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Editor: W. J. Dominik

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REVIEW ARTICLES

EDITORIAL NOTE

Scholia invites submissions from scholars in all areas of classical studies, including the classical tradition. The Editor offers its contributors competent and prompt refereeing, immediate responses to the receipt of contributions, a time of between two and three months for decision between submission and acceptance, regular communication at all intervals of the refereeing and editorial process, and twenty offprints of articles.

Scholia has now upgraded its web site, which can be accessed at http://www.classics.und.ac.za/scholia/default.html. Subscribers and non-subscribers alike are able to gain access not only to the abstracts of all articles but also to the complete printed text of articles in volumes that have been published at least three years prior to the most recent volume. Current subscribers and institutions who exchange their journals with *Scholia* can obtain the printed text of articles in the three most recently published volumes by contacting the Editor for the passcode to the relevant volume number. Subscribers and non-subscribers alike are able to gain access without using passcodes to all other sections of the journal and to *Scholia Reviews*, the electronic reviews journal.

The B. X. de Wet Essay competition received seventeen entries in 2000. The essays were judged by Richard Evans (University of South Africa), Betine van Zyl Smit (University of Western Cape) and Peter Tennant (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg). The winning essay entitled 'Unstitching the Tapestry: Lévi-Strauss' Structuralism in Theory and Practice' was written by Sarah Johnson (University of Cape Town) and is published in this volume.[1] *Scholia* expresses its gratitude to the Classical Association of South Africa for not only contributing to the cost of publishing this winning essay in the journal but also sponsoring the cash prize of R250. The second essay entitled 'Homer's Depiction of Women' was written by Judy Croome (University of South Africa), while the titles of joint third essays were 'Vergil's *Aeneid*' by Jacobus Louw (University of South Africa) and 'Greek Vase Painting' by Andrew Makinson (Rhodes University).

The Essay competition is open only to undergraduate students in 2001, but students who complete Honours in 2001 will be permitted to submit essays written in that year for the competition in 2002. Essays not exceeding 3000 words may be submitted in English, Afrikaans, French or any other language used in Africa and may deal with any area of Classical Studies. The competition is advertised throughout the year, especially toward the end of each academic semester, but enquiries may be directed to Richard Evans, the head of the adjudicating panel, or to the Editor of *Scholia*.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

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[1] See pp. 170-78.

ALKMENE: MOTHER OF A CHILD PRODIGY

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Abstract. This article examines depictions in ancient literature and art of the story of the snake attack on the baby Herakles, from the point of view of other affected parties, in particular his mother Alkmene. It illustrates how, in accounts by Pindar and Theokritos, Alkmene is unusually brought to the fore. A postlude draws attention to the account, found uniquely in Diodoros, of Alkmene's attempt to expose the baby after birth.

One of the best known stories about Herakles is his feat, while just a baby, of strangling two snakes coming to his cradle to kill him.[1] Normally, these snakes are said to have been sent by Hera, though pseudo-Apollodoros (2.4.8) credits Pherekydes with a variant by which it was actually Amphitryon who supplied them, as a means of finding out which of the twin babies was his and which had been fathered by Zeus. Naturally enough, the main focus of the story is on the infant prodigy Herakles. At the same time, literary and pictorial artists were bound to portray other figures involved in the mythical event, including the hero's mother Alkmene. Was anything more than token attention, though, paid by these (male) artists to Alkmene, the woman chosen by Zeus to bear and rear the superhero of the Greeks? And if so, how was such attention articulated? It is answers to these questions that the present study seeks to supply.

At best, Alkmene is always going to be confined to a secondary role. She is not mentioned at all in the brief accounts given in Diodoros 4.10.1 and Hyginus 30.[2] And the versions of the first and second Vatican Mythographers (50 and 172 respectively) speak merely of the parents being roused by the cries of Iphikles, and arriving in time to see Herakles dealing successfully with the attacking reptiles. In pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.8, Alkmene's role is confined to

[1] I am most grateful to the *Scholia* readers for corrections and helpful suggestions in connection with this article.

[2] The same applies to the accounts or references in Lib. *Dieg.* 17; Ov. *Her.* 9.21f.; Dio Cass. 73.7; Paus. 1.24.2 (mention of a statue at Athens showing Herakles carrying out the strangling); Mart. 14.177 (epigram referring to a Corinthian bronze on the same subject); and Virg. *Aen.* 8.288f. (the strangling is said to be the first of the deeds sung about by the Salii). Ov. *Met.* 9.67 has a typically amusing reference to the incident, again not involving Alkmene. The river god Akheloös is describing his fight with Herakles. When, after an initial fall, he changes into his snake form, Herakles mocks him with the words: *cunarum labor est angues superare mearum* ('I was already beating snakes when I was in my cradle'). He then goes on to remind Akheloös about the Hydra!

the utterance of a cry for help to Amphitryon. Pliny, in his *Natural History* 35.63, praises a painting by Zeuxis[3] that showed the infant throttling the snakes in the presence of a frightened Alkmene, and Amphitryon.

Pindar, however, at *Nemean Odes* 1.33-59, offers a more extensive, and extremely vivid account of what he calls an ancient story (34),[4] which brings Alkmene into much greater prominence. Initially, the focus is on the snakes and Herakles' decisive response to their attack, but then Pindar turns his attention to the effect that the incident has, first on the attendant women, who are terrified (48f.) and then, with telling economy of expression, on Alkmene herself:

> καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποσσὶν ἄπεπλος ὀρού-
> σαισ' ἀπὸ στρωμνᾶς ὅμως ἄμυνεν ὕβριν κνωδάλων.
> (*Nem.* 1.50)
> for indeed she herself rushed from the bed dressed only in her tunic and tried, despite her condition, to ward off the violent assault of the monstrous creatures.

Commenting on Pindar's use of ὅμως (lit., 'neverthelesss', i.e., 'despite her condition'), B. K. Braswell states:[5] 'It is Alkmene's weakened condition which makes her rush to the defence all the more remarkable.' This is true in a sense, although it gets the situation slightly out of perspective. What is central is surely the notion of a newly delivered mother's protective instinct that makes her reaction, in fact, quite natural.[6]

The speed and urgency that Alkmene in her state of semi-undress brings to bear on the hybris of the threatening, alien creatures becomes even more significant in the light of the immediately following introduction of Amphitryon and the other Theban leaders. They arrive together, fully armed, with Amphitryon brandishing a sword and in a state of great anxiety (51-53). A most effective contrast is thus achieved between the lone and unarmed woman for whom the need for immediate action is paramount, and the group of men characterised by martial attitudinising.[7]

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[3] See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 13, and 14-16.

[4] His source is possibly Pisandros. See B. K. Braswell, *A Commentary on Pindar Nemean One* (Fribourg 1992) *ad* 34.

[5] Braswell [4] *ad* 50.

[6] Other instances of a mythical mother's protective concern for her male child include, perhaps most famously, Metaneira's for Demophoön in *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 242-91. In that context, too, the child's sisters leap from their beds to assist in a crisis situation when Metaneira is paralysed by Demeter's transfiguration.

[7] In another Pindaric account of the same event (*Pae.* 20) that survives only in fragmentary form, Alkmene has again jumped up from a neo-natal bed in a state of semi-undress, but on this occasion fear is specified as her motivation.

The male Herakles, inasmuch as he is still a baby, is in theory confined within a world dominated by the female, although he is already demonstrating the kind of physical prowess appropriate to an adult male environment. At one level, then, the poet's depiction of the contrasting roles of Alkmene and Amphitryon merely serves to highlight the exceptional status of Herakles and his feat. At the same time, however, the vignettes involving the mother and 'father' are developed as ends in themselves. In the narrative sequence, Alkmene is placed closer to the baby, as might indeed be expected in a domestic context. But, more significantly, she is also allowed by the poet an identity separate from her husband, a freedom of movement, as it were, in her own right.

Alkmene's role is brought into further prominence in the version of the incident included in Theokritos 24, in which the snake attack is set against a background of settled domestic life rather than a recent birth experience.[8] The poem begins with Alkmene putting to bed twin sons who are presented as being ten months old. She baths and feeds them (3) before laying them in a golden shield that, as part of the spoils taken from Pterelaos, reminds us of the figure of Zeus in the background (4f.).

She then (6-10) touches the babies' heads, rocks the 'cradle' and sends them to sleep with soothing words:[9]

> εὕδετ', ἐμὰ βρέφεα, γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον·
> εὕδετ', ἐμὰ ψυχά, δύ' ἀδελφεοί, εὔσοα τέκνα·
> ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισθε.
> (7-9)
> sleep, my babies, a sweet sleep from which may you awake.
> sleep, my darlings, you two brothers, contented children.
> may you be blessed in your slumber and blessed when you reach daybreak.

It is this peaceful atmosphere that the arrival of the sinister snakes disrupts.

The whole initial sequence (1-10) presents a loving and efficient mother who provides totally for her babies' physical and emotional needs. The picture,

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[8] C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (Salem 1981) *ad* 33-72 draws a felicitous distinction between the literary styles of the Pindaric and Theokritean accounts: 'Pindar opts for brisk, masculine strokes of the pen, Theocritus for psychological richness . . . and domestic plausibility'. K. J. Dover, *Theocritus: Select Poems* (Basingstoke 1971) 251f. offers, in the form of a table, a convenient thematic comparison between the two accounts. J. Stern, 'Theocritus' *Idyll* 24', *AJPh* 95 (1974) 348-61 offers a balanced assessment of Theokritos 24 that, among other virtues, seeks to modify the extreme critical stance that simplistically overstates the contrast between the heroic in Pindar and the mundane in Theokritos.

[9] R. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (Cambridge 1996) 11-13 well illustrates how the opening lines of the poem draw on a range of poetic genres. Hunter [above, this note] 26f. plausibly argues the case for Alkmene's lullaby to be seen as a reworking of the Simonidean Danaë's address to the sleeping baby Perseus (*PMG* 543).

which represents a comparatively short extent of time, is not unrealistic in itself, but it is, of course, selective and idealised, rather like certain images of motherhood in modern commercial advertisements. Thus Alkmene by implication has no problems with breast feeding and has plenty of milk to satisfy her twins.[10] The normal inconveniences associated with looking after a baby, enhanced in the case of twins, do not exist to put her under stress.[11] It is even specifically stated later that Herakles does not cry (31). For all that, we do have an Alkmene here functioning as a mother and not handing over her responsibilities to nurses.

After a sequence dealing with the snakes and the contrasting reactions of Iphikles and Herakles (11-33), the narrative focus switches back to Alkmene. As the attentive mother, she is the one to hear Iphikles' cry and wake up (34). However, she does not respond as she does in the Pindaric account. Her first thought, rather, is to turn to her husband, saying that she is afraid (35) while urging him to action (36-40). Thus although her fear prevents her from acting herself, it is she who is alert to danger and who takes decisive steps to motivate an apparently insensitive Amphitryon.

Amphitryon then springs to life, but he is careful to arm himself and summon help before arriving to find Herakles in total control of the situation (41-59). Alkmene is suddenly at hand, having presumably followed behind, to comfort the terrified Iphikles (60f.). Although Amphitryon resettles Herakles for the night (62f.), it is Alkmene who in the morning consults Teiresias privately (64-102) about the significance of the past night's events.[12] This is an interesting change from the Pindaric version in which Amphitryon summons the prophet who proceeds to make a public statement.

In relating the nocturnal drama, the Theokritean Alkmene is made to display a willingness to face reality:

> μηδ' εἴ τι θεοὶ νοέοντι πονηρόν,
> αἰδόμενος ἐμὲ κρύπτε· καὶ ὣς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλύξαι
> ἀνθρώποις ὅ τι Μοῖρα κατὰ κλωστῆρος ἐπείγει.
> (68-70)

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[10] Hunter [9] 11f. sees the gluttonous Herakles of Comedy lying behind the Theokritean baby: 'how could a mortal woman "fill" Heracles with milk?', he asks. His reading is tied up with lines 137f. later in the poem where attention is drawn to the traditionally huge appetite of the hero. A. Griffiths, 'Customising Theocritus: Poems 13 and 24', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Hellenistica Groningana Volume II Theocritus* (Groningen 1996) 101-17, specifically 113-15, argues against the authenticity of the poem after line 104.

[11] This is an angle not considered by G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* (London 1987) 176-78, in what is otherwise an excellent discussion of the Theokritean snake attack incident, especially with regard to its points of contact with Pindar and Homer.

[12] This point is stressed by Griffiths [10] 111 where he characterises this Amphitryon in general as 'ineffectual'.

> even if the gods are devising some evil,
> don't hide it out of respect for me. Not even in this way is it possible for human beings to escape what Moira (Fate) hastens on from her spindle.

Teiresias reassures her, addressing her as ἀριστοτόκεια γύναι, Περσήιον αἷμα ('mother of noble children, descendant of Perseus', 73) and predicting:

> πολλαὶ Ἀχαιιάδων μαλακὸν περὶ γούνατι νῆμα
> χειρὶ κατατρίψουσιν ἀκρέσπερον ἀείδοισαι
> Ἀλκμήναν ὀνομαστί, σέβας δ' ἔσῃ Ἀργείαισι.
> (76-78)
> many Akhaian women will rub the soft thread
> over their knees, singing at nightfall of Alkmene by name,
> and you will be held in honour among the women of Argos.

Alkmene is to have a privileged position among women, if not so much on her own account as because of the fame of her son (79-85).

Teiresias concludes (88-100) by giving Alkmene instructions about burning the dead snakes, having the ashes disposed of, fumigating and purifying the house, and offering a sacrifice. The entire sequence shows us an Alkmene who is the parent with insight, closest to Herakles and his destiny, and by implication the one who will nurture him to achieve its fulfilment. The practical details of the rituals prescribed by Teiresias remind us of the female parent's crucial role in the ordering of the household from which children of both genders will emerge.

The other surviving extended description of the snake attack incident occurs in the younger Philostratos, *Imagines* 5. The work of art supposedly being described has Herakles with the snakes taking no notice of his mother who is standing in a state of terror. Alkmene is then said, on closer inspection, to be recovering from her initial fear, but not being able to believe her eyes. Panic has driven her from bed, even though she has only just given birth. She is portrayed as having jumped up ἄβλαυτος ('without slippers'). This indicates the characteristic of immediate and instinctive response on the part of the female parent that we have already encountered in the versions of Pindar and Theokritos. In the Theokritean account, indeed, Alkmene is made to tell Amphitryon not to take time to put anything on his feet (36). In Philostratos, she is also depicted as μονοχίτων ('wearing only a khiton') . . . σὺν ἀτάκτῳ τῇ κόμῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσασα ('with dishevelled hair, spreading out her arms'), and uttering a shout.[13]

[13] The other details given appear to follow the tradition recorded by Pindar, namely attendant women in a state of consternation, men in armour, Amphitryon with drawn sword seeing the need for an oracular interpretation, and Teiresias apparently providing just this.

Works of visual art dealing with the story[14] naturally focus on Herakles in the act of strangling the snakes, and there are a large number of representations, in a range of media, of Herakles alone with the reptiles. There are, however, several pictures involving other participants as well, including the earliest surviving examples that are on Attic red-figure vases dating from the early fifth century BC.

In scenes where Alkmene (along with Amphitryon) is shown accompanying Herakles, there is little scope for the artists to convey the sort of initiative with which Pindar and Theokritos credit her, because the moment illustrated involves the actual witnessing of Herakles doing his strangling act. Alkmene therefore tends to be reduced simply to the status of 'frightened woman'. Amphitryon, on the other hand, can be shown in a more positive aspect, whether this involves calmness, or a readiness to display martial valour with his sword.

The most positive feature that Alkmene is permitted to display is the protective attention that she may bestow on the terrified Iphikles. This can perhaps be seen already on the Attic stamnos painted by the Berlin Painter *c.* 480 BC.[15] Here, a figure who is usually assumed to be Alkmene is in fact very close to the action, snatching the mesmerised Iphikles from danger,[16] while Amphitryon stands further away. The goddess Athene, standing in a position more or less balancing that of Alkmene in the composition, makes a gesture of protection or reassurance.

In a similar scene on a column-krater of about the same date,[17] there is a certain ambiguity about Alkmene's role. She stands at the side with her hand

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[14] For an introductory discussion, bibliography, catalogue and commentary by S. Woodford, see *LIMC* 4.1, 827-32. A. D. Trendall, *LIMC* 1.1, 552-56, also deals with illustrations of the story as relating to Alkmene specifically.

[15] Louvre G 192, *ARV*[2] 208.160. See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 8. H. A. Shapiro, *Myth into Art* (London and New York 1994) 107 comments: 'The scene could almost be read as an illustration of Pindar, if it were not slightly earlier and did not include Athena . . .'.

[16] P. Devambez, in R. Flacelière and P. Devambez, *Héraclès: Images et Récits* (Paris 1966) 76f., identifies this female figure as a servant, on the basis of her headdress, and makes Alkmene the female figure on the left of the scene (balancing Amphitryon on the right) behind Athene. This identification is followed by J.-M. Moret, Iconographical Appendix to Braswell [4] 83 (asterisked note), 85 and 85f. n. 4. Like most commentators, Shapiro [15] 107 takes the figure snatching Iphikles to be Alkmene, though his discussion clearly shows that he is influenced by the account in Pind. *Nem.* 1, which he has already noted as postdating the vase in question. He comments: 'Pindar implies that it was her [i.e. Alkmene's] servant-girls who first noticed the commotion in the babies' room, and here one of them watches from the left.'

[17] Perugia, Mus. Naz. 73 (attributed by Beazley as near the Mykonos Painter), *ARV*[2] 516. See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 9, and *LIMC* 4.1, Herakles 1651, for an illustration.

raised, while Iphikles stretches out his arms to her, though his head is again turned away looking in the direction of Herakles with the snakes. It may be that this is supposed to be the moment before she grabs hold of him. On the other hand, she almost gives the impression that she is herself already on the point of running away. By contrast, Amphitryon is standing on the other side, apparently unmoved. Athene is in front of him, closer to Herakles, adopting a protective stance.

There is rather more action portrayed in yet another slightly later version, this time on a hydria by the Nausikaa Painter.[18] Iphikles is appealing directly to his mother who has both hands raised in alarm and who seems definitely here to be in the process of flight or, at the very least, strategic withdrawal. Amphitryon is advancing towards Herakles with his sword raised ready to strike the snakes.[19] The contrasting behaviour perhaps expected of a man and a woman in a dangerous situation is here well exemplified.[20] Athene is in this case positioned directly behind the babies. She looks towards Amphitryon, while leaning on her spear in a pose that suggests the usual overarching protective function while at the same time drawing attention to the fact that intervention on her part is not required. She makes an ideal mediating figure between the two alarmed parents.

With regard to other painting, we have already noted Pliny's brief description of a now lost work by Zeuxis in which the fear of Alkmene is the only detail specified. This work may perhaps be regarded as the ultimate source behind three Roman paintings of the scene,[21] two from Pompeii and one from Herculaneum.[22] Alkmene's role varies. In the first, she has Iphikles in tow. In the second, however, she is apparently on the point of flight, there being no sign of Iphikles. The third again has her in flight mode, with what appears to be a

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[18] New York, MMA 25.28, *ARV*[2] 1110.41. See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 11.

[19] Amphitryon can be seen in a similar pose on a fragment of a second century AD sarcophagus from the Komnos collection in the National Museum at Athens (this can be added to the examples of the scene listed in *LIMC* 1 and 4). See A. Balil, 'Hercules strangulans. Un *Athlos* Olvidado', *Faventia* 7 (1985) 87-92. It is impossible to say whether or not Alkmene originally formed part of the group.

[20] Alkmene may be fleeing in the other Attic vase representation, this one only partially preserved, on a cup by the Pan Painter dated to *c.* 470 BC. See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 10 (the *LIMC* description of this scene [see Herakles 1652] is harshly criticised by Moret [16] 83, asterisked note). For an illustration of a fragment of the vase (not showing Alkmene), see *LIMC* 5.2, Iphikles 5. On the other hand, the scene on the Etruscan red-figure stamnos by the Settecamini Painter (Florence) from the fourth century BC has a calm Alkmene standing her ground in the face of a particularly fearsome snake and placing protective hands on the cowering Iphikles. See J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford 1947) 52, for discussion, and plate X.1.

[21] So Trendall [14], Alkmene 13, with commentary 556.

[22] See *LIMC* 1.1, Alkmene 14-16.

male servant taking over the task of clutching Herakles' frightened twin brother. In all three pictures, a figure who appears to be Amphitryon is seated close beside the snake-conquering Herakles, looking thoughtful or in the process of drawing his sword.

Alkmene, if indeed an unidentified woman can always be assumed to be her rather than a female attendant, is caught in a similar range of poses in representations of the scene in relief sculpture or on coins.[23] In a relief fragment of the first or second century AD, she may be actually running towards Herakles. In a Hadrianic marble relief, she is standing looking at him while a male figure, perhaps Amphitryon, does the running. On an Asiatic marble sarcophagus of the second or third century AD, she may or may not be one of three figures behind Herakles, while on a marble tripod base of perhaps the first century AD she is certainly not present, since two nurses are portrayed as being in the process of running away. This should presumably not be taken to imply that Alkmene herself has had a head start on them, but rather that this particular version focuses on a moment before the parents arrive on the scene at all. Alkmene is again seen, holding Iphikles, on the reverse side of a bronze contorniate of the fourth century AD.

There is considerable variation, then, in how different pictorial artists imagine Alkmene to have responded to the snake attack. The overriding characteristic, however, is a fear generated by the bizarre incident that sometimes appears to be acute enough to make her lose sight of what might be supposed to be her maternal responsibilities. At the same time, there is a certain irony in the protective assistance that Alkmene is made to give Iphikles in some of the depictions of the scene. This is because Amphitryon, father of Iphikles, is brought into a closer association with Herakles whose only true parent present is in fact Alkmene. It is also ironic that a scene designed to illustrate Herakles' exceptional fearlessness and strength, by its unusual setting, draws within its ambit female figures normally excluded from such a context.

The primary importance of Alkmene in Greek myth, of course, consists in the fact that she is chosen by Zeus to be the mother by him of one of his most significant sons. This in itself, however, always guarantees her a certain amount of attention. Thus, the famous story of her delayed or prolonged labour is already found in Homer (*Il.* 19.96-119), and the preface to the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* already includes the first of several accounts of the unusual circumstances in which she is made pregnant by Zeus.[24] She also turns up

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[23] For details, see *LIMC* 4.1, Herakles 1659-64.

[24] This preface seems to have belonged originally in book four of the *Catalogue of Women*; for the likely sixth-century BC dating see M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985) 130-37.

periodically, in connection both with various stages of Herakles' career and also with the fortunes of his family after his death, in a range of literary and pictorial contexts. For all that, Alkmene barely rates a mention in most modern studies of female figures in Greek myth.[25] It is reassuring, then, to find that at least Pindar and more especially Theokritos, when the opportunity arises, do more than simply ignore her altogether, or render her immobile with, as it were, a 'frightened and ineffectual female' wheel clamp. They go so far as to promote her momentarily from the obscurity into which she sinks in the immediate aftermath of the birth of her baby Herakles, as they cast their net wider than Herakles himself and explore the implications on affected parties of the story of the snake attack.

Postlude

Alkmene's caring behaviour as portrayed in the snake attack is, of course, normally matched in the relatively few other contexts in which she is seen in a maternal role. It is therefore highly ironic that in the only other context in which a threat is posed to the baby Herakles, the immediate source of the danger is Alkmene herself as she joins the likes of Iokaste and Hekabe in an abortive attempt at infanticide.

The surviving source for this variant is Diodoros 4.9.6f.. Alkmene is made to expose the newborn baby Herakles in a field, her motivation being fear of Hera's jealousy, a jealousy that Diodoros has already stressed in his account of the prolonged labour. Thus Alkmene is portrayed as being driven to desperation, a victim first of Zeus' desire to procreate and then of Hera's emphatic response to this.

