the law of rape itself is only assumed, and the law under which the debate takes place is expressed as: *mariti bona uxor accipiat* ('A wife shall receive her husband's property'). The issue in this case is whether the victim, after exercising her lawful choice under these conditions, can properly be regarded as the rapist's widow.

In *DMin* 247 and 276, as noted, the rapist has killed himself, apparently in anticipation of a death sentence, before the victim has had a chance to exercise the choice allotted to her by the declamation law of rape. It should be noted as well that in at least one case, it is the victim who destroys herself before being brought forward to make her choice: this is *DMin* 270, and the case there argued concerns a charge subsequently laid against the victim's father of being the cause of death to the rapist, in that the father had brought forward the victim's twin sister, passing her off as the victim herself, to call for the death of the assailant.¹² Aside from the death of either rapist or victim, one thing that may interfere with the victim's exercise of her lawful choice, as represented in the declamations, is the non-cooperation of her own father. In CF 34 and *Contr.*

¹² That suicide is a risk to the victim of rape is also acknowledged in *Contr.* 3.5, where the victim's father states that he is obliged to guard her against herself.

3.5, the issue debated, in the first case by the rapist, in the second by the victim’s father, is whether and when the latter is obliged to produce her in court for the purpose of making her choice. ‘Produce her’ is perhaps not put strongly enough: the accusation is that the young woman is being held back against her will—in one case (CF 34), in chains!

These cases are not the only ones where the influence of the father on the outcome of the victim’s choice is acknowledged. Though the law represents that choice as free, and though freedom of speech is guaranteed at the moment of the choice by the presence of the magistrate, the victim is invariably of an age where she is almost certain to be in the *potestas* (‘legal guardianship’) of her father, and while, if her choice is marriage, she might be protected from the wrath of a father’s disapproval by being handed over to her new husband at once, she could then find herself disinherited, as well as undowered, leaving her completely at the mercy of a husband whose willingness to marry her may have depended on the understanding that his own death was the alternative. So in *DMin* 368, where the case debated is a charge of ingratitude against a man who has divorced the wife who came to him as a rape victim: the husband’s complaint is that the wife has furnished support to her father, who had opposed her choice of marriage to, rather than death of, the rapist, and disinherited her because of it, subsequently falling on hard times himself. In *Contr.* 4.3, by contrast, the victim’s father, writing from exile, has commanded her to choose marriage with the rapist. Her brother, on the spot and so more immediately in control, gives her the opposite instruction, which she follows. The case debated is the resulting disinheritance of the son by the father, after the latter’s return from exile. Other texts also acknowledge the influence of father over daughter in such cases: so *DMin* 259 (*imperavit filiae dives ut nuptias optaret*, ‘The rich man commanded his daughter to choose marriage’) and *DMin* 270 (*praecepit illi ut mortem raptoris optaret*, ‘He instructed her to choose the death of the rapist’).

It is not only her own family which attempts to influence the choice of the rape victim: the rapist and his friends and family are quick to express their interest as well, which is always, of course, in favor of marriage and opposed to the death of the culprit. Their petitions may be addressed to the head of the household, in the first place, as in *Contr.* 4.3 mentioned above, but the victim herself may have to receive such representations, an experience quite possibly stressful to her, as in *DMin* 247: [*raptor*] *misit ad eam propinquos rogatum ut nuptias haberet. auditis illa precibus tacuit et flevit* (‘[The rapist] sent his relatives to her to beg her to accept marriage. On hearing their entreaties, she fell silent and wept’). Again, other texts recognize the influence of the rapist’s friends and family: so *DMin* 286: *puella deprecante patre raptoris nuptias optavit* (‘The girl chose marriage at the entreaties of the rapist’s father’).

No mention is made in the texts of the Latin declamations of threats against the rape victim in the case of her choosing the death of the rapist by preference to marriage with him, but it is clear from cases where she has done so that this choice entailed significant risk of ill will and even of injury. In CF 41, where the girl's kidnapper demands that the actual rapist's punishment be transferred to him, he also addresses the victim in his speech, accusing her, in effect, of murder: *callide, puella, commenta es: unum petis ut duos pariter occidas* ('It is a cunning trick you have devised, young lady: you are going after one man in order to kill two at once'). In CF 43, the rapist blinded by the victim in the struggle responds to her choice of his death by calling for her to be blinded under the *lex talionis* ('law of retribution'). The speaker discounts the injury to the victim: *tu enim, puella, quid passa es? virginitate caruisti . . .* ('You, young lady, what have you suffered? You lost your virginity . . .'). In CF 46, a rape victim who has borne a child conceived in the episode before the rapist was caught and brought to court has called for his death. The rapist responds in his speech by claiming the right of a father to put to death his son without trial: *si perseverat in mea poena, hunc mater occidet* ('If she remains determined to punish me, this boy's mother will condemn him to death'). In CF 25, the victim has called for the death of the rapist, but before execution takes place, his brother has been granted two rewards for bravery in battle. As his first reward, his brother calls for the release of the rapist from punishment. As his second reward, he calls for the death of the victim. This latter proposal is the issue under debate, with the rapist himself speaking against the proposal, and urging marriage with the victim instead—a neat reversal of the system of choice normally exercised in the opposite direction.

With this kind of pressure brought to bear, it is understandable that the rape victim sometimes refuses to choose between the alternatives of the rapist's execution and marriage to him. So in *DMin* 247, as quoted above, the victim's response to the pre-trial pleas of the rapist's family is silence and tears. In CF 16, again, the victim is also reduced to silence and tears, in this case at the hearing before the magistrate, who then has the rapist executed, presumably on the grounds that marriage may not be accomplished without the consent of the bride. She subsequently commits suicide, and the issue debated in the declamation is a cause-of-death charge brought against the magistrate. In *DMin* 280, where the victim has married another man during the interval between the assault and the apprehension of the rapist, she refuses to speak before the magistrate, leaving her husband to argue that marriage to the rapist should not be considered an option in this case.

After all the possible hindrances—her own death, that of the rapist, pleas, threats, and her own reticence—the rape victim still does manage, in most cases, to exercise her lawful (according to the declamations) choice between the

rapist’s death and marriage to him. In a few of the declamations, as mentioned above, the issue debated is whether the choice so universally acknowledged by law is to be allowed after all, where questions emerge concerning timing of the choice (*DMin* 247 and 276), counter-charges against the victim (CF 43), competing claims to the privilege of making a choice (CF 25), disputes as to responsibility (CF 41), or the question of whether what has taken place is actually rape or marriage (*Contr.* 8.6). In addition, the implementation of the victim’s lawful choice is called into question where a rapist has assaulted more than one young woman, and opposite choices have been made by two. This is the case debated in *Contr.* 1.5, and the weight of the argument suggests that the choice of death takes precedence, if only because in any other case it would be to the advantage of the rapist to attack as many young women as possible. In CF 51, however, a magistrate faced with opposite choices exercised by two rape victims against the same perpetrator has chosen to allow his marriage to the one who has chosen marriage with him.

In most cases of rape reported in the declamations, however, the victim’s choice has been exercised and the consequences effected: death of the rapist in only two cases (*DMin* 270 and *Contr.* 4.3), marriage of rapist and victim in ten (CF 51; *DMin* 251, 259, 262, 286, 301, 343, 368, and 383; and *Contr.* 4.3). Where the death of the rapist has been called for by the victim, against whatever pleas and threats, and carried out, despite the kinds of countermaneuvers described above, there are seldom further issues to be debated, presumably because the person most directly affected, the rapist, is dead, and this no doubt accounts for the dearth of such cases in the corpus of the Latin declamations. In *Contr.* 4.3, however, the victim’s father, returning from exile, proposes to disinherit and disown¹³ his own son for having arranged for the victim to call for the rapist’s death, against his own, the father’s, instructions. In *DMin* 270, it has been discovered subsequent to the execution of the rapist that the young woman who called for that action to be taken was not the victim, who had killed herself in the aftermath of the attack, but her twin sister: the issue debated is a charge against the victim’s father of cause of death. In CF 16, where the rapist has been executed by order of the magistrate after the victim refused to make a choice in court, the rape victim has also killed herself, and the issue debated is also a charge of cause of death, brought against the magistrate. Cause of death is a capital offense in declamation law,¹⁴ and disinheritance with disowning is no minor matter in an agrarian society:¹⁵ there is evidently grave risk, not only to

¹³ For *abdicatio*, disowning and disinheritance, which figures in several of the texts cited below, see M. Wurm, *Apokeryxis, Abdicatio und Exhereditatio* (Munich 1970).

¹⁴ See above, n. 7.

the victim, but to the person under whose authority she acts, and to the magistrate who takes action, when rapists are actually put to death.

Where the victim's choice has been marriage to the rapist, there is obviously more room for debatable issues to arise in the course of subsequent events. To begin with, the rapist—himself, like the victim, of an age to be still in his father's *potestas* ('legal guardianship')—must gain his father's permission for the marriage. In most cases this would seem to be a foregone conclusion, and in fact, as mentioned above, relatives of the rapist are regularly shown to have plead for the victim to choose marriage with him rather than having him put to death. In two surviving texts, however—*DMin* 349 and *Contr.* 2.3—paternal permission has not been forthcoming, and the rapist is running out of time under the law here given: *raptor, nisi et suum patrem exoraverit et raptae intra triginta dies, pereat* ('A rapist shall be put to death if he has not persuaded both his own father and the victim within thirty days'). The issue debated in these texts is a charge of *dementia* ('insanity') brought against his father by the rapist.¹⁵

It is only in *DMin* 349 and *Contr.* 2.3 where the consent of the victim's father is represented as necessary to their marriage, though as noted above other texts acknowledge her father's influence in the formulation of her choice. Otherwise, the procedure whereby the victim is brought before the magistrate and required to speak in her own behalf suggests that under these circumstances the young woman's own consent to the chosen marriage is all that is needed to effect it, and this is confirmed by *DMin* 368, where the victim has been disinherited and disowned by her father after opting for marriage against his wishes. *DMin* 259 is to be compared, where the victim has married the rapist, on a choice informed by her father's instructions, but where the rape is later found not to have occurred—it was a put-up job between young persons who wished to be married, under circumstances where the young woman's father had another husband in mind for her—and the issue under debate is her father's decision to disinherit and disown her for refusing to leave the husband she married in this way.

As common as repudiation by her own birth family is the outcome where the young woman married by her choice to her rapist is subsequently repudiated by him. The result, barring exceptional legal action on the wife's part, would be

¹⁵ See, e. g., CF 18, where disowned and disinherited sons have made common cause to lobby for a public enactment restoring them to their households, or *DMin* 260, where a young man has taken it upon himself to feed and shelter a number of others expelled from their households—and is obliged for that reason to defend himself against a charge of injuring the state.

¹⁶ For the issue of consent in actual Roman law, see S. Treggiari, 'Consent to Roman Marriage: Some Aspects of Law and Reality', *EMC* 26 (1982) 34-44.

to remove from her the financial support implicit in the kind of undowered marriage authorized by the declamation law of rape. This is the situation in *DMin* 368, where the now-married rape victim, once disowned by her father for disobeying his instructions to opt for the death of the rapist, has extended support to him after he was reduced to poverty. Her husband has divorced her for this, and the issue debated is her suit against him for ingratitude. In *DMin* 251, the onetime rapist has divorced on grounds of sterility the wife who chose marriage with him over his death: the issue debated is her suit for unjust repudiation.

Alternatively, the marriage opted for by the victim of rape may turn out so badly as to cause her to sue for divorce, with, again barring exceptional legal action on her part, the same financial implications to the wife as in the case where her husband has repudiated her. Such is the case in *CF* 51, where the man who raped two young women, one of whom called for his death, has been allowed by the magistrate to marry the other, at her choice. In time, the first rape victim has borne a son, and the rapist has elected to acknowledge it and raise it in the household he now shares with the second victim: the issue debated is her suit against him for mistreatment. In *DMin* 383, a former rape victim has proven mistreatment against her onetime rapist and subsequent husband—on what grounds is not stated—and the issue debated is her proposal that his punishment be the death she saved him from by agreeing to marry him in the first place.

The normal penalty for mistreatment of a wife would be assessed in terms of money or property—double the amount of the dowry, as stated in *DMin* 383.¹⁷ But the rape victim has married without a dowry, according to the law of rape, and is therefore permitted to propose to the magistrate a suitable penalty for her husband, or compensation for herself. Other cases where there may be a financial cost to the husband for divorce after a marriage opted for under the law of rape are those like *DMin* 251, where the onetime rape victim has sued for unjust repudiation, or *DMin* 368, where she has sued for ingratitude. In *DMin* 262, the one case in all the Latin declamations where the rapist is represented as married at the time of the assault, the victim has chosen marriage. The rapist accordingly has divorced his wife, and the issue debated is her action against him for unjust repudiation.

For both rapist and victim, the worst outcome of a marriage effected at the victim’s choice is recorded in *DMin* 286. A young man has raped the girl betrothed to his brother, and she, in response to his family’s pleas, has married him. The rapist has subsequently caught her in adultery with his brother, and

¹⁷ For the declamations’ law of marital abuse or mistreatment—*mala tractatio*—see Sussman [6] n. *ad CF* 51. The suggestion put forward by scholarship there cited, that this charge is not linked to divorce, seems to me to be mistaken.

killed them both: the issue debated is the disinheritance and disowning of the rapist by his father.

The choice of marriage by the victim of rape can have implications for the victim's father as well. In *DMin* 301, the rape victim's father is sued for fraud by the man she has chosen to marry, on the grounds that he had misrepresented his daughter's status to the extent of allowing the rapist to believe he was attacking a slave—in which case, of course, he would never have been required to take on the support of the victim. The effect of the suit is to try for a financial penalty against the father which would make up for the absence of a dowry in the marriage. In *DMin* 343, the rape victim's father is also sued for fraud, in this case by the man to whom she was engaged before the attack upon her. The young woman had been kidnapped by pirates, and was promised by her father to whichever of her two suitors would redeem her. One suitor did redeem her, taking on the risks and dangers of an expedition to the pirates in order to do so. The other suitor subsequently raped her and became her husband as a result.

On the surface of it, the former fiancé's complaint in *DMin* 343 implies that the father of the rape victim should have insisted on her choosing the death penalty for her rapist rather than allowing her to opt for marriage to him. But the intrusion into the short-story version of this text of a rich man / poor man theme suggests something rather beyond that. Of the young woman's suitors, one was rich, one poor. It was the poor one who redeemed her from the pirates. It was the rich one to whom she ended up married. The suspicion arises of collusion between the rapist and the victim's father, and this is confirmed in the *sermo* ('discussion') which sets the tone for the following declamation (*DMin* 343.2): *quomodo ergo fiet ut hic [=pater] circumscripserit? si probat omnia facta huius voluntate* ('Then how can it be that he [the father] committed fraud? If [the plaintiff] proves that it was all done in accordance with his wishes'). So also in the declamation itself: *igitur ab initio propensioem te fuisse diviti non suspicionibus probo . . . quo alio modo efficere potuisti ne mihi nuberet nisi hoc? dico ergo tua voluntate factum esse ut filia tua raperetur* ('And so I shall prove that you were from the beginning more inclined towards the wealthy man, not merely by vague suspicions . . . By what other means but this could you see to it that she did not marry me? I declare, therefore, that it was in accordance with your wishes that the rape of your daughter was committed').

This is not the only case in which the suggestion is raised of collusion between the rapist and the father of the victim. In *DMin* 349 and *Contr.* 2.3 a rapist's father who withholds consent to his son's marriage to the victim is accused by the son of *dementia* ('insanity'). In response, the father expresses the suspicion that the whole episode has been arranged for the purpose of forcing his consent to a marriage obviously more advantageous to the bride's household

than to his own. So in *DMin* 349.10: *aliquis, cum filia illius rapta sit, tam cito exoratus est? . . . quid est istud quod ille se accepisse iniuriam non putat, quod omnia sic agit tamquam exoratus ante tricesimum diem?* (‘Was a man—after his daughter had been raped—so soon persuaded? . . . Why is it that he does not feel he has been wronged; that he does everything just as if he had been persuaded before the thirtieth day?’)—and similarly in *Contr.* 2.3.1: *quare tam cito senex ille remisit iniuriam? . . . timeo ne verum sit quod audio, ne novo inauditoque more de nuptiis puellae vitiator exoratus sit* (‘Why did the old man so quickly disregard the wrong? . . . I fear that what I hear is true; that by a new and unheard of custom it was the rapist who was persuaded to marry the girl’).

Collusion of the father of a young girl with a young man resulting in the rape of the girl: this is an unwholesome prospect to modern eyes, to put it mildly, but as *DMin* 349 and *Contr.* 2.3 suggest, an understanding of this sort between these persons could operate as a way of effecting a marriage desired by both, against the known or anticipated opposition of the young man’s father, under a social and legal system where the permission of the latter was necessary to the formation of a legitimate union. Successful conclusion of the marriage would then depend on two things: first, that the young woman would choose marriage to, rather than the death of, the rapist, whether by prior agreement or out of obedience to her father; second, that the young man’s father would grant his blessing to his son’s marriage under circumstances where that would be the only alternative to the young man’s being put to death. *DMin* 343 makes it clear that the same kind of collusion might be resorted to in order to circumvent a prior commitment on the part of a girl’s father to marry his daughter to another suitor.

Similarly, where opposition to a marriage desired by a young man and a young woman was known or anticipated in the young woman’s father, this might be circumvented by means of rape arranged in collusion between the young people themselves. This situation, commoner than collusion between rapist and victim’s father, is most clearly presented in *DMin* 259, where uproar in a young girl’s home has led to discovery of a friend of the family in a compromising position with her. Both parties state that rape has occurred, and the father, unwilling to bring about the death of the man, orders his daughter to opt for marriage. It is subsequently admitted that no rape in fact took place, and the issue debated in the text is the decision of the father to disinherit and disown his daughter for refusing to leave the marriage which she entered by circumventing his authority in this way. Once again, the rich man / poor man motif underscores the element of collusion: the father of the young woman is rich, the friend of the family poor, and so probably not the husband of choice for his daughter, from the father’s point of view, despite their friendship. By the same token, the undowered marriage, if backed up by disinheritance and

disowning of the young woman, will be one of hardship for the couple involved. In *DMin* 368, where a young woman has already been disinherited and disowned for choosing marriage with her rapist, no outright suspicion is expressed of collusion between rapist and victim, real or alleged, but the father's behavior exhibits the same reaction against his daughter's circumvention of his authority in the choice of a husband for her.

In the two texts where a rapist actually demands that his victim be brought before the magistrate to choose between marriage to him and his death (CF 34, where the rapist speaks, and *Contr.* 3.5, where the victim's father responds), again, no outright suspicion of collusion is expressed—but it is hardly likely that he would make this demand if he didn't have reason to believe that the choice would be marriage, rather than death. The failure of the victim's father to produce her in court, meantime, suggests that he may be opposed to the possible marriage. At the very least, the situation is one in which a young man has resorted to rape in an attempt to circumvent the opposition of a young woman's father to a marriage between them.

Just as collusion between the rapist and the father of the victim can be organized to circumvent the claim upon the girl of another suitor, as in *DMin* 343, so can collusion between the rapist and the victim be organized to circumvent the claim upon the rapist of another woman. So in *DMin* 262, the rapist is a married man, who repudiates his wife upon his victim's choice of marriage with him, raising suspicions that the rape was organized in order to shift away from the husband responsibility for a divorce which cannot be justified by reference to any wrongdoing on the part of his wife. So the speaker, addressing the rapist (*DMin* 262.9): *et hoc si tantum libidine et cupiditate fecisses, repudii tamen causa ad te rediret. quid si ne credibile quidem est nisi eo pacto factum hoc esse, ut tibi raptori ignosceretur?* ('Even if you had done this with such great passion and desire, the cause of repudiation would still recoil upon you. How is it even credible that you as a rapist were shown mercy, unless this was done on that understanding?'). In *Contr.* 1.5, the case of a young man who has raped two young women also gives rise to suspicion that the second rape is a result of collusion intended to enable the magistrate to avoid executing the death penalty called for by one victim, by producing a second victim willing to opt for marriage with the rapist. The speaker accordingly addresses the second victim as follows (*Contr.* 1.5.1): *alteram iniuriae rapuit, alteram patrocinio. quantum suspicor, ne rapta quidem es. quaeris argumentum? non irasceris. quomodo istud fit? duabus iniuriam fecit, una queritur?* ('One rape he committed as a crime, the other as a defence. I even suspect that you were not actually raped. You ask for evidence? You are not outraged. How can that be? Did he wrong two girls, but only one complains?').

It hardly seems appropriate, from a modern point of view, to speak of rape in a case where the victim has colluded with the rapist, but while such collusion is suspected in some of the declamations, it is never either proven or admitted, except in the one case of *DMin* 259, and then after all the legal consequences of the alleged rape have played themselves out. Moreover, there may be no great distinction between rape and consensual sexual contact where an unmarried girl of the citizen class is concerned, as either amounts to an offense against the person with authority over her: her father, or in case of his death or absence, a guardian in his place. In surviving Latin declamations, the actual father is always represented as the person in authority over the rape victim, except in *Contr.* 4.3, where his son stands in for him in his absence, and not, as it proves, to the father's satisfaction. Hence forms of *stuprare* ('fornicate', *CF* 41 and *DMin* 370) and *vitiare* ('violate', *DMin* 259 and 309; *Contr.* 8.6) alternate with forms of the ubiquitous *rapere* ('rape') in the presentation of rape cases, indicating that it is sexual contact with the victim, not specifically seizure of her person, which sets in motion the declamation law of rape.

The declamation law of rape allows to the young woman who is the object of such contact, whether forcible or by consent, the choice of death for the man involved, or marriage between them. Almost certainly the marriage option in this law of rape is meant to respond to the possibility of collusion—between rapist and the victim's father, in order to circumvent either the opposition of the young man's father or some other man's claim upon the girl, or between rapist and victim, in order to circumvent either the opposition of her father, or some other woman's claim upon the young man. It would be pleasing to see in this provision an endorsement of feminine independence, or an overriding concern for the happiness of young women. In all likelihood the purpose of it is to prevent, wherever possible, the execution of a young man whose life would be considered valuable to the community, and the civil discord resulting from the likely attempt of that young man's family to exact vengeance, either on the rape victim and her family, or on the magistrates themselves, as in several examples cited above. Marriage, always supposing it is possible to gain the consent of the interested parties, is an outcome much to be preferred from this point of view.

That outcome, however, depends on the possibility of representing the rapist's motivation as one which is positive in terms of his attitude towards either the victim herself, or her family, or both. Where the motivation of the rapist seems to be devoid of this positive aspect, he is understood to have acted out of hostility and an intention to cause injury to the victim, or her family, or both, and the death half of the declamation law of rape responds to this understanding, which is probably to be applied in cases where the rapist has

attempted to avoid detection, or, as in *DMin* 309 and *Contr.* 7.8, has actively denied responsibility and so had to be formally convicted of the crime of rape. In fact, hostile motivation on the part of the rapist is probably to be understood in most cases where there is no suspicion of collusion with either the victim or her father—that is to say, all of those in which the victim has called for the death of the rapist, and probably those where she has refused to make a choice. Once again, it is probably not so much the interests of the victim which are consulted in the application of the death penalty for rape, as those of the community. By taking on itself the responsibility for exacting vengeance, the state hopes to short-circuit a cycle of inter-familial retaliation.

The dual aspects of rape are well established in Roman mythology, where the rape of the Sabine women is established as the archetypal pattern of marriage among the Romans, while the rape of Lucretia is equally established as a monument of outrage and abuse, and this duality is recognized in *Contr.* 1.5 by speakers pleading for the choice of marriage, rather than death, for the rapist (*Contr.* 1.5.3): *refer nunc Verginiam, refer Lucretiam: plures tamen Sabinae sunt* ('Mention the case of Verginia; mention Lucretia: the Sabine women, however, were many'). On one hand, forcible rape is punishable under Roman law under the action *de vi* ('for violence'); on the other hand, the ancients themselves saw elements of rape in Roman wedding ceremony,¹⁸ and moderns sometimes recognize elements of the wedding ceremony in episodes of rape.¹⁹ One action, opposite intentions, and drastically different outcomes—and, in the law of the Latin declamation, the distinction left to the decision of the victim, a person whose gender marks her as fragile in the view of actual Roman law,²⁰ and who in addition is barely of an age to be regarded as adult, even by the liberal standards of antiquity. It is a situation fraught with ambiguity, open to contrary interpretation on the basis of well-established contrary beliefs: no wonder it shows up on the *controversiae* ('disputes').

Comparison of heterosexual and homosexual rape as recorded in the Latin declamations reveals, in addition to the relative rarity of the latter, and its distancing by placement in an historical context, a number of links between cases: girls who have been victims of rape or attempted rape are subsequently liable to be kept from priesthoods (*DMin* 252 and 370; *Contr.* 1.2), as a boy who has been the victim of rape is subsequently liable to be kept from participation in public life (*Contr.* 5.6), and resistance to rape which results in

¹⁸ See Festus 3641, on the forcible removal of the bride from her mother's arms.

¹⁹ K. Philippides, 'Terence's *Eunuchus*: Elements of the Marriage Ritual in the Rape Scene', *Mnemosyne* 48 (1995) 272-84.

²⁰ See, e. g., S. Dixon, 'Infirmitas Sexus: Womanly Weakness in Roman Law', *RHD* 52 (1984) 343-71.

the death of the would-be rapist results in the victim’s being placed on trial for his or her life (CF 3 and *MD* 3, for the case where a young soldier is attacked by his commanding officer; *Contr.* 1.2 for the young woman kidnapped into a brothel and attacked by a soldier; cf. CF 43, where a young woman who blinded her rapist in the struggle is herself threatened with blinding by way of *talio*, ‘retribution’). Vulnerability of victims in both gender categories is stressed by their tender age, with rapists superior in age and rank, or numbers, or in the case of heterosexual rape, by virtue of gender alone.

But the most significant difference between rape of males and rape of females, as presented in the Latin declamations, is of course the availability of marriage as an alternative to death in the outcome of the proven case, and this makes a big difference in the outcomes for both rapists and victims. While three out of four alleged culprits in cases of homosexual rape have died as a consequence of it, with the fourth shown on trial for his life, only six alleged culprits in thirty texts recording cases of heterosexual rape have died as a result, while the death of four others has been called for by the victim, but not yet brought about. Two victims of homosexual rape have died in five texts recording such an episode, with a third on trial for his life, whereas only three female victims of rape have died, in thirty texts describing such episodes, while the death of a fourth has been called for. Problematic as it is shown to be in the Latin declamations, heterosexual rape is nonetheless not so absolutely deadly as homosexual rape, either to rapist or to victim.

The degree of realism in the tales of rape reported in the Latin declamations cannot be assessed on the evidence of the texts alone. Certainly, hostile attacks upon young women are frequently enough reported in the twentieth century to make it credible that this phenomenon might have been a feature of life among the ancient Romans as well.²¹ From the same modern standpoint, by contrast, the presentation of rape as an alternative to betrothal in paving the way to marriage seems bizarre—but Judith Evans-Grubbs has shown that the practice of abduction on the part of would-be bridegrooms is not only acknowledged in a variety of texts from classical antiquity, both historical and fictional, but has in fact persisted into modern times in those portions of the modern Mediterranean where arranged marriages are the norm.²² Evans-Grubbs shows, citing among others a number of texts from Quintilian and Seneca, that this form of assault, usually including sexual contact, forcible or otherwise, operates as an evasion in particular of the parental authority over the young

²¹ For a recent endorsement of this view from western Europe, see E. Migliario, ‘Luoghi retorici e realtà sociale nell’opera di Seneca il Vecchio’, *Athenaeum* 67 (1989) 525-49 (see especially pp. 543-45).

²² Evans-Grubbs [5].

woman against whom it is directed. It appears that a form of rape leading to marriage is perfectly realistic in the context of an ancient culture where young persons of marriageable age remained in the legal guardianship of their fathers, with all the authority over marital arrangements which that implies.

The question of whether issues arising from episodes of rape were suitable fare for exercises in debate in the rhetorical schools depends perhaps on several considerations. The texts of the Latin declamations themselves establish that the society which produced them was not as reticent about rape as is our own, but frankly acknowledged such episodes as a fact of life in their own society—problematic, but by no means unmentionable. From the ancient point of view, it would seem, debate on themes involving this topic would not have been regarded as lurid. From our own point of view, it is to be noted that neither indecent language nor prurient detail are anywhere to be found in either the prefatory themes of the Latin declamations or the discussions or orations based on them—a thing which apparently cannot be said about the treatment of rape in many a modern courtroom.

Those things which are obviously unrealistic about the declamations' presentation of the issue of rape are probably related to the pedagogical circumstances of the rhetorical exercise: the absence, except in the rare cases recorded of homosexual assault, of victims other than marriageable young women, and of rapists other than marriageable young men. The rapist in the Latin declamation is represented as a young man of about the same age as those in training in the rhetorical schools. The rapist is not represented, in the declamations which the students would have both listened to and participated in, as a triumphant assailant against the honor of another's home, nor even as the triumphant abductor of his chosen love, but rather as a young man forced to plead for the grant of his life from the victim of his attack. The outcome might as well be death as marriage, and even where the outcome is marriage, the presence among the declamation themes of disputes arising out of marriages formed in this way tends to banish any illusion of a happily-ever-after for the rapist. The tribulations of the rape victim herself, ranging from suicide in the immediate aftermath to unjust repudiation downstream, are perhaps designed to engage the sympathies of the young men set to debate the issues arising in connection with them—and the occasional appearance of a theme in which the victim of rape is himself a young man would perhaps tend to promote such engagement. It seems most likely that the presentation of debate themes involving episodes of rape, and the practice of debate upon those themes, were intended to promote the ethical, as well as the oratorical, development of the students in the rhetorical schools.

CHAOS THEORY IN NONNUS' *DIONYSIACA*

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Abstract. Chaos theory, better known as hidden-order or dynamical systems theory, is a new way to think about order that can illuminate fragmentation and nonlinearity in literature and other fields. Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is held together by the deeply encoded structures of the spiral, dance, serpent and web, and by the impulse for self-organisation and self-generation, as it explores the relationship between order and disorder.

Many of the insights of nonlinear dynamics go back to the Nineteenth Century or earlier.¹

Readers of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* will be aware of the sense of chaos, noise and disorder that pervades the work. A sprawling, 21 000 hexameter line epic on the career of Dionysus, it is a work of theme rather than plot or character, a loosely structured, digressive assembly of tales, episodes and epyllia that celebrates explosive energy, revelry, banging drums and the licence of Dionysus, and highlights the nonlinearity, incoherence, writhing limbs, hysteria even, of the Dionysian worldview. A major theme is confusion itself. The poem has been seen as lacking proper form and restraint, the product of a 'sickly and unwholesome fancy', only likely to interest the student of 'the degenerescence of literature', composed by a poet who has 'lost sight of his own framework', and who self-indulgently and grotesquely elaborates details and individual scenes at the expense of order and good taste.² 'Certainly the narrative structure of Nonnos' poem is a shambles, its causal connections obscure, its suspense and climaxes almost all dissipated or thrown away, its details often self-contradictory'.³ 'It is, in short, a piece of barbarian literature and clearly shows the workings of the Oriental mind', reflecting a culture 'in which the free will played no part'.⁴ Yet the work can be seen as having a firm sense of structure. In

¹ N. Hayles (ed.), *Chaos and Order: Complex Dynamics in Literature and Science* (Chicago 1991) 3. Nonlinear is here used in the saltatory sense of small causes having large effects, as distinct from curved.

² H. J. Rose, Introduction to W. H. D. Rouse (tr.), *Nonnos: Dionysiaca* 1 (London 1940) xii, xv, xvii. Translations are from Rouse, *Nonnos: Dionysiaca* 1-3 (London 1940) unless otherwise indicated.

³ G. Braden, 'Nonnos' Typhoon: *Dionysiaca* Books I and II', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 15 (1974) 851-79, at 855.

⁴ L. R. Lind, 'Un-Hellenic Elements in the *Dionysiaca*', *LAC* 7 (1938) 57-65, at 65.

these post-structuralist, post-modern times we may be more sympathetic to a poet not overconcerned with linearity and who uses a stream-of-consciousness style to explore the theme of order versus disorder.⁵ For the poem celebrates order too, not just thematically but formally and technically, where Nonnus' singular achievement is 'the creation of an extraordinarily restrictive metrical, and hence, linguistic mould within which to display infinite energy, ingenuity and verve in variation and innovation'.⁶ It is the endless pursuit of variety (τό ποικίλον) that does much to disguise the hidden order of Nonnus' apparently formless, chaotic work.

Chaos theory or, more accurately, hidden order or dynamical systems theory, is, as we shall see, not entirely new but achieved prominence in the 1970s as the third great Twentieth Century revolution in physics, after relativity and quantum mechanics. Changing paradigms have made chaotic systems the object of new enquiry. Emanating from the fields of physics and biology, chaos theory has attracted the attention of a wide variety of disciplines, from engineering and economics to meteorology and psychotherapy, and is used as a

⁵ The case for coherence and structure in the *Dionysiaca* is put by F. Vian, 'Dionysus in the Indian War: A Contribution to a Study of the Structure of the *Dionysiaca*', in N. Hopkinson, *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (Cambridge 1994) 86-98, and T. Duc, 'La question de la cohérence dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis', *RPh* 64 (1990) 181-91.

⁶ M. Whitby, 'From Moschus to Nonnus: The Evolution of the Nonnian Style', in Hopkinson [5] 99-157, at 123. Cf. J. J. Winkler, *In Pursuit of the Nymphs: Comedy and Sex in Nonnos' Tales of Dionysos* (Diss. Texas 1974) 118f.: 'By including language and song in the conception of harmony's statutes, Nonnos directs our attention to the principles of his art. For not only does he relate several tales of chaos surmounted by restored order, but even some of his principles of composition might be described as the unexpected emergence of hidden harmonies out of a confusing welter of unrelated principles'. Also worth noting here are the observations of J. Bolter, *Writing Space* (London 1991) 9: 'An electronic book is a fragmentary and potential text, a series of self-contained units rather than an organic, developing whole. But fragmentation does not imply mere disintegration. Elements in the electronic writing space are not simply chaotic; they are instead in a perpetual state of reorganisation. They form patterns, constellations, which are in constant danger of breaking down and combining into new patterns. This tension leads to a new definition of unity in writing, one that may replace or supplement our traditional notions of the unity of voice and analytic argument. The unity or coherence of an electronic text derives from the perpetually shifting relationship among all its verbal elements'. The *Dionysiaca* is not an electronic book but Bolter's points such as fragmentation not implying disintegration, and chaos being a perpetual state of reorganisation, are useful and inform the argument of the rest of this article. F. Ruf, *The Creation of Chaos: William James and the Stylistic Making of a Disorderly World* (New York 1991) could at times be writing about Nonnus as he argues that James' style, one of 'meanderings, zigzags and circles', is part of an effort to generate a creative chaos, a productive turmoil. 'Stream of consciousness' and 'blooming, buzzing confusion' are two well-known coinings of James that capture James' approach.

means for handling problems such as unpredictability and the threatened chaos of information overload. In literature it is being used to explore the nonlinearity and fragmentary, multiple perspectives that characterise so many modern works. It usually emerges that there is little truly lawless or disorderly about what is being studied. Chaos, in chaos theory, is not the same as total disorder but, rather, a positive force in its own right, an inexhaustible sea of information, not a void or deficit. Chaos may be the predecessor or partner of order, not its antagonist.⁷ Chaos theory provides a model for mingling order and disorder.

Just as an experienced canoeist can view a foaming torrent as a comprehensible pattern of eddies, hydraulics and chutes, so chaos theory allows us to see apparent chaos as a matter of perspective or capacity to comprehend. A situation that is chaotic seen from close may be providing too much detail or complexity for us to see the larger order. Seen globally, a beautiful order and patterning may be present. A picture of overall chaos may contain islands or subsystems of hidden order. Order may appear in unexpected guises. A tornado is a powerful vortex, an open system through which much energy flows, potentially destructive and apparently chaotic, yet possessing great coherence and stability. Too much order—a violent, imposed disorder is really disorder—may be the prelude to disintegration. Islands of order are open systems that can handle fluctuations in input but if these inputs become too great the system either succumbs to stress and breaks down or spontaneously reorders itself in an entirely new way, escaping into a higher order, a more evolved system. Chaos can be used to increase the power of lasers, synchronise the output of electronic circuits and stabilise erratic heartbeats. In other words, chaos serves as a matrix for order and greater complexity. Intrinsic to chaos theory is the existence of a nonlinear world where inputs are not proportionate to outputs, where a tiny fluctuation in a small area of the system can affect the behaviour of the system as a whole, moving it to either stability or instability, where, to use the classic example, a butterfly flapping its wings in Beijing could subsequently affect the weather of New York. In such a world there is immense potential for transformation. Nonlinearity offers an empowering approach to life. In a universe that increasingly appears to be interconnected, because certain laws operate, certain outcomes can be determined. But because there is so much

⁷ See Hayles [1] and N. Hayles, *Chaos Bound: Orderly Disorder in Contemporary Literature and Science* (Ithaca 1990). On chaos theory in general, see J. Gleick, *Chaos: Making a New Science* (London 1987); F. Abraham (ed.), *Chaos Theory in Psychology* (London 1995); F. Peat and J. Briggs, *The Turbulent Mirror* (New York 1989); S. Krippner, 'Humanistic Psychology and Chaos Theory: The Third Revolution and the Third Force', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 34.3 (1994) 48-61; R. Robertson and A. Combs (edd.), *Chaos Theory in Psychology and the Life Sciences* (Mahwah 1995); F. Capra, *The Web of Life* (London 1996).

interdependence and complexity, unpredictability and opportunity reign, including the opportunity to generate order in the midst of a chaotic swirl. The *Dionysiaca* very much belongs to such a world of endless, unexpected manifestations, nonlinear progressions and sometimes obscure causal connections.

The idea that order emerges from primordial chaos is common in cosmologies and can be found, for example, in Hesiod. But according to Michel Serres, the most comprehensive ancient expounder of chaos theory is Lucretius, who has composed a valid treatise on physics when interpreted within the framework of nonlinear dynamics.⁸ On this view, Lucretius is concerned with many of the issues of chaos theory, such as the emergence of order and creative change from perturbations. These perturbations are induced by the swerve (*clinamen*) that defies linearity, heals disorders such as the plague, and creates voluptuous turbulence and sweet vortices and spirals. Venus/Mother Nature is born in a swirl of liquid spirals. In maintaining that Lucretius' cosmos is actually structured like a spiral, Serres attributes too much order to its disorderly turbulence,⁹ but he offers intriguing insights when one approaches a work such as the *Dionysiaca*, where dancing spirals and vortices are undoubtedly important motifs.

Spirals, serpents, vortices, dances and circles inform much of the consciousness of the *Dionysiaca*. Turbulent eddies are the deeply encoded structures of the work for which the metaphor of the rushing, twisting torrent rather than the masonry edifice is more appropriate. The spiral, notably, transcends in its dynamism the concept of linear cause and effect.¹⁰ As the cosmic god of dance as well as of wine, it is fitting that the pattern of Dionysus' movement be imitated. The great scene of dancing nymphs, animals and satyrs at 22.1-54 encapsulates the way that they and others,¹¹ such as trees (3.61-76)

⁸ J. Harari and D. Ball (edd.), *Hermes: Literature, Science and Philosophy* (Baltimore 1982) xxviii-xxxix, 98-116.

⁹ See the comments by Hayles [7] 118-20, 201-05.

¹⁰ J. Purce, *The Mystic Spiral* (London 1974) 8. Capra [7] 147-49 suggests that the fractal patterns of the Mandelbrot set, which is a visual description of nature germane to chaos theory and which manifests complex patterns of continuous proliferation and swirling spirals known as fractals, are somehow embedded in the human brain. The Mandelbrot set has also been likened to 'grapes on God's personal vine' (Gleick [7] 221).

¹¹ The whole scene is a colourful, varied symphony and ballet of integrating musicality, where forms and elements turn, flow and lactate. Cf. 44.28-34. On cosmic dance in general, and on Nonnus' vision of 'an orchestric mystery solemnized by generations of divine dancers, a chaos of sensory particulars turning constantly into a chorus of universal spirits', see J. Miller, *Measures of Wisdom: The Cosmic Dance in Classical and Christian Antiquity* (Toronto 1986) 312.

and Bacchantes (*passim*) dance their way throughout the poem as a whole, often to the accompaniment of music and song. All this spinning, spiralling, endless choreography is inspired by the god who dances in the womb of his dancing mother (8.27-30) and who dances into battle at the head of dancing Bacchantes (14.230). Zeus danced into Semele’s bedroom and ‘circles of Pans came about the dancebeating [Dionysus] . . . as they went round and round in the dance’ (ἐλίσσομένων χορείη, 9.201-05). The poem can be seen as a great dance-drama,¹² occurring within space that is a dynamic, multi-propriety plenum.¹³ Dionysus is the impeller of life onwards in an endless series of dance- and spiral-driven transformations within a cosmos of cycles and patterns (40.369-410). If the cosmos is a divine dance, expression of divinity through dance offers opportunity for extraordinary transformation.¹⁴ The *Dionysiaca* is also a noisy work, full of shrieking, screaming, crashing, roaring and banging, as well as more orderly music, song and speech.¹⁵ Most of the dancing, whether individuals spinning on their own axes (autistic, ecstatic dancing), or individuals and groups moving about, would describe circles or spiral patterns of some kind, as early dance tends to do. Dancers’ limbs and bodies twist and turn. Nonnus’ consciousness constantly turns to circles of all kinds, whether describing the rims of shields, the curve of thighs, the roundness of the eye, face or breast, or the passage of time, aeons, seasons (1.527, 36.209, 12.31).

There are frequent references to the cycles, circles, spirals and twisting movements of the heavenly bodies (e. g., 1.191, 6.21, 38.380). Κύκλος (‘circle’) occurs 136 times, κυκλάς (‘encircling’) 49 times, and the verb κυκλόω (‘to make a circle’) 73 times, plus πολύκυκλος (‘many-circling’) used twice, of a dancer moving in twists and turns (7.20) and of Time (39.275). Of Dionysus it is prophesied that the god ‘shall wind a tendril of garden vines laid upon the bright ivy round his locks for his garland . . . having a serpent coronet as a sign of new godhead’ (7.100-02; cf. 9.13-15). Later he dances into battle, somehow seated in a chariot, around the rim of which ‘was a vine self-grown (αὐτοτέλεστος) which covered the whole body of Bacchus, and girdled its overshadowing clusters under entwined ivy’ (43.23-25). Prefiguring his son,

¹² J. Lindsay, *Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt* (London 1965) 77.

¹³ R. F. Newbold, ‘Space and Scenery in Quintus of Smyrna, Claudian and Nonnus’, *Ramus* 10 (1981) 53-68, esp. 64-66.

¹⁴ On dance and changes of consciousness, see M.-G. Wosein, *Sacred Dance: Encounter with the Gods* (London 1974) 17. For dancing planets, and dance as a means in Plato for bringing order out of disorder, see S. H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore 1993) 2, 46.

¹⁵ The aural aspect of the cosmic conflict between Zeus and Typhoeus in books 1 and 2 is, naturally, brought out there but see also, for example, 3.61-79, 14.26-32.

Zeus bound his hair¹⁶ with coiling snakes and vine leaves, and twisted purple ivy about his locks, 'the plaited ornament of Bacchus' (7.325-82). Dionysus' chief attributes are the θύρσος ('thyrsos', 148 times), which is entwined with ivy (κισσός, 53 times), the fruit of the vine with its characteristic tendrils, and the serpent.

Ὕψις ('snake') occurs 28 times, the cognate ὀφιώδης ('snake-like') 36 times, δράκων ('serpent') 70 times, cognate adjectives 33 times, ἔχιδνα ('viper') 5 times, cognate adjectives 47 times, and ἐρπηστήρ ('reptile') 10 times. 'A coiling serpent creeps along and girdles the sweet tree with enfolding loops' (ἐλίκηδόν, 26.194f.). Serpents leave spiralling zigzag patterns or tracks in the dust as they progress (25.522f.) and weave a symbol of balanced energies when they wrap around each other (5.154). They may suggest a dissolution of coherence and pattern as they uncoil from what they have embraced. Serpents relate to the spiralling cosmos by their sinuous fluidity and to chaos theory by their twin aspects of destruction and renewal. They pull life into a descending vortex via the gulf (chaos) of their yawning jaws.¹⁷ They illustrate renewal as they slough off an old skin for a new one. Nonnus refers to this when he mentions Time who 'would put off the burden of age, like a snake throwing off the rope-like (σπείρημα) slough of his feeble old scales, and grow young again' (41.181f.). By their writhing and hissing they symbolise unregenerate order.¹⁸ In Dionysus' battle with the snaky-tressed giants, the wild, writhing snakes of the giants, when not chopped off and reduced to jerky dances in the dust, 'ran wild with fear' before the more ordered tresses of Dionysus 'viper-enwreathed'.¹⁹

Strands spun from the spindle and twisted into threads assume a spiral form as they provide the basic material for many woven things. Ὕφαινω ('weave') occurs 32 times in the poem, πλέκω ('plait, weave'), with 11 cognates such as 'woven together' or 'around', occurs 114 times. The Pierides weave songs as they dance (1.504-06). Weaving can be done with song, music and gesture.²⁰ The cognate adjective, πλεκτός ('plaited, twisted'), occurs 9

¹⁶ Described as 'self-spiralling' (αὐτοέλικτος, 8.10).

¹⁷ Often prefaced by the constriction of their coils. On the destructive capacities of the serpent in Nonnus, see R. F. Newbold, 'Discipline, Bondage and the Serpent in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, *CW* 78 (1984) 89-98.

¹⁸ Such as that of the Furies (10.36-45).

¹⁹ 48.54f. For other examples of snakes ordered in Dionysian wreaths, see 7.325 (Zeus), 9.257-59 (Ino, who wove a serpent in spirals about her hair), 11.58f. (Ampelus).

²⁰ See 26.211, 9.202, 30.120, 36.313. Fate, copies of the cosmos, plans and tricks can be woven: 1.122, 8.336, 36.443, 37.316, 37.395, 41.211, 41.295. Cf. B. Swimme, 'How to Heal a Lobotomy', in I. Diamond and G. Orenstein (edd.), *Reweaving the World* (San Francisco 1980) 15-22, at 20, on weaving as a fundamental dynamic of the universe: 'From a single fireball the galaxies and stars were all woven. Out of a single molten planet the

times and involves hair, ivy, serpents and reeds (1.436, 16.230). Pan wove a hut with coiled reeds (1.370). The creative act of weaving, itself suggestive of serpentine zigzag movement, offers Nonnus opportunities to envisage patterns of order, as when 'the many-footed squid, weaving his trailing web of criss-cross knots stuck fast on his familiar rock, making his limbs look like a pattern on the stone' (1.278-80). The cosmic associations of weaving with the web of life are illustrated when the minstrel, Leucus, 'wove a lay' of how Aphrodite caused a cataclysm by trying to usurp Athene's weaving skill. Her failure meant the Graces stopped dancing, humans stopped marrying, crops, music, births ceased (24.237-73). Since weaving is the basic meaning of *metis*, even intelligence can be thought to have spiral characteristics. The nexus between dance, weaving and the spiral is brought out when thread, about to be woven, spins from 'the twirling spindle (ἑλιξ) with many a twist and jerk ran round and round in dancing step, as the threads were spun and drawn through her fingers' (6.147-49).

The spiral motif is carried forward not just by specific words (see below) but by forms, contexts and images that naturally suggest it, as when Dionysus dons garlands of woven ivy or vipers (7.100-02, 9.12-15). Less expected are applications to the path of a lightning flash (2.461) and the arc of a comet: 'the comet twined (ἐλίξας) in clusters the long strands of its woven hair' (2.196f.). ἑλιξ ('spiral, coil') occurs 60 times, and cognates ἐλικηδόν ('spiralling, revolving') 23, ἐλικώδης ('spiral-formed') 26, ἐλίσσω ('turn, roll, wind, whirl') 107, ἐλελίζω ('whirl') 84, and ἀμφιελικτός ('winding, revolving') 8 times. Less commonly used are σπεῖρα ('coil', 5 times), σπειρηδόν ('in coils', 4 times) and σπείρημα ('coil', 2 times). In a passage describing how Typhoeus' snaky emanations wrapped themselves around constellations (1.190-97), Nonnus uses κύκλος ('circle'), κυκλάς ('encircling'), ἐλίσσω ('turn, wind'), σπεῖρα ('coil') and ἐλικηδόν ('spiralling'). Energy in Nonnus flows in familiar pathways: 'About Morrheus' neck the flame crawled and curled of itself as if it knew what it was doing (αὐτοέλικτος ἐλίσσετο), and rolled round his throat a necklace of fireblazing constraint; the blazing throat once encircled, it ran down with a springing movement to the end of his toes, and wove (ἔπλεκε) a plait of fiery threads over the warrior's foot, and there firmly fixed on the earth its dancing sparks' (30.78-84). ἑλιξ can denote two- or three-dimensional coils, tendrils and spirals, or spiral-form eddies and vortices, especially when referring

hummingbirds and pterodactyls and grey whales were all woven. What could be more obvious than this all-pervasive fact of cosmic and terrestrial weaving? Out of a single group of microorganisms the Krebs cycle was woven, the convoluted human brain was woven, the Pali Canon was woven, all part of the radiant tapestry of being . . . it is impossible to point to anything that *does not* show it, for this creative interlacing energy envelopes us entirely. Our lives in truth are nothing less than a further unfurling of this primordial ordering activity'.

to liquids (25.405-07). By itself it can denote twining growth (12.314). ἑλίσσω and ἐλελίζω can refer to any circular movement such as whirl, roll, revolve, including to turn thoughts over in one's head (7.68), again raising the idea of helical thought forms. Often it is clear from the context whether or not circular movement resembles a spiral. And when Nonnus applies σκολιός ('slanting') to the coil of a snake around a tree (12.319), three-dimensionality is clearly indicated. Nonnus uses τριέλικτος ('three-coiled') of rope a lash (38.175), where three-stranded could also be meant, thrice-coiling serpents (9.258, 14.363) and rams' horns (13.372), and 'the triple entwined delight of a close-embracing dance' (18.148), Methe dancing with her arms around her husband and son, drunk with the potion of danceweaving Dionysus. There are other words denoting circular movement, such as δινεύω ('spin, whirl', 36 times) and γυρόω ('wind, make round', 3 times), used of a wheel, ball, bunch of grapes and dancing feet amongst other things (17.84, 15.67). Such words reinforce the sense of circular nonlinearity within a work characterised by rambling structure, digressive and meandering tale, exorbitant energy and baroque elaboration.

The spiral is considered to be the basic form and path for movement in the universe, and the universe itself may be arranged like a giant corkscrew. Spiral movement manifests in the shape of galaxies, created by a spiralling of interstellar gases, in the swirling dance of photons and electrons, and in the DNA double helix. The same vortical laws govern the expansion of spiral stellar nebulae and the contraction of whirlpools. The fibres of the heart, our source of life, assume a spiral form, and the natural flow of water is a corkscrew motion.²¹ The spiral is the dynamic engine of creation and the pathway whereby chaos is turned into cosmos.²² Along with clouds, stars, ivy, vines, a ring and snakes, dancers spiral in the *Dionysiaca* (15.68, 19.275). By harmonising with the constant movement that inheres in all phenomena such dance becomes cosmic and the chaos of experience is controlled.²³ The serpent force is identified with and thereby tamed. Pentheus, Botrys, Ampelus, Cadmus, Teiresias and Justice dance in the *Dionysiaca*. So do Pans, Graces, Seasons, Naiads, Bacchants, wild beasts, fish, dolphins, rivers, hills, and Arabia in an earthquake.²⁴ People even dance into the ultimate transition, death.²⁵ Ὀρχέομαι ('dance') and cognates occur 57 times, χορεύω ('dance') and cognates 230 times. The

²¹ See O. Alexandersson, *Living Water* (Bath 1990) 71, 81, 134, 138.

²² Purce [10] 8.

²³ Wosein [14] 7.

²⁴ 21.102. A few of the many references to dancing include 18.138, 38.133, 38.371, 44.10, 44.28, 45.58-62, 45.160, 45.274, 46.116, 48.209. Cf. the extensive descriptions of the dancing Maron and Silenus, 19.138-44, 153-58, 198-200, 263-95.

²⁵ 17.214, 22.240, 39.339, 43.162, and cf. Lindsay [12] 83f.

interchangeability of the spiral and the dance is illustrated by the image of the spiral of a snake dancing round a tree (40.476) and Proteus as a snake rising ‘in coils squeezing his belly, and with a dancing throb of his curly tail’s tip he twirled about’ (43.238f.). Spirals and labyrinths frequently decorate tombs, as if providing a passage to the womb of the earth. Whatever can spiral, it seems, can dance, and vice versa. The interconnections between and the importance of dance, noise, curves, spirals, weaving and serpents in the Dionysian scheme of things are suggested by the description of the first Bacchant, Mystis: ‘She first shook the rattle, and clanged the swinging cymbals . . . she first kindled the nightdancing torch . . . she first plucked the curving growth of ivy-clusters, and tied her flowing hair with a wreath of vine; . . . she alone entwined the thyrsus with purple ivy . . . she first fastened about her body a belt of braided vipers, where a serpent coiling round the belt on both sides with encircling bonds was twisted into a snaky knot’ (9.116-31). God of creation and destruction, Dionysus stands for the thread that winds through the spirals of the whirling dance and that can be woven by it. At his conception the earth had laughed and ‘a viny growth with self-sprouting leaves ran round [i. e., spiralled round] Semele’s bed: the walls budded with flowers like a dewy meadow’ (7.344-47). Six of 13 uses of the epithet ‘dance-weaving’ (χοροπλεκής) apply to Dionysus (e.g., 18.143, 37.742).

Also inherent in the spiral’s potential for movement, growth and rapid escalation is a capacity for spontaneity, self-organisation, self-movement. Moving about its own axis, it has stability from within. The spiral thus grows αὐτοφυής (‘in a self-made way’).²⁶ And as a vehicle for spontaneous movement it can lead to unexpected and paradoxical developments. The multi-level, three-dimensional spiral leads as easily into involution and matter as it does into evolution and spirit. By offering movement in either direction the spiral exemplifies chance and the unexpected.

This leads to consideration of another major Nonnian motif relevant to chaos theory, the prevalence in the work of auto-compounds, 36 in all, 13 not attested previously, occurring 292 times. Frequent images of spontaneous movement and generation convey a notion of latent impulse, of transformation and drive from within that sustains the manifold phenomena of the universe and the omnipresent change that chaos permits. The frequency of compounds, such as self-announcing, -ordering, -choosing, -sowing, -growing, -sprouting, -striking, -sounding, -leaping, -spiralling (αὐτοέλικτος, 26 times), conveys an impression of the randomness typical of a chaotic system, but they also indicate a hidden order and autopoiesis that can assert itself in any environment, including cosmic cataclysm. It seems that Nonnus is preoccupied by the power

²⁶ Lindsay [12] 359.

of energy flow that the spiral engenders and which does not require external stimulus. There is all manner of self-rolling, -turning, -twisting. In the first few books alone we encounter a baby that tells its own tale, an organ that plays itself, a ship that moves or steers itself, a bar that turns itself, a dirge that orders itself, tears that flow unprecipitated by emotion, a cut-off hand that propels itself, eyes described as self-made heralds and a bull's head that sounds itself with a blare of trumpets.²⁷ One of the auto-compounds, αὐτόματος ('of itself/oneself', used 44 times), is particularly interesting because it often seems to indicate transition from one state to another, or the creation of something new, paradoxical or unexpected, like Zeus becoming his own midwife (9.62), Silenus dancing himself into the form of a river (19.288), lightning becoming a torch (2.318) and bulls' heads becoming trumpets (2.369). But at other times αὐτόματος indicates the kind of spontaneous vitality that appears to add to turbulence, such as the circular reflexivity of the tail that beats the body (6.186) or crags bounced back to the thrower (2.468).

Paradox is a fundamentally chaotic, nonlinear process, a wellspring of creativity, and Nonnus loves to generate paradoxes. Somersaults into death turn out to be leaps into a new life. Auto-compounds are often the agents of rebirth in a world of endless transformation and renewal, or of unexpected phenomena such as parturition from males and lactation from virgin females. Even without the spontaneous generation indicated by certain auto-compounds, Nonnus' world is highly procreative and teeming with life; 'for did not the water conceive Aphrodite by a heavenly husbandry and bring her forth from the deeps?' (1.86-88). Being pregnant and giving birth occur in numerous unexpected ways. Men, mud and water can be pregnant with humans and deities, and skins, sails, wind, grapes, cups, vats, rocks, tablets and clouds can be pregnant with other things like wine and dew. Foam can be thought of as getting a mind of its own, conceiving and delivering Aphrodite, 'a selfperfected birth' (7.226-32). Some lifeforms are produced from interactions between elements such as sperm and water or earth, so that Zeus' sperm mingling with the earth produces centaurs (5.614-17). But 42 instances of generation are spontaneous, as when the Nile begets itself (3.367), a torch makes itself (2.318), and giants beget themselves (24.427). On 11 occasions soil alone is sufficient to sprout non-plant life. Allied with this picture of fecundity, containers under pressure, such as wombs and breasts, often shoot forth their contents. Breasts ejaculate not just milk but wine, lightning, fire, serpents and arrows of love. The earth too can pour forth wine (22.19-21). Cadmus expresses milk from books.²⁸

²⁷ 3.378, 1.432, 6.378, 2.259, 3.163, 2.434, 3.225, 2.369.

²⁸ 4.267. Some other references for the above phenomena are 1.10, 7.12, 9.307-11, 12.51, 22.16-19, 26.52-54, 29.336-39, 41.7.

Related to unexpected examples of autonomy and generation is the way 'reality' is undermined by constant posing of the question, what is real and what is fake, what is the object and what is its reflection, as when a dolphin-shaped jewel 'wriggled its mimic tail self-moved' (αὐτόσσυτος, 5.185). The frequent occurrence of words such as μίμημα ('imitation, counterfeit') and cognates (127 times), νόθος ('false', 122 times), δόλος ('trick') and cognates (92 times), ψεῦδος ('falsehood') and cognates (81 times) and ἀντίτυπος ('resembling', 62 times) remind us that we are in the realm of the trickster and twister, magician and conjurer. Such ambiguity and fluidity offers scope for novel forms and conceptions.²⁹ This issue is explored further below.

There is much spinning, thumping and proliferating going on, not to mention human, divine, vegetal, animal and elemental conflict. There is also extensive use of metaphor, particularly pantomime imagery that, along with instability of form, renders reality elusive at times. Hence it is easy to be oppressed by a sense of confusion and chaos. Yet the ongoing turbulence is part of an order that makes possible life and fertility. Nonlinear, interdependent dynamics tend to create patterns, albeit unpredictable ones, like the patterned swirl of cigarette smoke as it curls upwards. Such patterns have their own aesthetic appeal. The breaking-up of orderly systems stimulates self-organisation and renewal. In a chaotic, non-equilibrium system, change, which becomes a constant, does not have to be related to external causes.³⁰ 'Systems of curves . . . suggest sometimes fireworks and galaxies, sometimes strange and disquieting vegetal proliferations. A realm lies here to be explored and harmonies to be discovered'.³¹ In the *Dionysiaca* it is the extreme disorder of anarchy and cataclysm that threatens to bring about permanent sterility, and the restoration of order that marks the renewal of life. Fertility is restored after the chaos caused by the conflict between Zeus and Typhoeus (2.650-59, 3.10-15), and when Aphrodite returns to her care of marriage after her irresponsible behaviour in book 24. There is a cataclysm at 6.206-370, caused by Zeus' anger at the murder of Zagreus, at 38.58-95 and 105-434, caused by the reckless folly of Phaethon, and serious upheaval during Dionysus' battle with the giants (48.31-86). After the restoration of order by Zeus in book 2, Cadmus and Astraeus brought many advances to the human race, such as writing, astronomy, numbers, tracking, beekeeping, olive culture, flute playing and shepherding (4.252-84, 5.229-79). There had been dancing before Dionysus but only to

²⁹ See further R. F. Newbold, 'Some Problems of Creativity in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*', *ClAnt* 12 (1993) 89-110, esp. 99f.

³⁰ Robertson and Combs [7] 13.

³¹ D. Ruell, 'Strange Attractors', *Mathematical Intelligence* 2 (1980) 126-37, cited at Robertson and Combs [7] 267.

charm an audience, not for the personal ecstasy and insight achievable by, say, a whirling Dervish. After the book 6 cataclysm there were not only better cities and a return of fertility (6.383-86, 7.1-6), but Zeus required Dionysus to introduce care-dissolving wine and autistic, revelrous dance (7.17-21, 12.158-71).

Renewals and advances are possible because nature remains rich in disorder and surprise. In Nonnus this manifests in creative dance, exotic sights, irregular conceptions, spontaneous impulses, the twisting tendril, the self-spiralling firmament of stars (38.352) and the sheer power of the inner driving force of the self-twining vine: 'Saffronrobe Ambrosia fled the bold man and prayed and prayed to Mother Earth to save her from Lycurgus. And the Earth, mother of all fruits, opened a gulf and received Ambrosia the nurse of Bromius alive in a loving embrace. The nymph disappeared and changed her shape to a plant—she became a vine-shoot, which of itself coiled its winding cord round the neck of Lycurgus and throttled him with a tight noose' (21.24-31). Note the swift exchange of roles. An underlying pullulating power bubbles and boils within the porous surfaces of Nonnus' world and overcomes threats to fertility. It ejects and condenses and occasionally erupts, like Typhoeus emerging from Gaia, a chaotic jumble of snake, leopard, lion, bull and boar, with 100 heads and 200 hands, and entertaining bizarre visions of rampant, post-conquest generation (2.258-355). The concurrence of ubiquitous dance and surprising manifestation or transformation is important because many of the metamorphoses, identity-swaps and disguises of the poem are exercises in trickery and deception that underline the instability and unreliability of form.³² Through the dancer and trickster Dionysus 'one experiences the cosmos as a dance between law and order, on the one hand, and chaos and the transformations of the trickster on the other . . . Chaos is concerned with the breakdown of order, with sudden transitions, with the appearance of the trickster in people's lives'.³³ Dionysus exasperates his Indian foe Deriades by assuming a bewildering variety of forms (36.294-333) in a manner that recalls the view of Lucian that Proteus originally was not a shapeshifter but a skilled dancer able to shape and change himself into anything, even fire and water (*On Dance* 19).

Dance and music have long been associated with the enhancement of the life that spirals through plants, healing directly and healing through the natural world they help sustain.³⁴ 'Nonnus' Dionysian spirals are extensional

³² For the disconcerting effects of masks, see 27.230. For the difficulty of distinguishing true and false that Nonnus poses, see Lindsay [12] 367f., 371f.; G. D'Ippolito, *Studi Nonniani* (Palermo 1964) 52.

³³ F. D. Peat, 'Chaos: The Geometrization of Thought', in Robertson and Combs [7] 359-72, at 372. Peat actually has Mercury in mind as the trickster of the cosmos.

³⁴ Wosein [14] 19.

movements linking all things and creating structure as well as the collisions of transformations'.³⁵ This is exemplified when 'Another threw a snake at an oak; the snake coiled round the tree, and entwined into moving ivy running round girdling the trunk, just as snakes run their coils round and round' (45.311-14). The spiral is the most spatially complex configuration for denoting the movement of bodies in a universe where there are no straight lines and empty space is curved. The spiral is the schematic image of the evolution of the universe. The introduction of new skills and comforts for civilisation suggests an evolutionary, upward-spiralling trend. So much dancing and movement in accord with the basic pattern of the cosmos counteract the prevalent mayhem, rape, assault, drunkenness and frenzy conveyed by the plethora of energetic words denoting actions more vigorous than necessary or expected: shrieking instead of speaking, hurrying instead of walking, infants that shoot or leap forth from the womb (5.195, 7.12). River banks spit forth roses, Tyrian cloth shoots out purple sparks.³⁶ But Zeus' and Cadmus' planning and intelligence prevail over Gaia and her chaotic progeny, Typhoeus (2.1-29). Dionysus' cosmic dance-weaving prevails over the destructive Hera (47.668-75), the giants (48.87-89), the Indians and their watery allies (39.402-07). It was by their dancing prowess that Dionysus' followers conquered the Indians (cf. Lucian, *On Dance* 22). Dionysus' garlands of woven vipers represent serpentine order prevailing over writhing, destructive snakes and dragons.

However, the new dispensation wrought by the triumph of Dionysus does not herald an obviously superior standard of behaviour or expanded sense of the self. Narcissism reigns, unaffected by enhanced, ecstatic access to divinity.³⁷ Characters remain in the grip of egocentric instincts, self-organising yet highly dependent on the esteem of others. If only because Dionysus fulfils a destiny that has been foretold, the evolution of civilisation proceeds predictably. The static, rigidly narcissistic personalities of every character, together with the force of destiny, provides a boundary that limits behaviour, even if the proneness to hysteria of the hyper-sensitive characters close to chaos illustrates small inputs having large outputs within delicately balanced systems. The autopoietic, vibrant flow of energy that sustains networks and facilitates self-organisation leads to new structures (cities, books) and cultural activities (scenic

³⁵ Lindsay [12] 455.

³⁶ 10.171, 40.305. Indicative verbs are ὀρνυμαι ('spring forward'), βακχεύω ('riot'), τταίνω ('strain, stretch') and ἀπάσσω ('bang'). See G. Braden, *The Classics and English Renaissance Poetry* (Yale 1978) 72; W. Fauth, *Eidos Poikilon: Zur Thematik der Metamorphose der Wandlung aus dem Gegensatz in der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Göttingen 1981) 90.

³⁷ On narcissism in Nonnus, see R. F. Newbold, 'Flights of Fancy in Nonnus and J. M. Barrie', *Electronic Antiquity* 3.5 (1996) 1-9.

dances, Dionysus-worship, jurisprudence), not to new standards of personal behaviour. System-equilibrium is precarious at the beginning of the poem when, for no clear reason, Gaia unleashes Typhoeus to challenge Zeus: 'at a nod from his mother, the Earth' (1.154) Typhoeus seizes Zeus' weapons and sets off cosmic conflict. Even after Dionysus' victory over the Indians, Hera is still working to subvert equilibrium in book 48 when she unleashes the giants against him. And a suspicion remains that what seems like a 'butterfly effect' in Nonnus may really be excess and absurdity engendered by lack of taste and judgement.

On the one hand, nonlinearity is present in the presentation of a cyclic, curved, spirally, dancing, self-organising, dynamic, shifting web that binds all creatures together and that can transmit the slightest perturbation across the field, where the dancing Ampelus can turn into a vine (11.1-3, 242f.), new stars (Semele, Erigone) appear in the heavens (9.396-419, 47.246f.), and where the real and the artificial, the animate and the inanimate are fused by rapidly shifting perspectives and metaphors. Nonnus presents an image of life as ceaseless transformation, where the unexpected creation is almost normal. The dynamism and open-endedness of the spiral offers the possibility of a sudden transition and emergence into a new form or situation. If the key question is whether chaos should be associated with the breakdown of systems, a negative epilogue, or with the birth of systems, a positive prologue, Nonnus' answer is the latter. The energy of the *Dionysiaca* might be held analogous to the neurones of the brain, which act chaotically, generating 'noise' and a deliberately disordered state from which order springs and our behaviour emerges. The fundamental chaos of our brains is the basis for the flexibility, adaptiveness and imagination required to deal with an unpredictable and ever-changing environment.

On the other hand, it may be that Nonnus' changes simply 'spiral in a void'³⁸ and the spirals do not provide feedback or mediate information between different levels of organisation and evolution. Microcosmically, the spiral process of self-realisation fails to mirror the macrocosmic vortical order. Spirals can expand like galactic nebulae, contract like whirlpools, and ossify like sea shells. Typhoeus in books 1 and 2 overcomes Zeus for a while and wields supreme power. But he does not have any enlightened idea of what to do next. Similarly, the characters of the *Dionysiaca* are in touch with the attractors that offer pathways and opportunities for all the energy and material generated by an autopoietic, self-creating system but their behaviour remains fairly unenlightened.

³⁸ Lindsay [12] 393.

To expect anything more is a tall order. And as one would expect of an unwitting post-modernist and illustrator of chaos theory, the vision is inchoate and half-seen. But substantial elements of life in perpetual motion forced to participate in the rhythm of the dance have been intuited. All great art is said to explore the dialogue between order and chaos, growth and stasis, unity and multiplicity.³⁹ If so, the *Dionysiaca* qualifies as such. It may be that in Nonnus chaos, exploration of diversity, nonlinearity, violent interplay of primal forces, multiplicity (τό ποικίλον, which comes to mean instability) and drive from within (the auto-compounds) have too much to say but they by no means monopolise the conversation.

³⁹ Peat and Briggs [7] 110.

NAME-REPETITIONS AND THE UNITY OF JUVENAL'S FIRST BOOK

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Abstract. This article examines eight repetitions of names of historical personages in different satires of Juvenal's first book (*Satires* 1-5) and finds that most are linked by significant cross-references. They provide additional support for the view that the book was planned and written as a unity, and they enhance the case for placing the entire book in the reign of Hadrian.

1

The traditional reading of Juvenal's satires as independent and self-contained poems has given way in recent years to a closer focus on the five published book-collections (*libelli*) as organic compositions.² W. S. Anderson's pioneering work on Juvenal's *persona* and R. A. LaFleur's later (1979) identification of *amicitia* (friendship) as a central theme in the first book (*Satires* 1-5) helped in different ways to emphasise features that the individual poems have in common.³ In 1967, Willibald Heilmann pointed to the evidence for the integration of the fourth satire with its companion pieces, and suggested that the entire first book might be characterised as 'one great satire' on Rome and its contemporary decline.⁴ In 1982, J. D. Cloud and Susanna Braund argued that the first book should be read as a five-part sequence, invested with a coherent design, both conceptual and numerical, and unified by recurring themes, and a variety of linking devices.⁵ Braund subsequently (1988) analysed

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² I am grateful to Susanna Morton Braund and to the anonymous referees of *Scholia* for their comments and advice.

³ W. S. Anderson, 'Anger in Juvenal and Seneca', *CSCP* 19 (1964) 127-96 (= *Essays on Roman Satire* [Princeton 1982] 297-395); R. A. LaFleur, 'Amicitia and the Unity of Juvenal's First Book,' *ICS* 4 (1979) 158-77.

⁴ W. Heilmann, 'Zur Komposition der Vierten Satire und des Ersten Satirenbuches Juvenals', *RhM* 110 (1967) 358-70.

⁵ J. D. Cloud and S. H. Braund, 'Juvenal's Libellus—A Farrago?', *G&R* 2 (1982) 77-85. Numerical symmetry: *Sat.* 3 at 322 lines is balanced by the flanking *Sat.* 2 and 4 (324), by *Sat.* 1 and 2 (341), and by *Sat.* 4 and 5 (327).

the third and later books in similar terms, and the general approach has now been authoritatively restated in her commentary on book 1.⁶

These discussions of *libellus*-unity carry major implications for the process whereby Juvenal wrote the satires, and thus for the critical apparatus that may be brought to bear on their interpretation. At least so far as concerns Juvenal, they present a challenge to the still-prevalent view that individual poems, however carefully arranged within a book collection, fail if they do not contain within themselves everything necessary for their understanding.

There are implications too for Juvenal's career as a satirist. For if he planned and wrote all five satires of the first book as a single work, then issues of chronological priority within the book would fall away. A path would thereby be opened to redefinition of the timeframe for composition, within rather narrower limits than have traditionally been assumed; and this in turn would bear directly on questions of dating (in particular, on the possibility, which I have put forward elsewhere, that the first book might be Hadrianic, and not Trajanic as generally supposed).⁷

One linking/unifying device identified by Cloud and Braund is the deployment of verbal echoes between satires.⁸ In this article, I shall consider a further aspect of that phenomenon that will, I hope, reinforce and extend their findings. This is the deployment of recurring names. The first book introduces eight historical personages who are named twice or more in different satires, or whose names are repeated with reference to another person, historical or fictional.⁹ Are any of these iterations deliberate and planned, in the sense of carrying intentional cross-reference? Might they suggest that the first readers of any given satire were assumed to have access to the rest of the satire book? And can they now assist the reader toward a better understanding of Juvenal's text and of the ideas that he wished to convey?

The enquiry will fall into two main parts. The first (2) will review the main body of evidence for the repetition of the names of historical personages in

⁶ S. H. Braund, *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires* (Cambridge 1988) 178-98; cf. Braund, *Juvenal Satires: Book I* (Cambridge 1996) 30-36.

⁷ A. Hardie, 'Juvenal, Domitian and the Accession of Hadrian (Satire 4)', *BICS* 42 (1997-98) 117-44; cf. Braund [6 (1996)] 16.

⁸ Cloud and Braund [5].

⁹ Sulla (1.16; 2.28); Crispinus (1.27; 4.1, etc.); Verres (2.26; 3.53); 'Catulus' (2.146; 3.30); Fabricius Veiento (3.185; 4.113); C. Fabricius Luscinus (2.154; cf. 'Fabricius' [Veiento] 4.129); the emperor Otho (2.99), and L. Roscius Otho (3.159). I have counted thirteen other repeated names, of gods, mythical figures, fictitious/unidentified personages, ethnic names and peoples, and places. I shall touch on three: *Auruncae* ('of Aurunca'), 1.20)/*Aurunci* ('Auruncian', 2.100); *Britannos* ('the British', 2.161)/*Britanno* ('British', 4.126); and *Liburna* ('Liburnian warship', 3.240)/*Liburno* ('Liburnian', 4.75).

the first book, and the second (3) will give extended consideration to two names, 'Veiento' and 'Fabricius'. It will not be claimed that all name-repetitions are necessarily significant; and the argument of this paper does not depend on the demonstration of meaningful links in each and every case. Rather, it will be argued that where such links can be shown to exist, they help to demonstrate that the first book was composed as a unity.

2

The most prominent name-repetition in the first book is Crispinus. He is attacked in the first satire (26-28) as an ostentatiously wealthy upstart from Egypt, and then again in the fourth as a *monstrum* of sexual depravity and gluttony: *ecce iterum Crispinus* ('here's Crispinus again', 1). The word *iterum* should naturally be taken as an explicit cross-reference to his earlier appearance in the book. A succession of commentators chose to reject this obvious reading, suggesting, *inter alia* that the first, programmatic, satire ought to have been written later than the fourth. Some have even suggested that Juvenal wrote a quite separate attack on Crispinus, now lost. Such opinions were rightly dismissed by Highet.¹⁰ Any lingering doubt on the point should have been dispelled by a verbal cross-reference between Crispinus' 'dripping' appearance at Domitian's council meeting *matutino sudens . . . amomo* ('dripping with his morning douche of unguents', 4.108) and his 'sweating fingers' (*digitis sudantibus*) at 1.28. Further underpinning is supplied by parallel indebtedness, in both satires, to Martial's epigram on Crispinus' purple *abolla* ('cloak', 8.48): at 1.27, Crispinus Tyrias umero *revocante lacernas* ('Crispinus, his shoulder hitching up his Tyrian cloak') recalls Martial 8.48.1, *nescit cui dederit* Tyriam Crispinus *abollam* ('Crispinus does not know to whom he gave his Tyrian cloak') and 3, *umeris sua munera redde* ('return to his shoulders their own perquisites'); and at 4.4, *deliciae* ('pleasure-seeker') recalls Martial 8.48.6, *nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color* ('that colour is inappropriate to anything but refinement'), converting Martial's term of approbation into one of denigration.¹¹

It is still sometimes reckoned, or assumed, on the basis of *iterum* ('again'), that the fourth satire must have been written later than the first.¹² But although Juvenal's Crispinus is a historical personage, his appearance as an iterated name is indebted to an earlier literary 'Crispinus'. This is the person

¹⁰ G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 258.

¹¹ Noted by P. White, 'Ecce Iterum Crispinus', *AJP* 95 (1974) 377-82, at 378f.; R. E. Colton, *Juvenal's Use of Martial's Epigrams: A Study of Literary Influence* (Amsterdam 1991) 145f.

¹² E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980) 1.103, 200.

attacked in a series of Horatian satires, including *Sermones* 1.1 and 1.4 (1.1.120; 1.2.139; 1.4.14; 2.7.45). Juvenal alludes to this model in *ecce . . . Crispinus* ('see . . . Crispinus'), which refers to *Sermones* 1.4.13f., *ecce / Crispinus*. Now, whether 1.26-28 or 4.1 was written first, the name-selection will surely have been motivated by a conscious intention to reintroduce Crispinus elsewhere in the satire-book. Indeed Juvenal might here be signalling, in programmatic fashion, his imitation and extension of an observed feature of Horace's first satire-book, its recurring names.

The first identifiable Roman named by Juvenal is Sulla the dictator.¹³ He is introduced as the subject of a *suasoria* (1.15-18): *et nos / consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum / dormiret* ('I too have counselled Sulla, telling him to return to private life and sleep well'). He reappears in the second satire (28): [who would not turn the world upside down] *in tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres* ('if Sulla's three pupils were to criticise his list [sc. of proscribed]'). Both passages place Sulla's name in an 'educational' context, the former describing Juvenal's rhetorical education, while the latter evokes the classroom elementary *grammaticus*. The *discipuli tres* ('three pupils') are the triumvirs of 43, and the phrase alludes to their imitation of the Sullan proscriptions, in terms that suggest a teacher/pupil relationship (Cic. *Att.* 9.10.6).¹⁴ The motif of Sulla as political 'teacher' occurs in earlier literature.¹⁵ In the 'teaching' context, *tabulam* ('proscription list') carries additional reference to the schoolroom writing tablet. Juvenal is, therefore, playing with the idea of school-pupils criticising the fair copy of their own *grammaticus*. He may well be thinking of the *Sulla litterator* ('Sulla, the teacher of letters') whom Catullus (14.9) imagines as having given Calvus an anthology of bad poets (*tot . . . poetis*, 'so many . . . poets', 5; cf. Juvenal's *tot . . . / vatibus* 'so many . . . bards', 1.17f.) that the latter has passed on as a Saturnalia present.¹⁶ If

¹³ J. Henderson, 'Pump up the Volume: Juvenal *Satires* 1.1-21', *PCPS* 41 (1995) 101-37, gives a good treatment of Sulla at 125f.; I owe to him the points about 'illiterate' Sulla, Sulla as 'writer', and the reference to Cat. 14. Other points of agreement had occurred to me independently.

¹⁴ For *tabula* of a schoolroom writing tablet, see P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1968-1982) s.v. 6 (hereafter *OLD*).

¹⁵ Cf. Luc. 1.326 (of Pompey): *et docilis Sullam scelerum vicisse magistrum* ('and well-schooled to surpass Sulla, his teacher in crime'); 1.334f.: *ex hoc te, inprobe, regno / ille tuus saltem doceat descendere Sulla* ('may that Sulla of yours at least teach you, you rogue, to step down from this monarchy'). The motif must go back to the political vocabulary of the late Republic.

¹⁶ Other possible points of contact between Catullus 14 and the first satire: *periret* ('that he should perish', Cat. 14)/*periturae* ('about to perish', 18); *curram* ('I shall hasten', Cat. 18)/*occurras* ('one runs across', 18). Given the association of *dicto*, 'I dictate' (and

so, it may also be relevant that Sulla was reckoned politically 'illiterate' by Julius Caesar for resigning the dictatorship (*Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit*, 'Sulla was illiterate to lay aside the dictatorship', Suet. *Jul.* 77). Now, after the first Sulla-naming, Juvenal goes on to speak of his own writing materials: *stulta est clementia . . . / . . . periturae parcere chartae* ('clemency is foolish, to spare the paper that is going to perish in any case', 1.17f.). In doing so, he subverts the language of imperial panegyric, rejecting the notion of showing the virtue of *clementia* toward a *charta* that is in any case doomed. A deeper complex of allusions underlies the transition from Sulla to poet, in that the former was a Roman *exemplum* of a *tyrannus* who did not exhibit *clementia*. Sulla and his proscriptions appear in these colours in Seneca's *De Clementia* (1.11.4-12.3), an advisory tract addressed to the young Nero. The connection between Juvenal's Sulla and the poet's non-*clementia* can be understood within its immediate context.¹⁷ I would suggest, however, that the poet-dictator parallel would gain in coherence and subtlety if the passage is read together with the second Sulla-naming, with the explicit reference therein to the Sullan proscriptions and with the reminder that Sulla wrote down (that is, *proscribere*) his victims' names on a *tabula* (whereas Juvenal's programmatic concern lies with the writing of his victims' names on the *charta* itself; cf. 1.153f.). A further point, relevant to Juvenal's interest in the penalties for writing satire (1.155-57; cf. 1.15) lies in the juxtaposition of the triumvirs and allusions to four speeches of Cicero (2.26f.), recalling as it does the fact that the orator was among those proscribed in 43, placed on the list by Antony in revenge for his public excoriation in the *Philippics* (Juv. 10.122-26; Plut. *Cic.* 48.6).

Two Catuli appear in the second and third satires (2.146; 3.30). At 2.145f. Juvenal expresses horror at the disgraceful actions of a contemporary Gracchus whose blood is as blue as that of any Roman aristocrat: *et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis / et Catuli Paulique minoribus et Fabiis* ('better born than the Capitolini, and the Marcelli, and the descendants of Catulus and Paulus, and the Fabii'). Who is the Catulus whose 'descendants' are thus evoked? Three Lutatii Catuli might be considered: the Consuls of 242, 102 and 78. Of these figures, the one who features most prominently in (extant) contemporary Latin literature is the third, for his action in restoring the burnt-

especially *dictata*, 'dictated lessons') with schools (*OLD* s.vv.), it is tempting to think that Catullus' *Sulla litterator* ('Sulla, teacher of letters') is an imaginary throwback to *Sulla dictator*.

¹⁷ This may be supported by a probable Sallustian intertext, noted by Braund [6 (1996)] 79 ad 17f. (Sall. *Iug.* 106.3, where Sulla speaks): *interiturae vitae parceret* ('save a life that was soon to die anyhow').

down Capitoline temple.¹⁸ Against this background, what are we to make of the placing of *et Capitolinis* and *et Catuli* at the beginning of successive lines? Of course, the Capitolini may have been chosen to head this list of Roman aristocrats simply and solely to evoke the most distinguished bearers of the cognomen, the patrician Manlii Capitolini. Yet that family seems not to have had any prominent place in the canon of Roman *exempla*, and there were other bearers of the cognomen. It is tempting to think that in juxtaposing these ‘Capitolini’ and Catulus as he has, Juvenal is alluding to their common connection with the Capitoline Hill and to Q. Lutatius Catulus’ restoration of the Temple of Jupiter O.M.

At 3.29-31, Umbricius, about to abandon Rome for Cumae, speaks of the frightful types whom he regards as fit to stay behind: *vivant Artorius istic / et Catulus, maneant . . . / quis facile est aedem conducere* (‘Let Artorius live there, and Catulus; let those remain . . . to whom it is easy to take contracts for temple-restoration.’). This Catulus need not be a real person, but he is clearly meant to be a contemporary.¹⁹ Are we to connect him with the Catulus at 2.146, and to take it that he is one of the *Catuli . . . minores* (‘descendants of Catulus’), and a further example of the degradation of the *nobiles*? The fact that the name appears in the same *sedes*, and is again preceded by *et*, would seem to encourage speculation along these lines. Particularly intriguing is the explicit reference to the acceptance of contracts for temple-restoration (*aedem conducere*) among the activities that these disgusting fellows find ‘easy’. Does Juvenal mean the reader to connect this with what I have taken to be the allusion to the restoration of the Capitoline temple at 2.145f., and to infer that this latter-day ‘Catulus’ is good only for accepting the contract for such work? Such cross-referencing might seem altogether too indirect to make much impact on the Roman reader; but another clue, pointing in the same direction, may lie in the juxtaposition of Catulus and *maneant* (‘let them remain’) at 3.30. Here, the reader might have been reminded of Catulus’ most illustrious appearance in Roman literature, as a character in Cicero’s *Academica*. At the conclusion of this dialogue (indeed in its last sentence) Catulus remains behind, in Cumae, while the other participants depart (2.148): *sermone confecto Catulus remansit* (‘our conversation being complete, Catulus remained behind’).²⁰ The fact that

¹⁸ Catulus and the Capitolium: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69. Tac. *Hist.* 3.72: *Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit* (‘among such mighty works of the Caesars, the name of Lutatius Catulus remained down to Vitellius’); Mart. 5.10.6: *sic laudant Catuli vilia templa senes* (‘thus do old men praise the poor temple of Catulus’). The consul of 242 appears at Sil. 6.687.

¹⁹ R. A. LaFleur, ‘Artorius and Catulus in Juvenal 3’, *Riv. Stud. Class.* 22 (1974) 5-9.

²⁰ The same passage serves as a model for the conclusion of the third satire: A. Hardie, ‘Juvenal, the *Phaedrus* and the Truth about Rome’, *CQ* 48 (1998) 234-51, at 237. Tacitus’

this Catulus ‘remained’ in Cumae, Umbricius’ own destination, supplies a further point of contact between the dialogue and the satire. ‘Catulus’ at 3.30 is not of course Q. Lutatius Catulus himself: the latter would simply be brought to mind by the suggested intertext, and thereby connected with his earlier appearance, in the second satire. It remains, however, an intriguing choice of name, and we should probably be better placed to assess its significance if we knew what underlay the pairing with Artorius.²¹

Despite a broad similarity of context, and the presence of the verb *accusare* in both passages, I can find no clear cross-referencing in the iterated naming of Verres: *si fur displiceat Verri . . . / Clodius accuset moechos* (‘if the thief incurred Verres’ displeasure . . . if Clodius were to bring a case against adulterers’, 2.26f.); *carus erit Verri qui Verrem tempore quo vult / accusare potest* (‘He will be beloved of Verres who can bring a case against Verres at any time he likes’, 3.53f.). Another difficult case, involving two different figures of the same name, is *Othonis* (2.99, the emperor) and *Othoni* (3.159, L. Roscius Otho, tribune of the plebs in 67 BC and author of the *lex Roscia theatralis*). The emperor is introduced as a self-regarding effeminate, equipped with a mirror on campaign.

ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis
 Actoris Aurunci spoliū . . .
 res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
 historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli.
 nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam
 et curare cutem.

(Sat. 2.99f., 102-105)

He²² carries a mirror, the accoutrement of pathic Otho,
 the trophy of Auruncian Actor . . .
 a matter to be memorialised in new annals and in fresh
 historiography, that a mirror was kit in a civil war.
 It really is the mark of a supreme leader to kill Galba
 and to look after his own skin.

Lutatii Catuli nomen . . . mansit (‘the name of Lutatius Catulus . . . remained’; see above, n. 18) might allude to the same text; it certainly reinforces the connection between Q. Lutatius Catulus and ‘remaining’.

²¹ Catulus was a supporter of Sulla, and it is possible that political invective, contemporary or reported, is the source: one candidate, given Umbricius’ abandonment of Rome, might be some pronouncement of Sertorius seeking the Isles of the Blest, as recorded in the first book of Sallust’s *Histories* (the starting date of which was the consulship in 78 BC of Catulus and Lepidus): cf. R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964) 178-89, 196, 203-05. Might a third allusion to the *Sullanum regnum* (‘the Sullan monarchy’) lurk here? And might Artorius be some kind of paradoxical cover-name allusion to Sertorius?

²² Namely, an initiate at transvestite orgies.

The tribune and his law are invoked as cause of the undignified removal of the impoverished Roman from equestrian seating at the theatre: *sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni* ('such was the pleasure of empty-headed Otho, who imposed divisions upon us', 3.159). There seems at first to be little to connect the two passages, other than the name and its end-line *sedes*. The controversial words *annales* ('annals') and *historia* ('history') might point toward an intertextual link, since whatever their precise reference, they can reasonably be taken to allude to Tacitus' account of the civil war of 69 in *Histories* 1 and 2, including Otho's murder of Galba.²³ A comparison of Otho's first appearance in Tacitus' narrative with the Umbricius/Otho lines reveals a verbal similarity based on the juxtaposition of *Otho* and *gener* ('son-in-law'): with *Sat.* 3.159f.: . . . *Othoni. / quis gener hic placuit . . . ?* ('. . . to Otho. Who found favour there as a son-in-law . . . ?'); compare *Hist.* 1.13.2: *Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur* ('Vinius had an unmarried daughter; Otho was a bachelor; and the two were talked of as son-in-law and father-in-law'). But the intertext, if such it is, is not particularly striking, and coincidence cannot be ruled out.

There is, however, a more interesting area of correspondence between these two passages. In railing against the hierarchy of seating imposed by the *lex Roscia theatralis* and contrasting it with the *aequales habitus* ('equality of dress', 177) worn in the provincial theatre, Umbricius is evoking *aequa libertas*: he is aligning himself, that is to say, with equality of political rights, and with the repudiation of legal discrimination between citizens.²⁴ When senators were first seated in the *orchestra*, in 194 BC, popular opposition suggested that *concordia* and *aequa libertas* had been eroded by such *discrimina ordinum*. Why, it was asked, should the ancient custom of watching shows in *promiscuo* be ended? And why should rich not sit with poor (Livy 34.54.5-7)?²⁵ Umbricius' fundamental accusation against Otho is that he

²³ R. Syme, 'Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus', *AJP* 100 (1979) 250-78 (= *Roman Papers* 3 [Oxford 1984] 1135-57), at 261-65 (=1143-47) argues for a general allusion to Tacitus' *Histories*; contrast R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Juvenal', in N. Horsfall (ed.), *Vir Bonus Discendi Peritus* (London 1988) 86-110 (= *Collected Papers on Latin Literature* [Oxford 1995] 227-60, at 89f. (=232). Courtney and Braund both incline to seeing a reference to Tacitus. In view of the direct quotation from the (epic) *Aeneid*, *novis annalibus* ('new annals') may contain a side-reference to an up-dating of Ennius' (epic) *Annales* (cf. Prop. 3.1.15f. with P. Fedeli, *Properzio: Il libro terzo delle Elegie* [Bari 1985] 66 ad 15f.).

²⁴ C. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome During the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge 1950) 9-15.

²⁵ For popular opposition to the *lex Roscia*, Plut. *Cic.* 13.3; E. Rawson, 'Discrimina Ordinum: The *Lex Julia Theatralis*', *PBSR* 55 (1987) 83-114, at 112 (= Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society: Collected Papers* [Oxford 1991] 508-45, at 543).

‘imposed divisions’; and it is in this respect that the passage should be compared with the earlier naming of the emperor Otho. Both passages have to do with dress as a qualification for entry (transvestites’ access to the parody of the Bona Dea rites; and the well-dressed youths’ access to the equestrian seats in the theatre). In each case, a class of person is excluded (women from the rites [89f.], the poor from the knights’ seats [153-58]). These are of course different forms of exclusion (though at the theatre, women were seated separately from men, and the XIV equestrian rows will also have been all male).²⁶ What brings them together is the presence in both contexts of Cybele.²⁷ In the transvestite orgies, the voice of the priest is characterised in terms of licentious *libertas* (‘freedom’; cf. *aequa libertas* above): *hic turpis Cybeles est fracta voce loquendi / libertas* (‘here is foul freedom of speech in the effeminate voice of Cybele’,²⁸ 2.111f.). Moreover, Otho’s ‘designs on the throne of the Palatium’ (*solium adfectare Palati*, 106) refers not only to the position of emperor, but also (and more directly) to the throne of Cybele that featured on the pediment of her Palatine temple and from which the goddess was deemed to watch the scenic performances of the *Megalesia* festival.²⁹ In the third satire, the theatre scene is preceded by a reference to the first arrival of Cybele (the Magna Mater) in Rome in 204 BC (137f.), plus an allusion to the mysteries of Samothrace (144f.). There seems to be no specific reference to the *Megalesia* in the theatre scene itself, but the presence of a mother and child as spectators in the provincial sequel (176) might point in that direction, as might the appearance of the Aediles (who were responsible for staging the festival, and the *Ludi Romani*) at 162.³⁰

²⁶ Rawson [25] 515-18. For ἐξέλασις from the mysteries, cf. Lucian *Alex.* 38.

²⁷ Otho was a devotee of the mystery cult of Isis (Suet. *Otho* 12.1); it might be relevant that in setting out from Rome to fight Vitellius, he disregarded the ominous fact that it was the day of the wailing rites of Cybele (*Otho* 8.3).

²⁸ Translated by Braund [6 (1996)] 152 *ad* 111f.

²⁹ With *solium* (‘throne’), cf. esp. Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 57 (of Clodius, with reference *inter alia* to the Bona Dea scandal): *deorum ignis, solia, mensas, abditos ac penetralis focos, occulta et maribus non invisita solum, sed etiam inaudita sacra . . . pervertit* (‘he polluted the fires, thrones and tables of the gods, hearths concealed in the sacred recesses, special rites not simply hidden from and unseen by males but unheard by them too’). For the staging of the *Megalesia*, and Cybele as spectator, see J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-temples* (Princeton 1959) 13-16, 82f.; S. M. Goldberg, ‘Plautus on the Palatine’, *JRS* 88 (1998) 1-20.

³⁰ Mother and child (*in gremio matris . . . rusticus infans*, ‘the rustic infant . . . in its mother’s lap’) reappear at 9.60f. (*rusticus infans / cum matre*, ‘the rustic infant with its mother’), juxtaposed with a devotee of Cybele (62; cf. 9.23: *advectae secreta Palatia matris*, ‘the secret palace of the imported mother’). For the enforcement of seating distinctions at the *Megalesia*, by the *praeco* (‘herald’; cf. 3.157) compare Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 26; P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (Leicester 1974) 159-69.

Despite the exclusion of women, the orgiastic rites are characterised by their wide range of participants: masters and servants (98); old and (by implication) young (111-16). The point is made explicitly at an earlier point in the satire: *magna inter molles concordia* (‘mighty is the concord among effeminates’, 47), itself a trivialising distortion of *concordia* as a political slogan. There may also be some reference to ancient ideas about the universality of certain orgiastic cults, a marked feature of the worship of Dionysus, and perceptible also in (for example) records of initiates of the mysteries at Samothrace (where a Roman grandee is initiated with his slaves, his wife and his fellow travellers).³¹ If the theatre is characterised by *discrimina ordinum*, the orgiastic rites allow the *libertas* of mixed attendance. Some of the details of these allusive passages remain obscure, but they do have much in common: exclusion, *libertas* and seating, in the theatre and in secret ritual, with Cybele herself as a linking device. I would suggest, therefore that the *Othones* name-repetition is intentional, and that it is meant to signal significant cross-referencing.³²

A striking example of planned linkage that involves allusive cross-referencing between adjacent satires but no actual repetition of names, is supplied by the first of Domitian’s counsellors to appear at the *consilium*, the *praefectus urbi* Pegasus:

primus clamante Liburno
 ‘currite, iam sedit’ rapta properabat abolla
 Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi.
(Sat. 4.75-77)

First, with the Liburnian shouting
 ‘run, he’s already seated’, his cloak snatched up, was scurrying
 Pegasus, recently placed over an astonished city as bailiff.

An ancient commentator, evidently drawing on a reliable source who was a near-contemporary of the poet, commented thus on Pegasus’ highly unusual *cognomen*:³³ *filius trierarchi, ex cuius Liburnae parasemo nomen accepit* (‘the

³¹ Dionysus: R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-state* (Oxford 1994) 246. Samothrace: K. Lehmann and P. W. Lehmann (edd.), *Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University* 3.2 (London 1969) 12f. Against this perspective, Otho’s deployment of a mirror (itself a sacred object in orgiastic cult) in a civil war (103) may well be ironic, for Dionysus was the god whose rites replaced strife with concord (Diod. Sic. 3.64.7).

³² Some Lucilian presence in the emperor Otho passage, may be indicated by the placename-repetition *Aurunci* (‘Auruncian’, 2.100) from *Auruncae* (‘of Aurunca’, 1.20, of Lucilius’ birthplace); perhaps some Lucilian intertext linked the two *Othones*.

³³ G. B. Townend, ‘The Earliest Scholiast on Juvenal’, *CQ* 22 (1972) 376-87.

son of a trierarch, from the emblem of whose *Liburna* he took his name'). Pegasus, the son of a naval trierarch and named after the symbol of one of his father's warships, was identified by Champlin as a member of the *gens Plotia* and as brother of a Plotius Grypus, putative father of the addressee of Statius, *Silvae* 4.9.³⁴ Given the authoritative status of the scholiast's comments, the near-collocation of Pegasus' name with the *Liburnus* who summons the counsellors (75) looks like an allusion to his father's *Liburna*. Liburnian slaves do of course turn up elsewhere in contemporary poetry.³⁵ The wit lies in the allusive juxtaposition of *Liburnus* and Pegasus' rare cognomen.

In the adjacent third satire, a *Liburna* appears in a hyperbolic comparison of a rich man's *lectica*, speeding through crowded Roman streets, to a Liburnian warship 'running' (sc. above the heads of the crowd): *curret super ora Liburna* (3.240).³⁶ I would suggest that *Liburna* is intended to connect with *Liburno* (4.75), and that the connection acts as a name-repetition of sorts, drawing out the 'warship' allusion in *Liburno/Pegasus*. Probable verbal echoes of *curret* ('will run') in *currere* ('run', 4.76) and also of *properantibus* ('hastening', 3.243) in *properabat* ('was hastening', 4.76) strengthen the link, and some flanking marine terminology reinforces the naval image (*vitulisque marinis*, 'marine calves', 238; *unda*, 'wave', 244). Just as the rich man in his running '*Liburna*' arrives first at his destination (*ante . . . veniet*, 243) in response to the call of duty (*vocat*, 239) so the running Pegasus is first (*primus*) to reach Domitian's *consilium* in response to the summons (*vocantur*, 72) and the shouting of the *Liburnus*.

The third satire also contains an allusive reference to the mythological Pegasus. This is found in an attack on the delation of Barea Soranus by his teacher P. Egnatius Celer (3.114-18): *transi / gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae. / Stoicus occidit Barea delator amicum / discipulumque senex ripa nutritus in illa / ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi* ('Pass over the gymnasia and hear of a deed of a greater cloak. A Stoic killed Barea, an informer his friend, an old man his pupil, brought up as he was on that river bank to which the wing feather of the Gorgan nag slipped down'). Here again, there seems to be cross-referencing to 4.75-77 in the use of *abolla* ('cloak', 4.76) and *abollae* ('cloak', 3.115; cf. *caballi*, 'nag', 318), the only two deployments of this word in the first book. The two passages in the third satire seem not themselves to be interrelated. But both cross-refer to Pegasus' appearance at the *consilium* in a way that it is difficult to see as anything other than the product of parallel writing.

³⁴ E. Champlin, 'Pegasus', *ZPE* 32 (1978) 269-78.

³⁵ Juv. 6.477 (role unspecified); Mart. 1.49.33 (possibly an usher, as at Juv. 4.75).

³⁶ E. L. Harrison, 'Neglected Hyperbole in Juvenal', *CQ* 10 (1960) 99-101, at 100f.

3

Where intentional cross-references have been authoritatively identified, can they be used to enhance understanding of the text? In other words, can passages in different satires be considered together in order to yield inferential meanings that neither would bear in isolation? Might a name-repetition actually invite the reader to see what can be made of the points of contact? Certainly, instances of name-repetitions within satires can be cited that, when taken together, may illuminate Juvenal's intentions and enrich our reading of the text.³⁷ And among the repetitions between satires cited earlier, one or two would seem to point in the same interpretative direction. I propose now to consider in greater depth a name-repetition in the third and fourth satires, 'Veiento' (3.185 and 4.113). This in turn will draw in 'Fabricius' at 2.154 and 4.129.

At 4.113, we encounter Fabricius Veiento the courtier entering Domitian's *consilium*, juxtaposed with Catullus Messalinus:³⁸ *et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo* ('and prudent Veiento with death-dealing Catullus'). A 'Veiento' appears earlier, at 3.184f., again paired (the subject is payment of slaves for social access to, and recognition by, their grand masters): *quid das ut Cossum aliquando salutes, / ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?* ('What do you give so that you may from time to time get to greet Cossus, or that Veiento should cast you a backward glance, with pursed lip?'). We do not know if this is the same man; but the similarity of the line endings *Veiento labello* and *Veiento Catullo* immediately suggests the presence of a deliberate cross-reference; and a play between *Catullo* and *labello*, in the manner of the poet Catullus, would enrich the Catullan reminiscences that have been detected in the treatment of Catullus Messalinus.³⁹ This in turn would enhance Juvenal's juxtaposed handling of Catullus and Veiento at 4.113. *respiciat* ('that he may look back', 3.185) could arguably be a further point of contact, for Juvenal satirises Catullus' blindness (114; compare also the ironical *conspicuum . . . monstrum*, 'clearly seen monster', 115), and in doing so throws into relief some concealed allusions to Veiento's own powers of 'sight': these are alluded to in

³⁷ Thus, *Minervam* at 3.139 and 219 helps link the burning Roman temple of Vesta and the Palladium, with the looting of statuary from Asian temples, thereby inviting the reader to reflect on the implications for Roman imperial history: Hardie [20] 249.

³⁸ On this man, see W. C. McDermott, 'Fabricius Veiento', *AJP* 91 (1970) 129-48; B. W. Jones, 'Fabricius Veiento Again', *AJP* 92 (1971) 476-78.