The story goes on to tell how Athene and Hera chanced upon the baby, without apparently recognising its identity. Athene was impressed by it and persuaded Hera to suckle it. She did this but was unable to stand the pain caused by the baby's violent approach to feeding.[26] At this, Athene took Herakles back

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[25] With three (relatively brief) references, she in fact fares better than usual in M. R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth* (Baltimore 1986). She is mentioned in passing in the survey of women in myth included by S. Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass. 1995) 14-62. One reason, of course, why Alkmene is relatively neglected is that the focus of much modern attention has been on mythical images of the mortal female as basically alien, threatening, 'uncivilised', subversive and 'barbarian', images that are assumed to reflect the perception of ancient male writers and to be, at least to some extent, tied up with the status of women in society. For an extended study of 'The Savage Without', see R. Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London 1989) 217-79.

[26] A scholion at Hom. *Il.* 5.392 states that one opinion was that the somewhat different wounding of Hera by Herakles there referred to the action of the baby Herakles upon being denied her breast.

to his mother and encouraged her to rear him. There is, of course, nothing said about the discomfort that Alkmene herself would be bound to experience for a considerable period as a result of her son's voracious appetite. Diodoros concludes by simply pointing out the paradox by which the mother who should have loved her own child tried to kill it, while the one who had a stepmother's hatred for it unwittingly saved its life.[27]

It has been well said that: 'Since Greek myth glorified the role of mother, it also tended to condemn to infamy those who in some way rebelled against it.'[28] Alkmene is perhaps fortunate that the attempted infanticide variant is apparently no more than an esoteric oddity.

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[27] A variation of the story, not involving Alkmene, occurs in pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Katasterismoi* 44. According to this, it was not possible for a son of Zeus to obtain a place in heaven without being suckled by Hera. Hermes therefore took the newborn baby Herakles and placed him at Hera's breast. When Hera woke up to what was happening, she shook the baby off so that her milk spilled, forming the Milky Way. Hyginus (*Astronomica* 2.43) testifies that in what was presumably the original version by Eratosthenes of the origin of the Milky Way Hermes played not the role of baby transporter but of suckling baby itself. Hyginus also mentions alternative versions including the one by which it was Herakles who was put to the breast of Hera (while she slept), and one by which the baby Herakles' excessive greed led him to suck a greater amount of milk than he could keep in his mouth. The implication is that he was at Hera's breast at the time, though this is not made explicit and the possibility exists that it was in fact Alkmene who was the victim of the exceptional baby's appetite. Pausanias (9.25.2) reports that at Thebes a place would be pointed out where the Thebans said that Hera offered her milk to the baby Herakles through a deception on the part of Zeus. Reference is also made to the story in *Anth. Pal.* 9.589 that is entitled Εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἥρας θηλαζούσης τὸν Ἡρακλέα ('On a statue of Hera suckling Herakles'): . . . αὐτὴν μητρυιὴν τεχνήσατο· τοὔνεκα μαζὸν / εἰς νόθον ὁ πλάστης οὐ προσέθηκε γάλα ('the sculptor crafted a real stepmother. / Therefore he did not add any milk to a breast that was alien.'). The scene is also illustrated on an Apulian red-figure lekythos of about 360 BC (London, BM F107, A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia* 1 [Oxford 1978] 395.1) from Anzio (see *LIMC* 4.1, Hera 301). Hera is sitting in the centre of the composition suckling the infant Herakles. Athene is standing in front of her, apparently handing her a flower. To the right of Hera is Iris and a seated female figure whom the *LIMC* description tentatively identifies as Alkmene. It seems more likely, however, that this seated figure is another goddess balancing Aphrodite who, with Eros, is behind Athene. Finally, for a photograph of a Corinthian perfume jar in Berlin that may be decorated with an illustration of the same scene, see M. Renard, 'Hercule allaité par Junon', in M. Renard and R. Schilling (edd.), *Hommages à Jean Bayet* (Brussels 1964) 611-18, fig. 5. Renard's discussion, with illustrations, is of the relationship between the stories of the suckling of Herakles as a baby and as an adult, the latter being connected with his 'adoption' by Hera at apotheosis.

[28] Lefkowitz [25] 36.

SPARTAN NAVAL COMMAND: FROM *SECRETARY* TO "VICE-ADMIRAL"

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Abstract. The Athenian disaster in Sicily in 415-13 BC produced a buoyant mood at Sparta since it was believed that it would be only a matter of months until Athens' empire collapsed. Sparta soon discovered that conducting the 'Ionian War' was a different matter. It resorted to *ad hoc* measures, which included placing junior officials in command of the fleet. This proved to be less than effective and was soon abandoned.

Within the context of Sparta's military activity in the Ionian War and the following decades a term appears that at first sight seems rather enigmatic. It is probably for this reason that it has received only little attention by modern critics. It is, however, a term which still demands clarification.

The term, in question is ἐπιστολεύς. According to *LSJ*, ἐπιστολεύς means: "*secretary*, τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος *IG* 14.1085; also in Persia, *Suid. s.v.* ἐπιστέλλει ['he sends a message/letter']." But "among the Spartans, *admiral, second in command, vice-admiral*"[1]—and this is the way it has invariably been translated.

One of the striking things about this term is that it appears quite suddenly in Xenophon, but seems to be unknown to Thucydides—and yet there are a number of contexts where it would have been appropriate for Thucydides to have used it, had it existed.

One such instance is in the summer of 411 BC, when the Peloponnesian fleet was bottled up at Miletus under the ναύαρχος ("admiral"), Mindarus. An additional reason for unrest amongst the crews was the fact that they were not receiving any pay, chiefly because Tissaphernes was not forthcoming with it. Further delay in undertaking any decisive action was caused by the failure of the Phoenician fleet to arrive from Aspendus, although Tissaphernes had promised to send it. But Philip, who had been sent thither with Tissaphernes,[2] and Hippocrates, who seems to have been at Phaselis, "sent a message/letter" (ἐπεστάλκει) to Mindarus containing the disconcerting news that not only

[1] *LSJ s.v.* ἐπιστολεύς.

[2] Earlier Thucydides tells us that "the Peloponnesians sent out at his [Tissaphernes'] request, supposedly to fetch the fleet, a Spartan named Philip with two triremes" (καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιων ἔπεμψαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Φίλιππου ἄνδρα Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο τριήρεσιν, 8.87.6).

would the Phoenician ships not be arriving, but, to add insult to injury, Tissaphernes was grossly abusing them (8.99). Thucydides, notably, does not refer to either Philip or Hippocrates in any official capacity. Philip is simply Φίλιππος,[3] whereas Hippocrates is ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης ("a Spartan man"). By contrast, as if to emphasise the point, the message is sent to Mindarus τῷ ναυάρχῳ ("the *navarch*"). If Philip or Hippocrates had been ἐπιστολεύς, should we not expect Thucydides to have recognised this and written somewhat as follows: ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ ἐπιστολεύς ξυμπεμφθεὶς αὐτῷ [ἐπιστολὴν] ἐπεστάλκει Μινδάρῳ τῳ ναυάρχῳ καὶ ἄλλος Ἱπποκράτης ἐπιστολεύς [instead of ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης] καὶ ὢν Φασήλιδι . . . ("Philip, who had been sent with him, despatched a message to Mindarus, the admiral, and another [Spartiate], Hippocrates, as *secretary*, and who was at Phaselis . . . ," 8.99)? By contrast, when Philip does function in a designated official capacity, Thucydides describes it thus: "Pedaritus . . . who had been sent to take command at Chios . . . appointing Philip *to remain* as governor at Miletus" (καὶ Πεδάριτόν τε . . . ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίων πεμψάντων . . . ἐς τὴν Μίλητον <ἄρχοντα> αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον καθιστᾶσιν, 8.28.5; emphasis mine).

In the winter of 412/11, Thucydides recounts that "the Spartan Hippocrates sailed from the Peloponnesus with ten Thourian ships commanded by Dorieus and two other commanders" (Ἱπποκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπλεύσας δέκα μὲν Θουρίαις ναυσίν, ὧν ἦρχε Δωριεὺς τρίτος αὐτός, 8.35.1). Here Hippocrates' position appears to be rather ambiguous, whereas that of the other three is clearly designated. Had he been appointed as, say, ἐπιστολεύς, one would certainly expect Thucydides to have indicated this.

After this, at the end of 412, when the Spartans send out the eleven ξύμβουλοι ("advisers") together with twenty-seven ships which they had prepared for Pharnabazus, these latter are under the command of Antisthenes (8.39.2). If by this time the Spartan ναύαρχος ("navarch") was equipped with the services of an ἐπιστολεύς, would this not have been an ideal place to mention it, and, instead of Ἀντισθένης Σπαρτιάτης ("Antisthenes, a Spartan") in Thucydides' text, should we not expect Ἀντισθένης ἐπιστολεύς? And would this not have been all the more appropriate in light of the fact that the ξύμβουλοι ("advisers") were only to replace Astyochus as ναύαρχος with Antisthenes if they discovered that the former had been seriously incompetent? If that were not the case, would it not have been sensible to equip him with an ἐπιστολεύς?

[3] Earlier, when referring to Philip, it is Φίλιππον ἄνδρα Λακεδαιμόνιον ("Philip, a Lacedaemonian," 8.87.6).

Somewhat earlier, namely, in the summer of 412, Astyochus ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ναύαρχος ("the Spartan admiral") sailed to Lesbos for the first time, and, upon arriving there and apprising the situation, "sent the hoplites from his own ships by land under Eteonicus to Antissa," while he went elsewhere (8.23.1-4). Here too should we not expect ἐπιστολέα ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον προστάξας ("put Eteonicus in charge as secretary/admiral") instead of simply ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον προστάξας ("put Eteonicus in charge")—that is, if the function of ἐπιστολεύς already existed?

Following the naval engagement at Cynossema in 411, the Peloponnesians, after sailing to Elaeus to retrieve their ships that had been captured but remained undamaged and had not been burned by the inhabitants of Elaeus, "despatched Hippocrates and Epicles to Euboea to fetch the squadron from that island" (8.107.2). Here too Thucydides does not indicate what, if any, official position either Hippocrates or Epicles might have held at the time. One could easily imagine them functioning on behalf of the ναύαρχος, namely, as his second-in-command. But Thucydides appears to know nothing of an ἐπιστολεύς functioning in that capacity.

How is one, then, to explain the sudden appearance of this term in Xenophon, not least in light of an interval of approximately only six months between the point where Thucydides' narrative breaks off and Xenophon's account begins, as well as the fact that it is virtually only Xenophon who uses the term? Moreover, five years after the last event recounted by Thucydides the term appears to have acquired, at least on the surface, the sense in which it is invariably translated—namely, *vice-admiral.*

Thanks to the less than sterling performance of Eteonicus,[4] the Chians and other allies[5] assembled at Ephesus sent word to Sparta clamouring for

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[4] Hitherto he had distinguished himself chiefly by reason of his mediocrity. We encounter him first when Astyochus sends him by land from Lesbos with the hoplites from his own ships to Antissa (Thuc. 8.23.4). At Thasos, where he was *harmost* in 410, he was driven off the island, together with the Spartan sympathisers (Xen. *Hell.*1.1.32). In 406, on the eve of the battle of Arginusae, Callicratidas, the Spartan ναύαρχος ("admiral") leaves fifty ships behind at Mytilene with Eteonicus as commander (ἄρχοντα, Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.26). Xenophon does not specify what his task with these ships was to be. According to Diodorus, he left him "with the land troops in charge of the siege" (ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας μετὰ τῆς πεζῆς, 13.97.3). This, in the circumstances, was a relatively easy project—that is, until he received the news that Callicratidas had fallen overboard and disappeared in the sea, and that the Spartans had otherwise lost the battle, including seventy-seven ships (compared with a loss of twenty-five for the Athenians). He therefore chose not to engage the approaching Athenians, and managed to escape by a half-clever ruse (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.33, 36-38)—but was in fact only saved by the wind and a heavy storm [ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν, "wind and rain," Xen. ; cf. Diod. Sic. 13.100.3). At Chios in 406, Xenophon indicates his position as follows: Οἱ . . . μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται ("the troops that were under Eteonicus," 2.1.1). Accordingly, his

Lysander to be sent out to command the fleet.[6] This, however, posed a problem, since it was against the law at Sparta for anyone to hold the office of ναύαρχος twice. The Spartans got round this by, as it were, "the stroke of a pen": οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον ("and the Lacedaemonians granted them Lysander as vice-admiral, but made Aracus admiral," (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.7).[7] Plutarch followed Xenophon: τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐπιστολέα . . . ἐξέπεμψαν ("the Lacedaemonians sent out Lysander as vice-admiral," *Lys.* 7.2). Diodorus, however, states that the Spartans sent Lysander out as a private individual, but elected Aracus as *navarch* and instructed him to do whatever Lysander requested (Ἄρακων μὲν εἵλοντο ναύαρχον τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἰδιώτην αὐτῷ συνεξέπεμψαν προστάξαντες ἀκούειν ἁπαντα τούτου, "chose Aracus as admiral but sent Lysander with him as an ordinary citizen, commanding Aracus to follow the advice of Lysander in every matter," 13.100.8).

Before commenting in detail on this case, we may consider the remaining instances in which Xenophon refers to the term. At Aegina in 389 BC, when Eteonicus again put in an unexceptional performance, the Spartans sent out Hierax as ναύαρχος (ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἱέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται,

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official position is not indicated. These στρατιῶται were presumably the survivors from the battle at Arginusae, which he seems to have collected and taken to Chios. With resources cut off by Cyrus, Eteonicus was clearly not very resourceful on his own. During the remainder of the summer, the men succeeded in surviving by hiring themselves out to the local Chians. With the onset of winter, however, they found themselves down to no food, no clothes and no shoes. In desperation, a number of them entered into a plot to attack the city of Chios. Confronted by this danger, with numerous ramifications, Eteonicus struck down and killed in the street a poor individual (ἀνθρώπῳ) "suffering from ophthalmia" (ὀφθαλμιῶντι, Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.3), whom he chanced to meet as the individual was leaving a doctor's house. Eteonicus engineered this piece of "skulduggery" into inducing the Chians to come up with a month's pay for the men, a circumstance that enabled him to make his "getaway" (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.1-5).

[5] Diodorus designates these as follows: "the inhabitants of Aeolis and Ionia and of the islands which were allies of the Lacedaemonians" (οἱ περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὰς συμμαχούσας Λακεδαιμονίοις, 13.100.7).

[6] According to Xenophon, it was κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν ("as a result of his earlier command, when he won the battle of Notium," *Hell.* 2.1.6). Diodorus broadens this into "many successes" (κατωρθωκὼς ἦν πολλά) and adds that they considered Lysander "to excel all others in skill as a general" (διφθέρειν στρατηγίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων, 13.100.7).

[7] On ναυαρχία ("command of a fleet") see G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* III (Gotha 1904) 1429 n. 3). Sealey has argued that the office of ναυαρχία had just been limited to an annual magistracy (R. Sealey, "Die spartanische Nauarchie," *Klio* 58 (1976) 335-58). According to Andrewes, the corollary of this would be that the office "was not iterable" (A. Andrewes, *CAH* 5^2 [1992] 489 n. 49).

"Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral," Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.3). What Eteonicus' official position was prior to Hierax's arrival is not clear. Within the same context we are told that Hierax soon decided to leave Aegina and sail back to Rhodes with the bulk of the fleet, but left behind him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἁρμοστήν ("the *harmost* as his vice-admiral," Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.5).

Meanwhile, the Spartans decided to send out Antalcidas as ναύαρχος, thinking that they would thereby greatly please Tiribazus. Upon arriving at Aegina, Antalcidas "scooped up" Gorgopas and his twelve ships, and sailed for Ephesus. But he had scarcely reached the place, when he sent Gorgopas back to Aegina with his twelve ships (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.6). This seems to suggest that an ἐπιστολεύς could be "shunted about" at the mere whim of a ναύαρχος, and that he was therefore a relatively minor official. Hierax turned the rest of his ships over to Nicolochus τὸν ἐπιστολέα. With his twenty-five ships, Nicolochus embarked on an adventure, aimed at bringing help to the people of Abydus. Before he knew it, however, he found himself blockaded by the Athenian generals in the area, with their thirty-two ships (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.5-7).

As for Gorgopas, upon arriving back at Aegina, after falling in with the Athenian general, Eunomus, he embarked on an adventure of his own, which ended in a débâcle and in which he himself lost his life (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.7-12).

By 393, within the context of the conflict between Pharnabazus and the Spartans, in which Pharnabazus gave Conon substantial funds for the rebuilding of the walls in Athens, Xenophon relates that the Spartans manned a number of ships under the command of Podanemus (ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν, "ships under the command of Podanemus", *Hell.* 4.8.10 He was, however, killed, whereupon Pollis appears to have taken over, on the ground that he was ἐπιστολεύς. When he was wounded, however, and returned home,[8] Herippidas took over: Ἡριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ("Herippidas took command of these ships," Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.11).

These additional instances seem to bear out the idea of an ἐπιστολεύς functioning in place of a ναύαρχος. But how does one obatin *vice-admiral* from ἐπιστολεύς? [9] It is of course obvious that ἐπιστολεύς is closely related to ἐπιστολή (ἐπιστέλλω, meaning "*anything sent by a messenger, message, order, commission,* whether verbal or in writing."[10] Etymologically, then,

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[8] Pollis was later, in 376, appointed ναύαρχος, but was promptly defeated in a naval engagement with the Athenians (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.61).

[9] Pollux, clearly following Xenophon, explained ἐπιστολεύς as follows: οὕτω ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναύαρχος ("this was the name given to the individual who succeeded the *navarch* in command of the fleet," 1.96).

[10] *LSJ s.v.* ἐπιστολή.

ἐπιστολεύς should mean someone who issues a message or an order or a commission. There does indeed appear to be a connection between such a notion and the first instance in which it appears in respect of the Spartans. Following the disastrous battle of Cyzicus (for the Spartans) in 410 BC, a "letter" (γράμματα) was sent to Sparta by Hippocrates, ἐπιστολέως τοῦ Μινδάρου ("the secretary/vice-admiral of Mindarus"). This letter was intercepted and sent to Athens. The ultra-terse dispatch read:

> Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα.
> πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.
> (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.23f.)
> The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead.
> The men are hungry. We don't know what to do.

In this instance, as in others where ἐπιστολεύς appears, it is, as already indicated above, translated as "vice-admiral."[11] At least on the surface, however, there do not appear to be any grounds for translating the term as "vice-admiral."[12] To paraphrase the question: how do we get from ἐπιστολή = *message*—ἐπιστολεύς = *secretary* to *vice-admiral* within the space of scarcely six months—that is, from Thucydides, where it is never found, to Xenophon, who is the only one to use the term?

In the first instance in which it appears in Xenophon, involving the famous message after Cyzicus, while Hippocrates clearly seems to have replaced the slain Mindarus, the idea of *secretary* is unmistakably the predominant notion. If for the sake of argument we accept Xenophon as correctly representing the actual existence of the office of ἐπιστολεύς in the Spartan scheme of things, we may also accept Grote as having probably already provided the best formulation, when referring to Lysander: "the title of secretary invested with all the real powers of command."[13]

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[11] Cf. C. L. Brownson, *Xenophon. Hellenica* 1: *Books I-IV* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960) 11; P. Krentz, *Xenophon: Hellenika I-II.3.10* (Warminster 1989) 25; Krentz accepts ἐπιστολεύς as the equivalent of "vice-admiral" at face value—that is, as if it posed no question whatsoever (cf. Krentz [above, this note] 100).

[12] As in the case of the *proconsul* in Latin, so in Greek, one might more logically expect something like ἀντιναύαρχος to indicate *vice-admiral* (cf., for instance, the discussion on ἀντιβασιλεύς (Latin *interrex*, "deputy king/governor"), ἀντιστράτηγος (Latin *pro consule, pro praetore*, "deputy governor"), and ἀνθύπατος (Latin *pro consule*, "proconsul") by H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* [Toronto 1974] 104-07). While all of Mason's instances are later than our context, such terms as ἀντιστράτηγος ("deputy governor") and ἀντιναύαρχος ("deputy admiral") could easily have been created towards the end of the fifth century, had the circumstances called for them at that time.

[13] G. Grote, *History of Greece* 7 (London 1850) 287.

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One may therefore offer the following as a tentative model on how the rôle of *secretary* developed into something akin to *vice-admiral*. When for the Spartans the theatre of the war shifted from the Greek mainland across the Aegean, they found themselves confronted by two major disadvantages. In the first place, the new situation involved a shift from (for them) basically a land war to chiefly naval warfare. Secondly, there was the problem of directing the enterprise, which became a highly complex affair, from a distance. There would clearly have been need for sending numerous messages back and forth—the more so in view of Sparta's lack of experience in naval affairs.[14] A particular individual in charge of this department—in other words, a *secretary*—would be completely understandable. Such an individual would at the same time acquire first-hand intimate knowledge of the war effort, and could therefore under certain circumstances be appointed to stand in for the ναύαρχος. It is just possible that such a change came about under Astyochus in late 411/early 410.

At the same time, it is not difficult to appreciate that a secretarial function and military expertise cannot easily be blended in one individual, least of all in a very short space of time. It is therefore scarcely surprising that in not a single instance does an ἐπιστολεύς appear to have distinguished himself as a military commander. Indeed, they all appear to have been essentially mediocre in this respect, most emphatically illustrated by the clamour for Lysander to replace someone like Eteonicus. In view of the dearth of Spartan expertise in respect of conducting naval warfare, especially under great pressure, the elevating of *secretaries* to the rôle of ναύαρχος was clearly an experimental move made under great pressure, one that did not prove to be a great success. It is doubtless for this reason that it appears essentially transitory in nature, and therefore had only a relatively short life—no more than several decades. For this reason too it is not surprising that in the last reference to it by Xenophon the secretarial aspect once again appears to be predominant. At the time of the wholesale assault on Corcyra in 373, under the command of the less than outstanding

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[14] That messages were sent back and forth is clearly indicated by the reference to "the letters [ἐπιστολάς] sent by Pedaritus" (Thuc. 8.39.2). There were also dispatches (ἐπιστολάς/ἀγγέλους, "letters"/"messengers") between Pedaritus and Astyochus in the field (Thuc. 8.33.3; 40.1), as well as between the Chians and Pedaritus, on the one side, and, on the other, Astyochus (ἀγγέλους, Thuc. 8.40.1). Later, in 412, there was a spate of complicated communications between Phrynichus and Astyochus, Astyochus and Alcibiades and the authorities at Samos: κρύφα ἐπιστείλας ("sent a secret message", Thuc. 8.50.2); γράμματα ("letter" of Alcibiades to the authorities at Samos, Thuc. 8.50.4); ἐπιστέλλει, γράψας ("sent a message," "wrote", Phrynichus' second letter to Astyochus, Thuc. 8.50.5); (Astyochus' second letter to Alcibiades, Thuc. 8.50.5), ἐπιστολήν ("letter," Athenian anticipation at Samos of Alcibiades' letter, Thuc. 8.51.1); ἐπιστολαί ("letters," arrival of Alcibiades' letter, Thuc. 8.51.2). These no doubt represent merely the tip of the iceberg.

Mnasippus (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.4-31), after he had been killed, Hypermenes took his place—as ἐπιστολαφόρος (6.2.25). For this word, *LSJ* suggests *bearer of dispatches*.[15] The use of the terms ἐπιστολεύς, ἐπιστολαφόρος ("secretary", "letter-carrier") here and Hypermenes' incompetence when attempting to function as a ναύαρχος illustrate unequivocally that the functions of *secretary* and ναυαρχία ("command of a fleet") need to be kept strictly apart.[16]

In conclusion, when the Sicilian Expedition ended in disaster for the Athenians, the Spartans had no "back-up" plan with which to move forward. They proceeded in *ad hoc* fashion as the prospect of a quick end to the war emerged on the horizon. This, however, per force compelled them to embark on a chiefly naval war, and this, overseas. For such an enterprise they were wholly unprepared. The real key to success here was military leadership in the form of ναυαρχία. This is demonstrated most clearly by the case of Lysander. He at the same time illustrates most emphatically that any such tactic as attempting to substitute an ἐπιστολεύς for a ναύαρχος was a "half-baked," desperate measure. It can be no accident that we never hear of an ἐπιστολεύς at Athens being elevated to a ναύαρχος.