³⁹ B. L. Ullman, 'Miscellaneous Comments on Juvenal', in *The Classical Heritage: Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca 1966) 274-84, at 280; R. A. LaFleur, 'Catullus and Catulla in Juvenal', *Rev. de Phil.* 100 (1974) 71-74. For *Catullus/labellum* ('Catullus/lip'), cf. Cat. 8.18f. *Labello* ('lip') also reinforces the Catullan *villa*, *Catullo*, *puellae* ('villa, Catullus, girl') sound-sequence (4.112-14) noted, happily, by Ullman.

prudens ('exercising foresight'), which was commonly etymologised from words signifying far-sightedness (*porro videns*) or foresight (*providentia*);⁴⁰ but as Veiento attempts to exercise *providentia* in the sense of divinatory prophecy of Domitian's future triumph and his personal capture of an enemy king (123-28), his references to conquest strike us as delusory.⁴¹ As regards the future, Veiento is far from *prudens*: in that context, he is in fact as 'blind' as his companion Catullus.⁴² *respiciat* might, then, anticipate this interest in 'sight', creating a contrast between the 'backward looking' Veiento of 3.185, and the 'foreseeing' (*prudens*) Veiento of 4.113. The combination of *respiciat* ('that he might look back') and *clauso . . . labello* ('with pursed lip') might itself, however, be meant to recall 1.159 *despiciat* ('look down upon') and 160 *digito compesce labellum* ('close your lip with your finger'), so that it is possible that *respiciat* is independent of the fourth satire; equally, the possibility that the entire sequence is deliberate should not be dismissed out of hand.

'Veiento' is paired with 'Cossus' at 3.184. The latter may or may not be a real person (compare the *captator* Cossus at 10.202). The most famous bearer of the name was the fifth century dedicator of the *spolia opima*, A. Cornelius Cossus, who killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, in the second Veientine war (Livy 4.19).⁴³ And since the name Veiento is evidently connected with the Etruscan town of Veii, it is reasonable to think that the 'Cossus'/'Veiento'

⁴⁰ R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds 1991) s.vv. *prudens* ('exercising foresight'); *prudencia* ('the exercise of foresight'), citing Isid. *Orig.* 10.201, *prudens quasi porro videns. praespica est enim et incertorum praevidet casus* ('One who exercises foresight is far-seeing. For he has the ability to look forwards and to see in advance the outcome of uncertain issues.'). The derivation of *prudencia* from *providere* ('to see in advance') appears in Cicero, again related to ability to see into the future: *Cato* 78; *De Rep.* 6.1.

⁴¹ Fuscus, who coolly 'anticipated battles' (*meditatus proelia*) in his villa, finished up feeding Dacian vultures with his guts (111f.), in clear reference to the fate of the 'farsighted' Prometheus (Serv. *Ecl.* 6.42: *Prometheus vir prudentissimus fuit, unde etiam Prometheus dictus ἀπὸ τῆς προμηνείας, id est a providentia*, 'Prometheus was a most farsighted man, for which reason his name derives from προμηνεία ['foresight'], that is, from the exercise of foresight'), who is himself named, ironically as archetypal potter, at 133.

⁴² Juvenal may well owe the Veiento/Catullus juxtaposition, and the *prudencia* ('exercise of foresight')/blindness play, to earlier literature. Compare the fragment of Statius' *De Bello Germanico* cited by Valla: *lumina; Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi / et Fabius Veiento* ('lights; the gentle foresight of Nestorian Crispus and Fabius Veiento'), where *lumina* ('lights') may be part of a reference to Catullus (Courtney [11] 195, with bibliography; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.5: [Catullus] *luminibus orbatus*, 'bereft of the light of his eyes'). Pliny goes on to say that Catullus was deployed by Domitian *non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improvida feruntur* ('just like weapons, which are borne *blindly*, *not looking ahead*').

⁴³ For a summary of the three Veientine wars, T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London 1995) 309-13.

pairing alludes to that event.⁴⁴ The passage lies between the praise of Italian provincial life at 169-80 and the list of small towns in Etruria and Latium at 190-92, which, though not including Veii, assists the implicit reference to Veii at 184f. There is also a further allusion to Veii in the vicinity that will be considered below. There is, however, no visible Veientine allusion in the fourth satire.

Another allusion to Veii appears at the end of the second satire, in a review of the *bellorum animae* ('souls of wars') in the underworld, speculating on how they would react to the appearance of their contemporary counterparts (2.153-55): *Curius quid sentit et ambo / Scipiadae, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli, / quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus* ('What does Curius feel, and the two Scipios, what Fabricius, and the shades of Camillus, what the legion of Cremera and the youth swallowed up at Cannae?'). *Cremerae legio* ('the legion of Cremera') refers to the 306 members of the *gens Fabia* who died at the Cremera river in 477 BC, in the first Veientine war; and Camillus was both the conqueror of Veii at the end of the third Veientine war and the decisive opponent of the proposed transfer to Veii of the city of Rome after its capture by the Gauls.⁴⁵ The passage is a reworking of the parade of Roman heroes encountered by Aeneas in the underworld.⁴⁶ At *Aeneid* 6.841-46, Virgil names Cato, Cossus, the Gracchi, the two *Scipiadae*, Fabricius, Regulus, and the Fabii (concluding with Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator). Juvenal's *Scipiadae*, Fabricius and Fabii are listed in the same order; but Juvenal focuses sharply on Veii by drawing in Camillus from *Aeneid* 6.825 and substituting *Cremerae legio* for Virgil's *Fabii* (*Aen.* 6.845).⁴⁷

The 'Fabricius' of 2.154 and *Aen.* 6.844 is of course C. Fabricius Luscinus, hero of the Pyrrhic war and a regular component of lists of heroes such as these.⁴⁸ The *nomen* appears again at 4.128f. with reference to Fabricius Veiento: *hoc defuit unum / Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos* ('This alone was lacking from what Fabricius said, that he should memorialise the turbot's country of origin and its age.'). Fabricius Veiento is the only member of the *consilium* to be double-named (that is, by *nomen* and *cognomen*). But do the two different Fabricii represent a significant name-repetition?

⁴⁴ Veiento: *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 8A.590; J. Ferguson, *A Prosopography to the Poems of Juvenal* (Brussels 1987) 238.

⁴⁵ The *exempla* in effect juxtapose defeat and victory in various wars: Fabricius and Curius (Pyrrhus); Cannae and the Scipiones (Carthage); the Fabii and Camillus (Veii).

⁴⁶ Thus Braund [6 (1996)] 162 *ad* 153-57.

⁴⁷ The list is, however, to be read with that at 145f. (cf. esp. *Fabiis*, 146).

⁴⁸ R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I* (Oxford 1970) 159.

Fabricius Luscinus is juxtaposed with the Camillan/Fabian allusions to Veii in the second satire; the 'Veiento'/'Cossus' pairing alludes to Veii in the third; but 'Fabricius Veiento' appears in the fourth without any obvious Veientine allusion. We should doubtless be better placed to judge the allusive dimensions of this part of the fourth satire if we had the full text of Statius' *consilium* scene, from the *De Bello Germanico*, which underlies it.⁴⁹ But an important clue may be vouchsafed in the four surviving lines, where our man is actually named as 'Fabius Veiento'.⁵⁰ The contraction of Fabricius to Fabius (which will have sounded natural enough to the Roman ear: cf. *Aen.* 6.844f.: *Fabricium . . . Fabii*) has generally been taken as an implicit comparison to Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, highlighting Veiento's farsighted prudence.⁵¹ But it remains a very bold exercise in shifted nomenclature; and if (as appears clear from 3.184f.) it is right to associate the name Veiento with Veii, then its juxtaposition with 'Fabius' in the *De Bello Germanico* might additionally have brought to mind the most famous event in the history of the *gens Fabia*, the Veientine massacre at the Cremera. Such a Fabian allusion would co-exist quite readily with that to Fabius Cunctator.⁵² There is, then, a strong possibility that Veii, and the ancient frontier wars between Veii and Rome, lies in the intertextual background to *Sat.* 4.113-29. But whether Statius made anything of such an allusion in depicting Veiento's contribution to the *consilium* debate (and thus whether anything in Juvenal might look back to a lost Statian handling of the motif), cannot of course be established with any certainty.

On the face of things, and despite one further allusion to Veii (below), Juvenal's failure actually to name the town suggests that it did not play a major part in his designs. Yet where indirect references and allusions are spread over at least two, and probably three, poems, we might wonder if they can be wholly ornamental. Further enquiry seems justified. In what follows, I want to suggest that there is an overall rationale for the Veii allusions, and that it is to be found in Juvenal's interest in contemporary ideology, as related to Rome's past history. Specifically (and at the risk of inviting chronological controversy) I shall seek to connect them with the millenary/saecular motifs that the emperor Hadrian promulgated in the early years of his reign.

I have argued elsewhere that the religious content of the fourth satire points toward Hadrianic dating, connected with the *aureum saeculum* ('golden age') announced on the coinage of 121, and with the consecration, on 21 April

⁴⁹ J. G. Griffith, 'Juvenal, Statius and the Flavian Establishment', *G&R* 16 (1969) 134-50.

⁵⁰ Cited above, n. 42.

⁵¹ Noted by F. Bücheler, 'Coniectanea', *RhM* 38 (1884) 274-92, at 283.

⁵² Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator is juxtaposed with Cremera at *Ov. Fast.* 2.241f. and *Sil. Pun.* 6.637f., 7.39-61.

(the *natalis Urbis*, ‘the foundation of the city’) in the same year, of the area of ground on which was to stand the future *Templum Veneris et Romae* (‘temple of Venus and of Rome’).⁵³ I would not suggest that Hadrianic dating can yet be taken as proved; but the arguments in its favour should encourage consideration of any Hadrianic significance that might attach to Veii. As it happens, there is some evidence that Hadrian took an interest in the place. The *Liber Coloniarum* records that he ordered wooden boundary markers on two old (Augustan), and widely separated, land assignments on Veientine territory to be replaced with boundary stones (221L).⁵⁴ The nearest comparable Hadrianic action that is known to us is his restoration of the existing Roman *pomerium* (the formal boundary of Rome), with inscribed boundary stones, in 121.⁵⁵ This event, and its timing, is plausibly associated by Birley with Hadrian’s evocation of the foundation of Rome, and of Romulus’ action in defining the first *pomerium* on the *natalis Urbis* itself, 21 April 753 BC (Birley also sees in the reaffirmation of the existing *pomerium* a symbol of Hadrian’s stated policy of maintaining the empire within its existing limits).⁵⁶ Now, we do not know when Hadrian issued his order in relation to the Veientine boundary stones (Hadrian was active, however, in other ancient Italian towns in 120/121, so that an early date is quite plausible), nor whether boundary markers elsewhere on Veientine territory were also renewed.⁵⁷ But no such order is recorded for any other Italian city. It is tempting to set the two ‘boundary’ actions, at Rome and Veii, side by side and to speculate on some linked symbolism, deriving from the history of the fifth century frontier wars, in respect of Hadrian’s wider frontier policies that were then in gestation. If this is correct, Hadrian’s ‘boundary symbolism’ would resonate and contrast with the dramatic assumption, promulgated in the fourth satire, that the new emperor Domitian would pursue a policy of imperial conquest and territorial extension.⁵⁸ This idea is conspicuously present in the speech of Fabricius Veiento, where in striking contrast to the caution and prudence that seem to have characterised his appearance in Statius’ *De Bello Germanico*, he acts like a man possessed, a devotee of Bellona herself in his aggressive ‘divination’ of imperial conquest. In a display of technical knowledge about British chariot-fighting tactics, he predicts the capture of a

⁵³ Hardie [7] 132-36.

⁵⁴ M. T. Boatwright, ‘Hadrian and Italian Cities’, *Chiron* 19 (1989) 235-71, at 243f., with further bibliography.

⁵⁵ The text of one surviving inscription is conveniently accessible in M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987) 64 n. 89.

⁵⁶ A. R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London 1997) 111f.

⁵⁷ Boatwright [54] 252f.

⁵⁸ Hardie [7] 137f.

British king (*Britanno*, 4.126).⁵⁹ In doing so, he deploys a significant verbal echo, for the *Britanni* feature as an recent example of the urge to extend imperial conquests at 2.161 (with reference, of course, to Agricola's campaign, prosecuted after the dramatic date of the fourth satire). The passage in question follows immediately after the *Cremerae legio* ('legion of Cremera') allusion to the first Veientine war (2.155), a juxtaposition of motifs that, taken together with the *Britanno/Britannos* name-repetition, lends additional weight to the suggestion that Juvenal's allusions to Veii derive from symbolism associated with Hadrianic border policy.

Among the motifs evoked in Hadrian's saecular propaganda in the year 121 were the Trojan origins of Rome, the *aeternitas* of Rome and the empire, and the notion (symbolised by the appearance on the coinage of 117 and 121 of the saecular phoenix) of a crisis faced and surmounted.⁶⁰ Thus, the presence of Venus together with Roma in the new temple evoked the Trojan origins of the city; and the new golden age evoked the passage of *saecula* since the fall of Troy as well as from the (variously computed) date of the foundation of Rome. Earlier survival-threatening disasters were regularly recalled to mind in such saecular contexts. Whether the Veientine wars, and the proposal to transfer to Veii, were recalled by Hadrian as an earlier time of 'crisis surmounted' is not known. But they appeared as such in Ennius' *Annales*, with Camillus evoking the foundation of Rome in an old (pre-Varronian) saecular computation of the age of the city.⁶¹ Camillus and Veii were recalled as an *exemplum* of survival in the Augustan era, most prominently on the Virgilian shield of Aeneas.⁶² Again, Tacitus' account of the fire of Rome in 64 AD in the (Hadrianic) *Annales* (15.41.2) records anxious recollection of the Gallic burning of Rome, which led to the demands for transfer to Veii (Tacitus himself does not name Veii).

⁵⁹ For the capture of kings (*regem aliquem capies*, 'you will capture some king', 126) compare Tac. *Agr.* 13.3 (after the invasion of 43): *domitiae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus* ('nations subdued, kings captured and Vespasian brought to prominence by the fates'). For British chariot-fighting (126f.), *Agr.* 12.1: *quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant* ('Certain nations also fight on the chariot. The charioteer is of higher birth; his clients do the fighting').

⁶⁰ On these matters and on what follows, see J. Gagé, 'Le "Templum Urbis" et les Origines de l'Idée de "Renovatio"', *Mélanges F. Cumont* (Brussels 1936) 151-87; J. Beaujeu, *La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire 1: La Politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)* (Paris 1955) 128-61; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 771-74 (an appendix of especial importance); Boatwright [54] 119-33.

⁶¹ Varro, *RR* 3.1.2 (= Enn. *Ann.* fr. 154f. [O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford 1985)]); Syme [60] 772f.; Skutsch [above, this note] 314-16.

⁶² For the prominence of these Veientine events in the *Aeneid* (8.652-66), and elsewhere in Augustan literature, see S. J. Harrison, 'The Survival and Supremacy of Rome: the Unity of the Shield of Aeneas', *JRS* 87 (1997) 70-76, at 72-74.

An echo of the Gallic occupation and of the proposal to migrate is to be found in scurrilous verses circulated after Nero's *domus aurea* ('golden house') rose from the ashes of central Rome and recorded in an account that was published in the reign of Hadrian (Suet. *Nero* 39.2): *Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites, / si non et Veios occupat ista domus* ('Rome will become a household: head for Veii, Quirites, if that house does not sprawl over Veii as well'). Herein (finally) lies a solid connection with Juvenal's first book, for an allusion to these verses appears near the exact centre of the third satire (162f.):⁶³ *agmine facto / debuerant olim tenues* migrasse Quirites ('poor Romans should once have formed a column and headed for Veii'). The allusion is confirmed by the supporting collocation of *domi* ('at home') and *Romae* ('at Rome') at 165, and it falls just twenty lines before the Veiento/Cossus pairing.⁶⁴ Here too, there is a millenary sub-text, in that Umbricius is characterised as a latter-day prophet of doom, who speaks of the occupation of Rome by immigrants from the Greek east in terms reminiscent of, *inter alia*, the apocalyptic vision of barbarian invasion articulated by the vatic speaker in Horace's sixteenth epode. At the centre of the poem, he suggests that the Romans should after all have abandoned the city (as he is abandoning it for Cumae). Umbricius' text also alludes to saecular ideas.⁶⁵ Among other Umbrician motifs that might connect with these ideas is the equation of burning *domus* with the fall of the *Urbs* at 212-15, and interlinked allusions to the fall of Troy at 199 (Ucalegon) and to the Trojan origin of the Palladium (219; cf. 139).⁶⁶ Underlying these scenes may well be themes derived from the burning of Rome in 64, when Nero was reported to have sung the 'Capture of Troy'.⁶⁷

The place of Veii in Hadrianic thinking about these apocalyptic events, and in contemporary reflections on the cataclysmic destruction of Rome, is not yet wholly clear; and Juvenal's allusions to Veii, the Veientine wars, and the quashed migration of Rome, may not play any major role in the representation of Hadrianic millenary propaganda that I have hypothesised. But the allusions may arguably be explained by their relevance to such a body of ideas. If that were correct, the clues to the poet's intentions would undeniably be cryptic, lying in the interlinked name-repetitions postulated earlier and in a discreet intertext at the central point of its central satire. It is, however, this 'central'

⁶³ At the exact centre, if 113 is an interpolation.

⁶⁴ This crucial allusion at 163 (though not the supporting role of 165) is noted by the commentators. It is combined (*tenues*, 'poor') with allusion to the *secessiones* ('secessions') of the plebs.

⁶⁵ Hardie [20] 244.

⁶⁶ Hardie [20] 249.

⁶⁷ M. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (London 1984) 132.

feature that would confirm the relevance of Veii to Juvenal's interest in contemporary saecular issues, and by extension the significance of the Fabricius Veiento name-repetitions. Again, if those repetitions do possess the significance here suggested, they would clearly point to a unitary process of composition for the second, third and fourth satires.

4

None of the examples of name-repetition discussed in the previous two sections has involved the fifth satire. The absence from this poem of any demonstrable instance of a cross-referenced name would not in itself invalidate the argument of this paper; but if Juvenal consciously deployed name-repetition as a unifying device in the first book, it would certainly constitute a surprising gap. The opening reference to 'Caesar's unequal table' (*iniquas / Caesaris ad mensas*, 3f.) is important and meaningful in juxtaposition with the 'Caesar' of the fourth satire (51; 135), for Juvenal proceeds to transfer the theme of imperial tyranny to the domestic level, and to portray Virro's dinner party as an exercise in petty tyranny.⁶⁸ As a conclusion, this nicely counterpoints Juvenal's interest in ruling and rulers, a concern that is programmatically announced in his 'advice to Sulla' to resign the dictatorship (1.16f.), and is sustained in the vignettes of imperial rule in the second and fourth satires.⁶⁹ Yet there seems to be nothing that links the three references to 'Caesar' in the last two satires in any more specific way.

The evidence adduced in this paper suggests that while name-repetitions sometimes involve planned cross-references, they may not always or necessarily do so. In this respect, the phenomenon of iterated names does not differ from what may be found in, and deduced from, more ordinary verbal echoes. As regards the central argument of this paper, however, I would suggest that analysis of significant name-repetitions does lend support to the view that the first book was planned and written as a unity. Of course, if the Hadrianic dating on which I have predicated Juvenal's central interests is incorrect, then part of my argumentation necessarily falls away. Yet we should still be left with a nexus of iterated names, criss-crossing the book and helping produce, if not a seamless fabric, at any rate a five-panel unity. The implications of all this for Juvenal's career as a satirist, adumbrated earlier,⁷⁰ seem to me to be inescapable: if the fourth satire was indeed written in the reign of Hadrian, then the remainder of the first book will also be Hadrianic.

⁶⁸ For an analysis of the dinner as a 'tyrannical meal', in terms of ancient kingship theory and terminology, see S. H. Braund, 'The Solitary Feast: a Contradiction in Terms?', *BICS* 41 (1996) 37-52, at 47f.

⁶⁹ For other evidence of the influence of kingship literature, see Hardie [7] 123-27.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 53.

THE ATHENIAN *WAPPENMÜNZEN*

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Abstract. This paper argues that the *Wappenmünzen* didrachms commenced *circa* 530 BC, in or shortly after the final years of Peisistratos' rule. Tetradrachm production commenced *circa* 513 in what proved to be the last years of Hippias' tyranny. Early Owls followed its overthrow, commencing *circa* 510, and the 'wreathed' Owls followed the defeat of the Persians in 479. The dates of the transition in coinage types have implications for arguments about the symbolism of early Athenian democracy.

The downdating of the Attic *Wappenmünzen* to a period after the Cleisthenic reorganisation of the Athenian state (508/7 BC) which was advocated by Michael Vickers is problematic,² not simply for the questions it raises about the earliest Owls.³ It will be argued that there remain several objections to the displacement of the basic chronological division propounded by W. P. Wallace⁴ in which the *Wappenmünzen* belong to the Peisistratid tyranny and the Owls to the period following its overthrow. Vickers' case that coinage began in Asia Minor in the mid- to late sixth century casts further doubt on the proposition that there was an Attic coinage in the Solonian era. He argued that Herodotus' references to gold dedicated by Croesus to Greek sanctuaries are indicative of bullion rather than coin.⁵ Herodotus' statement that coinage began in Lydia (1.94.1) consequently suggests an earliest possible date for Greek coinage also of the mid- to late sixth century. Consistent with this, Kroll and Waggoner have shown that the Solonian economy used uncoined silver as a means of exchange, and that this was in accord

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² I thank Peter Bicknell, Doug Kelly and Richard Evans for their helpful comments on this paper.

³ M. Vickers, 'Early Greek Coinage: A Reassessment', *NC* 145 (1985) 1-44. M. C. Root, 'Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Greek Archaic Coinage', *NC* 148 (1988) 9f. has demonstrated that an Athenian Owl tetradrachm was in circulation in Persia in 499. Root [above, this note] 12 concluded: 'The Owl cannot have been an invention of post-480 as Vickers has postulated'.

⁴ W. P. Wallace, 'The Early Coinages of Attica and Euboea', *NC* 7 (1962) 23-42.

⁵ Vickers [3] 10; for the seminal rejection of a Solonian coinage, see C. M. Kraay, 'The Archaic Owls of Athens: Classification and Chronology', *NC* 16 (1956) 43-68.

with the literary sources:⁶ the principal source which attributes coinage to Solon (Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 10) appears to have confused uncoined silver weight with coin weight.⁷ Yet the question of approximately when Attic coinage commenced remains in dispute.

Kroll and Waggoner wrote in respect of the Early Owls that ‘Art historical associations converge with the independent implications of the [coin] hoards to establish their date in the last quarter of the sixth century. From here the absolute chronology of the *Wappenmünzen* . . . is obtained by working backwards’.⁸ Vickers was right to raise the problem of art chronology as evidence for coinage dating. He observed that the dating of pottery was skewed by the erroneous dating of a piece of red-figure pottery by the enthusiastic nineteenth-century excavator Ludwig Ross, ‘based on the implicit idea that signs of burning necessarily require the presence of a Persian’, and that Ross’ flawed pottery datings then became the basis for the comparative dating of other material.⁹ In consequence, when the pottery datings are challenged, coinage dates necessarily fall under suspicion. A re-examination of pottery dates together with reinterpretation of literary and archaeological material led Vickers to argue for a further radical downdating of Greek coinage.

Vickers argued that there was one series of ten basic *Wappenmünzen* designs supplanted by the Gorgoneion issues, and that the former might imply the existence of a tribal coinage. He suggested that there had been a *Wappenmünzen* motif for each of Cleisthenes’ ten new tribes, and that their replacement by Gorgoneions would have had ‘a special significance for Athenians’.¹⁰ Yet although the Gorgoneions came at the end of the *Wappenmünzen* issues,¹¹ and although the Gorgoneion motif was later used in Athens on juror’s allotment plates (*pinakia*),¹² it was also a longstanding mythological symbol—in Kroll’s phrase, the ‘pre-

⁶ J. H. Kroll and N. M. Waggoner, ‘Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina’, *AJA* 88 (1984) 332 with reference to ‘Androtion’, F. Jacoby (ed.), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden 1923-) 324 F 34 (from Plut. *Sol.* 15.2-4; discussed by Jacoby in his commentary on ‘Philochorus’, *FGrH* 328 F 200), [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 8.3 and Lysias 10.18.

⁷ P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 168 noted that ‘coins were named after the weights of silver which they represented’, and that Solon could have been assumed by the author to have altered coinage along with weights. Kroll and Waggoner [6] 333 concurred.

⁸ Kroll and Waggoner [6] 330.

⁹ Vickers [3] 23.

¹⁰ Vickers [3] 31 and n. 248.

¹¹ C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) 58.

¹² J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 54f; Vickers [3] 31 claimed this as evidence of ‘a seal denoting Athenian citizenship’.

eminent apotropaic device throughout the Greek world'¹³—and does not necessitate a post-Cleisthenic date for these coins.

More crucially, Vickers' suggestion that the *Wappenmünzen* might reflect tribal devices rests on his classification of the coinage into ten 'basic' types 'superseded' by Gorgoneions. This division unduly presses (or compresses) the evidence: there are no less than fifteen different didrachm types, representing fifteen separate coinage issues. These consist of fourteen 'private' emblems, including the 'lion's head' Gorgoneion, and one 'public' Gorgoneion unmarked by any distinguishing device.¹⁴ (Kroll and Waggoner argued that it is likely that the changing devices relate to changing annual magistracies and represent annual moneyers' signatures.¹⁵)

To arrive at ten 'basic' types, Vickers has refused to distinguish between wheel types—given by Hopper¹⁶ as readily distinguishable—and between a clear difference in horse forepart representations,¹⁷ and he has separated the Gorgoneion coins from the other didrachm issues. This last separation seems unwarranted by any evidence other than the observation that they occur at the end of the *Wappenmünzen* issues and so the basis of separation is purely hypothetical. Even if it could be accepted, there would still be thirteen distinct motifs, and the theory of a Cleisthenic tribal coinage must be discarded. Vickers must also explain why a silver obol bearing the legend ΗΙΠΙ should no longer be associated with Hippias: he suggested that as it bears an ear of wheat emblem it might be a coin of the Cleisthenic Hippothontis tribe which incorporated the town of Eleusis,¹⁸ but this simply parallels his own argument that the *Wappenmünzen* are a tribal coinage.

Against Vickers, the evidence rather suggests that the *Wappenmünzen* were predominantly the coinage of Hippias. There are fifteen surviving *Wappenmünzen* didrachm issues and two issues of tetradrachms; the last, and the final two didrachm issues, are the Gorgoneion coins. Moreover, there is literary testimony that Hippias issued coins: [Aristotle] states that Hippias—at some unspecified point—rendered existing coinage invalid, yet subsequently 'issued the same coinage' (*Oeconomica* 1347a 8-11). Price and Waggoner suggested that Aristotle

¹³ E.g., Homer *Iliad* 2.448, etc.; Hesiod *Theogony* 929s; *Shield of Heracles* 443; for the quotation, see Kroll [12] 53 n. 9.

¹⁴ Kroll and Waggoner [6] 328; cf. J. H. Kroll, 'From *Wappenmünzen* to Gorgoneia to Owls', *ANSMN* 26 (1981) 23.

¹⁵ Kroll and Waggoner [6] 331; cf. Kroll [14] 7, 20f.

¹⁶ R. J. Hopper, 'Observations on the *Wappenmünzen*', in C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (edd.), *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford 1968) 38. The distinctions are between strutted, unstrutted and crossbar wheels.

¹⁷ The distinctions are given by Kraay [11] 57.

¹⁸ Vickers [3] 31.

could be read to indicate that Hippias withdrew didrachms and issued tetradrachms,¹⁹ but Aristotle's statement does not indicate that there was any increase in monetary value. Consequently, another solution may be proposed. The introduction of Gorgoneions at the end of the *Wappenmünzen* series would be compatible with a reading of Aristotle that Hippias, in issuing a coin of new 'character' (*Oec.* 1347 a 10), began the Gorgoneion series. Furthermore, it does not need to be postulated that the Gorgoneion didrachms were separate from the other *Wappenmünzen*, nor that the value of the coin was changed. There is no reason to assume that the action of reissuing coinage which Aristotle attributed to Hippias cannot refer to Hippias' own earlier coinage. It would also be consistent with the suggestion of Kroll that the Gorgoneion tetradrachm issues constituted 'the first public or national coin type of Athens',²⁰ and would date that event near what proved to be the end of the tyranny. Hopper saw that any attempt to distribute the coin types over a series of years must overcome the difficulty of the widely differing numbers of surviving dies.²¹ To this one can only reiterate his observation there that chance has played a great part in the survival rate, and suggest also that fluctuations in the supply of silver may well have occurred.

Those pre-Gorgoneion *Wappenmünzen* which have been analysed incorporate non-Laureion silver,²² plausibly from the Strymon region which came under Persian control from *circa* 512.²³ But the Gorgoneion issues have a similar metal content to that of the earliest Owls,²⁴ consistent with the view advanced here that they are coins of Hippias' final years. Further, the metal composition—whatever its source—suggests a transitional phase, with indications of the increasing use of Laureion silver;²⁵ but where Kroll there supposed that by the time of the Gorgoneions 'production had become substantial enough to end Athens' dependence on foreign supplies', the hypothesis that the marked change in

¹⁹ M. J. Price and N. M. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975) 65.

²⁰ Kroll [14] 11, 23.

²¹ Hopper [16] 39.

²² C. M. Kraay, *The Composition of Greek Silver Coins* (Oxford 1962) 33.

²³ Kroll [14] 14 and n. 45; for Persian control of Strymon *circa* 512 and the consequent loss of an external silver source, see E. J. P. Raven, 'Problems of the Earliest Owls of Athens', in C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (edd.), *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford 1968) 57.

²⁴ Kroll [14] 14.

²⁵ Kroll [14] 14f.: '... of the 16 analyzed wappenmünzen with wheel obverses, about half have a silver composition similar to the gorgoneion and owl silver while the remaining half contain impurities of a much higher magnitude. This at least suggests that exploratory workings in the upper veins at Laurion had been initiated and were becoming progressively more productive as the wappenmünzen coinage developed'.

composition resulted from the loss of an external silver source shortly before the Gorgoneion issues²⁶ is equally attractive. Against Vickers’ view that all Athenian coinage postdates the tyranny, why are indications of non-Laureion silver significant in the early *Wappenmünzen* issues if they are thought to be post-Cleisthenic?

On the other hand the commencement of the *Wappenmünzen* ought not to be moved back much before the inheritance of the tyranny by Hippias. Kroll argued that ‘at least some of the four devices that appear on fractional pieces’ attributed to the *Wappenmünzen* should be added to the fourteen ‘private’ issues to create an absolute minimum period of 18 years for *Wappenmünzen* issues, and that thirty years as a ‘realistic maximum’ should be preferred.²⁷ If, as argued above, the *Wappenmünzen* cease by 510, the earliest they should commence is *circa* 540 following Peisistratos’ consolidation of control in Athens; but if they constitute an annual coinage, they should commence late in Peisistratos’ rule, shortly before Hippias inherited the position of tyrant, *circa* 530.²⁸ The facts that the Gorgoneion tetradrachms appear to have been directly followed by the production of Group H Owls²⁹ and that the commencement of tetradrachms as such occurs at the end of the *Wappenmünzen* series, coupled with indications of the increasing use of Attic silver in coinage composition, suggests a consistent demand for coinage. This makes it less likely that the *Wappenmünzen* should be seen as irregular issues over a much greater than annual time-span. While certainty is unlikely, it would be logical to see the *Wappenmünzen* as at least predominantly the coinage of Hippias.

Vickers attempted to downdate the whole series of Attic coinage by dating the commencement of Early Owls after the Persian Wars. He cited several sources which support the view that the wealth of Athens increased dramatically after 479 against a prevalent opinion that Athens was wealthier before rather than after that time and that Athens’ capacity to issue large volumes of coins soon after the Persian Wars was impaired.³⁰ However, the argument is not sufficiently cogent to overturn the view of Price and Waggoner³¹ which put the ‘wreathed’ Owls after 479 and assigned the Early Owls to the intervening period after Hippias and before 480.

Underpinning Vickers’ theory, which sought to place the commencement of the ‘wreathed’ Owls under the Ephialtic/Periclean *demokratia* (and by implication

²⁶ Wallace [4] 25f.

²⁷ Wallace [4] 23.

²⁸ Kroll [14] 23 saw a span of *circa* 20 years as plausible for the *Wappenmünzen* overall.

²⁹ Kroll [14] 24.

³⁰ Vickers [3] 24f., citing Plut. *Them.* 2.3; Ar. *Knights* 814; Ath. xii. 553e; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 24.1; Aelius Aristides 1.143f.

³¹ Price and Waggoner [19] 68.

to see in them a recognition of internal political change), is a 'class conflict' view of the causes behind the overthrow of the Areopagus by Ephialtes and Pericles in 462: 'The years between 479 and 462/1 were a time of unparalleled prosperity at Athens, though since wealth was too unevenly distributed within the community, a revolution took place'.³² This view is problematic when applied to the Athenians at this time. According to Plutarch (*Per.* 11.2f), the rift between the many and the few took place after the actions of Ephialtes and not before. It follows that there was no open rift between nobility and demos before 462, and there was no wealth-based revolution. Further, Pericles did not make a redistribution of wealth after coming to prominence despite his provision of entertainments and military employment and his later building program. Plutarch states that the common labourers were to receive nothing under Pericles for laziness and idleness, and also records that he followed the earlier practices noted above of ridding Athens of its population surplus through colonization (*Per.* 11.5, 12.5). Wherever the sources talk about the overthrow of the Areopagus they are concerned with political control within Attica (cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 25.1-26.1, 27.1; Plut. *Per.* 10.8, *Cim.* 15.2f.). Wealth is not a factor in any source, and the class conflict approach is wholly inadequate as an explanation of the events of 462.

Vickers attempted to show that the construction of the north wall of the Acropolis should be dated after 462 in order to challenge the view that the Early Owls found in its fill belong to the period before 480 and were buried soon after that time.³³ But to seek to date the north wall and its hoard to the period after 462 simply because 'we only hear of Cimonian building activity on the south side of the Acropolis'³⁴ is an argument from silence. The south wall, built from spoils won by Cimon's victory over the Persians at Eurymedon, probably in 469,³⁵ may plausibly be assigned to a date soon after that time (Plut. *Cim.* 13.6f.); but if a north wall was needed, it would be logical to accord it precedence over the shady walks and tree-planting which Cimon is also said to have financed at some point before his ostracism in 461 (*Cim.* 13.7f.). Given that the north wall was well built,³⁶ the wall and its fill (and coin hoard) may date anywhere between 479 and the later 460s. There is no necessity to place the building of the north wall after

³² Vickers [3] 32; cf. 29.

³³ Vickers [3] 22.

³⁴ Vickers [3] 26.

³⁵ R. J. Hopper, *The Acropolis* (London 1974) 82.

³⁶ Vickers [3] 25.

that of the Cimonian south wall;³⁷ it seems both feasible and likely that the north wall preceded it.³⁸

Vickers additionally suggested that the *korai* statues found in the Acropolis fill may have postdated the Persian wars and, on stylistic grounds, so may the Early Owls found above them:³⁹ the *korai* employed as a characteristic feature an 'archaic smile', as did the Early Owls.⁴⁰ He cited Lucian's mention of a sculpture by Calamis (active *circa* 480-450⁴¹) with a smile 'grave and faint' (*Essays in Portraiture* 6) as evidence for the paralleling of this feature in *korai* and Early Owls, arguing that it indicated a common period of production. But neither *korai* nor Owls should be downdated on the basis of a line of Lucian: in the first place, in that dialogue the character Lycinus composes a sculpture in speech, comprised of what he considered the best details of the various great sculptors' works of the past. The Sosandra was a sculpture by Calamis on the Acropolis, and from it Lycinus chose the smile and the costume. However, no work by Calamis has survived, and so no comparison can be made between that reference in Lucian's dialogue and extant *korai* and Owls. In the second place, while that passage gives us a smile 'grave and faint', it does not specify a smile archaic. The attempt to match *korai* and Early Owl features with Lucian's text is consequently rather weak. Neither should Owls and *korai* be necessarily downdated in tandem: that

³⁷ Hopper [35] 81 held that the north wall was rebuilt 'either immediately or some time after' the Persian departure.

³⁸ A long-running dispute persists over the presence or absence of two coins untouched by fire, one a 'wreathed' Owl, in the otherwise fire-damaged Acropolis hoard as found in the North Wall fill. C. G. Starr, *Athenian Coinage 480-449 B.C.* (Oxford 1970) 4 argued cogently that the 'wreathed' Owl was 'found elsewhere on the Acropolis and was erroneously added to the hoard in the Museum', and that in any event it belonged to Group V and so to the late 450s, 'far too late' for inclusion in the Acropolis wall fill. Yet in 1981 Kraay, in a letter cited by Vickers [3] 29 n. 229, wrote that 'If the context of the coin is really Periclean, then there is no need to exclude from it the one . . . wreathed coin as being intrusive'. That is, he was prepared to accept that the coin belonged to the hoard provided that the hoard as a whole was late. But given the strong possibility that, as Starr contended, the 'wreathed' Owl was not present in the hoard as found, one must abandon any link between it and the Acropolis hoard in the consideration of burial dates. Much of the discussion has concerned the burnt nature of the Acropolis coins; Starr [above, this note] 4 claimed that signs of damage 'were surely due to the Persian firing of the Acropolis'. But there is no need to assume that the coins must have suffered fire in Athens: still valuable as silver, they may have been retrieved from a camp or elsewhere. There is no way of knowing, and the question of burning cannot help with dating the hoard.

³⁹ Vickers [3] 29.

⁴⁰ An Early Owl in C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*² (London 1955) pl. 4 no. 2 shows clearly the style of upturned lips to which Vickers paralleled the 'archaic smile' of early *korai*.

⁴¹ G. M. A. Richter and A. J. S. Spawforth, 'Calamis', in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (edd.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford 1996) 273.

there will be some explanation for the shared stylized smile is likely, but it provides no grounds for sequencing the representations in sculpture and coinage. On all points there is no compelling reason to accept the view that the Acropolis Owls postdate 480.

Conversely, one cannot refuse to date the *korai* to the Persian war period simply because they fail to show signs of having been burnt; they could have been buried due to damage other than burning. It must be concluded that the case for downdating the Early Owls on stylistic grounds, essentially to make room for a Cleisthenic *Wappenmünzen*, is unsound, and one may reasonably hold that they are in all probability the coinage of Attica which followed the expulsion of Hippias. By way of a summary, I posit the following chronology: production of the *Wappenmünzen* didrachms commenced *circa* 530 in or shortly after the final years of Peisistratos' rule. Tetradrachm production commenced *circa* 513 in what proved to be the last years of Hippias' tyranny. Early Owls followed its overthrow, commencing *circa* 510, and the 'wreathed' Owls followed the defeat of the Persians in 479. The *Wappenmünzen* may be dated to the late sixth century in accordance with the available evidence without imposing a radical, and I believe questionable, downdating on other antiquities of Greece.

TRADITION AND ORIGINALITY IN LATE LATIN LITERATURE: CLASSICAL LITERARY GENRES IN PAULINUS OF NOLA

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Abstract. Much of the recent scholarly interest in the poetry of Meropius Pontius Paulinus, better known as Paulinus of Nola, has been focused on the question of the influence of the classical literary tradition. The important role of the poet's ascetic convictions in his *création littéraire* has, however, not received the attention it merits. This article will therefore seek to examine the extent to which generic innovation in the epithalamium (*Carm.* 25) that Paulinus wrote to celebrate the nuptials of Julian of Eclanum and Titia can in fact be ascribed to his asceticism.

In recent years, the debate surrounding the question of tradition and originality in Christian Latin literature of the fourth and fifth centuries has focused increasing attention on the poetry of Paulinus of Nola.¹ One of the principal reasons for this is that a number of his poems appear to conform more obviously to the conventions of some of the most popular literary genres from classical antiquity.²

Since time immemorial, poets have been inspired to respond to some of the important moments of human existence that one encounters in Paulinus' poetry: the departure of a friend, the death of a child, a wedding, a festival to celebrate the *dies natalis* ('birthday') of an eminent political or religious figure.

¹ This article is an abridged version of a paper read in the Centre for Mediaeval Studies of the University of Toronto in January 1998. My special thanks to my hosts Timothy Barnes and David Klausner for extending the invitation to me and for their very useful comments.

² See, for example, P. G. Walsh, 'Paulinus of Nola and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Fourth Century', in P. Grandfield and J. A. Jungman (edd.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift J. Quasten* 2 (Münster 1970) 568, and 'Spes Romana, Spes Christiana', *Prudentia* 6 (1974) 39; R. P. H. Green, 'Some Types of Imagery in the Poetry of Paulinus of Nola', *VChr* 27 (1973) 50-52; S. Costanza, 'I generi letterari nell'opera poetica di Paolino di Nola', *Augustinianum* 14 (1974) 637-50, and 'Catechesi e poesia nei carmi XXII, XXV e XXXI di Paolino di Nola', in S. Felici (ed.), *Crescita dell'uomo nella catechesi dei Padri (età postnicena): Convegno di studio e aggiornamento, Facoltà di Lettere cristiane e classiche, Pontificium Institutum Altioris Latinitatis, Roma, 20-21 marzo 1987* (Rome 1987) 225-85; S. Brancia, 'L'epitalamio di S. Paolino di Nola', *AFLM* 11 (1978) 83-129. This view, it should be noted, has not been unanimous. One notable voice of dissent has been raised by R. Herzog, 'Probleme der heidnisch-christlichen Gattungskontinuität am Beispiel des Paulinus von Nola', in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident* (Geneva 1977) 379.

It was a tradition with which Paulinus must have been thoroughly familiar since childhood. A good education, one that would certainly have included a comprehensive study of the great works of classical Latin literature, was one of the definite advantages of being born into an aristocratic family, especially in a large provincial town like Bordeaux that could pride itself on having schools and teachers of the same excellent quality as those in Rome. In fact, despite his repeated claims that he had turned his back on his pagan muse and that it was to Christ that he now looked for inspiration (see, e.g., *Carm.* 10.19-46 and 22.16), Paulinus' indebtedness to his classical education, and the respect for the giants of Latin literature that it had inculcated in him as a student, are revealed in almost every line of his poetry. However, at the same time, one should not underestimate the influence on his *création littéraire* of his commitment to the Christian faith and his conversion to asceticism. The tide of ascetic fervour that swept through the aristocratic classes of the late Roman Empire left hardly any family of distinction untouched in its wake. Disaffected with many aspects of fourth century Christianity, a small number of the Empire's political and cultural élite turned to a life characterised by, among other things, a withdrawal from the world and an ardent devotion to God, total sexual abstinence, and almsgiving.³ The unique quality of Paulinus' literary *œuvre* is in no small part attributable to the remarkable synthesis that he managed to achieve between his faith and ascetic convictions on the one hand, and classical literary aesthetics on the other. As a result, his poetry represents an important step in the 'conversion of Christianity to the culture and the ideals of the Roman world', to borrow P. Brown's felicitous phrase.⁴ Yet it also demonstrates the relative ease with which those members of the late Roman aristocracy who converted to Christianity were able to adapt to their new life the cultural institutions of the world to which they had formerly belonged.

Paulinus' most audacious attempt to combine classical literary convention and ascetic ideals is to be found in *Carm.* 25, the wedding poem he wrote in

³ On this phenomenon, see P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford 1996) 44-48. Important is his remark on p. 48: 'Conversion from the "world" had not meant a retreat into obscurity. In one way or another, all the great Latin converts to the ascetic life ended up in positions of prominence in the Catholic Church—their behavior was watched, their books were read, their ideas were hotly discussed. Whether they wished it or not, they had moved from one style of public life to another'. A similar caution has been expressed by J. Fontaine with regard to the ascetic lifestyle pursued by literary figures like Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus. See J. Fontaine, 'Valeurs antiques et valeurs chrétiennes dans la spiritualité des grands propriétaires terriens à la fin du IV^e siècle occidental', in *Epektasis: Mélanges J. Daniélou* (Paris 1972) 584 (= *Études sur la poésie latine tardive d'Ausone à Prudence* [Paris 1980] 254).

⁴ P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*² (London 1989) 82.

honour of the nuptials of Julian of Eclanum—the same Julian who was later to become probably one of Augustine's most implacable adversaries—and Titia.⁵ The tradition of the wedding song is a very old one that may be traced back to Homer. It was introduced into Latin literature by the neoterics (Parthenius, Calvus, Tigidas, and Catullus) and reached its apogee with Statius' *Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam* (*Silv.* 1.2), which served as model for the epithalamia of some of the major poets of late antiquity: Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Dracontius, Ennodius of Pavia, and Venantius Fortunatus.⁶ Within this tradition, Paulinus' *Carm.* 25 constitutes something of a *Fremdkörper*, primarily because its principal theme, namely the celebration of spiritual love and chastity, could not have stood in greater contrast to that of the classical wedding poem, the aim of which was, among other things, to arouse the couple to indulge in physical pleasures and consummate their union. For this reason R.

⁵ Apart from those already mentioned in [2], the most recent studies on this poem also include F. E. Consolino, 'Cristianizzare l'epitalamio: il carme 25 di Paolino di Nola', *Cassiodorus* 3 (1997) 199-213 (I am particularly grateful to Prof. G. Guttilla for bringing this article to my attention and for sending me a photocopy); H. Crouzel, 'Liturgie du mariage chrétien au V^e siècle selon l'épithalame de saint Paulin de Nole', in *Mens Concordet Voci: Mélanges A. G. Martimort* (Paris 1983) 619-26, and 'L'epitalamio di San Paolino: il suo contenuto dottrinale', in *Atti del Convegno XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola (431-1981), Nola, 20-21 marzo 1982* (Rome 1983) 143-48; R. Gelsonimo, 'L'epitalamio di Paolino di Nola per Giuliano e Titia (carne 25)', in *Atti del Convegno XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola (431-1981), Nola, 20-21 marzo 1982* (Rome 1983) 213-30; C. Tibiletti, 'Nota teologica a S. Paolino di Nola (carm. 25.189)', *Augustinianum* 18 (1978) 385-95; and J. A. Bouma, *Het Epithalamium van Paulinus van Nola* (Assen 1968).

⁶ Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis* as well as a similar poem by Luxorius were influenced by the poetry of Vergil rather than by Statius' *Epithalamion* (*Silv.* 1.2). Concerning the influence of Statius on the late antique epithalamium, see Z. Pavlovskis, 'Statius and the Late Latin Epithalamia', *CPh* 60 (1965) 164-77.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the wedding poem has become the subject of extensive scholarly interest. See, for example, V. Koerber, *De Graecorum hymenaeis et epithalamiis* (Breslau 1877); J. Fries, *Ein Beitrag zur Ästhetik der römischen Hochzeitspoesie* (Aschaffenburg 1909/1910); C. Morelli, 'L'epitalamio nella tarda poesia latina', *SIFC* 18 (1910) 319-432; E. A. Mangelsdorf, *Das lyrische Hochzeitsgedicht bei den Griechen und Römern* (Hamburg 1913); A. L. Wheeler, 'Tradition in the Epithalamium', *AJPh* 51 (1930) 205-33; R. Muth, "'Hymenaios" und "Epithalamion"', *WS* 67 (1954) 5-45; A. D'Errico, 'L'epitalamio nella letteratura latina dal fescennino nuziale al c. 62 di Catullo', *AFLN* (1955) 73-93; V. Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and its Development in England* (Los Angeles 1970); M. A. Babin, *Epithalamia: Classical Traditions and Changing Responses* (Berkeley 1978); E. Contiades-Tsitsoni, *Hymenaios und Epithalamion: Das Hochzeitslied in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1990); C. Kahn, *Felix Hymenaeus: A Study of Epithalamia through the Fourth Century A.D.* (Washington 1990); E. Stehlíková, 'The Metamorphosis of the Roman Epithalamium', *Eirene* 27 (1990) 35-45.

P. H. Green has observed: 'Nevertheless we are left wondering at Paulinus' misjudgment in writing it in verse; by challenging classical poetry with his ascetic ideals on its own ground he suffered a signal defeat'.⁷ Green's observation is based very much on the fact that there were no immediate successors to Paulinus' epithalamium in honour of Julian and Titia. But this is not quite the appropriate criterion for judging the generic innovation in *Carm.* 25. It was not so much classical poetry that Paulinus sought to challenge, although he was certainly very familiar with its conventions,⁸ but rather the pagan conception of marriage and its emphasis on sexuality, and what better literary vehicle could he choose in which to convey his ideas on the spiritual marriage to a highly literate audience than one that had been used so often in the past to promote the very ideals of marriage he is seeking to oppose? Given his views on marriage it is therefore not at all surprising that he wrote the kind of epithalamium he did. That it was not immediately emulated by other Christian poets should not be taken as a negative judgment of its literary merits, but should be explained by the fact that these poets did not at all share his views on marriage.⁹ *Carm.* 25 rather belongs to the vast tradition of treatises on virginity that became so popular in both the East and the West during the fourth

⁷ R. P. H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola: A Study of His Latinity* (Brussels 1971) 37.

⁸ He even retained the traditional metre of Latin love poetry, namely the elegiac distich.

⁹ Thus, despite the fact that they, too, came to hold high ecclesiastical office, Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius of Pavia, and Venantius Fortunatus wrote epithalamia that in a number of important respects merely carried on the classical tradition, although formally some of these poems manifest a remarkable originality. Certainly the most noticeable instance of the influence of the pagan literary tradition is the extensive use of material drawn from pagan mythology. That in each case it apparently mattered little to the poet that his addressees were Christians, M. Roberts (see reference below) ascribes to the continued attachment of even the converted members of the Roman aristocracy to the conventions of classical literary tradition, a tradition that among other things accorded the gods and mythological material a privileged role in the epithalamium. Since, by the late fifth century, hardly any connection still existed between mythological material and pagan belief systems, these Christian poets could, without any *crise de conscience* whatsoever, compose epithalamia replete with mythological references. Although in respect to career and origin the African poet Dracontius stands somewhat apart from Sidonius, Ennodius and Venantius Fortunatus, even a very superficial reading of his two epithalamia reveals that he shared their fondness for mythological material. But if such an approach was acceptable to Paulinus' immediate successors, it certainly was not to him. His ascetic rigour and the radical nature of the spiritual marriage he sought to recommend to Julian and Titia militated against any compromise with the tradition in this regard. For a more extensive discussion of this whole question, see M. Roberts, 'The Use of Myth in Latin Epithalamia from Statius to Venantius Fortunatus', *TAPhA* 119 (1989) 321-48.

century.¹⁰ For the poem’s true successors, one should look to the epithalamia of the early Middle Ages, a period in which the genre loses its profane character almost completely and becomes increasingly mystical thanks to the influence of the allegorical interpretation of the *Song of Songs* and of *Psalm 44*, texts that the earliest Christian exegetes regarded as Biblical epithalamia.¹¹ With the notable exception of Martianus Capella’s *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and a few other lesser known poems, the tradition of the epithalamium almost became extinct during the early medieval period, but regained some of its erstwhile popularity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the epithalamium of Alain of Lille and in the *Epithalamium Beate Marie Virginis* of John of Garland.

The thematic repertoire of the *hymenaios* and epithalamia written in Latin, and the literary tradition with which Paulinus’ *Carm.* 25 has come to be associated, namely Catullus’ three wedding poems (Cat. 61, 62 and 64), Statius’ *Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam* (*Silv.* 1.2), and Claudian’s two epithalamia, the *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti* (*Carm.* 9 and 10, written in all probability before the war against Gildo in March 398)¹² and the *Epithalamium Dictum Palladio V. C. Tribunio et Notario et Celerinae* (*Carm. Min.* 25), comprise the following elements:

The Hymenaios (Catullus)

- Appeal to Hymen, the god of marriage, to participate in the *deductio domum*
(procession of the bride to the house of the groom)
- Encomium on the bride
- Encomium on Hymen or Hesperus
- Appeal to the bride to leave her home and to set out towards the *thalamos* or
bridal chamber
- Arrival at the *thalamos* and advice to the bride concerning her duties as bride
and wife
- Wishes for noble descendants

¹⁰ On this subject, consult T. Camelot, ‘Les traités *De virginitate* au IV^e siècle’, *Études Carmélitaines* 13 (1952) 273-92. The collection by C. Munier, *Matrimonio e verginità nella Chiesa antica* (Turin 1990) contains a very good selection of texts centered on the theme of virginity in the early Church, from the New Testament to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Socrates the Grammarian. More modest is the collection of texts drawn from the works of Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, and Ambrose, and titled *Mariage et virginité dans l’Église ancienne: Les pères dans la foi* (Paris 1990).

¹¹ See F. Wilson, ‘Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature’, *Speculum* 23 (1948) 35. For this interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, read Rufinus, *Orig. in Cant.* 13.61-63. For a similar exegesis of *Psalm 44*, read Augustine, *In Psalm.* 4.541.

¹² For the date of the poem, see U. Frings, *Claudius Claudianus. Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti: Einleitung und Kommentar* (Meisenheim am Glan 1975) 23f.

The Epithalamium (Statius and Claudian)

Introduction or *proemium*

Conversation between Venus and Cupid in the course of which the latter accepts responsibility for the passion that the groom is going to feel for his bride

The goddess of love's attempt to reassure the bride or to persuade her to accept the marriage

Description of the wedding feast including references to the splendid setting and to the importance of the guests, of whom some arrive bearing fabulous gifts

Encomium on the couple and their respective families

Wishes for noble descendants

The principal themes of Paulinus' poem are:¹³

Introduction: exposition of the principal features of the ascetic marriage (1-14)

The chaste union of Julian and Titia as the re-establishment of the paradisiacal union of Adam and Eve (15-26)

The spiritual nature of this union that requires:

the pursuit of sobriety during the marriage feast (27-40)

caring for the adornment of the soul (41-144);

sexual continence on the part of both the husband and the wife (145-98)

Encomium on Aemilius and *Memor* (199-228)

Prayer (229-41)

On the face of it, Paulinus' *Carm.* 25 appears to have little in common with the tradition of the wedding poem as exemplified by the poems of Catullus, Statius, and Claudian. But appearances can be deceiving. An attempt will now be made to demonstrate that Paulinus indeed had the classical tradition in mind, but that at almost every turn his ascetic ideals inspired him to innovate.

Thus, the introductory lines of *Carm.* 25 contain a number of minor motifs very reminiscent of both traditions of the marriage poem, the *hymenaios* as well as the epithalamium. The appeal to Christ to lead (*duc*, 3) Julian and Titia under his bridle (*frena*, 3) would perhaps have reminded Paulinus' literate audience of the role the god Hymen is accorded especially in Catullus 61.44f.: *Dux bonae Veneris, boni / Coniugator amoris* ('Leader of gracious Venus / he who unites honest love'), although a more obvious reminiscence is perhaps Hymen's appeal to Venus at Claudian, *Carm. Min.* 25.95-97: . . . *duc protinus omnes, / duc age. Marcentes cupio quassare coronas / et uibrare faces et*

¹³ This outline conforms to a great extent with that of Bouma [5] 12f. With regard to lines 27-198, I have, however, preferred a more nuanced division.

noctem ducere ludo ('lead onward the whole procession, come, lead it. I am eager to shake the withering wreaths, brandish the torches, and draw out the night in pleasure'). In both Catullus 61 and 62, Hymen is very closely associated with the *deductio domum*. It is he who is responsible for leading the wedding procession of torchbearing maidens who at nightfall accompany the bride from her home to the wedding chamber and the groom's house. In the epithalamium, Hymen's role is substantially reduced, together with the importance of the *deductio domum*, and the attention shifts to Venus and Cupid. This is particularly evident in Statius' epithalamium where Hymen is a mere spectator leaning against the doorpost and praising Stella and Violentilla in song (*Silv.* 1.2.237-39). In his epithalamium in honor of the imperial couple, Claudian re-establishes the link between Hymen and the *deductio domum*, but appears to be content with a modest reference to Venus' appeal to the god to light the processional torches to signal the start of the ceremony (*Carm.* 10.202). Hymen is by no means absent from Claudian's epithalamium in honor of Palladius and Celerina, although there is no explicit mention of the *deductio domum*, only allusions to a few constituent features of the ceremony: the garlands, the torches, and the choirs (*Carm. Min.* 25.96-99). In view of the decline in the importance of the *deductio domum* in the wedding poems of late antiquity, Paulinus' audience would perhaps not have found the absence of any explicit reference to the ceremony at all surprising, particularly since the early Church almost certainly disapproved of this part of the ancient wedding ceremony.¹⁴

Paulinus' use of *frena* ('reins', *Carm.* 25.3) and *iugo* or *iugum* ('yoke', *Carm.* 25.4f.) as images of the marriage is not unusual, at least not in the tradition of the epithalamium, and can be traced back to Statius who begs rumor to fall silent since Stella 'has submitted to the laws [of marriage] and has bitten the reins' (*subiit leges et frena momordit*, *Silv.* 1.2.28). Venus also promises Cupid that Violentilla will accept Stella's marriage proposal, 'although [in the past] she has often refused to carry the yoke of a second marriage' (*quamuis iuga ferre secundi saepe neget*, *Silv.* 1.2.138f.). The word *iugum* ('yoke') as a metaphor for marriage occurs again at *Silv.* 1.2.78 and 165. It should also be noted that Ambrose very often uses the words *uinculum* ('chain') and *iugum* ('yoke') as Christianized metaphors for the marital bond that unites husband and wife.¹⁵ The phrase *subdere colla iugo* ('to submit one's neck to a yoke') used figuratively was already well established in classical literature. However,

¹⁴ See, for example, J. Gaudemet, 'La transformation de la vie familiale au Bas-Empire et l'influence du Christianisme', *Romanitas* 4 (1962) 68.

¹⁵ See K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing: A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (London 1982) 26f.

Paulinus' use of the expression imbues it with a meaning quite the opposite of that which it has in Tibullus and Silius Italicus, for example. In the former the context is the old man who submits his neck to Venus' chains,¹⁶ and in the latter it is the poet himself who submits his neck to Fortune.¹⁷

Significant also is the fact that Paulinus has chosen to embed one of these two metaphors in an allusion to Claudian's epithalamium to Palladius and Celerina: *pariles duc ad tua frena columbas* ('bring these two matching doves to your reins', Paul. *Carm.* 25.3) echoes *florea purpureas adnectunt frena columbas* ('reins made of flowers yoke together her bright doves', Claud. *Carm. Min.* 25.104). Thus the erotic image of shining doves being tied with reins of flowers to Venus' chariot is replaced by that of Christ placing upon Julian and Titia the reins of chastity.¹⁸ But the origin of the image is much earlier than Claudian. In fact, it already appears in Ovid who at *Amores* 1.2.23 asks Cupid to wreath his hair with myrtle and to yoke Venus' doves to her chariot (*Necte comam myrto, maternas iunge columbas*).¹⁹ R. Herzog has also pointed out that Paulinus has spiritualised the *amator* ('lover') who, in Roman elegy, is yoked to the front of Venus' triumphal chariot.²⁰

Since the agreement of both spouses and their equal status in society were considered by pagans as well as Christians as necessary prerequisites for the conclusion of a *coniugium iustum* ('just marriage') and in view of the increasing importance attached to conjugal harmony,²¹ the use of words like *concordes*

¹⁶ Tibullus 1.2.91f.: *uidi ego . . . / post Veneris uinclis subdere colla senem* ('I saw . . . the old man then submit his neck to Venus' chains').

¹⁷ Silius Italicus, *Punica* 10.215f.: *Fortunae subdere colla / nescius* ('incapable of bending the neck to Fortune').

¹⁸ The eroticism of this image is, as J. Fontaine has pointed out in his brief discussion of these lines, due to the fact that it evokes the constraint and tenderness of the passion that unites the two *coniuges* ('spouses') under the same *iugum* ('yoke'). See Fontaine's response to Herzog at Herzog [2] 419.

¹⁹ The allusion proved to be quite popular among later poets. It recurs in Dracontius (*Romul.* 6.75: *florea purpureas retinebant frena columbas*, 'reins made of flowers restrained the bright doves') and in Cyprianus Gallus (*Gen.* 529: *columbas pariles simili cum torture iunctas*, 'matched doves yoked together with a turtle-dove resembling them').

²⁰ Herzog [2] 387.

²¹ On mutual consent as the foundation of any just marriage contracted between a man and a woman of equal social and legal status, see M. Meslin, *L'homme romain*² (Paris 1985) 152. Noting the increasing importance attached to the voluntary consent of both partners, M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* 3: *Le souci de soi* (Paris 1984) 93f. has qualified the Roman marriage under the Empire as a union 'marquée par une réciprocité affective et une dépendance réciproque, une union dont l'inégalité s'atténue jusqu'à un certain point sans pour autant disparaître'. R. Orestano, 'Alcune considerazioni sui rapporti fra matrimonio cristiano e matrimonio romano nell'età postclassica', in G. G. Archi (ed.), *Scritti in onore di C. Ferrini*

(‘harmonious’) and *foedus* (‘agreement, union’) by poets to describe such a union should come as no surprise. Traditionally associated with civil harmony and celebrated by the construction of the temple of Concordia by the dictator, Furius Camillus, in 367 BCE,²² the concept of *concordia* (‘concord’) came to be considered by the Romans as encapsulating in a single word all the qualities of a harmonious marriage. This transference of the political meaning of the word into the domain of private life occurred at the end of the first century CE (especially during the reigns of Titus and Domitian), a time when the healthy family was increasingly seen as the guarantee of political concord.²³ Noteworthy is the fact that the word appears very prominently on coins minted in honour of the double wedding of Antoninus Pius and the elder Faustina (c. 110), and of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina in 145 CE.²⁴ In inscriptions, the word *concordia* (‘concord’) was often used to signify the equality that must obtain between two persons who share the same yoke of matrimony.²⁵ Late antique artists accorded concord an extremely important role in their representations of wedding scenes. Gradually this motif began to appear on private monuments, a development that bears witness to the important role concord came to play in the Roman conception of marriage. It can also be found with a similar meaning in early Christian art.²⁶

The concepts of marital concord and of marriage as a *foedus* (‘agreement, union’) are to be found in both classical and late antique wedding poems. Catullus describes the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as a remarkable and auspicious union (*foedus*) based on mutual love and complete concord (*concordia*).²⁷ A few lines further on, he also refers to it as a ‘happy union’

(Milan 1946) 351-82 has traced the trajectory of the concept of mutual consent from pagan to Christian views on marriage.

²² Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.641-44.

²³ See S. Dixon, ‘The Sentimental Ideal of the Roman Family’, in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* (Canberra 1991) 107f.

²⁴ A. Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler* (Leipzig 1871) 22-27 also provides a number of other important examples relating to imperial weddings.

²⁵ See S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991) 245f.

²⁶ For an excellent discussion and examples of the portrayal (both pagan and Christian) of Concordia (‘Concord’) in late antique art, see C. Reinsberg, ‘Concordia: Die Darstellung von Hochzeit und ehelicher Eintracht in der Spätantike’, in H. Beck and P. C. Bol (edd.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum: Ausstellung im Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt-am-Main, 16 Dezember 1983 bis 11 März 1984* (Frankfurt 1983) 312-17.

²⁷ Catullus, 64.335f.: *nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes / qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo* (‘no love has united lovers by a bond as fine as the bond of harmony that unites Thetis and Peleus’).

(*felix foedus*, Cat. 64.373). According to Claudian, no less a person than the god Hymen seals the union (*foedus*) of Palladius and Celerina (*Carm. Min.* 25.55), and it is the goddess of love herself who imposes on them the duty to live in harmony (*concordes*, *Carm. Min.* 25.130). Both in Catullus and in Claudian, the word *foedus* appears to have been used as a mere synonym for words like *coniugium*, *conubium*, or *matrimonium* ('marriage'). In Paulinus' *Carm.* 25, however, the word, together with the adjective *concors* ('harmonious') in lines 1 and 14, helps to emphasize the idea of Julian and Titia's marriage as a union in which mutuality and equality prevail not only with respect to class (both were members of the nobility), but also with respect to chastity and continence.²⁸ It is certainly this aspect of their marriage that appears to be one of the dominant themes of lines 1-18, and of the biblical *exemplum* that follows at lines 20-26. Apart from *concors* (or *concordes*, 'harmonious'), *pactum* and *foedus* ('agreement'; both of which appear only once, namely at lines 11 and 15 respectively), numerous other words, phrases and sentences also convey the idea that both the bride and the groom were still virgins and were equally committed to remaining so, for example: *casto sociantur amore*, / *uirgo puer Christi*, *uirgo puella dei* ('a chaste boy of Christ, a chaste maiden of God are joined in pure love', 1f.); *pariles . . . columbas* ('matching . . . doves', 3); *coeant pax pudor et pietas*. / *nam pietatis amor simul est et amoris honestas* / *paxque deo concors copula coniugii* ('let peace, modesty and sense of duty unite. For a harmonious marriage is both love of duty, virtuous love, and peace with God', 12-14).²⁹ At this point, the poem to some extent reflects contemporary views on marriage, yet, at the same time, it proposes a conception of marital harmony that is significantly distinct, a harmony for which Christ will act as guarantor and

²⁸ Here, however, it is advisable to keep in mind S. Elm's remark in her recent study on female ascetics in late antiquity: 'Women's theoretical equality as ascetics was readily accepted, yet any translation of that equality into an actual societal one was met with opposition' (S. Elm, *Virgins of God* [Oxford 1994] 310).

²⁹ This may be the reason why, in the course of the actual ceremony, both Julian and Titia are veiled, whereas traditionally only the bride was required to carry a veil. The problem is examined in detail by R. D'Izarnay, 'Mariage et consécration virginale au IV^e siècle', *La Vie Spirituelle* 24 (1953), especially 94. On the other hand, since the *confarreatio* marriage ceremony required both bride and groom to be veiled as Servius (*In Verg. Aen.* 4.374) would have us believe, this may be our strongest evidence to suppose that it may have served as a model for Julian and Titia's wedding ceremony. It is a possibility not mentioned by D'Izarnay. Be that as it may, in a society that still allowed male adolescents almost limitless sexual freedom and, for medical reasons, even encouraged it, the idea of a virgin groom would have been considered quite strange and unusual. See P. Veyne (ed.) *Histoire de la vie privée* 1: *De l'empire romain à l'an mil* (Paris 1985) 37 and especially A. Rousselle, *Porneia: De la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle* (Paris 1983) 60.

that consists primarily of the mutual agreement between the two spouses to abjure sex.

The combined influence of fourth century asceticism and late Roman aristocratic sensibilities on Paulinus' *création littéraire* is quite apparent in the traditional prayer that appears at the end of the poem. Given the Christian character of *Carm.* 25, it is perhaps not entirely unexpected that the poet has chosen to conclude it in this way. What is noteworthy is the fact that a similar feature is quite common in the classical wedding poem. In each case, there is the wish that the young couple may be blessed with noble offspring. In fact, in Catullus, Statius and Claudian, sex and the birth of offspring appear to be the sole *raison d'être* of the couple's union. In Catullus 61, there are unmistakable references to the bride and groom's first sexual encounter. The first subtle hint of what they are supposed to do in the nuptial chamber appears at lines 33-35 where the groom is compared to a tenacious ivy that completely envelops the tree. At lines 106-9, another simile, very much reminiscent of this one, reminds him in clearer terms of his duty. On that night, he must hold his bride in his embrace as a vine becomes entangled with the trees that surround it. In the meanwhile, the marriage-bed awaits (Cat. 61.111-15), and both bride and groom are hot with passion (Cat. 61.176-78). The whole poem reaches out to that moment when Iunia will enter the bed of her husband, Manlius Torquatus, and the two of them will enjoy the many pleasures of their first love-making, the purpose of which is to conceive offspring who will resemble them, for it is not fitting that a family as ancient as theirs should remain without descendants (Cat. 61.212-15). The poet even goes so far as to point out that it is a duty that they must fulfil with unflagging devotion (Cat. 61.234). In Catullus 64, the promise of the birth of a son (Achilles) is actually given as the reason why Peleus and Thetis should begin their love-making (Cat. 64.372-74). The fact that the prophetic words of the Fates concerning the sexual pleasures the two will experience frame their encomium in honour of Achilles, the fruit of this union, stresses the direct connection between sex and the creation of descendants.

In Catullus 62, too, fulfilling the sexual needs of her husband is seen as a vital aspect of a woman's calling in life. To make its point, the poem returns to the simile of the vine but applies it to the young girl who prefers to remain chaste. She becomes like a solitary vine in an empty field. It never grows tall and never produces soft grapes. Its delicate body is bent forward until its topmost shoot and its root are about to connect (Cat. 62.49-53). Once married, she ought to submit completely to her husband's sexual demands (Cat. 62.59). Catullus 61 even adds that if she refuses to do so, he may seek pleasure elsewhere (Cat. 61.151-53). Indeed, sex is the only thing on the husband's mind as he awaits the arrival of his bride with burning passion (Cat. 62.23). The same

even holds true in the case of Peleus whom Thetis has inspired with a 'burning love' (Cat. 64.19 and 374).

There can be no doubt that parenthood was believed to be one of the principal purposes of the Roman marriage, an idea that, as we have just seen, Catullus vigorously espouses when he stresses the importance of the cult of Hymen, the god who enabled the Roman citizen to provide the state with soldiers to defend its borders (Cat. 61.71-73). But, as P. Veyne has pointed out in his studies on the subject,³⁰ under the Empire this civic moral code, which regarded marriage as the duty of every Roman since it was the only constant source of citizens to serve the State, was transformed into a 'morale du couple'. The result was that marriage was no longer seen as legitimization of sexual passion *tout court*. What is more, since the marriage bond usually endured well beyond the duty of parenthood, its *raison d'être* was eventually extended beyond the realm of the purely physical to that of the emotions, and came to include friendship, harmony and mutual affection. In short, husband and wife no longer made love merely for the sake of procreation.

In his seminal work on the history of western sexuality, M. Foucault has claimed that this profound transformation is only fully comprehensible if what he terms 'la culture de soi' is taken into account. An intensification and valorisation of the individual's relationship with himself or herself rather than a 'sévérité plus marquée', an 'austérité accrue', or a 'resserrement des interdits' lie at the heart of this phenomenon.³¹ However, according to Foucault, this should not be seen to imply that the individual's interest was only centered on himself or herself. Instead, he prefers to speak of 'un déplacement du regard'.³²

Especially Catullus' poem in honor of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Cat. 64) reflects a more traditional moral code in respect to the purpose of marriage. The fact that the couple's son was to be the great Achilles certainly explains much of the poet's emphasis on military prowess (Cat. 64.338-70). Yet, at the same time, the poet's choice of a subject that lends itself so perfectly to this emphasis suggests that he was still strongly influenced by a moral code

³⁰ P. Veyne, 'La famille et l'amour sous le Haut-Empire romain', *Annales (ESC)* 33 (1978) 35-63. See further his contribution on the Roman marriage in Veyne [29] 45-59. See also J. Le Goff, 'Le refus du plaisir', in *Amour et sexualité en Occident* (Paris 1991) 177-92 and J. Guyon's eloquent discussion in a chapter entitled 'D'Auguste à Charlemagne: La montée des interdits', in M. Bernos *et al.* (edd.), *Le fruit défendu: Les chrétiens et la sexualité de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris 1985), especially 33-62 on sexual mores from the Augustan period to the age of Charlemagne. On the Roman views on love and sex, see P. Grimal, *L'amour à Rome* (Paris 1988) and A. Rousselle, 'Personal Status and Sexual Practice in the Roman Empire', *Zone 5: Fragments for a History of the Human Body* 3 (1989) 300-33.

³¹ Foucault [21] 84.

³² Foucault [21] 84.

that calculated the value of marriage almost exclusively in terms of its role in providing society with male citizens whose sole aim in life was to achieve fame on the battlefield. This does not appear to be the case in Catullus 61 where the poet wishes for Manlius Torquatus and his bride many children, but especially a male first-born who has his parents' features and will thus be witness to his mother's virtue (Cat. 61.211-25). Nevertheless, although it is impossible to judge on the basis of only two poems, there is still no evidence of the influence of a different moral code. The importance of Torquatus' marriage appears to revolve around the birth of a male heir who will ensure the continuation of the name and renown of his *gens* ('family').

As opposed to the wedding-poems of Catullus, those of Statius and Claudian were written at a time when, to use Veyne's terminology,³³ the civic moral code that was so closely associated with the Republic and the ideal of the governing class to exercise control over public life had already given way to the private moral code of aristocrats who, having lost the power and the ability to influence affairs of state, had become mere subjects of the emperor; a moral code characterized by the pursuit of self-control and personal autonomy. Despite reservations expressed by some scholars,³⁴ Veyne's and Foucault's theses do go some way towards helping us to understand the departures from the established tradition that we encounter in Statius, Claudian, and, of course, Paulinus. The influence of this new moral code would certainly explain why Statius' views on marriage and procreation as a duty are somewhat different from those we have found in Catullus. It can hardly be disputed that the interests of the state and of the family are still well served in Statius' epithalamium, but they no longer take precedence over the demands of the private individual and of human nature. It is to put an end to the 'idleness' (*otia*, *Silv.* 1.2.182) of youth that Violentilla is encouraged to become Stella's wife. Furthermore, without marriage there would have been no renewal in the world (*Silv.* 1.2.187), and Rome itself would not even have been built (an allusion to the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars and the birth of Romulus and Remus; *Silv.* 1.2.191-93). Only at the end of the poem, almost in a passing nod to tradition, is there mention of the male offspring who will serve the state admirably and increase the renown of their family (*Silv.* 1.2.266f.). But there are some significant changes too. Firstly, apart from the civil service and the military, there is now also another avenue open to the future (male) descendants of Stella and Violentilla to achieve fame, namely literary achievement (*Silv.* 1.2.267). With opportunities for political advancement severely restricted by the imperial court, it is quite understandable

³³ See above, p. 90 and n. 31.

³⁴ On Foucault, see, for example, M. Pierart, 'Michel Foucault et la morale sexuelle des Anciens', *FZPhTh* 33 (1986) 23-43.

that scions of aristocratic families would have to seek other ways to preserve and even to increase the *éclat* already attached to their names. Secondly, one cannot but notice the very sensitive portrayal of the bride's role as mother and wife. Unlike Catullus, the Flavian poet betrays concern for the mother-to-be's well-being before and after her confinement. Two of the goddesses closely associated with childbirth, Diana and Lucina, are invoked to grant Violentilla a speedy and uncomplicated delivery. Even the unborn child is beseeched by the poet to behave towards his mother with consideration (*Silv.* 1.2.269-71).

The dynastic considerations involved in Honorius' marriage to Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, would explain Claudian's explicit references to the couple's sexual relations, especially, although not surprisingly, in his fescennine verses in honor of the imperial wedding (*Carm.* 11-14). Since the primary aim of this union was to produce a male heir that would ensure the survival of the house of Theodosius and fulfil Stilicho's political ambitions, one need not be surprised that the poet allows for very little else except details of the couple's first night of passion and the young emperor's sexual prowess. The reason for this may also have been the fact that the young man was generally considered to be a weakling. Once again, we run into the similes of the ivy and the vine (*Carm.* 14.19f.). But the poet goes beyond Catullus' allusive language and expressly mentions the flame of desire, the constant and passionate exchange of kisses, the panting breath, Honorius and Maria's hot embraces, and the bed stained with blood from the ruptured hymen (*Carm.* 14.16-27). The military metaphors—the groom is portrayed leaping from the blood-soaked marriage-bed the next morning as a warrior emerging from a night of battle, wounded but victorious—certainly add to the eroticism of these lines (*Carm.* 14.28f.). In Claudian's epithalamium to the imperial couple, on the other hand, the reference to an heir, coming as it does after the lengthy encomium on the bride's father, Stilicho, is extremely brief (two lines out of 341!) and little more than a mere afterthought (*Carm.* 10.340f.). Evidently, the birth of a male child to Honorius and Maria is only important insofar as it would place Stilicho even closer to the centre of imperial power.

Of greater significance, perhaps, is the absence of any mention of a male heir in Claudian's epithalamium in honor of the wedding of the two private citizens, Palladius and Celerina (*Carm. Min.* 25). Although childbearing is still represented as an important reason for the young bride to satisfy her husband's physical needs (*Carm. Min.* 25.136), it is no longer the only one. She now has another role that their lovemaking allows her to fulfil, namely that of wife. In many ways, this poem best reflects the influence of Veyne's 'morale du couple'.³⁵ Palladius' role in the sexual act may still be that of a conqueror to

³⁵ See above, p. 90 and n. 31.

whom it is Celerina’s duty to submit, yet the young husband is also urged by Venus to be gentle since his wife’s affection cannot be gained by fear (*Carm. Min.* 25.132). Furthermore, both spouses are encouraged to live in harmony and to become soul-mates, so to speak.

Even against this background, it would not be entirely correct to assume that Paulinus’ prayer to Christ to support Julian and Titia in a lifelong commitment to sexual abstinence caught his readers completely by surprise. In fact, we do know that already in the first century BCE some male members of the Roman nobility exhibited a certain repugnance, based on reasons of health, against marriage and sexual relations. It was undoubtedly this movement and the alarming effect it had on the birthrate of the nobility that prompted Augustus’ legislation against celibacy.

The changes in public and private moral behavior that have just been referred to did not leave the Church unaffected. On the contrary, it not only made them its own, but also invested them with a severity that had its origin in specifically Christian conceptions of sex and male-female relations. The result was often a conversion to asceticism that manifested itself either by the suppression of all sexual relations from birth or by the pursuit of total continence in marriage.³⁶ At the same time, as J. Le Goff has already shown, although this new model of sexual conduct was already well-established by the time the Christian message began to penetrate pagan society, the Christian contribution was not just limited to the introduction of a more severe moral code but also included a transcendental and eschatological justification for it.³⁷ In

³⁶ The spiritual marriage has become something of a hot topic among modern scholars interested in the social and religious history of late antiquity. This is evidenced by the increasing number of publications dealing with the subject in recent years. Of particular interest with regard to the spiritual marriage in early Christian communities from the end of the fourth century are: A. Niebergall, *Ehe und Eheschließung in der Bibel und in der Geschichte der alten Kirche* (Marburg 1985) 104; L. Orabona, ‘Il matrimonio cristiano nell’età preconstantiniana’, *StudRom* 16 (1968) 7-16; H. Cancik, ‘Zur Entstehung der christlichen Sexualmoral’, in A. K. Siems (ed.), *Sexualität und Erotik in der Antike* (Darmstadt 1988) 358-60; L. C. Ruggini, ‘La donna e il sacro, tra paganesimo e cristianesimo’, in R. Uglione (ed.), *Atti del II Convegno nazionale di studi su ‘La donna nel mondo antico’, Torino, 18-20 aprile 1988* (Turin 1988), especially 264f.; D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton 1993) 16-93. On the problems that such a marriage gave rise to in some cases, see E. Clark, ‘Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: A Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity’, *Anglican Theological Review* 63 (1981) 240-57.

³⁷ See Le Goff [30] 177f. On Christian contributions to late antique views on sexuality, see also P. Brown, ‘Bodies and Minds: Sexuality and Renunciation in Early Christianity’, in D. M. Halperin et al. (edd.), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of the Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton 1990) 479-93.

respect to the literary tradition, Paulinus' prayer to Christ to hearken to the prayers of the two bishops and to ensure that, as a result of Aemilius' prayer of sanctification and through his instruction, Julian and Titia will either remain equally firm in their commitment to virginity or, failing in which, will produce offspring consecrated to God, can nevertheless still be considered a rather radical departure from the literary tradition, although males who preferred to remain virgins were not as uncommon in Roman society as is often supposed.³⁸ Of course, in the case of females, lifelong virginity was probably even less unusual, especially in view of the high profile of the Vestal Virgins. In the light of Paulinus' insistence throughout the poem on the importance of virginity, the allowance he now makes for the possibility that Julian and Titia may, despite his advice to the contrary, decide to indulge in sexual relations after all and have children is somewhat unexpected. The thought never seems to cross his mind, as it would not have crossed the mind of any other Roman, that they would make love for another reason. On the other hand, the proviso that in such a case the offspring at least should remain virgins is not without precedent in contemporary patristic literature. According to Jerome (*Epist.* 22.20, and see also Ambrose, *Virg.* 1.7.35), the only purpose of marriage is to bring into the world virgins devoted to serving the Church. In fact, women could even compensate for their own lack of spiritual excellence by dedicating their offspring as consecrated virgins to God (*Adv. Iovin.* 1.27).

To view this alternative as an attempt by a sympathetic poet to offer Julian and Titia an honourable way out if, God forbid, they were at some time no longer able to resist the temptations of the flesh, or to doubt whether it was a possibility he entertained seriously, would be to underestimate the extent to which the mindset of the spiritual élite of the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries was still that of the class to which many of them had previously belonged. P. Brown has pointed out that these men and women, despite a profound attachment to their ascetic vocation, were not unconvinced of the advantages of responding, albeit for a limited period of time and despite Jerome and Ambrose's unequivocal statements regarding the superior value of perpetual virginity, to the more urgent calls of the flesh and of producing heirs who in turn would ensure a constant flow of suitable recruits into the ranks of the ecclesiastical nobility or at least secure the future of their respective *gentes* ('families'). As yet unaffected by Augustine's views on the all-corrupting pervasiveness and the indomitable force of the *concupiscentia carnis* ('carnal desire'), they could, like Paulinus, still happily believe in the sexual drive as supplementary to human nature; in short, as something that was always

³⁸ See Rousselle [29] *passim*.

amenable to the will and could be abandoned at any time.³⁹ That he still took dynastic concerns quite seriously is very much apparent. In this respect, his *mentalité* is not really different from that of Catullus, Statius and Claudian, or of any Roman aristocrat for that matter, with the exception that the dynasty he has in mind is an ecclesiastical one that can be traced back to Aaron. As so often before in the poem, he again refers to the fact that Julian and Titia belong to a *sacerdotale genus* ('priestly class', *Carm.* 25.237). However, in this case he mentions it in connection with the possibility that they may have sex and produce children. If this were to happen, he advises, all of their offspring should be brought up as descendants of priestly stock.⁴⁰ Paulinus is not presenting them with a soft option, but probably just articulating a common practice among members of the aristocracy.⁴¹

In conclusion, from our examination of these few examples of generic innovation in *Carm.* 25 it would appear that, in the case of Paulinus of Nola at least, literary considerations alone do not suffice in explaining the Christian poet's departures from the tradition. He had no interest in writing a new kind of epithalamium that would be emulated by future poets. Instead, his whole purpose was to convey to Julian and Titia, in the only appropriate literary vehicle known both to him and to them, namely the epithalamium, the radical message of the spiritual relationship that an ascetic lifestyle requires of a husband and wife. The fact that his conception of the spiritual marriage constituted the very opposite of the Roman marriage as portrayed in the traditional epithalamium should serve as some indication of Paulinus' remarkable originality in the use of classical literary genres.

³⁹ It was this relatively uncomplicated conception of human sexuality and the concomitant notion of the basic sinlessness of concupiscence that would later turn Julian into one of Augustine's most formidable adversaries. On this whole issue, see P. Brown, 'Sexuality and Society in the Fifth Century A. D.: Augustine and Julian of Eclanum', in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria Corda: Scritti in onore di A. Momigliano* (Como 1983) 49-70, and *The Body and Society* (New York 1988) 387-427. See also E. Clark, "'Adam's Only Companion": Augustine and the Early Christian Debate on Marriage', *RecAug* 21 (1986) 43-66.

⁴⁰ Although at *Contra Faust.* 30.1 Augustine appears to exclude even this option: *Neque enim iusta haec nunc uestra sententia est, ut nos quidem, qui solum in plebe sacerdotale hominum genus censeamus a carnibus abstinere debere, daemoniorum doctrinae uideamur uobis assectatores* ('For neither is this opinion of yours correct that we indeed who hold that only those members of the human race who belong to a priestly class ought to abstain from carnal relationships, should seem to you to be followers of a demonic teaching').

⁴¹ See A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*² (London 1994) 145.

ÉRASME ET L'AFRIQUE: COMMENT PENSER L'ALTÉRITÉ

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Abstract. The cosmopolitanism of Erasmus is well known but is actually limited to Christian Europe. Few scholars have examined how Erasmus views the non-European world, except for that of the Turks. What he says about Africa is severely critical. Although Erasmus mainly follows and repeats the point of view of the ancients, his judgement is harsher: Africa is to him the negative embodiment of 'otherness'.

Il a beaucoup été question des relations qu'Érasme entretenait avec les différentes nations. On a étudié son patriotisme et son internationalisme.¹ On en a généralement conclu qu'il conjugait une aspiration typiquement humaniste au cosmopolitisme avec un sentiment de solidarité envers les Pays-Bas, ses jugements sur les différents pays d'Europe subissant au reste quelques changements selon ses polémiques avec tel ou tel de leurs ressortissants.

Cependant, on s'est peu penché, à notre connaissance, sur la vision qu'il a du monde non européen. En effet son cosmopolitisme affirmé,² qui s'appuie à la fois sur l'universalité du message chrétien et sur la tradition du stoïcisme antique, ne dépasse pas l'Europe chrétienne. Certes «parmi ceux qui cultivent les études, la distinction des régions doit avoir peu d'importance. Tout homme qui a été initié au culte commun des Muses, je le tiens pour mon compatriote» (*Quaquam apud studiorum cultores minimum habere momenti par est regionum discrimina: quisquis communibus Musarum sacris initiatus est, hunc ego omopatriam duco*).³ Mais les membres de cette République des lettres sont européens, et la Rome éternelle leur sert de patrie commune.

D'ailleurs, dans sa *Consultatio de Bello Turcis Inferendo* (1530), Érasme admet le principe d'une guerre défensive pour la sauvegarde de l'Europe et du christianisme, parce que depuis leur victoire de Mohacs en 1526 les Turcs

¹ Voir par exemple A. Gerlo, «Érasme, Homo Batavus», dans *Commémoration nationale d'Érasme* (Bruxelles 1970) 61-80; L.-E. Halkin, «Érasme et l'Europe», *Commémoration nationale d'Érasme* (Bruxelles 1970) 81-101.

² P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi* (Oxford 1906-58) 5.217, no. 1342, l. 539sq.: *Respondi me uelle ciuem esse totius mundi, non unius oppidi* («J'ai répondu que je voulais être citoyen du monde entier, non d'une seule ville»); Allen [au-dessus] 2.369, no. 480, l. 250-55; *Adages* 1193 (*Quaeris terra patria*, «Tout pays est ma patrie»).

³ Allen [2] 3.511, no. 928, l. 42-44; voir aussi Allen [2] 7.484, no. 2046, l. 32-34.

menacent Vienne. Mais il est, sinon, hostile à l’idée de croisade: d’abord on ne doit convertir que par l’exemple de la vertu et une vie de sainteté,⁴ ensuite les cultures et les peuples étrangers ou lointains ne l’intéressent pas. Ainsi ce qu’il dit des Turcs est sommaire et n’a de sens que par rapport aux chrétiens: il aime notamment développer parfois le paradoxe selon lequel les Turcs sont plus chrétiens que nous et nous plus Turcs que les Turcs, ainsi dans l’adage 3001 (*Dulce bellum inexpertis*, «La guerre est douce pour ceux qui ne l’ont pas éprouvée»): «Et pourtant ceux que nous appelons Turcs sont pour une grande part à demi chrétiens, et peut-être plus proches du vrai christianisme que la majorité d’entre nous» (*Atqui quos nos uocamus Turcas, magna ex parte semichristiani sunt, et fortassis propiores uero christianismo quam plerique nostrum sunt.*⁵).

Si on laisse donc de côté les Turcs, les allusions au monde non européen sont rares. Érasme déplore l’exploitation des peuples colonisés par les chrétiens, notamment les Lapons et les habitants du Nouveau Monde, quand il faudrait plutôt leur apporter la sagesse de l’Évangile.⁶ Ainsi dans le *Modus Orandi Deum* il évoque ces «peuples auparavant inconnus, sur les terres et les richesses desquels nous fondons avec nos armes, non pour les gagner au Christ—cela, il faudrait en effet l’essayer par d’autres moyens—mais pour étendre notre pouvoir ou plutôt notre tyrannie» (*gentes antehac ignotae, quarum terras et opes nunc armis inuadimus, non ut illos lucrificamus Christo, id enim aliis rationibus tentandum erat, sed ut ditionem uel tyrannidem potius nostram propagemus.*⁷). De même, dans un des *Colloques*, intitulé «Ichthyophagie», un personnage déclare à propos du «littoral austral» (*illud litus Austrinum*⁸): «J’ai appris qu’on en avait rapporté du butin, non qu’on y eût introduit le christianisme» (*Didici illinc auectas praedas, Christianismum inductum non audiui.*). Un autre passage des *Colloques*, extrait des «Mendiants riches»,⁹ fait

⁴ Sur Érasme et les Turcs voir J.-Cl. Margolin, «Érasme et la psychologie des peuples», *Revue de psychologie des peuples* 25 (1970) 415-18, repris dans J.-Cl. Margolin, *Érasme: Une abeille laborieuse, un témoin engagé* (Caen 1993) 345-48; voir aussi l’introduction de A. G. Weiler à la *Consultatio* dans *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam 1969-) 5.3.3-28 (ci-après *ASD*). Le thème de la conversion des Turcs par la vertu est notamment développé dans une lettre de 1518 (Allen [2] 3.364sq., no. 858, l. 103-10) et dans l’adage 3001 (*Dulce bellum inexpertis*», *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia* [Leyden 1703-06] 2, col. 966 DE [ci-après *LB*]).

⁵ *LB* 2, col. 967 CD.

⁶ Sur les Lapons voir Allen [2] 10.274, no. 2846, l. 96-116, et *Ecclesiastes*, *ASD* 5.4.148-150, l. 328-62.

⁷ *ASD* 5.1.123, l. 78-81.

⁸ *ASD* 1.3.505, l. 338sq.

⁹ *ASD* 1.3.398, l. 335-50.

appel au Nouveau Monde dans une optique différente, pour développer à partir d'étranges coutumes en vigueur dans ces *regiones nuper inuentas* («contrées récemment découvertes») la notion de relativité des usages: s'y dessine déjà le thème du bon sauvage.

Aussi, en raison même de la rareté du propos, ce qu'Érasme dit de l'Afrique doit-il retenir notre attention. Sa vision de l'Afrique, on ne s'en étonnera sans doute pas, est très négative. L'Afrique en effet cumule les handicaps, sans qu'on puisse très bien savoir si les critiques d'Érasme expliquent entièrement son hostilité ou s'il s'agit d'une argumentation *a posteriori* destinée à justifier un sentiment préexistant. D'abord, pour un humaniste aux yeux duquel Rome représente de manière intemporelle la civilisation, l'Afrique est le continent de Carthage, ennemi acharné des Romains. Les lieux communs hérités de Tite-Live et Valère-Maxime sur la perfidie punique et l'inconstance des Carthaginois se lisent plusieurs fois sous sa plume: ainsi dans le *De Copia* donne-t-il comme exemples de comparaisons *Hannibale uafrior, Poeno perfidior*;¹⁰ l'idée est reprise dans les *Adages* avec l'adage 728, *Punica fides* («Une perfidie punique»), opposée à l'*Attica fides* («Une loyauté athénienne») de l'adage 726. Et dans le *De Copia*,¹¹ on lit parmi les exemples de formules causales: *demiror te qui fidem habeas Afro* («Je m'étonne que tu te fies à un Africain.»). Enfin un passage d'une lettre¹² qualifie les peuples d'Afrique de *non satis firmæ fidei* («d'une loyauté peu assurée»), ce qui, malgré certaines traductions, renvoie à la même idée. Du coup c'est un mérite passé en proverbe que de vaincre l'Afrique, comme l'ont fait les Romains avec Scipion: ainsi dans l'*Éloge de la folie*.¹³ Les Africains sont aussi gratifiés de défauts moins traditionnels, l'ivrognerie,¹⁴ le goût des révolutions,¹⁵ mais surtout une *philautia* («amour-propre mêlé d'égoïsme») particulièrement développée: *id uitium . . . eximie uidetur fuisse in Afris* («Ce défaut . . . existait au plus haut degré, semble-t-il, chez les Africains.»), nous dit l'adage 292.

Ensuite l'Afrique est une terre déchue: elle a été romaine et chrétienne, on y parlait latin,¹⁶ elle est maintenant barbare et musulmane. A y regarder de près

¹⁰ «Plus rusé qu'Hannibal», «Plus déloyal qu'un Carthaginois», *ASD* 1.6.106, l. 955-957; voir aussi 1.6.208, l. 313sq. et 1.6.266, l. 774sq. De même dans l'*Ecclesiastes*, *ASD* 5.4.412, l. 118: *perfidia in Poenis* («la déloyauté chez les Carthaginois»).

¹¹ *ASD* 1.6.121, l. 323),

¹² Allen [2] 8.151, no. 2157, l. 174.

¹³ Chap. 49, *ASD* 4.138, l. 264

¹⁴ Allen [2] 8.149-51, no. 2157, l. 102sq. et 173sq., où Érasme se fonde sur une lettre non conservée de saint Augustin.

¹⁵ Allen [2] 8.151, no. 2157, l. 174sq.

¹⁶ Voir le *De Pronuntiatione*, *ASD* 1.4.33, l. 645sq.; Allen [2] 5.102, no. 1304, l. 67-69.

pourtant on s’aperçoit que la chose était prévisible. Certes l’Afrique a été une terre chrétienne, mais de nombreux passages de saint Augustin montre que les fausses croyances y étaient fort répandues: de son temps la *Iudaica superstitio* («superstition juive»), honnie d’Érasme, y avait un grand pouvoir, et l’on portait sur les péchés des jugements gravement erronés.¹⁷ Rien d’étonnant alors que plusieurs hérésies y soient nées ou y aient fleuri, notamment le donatisme et le pélagianisme.¹⁸

Par ailleurs l’Afrique n’est jamais vraiment sortie de la barbarie. Dans les *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Érasme rapporte que les Africains et les Scythes immolaient leurs propres enfants.¹⁹ Augustin, écrit-il dans une lettre, est né «en Afrique, dans une région barbare, où les études littéraires étaient étonnamment assoupies» (*in Africa, regione barbara, in qua studia litterarum mire frigebant*²⁰) et où l’on pratiquait peu la dialectique.²¹ Il continue dans une autre lettre, toujours à propos d’Augustin: «Son génie nous aurait donné des fruits plus riches si le hasard l’avait fait naître ou vivre en Italie ou en Gaule. L’Afrique était grossière, avide de plaisirs, ennemie des études, assoiffée de curiosités. C’est pour cela que les Africains l’occupent fréquemment avec des questions assez frivoles, sans grand rapport avec la piété, et il est souvent contraint d’adapter son style au tempérament de ses compatriotes. Mais il fallait un tel cultivateur pour défricher une telle ronceraie. Certes ses écrits eussent davantage mérité la lecture s’il s’était plié aux goûts des Romains ou des Grecs, ou s’il avait montré moins d’indulgence pour l’ignorance des simples» (*Uberiores nobis fructus dedisset ingenium, si in Italia Galliaue uel nasci uel uiuere contigisset. Rudis erat Africa, uoluptatum auida, studiorum inimica, curiosarum rerum appetens. Unde frequenter exercent illum quaestionibus subfriuiolis nec multum facientibus ad pietatem, et ad suae gentis affectus saepe cogitur attemperare calamum. Verum tali excolendo senticeto tali opus erat agricola. Quanquam digniora lectu scripturus erat, si uel ad Romanorum aut Graecorum iudicia se composuisset uel minus indulsisset simplicium imperitiae*.²²).

¹⁷ Voir sur la tendance à judaïser les *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ASD 5.2.119sq., l. 721-26; même propos dans Allen [2] 3.486sq., no. 916, l. 234-38. Sur les jugements à rebours voir Allen [2] 3.372, no. 858, l. 417-20.

¹⁸ Allen [2] 5.105, no. 1304, l. 226sq.; Allen [2] 7.407, no. 2002, l. 24sq.; Allen [2] 7.150, no. 2157, l. 172sq.; *Explanatio Symboli*, ASD 5.1.286, l. 392-96.

¹⁹ ASD 5.2.206, l. 419-21.

²⁰ Allen [2] 3.335sq., no. 844, l. 202sq.

²¹ Allen [2] 8.154, no. 2157, l. 316sq.

²² Texte latin dans P. G. Bietenholz, *History and Biography in the Work of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Genève 1966) 104, l. 63-71. La mention de la curiosité peut faire allusion à Apulée.

La culture de l'Afrique donc n'était pas sans failles: certes «l'ingénieuse» (*ingeniosa*) Afrique a produit jadis de grands talents.²³ Mais la pureté de la langue latine n'y échet guère qu'à Cyprien et Lactance.²⁴ Augustin a souvent «quelque chose d'ambigu, d'embrouillé et d'obscur» (*perplexum nescio quid et impeditum atque obscurum*), et il est loin de Cyprien pour «l'élégance de la parole» (*elegantia dictionis*²⁵). Le texte essentiel ici est celui d'une lettre de 1523 à Jean Carondelet où Érasme, après avoir constaté que dans la Rome antique, aucun provincial n'a réussi à rendre la simplicité du langage latin, ajoute: «Tertullien et Apulée ont un style particulier qui leur est propre; et dans les décrets des Africains qu'Augustin rapporte plusieurs fois contre Petilianus et Cresconius, on note une recherche anxieuse de l'éloquence, et cela d'une manière telle qu'on en reconnaît l'origine africaine. Même Augustin est parfois quelque peu obscur et fatigant, et Cyprien n'est pas absolument dépourvu d'africanisme, quoiqu'il soit plus pur que les autres» (*Nam et Tertulliano et Apuleio suus quidam est character; et in decretis Afrorum, quae multa refert Augustinus contra Petilianum et Cresconium, deprehendas anxiam affectationem eloquentiae, sed sic ut Afros agnoscas. Subobscurus ac submolestus est nonnunquam et Augustinus, nec omnino nihil Africum habet Cyprianus, caeteris licet candidior.*²⁶).

C'est la critique de l'*Africus tumor*. Comme presque tous les auteurs africains en sont atteints, le qualificatif d'*Afer* devient à lui seul péjoratif: Apulée, blâmé dans l'adage 3610 pour sa vie et son style, est dit *Afer et magus* («Africain et magicien»). Dans l'*Ecclesiastes*, Érasme regrette que Tertullien soit *durus* («rude») et trop peu exempt de *scurrilitas* («bouffonnerie»), puis ajoute comme si cela expliquait tout: *sed Afer erat* («Mais il était Africain»²⁷). Plus sévère encore: dans le *Ciceronianus*, Nosopon—qui certes n'est pas le porte-parole d'Érasme dans le dialogue—jugant Valère-Maxime déclare:²⁸ «Il ressemble à Cicéron autant qu'un mulet à un homme, au point qu'on a peine à croire qu'un tel auteur ait été Italien ou ait vécu à cette époque, tant tout son style indique le contraire, on dirait un Africain» (*Tam similis est Ciceroni quam mulus homini, adeo ut uix credas uel Italum fuisse qui scripsit, uel hoc aetatis uixisse, tam diuersum est totum dictionis genus, Afrum quempiam esse dicas.*); et un peu plus loin dans le texte,²⁹ il associe Tertullien et Apulée dans la

²³ Allen [2] 2.213, no. 396, l. 56sq., voir aussi Allen [2] 4.26, no. 1000, l. 56-58.

²⁴ Allen [2] 4.26, no. 1000, l. 58-60.

²⁵ Allen [2] 4.26, no. 1000, l. 65sq. et 77.

²⁶ Allen [2] 5.179, no. 1334, l. 307-12.

²⁷ ASD 5.4.266, l. 448-50.

²⁸ ASD 1.2.657, l. 25-28.

²⁹ ASD 1.2.660, l. 10sq.

réprobation. En revanche, dans l’adage 859, l’adjectif *Afer* semble faire allusion à la *philautia* supposée des Africains: Érasme, évoquant une lettre d’Augustin à Jérôme où il lui semble que le premier s’est comporté avec trop d’arrogance à l’égard d’un homme tellement plus savant que lui, conclut: «Mais ceci est pardonnable chez un Africain, encore jeune et évêque» (*Verum hoc uenia dignum in Afro, et iuvene, et episcopo*).

Une série de quatre adages, les adages 2608-11, montre que l’Afrique est le lieu de l’excès, de la monstruosité, du mal, de l’innovation néfaste. Respectivement intitulés *Lybica fera* («Une bête sauvage de Libye»), *Semper adfert Libya mali quippiam* («La Libye produit toujours quelque chose de mauvais»), *Semper Africa noui aliquid apportat* («Toujours l’Afrique apporte quelque chose de nouveau»), et *Afra auis* («Un oiseau d’Afrique»), ils ont pour origine le fait que l’Afrique produisait des animaux monstrueux qu’on faisait parfois venir à Rome, et s’appliquent par extension aux moeurs des habitants. Ainsi dans l’adage 2609 (*Semper adfert Libya mali quippiam*): «On peut aussi appliquer l’expression au comportement et à l’esprit de ce peuple puisque, de même que le pays est fécond en poisons, ses habitants ont l’esprit venimeux» (*Hinc et in mores ingeniumque gentis detorqueri potest, siquidem, ut est regio uenenorum ferax, ita gentis pestilens ingenium*). Pour les adages 2608 (*Lybica fera*) et 2610 (*Semper Africa noui aliquid apportat*), Érasme se contente de dire, sans mentionner spécifiquement les Africains: «On disait cela autrefois pour un homme rusé, habile, ondoyant, au comportement fluctuant et à l’esprit retors» (*Dicebatur olim in hominem uafrum, callidum, uersipellem, uariis moribus ancipitique ingenio*), et «Cela conviendra pour des gens à la loyauté incertaine et toujours avides de changement» (*Quadrabit in homines lubrica fide semperque nouandarum rerum auidosi*). Érasme a cité de nombreuses fois ces adages, directement ou indirectement, dans son oeuvre: dans les *Colloques*, l’*Ecclesiastes*, l’*Explanatio Symboli*, le *De Pueris Instituendis*, et la *Correspondance*.³⁰ Il les apprécie donc, et ils traduisent à ses yeux une certaine vérité.