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[15] Cf. *LSJ s.v.* ἐπιστολαφόρος. For ἐπιστοληφόρος/ἐπιστολαφόρος *LSJ* suggests *letter-carrier* (*LSJ s.v.* ἐπιστοληφόρος/ἐπιστολαφόρος). Hypermenes, it seems, would have done much better to have remained "behind the desk," for his performance on Corcyra upon substituting for Mnasippus left even more to be desired. After loading all the available transports with the slaves and captured property, and sending them off, he took the surviving marines and soldiers, and initially guarded the stockade, but then embarked many of the marines and soldiers who had not been killed—all in great confusion—and then sailed off, in great disarray, "leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine and many slaves and sick soldiers" (πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλιπόντες, Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.25f.). A clear indication of how unsuited ἐπιστολαί (*secretaries*) were to take over military command from ναύαρχοι!

[16] The suggestion has been made that the case of Lysander is foreshadowed by an instance in 425, namely, at Pylos, as reported by Thucydides: "Since Epitadas, the first of the previous commanders, had been killed, and Hippagetas, the next in command, left for dead among the slain, though still alive; and thus the command devolved upon Styphon according to the law in the case of anything happening to his superiors" (τῶν πρότερον ἀρχόντων τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τεθνηκότος, Ἐπιτάδου, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἱππαγρέτου ἐφῃρημένου ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔτι ζῶντος κειμένου ὡς τεθεῶτος, αὐτὸς τρίτος ἐφῃρημένος ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τι ἐκεῖνοι πάσχοιεν, Thuc. 4.38.1). Cf. E. Zant, *RE* 6.1 (1907) 202-20 *s.v.* Ἐπιστολεύς.

PROPERTIUS 2.26B, THEOCRITUS' *IDYLL* 11, AND EPIC POETRY

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Abstract. In Propertius 2.26b the poet has gained his love and happily imagines sailing on a voyage with her. There are elements of the *propemptikon* and the *komos*, but bucolic poetry and epic predominate. Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 is the primary model and there are echoes of *Idyll* 7. Propertius believes he is charming and that his songs won his girl; he is a hero who will endure all for love. Propertius may only be dreaming but he honors true love and needs no cure.

1

Scholarship on Propertius 2.26 has primarily been concerned with the question of the length of the poem; it is necessary, before any discussion of content can take place, to define the exact perimeters of the elegy.[1] Although an argument has been made for unity, some scholars separate the first twenty verses, treating them as an independent poem on the basis of thematic elements, although none of the manuscripts indicate a division between lines 20 and 21.[2] A case can be made for connections between the two parts of the elegy, which are here referred to as 2.26a and 2.26b. But since the themes and the attitude of the poet in the two parts are so different and since the transition between lines 20 and 21

[1] The Latin text of Propertius is that of P. Fedeli (ed.), *Propertius* (Stuttgart 1984). The text of Theocritus is A. S. F. Gow (ed.) *Theocritus* 1–2 (Cambridge 1950).

[2] Fedeli's edition [1] keeps the poem in one part; I use his numbering beginning with line 21. but use 2.26b to refer to lines 21-51. R. Hanslik (ed.), *Propertius* (Leipzig 1979) divides it into two parts, 2.26a (1-20) and 2.26b (21-58), as do H. E. Butler (ed.), *Sexti Properti Opera Omnia* (London 1905), who notes that both poems are about dreams but the situations are different, H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber (edd.), *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933), and M. Rothstein (ed.), *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius* (Berlin 1898). E. A. Barber, *Sexti Properti Carmina* (Oxford 1953), W. Camps, *Propertius: Elegies Book II* (Cambridge 1967), J. C. Giardina, *Sex. Properti Elegiarium Liber II* (Torino 1977), and G. Goold, *Propertius: Elegies* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990) all consider Prop. 2.26 to consist of three separate poems: 2.26a (1-20), 2.26b (21-28), and 2.26c (29-58). T. D. Papanghelis, *Propertius: A Hellenistic Poet on Love and Death* (Cambridge 1987) 81 finds that thematic elements cast doubt on unity. C. W. Macleod, "Propertius 2.26," *Symbolae Osloenses* 51 (1976) 131-36, however, makes a case for unity by stressing the elements of the *propemptikon* in each, and G. Williams, *Figures of Thought in Roman Poetry* (New Haven 1980) 129f. says that themes in the first part "legitimate" the second part.

is so abrupt and striking,[3] *Elegy* 2.26 seems to consist of two distinct poems whose overlapping concerns are no different than those of other elegies that are side-by-side in the manuscripts. Therefore, I consider only 2.26b (2.26.21-58), examining its style of composition and relationship to Alexandrian and epic verse.

Propertius 2.26b is remarkable because it draws upon Alexandrian techniques and themes, in particular, those of Theocritus' *Idyll* 11. Within what is formally an elegy, conflicts of generic content are evident as elements of bucolic and epic poetry vie with material traditionally found in more conventional examples of the elegiac genre.[4] In 2.26b Propertius stretches the boundaries of genre with the tension he creates through the introduction of references to other genres. As is the case with many Roman poets, Greek and Alexandrian models form the basis for new explorations derived from new combinations of poetic elements. In 2.26b the personal voice so common in Latin verse is blended with stylized Alexandrian bucolic, epyllia, and mythology in such a way that it creates a new type of poem in which the distinction between the formal and the individual is fused,[5] and the inclusion of the traditional serves to emphasize the poet's expression of personal emotion. The elegy is also noteworthy because it marks a departure in perspective, tone, and content from other poems of the Propertian corpus.

Roman elegy commonly includes elements of what Cairns calls the specialized literary and rhetorical genres, which he bases upon the classifications of the scholars of the late empire. Examination of the relationship of standard elements of these genres with the traditional genre of elegy can be particularly helpful in understanding poetic techniques and purposes in Roman elegy. These standard elements of Cairns' genres are recognizable when they are incorporated within a Roman elegy, though they are subordinated to elegy itself, usually because they indicate one particular genre that dominates the elegy.[6]

But in Propertius 2.26b the specialized genres are only hinted at; they fail to appear and only a few *topoi* are left from them instead. One would expect Propertius' poem to be a *propemptikon* because it contains the theme of the voyage. But the only elements of the *propemptikon* that Propertius includes are the impending voyage, some description of a land that the travelers might visit,

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[3] Butler and Barber [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26a.1.

[4] Aristophanes of Byzantium categorized the ancient authors by the genres of iambic, lyric, elegiac, tragedy, comedy, and epic (R. Pfeffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1968) 204-07.

[5] J. P. Sullivan, *Propertius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge 1976) 117.

[6] F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972) 158.

and a brief reference to the possible dangers of the voyage. Although the poet seems to insert a hymn to the sea god Neptune, which is standard at the close of a *propemptikon*,[7] there is no praise of the sea gods or pleas to them for protection. The "hymn" is reduced to mention of the erotic deeds of the god Neptune—deeds suitable for mention in an elegy but not in a prayer for safety at sea—without any accompanying praise or prayer, the more important hymnic parts. The elements of the *propemptikon* are also reversed to such an extent that it is nearly obliterated. It is traditional for a *propemptikon*'s speaker to bid farewell to a friend and to express his fears about travel; although he may take the unusual step of accompanying the friend, this is a variation that still includes some hesitation (e.g., Hor. *Ep.* 1).[8] But in Propertius 2.26b the speaker expresses no reluctance whatsoever about joining his mistress on the voyage and is so satisfied with his love that he does not worry about any possible dangers. The description of the places to be visited are not typical remarks about actual geographic places on a set route but are merely potential seashores and landscapes of imagination. Furthermore, a *propemptikon* requires a wish for a good voyage, but in Propertius' elegy the speaker/poet does not wish for what he assumes will in fact happen. He does not require or request the help of the gods because be is so certain that all will be well and does not care if it is not.

One might expect Propertius 2.26b to be a *komos* because of its affinities with Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 (discussed below). But only a few minor komastic elements are included and no definite *komos* is formed. Although the poet mentions his own appearance and refers to giving gifts to his beloved, the primary komastic elements are reversed or are missing. There is no door or other place to address, no pleas to win over a lover because Cynthia has already capitulated, no references to the pains of love or the cruelty of the beloved because the speaker/poet has won her favor, and no need for an offer of gifts because those have already been given in the past, to the pleasure of the beloved. Although there are elements of a reversed *komos*, it is not the only model for Propertius' poem.

The genre of the *prosphonetikon*, the speech of welcome to a traveler upon his safe arrival home, is distorted beyond recognition in Propertius by the speaker's meditation on the possibility of shipwreck. Even the genre that Cairns calls the "inverse *epibaterion*," the speech of dismay upon being shipwrecked (e.g., Prop. 1.17, which is a reversal of the standard speech of a traveller upon safe arrival)[9]—is only alluded to and is so changed that it forms, if anything, a

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[7] Cairns [6] 115, 117, 121, 130.

[8] Cairns [6] 141.

[9] Cairns [6] 60f., 65. But Propertius has metaphorically "arrived" at his goal of Cynthia's love, so perhaps the *epibaterion* is an influence on 2.26b.

"reversed inverse *epibaterion*"—a speech of gladness at the possibility of being shipwrecked and even killed! The shipwreck poem itself is a *topos* that approximates a genre (e.g., Leonidas of Tarentum, *Anth. Pal.* 7.273;[10] *Anth. Pal.* 7.652;[11] Callimachus, *Anth. Pal.* 7.271;[12] Perses, *Anth. Pal.* 7.501;[13] Archilochus fr. 13[14]). It may be traced to the *Odyssey* (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 5.291-473). But in Greek and Roman poetry shipwreck is something fearsome; death at sea was universally dreaded, and only the Argonautic myth speaks of a voyage by two lovers. Propertius in 2.26b vividly departs both from poetic convention and classical culture when he flouts fears of shipwreck and death at sea.

Although Cairns asserts that the main *topoi* that distinguish genres cannot move freely among genres, though lesser *topoi* can,[15] and that when material from different genres is found included within one poem, material from one genre is of greater importance than the others,[16] in this elegy none of the genres that Cairns identifies can be said to predominate. What remains in Propertius 2.26b is a mixture of reversed elements of the *komos* and of lesser *topoi* from various specialized genres, which are mingled together in an elegy; none of them, however, are strong enough to signify one particular genre within the elegy. Cairns asserts that originality in generic composition may consist of introducing new *topoi* into a genre, the choice and arrangement of standard *topoi* of a particular genre, and alterations of a single *topos*.[17] But in this elegy Propertius has selected and combined *topoi* from several genres without giving one prominence and he seems, by omitting some *topoi* and altering others, to be trying to create a new genre that is *sui generis*. As a result, looking to specialized genres provides little assistance in understanding Propertius 2.26b, beyond indicating the poet's independence and novelty. One must consider instead the major genres, bucolic and epic, and their relation to the poem.

Halperin identifies genre as a "system of conventions" that determine the form, content, and style of a work.[18] Since Theocritus in *Idyll* 7 uses the word

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[10] = A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (edd.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* 1 (Cambridge 1965) 2345-350. Unless indicated otherwise, references to the *Anthologia Palatina* in this article are from the edition by W. R. Paton (ed. and tr.), *The Greek Anthology* 1-5 (Cambridge, Mass. 1948-53).

[11] = Gow and Page [10] 2040-047.

[12] = Gow and Page [10] 1245-248.

[13] = Gow and Page [10] 2871-874.

[14] M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* 1 (Oxford 1989).

[15] Cairns [6] 6, 99.

[16] Cairns [6] 158.

[17] Cairns [6] 99.

[18] D. M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven 1983) 77.

boukolikas to refer to the song of Lycidas, Halperin suggests that bucolic poetry is poetry connected with the amatory *propemptikon* (rather than merely possessing a rustic setting) because that is what Lycidas' song is.[19] Other bucolic conventions include: the exchange of songs, the reworking of myths,[20] the use of Homeric language and heroic themes in everyday and amatory situations,[21] and a delight in poetic skill and symmetry. These are conventions that are commonly found in Propertius' elegies, especially 2.26b. Propertius himself acknowledges a debt not only to Callimachus but to Philetas of Coas (e.g., Prop. 2.34.31; 3.1.1; 3.2.52) and to Vergil's *Eclogues* (Prop. 2.34.67-80); and pastoral elegies, such as Bion's *Lament for Adonis* and the *Lament for Bion*,[22] may have influenced Propertius.

Halperin suggests that one of the attributes of bucolic (which includes some of the non-pastoral poems) is mixing together elements of many genres, a poetic technique favored by the Alexandrians and that frequently occurs in bucolic poetry.[23] Theocritus' *Idyll* 7, for example, includes several genres: the amatory *propemptikon*, the *prosphonetikon,* the song-within-a song, the *komos*.[24] Another bucolic technique is the inversion of heroic themes that are removed from epic and used in new and unusual settings. Since Propertius mixes elements of genres, refers to poetic song, and introduces epic elements into his love poem, bucolic poetry is a suitable model for Propertius 2.26b.

2

Propertius' *Elegy* 2.26b is quite different from many of his other poems. Propertius' usual address to his mistress or to some friend has been abandoned in favor of a general narrative addressed either to some unknown, to the reader, or to an entire audience. This address, however, gradually changes and near the poem's end turns into the poet's direct remarks to Cynthia—presumably his true addressee all along (Prop. 2.26b.44). This shift in point of view is rare in

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[19] Halperin [18] 120f.; J. Van Sickle, "Theocritus and the Development of the Conception of Bucolic Genre," *Ramus* 5 (1976) 18-44, 23; Theoc. *Id.* 7.36, 49.

[20] Halperin [18] 124-26.

[21] Halperin [18] 178, 219.

[22] Halperin [18] 132f.; also Verg. *Ecl.* 10.

[23] Halperin [18] 123, 132, 142, 203-05, 206f., 221; A. Couat (tr. J. Loeb), *Alexandrian Poetry Under the First Three Ptolemies 324-222 B.C.* (London 1931) 84, 419, 457, 565. Bucolic poetry appears to have developed from the epic hexameter (Halperin [18] 142f.).

[24] Cairns [6] 163f., 202-04.

Propertius who is usually consistent and precise about his addressee.[25] The content of the elegy is also different: instead of repeating many of his common themes, Propertius has changed his attitude about them and if they are introduced, it is in a new and contradictory way. The poet's usual pose is one of marginalization: he is typically on the edge, looking at a situation that is either desired or feared. He longs for physical and emotional unity with his love; he fears separation from her either by distance, infidelity, lack of interest, or death. Propertius often is separated from people physically; in many poems he is speaking to friends who are away on trips overseas, or in the country, at Baiae, or at war. He is also distanced poetically and politically: he refuses to write epic, expressing Callimachean ideals, and he attempts not to be drawn into the composition of political panegyric. Many other themes that are related to this sense of being on the edge are common in Propertian poetry. For example, fears of sea travel, drowning, storms, ships, and death are typical. All of these anxieties involve, in some way, a change in the poet's situation or an attempt, movement, or risk on the part of the poet. They are indications that the poet is looking at some other situation apart from his own that he dares not approach and from which he must keep himself removed.

This elegy, then, is a surprise because it contains a reversal of standard Propertian thought. The entire poem consists of a wish or a potential situation in the future, and in this idealized, longed-for situation all that Propertius is either accustomed to feel or to fear has been conquered and abandoned. He has attained the physical and emotional unity with his mistress so often sought. Propertius no longer fears death, travel, or the sea; instead, he visualizes traveling onboard ship in the company of Cynthia. He does not dread rejection, or derision from his mistress—she is completely satisfied with him and his love. "I don't care" (*licet*, Prop. 2.26b.35, 42, 44), declares the poet, if terrible things happen. He means, of course, he cannot fear terrible things as long as the potential is in fact fulfilled—that is, if he were able to be in such a situation as is depicted in the poem and to have attained unity with his beloved. There is a certain light-heartedness of tone in this poem that may be traced to Alexandrian models and which in itself is unusual for Propertius.[26] In particular, as Cairns

[25] Some exceptions are Prop. 2.3, 2.9, 2.28a, and 2.33 where the poet make a major shift in his address (as opposed to a brief invocation) and speaks to Cynthia midway through the remainder of the poem. This is a particular characteristic of the poems of book 2.

[26] Cairns [6] 27f. says about Theoc. *Id.* 7.52-57: "The normal propemptic speaker utters good wishes for the departing traveller. But Lycidas, instead of wishing Ageanax a good voyage . . . states that he will have a good voyage. . . . Whereas the normal propemptic speaker utters unconditional good wishes, Lycidas makes statements about Ageanax's future, statements which he then proceeds to make conditional on Ageanax favouring himself."

remarks, the notion of going into the country with a mistress or in order to be with a mistress is an Alexandrian motif and is found in a number of poems of Tibullus (1.1; 1.5; 2.1; 2.5) as well as in Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and Propertius 2.19.[27] Yet, in this elegy there is again a reversal of the typical: Propertius will join his mistress not in the country or even on land, but at sea. There he fashions his own imaginary and artificial "landscape" of bucolic delight. That which was once the most fearsome and unnatural (i.e., the sea) becomes the ideal and longed-for place of paradise, and the region that so often means death and misery for humans is transformed into an "oasis" of serenity and peace. Propertius situates the ideal spot for his life with Cynthia at sea perhaps because, as in *Elegy* 2.19, such a simple existence in such an isolated location can provide no distractions, flatterers, amusements, or other lovers to tempt her.

3

The beginning of Propertius' elegy indicates that the poem is a fantasy. The poet, both at beginning and end, insists upon his sexual attractiveness: he is "served" (*serviat*, Prop. 2.26b.22) by a beautiful girl, he is "powerful" (*potens*, 22), and he would die happy in her arm (57f.). But since the rest of the poem is a wish in the future, these very declarations are themselves suspect as being mere wishful thinking on the part of the poet. *Elegy* 2.26b forms a dream or a construction of an imaginary world (just as the twenty verses of 2.26a do—a major connection between the two poems). This elegy does not contain and portray the factual, but rather the imaginary and the possibly untrue. Its artificiality is acknowledged and indicated by the poet at the very beginning of the poem through the playful and somewhat humorous opening lines. Because the poem is a fantasy or artifice, it contains suggestions of pictorial art and of the drama, primarily through its construction of an imaginary world that the reader is invited to "view." Propertius reveals himself to be very aware of the dramatic setting of his verses: the same opening lines boast that people "should admire" (*admirentur*, 21) him because he is "spoken about throughout the whole city" (*tota dicar in urbe*, 22). The subject of *admirentur* is a general "they"[28] and the poet/speaker is conscious of an audience watching and bestowing its approval for his romantic success.

This form of opening recalls that of Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and the prologue to the song of Polyphemus, where the narrator speaks to his friend Nicias about

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Propertius goes one step beyond Theocritus because he is so confident about Cynthia's love that he makes statements about a good voyage that are not conditional at all.

[27] F. Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979) 39.

[28] Camps [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26b.21.

the Cyclops and his unsuccessful love. Theocritus provides an audience—the narrator who introduces the poem and who watches, reports, and derides Polyphemus' attempts at love and song. But the audience is more than just the narrator: narrator, Nicias, and reader all watch and listen to Polyphemus as he "performs" his song for Galatea. There is also another possible audience, the nymph Galatea herself, to whom the Cyclops' song is addressed, although she is unresponsive. Many dramatic elements in Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 combine with the first-person song of Polyphemus and contribute to the creation of an artificial fantasy world within the idyll. Theocritus, through this use of the frame, is able to distance himself from the comic figure of Polyphemus in love. Yet at the same time he also draws an explicit parallel between himself as love poet and the emotional, poetic Cyclops, and by doing so Theocritus suggests that the similarity between Polyphemus and himself is one of creation, artificiality, imagination, and emotion.[29]

This notion of an audience or viewer is important for Propertius' *Elegy* 2.26b. But although Propertius insists upon an audience for 2.26b, it is a much more limited one than that formed from the more elaborate levels of perspective in Theocritus' idyll. Many Roman elegies, although they are "personal monologues" like the song of the Cyclops in *Idyll* 11, lack a narrative portion,[30] and this elegy likewise consists of only song, without formal frame. The audience for *Elegy* 2.26b consists only of the people Propertius imagines observing him at the poem's beginning, the reader, and through direct address at the poem's end, the poet's lover Cynthia. All the same, one of the most important elements in Propertius' elegy is his specific creation of a setting in which Propertius believes that others "watch" and judge his actions. Similar language is used in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 at the singing contest when the narrator relates that Simichades says that "everyone says that Lycidas is the best piper" (φαντί τυ πάντες / ἦμεν συρικτὰν μέγ' ὑπειροχον, Theoc. *Id.* 7.27f.; my emphasis) and Simichades adds that "all say that he himself is the best singer" (κἠμὲ λέγοντι / πάντες ἀοιδὸν ἄριστον, Theoc. *Id.* 7.37f.; my emphasis). It is important for bucolic poets to be appreciated by an audience. The Theocritean complexity and interest in creation, artifice, and audience are present in Propertius 2.26b.

Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 includes within it the song of Polyphemus to his beloved in which he declares that he can pipe better than all the Cyclops (Theoc. *Id.* 11.38). Songs of love are central to bucolic poetry and are indications of bucolic poetry's affinities with elegy. Propertius refers to his own songs for

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[29] Simon Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge 1991) 251 who notes that the frame makes the poem complex.

[30] Cairns [27] 134.

Cynthia near the beginning of his elegy and declares that Cynthia recites his verse and honors his songs more than any other *girl* (*nam mea cum recitat, dicit se odisse beatos: / carmina tam sancte nulla puella colit*, "whenever she recites my verses she says that she hates wealthy men: no other girl honors songs so reverently," Prop. 2.26b.25f.). Since Propertius also "quotes" Cynthia speaking *verse* (*non . . . dicat "De nostro, surge, poeta toro,"* "she never would say 'rise, poet, from my bed,'" Prop. 2.26b.23f.), he suggests that he and Cynthia form a pair of "singers" who compose, compete at, discuss, and appreciate poetry, like the singers in some of Theocritus' idylls. There is also an echo of *Idyll* 7.49-51 where Lycidas asks the poem's narrator if he likes Lycidas' poem. Propertius, likewise, cares about the response of his audience. But Propertius does not need to ask Cynthia if she approves his songs because be is confident that she does. Propertius is more fortunate than Polyphemus in his choice of companion.

Propertius 2.26b and Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 intersect in other thematic and stylistic ways since *Idyll* 11 provides many parallels for Propertius' elegy. Propertius limits and shapes these, as the Roman poets always adapted their Greek models. Part of the charm of Propertius' poem is derived from his playful inversion of the Theocritean and Alexandrian motifs found in *Idyll* 11. One of the most important consists of the depictions of the characters of the "poet" Polyphemus and the speaker/poet Propertius. Polyphemus is idealistic and hopeful, like Propertius, but he is an unsuccessful lover. The attractiveness of Theocritus' poem lies in this very contrast between the clumsy and uncharming Cyclops and his attempts at love poetry in order to win the love of his favorite sea nymph. Polyphemus is painfully aware both of his lack of success and that he is an object of ridicule. Yet Polyphemus somehow manages to compose elegant verse. Propertius, when he adopts this Theocritean model, casts himself in the role of Polyphemus. Propertius, however, portrays himself as a successful and handsome "Cyclops."

The influence of *Idyll* 11 helps to explain the formal structure of *Elegy* 2.26b and the poet's shifting address. Propertius first speaks to an audience and Cynthia is spoken about in the third person (Prop. 2.26b.21f., 25, 26, *illa*, "she," 41). Then he directly addresses his love (44), and at the poem's conclusion there is a song-within-a-song for Cynthia (53-58), just as Polyphemus switches to an address to himself at the end of his own song (Theoc. *Id.* 11.72-79). A change in addressee is also found in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7;[31] and this is a characteristic of bucolic and Alexandrian poetry.