On ne peut dire pourtant qu’il y ait chez Érasme un racisme simpliste. Certes les Éthiopiens—alors chrétiens³¹—sont définis par la noirceur de leur peau,³² et parfois cette noirceur devient morale, ainsi dans cette phrase de

³⁰ Voir *Colloques*, ASD 1.3.335, l. 74f.; *Ecclesiastes*, ASD 5.4.174, l. 831sq. et p. 254, l. 191sq.; ASD 5.5.228, l. 629sq.; *Explanatio Symboli*, ASD 5.1.286, l. 392sq.; *De Pueris Instituendis*, ASD 1.2.35, l. 26; *Correspondance*, Allen [2] 6.417, no. 1756, l. 1; Allen [2] 8.150, no. 2157, l. 171sq.; Allen [2] 10.314, no. 2876, l. 7sq.

³¹ Cf. Allen [2] 10.367, no. 2914, l. 31sq.

³² *Ecclesiastes*, ASD 5.4.412, l. 118; *Adages* 350 (*Aethiopem lauas*, «Tu laves un Éthiopien») et 2988 (*Aethiops non albescit*, «Un Éthiopien ne blanchit pas»), *adynata* inspirés aussi de Jérémie 13.23.

l'*Ecclesiastes*: «Eux qui auparavant étaient des Éthiopiens noirs de crimes, dépouillent le vieil homme et, revêtant le Christ, se couvrent de la toison blanche de l'agneau» (*Qui prius erant Aethiopes nigri criminibus, exuunt ueterem hominem et Christum induentes candido agni uellere amiciuntur.*³³). Mais Érasme, qui bien sûr préfère la blancheur du teint, admet qu'un Éthiopien puisse être beau aux yeux des Éthiopiens par son teint foncé.³⁴

Malgré tout, l'image de l'Afrique est chez lui globalement très négative: c'est une terre qui produit des animaux monstrueux et dangereux, phénomène qui paraît avoir un lien avec la nature même du pays. En effet la phrase du *De Copia*: «Les dragons ne sont nuisibles qu'en Afrique, ailleurs ils sont doux et inoffensifs, et les fruits de Perse, transplantés en Italie, cessent d'être un poison» (*Dracones in sola nocent Africa, alibi placidi et innoxii, et Persicum pomum in Italiam translatum toxicum habere desiit.*³⁵), suggère que la venimosité de ces serpents cesse si on les emmène hors d'Afrique. Or cette affirmation n'a pas de précédent antique et pour les fruits de Perse, Érasme dit exactement le contraire de sa source, Pline l'Ancien (*Histoire naturelle* 15.45). Il y a donc une sorte de mal qui est spécifiquement lié à la terre africaine. Et les Africains sont à l'image des monstres que leur pays produit: ils n'ont aucune loyauté (leur *fides punica*), ils sont excessivement satisfaits d'eux-mêmes (leur *philautia*), ils écrivent dans un style ampoulé et obscur. Si la perfidie et le *tumor Africus* ne sont pas une nouveauté, certains défauts qu'Érasme attribue aux Africains (*philautia*, ivrognerie, goût des révolutions) ne paraissent attestés par aucun texte ancien et pourraient bien être une invention à lui. Seul en effet Salvien, un auteur qu'Érasme ne connaissait pas bien,³⁶ évoque, parmi leurs innombrables défauts, le goût des Africains pour le vin (*Du gouvernement de Dieu* 7.15.64 et 7.16.70).

Ce ne sont donc pas les Turcs qui représentent pour Érasme l'altérité absolue, comme c'était le cas pour la plupart de ses contemporains, qui voyaient en eux l'ennemi intraitable, haineux et féroce du chrétien. En effet les Turcs présentent l'avantage à ses yeux d'être monothéistes et il les qualifie plusieurs fois de demi-chrétiens.³⁷ Non, dans l'esprit d'Érasme, l'autre absolu est figuré par deux catégories largement abstraites, les Juifs et les Africains. Être juif selon lui, c'est surtout une manière d'être qui consiste à ramener l'esprit de l'Évangile au formalisme de la Loi mosaïque; naturellement, les Juifs, convertis

³³ ASD 5.4.428, l. 539-41.

³⁴ Allen [2] 3.571, no. 959, l. 91sq.

³⁵ ASD 4.1A.88sq., l. 79-81.

³⁶ Voir Allen [2] 8.415, no. 2305, l. 16-18.

³⁷ On l'a vu plus haut. La *Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo* nous dit également qu'ils sont *semichristiani* («à demi chrétiens») et *dimidiatum habent christianismum* («ils sont à moitié chrétiens», ASD 5.3.52, l. 396, et 62, l. 635sq.).

ou non, sont particulièrement susceptibles d’une telle attitude; et comme il trouve que les chrétiens judaïsent chaque jour davantage (c’est-à-dire que leur religion se limite selon lui de plus en plus au respect de rituels, d’obligations et d’interdits), il a tendance à soupçonner partout l’action des Juifs.³⁸ Quant aux Africains, ils les voit tels qu’il les imagine, en mélangeant l’Antiquité et le présent—selon une tendance fréquente chez les humanistes depuis Pétrarque—ou plutôt en attribuant à des Africains intemporels et irréels ce que les Anciens disaient des Africains de leur temps. L’adage 2611 (*Afra auis*) montre bien que l’Africain est l’autre par excellence: «A mon avis, on utilisera aussi ce mot non sans à-propos pour un homme que sa tenue étrangère fait remarquer» (*Mea quidem sententia non inepte iacietur et in hominem peregrino cultu notabilem.*). On constate alors qu’Érasme, dont l’idéal de tolérance n’est plus à prouver,³⁹ a cependant du mal à penser l’altérité: l’autre est toujours plus ou moins une figure du mal, puisque l’antagonisme entre nous est incontestable et que moi-même, apôtre du christianisme et des belles-lettres, je suis le bien et la vérité.

Enfin, il est certain que le rapport complexe d’Érasme à saint Augustin explique en partie son propos sur les Africains. Tout en admettant que l’évêque d’Hippone est une sommité de l’Église et en s’abritant à l’occasion derrière lui, Érasme ne lui ménage pas ses critiques: il est trop prolix, son style est excessivement recherché, son goût pour la dialectique et les définitions tranchées annonce la scolastique, sa théorie de la grâce ne laisse aucune place au libre arbitre. Et Érasme manque rarement une occasion de lui décocher quelque trait, fût-ce sous le couvert de l’éloge, et ceci maintes fois, explicitement ou non, afin de souligner par contraste la valeur plus grande de saint Jérôme.⁴⁰ Bref, l’opinion défavorable qu’a Érasme des Africains ne peut s’isoler d’un certain nombre de facteurs sans le moindre lien avec les Africains qui lui étaient contemporains, sur lesquels il n’a cherché aucune information.

³⁸ Sur Érasme et les Juifs, voir S. Markish, *Érasme et les Juifs* (trad. fr. *L’Age d’homme* [Lausanne 1979]); J.-Cl. Margolin, «Antisémitisme d’hier et d’aujourd’hui: antisémitisme éternel?», *Les Temps modernes* 410 (sept. 1980) 429-43; A. Godin, «L’antijudaïsme d’Érasme: équivoques d’un modèle théologique», *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 47 (1985) 537-53.

³⁹ Voir J.-Cl. Margolin, «La tolérance et ses limites d’après Érasme», dans *Homo religiosus. Autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris, Fayard 1997) 627-36.

⁴⁰ J. Chomarat, dans *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme* 1 (Paris 1981) 167-82, a montré définitivement que saint Augustin n’était pas le maître à penser d’Érasme et que celui-ci avait plus d’affinités avec saint Jérôme. On trouvera un bon exemple de comparaison qui tourne à l’avantage de Jérôme dans la lettre 844 (Allen [2] vol. 3). Voir aussi Érasme, *Éloge de la folie, Adages, Colloques, Réflexions sur l’art, l’éducation, la religion, la guerre, la philosophie, Correspondance*, édition établie par Cl. Blum, A. Godin, J.-Cl. Margolin et D. Ménager (Paris 1992) 73-77.

SENGHOR ET LA PHILOSOPHIE GRECQUE

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Abstract. Alors que Platon se proposait de chasser les poètes de la Cité Idéale, Senghor, quant à lui, se plaît à introduire les philosophes dans son univers poétique. Des *Chants d'ombre* aux *Elégies majeures*, toute l'oeuvre respire ce parfum antique de la pensée grecque. Aussi une lecture philosophique de sa poésie serait-elle à même de montrer l'impact de l'hellénisme sur le théoricien de la Négritude.

Les Presocratiques

De fait, l'omniprésence des philosophes présocratiques est manifeste dans cette poésie qui accorde une grande place à la Nature, à la *Physis*.¹ La science de la Nature constituait l'objet de recherche des premiers penseurs grecs qui étaient appelés physiciens ou physiologues. Pour eux, l'univers est formé à partir d'un élément premier ou principe. C'était l'eau chez Thalès (625-547 av. J.C.), l'air chez Anaximène (550-480 av. J.C.), le feu chez Héraclite (540-480 av. J.C.), l'atome chez Démocrite (460-370 av. J.C.). Les *Lettres d'hivernage* nous restituent la doctrine des Présocratiques, particulièrement celle d'Empédocle d'Agrigente (490-430 av. J.C.). Selon ce philosophe, l'eau, l'air, le feu, la terre constituent les quatre principes ou racines qui, mus par l'Amour et la Haine, engendrent l'univers. Dans «J'ai fait retraite»,² le poète annonce qu'il est «Retourné aux éléments primordiaux / A l'eau . . . au sel, au vent de sable, au basalte et au grès». A ce propos, Marcel Schaettel écrit: «Le poète ressuscite les mythes primordiaux . . . l'eau, le vent, le sable . . . et le soleil boule de feu. Ces archétypes dynamiques, toujours prêts à renaître et à se transformer, à se combattre ou à se mêler, sont souvent ambivalents.»³ Parménide (5-6e siècle av. J.C.), dans un poème qui peut être considéré comme le premier texte philosophique, affirme que l'existence de l'Etre hors du néant égale une faute que seule la mort peut faire expier. Cette mort possède le pouvoir de retourner l'Etre dans l'harmonie du Cosmos qu'il n'aurait jamais dû quitter. C'est le voeu que forme Senghor dans son épitaphe («Quand je serai mort ou Epitaphe II»): «Quand je serai mort mes amis, couchez-moi à l'ombre de mes ancêtres . . . / Et

¹ Φύσις, de la même racine que φύω (naître), signifie «Nature».

² L. S. Senghor, *Oeuvre poétique*⁵ (Paris 1990) 250.

³ M. Schaettel, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poétique et poésie* (Lyon 1977) 8.

nos chants le berceront sous la terre maternelle».⁴ Commentant la dernière partition de «Que m’accompagnent Koras et balafong», Ibrahima Sall écrit: «Le climat du poème est celui d’une audition de la physis. Il s’agit toujours de se fondre dans la nature et d’être au terme d’une écoute de la physis, en osmose avec l’Etre, en se laissant envelopper par la Nature. Tel le peintre qui s’inspire de la nature qu’il peint, le poète doit se fondre dans la nature afin de comprendre et de connaître «les signes que disent les ancêtres dans la sérénité marine des constellations.»⁵

Dans l’«Elégie pour Martin Luther King»,⁶ l’Etre est présenté avec les mêmes traits que celui de Parménide, lors d’une descente aux Enfers: «Voilà que j’entendis, derrière mon oreille gauche, le battement lent du tam-tam. La voix me dit, et son souffle rasait ma joue: «Ecris et prends ta plume, fils du Lion». Et je vis une vision . . . Et sur un tertre Siégeait l’Etre qui est force, rayonnant comme un diamant noir.» De fait, la strophe finale de l’«Elégie pour Martin Luther King» constitue une brillante recomposition du poème de Parménide.⁷ La Révélation que le poète a reçue est identique à celle du philosophe. L’illumination chez Parménide, comme chez Senghor, se produit à travers les sens de l’ouïe et de la vue. En témoignent les expressions anaphoriques «Je vis», «J’entendis» qui fourmillent dans les deux textes. Dans le poème de Parménide, une divinité reçoit le néophyte qui doit subir l’initiation: «Et la déesse me reçut avec bienveillance, prenant ma main droite / Dans les siennes, elle me parla m’adressant le discours suivant . . . / Ainsi donc tu dois apprendre de moi . . . / L’être est et le Non -être n’est pas . . . / Et ne te laisse pas entraîner sur cette route par la force de l’habitude sempiternelle. / En te servant de tes yeux qui n’atteignent pas leur but, de tes oreilles pleines de bruit. . . .»⁸

L’Etre de Parménide apparaît comme un Etre animiste dont la vérité n’est accessible qu’à l’initié possédant le savoir. «Voilà pourquoi Parménide, selon Jean Zafiropulo, connaîtra cette réalité grâce aux paroles de la déesse, c’est-à-dire par une révélation divine que précède une initiation symbolisée par le prologue de son poème.»⁹ Par ailleurs, la 7e strophe de «Que m’accompagnent Koras et balafong» s’ouvre sur une théorie pythagoricienne. En effet, selon le

⁴ Cf. G. Gaw-dat Osman, *L’Afrique dans l’univers poétique de Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Dakar/Abidjan/Lomé 1978) 75.

⁵ I. Sall, *Martin Heidegger, lecteur de Léopold Sédar Senghor* Dakar, Novembre 1990.

⁶ Senghor [2] 295-304.

⁷ Senghor [2] 302.

⁸ J. Zafiropulo, *L’école éléate* (Paris 1950) 128-45 cite le poème de Parménide.

⁹ Zafiropulo [8] 67.

philosophe Pythagore, l'âme, après la mort, entre dans un autre corps. Cette réincarnation appelée métempsychose se renouvelle chaque fois que l'Être meurt, pour constituer la roue des existences, c'est-à-dire une suite de changements corporels. Tel semble être le sens de ces versets («Que m'accompagnent Koras et balafong»): «J'étais moi-même le grand-père de mon grand-père. / J'étais son âme et son ascendance.»¹⁰ L'âme de l'ancêtre, à travers les âges, a émigré dans les corps d'autres êtres, avant d'arriver dans celui du poète. Cette transmigration des âmes peut s'effectuer à travers les humains, les animaux ou les végétaux. Ainsi, le fils disparu réapparaît dans la flore («Elégie pour Philippe Maguilen Senghor»): «Je surprendrai tes yeux de cyclamen».¹¹ Le pythagorisme senghorien symbolise une sorte de perpétuation des valeurs de la race et de la culture nègres. De même, l'«Elégie pour la reine de Saba» introduit ce que les doxographes ont appelé l'arithmologie pythagoricienne: «Et neuf forgerons marteau sur l'épaule, qui enseignaient les nombres / primordiaux, tous nés du rythme du tam-tam».¹² De fait, pour Pythagore, toutes choses sont des nombres. A partir de l'accord musical convertible en proportion mathématique, ce philosophe serait arrivé à l'idée que les nombres sont le principe, la source et la racine de tout. De cette conception est née l'arithmologie mystique attribuant aux nombres certaines propriétés. Ainsi, la tétraktys, qui est la somme des quatre premiers nombres, constitue le fondement de l'univers ($1+2+3+4=10$). Cette pensée conçoit la création du Cosmos sur le modèle de l'harmonie du nombre. Aussi cosmologie et arithmologie ne font-elles qu'une seule entité dans la doctrine de Pythagore. Tel est le sens de ce verset senghorien: «Que ton rythme et la mélodie en disposent les sphères dans le charme du nombre d'or».¹³

Le Cosmos est disposé selon une certaine harmonie. Les sept planètes que sont la Lune, Vénus, Mercure, le Soleil, Mars, Jupiter, Saturne correspondent aux différentes cordes de la lyre. Par leurs vitesses de vibration et suivant leurs distances respectives, elles produisent le son de l'octave. A ce propos, Cicéron affirme (*République* 6) que «la plus élevée des sphères est la plus rapide de toutes, tandis que l'orbe inférieur de la Lune donne un son grave et sourd». Voilà ce que les Pythagoriciens appellent l'harmonie des sphères qui est un concert inaudible pour le non-initié. Quant à l'héraclitéisme, il apparaît, de façon récurrente, dans l'œuvre de Senghor. Le dernier tercet de «Femme Noire» qui «chante (la) beauté qui passe»,¹⁴ évoque ainsi la doctrine d'Héraclite d'Ephèse selon laquelle «Tout coule» ($\tau\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \rho\acute{\eta}\iota$). Cette philosophie épouse

¹⁰ Senghor [2] 33.

¹¹ Senghor [2] 291.

¹² Senghor [2] 329.

¹³ Senghor [2] 330.

¹⁴ Senghor [2] 17.

le mouvement de la vie qui est changement perpétuel. L'art serait donc, comme le pense Malraux, un anti-destin. La même idée se retrouve dans ce verset de *Nocturnes* («Était-ce une nuit maghrébine?»): «Tu seras la même toujours et tu ne seras pas la même».¹⁵ C'est dire combien le temps transforme insensiblement les êtres et les choses, ce qu'Héraclite signifie par cette formule (fr. 39): «Nous ne nous baignons jamais deux fois dans le même fleuve».¹⁶ En outre, le feu est lié à la pureté et à l'espoir («Elégie des circoncis»): «Feu de branches, toi feu d'espoir! pâle mémoire du soleil qui rassurait mon innocence».¹⁷ Mais parfois, Dieu l'utilise pour châtier les peuples impurs («Elégie des eaux»): «Feu! Feu! murs ardents de Chicago, Feu! Feu! murs ardents de Gomorrhe Feu sur Moscou».¹⁸ Même s'il s'agit là d'une vérité biblique, on ne peut manquer de se référer à Héraclite pour qui (fr. 21): «Au commencement était le Feu, / A la fin sera le Feu». Car l'Etre primordial héraclitéen, le Feu (πῦρ), donne naissance au monde et consume le monde dans une conflagration générale selon certains cycles. S'agissant de l'Esprit, du Noûs d'Anaxagore de Clazomènes (500-428 av. J.C.), Senghor évoque son pouvoir dans l'«Elégie des Alizés»: «Et l'esprit est descendu parmi nous dans la pourpre des flamboyants. / Gratuitement, Seigneur, tu es descendu en nous ah ! nous habitant, toi qui es plus-que-vie / Toi l'intérieur qui est le rouge des corps des coeurs. / Je te salue, Esprit, qui t'incarnes dans les coeurs dans les corps. . . . / Mais gloire bien plus gloire aux splendeurs de l'Esprit dans son exaltation.»¹⁹ Certes, il est possible de déceler, dans ces versets, une résonance chrétienne. Toutefois, l'inspiration anaxagorienne se perçoit à travers leur confrontation avec ce fragment (fr. 14): «Quant à l'Esprit, qui est éternel, bien sûr qu'il se trouve encore maintenant là où est tout le reste: aussi bien dans la multitude extérieure que parmi les choses nées par rassemblement, que parmi celles séparées antérieurement».²⁰ Comme le Dieu de la Bible, l'Esprit d'Anaxagore constitue le principe organisateur de l'univers. On le voit, l'animisme senghorien est en parfaite adéquation avec le panthéisme des Présocratiques.

Le Platonisme

Et pourtant, nulle autre pensée que celle de l'Académie n'a plus fortement influencé le poète africain. C'est en effet la figure de Socrate (469-399 av. J.C.)

¹⁵ Senghor [2] 186.

¹⁶ Texte grecque dans K. Axelos, *Les fragments d'Héraclite d'Ephèse* (Paris 1958).

¹⁷ Senghor [2] 201.

¹⁸ Senghor [2] 207.

¹⁹ Senghor [2] 270.

²⁰ J. Zafiropulo, *Anaxagore de Claxomène* (Paris 1948) 592 fr. 14.

qui se profile dans l'orientation générale de l'idéologie senghorienne. On sait que, rompant avec la physique de ses prédécesseurs, avec l'étude de la nature extérieure, Socrate avait entrepris de procéder à son introspection en étudiant la nature intérieure. La formule inscrite au fronton du temple de Delphes devint alors sa devise: «Connais-toi toi-même». De même, Senghor prône un retour à soi, à ses racines, à la Terre-mère «comme les lamantins vont boire à la source». C'est ainsi seulement que l'Africain retrouvera sa négritude qui est «vue et vie». Le continent noir apparaît chez lui comme une obsession qui fait jaillir les souvenirs: «Joal! / Je me rappelle» («Joal»)²¹ et «Saint-Louis, Saint-Louis! Je me souviens / d'hier d'avant-hier» («Elégie pour Martin Luther King»)²².

Il est significatif que le premier recueil de Senghor, *Chants d'Ombre*, se clôt «Dans le regret du Pays noir» et que la dernière oeuvre, les *Elégies Majeures*, s'achève sur l'évocation de la Reine de Saba qui, selon le poète, symbolise l'Afrique: «l'Afrique noire . . . apparaîtra ici, dans la dernière des *Elégies Majeures*, sous la figure de la Reine de Saba, avec qui, pendant des années, j'ai vécu en adoration.»²³ Ainsi donc, l'exaltation de l'Afrique est liée au thème du souvenir qui, chez Platon (429-347 av. J.C.), constitue la source de la Connaissance. Dans le *Ménon*, Socrate amène un esclave, qui n'a jamais été à l'école, à résoudre un problème de géométrie. Par la méthode de la maïeutique, il conduit son interlocuteur à découvrir en lui-même la solution. L'esclave de Ménon n'a donc rien appris de Socrate, il n'a fait que se rappeler ce qu'il savait déjà, la science qu'il avait acquise dans une existence antérieure. Dès lors, toute connaissance s'assimile à une reconnaissance, à une ressouvenance. Pour Senghor, précisément, connaître ses racines, c'est retourner à son identité par l'acte du souvenir («Elégie des Saudades»): «Me souvenir, mais simplement me souvenir . . .».²⁴

Par ailleurs, les théories esthétiques de Platon et de Senghor sur l'inspiration poétique se recoupent en bien des aspects. Le Maître de l'Académie montre en effet que le poète n'est nullement conscient de son art mais qu'il écrit sous la dictée d'une Intelligence divine. Dans les premières pages de l'*Apologie*, il met en scène Socrate effectuant une tournée auprès des hommes réputés pour leur science afin de vérifier la véracité de l'oracle de Delphes qui l'a déclaré «le plus savant des hommes» (ὁ σοφώτατος τῶν ἀνθρώπων). Platon montre ainsi que les poètes ne possèdent aucun savoir mais que c'est la divinité qui s'incarne en eux pour leur insuffler l'inspiration. Senghor n'a pas dit autre chose dans le «Dialogue sur la poésie francophone»:

²¹ Senghor [2] 15.

²² Senghor [2] 296.

²³ Senghor [2] 385.

²⁴ Senghor [2] 203.

«Or donc, pour Homère et les Grecs de son époque, le poète est visité, habité par un dieu, qui lui donne la force de l’inspiration. Pour quoi on le qualifiait de théios «divin», on l’appelait aoĩdos, «chanteur», et pas encore poiētēs, «fabricant». Possédé par une divinité, la Muse, le poète récepteur modulait le chant que lui chantait celle-ci, mais non sans y apporter sa marque, c’est-à-dire sa forme propre: sa «technē.»²⁵ Du reste, l’«Elégie de Carthage» exalte cet enthousiasme, au sens étymologique, ce transport divin qui procède d’un délire sacré: «C’est encore toi mon Amie, qui me viens visiter m’habiter m’animer. / C’est bien toi ce soulèvement soudain dans ma poitrine, ces palmes harmonieuses / Qui du fondement de mon être, jusqu’au front d’ébène bleue de mon père / S’agitent, sous la menace de l’orage.»²⁶ Le poète devient ainsi un prophète, un *vates* (‘poète’, ‘prêtre’) qui possède le secret du *Verbum Dei*. Senghor, en reprenant l’héritage de la tradition gréco-latine, celle du christianisme et celle des *Lettres du Voyant* d’Arthur Rimbaud (inspecter l’invisible et entendre l’inouï), «poétise» et se livre à de constantes transgressions.²⁷ Dans l’«Elégie des eaux», c’est le poète qui définit son propre statut: «Seigneur, vous m’avez fait Maître-de-langue . . . / Vous m’avez accordé puissance de parole en votre justice inégale.»²⁸ D’autre part, dans «*Chants d’ombre*» se retrouve une série de six poèmes regroupés sous le titre général de «Par delà Érôs», et précédés d’un exergue se référant à un chant d’amour sérieux. On sait que la *Théogonie* d’Hésiode (VII^e siècle av. J.C.) constitue le premier texte grec où apparaît le dieu Eros. Il y est présenté comme l’une des trois entités primordiales qui sont antérieures à la formation de l’univers (ὁ κόσμος): «Avant tout fut Abîme (Chaos), puis la Terre (Gaia) et Amour (Eros)». Dans le *Banquet* de Platon, sont également recensés six discours prononcés sur la nature du dieu, autant que le nombre de pièces contenues dans «Par delà Érôs».

Voici en substance les vues des interlocuteurs. Si Phèdre voit en Eros le dieu le plus ancien, Agathon le considère comme le plus jeune. L’éternité de l’amour, surtout de celui de la terre africaine, serait ainsi magnifiée à travers ces poèmes de *Chants d’ombre*. Pour Pausanias et Erixymaque, il existe un double Eros, l’Uranien, le Céleste, qui s’intéresse à l’âme, aux Idées, et le Pandémien, qui s’attache au corps, au Sensible. Cette dualité de l’amour se perçoit aussi chez Senghor, enraciné dans la terre-mère mais ouvert aux valeurs étrangères. Aristophane, quant à lui, évoque la théorie de l’androgynie et raconte que les

²⁵ Senghor [2] 379.

²⁶ Senghor [2] 307.

²⁷ C’est ainsi que dans la dernière strophe de l’«Elégie pour Martin Luther King» (Senghor [2] 302), le poète se présente comme un prophète qui reçoit de Dieu l’ordre de rapporter aux hommes ce qu’il a vu dans l’au-delà.

²⁸ Senghor [2] 208.

hommes jadis coupés en deux, en mâle et femelle, cherchent en vain à s'unir à l'autre moitié. Cette aspiration à l'unité première constitue une sorte de mirage d'un paradis perdu. Telle est du reste l'obsession du Royaume d'Enfance qui n'a cessé de hanter le Poète exilé en Europe. Cette volonté de retour aux sources s'exprime dans le dernier verset de «Prière aux masques», à travers le mythe grec du géant Antée qui reprenait des forces nouvelles chaque fois qu'il touchait la terre: «Nous sommes les hommes de la danse, dont les pieds reprennent vigueur en frappant le sol dur».²⁹ Ainsi, «comme les lamantins vont boire à la source», le poète, tel Antée, termine *Chants d'ombre* par «Le retour de l'enfant prodigue».³⁰ Enfin, le Socrate du Banquet relate une prophétie qu'il tient d'une prêtresse. Selon celle-ci, Eros n'est pas un dieu mais un démon, c'est-à-dire un être intermédiaire entre les dieux et les hommes. Fils de Pénia et de Poros, de Pauvreté et d'Expédient, il a hérité de sa mère le manque de biens et de son père les ressources pour acquérir ces biens. Procréation par le corps et création par l'âme, tels sont les deux moyens dont il dispose pour pallier son indigence maternelle. Cette seconde forme d'amour constitue une ascèse du Monde Sensible vers le Monde Intelligible, de la beauté de l'être à l'Etre de beauté. Elle devient ainsi une véritable initiation.

Le rôle initiatique d'Eros n'a pas échappé au poète nègre. Du reste, la plupart des titres de «Par delà Érôs» évoquent le voyage: «C'est le temps de partir», «Départ», et «Vacances». Les phases de l'initiation se résolvent à travers les étapes d'une pérégrination. Le dernier poème de «Par delà Érôs» intitulé «Visite» se clôt sur la cérémonie païenne de la procession des morts du village à l'horizon des tann: «Voici que s'avancent mes mortes à moi . . .».³¹ Il y a là une descente aux Enfers qu'effectue le poète pour s'initier aux mystères du Royaume d'Enfance. Mais cette catabase n'est-elle pas doublée d'une anabase? De fait, comme dans l'allégorie de la caverne explicitée au début du 7^e livre de la *République*, le prisonnier s'élève de la Matière vers l'Idée pour contempler le Soleil Véritable et échapper aux lueurs miroitant sur les parois qui ne sont que des leurres: «C'est le même soleil mouillé de mirages / Le même ciel qu'énervent les présences cachées».³² A cet égard aussi, la quatrième strophe de l'«Elégie pour Jean-Marie» apparaît comme l'expression de la doctrine de l'Académie. A travers la composition de la laisse, se perçoit d'emblée l'influence de Platon, notamment par le biais de l'allégorie de la caverne (*République* 7) et du mythe de la destinée des âmes (*Phédon* 108e-114c). L'atmosphère dans laquelle baigne le passage est entièrement nocturne.

²⁹ Senghor [2] 24.

³⁰ Senghor [2] 47.

³¹ Senghor [2] 46.

³² Senghor [2] 46.

La nuit, thème de prédilection pour le chantre de la Négritude, coïncide avec l’instant du surgissement de l’inspiration poétique.³³ C’est le moment où la Vérité et la Connaissance triomphent du Doute et de l’Aveuglement. Aussi, sur un décor sombre, jaillissent les jeux de lumières, signes de la Révélation. Cette symbolique de l’obscurité et de la clarté introduit tout naturellement la théorie idéaliste de la caverne.

L’âme de Jean-Marie vivait dans les contingences du Monde sensible, prisonnière du corps représenté par les expressions «à travers les mailles», «de la maison des esclaves», et «l’île de Gorée». Pour se libérer de cet emprisonnement, elle a procédé à une ascèse. Les étapes douloureuses en sont suggérées par le gémissement de l’assonance en «a» et la fluidité de l’allitération des liquides (l, r), cependant que l’hypotypose (la voilà) et la reprise palillogique du terme «âme» en intensifient la vivacité («Elégie pour Jean-Marie»): «Ton âme a glissé à travers les mailles, la voilà échappée, ton âme, de la maison des esclaves. / Elle a contourné l’île de Gorée, on l’a perdue de vue.»³⁴ Or donc, après sa libération, l’âme parvient dans le Monde Intelligible où règnent l’Idée du Beau et le Soleil Vérable. La paix intérieure qu’elle éprouve alors est traduite par l’abondance des sifflantes renforcée par la nonchalance de la phrase qui s’étire languissamment sur trois versets: «Et soudain le soleil sur la splendeur des plages / Jusqu’à l’espérance du Cap de Nase, et sur la colline de Poponguine / A fulminé le visage noir de la Vierge».³⁵ Pour Platon, l’âme, qui a contemplé les Idées Éternelles, doit revenir dans la Caverne afin d’éclairer les hommes. Telle est la mission que s’est assignée Jean-Marie dont l’arrivée, magnifiée par l’alexandrin épique, est martelée par la musique de l’assonance en «é» et par le choc de l’hiatus «tu es»: «Tu/es/ar/ri/vé/sur/l’ai/le/de/l’A/li/zé / Tu es entré, un ange à tes côtés en robe solennelle / Blanche».³⁶ Toutefois, par juxtaposition, le poète a assemblé l’allégorie de la caverne et le mythe de la destinée des âmes. De fait, l’exposé cosmogonique du *Phédon*³⁷ professe que les âmes, après la dissolution des corps, effectuent un voyage vers l’au-delà, à travers les eaux infernales. Ici, la traversée est suggérée par la comparaison de l’âme avec un bateau tandis que la navigation se trouve rendue par l’abondance des consonnes liquides, la rareté de

³³ C’est ainsi que la plupart des recueils de Senghor comportent des titres qui se réfèrent à la nuit ou à la couleur noire: *Chants d’Ombre*, *Hosties noires*, *Ethiopiennes*, et *Nocturnes*.

³⁴ Senghor [2] 278.

³⁵ Senghor [2] 278.

³⁶ Senghor [2] 277.

³⁷ Le mythe du *Phédon* comprend trois parties: (1) description géographique de la terre (108e-111c); (2) description géologique de l’intérieur de la terre (111c-113c); et (3) destinée des âmes dans ces régions souterraines (113-114c).

la ponctuation et l'allongement du verset final que vient accentuer la succession ininterrompue des voyelles nasales plaintives: «Elle a contourné l'île de Gorée, on l'a perdue de vue. . . . / Virant à tribord la voilà, comme un long un lent bateau blanc vers les fjords de douceur / Et du Castel, saluent la Princesse vingt et un coups de canon.»³⁸ Les honneurs princiers, à l'instar de ceux qui accueillent les âmes des Justes dans les Enfers platoniciens, élèvent Jean-Marie à la dignité royale. Cette omniprésence de la pensée de l'Académie dans la poésie de la Négritude illustre d'une manière éclatante le thème du métissage culturel.

Les Post-socratiques

Aristote (384-322 av. J.C.) n'est pas non plus étranger à Senghor qui a intégré les principes esthétiques de la *Poétique* dans sa dramaturgie. Rappelons tout d'abord la définition aristotélicienne de la tragédie (1449b): «Imitation d'une action de caractère élevé et complète, d'une certaine étendue, dans un langage relevé d'assaisonnements d'une espèce particulière suivant les diverses parties, imitation qui est faite par des personnages en action et au moyen d'un récit, et qui, suscitant pitié et crainte, opère la purgation propre à pareilles émotions.» Si les avis restent partagés sur la signification à donner à cette purgation, cette «catharsis», il faut admettre que les théoriciens français du 17^e siècle ont étendu la purification, au delà de la crainte et de la pitié, à toutes les passions dangereuses. Le théâtre serait donc une thérapeutique en tant qu'il guérit l'âme humaine de ses affections pathologiques. Dans l'«Elégie pour Aynina Fall» (poème dramatique à plusieurs voix), qui est une véritable tragédie classique, la méchanceté haineuse de l'adversaire a été vaine puisqu'elle s'est transformée en bienfait pour le peuple de sa victime: sa mort s'est muée en sacrifice pour l'Unité.³⁹ Ainsi, la nuit de doute et de désespoir dans laquelle vivaient ses camarades s'est dissipée pour laisser la place à l'astre «Annonciateur de la bonne Nouvelle . . .».⁴⁰ La crainte et la pitié des spectateurs se sont donc métamorphosées en espoir joyeux pour une Afrique unie. Cette médication de l'âme touche aussi aux règles de la bienséance. La violence est bannie de la scène, même si elle constitue un élément de la tragédie. C'est ainsi que le Coryphée, jouant le rôle traditionnel du messager, rapporte le récit du meurtre tragique du héros. La violence du tableau suggérée par le présent de narration, qui traduit la rapidité, se trouve accentuée par la succession brutale des scènes d'horreur campées avec des propositions juxtaposées: «Les cynocéphales se

³⁸ Senghor [2] 278.

³⁹ Senghor [2] 209-15.

⁴⁰ Senghor [2] 214.

jettent sur lui, lui plantent leurs crocs dans le dos. Les chacals aboient, le sang ruisselle de ses blessures profondes. . . .»⁴¹ La décence, de rigueur entre gens de bien, interdit d'étaler cette sauvagerie qui est relatée, non représentée. Une telle éducation participe de l'idéologie senghorienne. Comme le remarque fort justement Senghor, «Aristote aura (redressé) l'enseignement de son Maître (Platon) en essayant de faire servir les passions, légitimées, à la catharsis, à la «purification» comme vaccin des âmes».⁴² Cette «orientation éthique et instrumentale»⁴³ constitue une réhabilitation par le Lycée de la poésie honnie de l'Académie.

Les théories eudémonistes de l'école d'Epicure⁴⁴ (341-270 av. J.C.) héritées de l'Hédonisme du Cyrénaïsme d'Aristippe, qui proclamait la fugacité du plaisir et la nécessité du *carpe diem*, apparaissent également dans l'oeuvre de Senghor, même si le poète opère un syncrétisme entre la béatitude chrétienne et la doctrine du Jardin. Epicure et ses disciples formaient une communauté très soudée vivant dans un jardin. Pour eux, le véritable plaisir se trouve dans l'ataraxie, c'est-à-dire l'absence de trouble. Le souverain bien consiste donc en un plaisir en repos qui s'obtient par une vie calme et frugale. Epicure divisait les plaisirs en trois catégories: les plaisirs non naturels et non nécessaires comme la possession des richesses, les plaisirs naturels mais non nécessaires comme la bonne chère, les plaisirs naturels et nécessaires comme boire et manger, que seuls le Sage doit rechercher. Dans la description du bonheur paradisiaque, Senghor insiste toujours sur ces éléments épicuriens («Elégie pour Martin Luther King»): «Or c'était en belle saison, sur les montagnes du sud comme du Fouta-Djallon / Dans la douceur des tamariniers. Et sur un tertre / Siégeait l'Etre qui est Force, rayonnant comme un diamant noir. / Sa barbe déroulait la splendeur des comètes ; et à ses pieds / Sous les ombrages bleus, des ruisseaux de miel blanc de frais parfums de paix.»⁴⁵ Cette paix, c'est l'ataraxie, l'absence de douleur que le Sage doit atteindre par une vie passée au sein des beautés de la Nature. Le même cadre bucolique se retrouve dans la peinture du Paradis de Georges Pompidou: «Toi qui à la porte du Paradis, entrevois la béatitude, dis-moi ami, est-ce comme cela le ciel? / Y a-t-il des ruisseaux de lait serein, du miel radieux au milieu des cèdres / Et des jeux juvéniles parmi les myrtes les cytises, et les menthes et les lavandes / Sur des pelouses toujours fraîches, fraîches toujours»?⁴⁶ La sérénité et la tranquillité qui caractérisent cet au-delà

⁴¹ Senghor [2] 211.

⁴² Senghor [2] 381.

⁴³ Senghor [2] 381.

⁴⁴ Epicure a repris en les modifiant les théories de Démocrite.

⁴⁵ Senghor [2] 302.

⁴⁶ Senghor [2] 318.

coïncident avec celles du Jardin d'Épicure. De plus, le Portique de Zénon, fondateur du Stoïcisme, issu d'Antisthène, le chef de file des Cyniques qui méprisaient la culture artificielle, les conventions sociales et les faux biens, déteint fortement sur les poèmes de Senghor, particulièrement sur les *Elégies Majeures*. En effet, ce recueil évoque des moments douloureux de la vie du poète. Triompher des passions, accepter l'arrêt du Destin, telle est la substance du Stoïcisme. Comme l'enseigne Epictète (50-125 ap. J.C.),⁴⁷ l'Homme doit «apprendre à vouloir chaque chose telle qu'elle se produit» (1.12.15). C'est la même idée qui est reprise par Sénèque (4 av. J.C.-65 ap. J.C.): «Disposons notre âme de façon à vouloir tout ce que les circonstances exigent» (*Itaque sic animum componamus, ut quicquid res exigit, id velimus*, Ep. 61.3).

L'oeuvre de Senghor, bien qu'imprégnée de Patristique,⁴⁸ intègre cette sagesse antique. Nous en avons des échos dans l'«Elégie pour Jean-Marie» («Oui, je veux Ton vouloir, Seigneur! . . . / Je veux Ton vouloir et qu'elle soit faite, Ta volonté!»⁴⁹) et dans l'«Elégie pour Philippe Maguilen Senghor», consacrée à son fils («Seigneur . . . / Que donc ta volonté soit accomplie»)⁵⁰. Ainsi, des Présocratiques aux Stoïciens, c'est toute la philosophie grecque qui éclaire la poésie senghorienne.

En définitive, la pensée antique a profondément influencé l'oeuvre de Senghor. Le poète africain a «consulté Kotye Barma et les Maîtres de Science»⁵¹ avant de se former à la maïeutique socratique. Étrange cependant risquerait de paraître le paradoxe qui consiste à vouloir concilier l'Émotion et la Raison, le Cœur et l'Esprit. Mais, par la puissance du génie et la maîtrise du Verbe, l'inspiration lyrique de Senghor a su, avec bonheur, éclairer «les données immédiates de la conscience» par la lumière de la Raison dialectique, comme pour assimiler—n'en déplaise à Platon—poésie, prophétie et philosophie. Cette conjonction de l'Hellénisme et de la Négritude a été le terreau fertile sur lequel a germé la Civilisation de l'Universel.

⁴⁷ Un de ses disciples publia son enseignement dans *Les Entretiens* et *Le Manuel*.

⁴⁸ L'étude de la philosophie chrétienne dépasserait le cadre du présent article consacré à la pensée antique. Du reste, nous avons déjà publié dans le numéro spécial d'*Ethiopiennes* (*Salve Magister* 59.2 [1997]: *90e anniversaire de Léopold Sédar Senghor*) une contribution intitulée «Les écritures saintes dans les Elégies majeures de Senghor».

⁴⁹ Senghor [2] 282.

⁵⁰ Senghor [2] 288.

⁵¹ Senghor [2] 179.

REVIEW ARTICLES

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SRI LANKA FROM HELLENISTIC TIMES TO THE CHRISTIAN COSMOGRAPHIES

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D. P. M. Weerakkody, *Taprobane: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known to the Greeks and Romans*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. Pp. xxii + 287, incl. 3 black-and-white plates. ISBN 2-503-50552-X. BEF2500.00.

Taprobane . . . was for a long time thought to be another world. The age and achievements of Alexander the Great proved clearly that it was an island. Onesicritus, commander of the fleet, wrote that bigger and more warlike elephants are produced there than in India.

(Plin. *HN* 6.81¹)

Islands are good for story-telling, especially when it comes to stories about marvellous creatures and other natural phenomena, as the elder Pliny well knew and as Emilio Gabba showed in an important article nearly two decades ago.² To judge from this attractively produced new volume by D. P. M. Weerakkody, *Taprobane*, which we may safely equate with the modern nation-state of Sri Lanka, was no exception. The author has 'attempted to bring together the references to Taprobane in Greek and Latin texts for the purpose of examining their value as sources for the study of ancient Sri Lanka' (p. vii). In the opinion of this reviewer (who, it must be said, comes to the

¹ =Onesicritus; F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1962) 134 F13; cf. D. P. M. Weerakkody, *Taprobane: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known to the Greeks and Romans* (Turnhout 1997) 223.

² E. Gabba, 'True History and False History in Classical Antiquity', *JRS* 71 (1981) 50-62. The question of marvel-mongering here raised has been taken further in the bipartite article by G. Schepens and K. Delcroix, 'Ancient Paradoxography: Origins, Evolution, Production and Consumption', in *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino* (Cassino 1996) 343-460. See also W. Hansen's two interesting new editions: Phlegon of Tralles' *Book of Marvels* (Exeter 1996) and *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature* (Bloomington 1998), esp. 249-71, and the new anthology by J. Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts: A Treasury From Ancient Times to the Present* (Oxford 1999), which begins with a generous helping of Homer, Ctesias and others.

book with a background in Classics rather than South Asian Studies), that effort is largely successful.

The Greek and Latin texts themselves, beginning with two references to Onesicritus, are given at the end of the book (pp. 197-222), with translations following (pp. 223-49). These texts fall easily into two main sections, the first giving geographical data (notably Strabo, Pomponius Mela, the elder Pliny, Ptolemy, Solinus, Martianus Capella) and the second detailing its flora and fauna (including Aelian, Dionysius 'Periegetes', and Cosmas Indicopleustes of flat-earth fame).³ Only a rudimentary *apparatus criticus* is given, which is a little unfortunate in view of the textual problems plaguing Pliny's text. (This means in practice that one still has to turn to the critical editions in order to quote any of the texts involved.) On the credit side, though, it is admirable that the treatise 'On the Life of the Brahmins' is given in Greek and in both of the Latin versions to survive. In general among the texts cited, greater effort might have been taken to indicate which edition is being used. The bulk of the book is devoted to a discussion of those texts—as if, in linguistic jargon, the literary record may be taken as 'marked' and the broader historical reconstruction 'unmarked'. The strength of these chapters is their constant reference to South Asian archaeology and history, which is made possible by the author's command of sources in Tamil and Sanskrit.

The kinds of source-material in which Sri Lanka occurs are varied, and these are mostly treated in seventeen separate chapters that range in length from five pages (chapter 7, 'Pliny's Influence on Later Latin Notices of Sri Lanka', pp. 79-84) to nineteen pages (chapter 15, 'Some Reflections on Roman Coins from Sri Lanka, pp. 151-70). The technical problems involved in the archaeological evidence are enormous, perhaps nowhere more so as a result of the hoards of Roman coins found. In Greek and Latin verse the pickings are lean (chapter 11, 'Sri Lanka in Greek and Latin Verse', pp. 113-17), the most substantial of these being the (probably Hadrianic) Greek hexameters of Dionysius 'Periegetes' and the late Latin of Avienus and Priscian. The natural historical interest in Sri Lanka as the edges of the earth is seen especially in the elder Pliny (pp. 65-77) and in Aelian (pp. 105-12). Given the amount of ground covered here, it has clearly been necessary to avoid detailed discussion of specific problems. Weerakkody has been admirably succinct and has done a good job of using footnotes to refer to debates and controversies.

At first blush Strabo might seem the most promising topographical source. Yet in reality Strabo is a classic case of the failure to capitalise on newly available information—a failure that was well diagnosed by Dihle in a landmark article some

³ It is not clear why a third section is required for 'miscellaneous notices of Taprobane' (pp. 218-22, 246-49). Here we find extracts from Plutarch's strange essay 'On the Face of the Moon', the *Historia Augusta*, Ampelius, Philostorgios, Orosius, Jordanes, Julius Honorius and the shadowy geographer Aethicus. A miscellany indeed, but it seems that all the material there cited could have been grouped under the foregoing geographical or natural historical sections. Any look at Aelian, Strabo or Pliny shows how varied and overlapping were the ancient categories of topography and (even more so) natural history.

thirty-five years ago.⁴ Indeed, in the end 'Strabo's all too brief notices of Taprobane are a sad reflection of what could have been achieved, had their author thought better of his contemporary informants' (p. 50). Strabo himself, with remarkable candour, explains that the low social cachet of merchants reduced the supposed value of whatever topographical information they might provide (15.1.4 C686):⁵ 'As for the merchants who now sail from Egypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India, only a small number have sailed as far as the Ganges; and even these are merely private citizens and of no use as regards the history of the places they have seen'. Because of the stigma attached to mercantile activity in the Graeco-Roman world we must regard the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* as a rare and valuable document, not only of trade activity but also of the kinds of geographical information in circulation at the time. Most will now accept a dating that places it between AD 40 and 70. It is remarkable that a text that otherwise gives accurate information about the south Indian coast should say that the island extends on an east-west axis and that it stretches nearly up to part of Africa ('Azania', *PME* 61). This is where you can get pearls, transparent gems, cotton garments and tortoise shell, says its anonymous author in a spirit of practical helpfulness that conceals his lack of information about it (*PME* 61). Sadly, the single important manuscript is corrupt at this point; it does seem to claim that the island was currently known as Palaisimundu (its Tamil name), formerly as Taprobane, but this directly contradicts the more thorough-going Ptolemy (7.4.1), who wrote about six to eight decades later.⁶ It is striking that the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* so overestimates the size of Sri Lanka, but this was a mistake shared not only by Greek and Roman writers on the subject but also by South Asian and Arab writers. Even Ptolemy was guilty of this error, just as he was guilty of imagining an India without its enormous subcontinent. Given this persistent tendency of Greeks and Romans to overestimate the size of Sri Lanka, it would have been good to have had more discussion from Weerakkody on the problem, possibly in the chapter on Ptolemy. Pliny looms large in the work, more so than two chapters on him would suggest. His influence would have been even more intensely felt if Weerakkody had taken the story further into the western Middle Ages.⁷ Pliny himself made extensive use of Hellenistic sources such as Onesicritus, Megasthenes and Eratosthenes and today is important for attempts to reconstruct now lost works.

If one is to analyse Graeco-Roman ideas about Sri Lanka, India cannot be left out of the picture too long, especially if one looks at the sources cited and discussed. This fact may sit awkwardly with contemporary international relations and their

⁴ A. Dihle, 'The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature', *PCPhS* 10 (1964) 15-23. This was reprinted in his *Antike und Orient: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Heidelberg 1986), which is not mentioned in the bibliography.

⁵ Translated by H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960) 5.

⁶ L. Casson (ed.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989) 231; cf. Weerakkody [1] 17-25, esp. 20.

⁷ A. Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte: Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments* (Heidelberg 1994).

attendant academic exchanges. Some Greek geographers even thought Sri Lanka was part of India, according to Mela (p. 96). In regard to India, the work of Dihle (to cite another scholar whose research has produced remarkable results from the breadth of evidence used) has pointed to a substantial discrepancy between archaeological finds and the literary record. We know that Buddhism originated with the life of Siddharta Gautama in the late sixth century or perhaps slightly later; and we know that there was substantial trade contact between South Asia and Egypt (and ultimately the Roman world) in the time of Strabo and Pliny. Yet it is not until Clement of Alexandria in the late second or early third century that Buddhism is mentioned in a Graeco-Roman text (*Stromateis* 1.305). The lack of Graeco-Roman references to Buddhism is for Dihle a sure sign of the imperviousness of literary sources to new information. It is pleasing to see that Dihle's innovative work on India, which goes back to the 1960s but has only recently attracted attention amid a resurgence of interest in foreign peoples, is here given its due measure of credit.⁸

If we are to put Weerakkody's labours in perspective, we might compare two other collections. J. André and J. Filliozat twelve years ago published a substantial collection of Roman sources on India.⁹ The strength of this team was that it brought together the skills of a classical philologist with those of an Indologist. True to the form of the Budé series in which it appeared, this contained facing translations (into French) and twenty-six dense pages of notes at the end. That collection was intended as a sequel to the same editors' Budé text of Pliny¹⁰—a fact that perhaps accounts for the focus on Latin sources to the exclusion of Greek. Given the substantial overlap between Latin and Greek sources on India, as shown by the notes there, this decision seems ultimately somewhat artificial. While the editors' policy is certainly understandable in practical terms, it does mean, ironically, that modern scholars are much better served for Latin sources than Greek, even though the Greek sources (not least the Alexander historians) go much further back in time. In the end this is a historiographical problem: the Greek sources are generally much older than the contexts to which they refer (whether preserved in Greek or Latin). Thus, for example, our knowledge of the substance of Ctesias' *Indika* is known to us through Aelian's *Historia Animalium* and Stephanus of Byzantium and is obviously subject to their selective interests.¹¹ A major requirement facing any scholar of this often fragmentary material, then, is to take due account of its context. Weerakkody does a good job of

⁸ Dihle [4 (1964)] 15-23.

⁹ J. André and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde vue de Rome: Textes latins de l'antiquité relatif à l'Inde* (Paris 1986).

¹⁰ J. André and J. Filliozat, *Plin l'ancien. Histoire naturelle: Livre VI 2e partie* (Paris 1980).

¹¹ P. A. Brunt, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* 30 (1980) 477-94. See now the thought-provoking collection, G. W. Most (ed.), *Fragmente sammeln: Collecting Fragments* (Göttingen 1996). A notable feature of several of the essays (esp. G. Schepens and G. Bowersock) is the criticism levelled at F. Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1962).

this in the seventeen thematic chapters that constitute the bulk of the book. Other recent books to merit comparison are Stanley Burstein's collection, which examines the ancient African civilisations of Kush and Axum using (mostly but not exclusively Greek and Roman) literary and epigraphic sources that range chronologically from Strabo to an eighth-century Arabic document, and his edition of the fragments of Agatharchides of Cnidos' *On the Erythraean Sea*, which dates from the late first century BC.¹² Arguably, Burstein does a better job of placing the texts themselves at centre-stage, but then there are fewer relevant primary texts, much fewer than those discussed by André and Filliozat.

If we were to go further back, we would have to take account of a number of texts edited by McCrindle towards the end of the last century.¹³ It appears McCrindle never did apply his considerable energies to Taprobane specifically, hence the novelty of Weerakkody's effort. All of these were restricted to English translation of the Greek and Latin originals, with some notes. This was put together before Jacoby's pioneering work in the *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* did much to define modern notions of the texts and authors involved. McCrindle's translations have been reprinted with merciless regularity, sometimes with a new foreword, but they cannot now be regarded as reliable. For example, his volume on Megasthenes (and Arrian) relies heavily on the now much outdated collection by Schwanbeck.¹⁴ All this underlines the magnitude of Weerakkody's achievement in covering what is admittedly a smaller body of material. To conclude, a few comments of a technical nature. The number of typographical errors is higher than one might expect in a book of this nature.¹⁵ In terms of style, there are many points where copy-editing would

¹² S. Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum* (Princeton 1998); *Agatharchides of Cnidos: On the Erythraean Sea* (London 1989). Cf. the forthcoming review of *Ancient African Civilizations* by J. L. Hilton in *Scholia* 9 (2000).

¹³ J. W. McCrindle (1825-1913) produced the following collections of translated *testimonia*, with introduction and commentary, most of them published in Calcutta, where he taught at one time: *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (Calcutta 1882); *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (Calcutta 1884); *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta 1887); *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea* (Calcutta 1879); *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Calcutta 1896); and *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (London 1897). Finally, he published a volume of texts that had fallen between the cracks: *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (London 1901). Reprints are legion (from India, the UK and the US) and reflect varying degrees of editorial addition. Many of these collections first saw light beginning in the 1870s in *The Indian Antiquary: a Journal of Oriental Research*.

¹⁴ E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn 1846).

¹⁵ The following list, which is not exhaustive, is given here in the hope that it might prove useful in the event of a revised reprint. Where Greek names begin with a vowel the breathing is consistently misplaced, approximating more closely to the preceding word than the initial vowel. 'McCrindle' is alphabetically misordered and 'MacDowell' should be written as one word not two (e.g., pp. 153, 260). The bibliographic entry under 'Swell' should fall away (cf. 'Sewell', which is given at the correct place). At p. 159 line 6 no comma is needed after

have produced somewhat tauter prose. The bibliography especially could have done with more careful editing. Physically this is a handsome book in its large format and glossy paper. It is a pity that no more than three plates are provided at the end, especially since a fair amount of space is wasted between chapters. It is also misleading to describe the map given as plate 1 in the appendix as 'Ptolemy's Map of Taprobane'. Given the uncertainty over whether Ptolemy himself produced maps or merely provided readers with the information needed for them to produce their own, it would be more accurate to cite the early modern edition from which this illustration is taken.

It is one thing to cavil in this way about small points; it is another to praise the industry and breadth of vision that brought the book into fruition. The very breadth of material covered, which makes the book hard to review, is its strength. The types of evidence adduced here—literary, historical, archaeological—are notoriously hard to compare and on balance there can be no doubt that Weerakkody has done a fine job. Whatever minor criticisms may be levelled, it is indeed a great achievement to have taken such a wealth of disparate sources into account. Anyone interested in either literary representations of ancient India or Sri Lanka or in the historical realities of contact between east and west will find that the book repays close study.

CIVIL VIOLENCE

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J. G. W. Henderson, *Fighting for Rome: Poets and Caesars, History and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. x + 348. ISBN 0-521-58026-9. UK£45.00/US\$69.95.

To find out about war/RAW read the heavily allusive idiolect/*licet* ἰδίῳ λόγῳ *gnomona scribere* of John Henderson. Neat in some 350 pages, the style takes some getting used to, but it underscores a damning indictment of the effects of civil war and the autocracies that resulted from it on Rome. Where ancient historians would try to recreate the facts, Henderson has given us illuminating insight into a very important, and to a modern, embarrassingly sensitive, aspect of the Roman mentality. He maintains that although Rome valued valour, foreign conquest and triumph, its history was in fact dominated by civil war. Foreign conquest and empire building are hardly referred to; the subject of the book is internal conflict. It is in fact a collection of

'1995'. Umlauts are omitted from 'Beiträge' (p. 253) and 'Delbrück' (p. 256). There is a problem of some kind with the following: 'Liebeschuetz' (p. vii), 'Begley' (p. 7 *bis*), 'Fraser' (pp. 37 n. 48 and 257), 'Mattingly' (e.g., pp. 166, 260), 'Dictionary' (p. 188 n. 24), 'scholia' (p. 211), 'cosmography' (p. 248 *bis*), 'Dihle' and 'Dudley' (p. 256).

previously published essays, which explains some of the gaps in the treatment. Close reading of the ancient texts and 'powerful' translation (p. i) will reveal the terror of Rome. The introduction makes it clear that 'fighting *for* Rome' is not '*pro*' Rome, but fighting to gain absolute political power. The book analyses features of Appian's account of the proscriptions under the Second Triumvirate, then Caesar's apology for his civil war, two poems of Horace that refer to the civil wars of the 40's and 30's, Lucan's 'poem of outrage' (p. 4) on Caesar's war, Statius on fraternal strife in the mythical period at Thebes, Tacitus on Nero (largely), and Livy on presenting a panorama of Rome.

Chapter 1, 'Three Men in a Vote: Proscription (Appian *Civil Wars* 4.1-6)' (pp. 11-36), concentrates on the horror of the peculiarly Roman method of terror, the proscriptions. Is one expected to recall from the title Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat* and the quarrelsomeness underlying the humour, and if not . . . ? Formalised murder by decree shows the 'implosion' (a favourite metaphor, p. 14) of the republic. The after-effects in the Augustan period are noted in the careers of survivors, many of them consuls, under the man who had agreed to their deaths many years before. Henderson asks (pp. xv, 24) whether Horace was among the proscribed.¹ One's first reaction to the suggestion is one of scepticism: Horace was not a member of the aristocracy and, in spite of the education his father gave him, not among the wealthiest. The idea depends on the comment of Pseudo-Acron on *Epistles* 2.2.41: *Horatius cum aliis proscriptus est, id est hereditate priuatus* ('Horace was proscribed with others, that is, deprived of his hereditary property.'). It would seem that *proscriptus* ('proscribed') is being used in a restricted sense here to refer to loss of property alone, not to a sentence of death. Henderson notes Syme's 'drily sado-dispassionate eye' (p. 20) in treating the same period, but carries it deeper and on a broader scale with apt quotation. The lethal combination of autocracy and anarchy is made fully apparent. The analysis of the triumvirs' use of documentation is very illuminating. Henderson is also concerned with how later authors 'fixed' the events in their literary accounts. Hence a discussion of the edict of proscription as preserved in Appian and a highlighting of his frequent use of γράφειν ('to write') and its compounds.

Henderson's stylistic effects underline his points. There are frequent apt quotations from modern writers. Shock words are substituted in well-worn phrases, as the triumvirs 'write' every wrong (for 'right', p. 12). Modern scholars 'have their own writes' (p. 29). Latin terms are jerked into contemporaneity by new equivalents like 'supremo', 'blacklist' and 'flying squad', and correspondences are found for new formations: Cicero's *ita sullaturit animus eius et prosripturit iam diu* (*Att.* 9.10) becomes 'for his mind is Sullavatin' 'n' prosripturatin' long since' (p. 16). Henderson's application of his acute linguistic sensibility to normally sidelined or dismissed secondary sources has produced an excellent result. So too his analysis of the school text Caesar. However, the emphasis in chapter 2, 'XPDNC: Writing Caesar (*On the Civil War*)' (pp. 37-72), is not on the terror, as in chapter 1 (which will be

¹ Cf. F. Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la République* (Rome 1985) 473 for the evidence.

featured in the analysis of Lucan's account of the war in chapter 5), but on Caesar's self-justification of his role in civil war. Henderson begins by placing heavy emphasis on the (unquoted) letter that Caesar sent to the senate in 49 (Caes. *BC* 1.1) containing his conditions for not proceeding with armed confrontation. He seizes the moral high-ground and retains that position impervious to criticism or event throughout. His account of the debate is correct, apparently neutral (but the absent Pompey is allowed to obtrude in 1.2.1 and 1.2.6). Henderson then takes part in the debate in person as a Roman senator (p. 38) and exposes Caesar's hidden agenda. (This has the useful effect of involving the modern reader, trained at school to regard Caesar as a series of lexical and syntactical problems obstructing translation into English, in the real issue.) We are made to assess Caesar's rhetoric. There follows a skilful analysis of the importance of programmatic writing (in 'letters' to the other side) and the effect of Caesar's writing on our assessment of his position (p. 42). There is possible oversimplification, as in the assimilation of the *Bellum Gallicum* and the *Bellum Civile*, certainly not a Roman attitude at the time. (Is 'BC VIII' [p. 50] just a misprint for 'BG VIII'?) But the exposé of Caesar is devastating. Henderson has succeeded in updating Caesar's monographs as stark contemporary documents, to be taken seriously and in depth.

In chapter 3, 'On Getting Rid of Kings: Horace, *Satires* 1.7' (pp. 73-107), Henderson turns to Horace. He acknowledges the fact that Horace's actions during the triumviral period and under the Augustan system are hard to reconcile: did he remain loyal to the tyrannicides or become a turncoat? As Henderson admits, Horace's reticence is difficult to fathom. He then focuses on the little-noticed but hard to interpret *Satires* 1.7 about a provincial law case introducing Brutus (but only in the last two fifths of the poem). At the end Brutus is urged to condemn the defendant; his *cognomen* of Rex allows a pun on Brutus' actions on the Ides of March. One may quibble that this pun on King at the end and the appearances of the term *proscriptus* at the outset are insufficient to regard this as a poem solely on civil war and autocracy. Horace gives little background. The defendant, P. Rupilius Rex of Praeneste (Palestrina), is prominently labelled 'proscribed' (1.7.1). The scholiasts say that he was an ex-praetor: modern commentators compare the P. Rupilius who was the manager (*magister*) of a company of tax-collectors in Bithynia mentioned by Cicero in a pre-war letter (*Fam.* 13.9). Horace locates him at Clazomenae (Klazümen, near Urla, which was close to Smyrna [Izmir], where Brutus and Cassius met in November 43 to decide strategy for the coming war against the Caesarians). He was accused by a *Graecus* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.32), a term used pejoratively in the forensic context: the accuser's name was Persius, a respectable enough Roman name, not to be assigned, as Henderson does (p. 78), associations with the king of Persia, for which the adjective would be *Persicus*. In fact, it is probably Etruscan.² He was probably a *prouincialis*, that is, a Roman citizen resident in the province. Horace designates him *hybrida* (1.7.2): those of mixed descent were normally despised, but the republicans had been forced to recruit *hybridi* against Caesar (*BAfr.* 19.4) and Cicero's co-consul had the

² W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*² (Berlin 1904) 88.

cognomen of Hybrida. Persius was in fact a very wealthy businessman. At this juncture Brutus' main objective in Asia was to raise finance for the coming war. One may suspect that the proscribed Rupilius had rehabilitated himself financially and was proving useful to Brutus in the area. In spite of the ostentatious condemnation of another ex-praetor for embezzlement (Plut. *Brut.* 35), Brutus was ruthless in financial matters: Cicero had disapproved of his treatment of his debtors the Salaminians in Cyprus (*Att.* 5.21) and he was on his way to the city of Xanthus (Kinik) which he was to punish brutally for not having provided funds and supplies for his war effort (App. *BCiv.* 4.76-80).

Brutus heard the case as governor: the old fashioned term of *praetor* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.18) is applied to him, but as praetor of 'rich' Asia. Tacitus later also called the province *diues* ('wealthy', *Agr.* 6) and *parata peccantibus* ('easy prey for the unscrupulous').³ The word *conuentus* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.) for 'assize' is technical, as is the legal phraseology (1.7.9f., 20). Horace does not tell us the outcome of the trial: instead, the poem ends with the word play on Rupilius' *cognomen* that involves Brutus (in praise or discomfort?). Why should Horace relate an obscure event in a remote province? Henderson accepts that Horace was present (p. 74). In fact (a phrase Henderson distrusts), he was a prominent participant. As military tribune he would have been part of Brutus' *cohors* (1.7.23) or official entourage, like those listed as assisting the governor in the same province of Asia during the Civil War by Josephus (*AJ* 14.238f.). And Horace may have evinced an interest in the law. He has his esteemed father holding up the *iudices selecti* (those selected from the equestrian order [to which Horace belonged as a military tribune] for jury service) for admiration (*Sat.* 1.4.123).⁴ Henderson (pp. 98f.) sees the 'message' of the satire in the recalling to mind of the violence used by Brutus to realise his political objectives in Rome. Perhaps there is something more. Romans could be indignant about exploitation in the provinces, as Cicero against Verres, or later Pliny and Tacitus. Is there criticism of Brutus' provincial administration? Persius (1.7.34f.) says that it is part of Brutus' business (*operum tuorum est*) to see that justice is done. Kiessling and Heinze ponderously elucidate as follows: 'die pflichtmässigen Obliegenheiten, deren Besorgung man von einem Brutus erwartet'.⁵ As well as a satire on Roman politics we have an exposé of a routine trial by a governor on assize: Horace alerts us to power factors that could distort the administration of justice for provincials.

Chapter 4, 'Polishing off the Politics: Horace's Ode to Pollio (*Odes* 2.1)' (pp. 108-64) is devoted to Horace on Pollio, a participant in the Civil Wars who survived—if compromised, still respected. Part 3, Epic, deals with Lucan (chapter 5 'The Word at War', pp. 165-211) and Statius' *Thebaid* (chapter 6, 'Statius' *Thebaid*: Form [P]re-made', pp. 212-57). We are shown how the poets bring us face to face

³ On the temptations of Asia, cf. Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.19.

⁴ L. R. Taylor, 'Republican and Augustan Writers Enrolled in the Equestrian Census', *TAPhA* 99 (1968) 478, argued that Horace was referring to himself as a *iudex* ('juryman') in *Sat.* 2.7.54.

⁵ A. Kiesling and R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Satiren*⁹ (Berlin 1961) *ad loc.*

with the actualities of war and the psychology of the powermongers behind it. Part 4 returns to the historians. They receive the same careful linguistic and stylistic analyses as had the poets. Chapter 7, 'Tacitus: the World in Pieces' (pp. 257-300), is devoted to Tacitus. Henderson concentrates on the Neronian books, with interesting flashbacks to Tiberius (Nero is a Tiberius in reverse, p. 266). At the outset Tacitus' purpose and achievement is deduced from the proemium to the *Annals*, referred to on several occasions. Though he used an old genre, the annalistic, which was peculiarly moulded for recounting the history of the republic and the working of its political system, Tacitus in fact succeeded in showing how tyranny, even when disguised as *principatus*, became a system that did not even bother to abolish the old republican constitutional baggage. It had the complaisance of the fawning elite (p. 276), the nobles who had survived but lost their moral fibre. Julius Caesar is fitted in as the first autocrat (p. 259), which recalls the undermining of his 'writing' in chapter 2. Augustus and the Julio-Claudians continued his work, but Henderson does not trace the links from Caesar to Nero.

Henderson's stylistic effects continue: analysis has become 'Annalysis' (even in a French quotation [p. 260]; compare 'ironize' [p. 260] and 'sucksession' [p. 275], which is used to pinpoint senatorial abdication of responsibility in the face of new routes to self-advancement. In Symean fashion, Henderson rewrites Tacitus in abbreviation, bringing out his points of condemnation more starkly; compare his treatment of Tacitus' double assessment of Augustus [pp. 271f.]). But the result can be unfair to Tacitean complexity: to take a detail, the son of Tiberius' 'star-gazer' (p. 280) was in fact a distinguished literary figure (Sen. *QNat.* 4.2) who ultimately became governor of Egypt (Claudius Balbillus⁶); to the Romans astrology was not just bamboozling (in fact, it was a science) and Tiberius' astrologer (Thrasyllus⁷) was a respected mathematician and philosopher (with a book all of his own).⁸ C. Julius Vestinus Atticus, consul in the year of the Pisonian conspiracy, deserves more sophisticated contextualisation than he is given (p. 261). He was an important upholder of a more independent Rome. He came from Narbonensis, then a breeding ground of 'traditionalist' senators, like Tacitus himself (to accept one theory about his origins). *Sodalitas* is hardly 'friendship': rather 'association'. Vestinus in fact belonged to the *sodalitas Claudialium Augustalium*, the elite brotherhood responsible for the cult of *divus Claudius*.⁹ Surely the etymology of Atticus misleads. It is true that his hometown of Vienne (Vienna) was not devoid of Greek influence, situated as it was between the university towns of Marseilles (Massilia) and Autun (Augustodunum).¹⁰ Vestinus could have used his second *cognomen* to refer to Attica

⁶ E. Groag, A. Stein *et al.* (edd.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi*² (Berlin/Leipzig 1933-) C813 and p. xxi (hereafter *PIR*).

⁷ E. Klebs and H. Dessau (edd.), *PIR*¹ (Berlin 1897-98) T137.

⁸ H. Tarrant, *Thrasyllan Platonism* (Ithaca 1993).

⁹ *AnnEpigr* (1949) 1946.124. Nero was also a member (H. Dessau [ed.], *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 2.1 [Berlin 1892-1916] 2.266).

¹⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 4; *Ann.* 3.43; and note Pliny *Ep.* 4.22 on its Greek games later under Trajan.

and Athens. But as the Ciceronian Atticus shows, the reference was to culture, not politics, and 'democrat' (p. 261) is anachronistic. Vestinus was in fact a precursor of the sort of senator Tacitus admired, namely Agricola, also of Narbonese origin. Atticus, in fact is not a rare *cognomen* in Narbonensis: it derives from a Celtic root,¹¹ but Henderson could of course argue that Vestinus interpreted it *à la grecque*. Not a helpful etymology, like that offered for Sagitta: this is hardly likely to recall the arrow of Cupid, in spite of the love story told by Tacitus of him. He was a tribune of the plebs (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1.23 trying to reassert the dignity of this tribunate), the son of an important member of the equestrian order under Augustus. He had in fact failed to be a Vestinus. If the Romans had thought of the meaning of his name Arrow at all, it would have been to recall his descent from a military figure: in the late republic and early empire soldiers were in the habit of arrogating the names of weapons and other *militaria* as *cognomina* (compare Pontius' *Pilatus*). The moral of the story could be: passion destroys the upward mobility of (great-)grandfather, who was a soldier or centurion, to the father, who was an officer, to the son, who was commencing a senatorial path. It is unfortunate that Henderson does not speculate on the remark in the life of Lucan by Vacca that Lucan wrote two essays on Sagitta: the result would have been interesting. Even moderns, such as Frank Goodyear (p. 277), get the etymological treatment in Henderson.

Henderson's Nero is portrayed brilliantly. The actor-emperor is put on the screen as a racing driver, and could there be a better translation of *qualis artifex pereo* than 'I am the last movie'? Chapter 8, 'Livy and the Invention of History' (pp. 301-19), is devoted to the problem Livy faced in 'writing Rome into a history book' (p. 301) and settling the point at which he should end his work (p. 313): this would have determined his post-Augustan re-ordering of Roman identity (p. 319). So much for *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (Hor. *Od.* 3.2). R. G. M. Nisbet tried to soften its impact by proposing the emendation *dulci et decorum est pro patria mori* ('it is fitting to die for the dear fatherland'; that is, the fatherland is now dear, not death for it) but he has been challenged: the debate continues.¹²

Henderson may be criticised for sometimes isolating persons and events from their contexts and so skewing their full significance. His translations sometimes increase the decibels of the Latin, but what he has to say is innovative and of primary importance. He has made us realise that the Latin writers of the late republic and early empire were appalled by violence and its cover-up by authoritarian power-figures. Several made their own accommodation with the situation,¹³ but exposed the underlying realities all the same. It is the achievement of Henderson to have pierced

¹¹ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1 (Graz 1896) 275.

¹² R. G. M. Nisbet, 'A Rival Teubner Horace', *CR* 36 (1986) 231 (=R. G. M. Nisbet, *Collected Papers* [Oxford 1995] 197). Nisbet noted the challenge to his interpretation in an appendix to the latter version of the review (p. 433 n. 12).

¹³ Horace's *auream . . . mediocritatem* ('golden mean', *Od.* 2.10), Tacitus' *obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac uigor adsint* ('assiduous service and restraint, provided that they are underpinned by hard work and energy', *Agr.* 42.5).

the ancient rhetoric and much superficial modern scholarship and to have enabled us to realise some of the issues involved in Roman civil war and the cost of its suppression. He operates within the centres of power. We seldom see the ordinary participant, as in Propertius' haunting poem 1.21, or the soldier in the civil war of 69 who, after slaying a fellow Roman legionary and then surveying his face, saw that it was his own father: *uoce flebili precabatur placatos patris manis, neue se ut parricidam auersarentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam ciuiliū armorum partem?* ('In a voice full of tears, he prayed that his father's spirit would be appeased and forgive him and that it would not reject him as a parricide: the deed was official; and in a civil war how significant was a single soldier?', Tac. *Hist.* 3.25). But this is perhaps the subject of another book.

A WORLD OF WIT

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Garth Tissol, *The Face of Nature: Wit, Narrative, and Cosmic Origins in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Pp. xii + 238. ISBN 0-691-01102-8. US\$42.50/UK£26.50.

It was certainly time someone took Ovidian wit seriously. The strictures of the Senecas, Quintilian, Dryden and a host of more recent critics on the inappropriateness and excesses of his passion for stylistic display are well known.¹ Tissol takes Ovid on Ovidian terms: if the mechanics of style delighted the poet so much, they must be more than merely decorative and are therefore essential to any interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*.

In chapter 1, 'Glittering Trifles: Verbal Wit and Physical Transformation' (pp. 11-88), he confronts 'the power [of wit] to provoke and challenge a reader' (p. 12), arguing that what some critics deem inappropriate, excessive or tasteless is in fact integral to the meaning of the narrative. Readings of the stories of Narcissus and Althea illustrate the use of paradox and etymological wordplay to destabilise normally accepted categories and perceptions: by collapsing differences, Ovid's 'transgressive language' embodies Narcissus' inability to act, Althea's moral paralysis. At the other extreme, Echo, who can only communicate by repeating Narcissus' words, appropriates them to express her own contrary views: 'she succeeds in making

¹ Tissol quotes from the elder Seneca, p. 5; from Dryden, p. 11; cf. p. 124 on Dryden and Galinsky. See W. S. Anderson, 'First Century Criticism on Ovid: The Senecas and Quintilian', in W. S. Anderson (ed.), *Ovid: The Classical Heritage* (New York 1995) 1-10; D. Hopkins, 'Dryden and Ovid's "Wit out of Season"', in Anderson [above, this note] 219-52.

wordplay into an aggressive act' (p. 16). Tissol rightly emphasises 'the close connection between metamorphosis and wordplay' (p. 18) in a study of Ovid's use of syllepsis to blur distinctions between the physical and the figurative.² 'Indecorous and transformative puns' likewise suit the theme of metamorphosis as they 'stretch and burst . . . contextual limits' (pp. 22-24). And so on through the misunderstandings and irony inherent in wordplay, the accidentally overheard pun that becomes divination, puns that multiply meaning and puns that dissolve meaning, words used in a divided sense and structural emphasis, such as juxtaposition, or a play on the same word in different cases, employed paradoxically to underline separation. Wordplay does not only destabilise through disjunction; it transforms through personification, making a reality of the insubstantial or fantastic. For Tissol 'the style and content of the *Metamorphoses* are the same, and every element of the work invites our minds to return to its fundamental themes' (pp. 80f.).

From the detailed intricacy of verbal specifics Tissol moves to a consideration of larger structures in chapter 2, 'The Ass's Shadow: Narrative Disruption and Its Consequences' (pp. 89-130), maintaining that on the larger scale too Ovid destabilises the text and the reader's response to it: 'Disruption itself becomes thematic' (p. 91). Tissol takes issue with modern critics like Galinsky³ who maintain that Ovid seeks to have his reader disengaged from the narrative; Tissol prefers the Jaussian approach, that the reader can experience engagement and participation simultaneously with a 'contemplative "aesthetic distance"' (p. 93).⁴ Tissol's reading of Daedalus and Perdix (pp. 97-105) shows how Ovid's subversion of natural, chronological narrative sequence, in postponing the story of Daedalus' killing of his nephew until after the account of the death of Icarus, underlines the opposition Ovid draws between the caring father and the jealous uncle. Tissol rightly maintains that Ovid 'tends to introduce surprise and disruption into any narrative', but his analysis of the Polyphemus story (pp. 105-24) seems to imply that the effects of his jolts and twists work because the reader is dependent on Ovid's version. I would suggest rather that Ovid depends on his readers' external knowledge of a more-or-less canonical version of any narrative in order to startle us into his new perspective on the story. Certainly the allusions in his version of Polyphemus presuppose a memory of Theocritus and Vergil, as Tissol is well aware. The conclusion that emerges from Tissol's study of Ovid's Polyphemus and that is explicit and implicit throughout the book—when the comic and the grisly are combined in Ovid they do not weaken each other but are each intensified (p. 123)—brings us back to the many critics in every age who have been outraged by Ovid's violation of moments of pathos by wit, or by the intrusion of

² In addition to a useful definition of syllepsis on pp.18f. Tissol has three appendices, 'G. J. Vossius on *Syllepsis Oratoria*' (pp. 217f.), 'Syllepsis and Zeugma' (pp. 219f.) and 'Further examples of syllepsis in Ovid' (pp. 221f.).

³ G. K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (Berkeley 1975) 35, 37. This is just one of many points on which Tissol is critical of Galinsky.

⁴ H. R. Jauss (tr. M. Shaw), *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*² (Minneapolis 1982).

gratuitous violence. In 'Some Scandalous Passages' (pp. 124-30), Tissol defends Ovid against charges of insensitivity, arguing that his intention is to expose to his readers 'their susceptibility or willingness to be deceived by comforting and pleasant fictions' (p. 124). He does not accept the contention of Galinsky and others that Ovid's excesses are concessions to popular contemporary taste, but more recent work by Coleman and Richlin, among others, would seem to strengthen Galinsky's case.⁵ Tissol does not in fact satisfactorily engage with the problem of violence in Ovid, but slides quickly over to a restatement of the impossibility of detachment on the part of the reader confronted by the intrusion of brutality or of unseasonable wit (p. 128).

Tissol now turns to Ovid's literary predecessors in chapter 3, 'Disruptive Traditions' (pp. 131-66). Here Tissol is concerned with allusion, not only in the form of specific reminiscence but also in the general stylistic terms that led Ovid to draw on traditions in which narratives are readily disrupted, with surprise switches of direction, ellipses, compression of events and expansion of circumstantial detail. Detailed comparisons with Callimachus' *Aitia* and *Hecale* and Propertius' Tarpeia elegy (4.4) lead to the conclusion that Ovid's literary borrowings, like his indecorous wit and disruptions of narrative style, express his theme of change no less in their form than in their content. After Callimachus and Propertius, the logical next step is that of chapter 4, 'Deeper Causes: Aetiology and Style' (pp. 167-214). Tissol sees Ovid's cosmological vision as essentially human, with metamorphosed beings retaining the characteristics they had as people. This human focus challenges different world views like those of Lucretius and Vergil, and Tissol shows that Ovid underlines his divergence by allusion, for example in the way he uses etymological wordplay. Unlike Vergil, for whom this figure creates links between Rome's past and present, Ovid uses it to present flux and transformation: thus bilingual puns (e.g., *fluminis in rapidi ripis enixa vocavit* / Ocyroen, 'giving birth on the banks of a swift stream, she named her Ocyroe', *Met.* 2.637f. [tr. Tissol, p. 173]) are both acts and images of change.

Mention of Vergil brings us inevitably to 'Ovid's Little *Aeneid*' (pp. 177-91), which Tissol considers from his standpoint of Ovid's purposeful disruptions of style and structure, as a somewhat provocative 'reaction to the aetiological thrust of the *Aeneid*' (p. 177). Here again he takes issue with Galinsky and Solodow, objecting to their implications that Ovid trivialises the *Aeneid* (pp. 177f.).⁶ Ovid's re-telling differs from Vergil in making little use of prophecy, despite the fact that the books he chooses to re-work, books 3 and 6, are rich in prophecy; and in postponing the prophecy to a context (Pythagoras' account of the rise and fall of great cities, *Met.* 15.426-35) that casts a shadow of implicit future decline over the prediction of the greatness of Rome and of Augustus. Tissol's answer to critics who persist in reading the end of the *Metamorphoses* as a serious attempt at epic grandeur and praise of

⁵ See A. Richlin, 'Reading Ovid's Rapes', in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1992) 158-79; K. M. Coleman, 'Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments', *JRS* 80 (1990) 44-73.

⁶ Galinsky [3] 219, 238, 239; J. B. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Chapel Hill 1988) 157.

Augustus is to reassert his central contention that Ovid's theme is flux and in that context there can be no permanence for Augustan Rome. Ultimately Tissol sees Ovid's cosmology as pessimistic and invites us to 'see behind the outward face of nature an origin in human suffering and passion' (p. 194). Chaos and violence are inevitably and permanently part of Ovid's natural order.

From the *Aeneid* Tissol turns to comparisons between Ovid and earlier aetiological narratives in Homer and Callimachus. He draws a parallel between the Hellenistic Greeks' preoccupation with aetiology to affirm a sense of continuity with the past and the Roman need to reconcile Italian, Greek and Trojan elements in their tradition. Besides Callimachus, Ovid had a number of Roman predecessors in the field, but he consciously diverges from them in producing uncertain or multiple explanations that tend to unsettle, rather than reinforce, cultural identity. Here Tissol profits by recent studies of the *Fasti*.⁷ Where stories occur in both the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, he maintains, they have different perspectives: 'a story will appear in the *Fasti* as a link between the Roman past and the prestigious mythical traditions of Greece, whereas in the *Metamorphoses* the same story is subsumed into a vaster, more cosmic scheme' (p. 205). As a judgment of the *Fasti* at least, this is too limited and, having made it, Tissol does not spend much time on comparative readings; his critique of the two versions of Ceres and Persephone (pp. 205-08) is highly selective. His argument that the malign cruelty of many of the divine punishments meted out in the *Metamorphoses* underlines Ovid's bleak cosmology is better served by his analysis of the Circe tales in book 14 (pp. 209-14). As in his allusive borrowings from Vergil, so too in those from Homer Ovid denies the reader any sense of order and purpose: 'events of the *Odyssey* appear without its theme of ultimate homecomings, events of the *Aeneid* without its providential pattern' (p. 214). And so, Tissol concludes (p. 215): '[Ovid] deliberately disrupts the experience of reading by bringing to mind structurally consolatory perspectives, only to thwart their development and the familiar gratifications associated with them'.

As a study of Ovid's narrative style this book has much to offer. It is thorough and detailed without being dense, very readable, with pleasing translations for the Latinless reader. It is also sound on Ovidian scholarship and draws usefully on contemporary literary theory without being swamped by jargon. Its close readings of a great many passages bring the reader back to familiar as well as forgotten or undervalued stories with renewed delight and appreciation. As the abundant footnotes and

⁷ Tissol cites C. Martin, 'A Reconsideration of Ovid's *Fasti*', *ICS* 10 (1985) 261-74; W. R. Johnson, 'The Desolation of the *Fasti*', *CJ* 74 (1978) 7-18; W. R. Johnson, 'The return of Tutunus', *Arethusa* 25 (1992) 173-80; A. Barchiesi, *Il Poeta e il Principe: Ovidio e il discorso Augusteo* (Rome/Bari 1994; tr. *The Poet and the Prince. Ovid and Augustan Discourse* [Berkeley 1997]); and D.C. Feeney, 'Si Licet et Fas Est: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Problem of Free Speech Under the Principate', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London 1992) 1-25. To these must now be added C. E. Newlands, 'The Ending of Ovid's *Fasti*', in A. J. Boyle (ed.), *Roman Literature and Ideology: Ramus Essays for J.P. Sullivan* (Bendigo 1995) 129-43 and C. E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Ithaca 1995).

extensive bibliography indicate, Tissol is seldom on untrodden ground, but the value of his contribution lies in constantly demonstrating that features of Ovidian wit and style are not extraneous decorations but are integral to his themes of metamorphosis and cosmic flux, in highlighting what seems to be 'indecorous' and 'transgressive' in his wit as a formal metaphor, and in showing his appreciation of the ways in which Ovid engages (not to say manipulates) the reader. He makes important points about intellectual seriousness not being necessarily dependent on seriousness of tone, and his attention to context in discussion of style is constructive. But, faced with the fact of Ovid's disruptiveness in narrative and his consequent dark, malign and frightening universe, one is still left asking, 'Why?' Tissol mostly steers clear of the (unanswerable, in this reviewer's opinion) questions of Ovid's attitude towards the political climate of later Augustan Rome and of explicitly suggesting that the thematic instability and destructiveness of the *Metamorphoses* embodies his attitude, though this is an inference some would like to make. His brief flirtation with diachronic comparison in the conclusion (pp. 215f.) leads to an interesting suggestion: 'It is tempting to suppose that [Ovid] wrote for a time not unlike our own: aesthetically awash in sentimentality and nostalgia, with audiences unwilling or unable to bear the taste of even a little artistic accommodation to contemporary realities; with artists, for their part, frequently at fault for brutalizing their audiences . . .'. But Tissol is not prepared to run with this: 'Ovid most likely did not wish to affect his audiences that way, but he did wish to astonish them and fill them with wonder' (p. 216). And so in the end we run the risk of falling back on a judgment such as Quintilian's much-quoted *nimum amator ingenii sui* ('excessively in love with his own ability', *Inst.* 10.1.88), a judgment that Tissol has been at pains, throughout, to refute by demonstrating its inadequate appreciation of Ovidian wit.⁸

FAMILY MATTERS

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Cynthia B. Patterson, *The Family in Greek History*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1998. Pp. 286. ISBN 0-674-29270-7. UK£21.95.

The last decade of the twentieth century has seen a significant rise in interest in the Greek family. This is well illustrated in a number of recent studies on related topics, such as childhood, motherhood, the relationship between fathers and sons, and bastardy, not to mention the vast amount of literature on women.¹ Yet no full-length

⁸ I noticed one error in this carefully produced book: 'Ovid's, like others texts' (p. 106).

¹ M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Greece* (Baltimore 1990); N. Demand, *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece* (Baltimore 1994); B. S. Strauss, *Fathers*

monograph has been devoted to the family as such since the publication, in 1968, of Lacey's book.² This remarkable void, which is all the more pronounced in view of the wealth of studies on the Roman family, has now been filled with no fewer than three major studies, all of them published in the last two years. Aside from Patterson's book, the interested student can also turn to Pomeroy's study of the family in Classical and Hellenistic Greece and that of Cheryl Ann Cox on the household in Athens.³ It is a particularly pleasant circumstance that, despite some unavoidable overlap in the sources used, the three works display a significant degree of divergence in approach. Due to its prominent emphasis on definitions, demography and death, and thanks to its extensive use of epigraphic and material evidence, Pomeroy's study presents the most comprehensive treatment of the subject. There are notable similarities between the books of Cox and Patterson in that they are both concerned with marriage and the transmission of property and how this affects the definition of the ancient Greek family. Patterson's approach, however, is slanted differently in important respects. She shows a strong belief in the historical reality of the Greek family, stressing that it is not a static concept but the 'active fashioner of relationships and identities from which and with which its members engage the larger world' (p. 227). To analyse it she relies on traditional types of evidence and eschews the use of anthropological studies, and whenever she can she takes the opportunity to expose the shortcomings of the comparative approach when it is in conflict with the ancient evidence (for example on p. 116). The profitable use that has been made of this method on occasion is not highlighted, even when the outcome receives her approval (pp. 126f.). This dissatisfaction is perhaps best explained from her vigorous commitment to the refutation of received opinions on the role of the family in Greek history prevalent in research from the nineteenth century onwards. These ideas are primarily associated with scholars who have adopted a fervent comparative approach, both with their own society and other, non-European, societies.

Patterson's first chapter, 'The Nineteenth-Century Paradigm of Greek Family History' (pp. 5-44), lays the foundation for a craftily constructed undermining of what she calls the nineteenth-century paradigm. The key elements of that paradigm are: the ancient Greek family was primarily a lineage or descent group; the territorial state arose at the expense of the family; as the family was 'privatised' women were excluded from public life and secluded in the home (p. 9). Its origins are to be discovered in the works of scholars of such diverse background and divergent perspective as Bachofen, Fustel de Coulanges, Maine, Morgan, Engels, Mahaffy and Grote. For those, like the present writer, who have been exposed to their ideas only

and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War (London 1993); and Daniel Ogden, *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (Oxford 1996).

² W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968).

³ S. B. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities* (Oxford 1997); C. A. Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton 1998).

indirectly, this chapter provides compulsory reading. It is striking to see how many of their arguments have been influenced by evolutionary thinking. To these scholars the Greek family constituted a significant stage in the development from primitive to more sophisticated societies. In fact, the concept of the Greek family that they developed, either in agreement or disagreement with each other's work, was largely unhistorical and primarily served the function of conceptualising the superiority of the nineteenth-century European family. As a result there arose a marked double identity of the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, as familiar and other. This tradition was carried on by later generations of scholars. For example, it was A. W. Gomme who remarked that 'Athenian society was, in the main, of the normal European type' (quoted on p. 227). This survey of nineteenth-century ideas is merely the first step in an offensive against the immutable status of these ideas in modern scholarship.

The nineteenth-century paradigm's ideological entrenchment is demonstrated and combatted in every chapter, but it is also usefully discussed in a separate section of the first chapter entitled 'Twentieth-Century Echoes' (pp. 35-42). Here Patterson criticises scholars like W. K. Lacey, Sarah Pomeroy and Moses Finley for not recognising its fallacies. Much of the criticism is justified and to the point. On the whole Patterson is quite explicit in her criticism of those who still uphold these views by incorporating some of them in their arguments without acknowledging their origins or examining their validity. Here and elsewhere in the book (pp. 27f.) it is argued that the image of a misogynistic Athens is particularly appealing to feminist scholars, although this by no means implies that such a view is the exclusive privilege of this specific group. The entire first chapter presents a well-reasoned discussion that urges the need to re-examine the foundations of current thinking on the Greek family and its role in Greek history. Patterson is to be commended for demonstrating so clearly that some of the premises that stand at the basis of research into the Greek family are not tenable in the face of the available evidence. One minor point of criticism on this part of the book is that Patterson does not do enough to bring out the full richness of current scholarship on the social history of Greece. It is only rarely that she singles out scholars who have managed to escape the constraints of the conventional view (Hodkinson on Sparta; a select group of feminist scholars; some of David Cohen's arguments), more through common sense than by way of a frontal refutation of the paradigm's main tenets. Other scholars who receive a fair amount of criticism, for example Ian Morris and David Cohen, can hardly be considered as representative of the standard theories. The fact of the matter is that one can discover in modern scholarship only bits and pieces of the original paradigm and that, due to the proliferation of theory in classics and ancient history, the fossilised remnants of older theories, even though tenacious, have become less overbearing.

Patterson's most important argument in the book is that it is the *oikos*, not the *genos*, which is the central social principle of Greek family life (most explicitly on p. 47). She demonstrates this in lucid discussions of the evidence from Homer, Hesiod, Sparta, Classical and Hellenistic Athens. Patterson does a particularly good job on the demystification of Spartan 'otherness' where the family is concerned, showing that its military system and the accompanying ideology overlay characteristics that are the

main organising principles of every Greek polis. Central to the discussion is a clear understanding of Greek terminology. *Genos*, in Patterson's view, can mean different things, from identity ('where did you come from?') to a more pertinent use as 'family', a unique network of relatives and friends 'created' by a single individual, but it never means 'clan' in its dictionary sense (pp. 47-49). Outside the *oikos* family connections are essentially those produced by marriage and the *oikos* itself—together with those assimilated to it through close friendship or mutual dependence (p. 51). This network, Patterson claims, is what the Athenians later understood as *anchisteia tou genous* ('the nearest in family') and what she herself labels 'ego-based kindred'. Such an idiosyncratic conglomerate of relatives, friends and dependants is a constant feature of Greek social history (cf. p. 199 on Menandrian Athens). Although she never refers to the debate on the nuclear versus extended family that looms so large in the study of the Roman family, Patterson's point suggests that family structure is not the same as family sentiment. It is clear that different notions of family identity were operative in Greek society, not in the form of a progressive sequence, from more to less primitive, but simultaneously, and with different, emphases according to the circumstances.

While chapter 4, 'Marriage and Adultery in Democratic Athens' (pp. 107-38), is mainly concerned with matters of definition and public estimation, chapter 5, 'Adultery Onstage and in Court' (pp. 138-80), discusses the representation of adultery in tragedy and court-room speeches. Both chapters are driven by the issue of how the family is to be located within the nexus of the public and private realms. Patterson positions herself in opposition to David Cohen who has argued that private morality in Athens only occasioned public interest when there arose the threat of violence spilling over into society.⁴ The implication of Cohen's arguments is that sexual offences belonged to the private realm and that adultery received public attention only because it carried the threat of violence (by way of the husband killing the adulterer) that was a concern of the state. Patterson objects to the separation of a public and a private realm on the grounds that it misconstrues the role of the household. According to her, 'the household had both a public and a private face, and household roles and responsibilities had both private and public significance' (p. 132). The key to Patterson's evaluation of Cohen's arguments is the fact that she regards him as not pushing far enough his arguments against the oriental seclusion of Athenian women while going too far in his identification of a private sphere that was virtually untouched by public regulations (cf. p. 116). As we shall observe, the correct location of adultery in Athenian society has important implications for other issues as well, such as the position of citizen women and the existence of a separate private sphere, independent of the public interest. It is to be understood that if such a shielding off of the private realm existed, it would be totally dominated by the concerns of male citizens.

⁴ D. Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1991); cf. V. J. Hunter, *Policing Athens. Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits: 420-320 BC* (Princeton 1994).

Identifying the ideological importance that the Athenians attached to marriage is made difficult by its almost total lack of substance in law: marriage was not defined by law, nor were individual marriages legally certified and registered (p. 108). The acts that signalled a marriage to the public environment were those of betrothal, which the bride-to-be did not have to attend, and the involvement of relatives, friends and the neighbourhood in the actual marriage ceremony. These could later be called upon as witnesses to testify to the legitimacy of the marriage. As Patterson herself defines it, 'marriage thus should be understood as a social process rather than as a legal moment' (p. 109). Apart from the legal approach that can be brought to bear on marriage as essentially concerned with status and citizenship, the concept of marriage can also be explored through tragedy and court-room speeches, arguably two fields that present problems of interpretation of a different order. Patterson deduces from Demosthenes 59, the famous case of prosecution against the ex-prostitute Neaira, that she is charged with living with an Athenian as his wife and passing off her children as the legitimate Athenian children of two Athenian parents. From this point Patterson infers correctly that legitimate marriage was the privilege of the citizen shareholder. Sophocles' *Antigone* is another piece of evidence that has been of central importance to the understanding of marriage and the family in classical Athens. The play is usually taken to reflect the conflict between the family and the state, a prototype, so to speak, of the alleged historical development whereby the state eradicated the family. Patterson, however, while admitting that the *Antigone* can be read in many different ways, argues that the *oikos* and the state are depicted as mutually dependent rather than presented as ideological opposites. Making his point through the negative image of a 'marriage to death', Sophocles underlines the tying together of the public and the private realm through the *oikos* relationships created by marriage. And so marriage underlies the well-being of both *oikos* and state, something that is a tragic impossibility in the *Antigone*.

The marriage violated by adultery is a complex field of study, since it involves discussion of a number of terminological uncertainties. The key term is *moicheia*, which is translated as 'adultery' in the dictionaries. The orthodox view is that adultery in Athens was a crime committed by one male against another male's honour and that it could involve illicit relationships with any woman living in a house, not necessarily only the wife. This view has recently come under attack from David Cohen, who argues in a stimulating study that the traditional explanation of *moicheia* as the sexual seduction of any woman living under the protection of a *kurios* ('head' of a family) goes counter to prevalent ideas in ancient, medieval and Mediterranean societies.⁵ In short, Cohen claims that Athens was not unique in this respect and that it viewed adultery as the seduction of a married woman. Cohen's second challenge concerns the attention adultery (*moicheia*) received in public law. He argues that adultery was prosecutable in Athens not as a sexual offense *per se*, but only insofar as it was conceived as a source of public violence. If valid, these arguments would turn the private realm into a separate sphere in which the state was only interested when issues

⁵ Cohen [4].

of revenge or conflict threatened the public order. Patterson strongly objects to these views and does so by openly questioning the relevance of comparative anthropological evidence as an overarching realm of interpretation and by referring to conflicting evidence from Athens itself. Independently of Patterson's research other scholars have levelled similar criticism against Cohen's views.⁶

The key texts in this debate are Lysias 1 (*On the Murder of Eratosthenes*) and Demosthenes 59. In the former *moicheia* is an important point in the defence's strategy, even though the key argument is that Eratosthenes' murder was in fact lawful homicide. The latter speech presents the only known case of prosecution for *xenia* (the rights of a guest), but a central part in the accusation is formed by a scheme set up by Stephanos, Neaira and her daughter Phano to trap unsuspecting foreigners (some were under the impression that they were visiting a brothel) into having sex with one of the ladies and then accuse them of *moicheia* in order to claim financial compensation. In her discussion of these texts Patterson lays a strong emphasis on the dramatic context of the court-room; this is not a forum where one can expect the use of accurate legal definitions. Illustrative of the rhetorical manipulation that occurred in the lawcourts is Euphiletos' demonstration that Athenian law regarded adultery as a worse crime than rape—a point that has received a fair amount of attention in recent scholarship.⁷ Patterson highlights the persuasive context of the speech and argues that from the household's point of view adultery had indeed far-reaching consequences for the legitimacy of the children, an aspect that was less pronounced in the case of rape. The main antithesis is between a slow process of corruption and a criminal act. Incidentally, the case of Neaira and her daughter establishes that *moicheia* could conceivably be committed with an unmarried daughter, thus invalidating part of Cohen's argument.

Patterson's discussion presents a useful correction to the recent views on the Athenian evaluation of the *moichos* ('adulterer') and his crime. Whereas in Cohen's view the adulterer is a champion in the accumulation of honour at the expense of other males, Patterson demonstrates that in Athenian society the *moichos* was regarded as a particularly distasteful character, a sexual thief in the night who enters other men's houses and seduces the women within. The root of the word is especially instructive for it must be sought in a slang term for to urinate, a rather primitive and vulgar equation with ejaculation, and its use is prominent in old comedy but not in tragedy. The *moichos* appears in one of Aristotle's phrases as a 'dandy cruising at night' (*Rhet.* 1401b24); he is a *topos* not of manliness but of its opposite (p. 123). Allegations of

⁶ R. Omitowaju, 'Regulating Rape: Soap Operas and Self-interest in the Athenian Courts', in S. Deacy and K. F. Pierce (edd.), *Rape in Antiquity* (London 1997) 7-17; D. Ogden, 'Rape, Adultery and Protection of Blood Lines in Classical Athens', in Deacy and Pierce [above, this note] 27.

⁷ See the studies referred to in the previous note; E. M. Harris, 'Did the Athenians Regard Seduction as a Worse Crime than Rape?', *CQ* 40 (1990) 370-77; C. Carey, 'Rape and Adultery in Athenian law', *CQ* 45 (1995) 407-17.

moicheia play an essential part in political invective, a fact that is usefully illustrated in Patterson's discussion of three alleged *moichoi* (pp. 159-63).

What happened to the woman caught with a *moichos*? This is another area where Patterson disagrees with Cohen. The latter argued that there is no known instance of public corporal punishment for Athenian women, something that is in conflict with the evidence from other ancient Mediterranean codes, and he further suggested that the woman could just marry someone else without loss of status. Patterson, however, points out that the status of citizenship protected Athenian women from corporal punishment and argues that the types of punishment we know of—exclusion from sacred places, expulsion from the *oikos* and mandatory divorce—are in fact the female equivalent of *atimia* (p. 131). What underlies these forms of exclusion from the community are male suspicions that a wife's encounter with a *moichos* casts doubt not only on her marital fidelity but also on the legitimacy of his existing off-spring. This cluster of suspicions may also be responsible for the fact that *moicheia* never acquired much substance in Athenian courts, for the public nature of the proceedings would bring out into the open the husband's potential dishonourable position. Patterson sensibly suggests that most cases of *moicheia* were settled out of court by way of the payment of financial compensation. Indeed, such was the rationale behind the fraud perpetrated by Stephanos and Neaira.

Patterson's final chapter, 'Public and Private in Early Hellenistic Athens' (pp. 180-225), presents a lucid discussion of Menander's comedies as a relevant source for the social history of the family in Hellenistic Athens. This chapter is mainly concerned with the changes in the conception of the family. It is in Aristotle that we witness for the first time the separation of the household and its relationships from the political world of public assemblies and officeholding. Menander, Patterson argues, acknowledges the Aristotelian separation of state and society, yet he positions himself not along the lines of Aristotle's thinking, but innovates by privileging neither state nor individual but a private community of households (p. 185). Before coming to a discussion of the full significance of this emphasis, Patterson has to combat a series of misunderstandings and misconceptions about Menander's work. She highlights the unfair judgements Menander's comedies have received, especially in connection with a comparison with Aristophanic comedy. The authoritative view is that Menander's comedies feature the frivolous activities of a politically inane bourgeoisie. That politics only figures in the background can be firmly attributed to the changing political circumstances of Athens under Macedonian military control, not to the grimness of politics, as has been argued so frequently. Patterson places Menander in Athens after 322 when the city was ruled by Demetrius of Phaleron and when it was fairly evident that the real source of power and authority was located in the kings of Macedonia. In this configuration politics is not merely non-existent or grim, it is beyond the immediate control of Menander and his audience. The removal of any formal ground for accusing Menander of not writing political comedy like Aristophanes then opens up the more fruitful avenue of exploring his drama in terms of the social history of the family and the changing configuration of the public and the private realm.