There are three major areas of similarity and difference between the two poems. One is pictorial, one is emotional or temperamental, and one is structural or organizational. In *Idyll* 11 the narrator reports the words and describes the

[31] Cairns [6] 203, 226.

actions of Polyphemus that the reader must visualize, and in *Elegy* 2.26b Propertius describes his own actions, which he says are viewed by others. Both Polyphemus and Propertius sing of lovers who are depicted for the reader only through the poets' perspective; and each relies on visual elements in order to create a picture for the reader.[32] In *Idyll* 11, Polyphemus presents a portrait of Galatea that includes colors (milk-white; more sleek than grape), landscape (flowers), and action (fleeing). Propertius also describes his lover Cynthia and her surroundings, but he does so through abstract qualities, saying that she is beautiful and faithful. Propertius concentrates on creating a picture of a voyage that becomes a mini-epic. Most of his description is active, rather than static, although a bit of landscape is present. While Polyphemus describes the beauty both of Galatea and of the surrounding countryside, Propertius does not mention the physical beauty of Cynthia beyond one word in his first line (*pulchra*, "beautiful," Prop. 2.26b.21) and he only briefly introduces the trees, spring, and shore of the pastoral landscape (31f.). While Polyphemus' song has been interpreted either as a song in praise of beauty as an ideal or as an Epicurean rejection of images,[33] Propertius in his song concentrates upon "fidelity" (*fides*, Prop. 2.26b.27), *fidos* ("true lovers," 30), and "love" (*in amore*, 27; *amare*, 28; *amantis*, 33; *amori*, 45; *in amore*, 46) and he does not acknowledge that his fantasy is either something merely visual or unreal. Propertius is far less interested in the external beauty of Cynthia (cf. Prop. 1.2), although he includes descriptions of other things, and he appears to contrast the visually beautiful but false and the real, which he associates with his love, just as he contrasts wealthy men with poets (Prop. 2.26b.25-28). Propertius is more concerned with reality and with abstract ethical qualities which, even within his fantasy context, he considers to be real, than is Polyphemus.

Polyphemus' song is a lament by an unsuccessful lover; it is more lengthy than that of Propertius. Polyphemus mentions the beginnings of his love, his lack of success, his attempts, his failures, reasons why he should succeed, reasons for his failure, and finally he castigates himself for even caring about Galatea in the first place. Each point takes up two or more lines; each usually involves a question directed to the unresponsive Galatea: why, why not etc. Redundancy and repetitiousness are not uncommon in personal monologue,[34] but the unhappiness of the Cyclops prolongs the narrative, which is lengthened by numerous negatives (e.g., Theoc. *Id.* 11.28f.). Polyphemus moves back and forth in time, as when he speaks of his present agony and then remembers the

[32] Cairns [27] 135.

[33] F. Walker, *Theocritus* (Boston 1980) 76-78.

[34] Cairns [27] 134.

happiness of first falling in love (25-29).[35] He also contradicts himself, saying that he would have given Galatea lilies or poppies but it is the wrong season (56-59), and wondering why Galatea shuns him and then blaming his mother (67-69).[36] Polyphemus' discourse expresses the confusion caused by attempting to understand his own love and to leam how to win the love of another.

On the other hand, Propertius is the happy, successful lover—he has no need for laments, expressions of confusion, or negatives, since all for him is serene, resolved, and blissful. Propertius devotes a mere few words or at most a couplet to each point. These usually consist of an abrupt declaration of some good quality or experience that is the reverse of the Cyclops' experience and the contradictory language is absent. Propertius expresses no difficulty comprehending the real state of his relationship with Cynthia—he has either obtained a complete knowledge of the truth or believes that he has done so.

In Theocritus' idyll, portions of Polyphemus' song are distinguished by shifts in tone, thought, and style. There is an abrupt asyndeton at line 11.30, and at line 11.42 a *komos* begins when Galatea is asked to leave the sea.[37] Propertius, although he confines each successive thought to couplets, keeps a uniform tone and perspective by concentrating on the one idea, *being with Cynthia*, continuously. Propertius does shift his perspective and style at line 2.26b.35 when be introduces his mini-epic poem of voyage, which comprises the majority of the elegy. Even this, however, is not an abrupt transition since 2.26b.29-34 had previously introduced the topic, derived from Polyphemus' song (Theoc. *Id.* 11.42-44, 54f., 60-64), of following a lover into unknown situations. The most notable change of point of view occurs when Propertius speaks directly to Cynthia (Prop. 2.26b.44, 53-58), an adaptation of the shift found at the end of Polyphemus' song.

Specific parallels between the characters and words of Polyphemus and Propertius are of two types: direct reversals of situations or of statements and similarities in themes or *topoi*. One of the most important differences lies in the conception of reality that each speaker/"poet" has. Polyphemus describes seeing Galatea picking flowers (Theoc. *Id.* 11.25), says that he sees Galatea in his dreams (22-24), and sings about his dream of Galatea returning his love. In this respect, Polyphemus (at least initially) appears to be able to keep dream and reality quite distinct, and this is the reason for his grief. Propertius, on the other hand, although he seems to speak about facts, so completely combines the reality of Cynthia with his dream of her love that the reader is bewildered and cannot separate reality from fantasy in the elegy. Because Propertius' elegy is

[35] Cairns [27] 135.

[36] Cairns [27] 137, 159.

[37] Cairns [27] 135, 158.

entirely a dream construction, the reader is uncertain if all that is presented as reality is false and if Propertius is even more confused than the Cyclops is or if, indeed, Propertius' situation is as pleasant as he states. Even though Polyphemus tells himself that his wits are wandering (Theoc. *Id.* 11.72), it is possible that Propertius is the one (or another one) who, in fact, cannot distinguish between reality and fantasy, since for Propertius, Cynthia is reality, yet Cynthia is also his dream.[38] In this case, Propertius' lack of self-examination, when viewed in comparison to that of Polyphemus, perhaps contributes irony and humor in *Elegy* 2.26b.

Another major distinction between the two poems occurs in the beginning of *Elegy* 2.26b where Propertius exhibits a persistent optimism unknown to the Cyclops. Polyphemus tries to convince Galatea that he is not ugly or unpleasant. Propertius, however, is confident that he need make no such assurance about himself. Propertius declares that he is strong, admired, that his lover will always be faithful, and that Cynthia shares his belief that love is more important than wealth. This self-confidence appears to be derived equally from success in love and success in poetic appreciation, since while both Polyphemus and Propertius sing to their lovers, only Cynthia is said to respond and to appreciate verse. Although Polyphemus ultimately gains enough confidence from his song to declare that he does not need Galatea and consequently becomes lighthearted (Theoc. *Id.* 11.80f.), this sense of self-esteem and release from care is a product of the abandonment of love, not, as in Propertius' case, from its (imaginary?) fulfillment. At the same time, Propertius' use of the ugly and unsuccessful Polyphemus as a model, when considered in the context of Propertius' unshakable self-assurance, perhaps undercuts Propertius' confident statements about himself as a handsome and successful lover through its suggestion that Propertius is perhaps more Cyclopean than he realizes.

The primary differences between the two poems are found in Propertius' reversal of komastic elements. These include the komast's personal appearance, mention of the pains of the lover, the intensity of the komast's love, the girl's cruelty, and pleas for love.[39] Propertius turns all of these elements into positive declarations of love.

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[38] But Goldhill [29] 251-59 says Polyphemus does not "cure" himself, but instead shows by his song that he is deluded. If so, either both Polyphemus and Propertius are deluded, or Propertius differs Polyphemus through his possession of sanity.

[39] Cairns [6] 146f.

Theocritus, Idyll *11*	*Propertius,* Elegy *26b*
Polyphemus pines while singing (14).	Propertius is *potens* (22).
Why does Galatea repel him who loves her (19)?[40]	Cynthia will never say go away (23f.).
Polyphemus is not strong enough to stop loving (28f.).	Propertius is *potens* (22).
To Galatea, love is as nothing (29).	Cynthia is faithful (23f., 30).
Polyphemus is ugly (30-33).	Propertius is attractive (21f.).
Polyphemus boasts of wealth (34-37).	Cynthia won't put wealth before love (23-25).
Polyphemus is skilled in piping and singing, and sings of Galatea and himself often (34-40), but she does not care and flees (29f.).	Propertius sings to Cynthia and she honors his verses (25f.).
Polyphemus says that he will find another Galatea; many girls like him (76-78).	Propertius asserts that if only Cynthia is always in his sight, he can fear nothing (41-59).

Perhaps the most important distinction between the two poems lies in the attitude of those addressed in song. Cynthia is depicted as pleasant, responsive, unaffected by gain, and faithful. Galatea is completely unimpressed by Polyphemus, so much so that he finally abandons interest in her.

Similarities between the two poems are found in the central portions of both poems and these are all the more striking because of the differences in the *personae* of the two lovers. The similarities lie in each speakers'/"poet's" dreams of a fantasy landscape/world in which his love is fulfilled. In both cases, this ideal world is predicated upon the attainment of the desired beloved, and so for both speakers/"poets" love, at least initially, is the ideal state and when they gain their love they are able to endure everything. Success in love for both will come about by gifts, especially gifts of song, and will occur in a well-landscaped place that poet and lover will then inhabit together. These places, if on land, are characterized by trees and water, shelter, and other amenities. Propertius' verses about lying under a tree near a spring (2.26b.31f.) also echo Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 in which lovers lie under poplar and elm trees with water from a cave nearby (Theoc. *Id.* 7.135-37).

[40] Gow [1] *ad* Theoc. *Id.* 11.19 notes that since Galatea never seems to have accepted Polyphemus as a lover, "repel" is more accurate then "cast off."

Theocritus, Idyll *11*	*Propertius,* Elegy *26b*
Polyphemus holds all but love trifles (11).	Propertius only cares about his love (41-59).
Polyphemus is more skilled at piping than any Cyclops and often sings to Galatea (38-40).	Propertius composes verses for Cynthia that she reads and admires (25f.).
Polyphemus tends fawns and bears for Galatea; Polyphemus will give her all she lacks (40-42).	Propertius' gifts ensure Cynthia's love (23-26, 28).[41]
Galatea should come to Polyphemus' cave with its laurels, cypresses, ivy, water, woody Aetna, and its snow (44-48).	Propertius and Cynthia will lie on the same beach, under a tree, and will drink from the same spring (21f.).
Who would choose to dwell in the sea or waves of the sea (49)?	Propertius and Cynthia will live on the sea (33f.).
Polyphemus will even endure fire burning his eye (51-53).	Propertius does not care if Jove burns their ship if only Cynthia is never absent from his eyes (41f.). References to the Odyssey (37, 53f.).
Polyphemus will learn to swim (60-63).	Propertius doesn't care if the waves carry him off (44).
Polyphemus is someone (79).	Propertius is admired (21).

In both poems bucolic landscapes are coupled with hints of amatory *propemptika*, the theme of song, and the ideal of love. But Polyphemus and Propertius also differ. Polyphemus declares that he would like to learn to swim so that he could inhabit the sea, but since he cannot swim, he and Galatea must live on land. He begs Galatea to come to his cave where both could take up the herdsman's life (Theoc. *Id.* 11.42, 63-66). A ship for Polyphemus means only the introduction of a stranger who could teach him to swim (60f.). Propertius, however, views the ship as a means of bridging any imaginary distance between self and beloved: if Cynthia were Galatea, the compromise between land and sea that the ship represents would strike the perfect balance between two opposites. Since Cynthia is not a sea-nymph, the artificiality always inherent in the concept of a ship makes the ship the perfect location of Propertius' fantasy world. The Propertian ship represents a combination of land and sea (Prop.

[41] Butler [2] *ad* 2.26b.28 says that line 28 should be translated "he who can give many gifts can have many mistresses" since Propertius cannot mean that Cynthia can be bought. But lines 23-26 indicate that Propertius' gifts of song are the reason that he has won Cynthia's love.

2.26b.29-34), Propertius and Cynthia, reality and fantasy in a way that is unknown to the Cyclops. All the same, both Polyphemus and Propertius have entered into their imaginary worlds to such an extent that Polyphemus finds it plausible and acceptable to invite a sea-nymph to live on land in a cave (Theoc. *Id.* 11.44) with a nice fire (51), while Propertius assumes that Cynthia would like nothing better than to travel around the Mediterranean on a ship, sleeping on deck or on the beach (Prop. 2.26b.29-44). Perhaps neither Polyphemus nor Propertius has a complete grip on rationality and reality, and both songs are an expression of the triumph of fantasy. Both poets also cling to their fantasies because they contribute to their sense of self-esteem: Polyphemus desires to live with Galatea on land because there "he is someone!" (Theoc. *Id.* 11.79) and Propertius possesses his Cynthia only at sea—a special, ideal world where he is confident and trusting.

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It has long been recognized that *Idyll* 11 shares some of the characteristics of Hellenistic epyllia: both refer to traditional epic in ironic and incongruous ways while recalling and inverting the situations and language of Homeric epic poetry.[42] Bucolic poetry itself is derived from heroic epic with which it shares the hexameter, and Quintilian included Theocritus among the epic poets.[43] In *Idyll* 11 the character of Polyphemus alludes to the Cyclops of the *Odyssey* both through his name and by the evocative adjective first applied to him. He is Polyphemus "of old" (ὡρχαῖος, Theoc. *Id.* 11.8) which, as Gow observed, puts the story back into the heroic age.[44] However, in the *Odyssey* Polyphemus is a blood-thirsty monster who actually devours members of Odysseus' crew and threatens the hero himself with violence. Theocritus places Polyphemus in a pre-Odyssean time-frame and depicts him as a rather good natured and charming buffoon; and Polyphemus is so consumed by love that he behaves in non-traditional ways. In Theocritus the one-eyed monster from the *Odyssey* insists on his own beauty and praises his cave-life, which was so fearsome for Odysseus and his men.[45] These contrasts between the known and the unexpected disconcert the reader. Although in both poems the Cyclops represents what is utterly natural and non-civilized, Theocritus has also surprisingly depicted his Cyclops as an adherent to the most advanced expression of literary civilization,

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[42] K. Gutzwiller, *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies* (Madison 1991) 107.

[43] Halperin [18] 213, 215 who cites Horace (*Serm.* 1.10.40-48) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.45).

[44] Gow [1] *ad* Theoc. *Id.* 11.8.

[45] Gutzwiller [42] 112.

the composition of poetry. Civilization and nature, two of the most prevalent *topoi* in Greek literature, are united in *Idyll* 11 in the person of Polyphemus as they are not in the *Odyssey*. The Cyclops, who once signified what is most lawless and inhuman, now submits his will to the formal aesthetic rules of artistic and poetic convention and allows them to guide his traditionally unrestrained emotions. The reaction of the reader to this change is, as Gutzwiller notes, one of amusement since the elevation of the low and the neutralization of the barbaric are generally considered to be comic in result.[46] Yet at the same time a serious note is struck by the similarities between the brute Polyphemus and the love poet through the intensity of emotion demonstrated by both.[47] Polyphemus becomes an example of the love poet as madman, and according to some scholars, Theocritus is drawing an analogy between the song of the Cyclops and his own poetic displays.[48]

The interjection of Polyphemus' voice within a narrative context and his relation of his own experiences is in itself a Homeric and Odyssean (Demodocean) element because Polyphemus is a singer and poet. Theocritus expands the importance of poetic self-referentiality, and his combination of the epic and bucolic creates an interesting tension in which these questions about poetry and the poetic voice come to the fore. Propertius does the same by mentioning his own poetry, referring to epic in his song, and explicitly equating success in love with success in composing verse.

Within Theocritus' idyll the physical description of the one-eyed Cyclops, his locality, and his cave-life correspond to that presented in the *Odyssey*.[49] The language also recalls Homer: Polyphemus says that he will permit Galatea to burn his eye with the fires of love. This is both an allusion to the incident in the *Odyssey* in which Polyphemus was blinded and an indication that Polyphemus has not yet suffered this torment at the hands of Odysseus. This hints that the song of Theocritus' Polyphemus may not have been quite so successful at depicting either the reality of Polyphemus' nature or his success at relieving his own inner torment, since Polyphemus' inability to obtain Galatea's love may have driven him to the cannibalism depicted in the *Odyssey*.

In *Idyll* 11 Theocritus transforms the epic burning of Polyphemus' eye into a dream-like possibility in the future, one that, however, Polyphemus is willing to suffer if it were to come about because of love. This is in keeping with the focus on dream, fantasy, and love throughout the idyll. When Theocritus' Polyphemus says that he is on fire with love and would endure fire

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[46] Gutzwiller [42] 108.

[47] Gutzwiller [42] 109-10; Goldhill [29] 259.

[48] Goldhill [29] 252f.; Gutzwiller [42] 114f.

[49] Gow [1] *ad* Theoc. *Id.* 11.35f., 45f.

burning his eye if Galatea should come to him (καιόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τεῦς καὶ τὰν ψυχὰν ἀνεχοίμαν / καὶ τὸν ἕν' ὀφθαλμόν, τῶ μοι γλυκερώτερον οὐδέν, "since you have set me on fire, you may burn my soul and my one eye too, my sweetest possession," Theoc. *Id.* 11.52f.), he reduces a heroic episode, the burning of an eye, to an erotic misfortune and makes Polyphemus more humorous.[50] Propertius does the same when he asserts that he does not care if Jove sets fire to their ship as long as Cynthia always before his eyes (*illa meis tantum non umquam desit ocellis, incendat nauem Iuppiter ipse licet*, "if she is never absent from my sight, let Jupiter himself set fire to our ship!," Prop. 2.26b.41f.). Fires and eyes echo *Idyll* 11. But the burning of a ship also alludes to the burning of Aeneas' ships in Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 5.604-63) and to Odysseus' story about how his ship was struck by lightening by Zeus and the smoke drove the crew to jump overboard (Hom. *Od.* 14.305-15). Both incidents are heroic adventures, which in Propertius' elegy are turned into imagined misfortunes endurable because of love. But since Odysseus relates the story of his "shipwreck" in one of his false tales, the seriousness of Propertius' remarks are undercut by his allusion to Odysseus' lie. Consequently, the possibility of Propertius suffering the misfortune of fire at sea seems unlikely.

The name *Ulysses* in Propertius' *Elegy* 2.26b is an allusion to the *Odyssey*. But Propertius does not just hint at the figure of Odysseus—he directs attention specifically towards him. Propertius casts himself in the guise of Odysseus as he turns from his Theocritean/bucolic verses and describes, beginning at line 35, an imaginary voyage of epic proportions that he will undertake together with his love. The name Ulysses (*Vlixem*, Prop. 2.26b.37) at the beginning of the "epic" section of the poem and the inclusion of Scylla and Charybdis near the poem's conclusion (Prop. 2.26b.53f.) frame this part of the poem with epic references and indicate that the *Odyssey* is an important influence. In between, the storms that battered the ships of Odysseus are mentioned (Prop. 2.26b.35-38) and keep attention focused on Greek epic voyages (e.g., *Od.* 5.291-453; 9.67-81).

Propertius envisages himself as a hero, one motivated by love and fidelity, as was Odysseus, but also one who, unlike the hero Odysseus, will never depart from his beloved. As in Theocritus, the epic allusions form part of a dream fantasy and there is mention of dangers and torments that the hero is willing to undergo on behalf of his beloved. But in Propertius the epic references have greater weight because they consist not just of a single episode (the burning of the eye) or of elements of everyday "real" life (shepherding, cave dwelling), but comprise the basis for the poet's entire dream of a new life. Polyphemus is willing to submit to an enemy Odysseus if it will help him to

[50] Halperin [18] 234.

attain his dream of his love. But Propertius goes several steps further since he dreams of actually becoming the hero Odysseus in company with an ever-faithful Cynthia/Penelope. Propertius does not consider himself a sufferer; he will instead be the heroic man who is in control of the wild emotion Polyphemus represents. Propertius inverts heroic epic not by putting the heroic in an everyday situation but rather by changing himself, a Roman elegiac poet, into the hero of the *Odyssey*.

The *Odyssey* is not the only source of epic references in Propertius' elegy; within the "Odyssean" framework are allusions to Apollonius Rhodius' Hellenistic epic, the *Argonautica*. Mention of the Argo itself (*ratis Argus*, "the ship Argo," Prop. 2.26b.39)[51] indicates that Propertius looks to the voyage of Jason and Medea. Propertius includes the Argo's passage through the Clashing Rocks (*et qui mouistis duo litora, cum ratis Argus / dux erat ignoto missa columba mari*, "and you who parted the two shores, when the dove was sent as a guide for the ship Argo over an unknown sea," Prop. 2.26b.39f.), an incident on the Argo's outward voyage (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.317-40, 556f.[52]). Scylla and Charybdis (*nobis mitescet Scylla nec umquam / alternante uorans uasta Charybdis aqua*, "Scylla will grow calm for us and vast Charybdis who never ceases gulping water," Prop. 2.26b.53f.), allude not only to Odysseus but also to the Argonauts (παρὰ Σκύλλης σκόπελον μέγαν ἠδὲ Χάρυβδιν / δεινὸν ἐρευγομένην δέχεται ὁδός, "their course goes past the great rock of Scylla and Charybdis belching terribly," Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.789f.; Τῇ μὲν γὰρ Σκύλλης λισσὴ προυφαίνετο μέτρη, / τὴ δ' ἄμοτον βοάασκεν ἀναβλύζουσα Χάρυβδις·, "on the one side was the smooth rock of Scylla and on the other Charybdis endlessly spewed and roared," Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.922f.).

Propertius speculates that neither Neptune nor Boreas are hostile to lovers since both were involved in affairs of their own. He mentions the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas (*crudelem et Borean rapta Orithyia negauit*, "Oreithia denied that Boreas who ravished her was cruel," Prop. 2.26b.51) an echo of the *Argonautica* (τήν γε / Θρηίκιος Βορέης ἀνερείψατο . . . ἐδάμασσε, "Thracian Boreas carried her off . . . and raped her," Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.211-18). Propertius also includes Neptune and the spring of Amymone, a spring created when Neptune seduced Amymone after he rescued her (Prop. 2.26b.47-50). Amymone bore Nauplius to Poseidon, one of the Argonauts who surpassed all in naval skill (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.136-38).[53]

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[51] I follow Fedeli [1] and read Argus as genitive singular of the ship Argo (cf. Butler and Barber [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26b.39; Camps [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26c.39).

[52] All citations to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* are from the edition by F. Vian (ed.), *Apollonios de Rhodes Argonautiques* 1–3 (Paris 1974).

[53] The erotic overtones of this watery *aition* may refer to the story of Hylas, who was pulled into spring by a nymph as he obtained water (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1221-39; Prop.

Propertius refers to the East and South Winds driving his ship (*saeuus licet urgeat Eurus, / uelaque in incertum / frigidus Auster agat*, "although the savage East Wind push us on and the chill South Wind move our sails into uncertain waters," Prop. 2.26b.35f.) and to an unstormy Orion (*purus et Orion*, "clear will be Orion!," Prop. 2.26b.56). Apollonius speaks of a gust of wind breaking a ship (ἱστὸν νεός, εὖτε μάλιστα / χειμερίη ὀλοοῖο δύσις πέλει Ὠρίωνος, / ὑψόθεν ἐμπλήξασα θοὴ ἀνέμοιο κατᾶιξ / . . . ἐρύσηται, "just at the stormy setting of destructive Orion, a swift gust of wind strikes from above and topples a ship's mast," Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1201-04).[54] Near the poem's end, Propertius says the sky at sea will be cloudless and the stars visible (Prop. 2.26b.55f.). This may be an inversion of a passage in which the Argonauts are said to drift over the sea in darkness without any stars to guide them (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1694-701).