Patterson cautiously argues against taking Menander as a useful source for social realia. Where he is particularly useful is on the macro-level, that is, the ideological position of the household in early Hellenistic Athens. Here Menander definitely has something new to offer. The prominence of siblings, the resulting possibility of tying two households together, and the emphasis on the role of the courtesan implies that the drama moves beyond the single household to the stories of several interconnected households (p. 196). Romantic love, however, is not one of Menander's innovations, and Patterson effectively demonstrates that *eros* in Menander is a gendered emotion. No woman has the privilege of experiencing the sentiment of romantic love; this is strictly limited to young men. Menander's comedies, Patterson correctly argues, assume a highly traditional hierarchy of female roles (p. 200), a cautionary warning against those scholars who choose to observe an improvement in the status of women during the Hellenistic period. The least modest code of behaviour is the privileged area of the female slave and the concubine/courtesan, but it is worth mentioning that once she has been identified as an Athenian citizen the Menandrian courtesan moves into her usual silent and obedient role. Patterson interestingly suggests that the significance of courtesans in Menander is a reflection of the contemporary preoccupation with the social justification of such women in an *oikos*-based society. This may well be true, for it is to be noted that it is primarily widowers and unmarried youngsters who are involved with them. Again, Menander has decided to make his point along traditional lines of propriety. What Menander propagates in the majority of his extant works is that in Athens the state or public law is no viable option—the law is mainly quoted by notoriously unreliable characters—nor is the isolated individual, most famously portrayed in the character of Gorgias in the *Dyskolos*. Menander's world is one in which politics has lost its significance for the average citizen and where the family receives a new ideological dimension. The celebration of a wedding as a solution to the social vexations raised in a specific comedy endorses the idea that the household is no longer the reflection on the micro-level of the organic state, but a freshly conceived means to achieve a feeling of community as a substitute for political attachments.

Students and scholars who have been eagerly awaiting a study of the Greek family that could compete with the work done on the Roman family by scholars such as Beryl Rawson (Patterson mistakenly refers to Elizabeth Rawson on p. 239), Keith Bradley, Richard Saller and Suzanne Dixon, will be somewhat disappointed by Patterson's book. Patterson does mention in passing themes such as the debate on the extended versus the nuclear family, the demographic regime prevalent in the ancient world, the socio-psychological implications of remarriage and divorce, but no attempt has been made to make these pivotal to the discussion. Still, Patterson's study is eminently useful and has the potential of becoming a fundamental work in the field of the Greek family and society. It presents a forceful argument to rethink the basic premises of how the transformation of Greek society from the archaic through to the Hellenistic period defined the family. By attacking historical myths such as that of the *genos* as the quintessential family or the emergence of the state at the expense of the public role of the family and of women, Patterson makes clear that ideas about the

family in Greek history have been seriously misconstrued. The result is an excellent and challenging piece of scholarship. One is obliged, however, to comment that the absence of a bibliography is to be deplored and that the index is woefully inadequate. That is particularly regrettable because it detracts from the value of an otherwise meticulous and engaging study.

A HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF RHETORIC

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Gert Üding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik. Vol. I: A-Bib.* Pp. viii + 1592. ISBN 3-484-68101-2. DM 248.00. *Vol. II: Bie-Eul.* Pp. vi + 1590. ISBN 3-484-68102-0. DM 248.00. *Vol. III: Eup.-Hor.* Pp. v + 1610. ISBN 3-484-68103-9. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 1992-96. DM 248.00.

There can be no doubt that the new interest in rhetoric, which has brought into existence so many learned publications during the present decade,¹ makes this lexicon a most welcome tool for further research. It not only provides classical scholars with detailed information on all the rhetorical terms but it also opens up for them a broad range of related aspects, explaining a number of different facets of the subject in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and modern times, including subjects like 'radio', 'film', 'Diskurs' and 'Demagogie'. The entries vary widely: right in between 'Charisma' and 'Chiffre' we find 'Chiasm'; between 'Feldherrnrede' and 'Festrede' appears 'feministische Rhetorik'. In fact, the editor enumerates in his preface (p. vif.) almost a dozen fields that are brought here together for interdisciplinary work.²

A tool ought to be handy, efficient and easy to operate. This series is planned to cover no fewer than ten volumes, and if it cannot therefore be physically easy to handle, its lucidity nevertheless will be helpful to the reader. Indeed, the editor and his crew of four sub-editors (Gregor Kalivoda, Heike Mayer, Franz-Hubert Robling and Thomas Zinsmaier) have gone out of their way to ensure perspicuity. A board of eleven experts at the head of an international team of more than 300 scholars

¹ To name just a few: H. Lausberg (tr. M. T. Bliss *et al.*; ed. D. E. Orten and R. Dean Andersen), *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Studies* (Leiden 1998); W.J. Dominik (ed.), *Roman Eloquence: Rhetoric in Society and Literature* (London 1997); S. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period: 330 BC-AD 400* (Leiden 1997); G. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton 1994); I. Worthington (ed.), *Persuasion: Greek Rhetoric in Action* (London 1994); and T. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago 1990).

² '[F]orensische und politische Rede, Homiletik, Topik, Literatur, Gebrauchstexte oder Alltagsrede . . . persuasive Kommunikation, pädagogische oder didaktische Dimension (Problem der Wissenschaftssprachen!) . . . Philosophie.'

(including Umberto Eco, who contributed 'Geheimsprache', that is, 'secret language'), have created an impressive 4,800 columns of admirably enlightening articles in the first three volumes.

There are three overall categories of articles: those that give concise definitions, those that are longer and more substantive, and those that focus on research. Internally, they are organised under the headings of (A) Definition and (B) History, followed by the sub-headings (a) Annotations, (b) Bibliography and (c) References to pertinent lemmata. There are *corrigenda* at the end of each of the volumes, lists of abbreviations and the like.³ A very helpful appendix to each volume is the 'Artikelverzeichnis' in which one can check the entries spread out over 1600 columns on just two pages—obviously an addition that saves the user a lot of time and energy. So far so good. English readers will note with some relief headings such as 'Ghostwriter' and 'Camouflage', 'Farce' and 'Feedback', 'Creative writing' and 'Close reading', 'Eulogy' and 'Error'. They will even come across the 'AIDA formula', which is PR-jargon and stands for 'Attention-Interest-Desire-Action'. Nothing better than an acronym! And English too (more or less) in a continental Wörterbuch! The articles themselves, however, are all in German, and the heading 'Error' here is not an English but a Latin word. All the other lemmata are given either in Latin or Greek or German—except for a few headings in French or Italian. And this is where the trouble begins.

There are, for instance, two articles, one called 'Anthologie', the other 'Florilegium'. Both of them contain references to the other, but it remains an open question to what extent both cover the same ground. Similarly, there is one article on 'Chironomie' (A),⁴ another one on 'Gebärde' (B), and a third one on 'Gestik' (C). A and C are each illustrated by some ten or so drawings, B is not; A refers to C but not to B, which itself offers references to both its rivals, as does C. A lack of coordination is clearly apparent. Unfortunately, there is another, more important instance of this. We encounter 'Beredsamkeit' in the first volume and 'Eloquentia' in the third. The first article covers thirty-one columns and includes the entire plethora of 'Antike' (subdivided into 'Griechen' and 'Römer'), thereafter 'Mittelalter', followed by 'Renaissance, Humanismus, Reformation', then 'Barock', 'Aufklärung' (including 'Natürlichkeitsideal'), '19th century' and finally '20th century'. The second consists of only eight columns and does not go beyond 'Frühe Neuzeit'. Again, the reasons for this clumsy combination of two separate articles covering much the same ground remain unclear; the unifying hand of the editor is lacking.

One might argue that too much is better than too little. But the most difficult feature for the user is indeed the book's indiscriminate use of different languages in its headings. Here are three more examples: if one is looking for 'Epos' or 'Epigram' or

³ The *corrigenda* are located *in diaspora*: for vol. 1, see vol. 2 col. 1589f. and vol. 3 col. 1605f. 'Nachtrag'. Hopefully the editors at some point will present a unified overview of the errata.

⁴ This article does not take notice of the contribution by P. Wülfing, *Antike und moderne Redegestik* in R. Faber and B. Kytzler (edd.), *Antike Heute* (Würzburg 1992) 68-80.

'Episode' one naturally turns to the letter 'E'. But for 'Epistle' you have to go to 'B'. Why? Because 'Brief' begins with 'B'. And the 'Sublime'? This in turn is to be found under 'E' because 'E' stands for 'Erhabene, das'. And *Aptum*? It is hidden some 150 columns earlier in 'Angemessenheit'. The system is certainly useful for German readers (who also might have to think a while about *Aptum/Angemessenheit*), but it is at times difficult for those who do not have an intimate knowledge of this language. Certainly the overall method cannot be changed now after the completion of three volumes; but at least it is not too much to ask from the editor that he provide as many cross references as possible in future volumes. An afterword on 'das Erhabene': part A (definition) comprises twelve lines, part B (history) thirty-two columns. Of these no fewer than eight are filled by 190 notes to sections 4 and 5, whereas the notes to sections 1-3 (by another author) fill not much more than one single column. Clearly balance and proportions are grossly neglected. Again, the editor should distribute the material more evenly.

It is certainly helpful to have practically all non-German texts translated into German. However, given the role of English these days as *lingua franca* worldwide, especially in academic circles, it is hard to see the need to translate quotations from this language. On the other hand, a Hebrew example from *Ecclesiastes* 1.2 (vol. 3 col. 280) is discussed but not transliterated; it needs an interlinear version for full understanding. And quoting Raymond Queneau's (1903-76) French novel in German only without also providing the original is without doubt one of the seven deadly sins against the Holy Trinity of precision, fullness and taste.⁵ A further warning: no proper names are included. There is no Cicero, no Demosthenes, no Antiphon. There is, however, a brilliant article on Ciceronianism, and instead of 'Demosthenes' we find a stimulating entry 'Denkmalsrhetorik', a most welcome eye-opener. May we suggest that, in a final index to the lexicon, those proper names that are relevant to rhetoric be listed for the researchers' convenience?

There is an astonishingly wide and varied selection of lemmata in the book. There are a lot of phenomena included that one might put under the label of 'Cultural Studies'. Researchers of Politeness Studies for instance will be delighted to find themselves treated to articles like 'gentilhomme', 'gentleman', 'Hofmann' and 'Honnête homme'; later on, there will be 'Kavalier'; all this to be topped by 'Höflichkeit' itself—or herself, if you like. Other 'Cultural Studies' articles include 'Antike', 'Apollinisch-Dionysisch', 'Artistenfakultät', 'Bild, Bildlichkeit', 'Bildung' (that is, *Enkyklios paideia*), 'Feuilleton', 'Gelehrtenrepublik'⁶ and 'Grobianismus'.

⁵ Vol. 1 col. 843, where Queneau's 'bizarre and comical effects' are exemplified by a distorted German phrase 'ader wi hm Bratschläge übetreffs seines Uknopfes rseines Rttttttttttt-überziehers agab.' Üding has not provided the bibliographic details of Queneau's novel.

⁶ This book should be added: K. Garber and H. Wismann (edd.), *Europäische Sozietätsbewegung und demokratische Tradition: Die europäischen Akademien der Frühen Neuzeit zwischen Frührenaissance and Spätaufklärung* (Tübingen 1996).

The small selection offered here so far should make it clear that sociological and psychological points of view are fully represented.

Following are a few gems from the third volume for the purpose of illustration. The article 'Figurengedicht' (pattern poetry, cols. 282-89), which follows three full columns on 'Figura Etymologica' (cols. 279-82), offers eight columns that contain truly enlightening comments on this poetic form from classical antiquity down to our century, including the following: 'Die Materialität der Sprache wird durch das Figurengedicht betont', and 'Das Figurengedicht der Gegenwart ist anti-symbolisch.' Immediately after, we have 'Figurenlehre', a deeply erudite *tractatus* of more than fifty columns (cols. 289-342), only to be topped by a concise presentation on 'fiction' (cols. 342-47) and a brilliant article on 'Filmrhetorik' (cols. 347-64). Attention should also be drawn to '*Furor poeticus*', where testimonia from Plato to the contemporary poet Horst Bienek's collection of dialogues with modern authors are presented. There is much more: elucidations on 'Freundschaftsalbum' ('*album amicorum*', 'Stammbuch'), 'Fürstenspiegel' ('Mirror of Princes'), 'Frage' ('Question' or 'Interrogation'), 'Fragment' (explained as *utopia ex negativo*), 'Floskel' ('*Floscula*', 'Empty Phrases') and 'Flugblatt' ('Pamphlet'). All these lemmata clearly show that rhetoric is taken in an energetically modern sense; not only figures of thought and speech, but also literary forms and their ways of expression, their means and methods are taken into consideration.

Three volumes of *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* edited so far demonstrate how ancient rhetoric has given rise to later forms of cultivated eloquence. We are shown a strong segment of the classical tradition at work across Europe and across epochs from ancient to modern times. Despite some problems that non-German users might encounter while looking for the right article for their studies, the whole enterprise will be the basis of research into rhetoric for generations to come. Subscription is a must for any serious library; it is also not out of reach for special private collections, given the fact that the funds necessary for all the volumes will be spread over many years into the new millennium.⁷

⁷ A rhetorical guide for the new age has already appeared in the form of R. Lanham's recent CD-ROM entitled *A Hypertext Handlist of Rhetorical Terms for Macintosh Computers* (Berkeley 1996).

REVIEWS

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

Gian Biagio Conte (tr. Elaine Fantham), *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon*. Sather Classical Lectures 60. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. Pp. x + 226. ISBN 0-520-20715-7. US\$35.00/UK£28.00.

The principal aim of this rich and intelligent, if at times frustrating, book is to correct the tendency to view the whole of Petronius' *Satyricon* (to retain Conte's form of the title) in the distorting light of the only episode to survive complete. Conte maintains, with reason, that we have been seduced by the character of the *Cena Trimalchionis* and the privileged position accorded to it by the decisions and vagaries of history into over-emphasising the 'realistic' features of the work; its contemporary readers will have seen it quite differently. Conte's conviction is that Petronius seeks above all to criticise, indeed pillory, the scholastic culture of the early empire, embodied in the characters Encolpius, Agamemnon and Eumolpus. Any interpretation of this kind must obviously be subject to the caveat that far more of Petronius' novel may be lost than remains, but on the basis of what we have Conte's claim is entirely reasonable and his case persuasive.

The strategy that Petronius adopts in pursuit of his quarry involves the use of a first-person narrator who repeatedly and incorrigibly casts the banal and sordid events of his life in a mould created by the great literary models of the past. Encolpius is a 'mythomaniac narrator', for whom situations present themselves in terms of famous scenes from epic or tragedy: thus he 'becomes' Achilles or Aeneas, but in wholly inappropriate circumstances, so that the effect is bathos and irony. The associations with the sublime models (oratory also features) are often subtly formed, in ways requiring the reader to be familiar with different styles and registers and texts; but as the models chosen belong to the limited repertoire of the declamatory schools the educated readers for whom Petronius was writing will have had no difficulties. Encolpius' mythomania—his inability to see things as they are—sets him up for ridicule; or rather, he is treated like Pavlov's dog by the 'hidden author', Petronius, who presents him with situations that lend themselves to being read—by a person like Encolpius—in the terms he cannot resist. Each time he falls straight back into the heffalump trap.

A further level of ironisation turns on a distinction between Encolpius as participant in the events he describes (the 'agent "I"') and Encolpius as narrator, looking back at those events (the 'narrating "I"'). This distinction is noted by Conte in discussion of a number of passages (pp. 10, 14, 55, 78f., 92f.), but it can be elusive: I am not convinced, for instance, that there is a real tension between these two aspects at 82.4 (see p. 14: it seems far from clear that Encolpius' reinterpretation of the soldier's intervention belongs to the time of the narration rather than the time of the

narrated events), and it would probably have been helpful to many readers if Conte had provided more guidance on how the distinction works in specific cases. Also basic to the author's strategy is his co-option to his point of view (in contrast to the narrator's) of his reader, the two being 'bound in a close complicity' (p. 22); Conte's imperative, 'Let us too learn to smile with the author if we want a true reading of the *Satyricon*' (p. 36), is a happy blow against postmodernist claims that the text means whatever the reader thinks it means.

The accumulation of passages where Conte demonstrates the use of these authorial techniques—his procedure is, as usual, largely empirical—makes his central argument almost irresistible: the *Satyricon* ought certainly to be regarded as (*inter alia*) an attack on the derivative, blinkered, rigidified, and almost tyrannical culture of the declamatory schools. At the same time Conte is at pains to emphasise that the author is *not* attacking the great literary models themselves, and indeed Petronius and Encolpius can be held to have in common at least one thing, an enthusiasm—however differently expressed—for sublime literature (see pp. 42f., 84). According to Conte (pp. 72, 169 n. 36), however, Petronius' enthusiasm is a nostalgia—he realises that the great literature of the past is irrecoverable. But this position is one Conte states rather than argues for, and it is far from firmly established. The problem of 'coming after' in literary endeavour is certainly prominent in the period (one thinks especially of Statius' relationship with Virgil; cf., e.g., *Theb.* 12.810-19), but Conte points to no explicit indications of this difficulty in Petronius; and if Encolpius, whose inadequate interpretation of the great models 'shows the extent to which his own contemporary culture has fallen away from that of the classical authors', is made by Petronius 'ridiculous and unreliable' (p. 170 n. 36), there is still reason to hope that others less absurd than he might be capable of recovering that greatness.

For Conte, the *Satyricon* is fundamentally *about* literature, but at the same time remains a novel, and a novel in its own right, not just a parody of Greek romance (see p. 33 n. 40), though it is certainly that (Heinze's thesis is rightly supported). There is plenty on this too, some of it of great interest. Encolpius' mythomania is an important point in favour of the view that the presence of an angry Priapus behind the action is to be regarded as an Encolpian fantasy (see pp. 93-96)—though to my mind Lichas' dream at *Satyricon* 104 offers more resistance to this position than Conte allows. But in any event the attribution to Mercury of Encolpius' restoration to sexual health is presented simply as Encolpius' own opinion—or, seen in the context of the mythomania, as occurring in his 'heroicizing imagination' (p. 100). Still, as Conte is well aware, the work refuses a simple generic classification, or even a more complex one: what is perhaps the best chapter of the book, 'The Quest for a Genre (or Chasing Will o' the Wisps?): Some Skeptical Thoughts on Menippean Satire' (pp. 140-70), deals with its prosimetric form, with Conte systematically dismantling the view that it should be located squarely in the Menippean tradition; in many respects the *Satyricon* is quite unlike Menippean as we know it and a pat identification of Menippean and prosimetrum is wholly unsatisfactory. (In contrast to this careful dissociation of text and label, Conte follows common practice in talking of 'Milesian tales', as if there were definite criteria for such categorisation; here is an area where we need more rig-

our and less fudge.) A more disciplined approach would have benefited the discussion of realism in the final chapter, 'Realism and Irony' (pp. 171-94). There is an excellent critique of the poem at *Satyricon* 132.15, which Conte properly insists should not be regarded as a programmatic statement by the author, and valuable observations ('realistic description depends less on imitation of objects than on the reader's familiarity with the objects described' [p. 174]: crisp formulations like this are a striking feature of the book); but the thought meanders and what transpires is an interesting ramble.

This contrast between the last two chapters points to an unevenness that mars the work. Alongside the sentences of impact and clarity are some horrid obscurities, passages where the author seems carried away by his own rhetoric to produce contortions that we have to try to untangle for ourselves; this reviewer became tired of having to rewrite mentally phrases such as 'the materializing energy of the satiric narrative' (p. 114). (It is possible that in places the fault lies rather with the translator than with the author, though apart from the unclarity the English reads well.) There is also much inconsistency: the same passage from 'Longinus' is translated entirely differently at p. 8 n. 6 and p. 71, and there seems to be no principle as to whether quoted Greek and Latin texts should be accompanied by an English translation or not—given that a readership beyond the confines of professional classics is explicitly envisaged (see p. vii), such assistance should have been provided throughout, and certainly not as erratically as we have it.¹ In short, though the text of the book is thoroughly footnoted, much more work, of both an authorial and an editorial nature, should have been done on converting the original lectures into printed form.

But whatever its weaknesses, there is far more of substance and true worth in this book than there are grounds for complaint. Conte's discussion of the relationship between scholastic mythomania and sequences such as the *Cena* and the Quartilla episode in chapter 4, 'Sex, Food, and Money: Low Themes Versus High Scenarios' (pp. 104-39), is highly stimulating: reality in its most basic forms brings the fantastical reaching for the sublime down to earth with a bump. The narrative pattern of the Widow of Ephesus story, which can be regarded as 'demonstrating how powerfully bodily needs . . . challenge the ennobling pretenses of the sublime' (p. 107), is seen as paradigmatic for the novel as a whole: this is an important insight, though the example Conte puts forward to establish the parallel—the episode of Encolpius, Oenothea, and the goose—is not in my view especially well chosen. Much else that is positive could be said; to list more negatives would be to gripe.²

¹ Where translations are supplied, words are sometimes overlooked: cases in point at p. 1 (*frequenter*, 81.2), p. 46 (*sacra*, *Ov. Pont.* 2.5.72; the translation of this line is a complete botch: it attempts to render *commiliti*, which has slipped into the Latin quotation in place of *commilitii*, even though it is metrically impossible), p. 71 (*immanis*, *Virg. Aen.* 6.77), and p. 78 (*confossus*, *Virg. Aen.* 9.445). Conversely, the translation of 132.12 at pp. 188f. continues far beyond the Latin quoted.

² Nevertheless, a few gripes on details, mostly to do with editing. The text of Petronius is incorrectly quoted at p. 58 (*audimus murmur*, 115.1), p. 66 n. 47 (*o poetarum . . . disertissime, tu eras?*, 96.6), p. 80 n. 10 (*sanguine mutuo pollueremus*, 80.3), p. 92 (*iunxit*, 127.9), p. 127 n. 28 (*expudorata*, 39.5), p. 138 n. 51 (*sicut muta animalia*, 140.15), p. 138

It must be pointed out, however, that the book does not fully succeed in its stated aim of shunning overspecialisation (p. vii): it is hard to see how a reader without a good knowledge of early imperial literature and culture and without some expertise in contemporary techniques of literary criticism could derive much satisfaction from it. The first four of the six chapters at least also need to be read continuously, as the argument is built up incrementally, with much referring back; not a book, then, that is easy to dip into. But for anyone with a serious interest in Petronius, it is *de rigueur*—maddening and messy in places, but acute, learned and challenging.

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Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (edd.), *Thinking Men: Masculinity and its Self-representation in the Classical Tradition*. London: Routledge, 1998. Pp. xii + 217, incl. 14 black-and-white plates. ISBN 0-415-14635-6. UK£55.00.

Studies of ancient gender and sexuality have been reinvigorated by a massive dose of sophistication and self-consciousness: not for the nineties an earlier generation's positivist pondering over such intractables as the degree of seclusion of Athenian women. Although in fact much is still being done (and much remains to be done) in terms of exploring the gendering of the material and institutional contexts of ancient men and women, a collection like this, focusing almost exclusively upon the way in which the abstract constructs of female and male were thought in the ancient world, is very much of its time. *Thinking Men* and its twin, Foxhall and Salmon's *When Men Were Men*,¹ promise a thoroughly modern point of entry into a highly energised field of debate. Similarly modish is the focus upon masculinity, the pole of the gender equation treated in ancient times, and in some modern scholarship, as unmarked (that is, natural and unproblematic). To an extent, the trail has already been blazed: in particular, Jack Winkler and Maud Gleason have opened up new routes for scholarship on ancient masculinity;² while Foucault's volumes on the ancient world in his *Histoire de la sexualité* also focus (somewhat more disingenuously) almost exclusively upon the male desiring subject.³ As Natalie Kampen notes in her

n. 52 (*aut bonam valetudinem*, 88.8); other texts at p. 80 n. 10 (*ne se sanguine nefando . . . volnerum ac caedium*), p. 92 n. 20 (φύει), p. 111 n. 7 (*tractosque altius gemitus*), p. 145 n. 6 (*plurimos hic libros*) and p. 172 n. 2 (*detulisse linteum pictum*). There are errors in Greek accentuation. The note at p. 55 n. 27 is confused: it is Eumolpus, not Encolpius, who speaks at 101.7. At p. 63 n. 42 'Sen. 6.10.6' should read 'Sen. *Dial.* 6.10.6' (and not *Contr.* 10.6, as indicated on p. 225!). Encolpius' killing of the sacred goose at 136.5 is hardly an 'accident' (p. 107).

¹ L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (edd.), *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (London 1998).

² J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York 1990); M. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-representation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton 1995).

introduction (p. xi), we owe this shift of perspective primarily to the realisation that gender is a taxonomic cultural system, and that it makes little sense to consider only one element in this system. Aware of this, the essays in this volume do not simply relocate attention from female to male (as though the latter were simply an unnoticed exhibit in a museum case), but explore the dynamic relationship between the two.

Thinking Men is not only about the way that men are thought, but also about the way they think. Patriarchal, hegemonic antiquity speaks to us through the master's voice. Clever punning with gerundive/participial ambivalence makes for a good title, but it also raises the question of whether, in a sociological as well as a grammatical sense, men are the subjects or the objects of thought. If we accept that ancient societies (like all societies) repressed women, does this mean that men were freer or merely differently repressed by social convention? In the first essay in the volume, 'The Constrained Man' (pp. 6-22), Matthew Fox explores the degree of the social constraint operating upon the male desiring subject. Deftly mixing an eclectic theoretical brew, he argues that the familiar discursive approaches that focus primarily upon society's control of the individual (Foucault, Winkler) occlude 'what the historian of gender is after: the sense of a self driven to expressing itself' (p. 18). We need to be aware of the (unknowable) 'economy of individual desire' and not simply focus upon the monolithic idea of society (p. 19). In Fox's view, we have been misled as to the degree of flexibility and freedom within ancient constructions of manhood. Not every reader will find this model absolutely convincing, particularly since he seems in his final pages (20f.) to shift his focus away from the individual back onto Athens, but the questions raised here provide a sophisticated point of entry into the issues.

This is the sort of theoretical point that sorely needs to be debated, especially since the success of a volume such as this is staked to such an extent upon its methodological currency. Unfortunately, a collection of brief essays rarely offers the scope for self-conscious meditation upon what it is *we* do when *we* 'think men'. This is not, however (as will become clear), to deny that some of the contributions open up important and interesting new areas of debate. Though the risk of excessive reification looms, let us consider three primary directions in which this volume prods gender scholarship. First, it becomes clear throughout the course of *Thinking Men* that sexual binarism permeates many more aspects of ancient thought than might be supposed. Emma Stafford's essay on the gender of abstract nouns, 'Masculine Values, Feminine Forms: On the Gender of Personified Abstractions' (pp. 43-56), poses important questions about the degree to which the meaning of nouns resides in their grammatical gender. Although she is inconclusive about how precisely such issues impact upon (or are produced by) social ideology (p. 46), she requires her readers to rethink the traditional disjunction in modern classics between language and culture (territory also covered by Teresa Morgan's excellent recent monograph).⁴ Lin Foxhall's fascinating

³ M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* 1: *La volonté de savoir* (Paris 1976); vol. 2: *L'usage des plaisirs* (Paris 1985); vol. 3: *Le souci de soi* (Paris 1986).

⁴ T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (New York 1998).

and erudite study of the gendering of plants, 'Natural Sex: the Attribution of Sex and Gender to Plants in Ancient Greece' (pp. 57-70), meanwhile, also opens up new (for most of us) subject matter. Theophrastus' *History of Plants* may not be high on everyone's bedtime reading list, but Foxhall makes a strong case for botanology as an interesting and arresting site of gender exploration. Secondly, it becomes clear that the representation of gender is extremely sensitive to historical and social change. Robin Osborne, 'Sculpted Men of Athens: Masculinity and Power in the Field of Vision' (pp. 23-42), and Richard Hawley, 'The Male Body as Spectacle in Attic Drama' (pp. 83-99), each discuss the transformation (in sculpture and theatre respectively) of the aesthetics of the male form in response to the exigencies of historical change. Osborne's rich and subtle discussion focuses upon the formative influence of democratic ideology upon (primarily funereal) sculpture. The sculpture of classical Athens, he argues, both raises with an unforeseen intensity the question of what it is to be a man and sites men in a new, collectivist context. Hawley employs the psychoanalytic notion of the gaze borrowed from the film criticism of Laura Mulvey *et al.*⁵ to explore these new aesthetics of manhood in the Athenian theatre: this approach is surprisingly successful (he certainly seems surprised: p. 97), although I was less convinced by the notion that the body is not spectacularised to the same extent in Homer (p. 94: see *contra*, e.g., *Il.* 18.203-14; 19.365-91).

The archaic/classical divide is not the only point of historical rupture covered here. The ancient section of the volume is capped by two sharp essays on Christian manhood, one by Mary Harlow, 'In the Name of the Father: Procreation, Paternity and Patriarchy' (pp. 155-69), and one by Gillian Clark, 'The Old Adam: The Fathers and the Unmaking of Masculinity' (pp. 170-82). Setting patristic pronouncement against the normative of doctrines of pagan society, Harlow shows both how maternity became an object of intense interest in late antiquity and how Christian asceticism did not so much abolish as recoup and refashion earlier ideas of sexual difference. Clark's subtle analysis of patristic gender discourse shows how Christian ideals problematise masculinity in a different, and to an extent more discomfiting, way from femininity. Despite the rhetoric of sexual equality, she shows, patristic writers regularly assume that the male is the norm, and are palpably more disturbed by the feminisation of men than by the masculinisation of women. The collection is completed by an essay by Felicity Rosslyn, 'The Hero of Our Time: Classic Heroes and Post-classical Drama' (pp. 183-96), on the representation of masculinity in classicising modern theatre. Modern theatre, she shows, recast ancient dramatic tropes in psychoanalytic terms. The insights yielded are, however, rather spoilt by the unconvincing attempt to retroject psychoanalytic categories back into Greek tragedy (pp. 195f.) and by the corresponding suggestion of the transhistorical immanence of such ideas.

The third major approach limned by this volume focuses upon the relationship between literary representation and social practice: included are a piece on Anacreon

⁵ L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen* 16.3 (1975) 6-18 (=L. Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* [Basingstoke 1989] 14-26 and in C. Penley (ed.), *Feminism and Film Theory* [New York 1988] 57-68).

from Margaret Williamson, 'Eros the Blacksmith: Performing Masculinity in Anakreon's Love Lyrics' (pp. 71-82); three essays on Menander and New Comedy by Alan Sommerstein, 'Rape and Young Manhood in Athenian Comedy' (pp. 100-14), Angela Heap, 'Understanding the Men in Menander' (pp. 115-29), and Karen Pierce, 'Ideals of Masculinity in New Comedy' (pp. 130-47); and one on Juvenal by Jonathan Walters, 'Juvenal *Satire* 2: Putting Male Sexual Deviants on Show' (pp. 148-54). Those who know Williamson's work will not be disappointed here: sensitive, sophisticated readings of poems are coupled with subtle observations upon a culture that places a high premium upon hierarchical status in both sexual and social relations. Of the three essays on New Comedy, Sommerstein and Heap point to the importance of the historical background to Menander, while Pierce sub-categorises masculine ideals in Menander, Plautus and Terence into different, idealised types. It was not, however, always clear to my mind how we are to envisage comedy as a form of social *praxis*: the point is well made in all three essays that the texts intersect with and diverge from real life in important ways, but what accounts for this, and how (beyond fantasy) does theatrical experience of this kind affect communities? Jonathan Walters' study of Juvenal, *Satire* 2, meanwhile, represents (unfortunately) the only contribution that focuses on pagan Rome. Within his brief compass (five pages of main text), Walters ranges far, flitting elegantly from textual analysis of the closeting of male sexual deviancy in the poem to institutional parallels in the Roman spectacles (with their constructions of social norms through the abjection of deviants).

Thinking Men is a bold project that poses big, important questions. Several of the contributions will greatly enrich the debate over gender construction in the ancient world. There are, it must be said, major problems arising from the ambitious aims and scope of a collection that can only ever be the sum of its disparate parts. What is most needed at this juncture, perhaps, is a coherent, systematic approach to the topic: too many of the issues are too complex to be handled in a volume such as this. While the author of that work ruminates, however, *Thinking Men* provides plenty of cud to chew upon, some of it of high quality.

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Dagmar Neblung, *Die Gestalt der Kassandra in der antiken Literatur*. Stuttgart/Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1997. Pp. 271. ISBN 3-519-07646-2. DM98.00

Is it still possible today to write a scholarly study about a female figure without the slightest touch of feminism? Especially about a character who has been described only recently as 'a sacrificial victim' and 'the ultimate female commodity' in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*?¹ Christa Wolf herself, whose 1983 narrative *Kassandra* is one of the most famous adaptations of the title figure worldwide (besides Marion Zimmer

¹ V. Wohl, *Intimate Commerce: Exchange, Gender and Subjectivity in Greek Tragedy* (Austin 1998) 110f.

Bradley's fantasy novel *Firebrand*), makes the following statement: 'In Cassandra ist eine der ersten Frauengestalten überliefert, deren Schicksal vorformt, was dann, dreitausend Jahre lang, den Frauen geschehen soll: dass sie zum Objekt gemacht werden'.² Neblung undertakes a brave attempt to fulfil her task. As a disciple of the 'Berlin School' she opts for a traditional approach to her topic. In a concise introduction (pp. 1-5), Neblung defines her aims and her position very clearly: she wants 'to investigate the literary development of the Cassandra figure' (p. 4) through the centuries from Homer to Dracontius and Kolluthos, putting special emphasis on a detailed analysis of the relevant texts and their interrelationships. Neblung points out as well that she will include neither the visual arts (although she does speak briefly about vase painting on p. 14) nor religion. She does not apply any other -isms or -logies but instead concentrates on classical philology. In Neblung's book we encounter good old German philological tradition at its best.³ Her compilation of Greek and Latin sources including fragments, arranged in nine chapters in chronological order, offers an excellent and—to my knowledge—complete overview of the relevant passages in classical literature, which are listed in alphabetical order in a useful index entitled 'Textstellenverzeichnis' (pp. 252-55) at the end of the book. Each chapter is concluded by a convenient summary. The ancient texts are thoroughly researched and carefully analysed; their presentation, however, remains rather descriptive. Interpretation occurs seldom in this book and is in most cases restricted to the passage under consideration itself; its function within the context of the whole work or even the oeuvre of the author is, as Hansjörg Wölke has rightly observed in an earlier review of this book,⁴ only exceptionally discussed. Neblung's style is clear, precise and limpid and offers a pleasant reading. The book ends with a 'Stellenregister', an *index locorum* (pp. 256-71).

The main achievement of this book is undoubtedly the catalogue of motifs, which Neblung extracts from the earliest texts, the Homeric epics, the epic cycle and archaic poetry, which form the main characteristics of the Cassandra figure: 'un noyau constant, résistant, qui semble être l'essence du mythe', as Jean-Louis Backès says.⁵ Neblung follows up their development and variations through the various authors and the various periods and starts off with five (pp. 6-19): (1) Cassandra's beauty ('Schönheit'); (2) Cassandra as a virgin ('Jungfrau'); (3) Cassandra the prophetess ('Seherin'); (4) Cassandra and Aias; and (5) Cassandra, Agamemnon and death ('Tod'). Neblung deals in a persuasive manner with the problems that arise out of the fragmentary condition of these early texts; it is interesting to learn that Pindar is the first to use the term μάντις for Cassandra (*Pythian Ode* 11.33; p. 12) that Lycophron

² C. Wolf, *Voraussetzungen einer Erzählung: Cassandra. Frankfurter Poetik-Vorlesungen*³ (Darmstadt 1983) 86.

³ For the difference between 'new' and 'traditional' philology, see M. Gellrich, 'Interpreting Greek Tragedy: History, Theory and the New Philology', in B. Goff (ed.), *History, Tragedy, Theory: Dialogues on Athenian Drama* (Austin 1995) 38-58, esp. 38f.

⁴ H. Wölke, *Forum Classicum* 2 (1998) 117f.

⁵ J.-L. Backès, *Le Mythe d'Helène* (Clermont-Ferrand 1984) 6.

is the first to call Cassandra Alexandra and the first certain source, who calls Aias' crime *expressis verbis* a rape and not only a violation of the right for asylum in Athena's temple (p. 73 n. 2 [cf. also p. 191 and n. 40] and *Alexandra* 357f. pp. 14, 81-84); that the scene between Aias and Cassandra was the favorite illustration among the vase painters, while the poets preferred to depict Cassandra's relationship with Agamemnon (p. 14 n. 33). In her 'Schlussbetrachtung' (pp. 230-36), Neblung substitutes the motif of beauty by the motif of unbelief ('Unglauben'), which she considers to be the principal one. Several times, she stresses the tragic theme of the 'unsuccessful warner' (p. 230), a theme that enables everybody, in her view, to identify himself or herself with Cassandra, since everybody has experienced the feeling of helplessness, of knowing something that others do not and not being able to convince them of it (p. 2), and the desperate desire to avoid an inevitable doom by ignoring and denying it (p. 230). Neblung goes so far as to call these phenomena basic and constant anthropological situations; but since she does not pursue the anthropological issue, this term gives a slightly misleading impression. Last but not least, some of the main characteristics—the gift of prophecy, the crime of Aias, the theme of Agamemnon—are rearranged in a 'Motivindex' (pp. 250f.).

The Cassandra scenes in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (pp. 21-35) and Euripides' *Troades* (pp. 39-57) had great influence on all later adaptations of this figure. Despite some similarities (Cassandra's total isolation on stage, for example), both authors use her for different purposes (pp. 68-71): in Aeschylus, she is totally dependent on the god Apollo, who is made responsible for her death, and she tries in vain to break his influence on her; in Euripides, she sees herself as the avenger of Troy, being the cause for Agamemnon's death, and represents human autonomy against the gods.

One third of the book is dedicated to the depiction of Cassandra in Latin literature, but it seems that most Roman authors preferred rather to 'recycle' the already existing motifs rather than creating new ones. The most important innovations can be found in Seneca's tragedy *Agamemnon*, in which elements of Stoic philosophy, especially the role of destiny, enrich the plot (pp. 155-77, 231), and in the works of the Second Sophistic: for Philostratos, Cassandra has fallen in love with Agamemnon and tries to prevent his death (pp. 186f.); Athenaeus tries to justify Clytemnestra's jealousy out of fear that Agamemnon might introduce 'Asian' polygamy into Greece (p. 193); in Dares Phrygius Cassandra survives the Trojan War and lives afterward happily together with Helenos, Hecabe and Andromache in the Chersonnese (p. 201). The collection of these less famous texts, which rounds off the picture of the ancient Cassandra, must be considered to be a special merit of Neblung's book.

A fundamental shortcoming of this work lies in the bibliography. Instead of a comprehensive list, the bibliographical references are split into two parts: there is one 'Literaturverzeichnis' at the end (pp. 242-49), divided again in two parts, one for primary literature, the other for a selection of secondary literature that 'has been quoted at least three times' (p. 242), the latter categorised according to the chapters in the book. All the other references are scattered in the footnotes of the respective passages. This over-organised system proves to be time-consuming and not really user-friendly, especially for a quick search. Here, some more editorial revision would

have been helpful. A simple alphabetical listing and possibly a smaller, more economical font could have made the bibliography much more handy and rewarding to consult, but there is another more general and more serious problem. It goes without saying that for a book of such a broad range we cannot expect a full bibliography for each topic (an almost impossible task anyway, due to the current flood of publications). Bibliographical references are necessarily selective and subjective. Nevertheless, I was astonished to find in Neblung's book an unfortunate tendency shared with some recent publications. While authors who write in English usually limit themselves to the English literature of the last two decades (so that one gets the impression that classics is a fairly young discipline that has emerged out of nowhere), many German authors phase out their essentially German bibliography at the beginning of the 1980s (so that one gets the impression that classics is an 'endangered species'). This attitude also seems to have left its traces in Neblung's work: except for some monographs on Cassandra (pp. 3f., 242), we find little bibliographical information of the 1980s and almost nothing of the 1990s. Just to take the chapter about Aeschylus as an example: there is no discussion of David Kovacs' hypothesis that Cassandra, who resembles Creusa in Euripides' *Ion*, had already been raped by Apollo (and not only by Aias);⁶ the parallel between Cassandra and Iphigeneia as innocent victims of the Trojan War is not mentioned;⁷ and the commentary of Jean Bollack and Pierre Judet de La Combe was not consulted.⁸ I would have liked to see also the book of Katherina Glau⁹ included in the bibliography, which possibly might have been not yet available at the stage of completion of Neblung's manuscript (April 1997). Her comparative approach, her detailed discussion of the theory of reception could have contributed valuable insights. So Neblung's occasional interpretations, though often subtle and sensitive, hang in the air, lacking a substantial scholarly basis.

This leads us back to the question posed at the beginning of this review: Is it still possible today to write a scholarly study about a female figure without any consideration of feminist theory? The answer is yes it is, but one has to pay the price for it. Instead of a prism with colourful nuances, Neblung's study limits itself to a narrow

⁶ D. Kovacs, 'The Way of a God with a Maid in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, *CPh* 82 (1987) 326-34; cf. G. Doblhofer, *Vergewaltigung in der Antike* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1994) 90 n. 35; R. Rehm, *Marriage to Death* (Princeton 1994) 172f. n. 12, who both find Kovacs' argument convincing.

⁷ See, for example, G. Holst-Wahrhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Lament and Greek Literature* (London 1992) 140: '[Cassandra] will become a symbolic double of Iphigeneia, an innocent victim going helpless to her death'; Holst-Wahrhaft [above, this note] 141: 'The killing of Cassandra repeats the killing of Iphigeneia'; and Rehm [6] 43-58; now also Wohl [1] 107, 110-17.

⁸ J. Bollack and P. Judet de La Combe, *L'Agamemnon d'Eschyle: Le texte et ses interprétations* (Lille 1981).

⁹ K. Glau, *Christa Wolfs 'Kassandra' und Aischylos 'Orestie': Zur Rezeption der griechischen Tragödie in der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart* (Heidelberg 1996).

focus and leaves the reader with the uncomfortable feeling that there must be something more. From her summaries of former monographs about Cassandra (pp. 3f.), we can see that Neblung has noticed the 'modern' methods of other scholars, but maintains a quite sceptical and critical position, especially against the more 'feminist' studies of P.-A. Brault and Solvejg Müller.¹⁰ The latter is a good example of unusual methods leading to unusual interpretations in the eyes of classicists. In Müller's (somehow appealing) interpretation of Euripides' *Troades*, Cassandra is unambiguously keen on sexual affair with Agamemnon: '... hier ist Kassandra eindeutig auf ein erotisches Verhältnis mit dem griechischen Fürsten erpicht.'¹¹ *Erpicht oder nicht*—keen or not—to simply reject the results of non-traditional scholarship in this way cannot be the solution. Neblung's book represents a solid philological rock situated in but untouched by the stormy sea of 'gender-babble'. The sequel, however, which deals less with the 'what' and more with the 'why' still waits to be written.

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Catherine Connors, *Petronius the Poet: Verse and Literary Tradition in the Satyricon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. ix + 166. ISBN 0-521-59231-3. UK£35.00/US\$54.95.

It is immediately evident from the thinness of her volume that Catherine Connors has produced no *mega biblion*. Rather (and to discover this one needs only to read a few paragraphs) it is as if she had taken the poetics of Callimachus to heart, and so her slender book is dense with critical and philological sophistication, and consequently, one might add, not an easy read. After becoming better acquainted with the argument, one realises further that the almost Alexandrian form of her monograph fits the contents perfectly, because with *Petronius the Poet* Connors attempts to place the author of the novelistic *Satyricon* squarely in the tradition of Roman poetry.¹ Until recently few critics of Petronius have been willing to take him seriously as a poet, despite the uncertainty as to the nature and type of his work. Instead, Petronian scholars have usually reduced the verses, here and there interspersed in the prose of the *Satyricon*, to amusing parodies, often of little artistic merit on their own (though

¹⁰ P.-A. Brault, *Prophetess Doomed: Cassandra and the Representation of Truth* (Diss. New York 1990) and S. Müller, *Kein Brautfest zwischen Menschen und Göttern. Kassandra-Mythologie im Lichte von Sexualität und Wahrheit* (Köln 1994).

¹¹ Müller [10] 54.

¹ In a prefatory note at the very beginning of her text Connors explains her preference for the title *Satyricon*, a Greek genitive plural with *libri* implied, and signals her critical position with a general observation about those who opt for the now more common nominative: 'The form *Satyrica* is preferred by scholars who view it as analogous to the titles of Greek novels such as *Aethiopica*, *Ephesiaca*, *Babyloniaca* and so forth' (p. ix). To avoid confusion I have simply chosen to use the same title as Connors.

worthy of attention because of the targets chosen), and have focused on the relationship between the author and his famous literary contemporaries, primarily Lucan and Seneca.² At best the verse passages of the *Satyricon* have been regarded as having an integral purpose in contributing to the novel's characterisation, since most of them occur indeed as character utterances that may be seen as typical of their speakers, rather than of the notoriously elusive author Petronius.³

Given this lackluster critical appraisal of the poetry in the *Satyricon*, it may seem strange to devote an entire book, even a short one, to a study of Petronius *qua* poet. How does Connors approach her inherently problematic subject? After an introduction on verse and genre in Petronian criticism (pp. 1-19), she begins by analysing in detail the short poems and some relevant prose passages in the first two chapters ('Refashioning the Epic Past', pp. 20-49, and 'In the Frame: Context and Continuity in the Short Poems', pp. 50-83). She then devotes a separate chapter to each of the two long poems ('Troy Retaken: Repetition and Re-enactment in the *Troiae Halosis*', pp. 84-99, and 'The *Bellum Civile*', pp. 100-46). Large sections of each chapter form a running commentary on the verse passages, which includes minute textual explication as well as literary interpretation. Her readings of individual poems are thorough, balanced and highly informative, because of the wealth of contextual material from various sources that is brought to bear on the subject.

To Connors' obvious credit she does not attempt to save Petronius's reputation as a poet. On the contrary, she freely acknowledges the flaws of his compositions: 'As everyone will agree, the short poems on moralising or erotic themes performed by Trimalchio, Eumolpus, and Encolpius (both as character and as narrator) represent utterly conventional habits of thought' (p. 50). Likewise, 'the obsessive display within the *Troiae Halosis* of repetition, likeness, and imperfect re-enactment signifies . . . Eumolpus' lack of literary control' (p. 93). The same is true of the longest verse section of the *Satyricon*, the so called *Bellum Civile* (119-24). It compares poorly with other examples of the genre: 'Virgil, Lucan, or Statius can brilliantly rework inherited motifs: so far as I can tell Eumolpus' poem offers dim, overly studied transformations of tradition' (p. 102). I believe most scholars will agree that Connors speaks here with critical authority. But what does it tell us about Petronius the (bad) poet that we didn't already know? Connors demonstrates that the restraint and elegance of Callimachean aesthetics, traditionally expressed in the metaphors of the untrodden path and the

² Eumolpus' ecphrastic *Troiae Halosis* (*Sat.* 89) has often been expressly compared to the tragedies of Seneca, and is sometimes analysed in the context of Neronian aesthetics. The same character's *Bellum Civile* (*Sat.* 119-24) is, as a rule, compared to Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Agamemnon's verses in the Lucilian style (*Sat.* 5) have also been related to the satires of Persius. For specific references to scholarship on this topic, consult Connors' vast bibliography (pp. 149-61).

³ Out of thirty short and two long verse passages in all the *Satyricon*, only thirteen are apparently attributable to Encolpius *qua* narrator (*Sat.* 79.8, 80.9, 127.9, 128.6, 129.18, 131.8, 132.8, 132.15, 133.3, 135.8, 136.6, 137.9, 139.2), although it is by no means always clear what belongs to young Encolpius, the character, and what to the narrator. None of the verse passages are spoken in the name of the author.

narrow stream, as opposed to the well-trodden one and a flood of water, are explicitly rejected by Eumolpus in the theoretical preface to his poem on the civil war (p. 143). This, along with other evidence advanced by Connors, indicates that the pretentious Mr. Sing-Well is meant to expose himself as a bad poet, according to the best contemporary standard, neo-Callimachean poetics. Now, Connors also recognises Eumolpus as 'a figure of metaliterary dimensions, reflecting Petronius' own enterprise in crafting the novel' (p. 144), and so she logically concludes the fourth and last chapter of her work by saying: 'Over and over again, in becoming a poet Petronius acknowledges the limits of the poetry he leaves behind' (p. 146).

But why would Petronius want to write *deliberately* flawed poetry? To my mind this question is essential to the interpretation of the *Satyricon*. A similar question provides the frame for Connors' project. She asks in the introduction: 'Why did Petronius spend so much time being a poet while writing this novel?' (p. 1); and she resumes that same question in the epilogue: 'I began by asking why Petronius spends time being a poet while writing his novel' (p. 147). The difference is that while I emphasise the problem of the poor quality of Petronius' poetry, she seems more interested in explaining the presence of so much poetry in a work of prose fiction: 'To choose a genre, even one as loosely defined as prose fiction, is to reject all the others . . . by producing verse within his fictional prose, Petronius sets his novel in a self-consciously agonistic relationship with the literary genres which he has repudiated' (p. 147). There is no doubt in my mind that Connors' explanation is basically right, that the prosimetric *Satyricon* sets prose 'in a self-consciously agonistic relationship' with the poetry, and that the choice of the novel form implies a preference for prose, as opposed to poetry. This conclusion explains perfectly (a) why the prose is continuous and there is far more of it than the fragmentary poetic passages in the *Satyricon*; (b) why the prose sections are traditionally described as elegant, while the verse has been seen as exceedingly problematic; (c) why, in Encolpius' parlance, speaking in prose is to speak *humane* ('like a human being'), while speaking *poetice* ('like a poet') is a sure sign of madness (*Sat.* 90.2-5); and (d) why the poet Eumolpus, a metaliterary figure in a certain sense reflecting the author, is more successful as a storyteller in prose (*fabulator*) than as a *poeta*.⁴

As we have seen, Connors concludes that Petronius preferred prose to poetry. However, her own study, by definition, focuses mainly on the poetry in the *Satyricon*, and specifically on the epic passages, if we look to the origin of the project in her doctoral dissertation on the *Bellum Civile* and the consistent emphasis on epic in three of the four chapters.⁵ Unfortunately, this strong emphasis on epic spills over into her more general discussion of the relationship between poetry and prose in the work. A more cautious approach would have resisted the temptation to generalise about the whole of the *Satyricon* based on a limited study of the poetic fragments. Connors believes that Petronius' plan was to somehow rewrite epic as prose fiction. She

⁴ As is shown by R. Beck, 'Eumolpus *Poeta*, Eumolpus *Fabulator*: A Study of Characterization in the *Satyricon*', *Phoenix* 33 (1997) 239-53.