These Argonautic allusions help to create an epic setting but they change and distort the context they evoke. Propertius focuses on the love element of the Argonautic myth and appears to connect the voyage of Jason and Medea with his dream of sailing with Cynthia. As with the Odyssean references, Propertius casts himself in a heroic guise, this time as Jason who successfully avoided perils at sea. However, there are ambiguities about the purpose or function of the Argonautic references in Propertius 2.26b. Propertius' echoes of the *Odyssey* suggest he has attained a fidelity like that Odysseus possessed in Penelope. Propertius also makes himself appear more successful than Odysseus, who was wrecked by Scylla and Charybdis, cursed by Polyphemus, and as a result, shipwrecked by Poseidon. Since Propertius is confident of a safe voyage and a friendly Neptune, he appears superior to Odysseus. But the Argonautic references have the opposite tendency. Jason and Medea sail together and marry, as do Propertius and Cynthia in Propertius' dream. But although Jason and Medea provide a more fitting initial comparison then do Odysseus and Penelope for the poet and his beloved, the inclusion of elements of the Argonautic myth leads the reader to a less comfortable conclusion. Since the myth of Jason and Medea evokes Euripides' tragedy, Propertius' choice of the paradigm of this myth in order to stress fidelity and happiness in love causes discomfort. This, combined with the mention of the rape of Oreithyia and perhaps also with the allusion to the Argonauts' voyage at night, one of their

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1.20.33-50, where Hylas, Amymone, and the sons of Boreas are mentioned together). In both the Hylas story and in the Amymone example water is combined with love's embrace and with death (Papanghelis [2] 92).

[54] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.289f., 427. Greek epigrams may also have been an influence since at least one speaks of the stormy East Wind and says that the waves that Orion at his dark setting rouses cause harm (Leonidas of Tarentum, *Anth.Pal.* 7.273 = Gow and Page [10] 2345-350.

most terrifying adventures, suggests that the speaker in the elegy "misreads" his model of the *Argonautica* and perhaps views as positive what otherwise would be considered negative. This is not simply an example of how, as Sullivan remarks, mythology in Propertius' poetry occasionally seems to add little to the poem's logic or development.[55] The resulting ambiguity appears designed to suggest that Propertius' speaker has some trouble comprehending reality since the Argonautic elements hint that the speaker's dream comes close to nightmare, something of which he is unaware.

When Propertius declares that he does not care if he and Cynthia both drown since they will be cast up naked together on some shore and wishes that only Cynthia be buried even if some wave carries him off (Prop. 2.26b.43f.), he is influenced by Greek epigrams about shipwreck (e.g., Perses, *Anth. Pal.* 7.501,[56] where the dead speaker says the East Wind cast him naked onto the shore) and possibly by Parthenius who was a model for Roman elegists.[57] Another influence may be the myth of Hero and Leander.[58] Postulating a Hellenistic model, Papanghelis finds specific parallels between Musaeus' fifth century AD epyllion *Hero and Leander* 316-22, in which Lender drowned in a storm and Hero threw herself naked from a tower on top of him out of grief (338-43), and Prop.2.26b. These parallels include the storm, the East Wind, Boreas, Amymone, pleas to Poseidon, and the naked bodies dead on shore (Prop. 2.26b.43-58).[59] This hypothesis is interesting and plausible; it provides an Hellenistic epyllion as an influence on the middle of the "epic" section of Propertius' elegy. The Hero and Leander myth contributes to the love emphasis of the elegy; and its sadness is somewhat alleviated because Propertius only speaks about a possibility of misfortune happening in the future, a misfortune that does not concern him because he has the love of Cynthia. But just as with the Argonautic allusions, Propertius' choice of myth is hardly a happy one and contributes ambiguity to the poem.

The close of the poem includes a "song-within-a-song," Propertius' direct address to Cynthia (Prop. 2.26b.53-58). These elegant couplets combine the epic and bucolic portions of the elegy and draw together the elegy's main themes of love, good sailing, happiness, and poetic song. The epic elements of the verses include references to the Argonauts' and Odysseus' voyages past

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[55] Sullivan [5] 133.

[56] Gow and Page [10] 2871-874.

[57] Papanghelis [2] 102 cites Parthenius 31 about the corpse of a woman who washed ashore.

[58] Papanghelis [2] 102-08. There may have been a Hellenistic model that influenced both Ovid's *Heroides* 18 and 19 and Musaeus' epyllion.

[59] Papanghelis [2] 104-06; also Ov. *Her.* 18.37-42; 19.129-31.

Scylla and Charybdis (δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ, "divine Charybdis sucks down the dark water," Hom. *Od.* 12-104, 105f., 235f.; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.789f., 922f.), and to stormy Orion (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1201-04), all of which will not be dangerous for Propertius and Cynthia. Propertius additionally echoes the Hero and Leander myth when be asserts that it would be honorable to die upon Cynthia (Prop. 2.26b.57f.) because Musaeus' poem ends with the same thought (342f.).

But Propertius' concluding verses are primarily bucolic since they are modeled on the beginning of Lycidas' song-within-a-song in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7.

> crede mihi, nobis mitescet Scylla nec umquam
> alternante uorans uasta Charybdis aqua;
> ipsaque sidera erunt nullis obscura tenebris,
> purus et Orion, purus et Haedus erit,
> quod mihi si ponenda tuo sit corpore uita,
> exitus hic nobis non inhonestus erit.
>
> (Prop. 2.26b.53-58)
>
> Believe me, Scylla will grow gentle for us and Charybdis who never ceases ebbing and flowing; and the stars themselves will not be obscured by clouds: Orion and the Kid will be clear. But what if I should perish upon your body? This is an honorable end for me.

> Ἔσσεται Ἀγεάνακτι καλὸς πλόος ἐς Μιτυλήναν.
> χὤταν ἐφ' ἑσπερίοις Ἐρίφοις νότος ὑγρὰ διώκῃ
> κύματα, χὠρίων ὅτ' ὠκεανῷ πόδας ἴσχει.
> αἴ κα τὸν Λυκίδαν ὀπτεύμενον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας
> ῥύσηται· θερμὸς γὰρ ἔρως αὐτῷ με καταίθει.
>
> (Theoc. *Id.* 7.52-56)
>
> Agianax shall have fair sailing to Mytilene, even when the Kid is in the evening sky and the South Wind drives the wet wave and Orion holds his feet on the Ocean, if he saves Lycidas, roasted by Aphrodite; since warm love for him burns me.

Orion and the Kid, fair sailing and clear skies, and the theme of love are found in both passages. Both poets wish to be joined in love with their lovers; they metaphorically burn and perish.[60] But Lycidas conditions his assertion of fair sailing upon receiving Agianax's love while Propertius declares that he already possesses Cynthia's love without condition and again says that he could endure all misfortune because of his happiness. This charming little poem at the end of

[60] Papanghelis [2] 98 believes that the voyage theme in Propertius is a metaphor for the "voyage" of love (e.g., Prop. 3.24.15-18). Propertius reverses the thought of *Anth.Pal.* 7.273 = Gow and Page [10] 2345-350, where the East Wind and the wave at dark Orion's setting harm the shipwrecked speaker.

Propertius' elegy returns the poem to a bucolic song. It reaffirms that bucolic poetry is the most important influence upon Propertius 2.26b.

5

Propertius' *Elegy* 2.26b uses elements of Alexandrian and epic poetry in order to stress several important ideas: the relationship between love poetry and reality, the importance of fidelity, and the connection between the love poet and the traditional epic hero. One of the most interesting parallels (or possible differences) between *Idyll* 11 and *Elegy* 2.26b is found in the attitude of the poets towards the purpose of song and the poetic representation of reality. One interpretation of *Idyll* 11 argues that Theocritus depicts Polyphemus' song as a remedy for love; although Polyphemus is unable to attain his dream of possessing Galatea, his ability to substitute one dream, his song, for the other eases and "cures" his love.[61] Just as Polyphemus blamed his mother for Galatea's inattention in order to create a fantasy in which he is not to blame for his lack of success in love,[62] so Polyphemus, through the act of creating song/fantasy, seems to realize by song's end that he doesn't need Galatea—she is only a fantasy as well. According to this interpretation, Theocritus himself advances the song of Polyphemus as a model and aid for curing the "disease" of love. Theocritus suggests that Nicias can cure himself by adopting Polyphemus' methods and attitude and that the creation of fantasy can help one deal with reality. Walker connects Polyphemus' "cure" with the Epicurean admonition to a young lover not to become "obsessed with the insubstantial image (*simulacrum*) of the absent object of his desires."[63] According to this interpretation, the creation of song leads to the discarding of fantasy.

Goldhill, however, suggests that Polyphemus' "cure" is incomplete and even questionable. Since Theocritus says that Polyphemus loved "with madness" (ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, Theoc. *Id.* 11.11) and Polyphemus is not a good example for the efficacy love poetry because there is no sign that he is cured, Theocritus may be suggesting that the madness of love is similar to that of poetry.[64] Polyphemus merely replaces one obsession with another and the deluded lover is indistinguishable from the love poet. Far from being cured, Polyphemus has instead retained his madness and become a love poet.

In *Elegy* 2.26b Propertius creates a fantasy-song that may be intended to do the same thing as Polyphemus' song—to cure his own romantic suffering.

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[61] Walker [33] 74f.

[62] Cairns [27] 159.

[63] Walker [33] 76f.

[64] Goldhill [29] 251-59.

Propertius' song of love, like Polyphemus', may be a mere idle dream unconnected with reality and designed to ease his pain. The same ambiguities about the efficacy of the "cure" and the singer's understanding of reality are present in the elegy, and Propertius, like Polyphemus, may be a comic and inept lover who is misguided about his own charms. Propertius' fantasy is not only an attempt at a possible cure but also potential self-delusion. The Argonautic references and echoes of Hero and Leander increase uncertainty about Propertius' understanding of his dream and suggest that Polyphemus is not the only deluded lover.

Yet the evidence suggests that Propertius does not envisage the speaker of his elegy as another Polyphemus in regard to his grasp of reality or to the function of his song. Propertius does not use his song in order to forget Cynthia but rather as a continual reminder of her and at no point does he ever admit that his love or his song is merely a dream. Propertius stresses reality throughout his elegy; although the reader may suppose that Propertius is dreaming, the possibility remains that the poet is describing a reality. The song of Propertius differs in that it celebrates the fulfillment of love, rather than the amused acknowledgement of failure at love and the acceptance that love is only a game. For Propertius, the prospect of death is never far away and this makes love all the more precious. If Theocritus' idyll urges that love needs a cure; Propertius seeks no cure for love itself, only its continuance. If Theocritus' idyll promoted an Epicurean abandonment of false images, Propertius likewise, through his focus on the internal reality rather than the physical beauty of Cynthia, stresses reality over false fantasy. Most importantly, Propertius does not consider all love to be a false image, but instead emphasizes the importance of true love and idealizes "true lovers" (*fidos*, 2.26b.30),[65] rather than a momentary and amusing love. The image of the lovers' embrace is the core of the poem: this is especially indicated by the repetition of "one" (Prop. 2.26b.30, 31, 32, 33), reference to one ship (33), and Propertius' declaration that if he should lay down his life upon Cynthia's body it would be a fine death (57f.).[66] Throughout *Elegy* 2.26b a serious note is evident that concentrates on fidelity[67] and the primacy of obtaining true love.

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[65] Camps [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26c.30 notes that *fidos* ("true lovers") corresponds to *fides* ("a union based on mutual devotion," Prop. 2.26b.27).

[66] Papanghelis [2] 85f.

[67] Rothstein [2] *ad* Prop. 2.26b.

'JUST AS ARIADNE LAY . . .': IMAGES OF SLEEP IN PROPERTIUS 1.3

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Abstract. The central image in Propertius 1.3 has Cynthia lying asleep and then waking up. Interspersed in the main narrative are mythological allusions also pertaining to sleep or, conversely, to waking. These are fairly conventional. The erotic implications of sleep are a recurrent theme in Hellenistic poetry and are appropriate in love elegy. They are also potentially comic, however, and give rise to various ironies in the context of the poem.

Propertius 1.3 takes the form of an anecdote which Propertius wryly tells against himself and his mistress Cynthia, an anecdote which has the air of something that might have happened to them in real life: it is very late at night; Cynthia has been waiting for the poet, but he arrives so late that by this time she has fallen asleep. He in the meantime has been to a dinner party and comes in drunk. She looks so appealing lying there asleep that he considers for a moment climbing into bed with her, but he is afraid of her anger if she wakes up. So instead, he bumbles around near her bed. He puts his party garland on her head, rearranges her curls, and drops the apples he has stolen for her. At the noise, Cynthia stirs in the moonlight and then wakes up. Seeing him, she sits up, and, as he has feared, berates him with her usual forcefulness for having left her alone for most of the night. She accuses him of having spent the time with some other woman and complains about the long, lonely wait she has endured before falling asleep. The central image in the poem, then, is of Cynthia lying asleep, being approached by her lover and waking up, at which point the spell is broken and the would-be lover is discomforted.

Interspersed in the main narrative is a series of mythological allusions which also in one way or another pertain either to sleep or, conversely, to waking: Cynthia lying asleep is like Ariadne (*Cnosia*[1]) lying passively (*languida*) asleep on the seashore, deserted by Theseus (1-2)[2]; like Andromeda (*Cepheia*) taking her 'first sleep' (*primo . . . somno*) after having been rescued by Perseus from her ordeal on the rocks (3-4; cf. Prop. 2.28.21f.; 3.22.29;

[1] The Latin is taken from the text of E. A. Barber (ed.), *Sexti Properti Carmina* (Oxford 1957). The translation used throughout is from R. J. Baker (ed.), *Propertius 1* (Armidale 1990).

[2] Propertius mentions Ariadne also in 2.3.17f. (Cynthia's dancing compared with that of Ariadne) and 3.17.7f. (Bacchus transporting Ariadne to the stars).

4.7.63.); like a maenad (*Edonis*[3]) lying asleep on the grass, 'exhausted' (*fessa*) after a night's revelry (5-6). When the drunken and randy poet enters on the scene, he arrives in effect with Bacchus (9) and Cupid (*Amor*, 14) in tow, perhaps recalling the time when the two gods found Ariadne sleeping on the seashore. The poet stands staring at Cynthia transfixed, like the wakeful Argus keeping watch over Io (*Inachidos*),[4] transformed into a heifer as a result of Juno's jealousy (19-20).[5] The moonlight shining on the sleeping Cynthia and waking her up, is like the moon goddess, Selene (Phoebe), coming to make love to the sleeping Endymion (31-33).[6]

When she wakes up, Cynthia has some veiled mythological allusions of her own (34-46). She represents herself as having waited, like Ariadne, sorrowfully and alone for the return of her faithless lover (Cf. Catull. 64.132-201). She deceived sleep and kept herself virtuously awake during the night by spinning or weaving (it is not clear which) with a crimson thread (*nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum*, 'for only just now I cheated sleep with a crimson threat', 41), as did the faithful Penelope and Lucretia, alone and unprotected while their husbands were away.[7] She beguiled the time by singing

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[3] The term *Edonis* is used only here in Propertius; otherwise Propertius refers either to *Maenades*, women in the throes of passion (Prop. 3.18.14; 13.62), or to *Bacchae* (Prop. 3.17.24f.; 22.33). For the identification as a Maenad, see H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber (edd.), *The Elegies of Propertius* (Hildesheim 1969) 158f. (citing Hdt. 7.110f.; Apollod. 3.5.1). The suggestion has been accepted by commentators since then; see, e.g., W. A. Camps (ed.), *Propertius: Elegies, Book I* (Cambridge 1979) 49; L. Richardson, Jr (ed.), *Propertius: Elegies I-IV* (Oklahoma 1977) 154 (cites Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.27); Baker [1] 43.

[4] My thanks to John Davidson (University of Victoria, Wellington) for pointing this out.

[5] For the story of Io, see Prop. 2.28.17, 30.29, 33.7-20; 3.23.35f. On Hera's jealousy in this respect, see Prop. 2.38.33, 33.7-10; 3.22.35f. In connection with the sleeping/waking theme, see Prop. 2.33, where the story of Io is placed within the context of Cynthia's observance of the rites of Isis, a women-only celebration which necessitated a period of sexual abstinence, giving rise to the poet-lover's complaint to the goddess, Io/Isis: 'What profits thee that maids should sleep alone?' (*quidue tibi prodest uiduas dormire puellas?*, Prop. 2.33.17; translated by H. E. Butler (ed.), *Propertius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1967). On the connection between Io and Isis, see Hdt. 2.41; Ov. *Met.* 1.747. On sexual abstinence in honour of Isis, see Prop. 4.5.34; Juv. 6.535-38; cf. S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* (New York 1975) 217-26, esp. 222; Richardson [3] 308f.

[6] For Endymion, see Prop. 2.15.15. Compare the epigram by Philodemos (*Anth. Pal.* 5.123), cited in connection with Prop. 1.3 by Camps [3] 48; M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (London 1974) 20; R. J. Baker, 'Beauty and the Beast in Prop. 1.3', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 2 (Brussels 1980) 245f.

[7] On the faithfulness of Penelope, see Prop. 2.9.3f. For other romanticised portrayals of faithful, wakeful woolworkers in Propertius, see 3.6.15f., 4.3.33f.; cf. Tib. 1.3.83-92 (on Delia). The connection with Lucretia is made by Hubbard [6] 21, and Richardson [3] on Prop. 3.6.15f.

to the lyre, as Orpheus did when charming wild beasts and the creatures of the Underworld (*rursus et Orpheae carmine, fessa, lyrae*, 'and again, weary, with the song of Orpheus' lyre', 42).[8] When she eventually fell asleep, she says, she did so under the influence of the allegorical personification of Sleep itself (*Sopor*, 45-46).

There are, then, a number of references to sleep in the poem, and in turn a number of contrasting references to staying awake. That is, the poem presents us with both sleeping and wakeful figures, some of them fanciful and clearly fictitious (Ariadne, Andromeda, the maenad, Bacchus, Cupid, Argus, The Moon, Penelope/Lucretia, Orpheus and Sleep) and two of them ostensibly drawn from real life (Cynthia and Propertius). Taken overall, the sleeping/waking images serve to define the structure of the poem rather well:

Table. Images of Sleeping and Waking in Propertius 1.3

Sleeping Figures	*Wakeful Figures*	*In the Poem Someone . . .*
Ariadne (1–2)		is lying asleep
Andromeda (3-4)		
Maenad (5–6)		
	Cynthia (7-30)	
	Propertius (c. 9-c. 34)	comes upon a sleeping figure
	Bacchus/Cupid (9, 14)	
	The Moon (31-33)	is awake and watching
	Cynthia (34-44)	
	Penelope/Lucretia (41)	
	Orpheus (42)	
Cynthia (45-45)	Sleep (45)	is being sent to sleep

Given the story-line of the poem—Propertius comes upon the sleeping Cynthia who then wakes up and complains about having stayed awake—there is a nice movement away from images of sleep near the beginning of the poem, through images of both sleeping and waking in the middle, to a predominance of images of wakefulness towards the end. The poem then finishes with Cynthia lying asleep again. Viewed from the perspective of sleeping and waking, therefore, the poem has a satisfyingly circular structure or ring composition.[9] The poem begins and ends at the same point, the moment when Cynthia is asleep, allowing Propertius to play with different levels of time. We begin with Propertius' first-person account of the night's events and then, by means of Cynthia's

[8] For the charms of Orpheus' lyre, see Prop. 3.2.3-6.

[9] Similarities have been detected in Propertius' choice of vocabulary at the beginning and end of the poem (compare *languida desertis*, 'languid on the deserted', 2; *fessa*, 'weary', 5, with *languidus*, 'languid', 38; *fessa*, 'weary', 42; *deserta*, 'abandoned', 43); Baker [1] 48f.

'flashback' in direct speech, her view is also presented. Propertius' account covers the period immediately after, and Cynthia's the period immediately before, the time when she is asleep.

Sleeping and waking, then, are strong themes in the poem, drawing on the poet's and his readers' familiarity with the mythological allusions. These allusions are fairly conventional. Sleepers and watchers occur elsewhere in Greek and Roman literature and many of the mythical personalities mentioned in Propertius 1.3 appear in other authors, often in erotic or romantic contexts. The story of the sleeping Ariadne, her abandonment by Theseus and her rescue by Dionysus, is told by Catullus (64.52-264) and Ovid (*Met.* 8.174-192; *Her.* 10; *Ars Am.* 1.527-64). The wakeful Argus keeping watch over Io when she was transformed into a heifer after her seduction by Zeus, is described in Ovid (*Met.* 1.588-747[10]). The sleeping Endymion is mentioned in Greek amatory epigram (Phld. *Anth. Pal.* 5.123; Mel. *Anth. Pal.* 5.165). Livy (1.57.6-58.5) and Ovid (*Fast.* 2.725-812) both tell the story of how Sextus Tarquinius fell in love with Lucretia after seeing her virtuously awake, working in wool one night, and how subsequently he came to rape her while she lay asleep in bed. The faithful Penelope plays a prominent part in Homer's *Odyssey* (especially 2.93-110; 19.137-156; 24.128-146), staying awake by night to unravel her day's weaving and so eluding the unwelcome attentions of the suitors. Orpheus uses the charms of his music to still the creatures of the underworld and rescue his beloved Eurydice, notably in Virgil (*Georg.* 4.452-526) and Ovid (*Met.* 10.1-85; 11.1-66). In Homer's *Iliad,* after Hera has seduced Zeus, she arranges for Sleep to instil in him a treacherous slumber (14.153-356, esp. 224-91, 346-56).[11]

Sleeping maenads are rare in literature,[12] but their male companions in the countryside (satyrs or silens) are noted for their 'keen interest in women'[13]

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[10] See also Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* 2.58f. Argus was sent fatally to sleep by Mercury (*uirgamque potenti / somniferam sumpsisse manu*, 'to have taken in his powerful hand his sleep-inducing wand', Ov. *Met.* 1.671f.).

[11] See also Mel. *Anth. Pal.* 5.174. Hypnos is said to have fallen in love with the sleeping Endymion as well (*Anth. Pal.* 13.564c).

[12] This seems to have been a common theme in art, however; see for instance, S. McNally, 'The Maenad in Early Greek Art', *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 101-35; S. McNally, 'Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art', *Classical Antiquity* 4.2 (1985) 152-92; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives* (Ithaca 1984) 71-78; Emma Stafford, 'Apects of Sleep in Hellenistic Sculpture', *BICS* 38 (1991-1993) 105-20. On Propertius' use of images from the visual arts, see J.-P. Boucher, '*Études sur Properce: Problèmes d'inspiration et d'art* (Paris 1965) 53-55; Hubbard [6] 164-69; R. O. A. M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets from Catullus to Horace* (Oxford 1980) 82-88; P. Veyne (tr. D. Pellauer), *Roman Erotic Elegy* (Chicago 1988) 15f.

[13] G. Hedreen, 'Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads', *JHS* 114 (1994) 47. See also the unwelcome attentions Pomona receives from satyrs in Ov. *Met.* 14.637-41.

(nymphs, maenads or whatever) who, like Propertius' 'Edonian girl', are out and about in rural surroundings, sometimes even rashly taking a nap.[14] It has been suggested that this may have constituted a jocular theme in satyr-plays,[15] and certainly a now lost satyr-play by Aeschylus, *Amymone*,[16] seems to have focused on the story of the Danaid Amymone, who was attacked by a satyr while she was asleep and rescued by Poseidon, who then seduced her himself (Prop. 2.26.45-8; Ov. *Am.* 1.10, 5f.; Apollod. 2.1.4).[17] Only the sleeping Andromeda of the poem is otherwise totally unknown in extant Classical literature, although she does feature in a love story: Perseus fell in love with her while she was chained to her rock, and he married her on the beach immediately after rescuing her from the sea-monster (Ov. *Met.* 4.604-803; Aratus *Phaen.* 246-9; Prop. 2.28.21f.; Apollod. 2.4.2f.).[18]

Just as the sleeping Cynthia puts Propertius in mind of love-making, so the other sleepers in the poem may attract would-be lovers: Ariadne is approached by Dionysus, maenads by randy satyrs, Endymion by Selene and Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius. The erotic appeal of a sleeping beauty seems to have been a recurrent theme in Hellenistic poetry:

> Πυθιάς, εἰ μὲν ἔχει τιν', ἀπέρχομαι· εἰ δέ καθεύδει
> ὧδε μόνη, μικρόν, πρὸς Διός, ἐσκαλέσαις.
> εἰπὲ δὲ σημεῖον, μεθύων ὅτι καὶ διὰ κλωπῶν
> ἦλθον, Ἔρωτι θρασεῖ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι.
>
> (Poseidipp. *Anth. Pal.* 5.213[19])

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[14] See Ovid's 'Thracian bacchant', *Am.* 1.14.21f. Ovid suggests that it is unwise for beautiful women to lie down unprotected in the grassy countryside. Zeus attacked Antiope in the form of a satyr but it is not specified that she was asleep at the time (Nonnus, *Dion.* 16.243).

[15] Hedreen [13] 47-69, esp. 47, 65f.

[16] D. F. Sutton, 'Aeschylus' *Amymone*', *GRBS* 15 (1974) 193-202.

[17] Only Hyginus (second century AD) includes the detail that she was asleep at the time: *dum quaerit, lassitudine obdormit; quam / satyrus uiolare uoluit* ('while he searched for her, whom the satyr wished to violate, she lay fast asleep, overcome with weariness', *Fab.* 1519A).

[18] A sleeping Andromeda does not occur in extant Greco-Roman art either. Roman scenes depicting the story of Perseus and Andromeda either show Perseus helping Andromeda down from her rock with the slain monster at his feet, or else the two lovers sit side by side on the rocks; see R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991) 114, 128-30, figs 58, 135.

[19] All of the Greek epigrams and translations in this article are from W. R. Paton (ed. and tr.), *The Greek Anthology* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1969). On Propertius' use of Hellenistic epigram, see Hubbard [6] 12-22, 29-32, 82-85. Another epigram suggested as a literary parallel (Paul. Sil. *Anth. Pal.* 5.275) is much later in date (sixth century AD); see Hubbard [6] 20.

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If anyone is with Pythias, I am off, but if she sleeps alone, for God's sake admit me for a little, and say for a token that drunk, and through thieves, I came with daring Love for my guide.

Εὕδεις, Ζηνοφίλα, τρυφερὸν θάλος. εἴθ' ἐτὶ σοὶ νῦν
ἄπτερος εἰσῄειν Ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροις,
ὡς ἐπὶ σοὶ μηδ' οὗτος, ὁ καὶ Διὸς ὄμματα θέλγων,
φοιτήσαι, κάτεχον δ' αὐτὸς ἐγώ σε μόνος.

(Mel. *Anth. Pal.* 5.174)

Thou sleepest, Zenophila, tender flower. Would I were Sleep, though wingless, to creep under thy lashes, so that not even he who lulls the eyes of Zeus, might visit thee, but I might have thee all to myself.

Indeed, the theme appears to have become something of a *topos* by Augustan times,[20] when Mercury with his sleep-inducing wand is seen to have a rather unfair advantage over his rivals:

nata erat huic Chione, quae dotatissima forma
mille procos habuit, bis septem nubilis annis.
forte revertentes Phoebus Maiaque creatus,
ille suis Delphis, hic uertice Cylleno,
uidere hanc pariter, pariter traxere calorem.
spem Veneris differt in tempora noctis Apollo;
non fert ille moras uirgaque movente soporem
uirginis os tangit: tactu iacet illa potenti
uimque dei patitur; nox caelum sparserat astris:
Phoebus anum simulat praereptaque gaudia sumit.

(Ov. *Met.* 11.301-10[21])

He [Daedalion] had a daughter, Chione, a girl of fourteen who, being ripe for marriage and endowed with rare beauty, had a thousand suitors. Now Phoebus and Maia's son, Mercury, chanced to be returning, the one from his beloved Delphi, and the other from the summit of Cyllene. They both saw the girl at the same moment and both, at the same moment, fell in love. Apollo deferred his hopes of enjoying her love till night-time, but Mercury, impatient of delay, touched the girl's face with his rod that brings slumber. At that potent touch, she lay still, and suffered the god's violent embrace. Then, when night had scattered the heavens with stars, Phoebus, disguised as an old woman, enjoyed the pleasure which another had had before him.

Clearly, the erotic implications of sleep make it a suitable subject for love elegy. As commentators have suggested, the references to mythological sleepers in Propertius 1.3 cast a romantic light over what is really quite a mundane

[20] See, for example, the stories of Peleus and Thetis in Ov. *Met.* 11.229-65; Mars and Rhea Silvia in Ov. *Fast.* 3.11-48.

[21] Translated by M. M. Innes, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Harmondsworth 1973).

incident, bringing a touch of glamour to the scene.[22] Propertius' trick of 'treating the fabulous on an equal footing with everyday reality' is also potentially humorous, however.[23] The sleeper's vulnerability to rape and seduction can have comic outcomes in Roman literature. In Terence's *Eunuch,* for instance, the young man Chaerea, disguised as a eunuch, manages to have his wicked way with the girl of his choice when she goes to sleep:

> *Chaerea* interea somnus uirginem opprimit. ego limis specto
> sic per flabellulum clanculum; simul alia circumspecto,
> satin explorata sint. uideo esse. pessulum ostio obdo.
> *Antipho* quid tum?
> *Chaerea* quid 'quid tum', fatue?
> *Antipho* fateor.
> *Chaerea* an ego occasionem
> mi ostentam, tantam, tam breuem, tam optatam, tam insperatam
> amitterem? tum pol ego is essem uero, qui simulabar.
> (Ter. *Eun.* 601-06[24])
> *Chaerea* Presently sleep came on the girl. I took a squint at her, peeping through the fansticks like this. Next I took a look around to see if the coast were clear. I found it was. I slipped the bolt on the door.
> *Antipho* What then?
> *Chaerea* Why, 'what then', goose?
> *Antipho* I own it.
> *Chaerea* Was I to lose an opportunity so offered me, such a chance, so short, so much desired, so little expected? Jove! I should then have been what I set up for.

Whatever our modern sensibilities regarding rape, in the context of the play the incident is clearly intended as humorous and may indeed have been inspired by a stock situation in a comic stage genre like mime.[25]

In the *Eunuch* the assault is successful, although there is a suggestion that, if the opportunity had not been taken up, the joke would have been on Chaerea (*mi ostentam, tantam, tam breuem, tam optatem, tam insperatam /*

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[22] Butler and Barber [3] 158-59; R. O. A. M. Lyne, 'Propertius and Cynthia: Elegy 1.3', *PCPhS* 16 (1970) 60-78, esp., 61, 67; Lyne [12] 82-148, esp. 98-102; Hubbard [6] 21f.; R. I. V. Hodge and R. H. Buttimore (edd.), *The Monobiblos of Propertius* (Cambridge 1977) 87; Richardson [3] 153; Baker [1] 42; Baker [6] 249-53.

[23] On humour in Propertius, see Veyne [12] 128-31.

[24] Translated by J. Sargeaunt (ed.), *Terence* 1 (Cambridge Mass. 1979). See Hubbard [6] 20 n. 1.

[25] J. C. McKeown, 'Augustan Elegy and Mime', *PCPhS* 25 (1979) 71-84, esp. 76; T. P. Wiseman, 'Satyrs in Rome? The Background to Horace's *Ars Poetica*', *JRS* 78 (1988) 1-13 (= T. P. Wiseman, *Historiography and Imagination* [Exeter 1994] 68-85); T. P. Wiseman, 'Tales Unworthy of the Gods', *Pegasus* 38 (1995) 2-7, esp. 7.

amitterem? tum pol ego is essem uero, qui simulabar, 'Was I to lose an opportunity so offered me, such a chance, so short, so much desired, so little expected?', 605-06). In the *Fasti*, Priapus is less fortunate in his pursuit of a nymph called Lotis. While she is awake, she disdains him, but asleep after a party she seems more accessible:

> nox erat, et uino somnum faciente iacebant
> corpora diuersis uicta sopore locis.
> Lotis in herbosa sub acernis ultima ramis,
> sicut erat lusu fessa, quieuit humo.
> surgit amans animamque tenens uestigia furtim
> suspenso digitis fert taciturna gradu.
> ut tetigit niueae secreta cubilia nymphae,
> ipsa sui flatus ne sonet aura, cauet.
> et iam finitima corpus librabat in herba:
> illa tamen multi plena soporis erat.
> gaudet et, a pedibus tracto uelamine, uota
> ad sua felici coeperat ire uia.
> ecce rudens rauco Sileni uector asellus
> intempestiuos edidit ore sonos.
> territa consurgit nymphe manibusque Priapum
> reicit et fugiens concitat omne nemus;
> at deus obscena nimium quoque parte paratus
> omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat.
>
> (Ov. *Fast.* 1.421-38[26])
>
> 'Twas night, and wine makes drowsy, so here and there they lay overcome with sleep. Weary with frolic, Lotis, the farthest of them all, sank to her rest on the grassy ground under the maple boughs. Up rose her lover, and holding his breath stole secretly and silently on tiptoe to the fair. When he reached the lonely pallet of the snow-white nymph, he drew his breath so warily that not a sound escaped. And now upon the sward fast by he balanced on his toes, but still the nymph slept sound. He joyed, and drawing from off her feet the quilt, he set him, happy lover! to snatch the wished-for hour. But lo, Silenus' saddle-ass, with raucous weasand braying, gave out an ill-timed roar! The nymph in terror started up, pushed off Priapus, and flying gave the alarm to the whole grove; but, ready to enter the lists of love, the god in the moonlight was laughed at by all.

Here the act of love-making is interrupted and the expected outcome is subverted. Amy Richlin finds this sequence in several of what she terms 'comic rapes' in the *Fasti* (1.391-440 [Lotis]; 2.303-58 [Omphale]; 6.319-48 [Vesta]).[27]

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[26] Translated by J. Fraser (ed.), *Ovid's Fasti* (Cambridge, Mass. 1976).

[27] A. Richlin, 'Reading Ovid's Rapes', in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1992) 158-79, esp. 170-72. See also E. Fantham, 'Sexual Comedy in Ovid's *Fasti*: Sources and Motivation', *HSPh* 87 (1983) 185-216.

In each case, she says, there is a set pattern: 'the woman targeted goes to sleep', the hopeful lover approaches her stealthily, there is a sudden alarm and the girl is awakened. Accordingly, the thwarted and embarrassed lover is found out, and everyone laughs at him. While Richlin suggests that this may be a peculiarly Ovidian theme, it is clearly also the scenario envisaged in Propertius 1.3, where the moonlight shining through the window, or more probably Propertius' clumsy dropping of the apples, awakens Cynthia prematurely and the romantic mood is broken.

Another potentially comic motif relating to sleep is exploited in the poem as well. As implied in sympotic poetry, a woman lying asleep may represent not only the prelude to but also the aftermath of love-making:

> Οἶνος καὶ προπόσεις κατεκοίμισαν Ἀγλαονίκην
> αἱ δόλιαι, καὶ ἔρως ἡδὺς ὁ Νικαγόρεω,
> ἧς πάρα Κύπριδι ταῦτα μύροις ἔτι πάντα μυδῶντα
> κεῖνται, παρθενίων ὑγρὰ λάφυρα πόθων,
> σάνδαλα, καὶ μαλακαί, μαστῶν ἐνδύματα, μίτραι,
> ὕπνου καὶ σκυλμῶν τῶν τότε μαρτύρια.
>
> (Hedyl. *Anth. Pal.* 5.199)
>
> Wine and treacherous toasts and the sweet love of Nicagoras sent Aglaonicé to sleep; and here hath she dedicated to Cypris these spoils of her maiden love still all dripping with scent, her sandals and the soft band that held her bosom, witnesses to her sleep and his violence then.

The opening lines of Propertius 1.3 remind us that, after seducing Ariadne, Theseus left her asleep on the seashore (*qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina / languida desertis Cnosia litoribus*, 'just as the Cretan princess lay, languid on the deserted shore, as Theseus' ship sailed away', 1-2).[28] A reference to post-coital languour occurs again at the end of 1.3, with the allusion to Zeus' sleep after making love to his wife. It is apparent, then, that the sleeping Ariadne can be viewed from two points of view. According to one myth, she is asleep *before* being found and rescued by Dionysus, but according to another, she is asleep *after* her previous lover, Theseus, has left her. The two Ariadne stories are linked in a narrative sequence in literature from at least Catullus 64 onwards.[29]

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[28] Perhaps this is also the inference as regards the other two sleepers in the extended comparison in the opening couplets. The maenad is said to be sleeping after her nightly revels. In Ov. *Am.* 1.14.21f., in a passage reminiscent of Prop. 1.3.5f., Corinna lies dishevelled, weary and still beautiful in bed in the morning, like a Thracian bacchant on the green grass. Similarly, Andromeda may perhaps be regarded as lying asleep the morning after her wedding night. On weariness and lassitude after love-making, see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1990) 46, 159, 196.

[29] See also Ov. *Met.* 8.176f. (on Ariadne): *desertae et multa querenti / amplexus et opem Liber tulit* ('She was abandoned and lamenting much, when Bacchus embraced her and came

The opening image in 1.3, then, in effect constitutes a double mythological allusion and refers simultaneously to both situations. A woman with two lovers evokes the so-called 'eternal triangle, presupposing 'a suave lover, crafty wife and stupid husband' (as in Catullus 17).[30] This, of course, is a recurrent motif in Roman love elegy and as such is appropriate in 1.3. Significantly, however, the triangle also occurs in what McKeown has dubbed the 'adultery mime', a stock comic scene where an unsuspecting husband comes home to find his wife in bed while another man hurriedly retreats from the scene (as in Horace, *Satires* 1.2.127-34).[31]

If this is indeed the kind of ambiguous situation envisaged in Propertius 1.3, Cynthia's protestations of faithful vigilance and her self-righteous references to the chaste Penelope and Lucretia have a certain irony. Like sleep, sleeplessness can be interpreted in two ways, as Meleager pauses to consider when like Propertius he visits his mistress after a party:

> ἆρά γε τὴν φιλάσωτον ἔτ' ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσω
> ἄγρυπνον, λύχνῳ πολλ' ἀποκλαομένην;
> ἢ τιν' ἔχει συγκοιτον;
> (Mel. *Anth. Pal.* 5.191.3-5[32])
> Shall I see her, the wanton one, yet lying awake and crying much to her lamp;
> or has she some companion of the night?

In particular, while a vigil working in wool may well denote fidelity, a woman who spends the night playing a lyre, as Cynthia claims she did, might be considered somewhat less virtuous:[33]

> Ἠγρύπνησε Λεοντὶς ἕως πρὸς καλὸν ἑῷον
> ἀστέρα, τῷ χρυσέῳ τερπομένη Σθενίῳ·
> ἧς πάρα κύπριδι τοῦτο τὸ σὺν Μούσαισι μελισθὲν
> βάρβιτον ἐκ κείνης κεῖτ' ἔτι παννυχίδος.
> (Anon. *Anth. Pal.* 5.201[34])

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to her aid.'). This connection is more common in art (McNally [12 (1985)] 152-92; see Paus. 1.20.3; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.15).

[30] McKeown [25] 72.

[31] McKeown [25] 74-78.

[32] See also Poseidipp. *Anth. Pal.* 5.213.

[33] For Roman disapproval of feminine musical activity, see Sall. *Cat.* 25.2 (on Sempronia). On lyre-playing as a sexual metaphor, see Varro, *Men.* 368 (*et id dicunt suam Briseidem producere, quae eius neruia tractare solebat*, 'and they say that his dear Briseis drew him out when she played his instrument'). On musical terminology in a sexual context, see Adams [28] 21, 25.

[34] This epigram may have been included in Meleager's *Stephanos*, and is probably not later than the first century BC (Paton [19] 127).

Leontis lay awake till the lovely star of morn, taking her delight with golden Sthenius, and ever since that vigil it hangs here in the shrine of Cypris, the lyre the Muses helped her then to play.

Οἶδ' ὅτι μοι κενὸς ὅρκος, ἐπεί σὲ γε τὴν φιλάσωτον
μηνύει μυρόπνους ἀρτιβρεχὴς πλόκαμος,
μηνύει δ' ἄγρυπνον ἰδοὺ βεβαρημένον ὄμμα,
καὶ σφιγκτὸς στεφάνων ἀμφὶ κόμαισι μίτος·
ἔσκυλται δ' ἀκόλαστα πεφυρμένος ἄρτι κίκιννος,
πάντα δ' ὑπ' ἀκρήτου γυῖα σαλευτὰ φορεῖς.
ἔρρε, γύναι πάγκοινε· καλεῖ σε γὰρ ἡ φιλόκωμος
πηκτὶς καὶ κροτάλων χειροτυπὴς πάταγος.

(Mel. *Anth. Pal.* 5.175)

I know thy oath is void, for they betray thy wantonness, these locks still moist with scented essences. They betray thee, thy eyes all heavy for want of sleep, and the garland's track all round thy head. Thy ringlets are in unchaste disorder all freshly tousled, and all thy limbs are tottering with the wine. Away from me, public woman; they are calling thee, the lyre that loves the revel and the clatter of the castanets rattled by the fingers.

As Meleager implies here, apart from eyes weighed down from lack of sleep (μηνύει δ' ἄγρυπνον ἰδοὺ βεβαρημένον ὄμμα, 'they betray thee, thy eyes all heavy for want of sleep', 3) and the 'party-loving lyre' (φιλόκωμος πηκτὶς, 7-8), other signs of nocturnal 'wantonness' (φιλάσωτον, 1) may be disarranged hair and unsteady limbs (ἔσκυλται δ' ἀκόλαστα πεφυρμένος ἄρτι κίκιννος, / πάντα δ' ὑπ' ἀκρήτου γυῖα σαλευτὰ φορεῖς, 'thy ringlets are in unchaste disorder all freshly tousled and all thy limbs are tottering with the wine', 5-6). We may compare Propertius' emphasis in 1.3 on Cynthia's 'tousled hair' (*lapsos . . . capillos*, 23) and her 'none too steady hands' (*non certis . . . manibus*, 8). The sympotic garland the poet gives her, then, may be singularly appropriate; Cynthia may have been carousing as well. From this perspective, the elegiac triangle has interesting ramifications in that the poet, usually the cunning, two-timing lover and cast in this role in Cynthia's tirade, in fact plays the part of the bumbling, cuckolded husband (cf. Prop. 2.29A).[35]

When it comes to images of sleeping and waking, then, it would appear that Propertius' conscious use of mythological allusion in 1.3 serves to disguise a more sordid reality. A careful rereading of the poem shows that the ostensibly romantic scenario is subverted by intimations of farce, and various ironies arise. Cynthia and the reader get the last laugh.

[35] On Propertius' suspicions of Cynthia's infidelity, see S. J. Harrison, 'Drink, Suspicion and Comedy in Propertius 1.3', *PCPhS* 40 (1994) 18-26.

ALLUSION AND RHETORICAL WIT IN OVID, *METAMORPHOSES* 13[1]

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Abstract. This article attempts to show that Ovid has created a parody of speeches from three major periods of ancient Greek literature and of a speech from the *Metamorphoses* as well. Thereby the poet binds together the entire book and suggests to his audience his literary game by his very clear allusion to Horace, *Odes* 3.13.

Allusions are so manifold, so many and various in *Metamorphoses* 13 that, despite scholarly endeavor, Ovid's poetic game still requires attention.[2] Indeed, attempting to define *Metamorphoses* 13 with a single label such as the "little *Aeneid*" (*Met.* 13.623-14.608), though formerly a common approach, does not sufficiently illuminate either the complexity of this book or the poet's design.[3] As Otis has observed, Ovid's treatment of the *Aeneid* within book thirteen is highly elliptical with *Aeneid* 1-3 receiving a mere thirteen line precis and serving essentially as a framework for Ovidian narrative.[4] Ellsworth, also

[1] My thanks to two anonymous readers for *Scholia* and to Barbara Gold of Hamilton College for making many suggestions that greatly improved this paper. Any errors that remain are the author's fault.

[2] For playfulness with allusions in the *Heroides*, see D. F. Kennedy, "The Epistolary Mode and the First of Ovid's *Heroides*," *CQ* 34 (1984) 413-22; G. Williams, "Ovid's Canace: Dramatic Irony in *Heroides* 11," *CQ* 42 (1992) 201-09; S. Casali, "Tragic Irony in Ovid, *Heroides* 9 and 11," *CQ* 45 (1995) 505-11.

[3] For newer approaches, see G. Tissol, "Polyphemus and his Audiences: Narrative and Power in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *SC* 2 (1990) 45-58; J. Farrell, "Dialogue of Genres in Ovid's 'Lovesong of Polyphemus' (*Metamorphoses* 13.719-879)," *AJPh* 113 (1992) 235-68. See also G. Tissol, *The Face of Nature: Wit, Narrative, and Cosmic Origins in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Princeton 1997) 105ff. *et passim*. See also A. H. F. Griffin, "Polyphemus and Galatea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *G&R* 54 (1983) 190-97; B. R. Nagle, "A Trio of Love-triangles in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Arethusa* 21 (1988) 75-98.

[4] See F. Boemer (ed.), *Metamorphosen: Buch XII-XIII* (Heidelberg 1982) 361-65; E. J. Bernbeck, *Beobachtungen zur Darstellungsart in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Munich 1967) 118-22; R. Coleman, "Structure and Intention in the *Metamorphoses*," *CQ* 21 (1971) 461-77; S. Doepp, *Virgilischer Einfluss im Werk Ovids* (Munich 1968) 109-40, esp. 127-33; O. S. Due, *Changing Forms: Studies in the Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Copenhagen 1974) 151-57; G. K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (Berkeley 1975) 219-51; B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (Cambridge 1966) 281-89; C. P. Segal, "Myth and Philosophy in the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid's Augustanism and the Augustan Conclusion to

dissatisfied with the label, "little *Aeneid*," adduces Odyssean allusions and prefers to name the book "Ovid's *Odyssey*."[5] And to be sure, the debate between Ajax and Ulysses (Ovid's name for the hero) contains at least one specific Homeric allusion, but to the *Iliad*. Clear reference to the *Odyssey* can, however, be found in the Polyphemus episode within the tale of Galatea (*Met.* 13.749-897). Yet this narrative also includes an undeniable borrowing from Horace, *Odes* 3.13: *splendidior vitro* ("more shining than glass," *Met.* 13.791), and although the allusion appears out of context (Latin lyric amid literary references that are Greek and epic/tragic), Ovid nonetheless makes a significant effort to weave this Horatian allusion into the text.[6] Of course, the label "Ovid's Horatian ode" is certainly a misnomer for *Metamorphoses* 13. Similarly the dominant literary allusions in Galatea's story as narrated in the comic and rhetorical love song of Polyphemus, find their primary source and tone in Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*. Again given the obvious references to Euripides' *Hecuba* that also crowd the book, "Ovid's pastoral" offers little help to the struggling reader.

Is there a unity behind all this diverse multiplicity? In *Metamorphoses* 13 there appears to be a consistent, perhaps insistent, pattern of literary allusion rendered rhetorically ridiculous. Significant orations are to be found throughout, even to the very end of the book. If one divides book thirteen into three sections, each defined by a major address, the debate between Ajax and Ulysses (1-398), Polyxena's plea within the story of Hecuba (399-575) and Polyphemus' attempt to seduce Galatea (749-897), the dominant, intertextual web joining these sections then becomes the Homeric epics, Euripides' *Hecuba* and Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*—examples drawn from three major periods of ancient Greek poetry. By line count, the sections that contain these three speeches constitute more than three quarters of book thirteen and provide it with a coherence defined by Ovid's unique parody of Greek myth and literature, an intellectual playfulness characterised by rhetorical and visual incongruity. Though he is by no means entirely bound to Greek literature within book thirteen, playful evocation of literary allusions is congenial to the Roman poet

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Book XV," *AJPh* 90 (1969) 257-92. See also S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge 1998) 103 ff.