⁵ C. Connors, *Petronius' Bellum Civile and the Poetics of Discord* (Diss. Michigan 1989).

imputes this intention to the author himself, but the repetitively emphatic voice is her own: 'Petronius is constantly telling the tale of refashioning epic into fiction . . . refashioning epic as fiction and . . . re-telling belated epics in invented prose' (p. 49). It is true that Petronius is engaged in 'refashioning the epic past', which is properly what an epic poet does, but he does this only in his own epic verses, especially the *Bellum Civile*, and not in the prose part of the *Satyricon*. Besides, the rare passages of banalised and deliberately ridiculous epic verses seem designed to parody that genre, hardly to make Petronius—even when in the guise of the epic poet—the heir of Homer and Virgil.

Notwithstanding Connors' interesting attempt to implode Bakhtin's basic distinction between epic and novel, namely that one is rooted in the national and the public while the other is concerned with private individual experience, the distinction still holds in general for the *Satyricon* (pp. 102f.).⁶ The narrator's utter lack of enthusiasm or respect for the mad poet's epic composition, for instance, measured against his genuine and obsessive interest in his personal love-affair with the boy Giton, are indicative of the incommensurability of the novelistic and the epic universe. Encolpius may in his versification fancy that he is an epic hero, especially in *Satyricon* 139.2, but no sooner has he uttered the word than the reader's laughter shatters this obvious fantasy. Constructing an allegorical correlation between Petronius' novelistic narrative and his epic verses does not justify treating the prose as a mere frame for the verse passages. It is not fair to the integrity of the novel to reduce the voyage, the shipwreck and the Croton episode (*Sat.* 100-41) to 'the framing plot' for the *Bellum Civile* (p. 102).

Indecipherability is a quality Connors attributes to the ancient Latin text that she endeavors to explicate (p. 51): 'Like a hall of mirrors, the *Satyricon* reveals an inexhaustible supply of amusing, and uncannily boundless, perspectives'. At times, however, her own language is so heavily constructed with abstractions and theoretical elaborations that indecipherability becomes a problem there too, and one is occasionally forced to read the same sentence several times to derive from it all its possible meanings. An example is (p. 49): 'Petronius' "parroting" of epic imitations of epic add up to a pre-history of his novelistic discourse, incorporating his recollections of earlier ways of fracturing epic's inherited structures to accommodate fictionalising inventions'. Even in context it is not entirely clear to me what this sentence means.

Does the contradiction, which I find in her main thesis, undermine the legitimacy of Connors' search for Petronius the poet? The answer is no. Though it may sound slightly absurd, the misshapen and ugly creatures of artistic processes are sometimes more revealing of the nature of those processes, and the underlying assumptions involved, than the most successful and complete works of art. This is evidently the reason behind the ancient fascination with messy and destructive parody, which is never gratuitous or purely formalistic, as often in modern literature, but always invested with a meaningful satirical attitude. By creating deliberately bad art,

⁶ M. Holquist (ed. and tr.; tr. C. Emerson), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (Austin 1981) 32.

in the manner and style of a recognisable individual or school, the truth hiding behind the facade of beauty with which polished art is varnished is better exposed. The target is often merely hypothetical, but this does not preclude the sense of recognition that makes its reception such an interesting and enjoyable experience. That is why it is well worth our while to take the guided tour with Connors into the fabulously confusing, and often tasteless world of Petronius' *poetic memory*, to borrow a term from Conte, another recent student of Petronius.⁷ Connors is not only a competent guide for the tour who knows her way around the area but also a very pleasant and courteous one. She keeps her cool where many a distinguished scholar has shown signs of painful frustration at the difficulties involved in interpreting this text, especially in the face of the numerous incompatible readings that have accumulated during more than a century of sustained interpretive effort. If Connors makes much of the poet in Petronius, this may be indicative of the great momentum in the field in North America: perhaps as many as half of the Latinists in this part of the world are now engaged in the study of Roman poetry.⁸

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N. G. Wilson (ed. & tr.), *Aelian: Historical Miscellany*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997. Pp. 514. ISBN 0-674-99535-X. UK£11.95.

In succession to J. de Voto's translation comes Nigel Wilson's Loeb *Varia Historia*.¹ Classicists no longer have an excuse not to check a citation in Aelian, and a general reader who wants to find out what a bedside book from antiquity might have looked like has the means ready to hand. For all his touted ἀφέλεια ('simplicity', a quality for which he is praised by Philostr. *VS* 31), Aelian's Greek can be quite tricky and with his translation Wilson puts us further in his debt: besides being clear and accurate it is often sprightly and even elegant. For an example of this elegance, see 13.1: 'In general the atmosphere was of festival and one could feast on the scent' (καὶ παρῆν τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πανηγυρίζειν καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐωδίαν ἐστιᾶσθαι).

⁷ G. B. Conte (tr. E. Fantham), *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon* (Berkeley 1996). For the concept of 'poetic memory', see Conte (tr. and ed. C. Segal), *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca 1986).

⁸ Based on submission figures for the 1998 APA Meeting in Washington DC, out of 176 submissions 28 (15.9%) were in the field of Latin epic; 7 (4%) in the field of Latin comedy; and 50 (28.4%) in the field of Latin: other poetry.

¹ J. G. De Voto, *Aelian: Historical Miscellany* (Chicago 1995). Since this is not a comparative evaluation of the two works, I will restrict myself to Wilson's book. DeVoto translates an unspecified ready-made text; Wilson has established his own text on the basis, however—as he informs us—of Mervin Dilts' edition and collation of the manuscripts (*Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia* [Leipzig 1974]). In some places Wilson's rendering of Aelian's not-always-easy Greek is more accurate.

This is a very miscellaneous miscellany indeed. Generally the stories tumble out without any apparent principle of ordering but sometimes a train of thought (albeit rambling) can be glimpsed. Phrynichos the tragedian (who Aelian says was also a general; where did he get this? can it be right?) wrote choral odes that aroused a warlike spirit—along the lines of the Aeschylus of Aristophanes' *Frogs*—at 3.8, which leads into amours among warriors making them more warlike (3.9) and this in turn brings up the topic of how the Spartan ephors dealt with such love (3.10). After an apparently intrusive chapter on Peripatetic doctrine, Aelian returns to Spartan love between men at 3.12. The stories about artists and instrumentalists at 3.30-33 seem to be prepared for by the thought: 'philosophy has a moderating influence even on unlikely recipients' (compare the story about Socrates and Plato at 3.27). In among the discursive and rambling stories there are some effective longer chapters, little essays, such the accounts of Sokrates and Aristophanes and Sokrates' enthusiasm for Euripides (2.13), the second Aspasia (12.1), the wrangling over Alexander's corpse (12.64), and Atalanta, her cave and her two centaur suitors (13.1). We get a glimpse of how Aelian must have gathered this strange assortment of fact and fantasy: 'I read this in a book about Sybaris' (14.20).² Elsewhere we are told: 'This is an anecdote in general circulation, recurring persistently in many sources' (3.3). Wilson tries to give the reader some help, but his notes are uneven. Sometimes it is a mere (though nonetheless useful) identification or cross-reference to another section of *Varia Historia*, but occasionally we are treated to something more scholarly (10.7 on the astronomers Oinopides and Meton; 12.11 on Roman temples to Febris ('Fever'); 12.37 on silphium; 14.14 on a *mot* of Stratonikos; 14.31 on Ptolemy VIII's expulsions). Now and then a schoolmasterly tone creeps in: 'This chapter (12.36) gives a notable proof of the fluidity of Greek myths'; 'There is danger that some of his (sc. Archilochos') utterances were taken out of context and used in support of facile inferences' (p. 323 and the note on a long excerpt from Kritias at 10.13).

Aelian was a Roman citizen, perhaps a freedman, allegedly from Praeneste, who produced his work early in the third century. He was trying to reach a mainly (though not, I think, exclusively) Greek audience, but he sometimes lets his Roman sensibilities peep out from behind his otherwise transnational persona: 'Romans know how to behave honourably, and do not overcome their enemies with craft, guile, and intrigue' (12.33). At 14.45 he says he must avoid giving more Roman than Greek examples, 'lest someone think I am indulging myself for patriotic reasons.' It is difficult on the present evidence to be sure where Aelian's debts lay. Although he never mentions Athenaios and Plutarch, he appears to have lifted a fair amount of material from them (compare Dilts' or Wilson's citations). Isokrates, whom Aelian names several times, has been detected as source of some of the stories (4.8 in part, 5.10), and the same is true of Xenophon. But Aelian also dips his cup into the pool of now non-standard authors, naming, among others, Ephoros, Theopompos, Androtion and Theophrastos. What about convergences—minor and fleeting—of his stories with

² Aelian rather charmingly adds (14.20): 'I put it on record as a kindness (διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν) to my fellow men, because I do not wish to deprive others of a laugh.'

those in Valerius Maximus and Polyainos? Did all these authors work with a common trove of material? Were certain sorts of anecdotes more popular than others? A close study of the possible affiliations seems to me to be a desideratum.

It would probably be flattering to Aelian to talk of original research, but where he can be checked he sometimes comes off surprisingly well, as on the lawcode of Gortyn (12.12). Sometimes he doesn't come off so well, as in 5.13—a potted (and erroneous) history of the Athenian constitution. There are good stories (not all of them encountered here for the first time) about visual artists (I count fifteen references to Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* in Dilts' apparatus)³ and poets in various genres: Plato disowning his earlier poetic efforts (2.30), Sokrates' fondness for dramas by Euripides (2.13), and Euripides' fondness for Agathon, with the *Chrysippos* as a love-gift (2.21); Euripides' Trojan tetralogy coming second to Xenokles ('whoever *he* was', 2.8). I liked the enumeration of the titles of the various sections of Homer's epics (13.14). If the number of occurrences in Wilson's index of persons reflects the popularity of stories about these individuals with Aelian's readers, then Alexander with thirty-nine citations beats out his father Philip with twenty-six; Sokrates is mentioned thirty-five times and his pupil Plato thirty-one; among the poets Homer (unsurprisingly) comes out on top with twenty-three citations; and the fifth-century politicians Alkibiades and Themistokles are cited thirteen and eleven times respectively.

Although a moralising tone is often barely beneath the surface—readers were to be edified as well as diverted—Aelian now and then drives home explicitly the message he thinks the reader should be taking away (e.g., 10.9 [at end] on Philoxenos the glutton; 10.15 on the suitors of Aristides' daughters; and 12.49 on Phokion's greatness). Different readers will have their own favourite sections. Mine are 7.20 (men who dye their hair; cf. 11.4 on Agathokles' baldness); 10.14 (Sokrates' *mot* 'idleness is the sister of freedom'); 13.33 (the Cinderella's slipper motif applied to the courtesan Rhodopis; and 14.13 (Agathon's rebuff to someone who proposed to correct his work that he would be 'destroying the Agathon in Agathon').

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³ J. A. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868).

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IN THE MUSEUM

Scholia publishes news about the University of Natal's Museum of Classical Archaeology. Information about Classical exhibitions and artefacts in other museums in Africa is welcome and should reach the In the Museum Editor, *Scholia* by 30 June.

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

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In 1998-1999 the Museum of Archaeology purchased three new acquisitions, especially selected to enhance courses being offered in Classics. The first acquisition is a set of three ancient surgical instruments, made of bronze and dating from the Roman period (second and third centuries AD). They comprise (a) a leaf-shaped scoop on one end of a slender rod-shaped handle which is thickened into an ovoid probe at the other; (b) a rectangular spatula, again with a probe at the opposed end; and (c) a small, flattened probe with a rounded end, the handle of which is thickened in the middle and has been faceted in order to provide a more secure grip; the other end is formed into a fairly sharp point.¹ This set is an acquisition highly relevant to a course currently offered to first-year medical students on medical history and etymology, providing tangible evidence at first hand of ancient medical practice.

The second acquisition is a small Sumerian tablet from southern Iraq, cushion-shaped with a cuneiform inscription on one side;² although there is a substantial chip on the low left edge, the five lines of text are almost entirely preserved, and can be interpreted as recording the fact that Lugal-ud-an, a 'fattener' (of domestic animals), has handed over to Dudu four shorn sheep, one unshorn sheep and one billy-goat. The tablet can be dated to the later Akkadian Period (*ca.* 2200-2150 BC) on the basis of its shape and the form of its script. This object expands the special collection of ancient writing³ and is also relevant to a new course in 'Lost Civilisations'.

The third acquisition is a small, unglazed clay vessel from Egypt, mould-made in two halves, with one side formed to represent the distinctive mask of the god Bes.⁴

¹ Figures 1a-c: 1999.39a-c; lengths of (a) 156.5 mm., (b) 156.5 mm., and (c) 138 mm.

² Figure 2: 1999.40; height 39 mm. I am indebted to Charles Ede Limited for information on this object, including the interpretation of the text.

³ On this special collection of ancient writing, see *Scholia* 7 (1998) 171f.

⁴ Figure 3: 1999.41; height 73 mm. Charles Ede Limited *Antiquities* 167 (1998) 28. This purchase was made possible through a donation by Joan Law.

The join between the two halves has not been smoothed at all on the inside, indicating that the object was not intended for practical use; it is likely to have served as a votive offering to the god, although what it may have contained cannot be determined. While this little jar dates from the Ptolemaic period (second and first centuries BC), Bes was a deity with a long history; his origin was associated with the semi-mythical land of Punt (believed to have been located in Eastern Sudan or Ethiopia), and while he first appeared in the art of the Middle Kingdom, it was in the New Kingdom that he came into particular prominence as an apotropaic deity whose popularity lasted through the time of the Ptolemies into the Roman period. In function he was especially associated with the protection of women in childbirth, and was commonly represented in this capacity in the *mammisi* (birth houses) within Late Period temples; perhaps as an extension of this jurisdiction, Bes came to be regarded mythologically as the guardian of the infant Horus, child of Isis and Osiris, protecting him from harmful creatures such as snakes;⁵ it was an easy step to invoke him popularly as the guardian of all children.

Bes is represented as a dwarf-figure with a disproportionately large head. His face is always frontally depicted (in contrast to other Egyptian deities who are usually shown in profile). He has a snub-nose, bushy eyebrows, and long beard, curly at the edge, and his rounded, projecting ears are leonine rather than human—indeed, his whole face often has a lionlike appearance, with high, rather chubby cheeks. His tongue usually projects down over his chin and he often wears a high, feathered headdress.⁶ On the Durban jug the bushy eyebrows, flattened nose, chubby cheeks and pendant tongue are clearly articulated; the ears are not detailed, but are clearly rounded, slightly asymmetrical projections to either side. There is no indication of a headdress, as just above the face the jug narrows before turning out into a roughly-formed (and slightly chipped) lip; on the right side is a thickened projection running down to the top of the ear, pinched in a little to form a rudimentary handle.⁷

⁵ In this connection, for instance, his face appears above the figure of Horus on the stele Durban L 1989.M.44; see E.A. Mackay, 'A Magic Stele in Durban', *Scholia* 5 (1996) 42-45.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of Bes, see Tran Tam Tinh's entry 'Bes' in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 3 (Zürich/Munich 1968) 98-108 (hereafter *LIMC*).

⁷ The closest parallel to the Durban jug is a vessel in Paris, Louvre E 12470, unpublished apart from *LIMC* 3, Bes 81d (pl. 85).



Figure 1a: Durban 1999.39a. Surgical instrument: ovoid probe.



Figure 1b: Durban 1999.39b. Surgical instrument: spatula.



Figure 1c: Durban 1999.39c. Surgical instrument: flattened probe.



Figure 2: Durban 1999.40. Sumerian tablet.



Figure 3: Durban 1996.41. Clay vessel.

THE COIN COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

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The coin collections of the University of Zimbabwe are not new acquisitions. They have been published in four catalogues (now out of print). The pedagogic value of the Courtauld collection of Greek and Roman coins and its potential as a teaching tool have been the subjects of papers read at the Classical Association of South Africa conference in Cape Town in 1971 by N. Austen and in 1991 by J. A. Maritz). In addition, an article in *Akroterion* stressed the value of the Courtauld collection as a teaching tool.¹ However, the recent move to the new Reserve Bank building in Harare is an excuse for highlighting this remarkable collection again.

Sir Stephen Courtauld, grandson of the founder of the Courtauld textile industry, built up a collection of some 116 Greek and 148 Roman and related coins between 1920 and 1955. He emigrated to what was then Rhodesia and presented his collection as a founding gift to the newly established University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, now the University of Zimbabwe. The coins are in superb condition. Each coin was chosen for its own intrinsic value as well as for its contribution to the collection as a whole, which represents the main types of currency in the Greek world of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the empires of Alexander the Great and his successors, and the Roman world from the earliest times in the mid-third century BC to Romulus Augustus in AD 476. Almost all the Roman emperors are featured.

The earliest coin is a very rare but frequently illustrated electrum stater from Miletus, dated by Pollard to *ca.* 575 BC; only six specimens of this type are known. Other types which are illustrated in almost every textbook are the Athenian 'owls', Corinthian 'foals', Aeginetan 'turtles', Syracusan dekadrachms by Cimon and Euaenetus, Alexander's gold staters, the 'cap of liberty' denarius issued by Brutus after Julius Caesar's death, and Nero's coins showing the Temple of Janus with its doors closed, and the new harbour at Ostia. There are also some less well-known and some exceedingly rare types, such as a silver tetradrachm of Amphipolis in a die combination of which only one other specimen is known (in the Hunterian collection), or the denarius which shows Domitian's mistress, and his baby son seated on a globe.

¹ Maritz, J. A., 'The Courtauld Collection as a Teaching Tool', *Akroterion* 37 (1992) 31-38. For catalogues of the collection see T. F. Cary, *A Catalogue of the Roman and Related Foreign Coins in the Collection of Sir Stephen Courtauld at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Salisbury 1963); G. Pollard, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Collection of Sir Stephen Courtauld at the University College of Rhodesia* (Salisbury 1970); A. Harrison, *A List of Medieval and Other Coins in the Courtauld Collection of the Library of the University of Rhodesia* (Salisbury 1978); and W. M. Buchanan and A. Harrison, *The Pallett Collection of English Coins in the Library of Rhodesia* (Salisbury 1978).

Equally less well-known, at least to Classicists, are the mediaeval and other coins of the Courtauld collection, and the Pallett collection of English coins, which also belong to the University of Zimbabwe and are also currently housed in the Reserve Bank.

In his introduction to the Courtauld mediaeval coins, Harrison calls the publication an illustrated list which does not purport to be a true catalogue; it was intended as an aid to teaching. The forty-two coins are identified as Courtauld Collection HT, followed by the item number of the list. In a sense the first sixteen form a continuation of the series of Roman coins, with examples of the Vandals in Africa (Gunthamund AD 484-496), the Ostrogoths in Italy (Theodoric AD 493-526, Witigis AD 536-540, Baduila AD 541-552), the Lombards (Perctarit AD 672-688), the Visigoths in Spain (Suinthila AD 621-631), and coinage from the Eastern Empire from Justinian (AD 527-565) until Manuel II (1391-1425). Venice is represented by Doge Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205), and there is a rare coin of Sultan Muhammed II (1451-1481).

The remaining coins, which are English and later European, represent a 'top ten' rather than a comprehensive selection. England is represented by Alfred (AD 872-901), Canute (AD 1014-1036), Stephen (1135-1154), Edward III (1327-1377), Elizabeth I (1558-1603), Cromwell (1653-1658) and George III (1760-1820). For France there is Charibertus II (628-631), Charlemagne (768-814), St Louis IX (1226-1270), Philip VI (1328-1350), Henry IV (1589-1610), Louis XIV (1643-1715) and Napoleon I (1804-1814). The Holy Roman Empire is represented by three busts on one gold 10-ducat coin: Maximilian I (1493-1519), Charles V (1519-1556) and Ferdinand I (1556-1564). The others in this numismatic portrait gallery are Frederick the Great of Prussia (1746-1786), Robert the Wise of Naples and Sicily (1309-1343), Ferdinand (1474-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504) of Spain, Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632) and Charles XII (1697-1718) of Sweden, Peter the Great of Russia (1689-1725), George Rakoczy II of Transylvania (1648-1660), and Popes Paul III (1504-1549) and Gregory XIII (1572-1585). Surprisingly, perhaps, there is no Maria Theresa. All the coins are in good or excellent condition. Sixteen are gold; one is white gold; twenty-three are silver; and two are bronze. The denominations represented in the Courtauld collection are of electrum, gold, silver, aes and orichalcum. Although they do not include 'small change', they cover a remarkable range.

The Pallett collection was formed by A. P. Pallett of Bristol between 1954 and 1956. He bequeathed it to his brother, Edwin Pallett, who in turn presented it to the University. The cataloguing was done by A. Harrison, the University Librarian, and W. Buchanan, a former Senior Lecturer in Pathology who was also a collector of English coinage. There are eighty-nine coins in the main list and thirteen in a supplementary list. All the kings (and reigning queens) of England from Edmund (936-946) to Elizabeth II (1952-) are represented, as well as Eanred, King of Northumbria (806-841), Wigmund, Archbishop of York (837-854), and Alfred (871-900) and Edward the Elder (900-925) of Wessex. The 'empire' is represented by Aquitaine (deniers of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Richard Coeur de Lion as prince of Aquitaine, and Edward the Black Prince), Ireland (silver halfpennies of John, a silver

penny of Elizabeth I and two gunmetal crowns of James II), Southern Rhodesia (an Elizabeth II Rhodes centenary crown of 1953) and South Africa (Elizabeth II as Queen of South Africa in 1954); the last-named is the latest coin in the Pallett collection. The oldest coin is a silver Anglo-Saxon sceatla of *ca.* AD 800 with runic letters on the reverse. Among the most interesting are numbers 73-75, two Spanish-American dollars of Charles IV (1797) counter-marked by George III (1760-1829), and a Bank of England silver dollar likewise overstruck on a Spanish dollar of Charles IV. Most of the early coins are silver pennies or groats; the later ones are mostly crowns.

The Courtauld and Pallett collections together illustrate the history of coinage from its beginnings to our own times and show us the faces of the men (and women) who shaped European history over 2500 years. The collections are probably unique among university museums in the southern hemisphere. It is a great pity, but understandable, that they are no longer housed in the University of Zimbabwe library, as they were in the 1960s and early 1970s, but in the Reserve Bank. They are brought out on request, usually about once a year, for students doing a numismatic section of the third-year Classical Studies course.

B. X. DE WET ESSAY

*The paper judged to be the best student essay submitted to **Scholia** by 30 June for the preceding year is published annually as the B. X. de Wet Essay. The competition, which is sponsored by the Classical Association of South Africa, is open to undergraduate students every year and to Honours students in even-numbered years. There is a prize of R250. This essay is named in honour of South African classicist B. X. de Wet.*

TIBERIUS AS *PRINCEPS* (AD 14-26): FULFILLING THE EXPECTATIONS OF A UNIQUE POSITION

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Tiberius Caesar came to power as the first hereditary emperor of Rome.¹ He inherited his position from Augustus, the man who brought peace and stability to Rome and then proceeded to consolidate sole hold on power. Augustus knew that to advertise openly his supreme power would probably result in his death; however, he felt that this was the only way to keep Rome stable, so he invented the position of *princeps* and tailored it to suit his needs. As *princeps* he was in command but the senate still held the illusion that it held the bulk of the power.² By the end of his reign Augustus had changed the expectations people had of the *princeps*. In order to rule Tiberius had to take up the role of *princeps* and meet these expectations. He was expected to be the figurehead and brains of the senate, but he was also expected to maintain its dignity. Unfortunately Tiberius was a completely different person from Augustus and it was extremely difficult for him to take up the position that was so unique to the first emperor of Rome.³ During the years before his change of mind, Tiberius tried to institute his own ideas and to rule as he thought best, but his policies could not fulfil all of the expectations held by the people.

¹ This essay has been shortened from the original essay submitted to the B. X. de Wet Essay competition. I express my gratitude to Professor Dominik and Dr Hilton for their assistance in preparing this essay for publication.

² F. B. Marsh, *Reign of Tiberius* (Cambridge 1959) 16f.

³ D. Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar* (London 1992) 17.

The Example of Augustus

Augustus learned an important lesson from the assassination of Julius Caesar. He believed that the best way to save the crumbling Republic was to have one sovereign authority in charge of the empire. But Caesar's murder had shown him that to try to wield such authority openly would result in the senate seeing him as trying to take up the much hated position of king, as some had understood Caesar to have tried to do. Augustus therefore decided to create a post for himself that fitted his personality and style of leadership.⁴ He called himself *princeps*, a word with 'good republican associations'.⁵ *Principes*, the plural of *princeps*, as well as *princeps* in conjunction with other words, was used to refer to those who came first in something; for example, the senator who came at the top of the censors' list was called the *princeps senatus*. *Princeps*, on its own, was first used to apply to one prominent statesman, mainly Pompey, which gave Augustus the precedent to use it for himself.⁶

The task Augustus had given himself as *princeps* was certainly not an easy one, requiring a delicate balancing act, but since he had personally tailored the position over a long period of time,⁷ he had little difficulty with it. As *princeps* he projected an image of himself as the first among equals, restorer of the republic and *pater patriae* (father of the fatherland), who kept a protective eye on all under him. He was energetic, outgoing and prepared to be entertained, and had no problem exploiting an image of himself as son of the deified Julius to raise his greatness to almost mystical heights. Under this guise Augustus usurped the power of the senate with consular *imperium* and tribunician power, but because he never advertised what these powers really meant, the senate always felt it was still in control. By the end of his reign Augustus had reshaped the senate and the people to have certain expectations of the image and the policy of their *princeps*.⁸

It was with these expectations that Tiberius assumed the role of *princeps*. By the time he came to power, Augustus had already reduced the senate to a group of servile men dependent on the patronage of the *princeps*. They expected him to make all their decisions for them and saw him as the solver of all their problems. However, he was never to do this arbitrarily but in all things he was to preserve the dignity of the senate. He was also expected to be a lovable and respected, almost god-like, figurehead for Rome, showing his care for people of all ranks. Trying to take up a position uniquely suited to another man, with a completely different personality and style of leadership from that of Tiberius, would have been an almost impossible task

⁴ Marsh [2] 16f.

⁵ S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (edd.) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford 1996) 1246 (hereafter *OCD*) s.v. 'princeps'.

⁶ *OCD* s.v. 'princeps'.

⁷ Augustus ruled as *princeps* from 27 BC to AD 14, a period of over forty years.

⁸ Shotter [3] 16f.; Marsh [2] 16-18.

for him.⁹ Augustus was well aware of this, and in his will he lamented that he was forced to choose Tiberius as his heir because of the death or youth of all other possibilities (Suet. *Tib.* 23). Tiberius did try, however, to rule in a way he thought best. He was a good soldier and administrator, which had earned him a reputation even Tacitus could not deny (*Ann.* 4.6f.), but his personality and beliefs gave him a very different leadership style from that of Augustus.

The 'Liberated' Senate

There seemed to be no question that Tiberius was to be the next *princeps*. He certainly had no trouble in using his *imperium* and tribunician power to ensure the smooth running of the empire and in arranging Augustus' funeral (Tac. *Ann.* 1.7). I have already stated that Tiberius had very different ideas on the best leadership for Rome. Unlike Augustus, his republican sympathies led him to believe that Rome could best be governed by the senate. His policy accordingly was to return to the senate powers on all issues they could handle on their own. His actions during the senate meeting at which Augustus was deified and he was officially made *princeps* could be interpreted as his first attempt to institute such a policy. Rather than openly assuming that he was to be *princeps*, he showed 'a wavering attitude' (Tac. *Ann.* 1.7)¹⁰ and asked for leadership of only a part of the empire as well as colleagues to help him in his task. Tacitus credits this to a desire to look as if he were called to service, instead of coming to power through Augustus and his mother, Livia (*Ann.* 1.7). Some modern writers have questioned whether Tiberius' action could be interpreted as a real desire not to take up the heavy burden of leadership. There may have been some truth in this, but Tiberius had far too much respect for Augustus' wishes to go against them and, even after his death, not to take up the office of *princeps* when given the opportunity.¹¹ However, by not proclaiming himself *princeps* he could be seen to be at least attempting to make the senate make a decision for themselves. Throughout *Annals* 1-6 Tacitus attributes any seemingly republican-like action, such as this, to a natural hypocrisy,¹² but whatever Tiberius' motive, one has to take into account that as

⁹ Shotter [3] 17. In spite of this Tiberius did make a point of following all the precepts laid down by Augustus (Tac. *Ann.* 4.37) to ensure some continuity of the Principate.

¹⁰ For this essay I have used the translation of A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *The Annals and the Histories* (London 1952).

¹¹ Shotter [3] 17.

¹² Of the ancient historians writing about Tiberius, Tacitus is probably the most comprehensive and the least biased. However, Tacitus lived through the reign of terror of Domitian. When he came to write his *Annals*, his horror at the abuse of power and his sense of guilt at having gained advancement from the Principate led him to be 'harsh and malicious' (R. Syme, *Tacitus* 1 [Oxford 1958] 420) to that institution. Tacitus' experience therefore led him to construe the worst motives for Tiberius' actions. Tacitus, like most ancients, also believed a man's nature to be 'definable and immutable' (Syme [above, this note] 421) and so any changes in character were only manifestations of what was there all the time. Although Tacitus faithfully reported the positive aspects of Tiberius' earlier reign, he

princeps there was no other way for him to play his part. If he assumed he was to be given the position he would have been openly showing that he had the real power, and breaking the illusion that the powers of the *princeps* were a gift from the senate.¹³ It was in keeping with the policy of *princeps* to let the senate believe they held the power of deciding who was to fill the position.

In all dealings with the senate Tiberius tried to put them into the position of making their own decisions. It was in keeping with the role of *princeps* for him to project himself as no more than a mere senator with some added responsibilities, but Tiberius tried to make this as true as possible. He believed that 'the Senate [should] be master in its own house'.¹⁴ He refused to enter into debates, whereas formerly the *princeps* was expected to give the final opinion and to try to force the senate to take responsibility. For example, when the Tiber river burst its banks in AD 15, the new board that was set up to deal with flooding of the river devised plans to divert and dam the waters leading to the Tiber. However, this would have affected several towns and they protested to the senate. Given the freedom by Tiberius, the senate chose not to institute the plans (Tac. *Ann.* 1.79). Another example was an attempt made to overturn legislation¹⁵ made by Augustus to prevent the flogging of actors, who had recently caused riots. The tribune vetoed the action and a violent debate ensued, but the tribune's veto stood and other arrangements were made (*Ann.* 1.77).

On the occasions when Tiberius did enter a debate, Suetonius tells us he tried to do so as a senator, even going so far as to apologise to Quintus Haterius for disagreeing with him rather strongly in a debate (*Tib.* 29). Suetonius credits his actions to pretence but states that Tiberius made a move to consult the senate on every possible issue, whether public, military or foreign affairs. He had no problem if his motions were voted down or if he found himself in the minority on an issue. He attended the senate unescorted and would stand for the consuls and make way for them in the streets (*Tib.* 30f.). Dio agrees with this (57.7.2f.) and tells us how he 'associated with himself advisors' (57.7.2)¹⁶ on a public tribunal. Tiberius also had an intense dislike of flattery and toadying by members of the senate, trying to gain his friendship or patronage. Suetonius tells us that he would be very stern with such people and make them change their statements to what he believed to be a truer reflection of himself (*Tib.* 27.). When insults were directed at himself or his family, Tiberius seldom took them to heart, saying that everyone must have the freedom to speak his mind in a free state (*Tib.* 28.).

felt it necessary to establish the reasons for the radical, negative changes in Tiberius that came with the rise of Sejanus and which continued during his later reign; cf. Syme [above, this note] 420f. For further discussion of Tacitus' motives, see Marsh [2] 1-15.

¹³ Shotter [3] 17.

¹⁴ B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London 1976) 186

¹⁵ Tacitus does not say who introduced the motion.

¹⁶ For this essay I have used the translation of E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* 7 (London 1924).

Tiberius made himself very popular with the senate by choosing, unlike Augustus, magistrates and people for other high offices from old consular families and people who had distinguished military or diplomatic careers.¹⁷ Most importantly, he gave the senate their greatest power by one of his very first acts, by transferring the election of magistrates from the people to the senate. Augustus had already made these elections worthless by only presenting names for the exact number of positions. But now the senate chose the names to be presented and the people were no more than a 'rubber stamp'. The senators greatly appreciated not having to degrade themselves anymore by having to canvass or bribe to gain election.¹⁸ In all of these ways Tiberius was able to fulfil at least some of the expectations of a *princeps* by preserving the dignity of the senate. In fact, Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.6) and Velleius Paterculus (2.126.2) tell us of the increased dignity and power accorded the senate, magistrates and the courts.

Unfortunately, at the same time Tiberius' policy served to disappoint other expectations. For years the senate were used to the *princeps* solving all problems and doing their thinking for them, so they had come to expect it. Tiberius' policy forced them to try and think for themselves, but their servile instincts led them to constantly refer decisions to him. An excellent example can be found in Tacitus on the subject of the sumptuary laws (*Ann.* 3.52): 'The Senate on being consulted had, without handling the matter, referred it to the emperor'. When Tiberius refused to have anything to do with the matter, they shirked responsibility by simply passing it back to the aediles. Another example occurred in AD 21. Tiberius wrote to the senate asking them to choose a strong and experienced soldier as governor for the trouble spot of Africa. The senate chose a man for Asia but decided to leave the choice of the African governor to Tiberius (*Ann.* 3.32). He wrote again to the senate and 'indirectly censured them for throwing on the emperor every political care (*Ann.* 3.35)'. He then named Marcus Lepidus and Junius Blaesus as two possibilities for governor.

This situation led the senate to act in another servile way: the senators chose to vote in the way they believed Tiberius would favour regardless of whether or not it was best. The senate believed Tiberius would favour Junius Blaesus as the uncle of his close friend Sejanus. Marcus Lepidus gave strong reasons for not taking up the post and it was given to Blaesus (*Tac. Ann.* 3.35). They acted in the same way in regard to an incident over the election of a praetor in AD 17. The princes, Germanicus and Drusus, supported a relative of Germanicus, but the law stated that the father of three or more children should be given preference. In the republican tradition nobles often lobbied for support of a candidate they felt would better fill the position, so the princes had every precedent to try and bend the law. Tiberius refused to enter the debate, glad that the senate was finally thinking for themselves. In the end, however, the princes' candidate was chosen (although by a small margin) because the senate had learned to bend in the direction of authority (*Ann.* 2.51).¹⁹ The senate once even went so far as to postpone all business while the *princeps* was away from the city in

¹⁷ R. Seager, *Tiberius* (London 1972) 123.

¹⁸ Seager [17] 124.

¹⁹ Seager [17] 130.

AD 16. One senator did suggest that it would be a credit to them all to be able to function in his absence but another argued that any subject discussed would be seen as trivial. Tiberius refused to intervene in the debate, even though he probably agreed with the first senator, and so business was postponed (*Ann.* 2.35).²⁰ As Seager observes, it was small wonder Tiberius was quoted as saying, 'O men fit for slavery!'²¹ This evidence shows that the senate did not appreciate the freedom they were given or in any way wanted to change. Instead they were disappointed in Tiberius for failing to do their thinking for them.

The Power of the Title

Tiberius' attempts to give power back to the senate and to be no more than the first senator, also caused his image to suffer because this policy ran contradictory to the natural prestige of the *princeps*. This meant that regardless of the equal or neutral stance he tried to take his prestige would be a dynamic factor that would affect the policy and decisions of those around him. He could in no way lessen its effects, although he was not averse to making use of it when he felt it was necessary. Such an impact could be seen in the magisterial elections. He might give a personal commendation to a few of the men on the list of candidates but his position would ensure those men were given the job without needing to canvass for votes (*Tac. Ann.* 1.15). For the consular elections he most commonly announced that the only candidates were those names he had given to the consuls, but that anyone who felt himself worthy could also run (*Ann.* 1.81). It is unlikely, however, that any man would have tried.

He also was aware of the power of patronage and friendship that a *princeps* could exert. Although he abhorred flattery, by ensuring that people felt his friendship necessary for their advancement he also ensured loyalty to himself. In AD 16 Asinius Gallus tried to get Tiberius to change the electoral system so that people knew five years in advance if they had been elected to a position. Beside his obvious objection that a man's character can change in five years, Tiberius realised that it would remove his power of patronage (*Tac. Ann.* 2.36). With knowledge five years in advance of their position, men would become arrogant and feel no need for loyalty to Tiberius, while those who were left out of the lists would become discontented from not receiving reward for their services.²² The power of his friendship can be seen in the example of Decimus Silanus. In AD 20 he returned from self-imposed exile after losing the friendship of Augustus. Tiberius allowed his return but refused his friendship and so Silanus found it impossible to enter into any office (*Tac. Ann.* 3.24). In this way the *princeps* could end the career of anyone without question. These were all part of the powers of the *princeps* and people expected him to use them. What

²⁰ Seager [17] 129f.

²¹ Seager [17] 132.

²² Seager [17] 125f.

made their respect turn to contempt was that he continually tried to play the equal while wielding this power, making himself look a hypocrite.

Justice and the Law of Maiestas

Tiberius took an active interest in the law and the courts. His main motivation in legislation was to ensure ‘the traditional dignity of the higher orders in the state’.²³ Tiberius often took action against respectable citizens who committed prostitution, adultery and fraud (Suet. *Tib.* 35). However, in the case of sumptuary laws Tiberius preferred not to legislate people’s luxuries since it would simply give another opening to the delators (Tac. *Ann.* 3.52-55). In the courts Tiberius’ policy was certainly not that of neutrality. He would often sit as an assessor at the side of the court, rather than make the praetor give up his seat as he could have done, but if he ever felt that someone was to suffer from injustice he had no hesitation in using his *imperium* to ensure a fair verdict (Tac. *Ann.* 1.75; Suet. *Tib.* 33). Tacitus doesn’t deny that in this case Tiberius’ use of power was within keeping with expectations of him (*Ann.* 1.73). However, Tacitus does accuse Tiberius of overstepping the bounds of the *princeps* in re-instituting the *maiestas* law (*Ann.* 1.72), the matter on which Tiberius’ image as a hypocrite suffered most.

The *maiestas* law²⁴ was the law of treason, aimed at those who ‘impaired “the majesty of the people of Rome”’ (Tac. *Ann.* 1.72). Firstly, the accusation made by Tacitus was false, since it was Augustus who brought the law back into prominence. It was also he who spread the limits of the law to include libel against the *princeps* or his family.²⁵ In 19 or 18 BC Augustus also moved jurisdiction over any cases ‘involving the interest, security, or welfare of the senate as a whole or of individual members’²⁶ to the senate. In AD 15 Tiberius was asked by Pompeius Macer if charges of *maiestas* were to be admitted to the courts. Tiberius, a stickler for republican principle, said that the law was there to be administered (Tac. *Ann.* 1.72; Suet. *Tib.* 58).

Unfortunately this left the door wide open to the delators. Under the Roman system of law there were no public prosecutors, so the law allowed for any citizen to bring up a charge before the courts. In matters involving the state some incentive had to be given so that private citizens would prosecute on a public matter. This incentive was a reward for a successful prosecution, usually a portion of the accused man’s wealth, which would be confiscated. The vagueness of the *maiestas* law made it easy for a delator to fabricate, or blow out of proportion, a seeming insult to Augustus,

²³ Seager [17] 140.

²⁴ The *maiestas* law is a major and contentious issue among modern historians. Tacitus blames Tiberius for re-instituting the law but also suggests that many of the people prosecuted were guilty. Modern historians argue that Tiberius was trying to limit the law, while at the same time using it for his own ends. For further discussion see the works of Levick [13], Marsh [2], Seager [17] and Shotter [3].

²⁵ Marsh [2] 106.

²⁶ Levick [14] 184.

Tiberius or his family, and thereby bring a charge of *maiestas*. In order to bring such a charge the delators encouraged informers; men could be spied on by their own neighbours and informed against on the most trivial charge. Before the time of Tiberius nobles had had no trouble with this law, but the sudden increase in the number of cases led men to feel persecuted and they hated him for allowing it.²⁷

To be fair to Tiberius, he did see the charges for what they were and often intervened, to dismiss charges that were obviously trivial and to prevent others from extending the law further.²⁸ He seldom took any insult to himself or his family to heart, saying that men should be free to speak their minds, and that if every insult against him were prosecuted there would be no time for other work. In general, he accepted insults philosophically, willing to give an account of himself and disliking the person in turn if they would not accept his actions (Suet. *Tib.* 28). He also refused to take insults against Augustus seriously, saying that the gods should take care of insults against them (Tac. *Ann.* 1.73). Tiberius tried to ensure justice by promoting a policy of clemency, constantly intervening in the senatorial courts on any *maiestas* charges. When the popular practice of attaching a charge of *maiestas* to another charge, to give it substance, began, he tried to sort the real from the fake charges. He also ensured that adultery was not prosecuted under the charge of *maiestas*, for which a heavier penalty could be exacted (*Ann.* 2.50). He did his best to limit the influence of informers but he could not end the tyranny of the law. With no public prosecutor the system of delators had to be maintained. Tiberius could only do his best to ensure that the system was not abused, either by himself or others.²⁹

The people might have appreciated his efforts had his method of intervening been less haphazard and self-serving. In one case, such as that of Falanius, he would quickly dismiss the charges, since the actions were trivial and on the borderline of the law (Tac. *Ann.* 1.73). But on another occasion, in spite of his policy of clemency, his fear of a *coup d'état* might lead him to make use of the law and so insist that the charges be investigated further. In the case of Granius Marcellus Tiberius actually lost his temper and began to insist that he would cast his vote openly so that the senators would have to follow his example (*Ann.* 1.74).³⁰ Tiberius' inconsistent behaviour struck fear into the ruling classes, for they could never be sure if he would dispense real justice in the event that they were charged; this inconsistency 'contributed to a growth of popular hostility'³¹ against him.

²⁷ Marsh [2] 109f.

²⁸ Marsh [2] 106.

²⁹ Marsh [2] 108.

³⁰ It is unsure what Tiberius' original voting intentions were but the man was acquitted.

³¹ D. Shotter, 'A Group of "Maiestas" Cases in A.D. 21', *Hermes* 108 (1980) 232.

The Moderate Princeps

The people's expectations of Tiberius as a lovable, respected and god-like leader were severely disappointed by his policy of moderation.³² Levick believes he took comfort from cultivating this since he felt it to be a virtue.³³ The people wanted an almost mystical figurehead that understood and cared about their entertainment and their worries. Tiberius, however, could not and would not enter into their sentiments as Augustus had done. Tiberius had an extreme distaste for gladiatorial shows and theatricals and was not averse to advertising his attitude.³⁴ As *princeps* he was expected to attend such performances, especially when they were put on in his honour, but Tiberius tended to avoid such entertainment where he could. He limited the number of rounds at gladiatorial shows (Suet. *Tib.* 34) and only attended the theatre in the hope that his presence would be a restraining influence; he did not feel he was in a secure enough position to put a stop to them (Tac. *Ann.* 1.54; Cass. Dio. 57.11.5). He had very little time for actors, who persistently caused riots, and in AD 23 he brought the matter before the senate and all actors were exiled from Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 4.14; Suet. *Tib.* 37; Cass. Dio 57.21.3). This made him extremely unpopular, but Tiberius was not interested in the love of the people but their respect (Suet. *Tib.* 59).

Another area in which he practised moderation was that of honours, titles and religion. Tiberius disliked ostentation and avoided any attempt to make him grander than he was. He consistently refused titles offered to him by the senate, including those of *imperator*, since he felt it was obvious he was in command of the armies (Suet. *Tib.* 26; Cass. Dio 57.8.1), and *pater patriae*. He vetoed the proposal that an oath to honour his acts be renewed annually, saying that it was wrong to commit oneself to a man's acts when chance might change him (Suet. *Tib.* 67). Dio tells us that the title of *Augustus* was never officially voted to him but evidence on coinage suggests that it was used as part of his official title (57.8.1). To honour him communities from outside Rome would grant Tiberius titles he had already rejected and the senate, in an effort to flatter him, would try to grant him triumphs and ovations he felt were unnecessary.³⁵

He also refused for himself and his family any divine honours. However, in this he had very little power, for men in the provinces, particularly those in the east, where

³² Tiberius' policy of moderation also showed itself in his attitude to the depleted resources of the treasury. He was often considered to be tight-fisted, especially by senators who had lost their wealth requirement through their own folly and who he therefore refused to help (Tac. *Ann.* 2.48), and because of his poor building record (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45; Suet. *Tib.* 47). But when the welfare of the people was at stake Tiberius did not hesitate to help, such as fixing a retail price and helping people over years of bad harvests and losses at sea (Tac. *Ann.* 4.6). However, space constraints prevent us going into this aspect any further.

³³ Levick [14] 87.

³⁴ Seager [17] 137.

³⁵ Seager [17] 143f.

his seeming care for their welfare made him more popular,³⁶ often acted on their own and he would only have incurred unpopularity by stopping them. When he was asked if he would accept the honours, he was generally consistent. Except for one case in Asia, where he allowed an altar to be consecrated to him because it also honoured the senate, he generally turned down any requests to honour him in such a way. According to Seager, the 'only temples and images he craved were in the minds of men'.³⁷ Everything he did in this regard was designed to lessen the image of himself as a great man, but the people expected their *princeps* to be a shining figurehead with a divine aura and it was difficult to respect a *princeps* with no such image.

Tiberius: The Man

An important influence on Tiberius' image was his personality. Maranon, through the evidence of Suetonius, paints Tiberius as a weak, sexually timid man who was dependent on, and dominated by, others throughout his life. Firstly dominated by Augustus and his mother Livia, then the head of the praetorian guards, Sejanus and later Macro, his life was warped and embittered by the resentment he felt for these people and the situations in which they placed him.³⁸ Levick, on the other hand, shows how conflicting policies ruled his life, as he tried to reconcile his republican sympathies with his autocratic powers.³⁹ From the coherent and consistent (except for the law of *maiestas*) policies Tiberius followed during the years before his son Drusus' death and before the conspiracy of Sejanus warped his mind, one can see that he was not a man to be ruled by his emotions or who depended overmuch on others, which means Levick's account is far more likely to be correct. This does not suggest that Tiberius' personality played no part in how he was perceived or the policies he made. Tacitus portrays Tiberius as 'malignant, isolated and wretched',⁴⁰ and Suetonius agrees with him in finding Tiberius' personality one of 'duplicity with hidden vices'.⁴¹ However, the evidence of Tacitus tells us that Tiberius can be accused of being no more than an introvert; unfortunately this personality trait would not have been understood at the time. He had no great desire for greatness or being in the public eye, and would have preferred to keep to himself. This would have contributed to his policy of moderation.

His inability to be outgoing would have manifested itself in a reserve that the people found repulsive. He could institute excellent policy but still manage to alienate the senate because his reserve stopped him from relating to them. His policy was consistent and sound but he so berated those who asked for money that his policy

³⁶ Shotter [3] 58.

³⁷ Seager [17] 147.

³⁸ G. Maranon, *Tiberius: A Study in Resentment* (London 1956) 184.

³⁹ Levick [14] flyleaf.

⁴⁰ B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus* (New York 1981) 18.

⁴¹ Syme [12] 421.

began to be resented. He had difficulty in making friends but when he did he took them completely into his confidence, such as Sejanus and Macro (Tac. *Ann.* 4.1).⁴² This was not unusual in a man who found it hard to be outgoing, and his lack of friends would have made those he had all the more precious to him. When forced into the public eye and expected to make decisions, he became unstable, indulging in occasional temperamental outbursts, such as at the case of Granius mentioned above.⁴³ Tiberius' reserved and temperamental nature kept the senate on their toes. They were unable to understand his character and so they were never entirely sure what he wanted. Having a leader to whom the people could not relate only reinforced the beliefs they had gained from the disappointments Tiberius' policy had given.

In looking back over the earlier years of Tiberius' reign as *princeps*, one can see that he had very little success in fulfilling the expectations attached to the position of *princeps*. He was able to keep up the dignity of the senate but at the same time this policy made it impossible for him to fulfil the expectations of him as the solver of all problems and maker of all decisions. As for his image as the figurehead of Rome, his natural dislike of grandeur led him again to go out of his way to avoid fulfilling these expectations. It became quite immaterial that he formulated and followed a consistent policy that he believed was for the good of Rome. By not doing what the people, and especially the senate, expected of him, in their eyes he failed as a *princeps*.

⁴² Macro replaced Sejanus as head of the praetorian guards.

⁴³ See above, p. 176.

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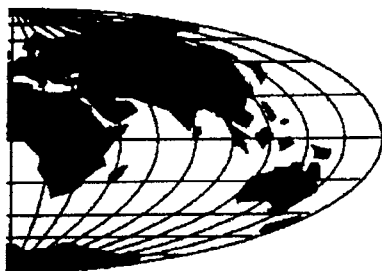
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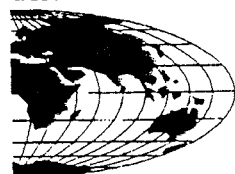


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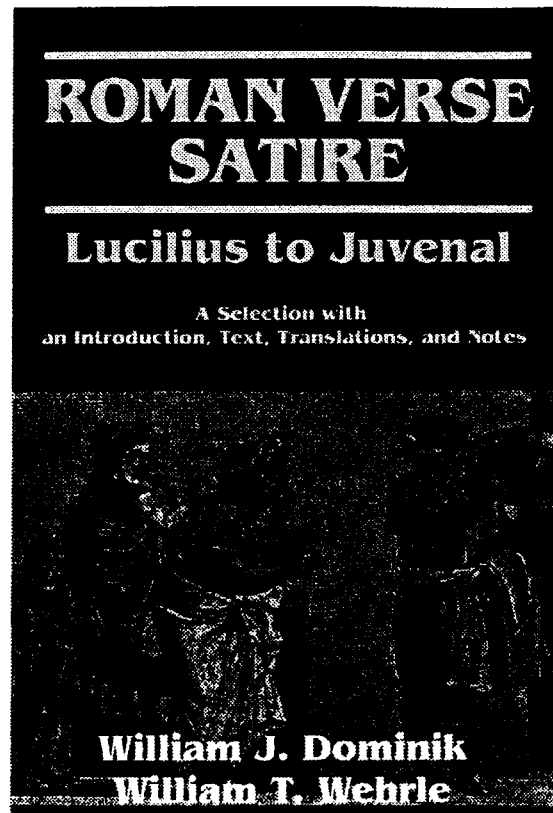
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