[5] "Ovid's '*Odyssey*': *Met.* 13.623-14.608," *Mnemosyne* 41 (1988) 333-40. See also H. Doerrie, "Der Verleibte Kyklops," *AU* 12 (1969) 75-100.

[6] The many connections between Polyphemus' speech and Horace, *Odes* 3.13 have been elucidated in a paper entitled "Ovid's Polyphemus Narrative (*Metamorphoses* 13.738-897) and Horace's Description of the *Fons Bandusiae* (*Odes* 3.13): *Odium et Amor* in the 'Resisting' Galatea." This unpublished paper was written by Judith Hallett's seminar (spring 1990) students: T. Cavanaugh, B. Kang, L. Schatten, G. C. Stern, M. E. Sullivan and D. Waldman and presented at the 1990 fall meeting of *The Classical Association of the Atlantic States* at Princeton.

and certainly to be looked for, if not to be expected, in a book dominated by a seemingly interminable debate over Achilles' arms.

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In the "Iliadic" exchange between Ajax and Ulysses, Ovid employs a variety of rhetorical techniques designed to undermine the Homeric hero's dignity. The narrator mentions, for example, that before responding to Ajax's speech Laertes' son looked briefly at the ground: *donec Laertius heros / adstitit, atque oculos paulum tellure moratos* ("then the hero, son of Laertes, stood and [raised] his eyes which dwelt on the ground for a little," *Met.* 13.124f.). This allusion to *Iliad* 3.217 describes the hero's typical stance prior to speaking and, as W. B. Stanford has argued, a seemingly diffident gesture that is in fact rhetorically significant and designed to disarm the audience, a visual *captatio benevolentiae*, if you will.[7] By imitating the stance along with its rhetorical implications, Ovid deftly compels his reader to recollect the Iliadic hero's persuasiveness, yet with *sustulit*, ("he raised his eyes," 126), Ovid immediately undermines the allusion. Recall, however, Homer's full description of Odysseus' eloquence:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναίξειεν Ὀδυσσεύς,
> στάσκεν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας,
> σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,
> ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν, ἀίδρει φωτὶ ἐοικώς·
> φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὔτως.
> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἵη
> καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν,
> οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆι γ' ἐρίσσειε Βροτὸς ἄλλος·
> (*Il.* 3.216-23)
>
> But when that other drove to his feet, resourceful Odysseus
> he would just stand and stare down, eyes fixed on the ground beneath him,
> nor would he gesture with the staff backward and forward, but hold it
> clutched hard in front of him, like a man who knows nothing.
> Yes, you would call him a sullen man, a fool likewise.
> But when he let the great voice go from his chest, and the words came
> drifting down like the winter snows, then no other mortal
> man beside could stand up against Odysseus.[8]

In contrast to the dignified Homeric warrior, Ovid's hero pretends to wipe tears from his eyes while speaking of Achilles: *manuque simul veluti lacrimantia tersit / lumina* ("and at the same time with his hand, as if weeping, he rubbed his

[7] W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Oxford 1963) 14f., 71f.

[8] R. Lattimore (tr.), *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago 1962) 106.

eyes," *Met.* 13.132f.), thus removing himself from the realm of the heroic to the rhetorically manipulative and absurd. Ulysses also baldly asserts that he will employ his gift of eloquence for his own advantage (135-9), here the very antithesis of a *captatio benevolentiae.* Shamelessly he refers to his own "eloquence" as *facundia* (137), a noun whose adjectival form Ovid stresses in his editorial comment prior to Ulysses' speech: *neque abest facundis gratia dictis* ("nor was gracefulness absent from his eloquent words," 127).

Consistent with this post-Homeric view of Ulysses as the crafty orator, the Ovidian hero initially appears rhetorically adroit, if slippery. In response to Ajax's argument from noble and indeed divine ancestry, Ovid's Ulysses replies with two familial arguments. Like Ajax, he possesses divine ancestors on both sides of his family; however, he discredits this familial argument by stating that if hereditary endowments are the basis for determining who gains Achilles' arms, then they should be given to Pyrrhus, Achilles' son (155). In presenting his genealogy, Ajax refers to his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. By contrast, Ulysses, in his argument from noble ancestry, mentions only his immortal great-grandfather, Cyllenius (Mercury) on his mother's side, (146). Given the length of the speech, it seems unlikely that the hero fails to mention Laertes and Autolycus for the sake of brevity. Rather he deliberately avoids reference to Autolycus lest he elicit any dubious connotations that might cling to his maternal grandfather. Certainly a reader familiar with the *Odyssey* cannot miss the disingenuous nature of this omission, since reference to Ulysses' identity (revealed by his scar) and to Autolycus appears in a celebrated digression (*Od.* 19.390-466), a passage even discussed by Aristotle (*Poetics* 1451a). Ulysses' purposeful oversight, however, exposes his clever, though less-than-admirable, skill at evading a potential weakness in an argument based on his own noble heritage.

Once Ulysses has demonstrated his capacity as a clever speaker, however, Ovid immediately works to undercut the hero's rhetorical prowess. To defend himself from Ajax's charges, he must, so he says, fully explain *all* the good services he has rendered to the Greeks (*Met.* 13.159-61). If brevity is the soul of wit, then Ulysses is more than twice the dunce he claims Ajax to be, for his oration more than doubles the latter's 118 lines. With little thought to their propriety, Ulysses includes such topics as his "diplomatic" expedition to Troy, his restraining of the Greek troops about to abandon the war, the Doloneia and, in the latter half of his speech, an attempt to refute Ajax's criticisms of his conduct. In discussing the Iliadic Odysseus' rhetorical skills, Martin illustrates the Homeric hero's ability "to put himself in the position of the audience."[9] But far from being concerned with creating rapport, Ovid's Ulysses inflexibly

[9] R. P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes* (Ithaca 1989) 120.

follows an exhausting arrangement he should never have chosen. Having stated that he will "explain everything," he seems unable to control himself. As he moves from his argument on noble lineage to the "good deeds" he has accomplished for the Greeks, he includes the discovery of Achilles and his appeasement of Diana's anger. In both of these examples, Ulysses' own arguments work against him. Having discovered Achilles, he assumes that all the hero's deeds now accrue to him: *ergo opera illius mea sunt* ("therefore his deeds are mine," 171)—a patently ridiculous claim that both exposes Ulysses' greed and emphasises his considerable deficiency in conventional martial exploits.

In a similar vein, Ulysses' further attempts at self-laudation produce similar results. In revealing his role in contriving Iphigeneia's death so that the Greek fleet might sail from Aulis to Troy, Ulysses must know he is open to criticism, for he immediately apologises to Agamemnon: *nunc equidem fateor, fassoque ignoscat Atrides* ("now indeed I confess and may the son of Atreus pardon me having confessed," 189). If he is careful to conceal Autolycus' unseemly reputation, surely he could have omitted his own involvement in Iphigeneia's sacrifice. But apology, far from mitigating his duplicitous behavior, only re-enforces his insidious role in procuring the Greek princess' death. Odysseus mentions Aulis (181-95) because he said he would narrate *all* his good services to the Greeks (159-61), and that is compulsively what he does. Whereas self-control, versatility and careful choice of topics are the hallmark of the Homeric Odysseus, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the hero rhetorically defeats himself by his very lack of adaptability. Ovid thereby awards Achilles' arms to Ulysses as a prize for a speech far more humorous than eloquent.

2

Immediately after his failure to gain Achilles' arms, Ajax commits suicide, the precursor to Polyxena's noble death. Here, too, a similar pattern of literary allusion rendered rhetorically ridiculous can be found in Ovid's borrowings from Euripides' *Hecuba*. In both accounts of the young woman's death, Polyxena delivers a speech and is then murdered. To conclude the story of Polyxena's tragic sacrifice above Achilles' tomb, Ovid translates, in so far as Latin apparently will allow, the parallel excerpt from the Greek:

> πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμων πεσεῖν,
> κρύπτουσ' ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεών.
>
> (Eur. *Hec.* 569f.)
>
> She took great care (lit., "had much thought") to fall in
> a seemly fashion hiding from the eyes of men what it is necessary to
> hide.

> tunc quoque cura fuit partes velare tegendas
> cum caderet, castique decus servare pudoris.
> (Ov. *Met.* 13.479f.)
> Then also when she fell she took care to cover those parts that ought to be covered
> and to protect the renown (honor) of her chaste modesty.

Despite superficial similarities at the conclusions of the scenes, a close reading of each speech and its context reveals significant Ovidian transformation of the Greek narrative. In the Euripidean drama, for example, Polyxena and Hecuba appear together on stage and know in advance that the young woman's death is imminent. When given the opportunity to speak, Polyxena convinces herself she will be dying a noble death and so enjoins her mother to accept her fatal destiny (*Hec.* 342-78). By contrast, Ovid's Polyxena, taken by the Greeks from her mother, *rapta sinu matris* (*Met.* 13.450), does not appear in the narrative until immediately before she arrives alone at the site of sacrifice. Unsurprisingly her speech is extemporaneous and (thanks to Ovid) quite unsettling and peculiar.

Contradiction and incongruity characterise the Ovidian Polyxena's perplexing, if nobly motivated, address. After laying bare her upper body (*Met.* 13.459), she awkwardly states to the assembled Greek warriors that she wishes her mother would know nothing about her death (*mors tantum vellem matrem mea fallere posset*, "I only wish that my death could escape the notice of my mother," 462) because Hecuba's grief will diminish her joy in dying (*mater obest minuitque necis mihi gaudia*, "my mother stands in the way and the joy of my death diminishes," 463). She then says that she wants no man's hands to touch her virgin body (466f.) and concludes by asking that her remains be returned to her mother for burial in exchange for a ransom of tears (471-73). If Polyxena means she is concerned about the grief her mother will feel, why mention being ransomed by tears? If *fallere* ("escape the notice") is to be read, as it often is, that Hecuba should be deceived and not know of her daughter's death, why does Polyxena want her body returned?[10] Polyxena's speech is not just confused, it is filled with deliberate non-sequiturs.

During this scene both the Euripidean and Ovidian princesses appear nude to the waist. Yet again the young women and the passages in which they appear differ strikingly. Indeed the speech of Ovid's Polyxena becomes a rhetorical parody of her Euripidean counterpart's address as reported by the

[10] In Ov. *Met.* 13.462 Polyxena is aware that her mother will learn of her death. That is grammatically the condition is contrary to fact but translators as early as Golding and as recently as Miller render the line as if the princess wanted her mother deceived. See A. Golding, *Metamorphosis* (London 1567; repr. Carbondale 1961) 262; F. J. Miller (tr.) *Ovid, Metamorphoses* 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1916; repr. 1964) 261.

herald, Talthybius (*Hec.* 542-70). Euripides' princess speaks twice. Boldly she commands the Achaeans, whom Neoptolemus has ordered to seize her, not to touch her body. She will die of her own will and not live a slave (548-52). Consistent with her words, when the crowd approves her statement and Agamemnon requests that she not be sacrificed (553f.), Polyxena, ever in control, rips her garment from her shoulder to her waist and urges Neoptolemus to proceed with her execution. It is here that the messenger who is relating the speech comments editorially on her beauty (560f.). The young woman then goes down on her knees in order to die. Despite the great sympathy of Agamemnon and the surrounding Greek crowd, Polyxena immediately enjoins Neoptolemus to strike her through the bosom or throat with his sword. Neoptolemus chooses the latter and kills her as if she were a sacrificial animal, thus avoiding the sexual overtones implicit in stabbing her in the breast.[11]

By contrast Ovid's Polyxena initially urges Neoptolemus to strike her through the bosom or throat with his sword (*Met.* 13.457-59). She then rips her garment prior to delivering her major speech (457-73). Unlike Euripides' messenger, Ovid does not comment on the beauty of Polyxena's bosom; he does not need to. He has already stated that Neoptolemus is looking intently at her just before she rips her garment (456).[12] We can assume that the rest of those in attendance were doing likewise. There is a vast, indeed comical, contrast between Euripides' Polyxena forbidding any man to touch her body (when they were about to do so) while her garment is yet unrent (*Hec.* 548f.) and Ovid's princess speaking virtually the same line with her upper body exposed (*Met.* 13.466f.), and particularly so since the text contains no indication that she is about to be seized.

To a modern audience, the pose of Ovid's Polyxena might suggest an ancient Greek erotic dance. For students of rhetoric (and certainly Ovid was a student of rhetoric), the particular rhetorical stance Ovid's Polyxena assumes may well recall Hyperides' defence of Phryne, the famous courtesan and model

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[11] N. Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991) 59-61. Loraux believes striking the throat signifies the death of 'a sacrificial victim' and, striking the breast, death of "a warrior." Since Ovid's Polyxena gives an oration while she is nude to the waist and the surrounding soldiers are presumably ogling her, it is impossible to ignore the sexual overtones—a visually comic (if simultaneously horrible) death/rape. On eroticism in the Euripidean sacrifice/murder of Polyxena, see C. P. Segal, "Violence and the Other: Greek, Female, and Barbarian in Euripides' *Hecuba*," *TAPhA* 120 (1990) 109-31, esp. 111-13. See also R. N. Mitchell-Boyask, "Sacrifice and Revenge in Euripides' *Hecuba*," *Ramus* 22 (1993) 116-34.

[12] The text says that Neoptolemus is looking at her "face" (*vultu*) before she rips her garment. It would take incredible self-discipline not to look down after she has ripped it—indeed that is doubtless part of the darkly humorous incongruity of the scene.

for the Aphrodite of Cnidos.[13] According to George Kennedy, Hyperides appealed to extra-rational proof in revealing Phryne's bosom to the jurors.[14] And just in case the reader has missed the entire point of the contrast between the Euripidean and Ovidian scenes, Neoptolemus, faced with the choice of bosom or throat, decides *not* on the throat, as did his Euripidean counterpart, but on the "offered breast" (*praebita praecordia*, 476). Unlike the kneeling Euripidean princess, moreover, Ovid's Polyxena stands, as the poet hastens to emphasise by his description of her fall: *defecto poplite* ("with knee(s) failing," 477). Though willing to reveal her bosom to the assembled Greek warriors, in death she falls to the ground from a standing position while modestly covering her body. Indeed Ovid further emphasises the difference between the two versions of Polyxena's death in his translation of the Greek. While the Greek, κρύπτου' ἃ κρύπτειν ("hiding what ought to be hidden") is clearly impersonal, Ovid's Latin equivalent, *partes*, possesses undeniable sexual connotations (cf. Ov. *Ars Am.* 2.584, 618).

The horrifying/amusing effect of the visual/verbal humor implicit in the melodramatic death of Ovid's Polyxena is typical of the *Metamorphoses*; recall the description of Philomela's severed tongue as it jumps its way back to its mistress' feet (6.553-60). By his deft comparisons to Euripides' Polyxena, Ovid transforms the noble Euripidean heroine into a preposterous vamp who presides over a grisly comedy.

3

In the last of the three speeches, literary allusions abound: Homer's *Odyssey*, Theocritus' *Idylls*, Vergil's *Eclogues*, and even Horace's *Odes*.[15] Once again the Roman poet manipulates the rhetoric of an earlier literary tradition to create a Polyphemus and an address both reminiscent of their predecessors and humorously original. The unusual qualities of the Cyclops and his address are foreshadowed in Galatea's introduction. Before Polyphemus sings, Galatea explains that she and Acis are in love, and both are listening to the giant's love song while hidden from his view. Love has apparently tamed the Cyclops, though he is initially conceived as brutal and oafish in accord with Odyssean

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[13] J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece: 1400-31 B.C. Sources and Documents* (Engelwood Cliffs 1965) 131.

[14] G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton 1963) 253.

[15] For two recent very different approaches to Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*, see J. Farr "Theocritus, *Idyll* 11," *Hermes* 119 (1991) 477-84; S. Goldhill, 'Desire and the Figure of Fun: Glossing Theocritus 11," in A. Benjamin (ed.), *Poststructuralist Classics* (London 1988) 79-105. See also M. F. Williams, "Propertius 2.26B, Theocritus' *Idyll* 11, and Epic Poetry," *Scholia* 9 (2000) 20-42.

tradition (13.760f.). In his amorous state, however, he is concerned about his appearance (764-68) and even tries to shave his beard and comb his hair although, as Farrell has pointed out, the oaf's instruments for grooming are hardly conventional.[16] Interested in his image because of his love for Galatea, idiotically Polyphemus jests about Telemus' prophecy of the horrific loss of his single eye (771-73). In fact, the oaf replies to the prophet with a pun—another has already captured his eye (775).[17] The brutal blinding (the Odyssean Cyclops remembers the prediction only subsequent to disaster) is described by Homer in gruesome detail (*Od.* 9.508-12). By allusion Ovid juxtaposes the real loss and the joke thereby creating a play of scene and allusion nearly as excessive and grotesque as the murder/sacrifice of Polyxena.

In addition to its horrible/amusing tone, Polyphemus' speech (730-897) mimics the essential topics and arrangement of the eleventh *Idyll*. The Ovidian Polyphemus' amatory appeal (789-869) includes sections of praise and blame (789-837), self-laudation (his wealth and praise of his own appearance, (838-53), and an appeal to pity (854-58). And there is even an extremely violent outburst of rage against his rival, Acis (859-69), that may seem only Odyssean but, in fact, also recalls the Theocritean oaf's drolly obtuse outburst at his mother's failure to give birth to him with gills, the breathing apparatus necessary for submarine life, (*Id.* 11.67-71). While assigning him comparable means of persuasion, Ovid also endows the Cyclops with the same acuity of perception possessed by both his Homeric and Hellenistic counterparts—little or none. By the *Idyll*'s conclusion, the Hellenistic Polyphemus finally comprehends that no relationship is possible with the sea-nymph since she is a marine creature and he terrestrial. Such an insight is beyond the competence of Ovid's giant.

Ovid does not baldly duplicate his literary antecedents. On the contrary, the poet constructs a Polyphemus who is a model of literary incongruity. On the one hand, the Roman oaf is as intellectually dense as his Homeric or Theocritean predecessor, but rhetorically he is a virtual magician. Indeed the musical equipment that the Cyclops brings for accompaniment foreshadows his verbal precocity, for his reed pipe is no mere no-frills, seven-reed variety, but a deluxe model of one hundred reeds. This giant makes a fool of himself not by doltishness or oafishness, but by excesses of rhetorical virtuosity. Instead of Theocritus' three comparisons in praise of Galatea, Polyphemus begins with thirty comparisons: fifteen of praise and fifteen of blame. This Polyphemus has obviously taken a seminar in epideitic oratory. Although the Cyclops undeniably overindulges, individually each comparison is deft and concise, for

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[16] Farrell [3] 250.

[17] On other sources of Polyphemus' comic aspect, see Tissol [3] 49.

the entire passage is only nineteen lines long. In this ironic, literary turnabout, the Cyclops rhetorically defeats the Ovidian Ulysses through his conciseness. Technically the Cyclops proves himself a master rhetorician albeit a ridiculous one.

Indeed Ovid deftly maintains this disjunction between the oaf's facile oratory and his almost complete lack of insight and self-awareness. Theocritus' Cyclops, for example, offers his wealth as compensation for his strange physiognomy—particularly his single eye. Ovid's verbose oaf possesses no such inhibitions about his appearance; rather, he devotes an entire section of his speech to his "attractiveness" (*Met.* 13.840-53). Aware that he is unattractive, Theocritus' Cyclops offers to let Galatea burn off his very shaggy hair (*Id.* 11.50-54). The Ovidian Polyphemus, however, notes that trees without leaves and horses without hair are truly ugly (*Met.* 13.847f.). His eye is the size of large shield (851f.), and even the sun possesses but a single eye (853). Although this defence may be rhetorically adroit, like Polyphemus himself, it further defines the poet's ability to create humorous incongruity.

In Tissol's view, however, Ovidian incongruity represents a sequential (that is, parody of Theocritus, then Homer) rather than integrated manipulation of literary sources. Far from considering the discontinuity in Polyphemus' words as a consistent mixture of both Homeric and Hellenistic models, he believes that Polyphemus' concluding outburst of anger against Galatea's lover finds its source only in Homer and is unconnected with Theocritus.[18] To be sure, Polyphemus' anger finds parallels in the Odyssean Cyclops' demeanor as adumbrated in Galatea's earlier description of his change from brutal to amorous, but it also derives from the Theocritean oaf's misguided and droll wrath at his mother.

Anger alone does not characterise Polyphemus's final words. And his concluding, rhetorical questions again find their sources both in Theocritus and Homer. Here the Cyclops vacillates between his fear of Galatea's affection for Acis and his own hope of being loved by her. These questions recall Theocritus since the enquiries the Hellenistic oaf makes to Galatea are central to his growing awareness of the impossibility of a relationship between the two. The awkwardness of the Ovidian Cyclops also recalls the choppily phrased questions of the Homeric Polyphemus on first discovering Odysseus and his men in the cave (*Od.* 9.252-55). In short, the Ovidian oaf is not simply angry and, like his wrath, his rhetorical questions are located in more than a single source.

In the context of the *Metamorphoses*, the primary subject of the Ovidian giant's indecisive words is Galatea's love of Acis.

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[18] Tissol [3] 56.

> Acin amas, praefersque meis conplexibus Acin?
> ille tamen placeatque sibi placeatque licebit,
> quod nollem, Galatea, tibi:
> (Ov. *Met.* 13.861-3)
> Do you love Acis? Do you prefer Acis to my
> embrace? Let him be pleased with himself and pleasing,
> though I do not wish this, to you, Galatea.[19]

While furious at Acis, Polyphemus simultaneously pleads with Galatea. The Ovidian Cyclops' appeal to pity and the content of the speech, as derived from both Homeric and Theocritean traditions, is integral to this concluding entreaty. These lines, like the rest of the speech, form a simultaneous imitation of both Homeric and Theocritean elements[20] and thereby foster the continuous discontinuity in Ovid's presentation of Polyphemus.

4

Nor does Ovid's playfulness in *Metamorphoses* 13 extend only to Theocritus, Euripides and Homer. On the contrary, he is quite willing to parody his own poetry and at the same time to suggest his unwillingness to be rigidly confined by the Greek literary canon. *Metamorphoses* 13 concludes with yet another speech, Glaucus' attempt to seduce Scylla. The Cyclops, an ugly terrestrial creature, had attempted to woo a sea-nymph. Glaucus, now an unattractive sea-creature, addresses Scylla, who at this moment is a terrestrial being. Herein Ovid pointedly imitates words from the first book of the *Metamorphoses* in the same sequence. The three very common Latin words *non* ("not"), *ego* ("I am"), and *sum* ("I am") appear together in single lines in the *Metamorphoses* only at *Met.* 1.513 and 13.917—Apollo to Daphne and Glaucus to Scylla.[21]

This repetition all but begs the reader to compare Apollo's speech (1.504 -24) to that of Glaucus, (13.917-65, within the Scylla story, 897-968). In addition to the unique verbal repetition, the contexts of both speeches are virtually identical—each lover attempts to seduce the fleeing object of his

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[19] This translation is a variant on the Penguin translation with the phrases deliberately rendered more closely to the Latin word order in the hope of capturing the awkward and pleading sense of Polyphemus' words. See M. M. Innes (tr.), *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (London 1955) 308.

[20] As such, this section, although Farrell [3] 235-68 does not refer to these lines, demonstrates his thesis that the mixture of genres is inextricable from the Polyphemus episode of the *Metamorphoses*. So too Galinsky [4] 192f. elucidates Ovid's playful imitations of the pastoral genre, *Idyll* 11 and *Eclogue* 2 outside of the conclusion.

[21] I confirmed my suspicion about this singular repetition within the *Metamorphoses* by means of David Packard's *Ibycus* program. *Gratias tibi ago, O Ibyce.*

affections. Similarly the speeches contain like means of persuasion: each lover speaks of his own realm and identity in attempting to impress the beloved addressee, and each concludes with an appeal to pity based on that identity. Although he is the god of medicine, Apollo can find no cure for his passion for Daphne. Glaucus considers his recent transformation from mortal to divine useless if Scylla does not care for him. Ovid's self-parody goes beyond contextual and verbal imitations. In expounding upon his own exceptional appearance, Glaucus turns to explain (as well he might) how he became a sea-creature. In short, the new sea-god's seduction address becomes (is metamorphosed into) a narrative of his metamorphosis. Consequently, the poet makes as much literary fun of himself as he does of Homer, Euripides and Theocritus.

Just as Ovid's self-parody suggests his deliberately provocative, artistic impudence, so, too, the allusion to Horace, *Odes* 3.13, heretofore entirely separate from Polyphemus, implies to his audience that such literary and rhetorical playfulness is the dominant aspect of the book and not limited to Greek literature alone. I believe that the literary "wake-up" call, if you will, is *splendidior vitro* ("more shining than glass"). The phrase, found in the oaf's extravagant praise of Galatea (791), calls extraordinary attention to itself by being completely out of literary context—a Latin allusion among those dominantly Greek and pastoral.[22] Its source, moreover, makes the phrase all the more outrageous, hence emphatic, by juxtapositing the cerebral Horace with the idiot Cyclops. So, too, these words derive from a poem about poetic creativity.[23] With this Horatian phrase, Ovid challenges his audience to discover his sparkling poetic game in *Metamorphoses* 13.

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[22] *Vitro* (glass) is also emphatic for the unique qualities it introduces into the Cyclops's list. Unlike the rustic and natural items to which Galatea is compared, glass is urban, artificial and dependent on a developed technology to which Polyphemus would not have had access.

[23] On Horace, *Odes* 3.13 and poetic creativity, see S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (Bloomington 1967) 322-24.

ROLE-CHANGING IN APULEIUS' TALE OF THE MILLER'S WIFE (*METAMORPHOSES* 9.14-31)

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Abstract. A theatrological approach reveals that all major characters in Apuleius' tale of the miller's wife (*Metamorphoses* 9.14-31) assume roles: the miller's wife plays the chaste spouse; the ass/Lucius acts as human 'helper' of his master while the miller plays the *amator* of his wife's lover for revenge. The ass, who plays the human 'helper' and reveals the presence of the adulterer, ironically sets in motion the events that prompt his master's cruel murder.

In Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.14-31, Lucius in his asinine appearance narrates the tale of the miller's wife in which he participates as character in it.[1] In the tale the miller's wife constructs a scheme to exchange her old lover with a new one, Philesitherus. The old maid plays the Greimasian role of the 'helper' in the story and brings this lover home to have an affair with her mistress.[2] The ass, however, reveals the presence of the adulterer at the mill. Thus the ass may be seen as substituting the old maid and playing his master's human 'helper' in the later portion of the tale. The ensuing punishment of the adulterer by the miller artfully recreates the order of events in his wife's scheme. His wife, however, resorts to a witch and brings about the miller's horrible death. Thus the ass ironically sets in motion the events that lead to his master's cruel murder, despite his good intentions to help him.

The ass' inability to comprehend the tragic consequence of his action is also mirrored in his failure as narrator to understand the events of his tale. At the start of his narrative the ass compares his knowledge to that of his literary prototype, the Homeric Odysseus (9.13).[3] He then recounts the tale of the miller's wife, a tale that he defines as *bonam prae ceteris* ('most delightful beyond any other', 9.14). This promise of delight surely creates the rich pattern

[1] I express my thanks to Maria Pantelia, S. N. Philippides and Yannis Tzifopoulos for their comments on earlier drafts of this article; to S. J. Harrison for his guidance and help; to *Scholia*'s referees, John Henderson and John Hilton, for their careful reading and constructive criticism; and to William Dominik for his encouragement and editorial advice.

[2] My use of the terms, 'helper' and 'opponent' are borrowed from the Greimasian structural model of actants (A. J. Greimas, *Du sens: Essais sémiotiques* [Paris 1970]). See also below, nn. 13, 22.

[3] For the affiliation of Lucius' wanderings with those of Odysseus, see S. J. Harrison, 'Some Odyssean Scenes in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *MD* 25 (1990) 193-201.

of comic ironies in the tale. Furthermore, the ass often states his omniscience as participant in his narrative. In contrast to the narrator, a reader may view the ass as failing to keep in mind the dangers of magic from which there is no hope for salvation. (Lucius' own transformation into an ass through Photis' mistake confirms this view.) Thus the narrator reveals his failure to learn anything from his wanderings, despite his assertion of having acquired knowledge comparable to the wanderer Odysseus.

Scholars have often observed the affiliation of the tale of the miller's wife to the adultery mime;[4] others have noted the presence of vocabulary that is borrowed from the stage.[5] A theatrological reading of the tale, that is the undertaking of roles by all major characters and the subsequent change of these roles, as of yet has received little comment.[6] In what follows I shall demonstrate

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[4] C. C. Schlam, *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius: On Making an Ass of Oneself* (Chapel Hill 1992) 77 offers an outline of the characteristic elements of the adultery mime; G. Bechtle, 'The Adultery-Tales in the Ninth Book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *Hermes* 123 (1995) 107 also defines the tale as mime. J. J. Winkler, *Auctor & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's Golden Ass* (Berkeley 1985) 15f. observes that the tale offers a variation of a theme, which is acted out by the same set of characters. For discussion of the tale, see S. Mattiacci (ed.), *Apuleio: La novelle dell' Adulterio (Metamorfosi IX)* (Florence 1996) 14-21.

[5] B. L. Hijmans, Jr *et al.*, *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses Book IX: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Groningen 1995) 148 *s.v. scaenas fraudulentas construebat*; also Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [above, this note] 387.

[6] This approach differs from a narratological reading of the tale. A theatrological analysis concentrates on those components of the narrative that are akin to drama. In the narrative of the novel certain characters construct schemes and/or assume various disguises. The enactment of these schemes and/or disguises involves an assumption and performance of roles. Clearly, these narrative/dramatic components are seen in Greek New Comedy and Roman Comedy. (See, e.g., S. A. Frangoulidis, *Handlung und Nebenhandlung. Theater, Metatheater und Gattungsbewustsein in der römischen Komödie* [Stuttgart 1997] 145-77.) On the other hand, narratology focuses primarily on the various narrative voices in the text and their skilful interaction: (a) the author of the text; (b) the internal narrator (= *auctor*)—in certain instances this internal narrator (*auctor*) may be interpreted as a mask for the author himself (cf. my use of the term *auctor* in the sense of a maker); (c) the narrative audience, both internal and external; and (d) the fictional characters in the action (*actores*).

From all the above, (d) is closer to my own approach. An example, however, will show the difference between a theatrological and a narratological reading. Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 387 observe that 'the pistor as known by outsiders is one persona, as known by his wife is another'. By contrast, I go into a deeper level of analysis and examine the constant change of roles by almost all major characters in the tale. This assumption and subsequent change of roles by almost all characters in the narrative relates to the novel's basic meaning, that is, metamorphosis. (A concise explication of narratology now appears in Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 7-12. For a brilliant narratological reading of *The Golden Ass* and the interplay between *auctor* and *actor*, see Winkler [4].)

the ass' inability, both as narrator of his tale and as actor in it, to comprehend the tragic consequences of his action, despite his claim of being an eyewitness of his narrative.

In the tale, the ass informs his audience that his new owner, the miller, was a good man, but was married to a lustful wife (9.14). This woman is portrayed as a typical adulteress, dishonoring her husband and marriage. Her transgressive *mores* make the ass groan over his master. Moreover, this woman daily persecutes the ass with extraordinary hatred, a mistreatment that balances her disregard for her husband and marriage. The wife's cruel treatment of the ass increases his curiosity to find out more about her sexual life. The ass is aware of some adulterer visiting her bedchamber but he is unable to see his face because of the *velamentum* ('cover') over his eyes (9.15). Moreover, this woman has an old maid with whom she is daily constructing schemes for the miller's downfall.[7] The narrator defines these schemes with the term of theatrical language, *scaena* (*scaenas fraudulentas*, 'deceptive charades with cunning twists', 9.15).[8] During this mistreatment by the miller's wife, the ass' long ears are his only solace in his deformity because they allow him to listen to the conversation of the two women even from some distance.[9]

In the tale proper the narrator listens a conversation between the old maid and her mistress. In this exchange the old maid states to the mistress her disapproval of her present lover, who is afraid of her husband, and then praises the adulterer Philesitherus:

> De isto quidem, mi erilis, tecum ipsa videris, quem sine meo consilio pigrum et formidulosum familiarem istum sortita es, qui insuavis et odiosi mariti tui caperratum supercilium ignaviter perhorrescit ac per hoc amoris languidi desidia tuos volentes amplexus discruciat. quanto melior Philesitherus adulescens et formonsus et liberalis et strenuus et contra maritorum inefficaces diligentias constantissimus! dignus hercules solus omnium matronarum deliciis perfrui, dignus solus coronam auream capite gestare vel ob unicum istud, quod nunc nuper in quendam zelotypum maritum eximio studio commentus est.[10]
>
> (9.16)

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[7] Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 147 *s.v. adulterorum internuntia* views the old maid as a typical *lena* of mimes.

[8] See Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 148 *s.v. scaenas fraudulentas construebat*; also Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 387.

[9] See discussion in Winkler [4] 150.

[10] The text of the *Metamorphoses* is from the Teubner edition of R. Helm (ed.), *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Opera Quae Supersunt: Metamorphoseon Libri XI* (Leipzig 1992). The English translations of Apuleius' text are from the Loeb edition of J. A. Hanson (tr.), *Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989).

> You must decide yourself, mistress, what is to be done with the feeble craven lover you acquired without my advice, who shudders like a coward at the wrinkle of an eyebrow from your unpleasant, disagreeable husband, and who as a result tortures your willing arms by the slothfulness of his languid loving. How much better Philesitherus would be! He is young, handsome, engaging, vigorous, and fearlessly persistent in the face of the futile precautions of husbands. By Hercules, he alone deserves to enjoy the favours of married women; he alone deserves to wear on his hand the golden crown, if for no other reason than the extraordinary skilful way he recently tricked a certain jealous husband.

In this passage the old woman compares the timid lover with the bold and handsome Philesitherus who deserves to embrace all married women. The image of the golden crown, which alludes to military achievement, helps cast Philesitherus as a *miles amator* ('soldier lover') of elegy but with a comic touch because he is interested in sex, not in warfare.[11] The maid then recounts the narrative of Philesitherus' exploits (9.16-21).

In the maid's tale, the decurion Barbarus went on a business trip, having entrusted his wife's chastity to his slave Myrmex. Philesitherus sees Barbarus' wife and intrudes into her house by bribing her slave. The husband comes home when the lovers were making love. Barbarus' unexpected return anticipates the miller's early homecoming, given the thematic interconnections between this tale and its frame. Philesitherus hears the uproar and quickly puts on his clothes but forgets his sandals. As the master rushes to his room, Myrmex leads Philesitherus unnoticed out of the house. The next day Barbarus finds the stranger's sandals under his bed. He becomes suspicious of his wife's affair and holds the slave responsible. He orders two of his slaves to drag Myrmex in shackles to the forum in order to find the adulterer by tracking his shoe-traces. By chance, Philesitherus sees Myrmex on the road with his master and remembers that he forgot his sandals in the room. He then goes to the slave and pretends to accuse him of stealing his sandals from the baths. By means of this *impromptu* performance Philesitherus outwits the jealous husband Barbarus (9.21).

In telling the tale of Philesitherus' exploits to her mistress, the old woman appears to be in the same position as the main narrator, the ass, who recounts the tale for his own audience, both fictive and actual. Unlike the ass, who

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[11] Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 155f. *s.v. coronam auream* observe that the golden crown suggests a triumph. On the basis of this association, these commentators draw a parallelism between Philesitherus and *Hercules Invictus*. On the other hand, later, in *Met.* 9.20, A. G. Westerbring, 'Some Parodies in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', in B. L. Hijmans, Jr and R. T. van der Paardt (edd.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (Groningen 1978) 71 notes a possible parody of Ov. *Am.* 1.9.1: *militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido* ('every lover is a soldier and Cupid has his own camp').

participates in the tale as a character in it, the maid has only hearsay knowledge of her story. This difference may explain the ensuing failure of the scheme of the miller's wife.

On hearing the tale, the mistress characterises Barbarus' wife as *beata* ('lucky', 9.22) for enjoying the company of Philesitherus and identifies herself as *misella* ('poor me') because her own lover is even afraid of the ass. It turns out that the lover's fear is justified, given the ass' ability to overhear the conversation of the two women even from some distance.[12] The maid then promises to bring Philesitherus home later that evening.

The agreement of the mistress to exchange her old lover with Philesitherus may be defined as a scheme. In the Greimasian structural model of actants, the execution of this plan involves performance.[13] The wife takes on the role of *auctor*, 'maker' of the plan, while the maid plays the 'helper'. Philesitherus acts the adulterer, familiar to the tale's audience from the old maid's earlier narrative of his exploits (9.16-21).

The maid's departure marks the commencement of the scheme. The wife takes advantage of the absence of her husband who is dining at the neighboring fuller's house. She then prepares a luxurious dinner to receive her lover. Around noon the ass is also released from his yoke and the veil removed from his face. The presence of the verb *prospectare* ('to observe'), which directs attention to seeing, signals the ass' change of role from mere listener to spectator in his homodiegetic narrative. Now, as spectator, the ass is able to describe the adulterer when the old woman brings him home later at nightfall:

> puer admodum at adhuc lubrico genarum splendore conspicuus, adhuc adulteros ipse delectans.
>
> (9.22)
>
> He was no more than a boy, still conspicuous for the smooth brightness of his cheeks, still attracting male lovers.

The ass' description of Philesitherus as a boy handsome enough to attract (male) lovers differs considerably from the maid's earlier portrayal of him as a

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[12] Hijmans Jr *et al.* [5] 194 *s.v. scabiosi asini faciem timentem familiarem.*

[13] In the Greimasian model (Greimas [2] 172-75, 249-60), the wife's agreement to exchange her old lover with a new one, Philesitherus, can be defined as a narrative program (NP1). In this narrative program the wife is the subject (S1) and Philesitherus is the object (O1). The maid fills the position of the 'helper', while the husband takes the place of the 'opponent'. The execution of this program involves performance (see A. J. Greimas and J. Courtés (edd.), *Sémiotique: Dictionnaire raisonné de la théorie du langage* [Paris 1979] 270-72 *s.v. programme narratif*). For a diagram of the Greimasian actantial structure, see S. N. Philippides, 'The Narrative Models of A. J. Greimas', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 23 (1994) 112.

resourceful and intrepid youth who deserves to enjoy all married women.[14] This difference, in turn, foreshadows the miller's subsequent revenge on the adulterer, when he discovers him at the house through the ass' intervention in the events by playing the human 'helper' for his dear master.

When Philesitherus enters the house and tastes some wine, the husband unexpectedly comes home. The early return of the husband forms a structural parallel with Barbarus' unexpected homecoming. The similarity, however, is intended to direct attention to a contrast between them. The miller's wife wishes that her husband would break his legs and then hides her lover under a grain tub. In terms of the tale's intratextuality, this feature forms a parallel with the 'Tale of the Tub' (9.5-7), where an adulterous wife also conceals her lover in a tub when her own husband unexpectedly comes home. Philesitherus' hiding marks his inability to play the bold lover, as the maid has earlier presented it in her account of his exploits (9.16-21). At this point the wife plays the chaste spouse and seeks to find out the reason for her husband's early homecoming. Her curiosity to know the affair of the fuller's wife forces her husband to recount his tale.

In the husband's tale, the fuller's wife, thought to be a paragon of virtue, falls in love with a suitor, thus directing attention to the pervasive thematics of being and appearance. The wife is with her lover when her husband comes home for dinner with his friend. To avoid detection, the fuller's wife hides her lover under a basket containing sulphur. The motif of the adulterer in the house tallies with the miller's wife who presently hides her adulterer under the grain tub. The theme of dinner makes a parallel with the miller's wife when she prepares to receive her lover. The lover's sneezing because of the deadly effect of the sulphur discloses the presence of the adulterer. The husband lifts the basket and reveals the adulterer still trying to catch his breath. In his rage the fuller tries to kill the adulterer with a sword, but the miller prevents him from doing so, because he will die anyway from the deadly sulphur. The miller also persuades the fuller's wife to spend some days at a house of her female friend (perhaps his own wife). Given that later the miller exacts his revenge on the boy for playing the adulterer and destroying his marriage, it may be argued that the

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[14] S. Panayotakis, *Thesaurus Fraudis: Μορφές και Λειτουργίες της Απάτης στις Μεταμορφώσεις (4.23-6.30) του Απουλήιου* (PhD diss. Rethymno 1996) 160f. Panayotakis [above, this note] 157-62 further develops an association between the old woman who narrates the tale of Barbarus and the old woman who tells the tale of *Cupid & Psyche* in their common role to deceive the listeners of their tales. D. van Mal-Maeder, 'L' Ane d' Or ou les métamorphoses d' un récit: illustration de la subjectivité humaine', *GCN* 6 (1995) 115f. comments on the element of surprise, which results from the ass' characterisation of Philesitherus as *puer* ('boy').

miller here is engaged in performance of a role as gentle person.[15] The similarities between the miller's story and the narrator's tale make the former a paradigm for the latter. The miller, however, fails to perceive these connections and thus understand the full implications of his tale.

In her role as chaste spouse, the miller's wife keeps on calling the fuller's wife unfaithful. She even proposes that the fuller's wife should be burned alive for dishonoring her sex; then she urges her husband to retire to bed so that she can free her lover from the tub. The miller, who left his friend's house without eating, ironically forces his wife to serve him reluctantly the meal that was intended for the adulterer himself (9.26).

The narrative of the lover's discovery at the mill and his ensuing punishment by the miller artfully recreates the order of events in the wife's scheme. Clearly, this reading is facilitated by the double description of Philesitherus as bold lover and handsome boy.

First, the ass seeks an opportunity to expose the wife's scheme because her hypocritical behavior outrages him.[16] The ass finds this chance, which he assigns to divine providence, when a lame man drives the animals to a pond to drink. At this point the ass smashes the adulterer's toes with his hoof, thus making clear his change from mere spectator to actor, playing the human 'helper' for his master.[17] Philesitherus suddenly appears in view, screaming loudly from pain and thus revealing the wife's scheme. The narrator, again, defines this scheme with the term of theatrical vocabulary, *scaena* ('play-acting', 9.27).[18] Given that the ass helps reveal the presence of the adulterer to his master, it may be argued that he takes the position of the 'helper' that was reserved earlier for the maid when she brought Philesitherus home to have sex with her mistress.[19]

Secondly, the miller addresses the adulterer calmly when the latter suddenly appears pale and trembling:

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[15] See above, n. 6.

[16] The ass likens the lover under the tub to a tortoise. The comparison is apt as this animal is most slow in moving and thus points to his inability to run away, as he did in the maid's earlier narrative of his exploits, when Barbarus came home unexpectedly (9.16-21). An intratextual reading reveals an association with Aristomenes' pseudo-metamorphosis into a tortoise when the witches enter the room to exact their vengeance on the sleeping Socrates (1.12). On this see S. A. Frangoulidis, '*Cui videbor veri similia dicere proferens vera?* Aristomenes and the Witches in Apuleius' Tale of Aristomenes', *CJ* 94 (1999) 379f.

[17] On the theme of lameness in this episode and that of Aristomenes, see M. Paschalis, 'Philesitherus and Aristomenes', *LCM* 17 (1992) 125.

[18] Moreover, the ass, who reveals the adulterer to his master contrasts with the slave Myrmex who disobeys his master's order and lets the lover in and out of the house.

[19] Philesitherus' wound in his feet comically contrasts with the miller's wife when she curses her husband to break up his legs upon his unexpected homecoming.

> Nihil triste de me tibi, fili, metuas. non sum barbarus, nec agresti morum squalore praeditus, nec ad exemplum naccinae truculentiae sulpuris te letali fumo necabo ac ne iuris quidem severitate lege de adulteriis ad discrimen vocabo capitis tam venustum tamque pulchellum puellum, sed plane cum uxore mea partiario tractabo. nec herciscundae familiae, sed communi dividundo formula dimicabo, ut sine ulla controversia vel dissensione tribus nobis in uno conveniat lectulo. nam et ipse semper cum mea coniuge tam concorditer vixi, ut ex secta prudentium eadem nobis ambobus placerent. sed nec aequitas ipsa patitur habere plus auctoritatis uxorem quam maritum.
>
> (9.27)
>
> You have nothing harsh to fear from me, son. I am not barbarous, and I do not share the boorishness of rustic morality. I will not model myself on the fuller's savagery and kill you with lethal sulphur fumes, and I will not even invoke the strictness of the law to try you on capital charges under the statutes against adultery. You are such a charming and pretty boy: I will treat you as the joint property of my wife and me. Instead of a probate to split an estate, I will institute a suit to share common assets, contending that without controversy or dissension we three should enter into contract in the matter of one bed. You see, I have always lived in such harmony with my spouse that, in accordance with the teachings of the wise, we both have the same tastes. But the principle of equity does not permit a wife to have greater right of ownership than the husband.

Here critics have often discussed the contrast between the miller's treatment of the adulterer and either that of Barbarus, the cuckolded husband, or the fuller, in each of the two embedded tales.[20] The husband's calm address to the lover, however, may be taken as designed to recreate the context of the miller's wife when she receives the adulterer in her house. After all, the miller informs the boy that he always shares all things with his wife. He then takes the lover to his bedroom to lay alone with him and locks his wife in another room. Thus the miller appears in the same position as his wife, becoming an *amator* ('lover') himself in order to exact his revenge on the boy for playing the sexual aggressor. Ironically, the miller spends the night with the boy in his bedroom, in contrast to his own wife, who was unable to sleep with the adulterer because of her husband's unexpected homecoming. The miller's earlier consumption of the meal, intended for the actual adulterer, foreshadows his assumption of the lover's role (9.26).

Thirdly, the bold adulterer, instead of offering his sexual service to the miller's wife, changes into an *amatus* ('beloved'), albeit unwillingly, thus becoming the miller's boy. The ass' earlier portrayal in 9.22 of Philesitherus as

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[20] J. Tatum, 'The Tales in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *TAPhA* 100 (1969) 520f.; Bechtle [4] 112f., 116.

a boy handsome enough to attract male lovers has foreshadowed this development.

Finally, the miller's wife fills the position of the Greimasian role of the 'opponent' in her husband's revenge on the boy, in a way comparable to her husband in the tale's first part. Her earlier evil reaction when she suggested that the fuller's wife should be burned alive anticipates her change of role. In this way, the miller punishes the lover in terms that artfully mirror his crime.

The next morning the miller summons two of his strongest slaves to lift the lover up. In his address to the adulterer the miller identifies him as *puer* ('boy', 9.28). This identification is in agreement with the ass who earlier in 9.22 characterised the adulterer as *puer*. The miller also whips the lover on the buttocks with a rod and then throws him in tears out of his house. The miller's harsh punishment of the boy contrasts with his earlier calm address to him when he discovered his presence at the mill and then led him to the private space of his bedroom; it further helps redefine his sleeping with the boy last night as performance of a role. Moreover, the boy's tears signal a radical departure from his earlier description as bold lover and thus may point to his transformation into a woman. This feature contrasts with Philesitherus' earlier successful performance as intrepid lover, fooling the jealous husband Barbarus with his *impromptu* performance outdoors. Thus the miller exacts his vengeance on his wife's lover both during night-time and daytime for transgressing his age and playing the sexual aggressor. The miller then divorces his wife in stark contrast to his own earlier calm and/or 'civilised' advice to both the fuller and his wife.

The discovery of the adulterer at the mill is due to the ass' intervention in the events playing the human 'helper' for his master, in a way comparable to the old maid acting as confidante of her mistress in the earlier part of the tale. The ass' intervention, however, ironically sets in motion the chain of events that lead to his master's cruel death. Thus the ass reveals his inability to learn anything from his wanderings, despite his claim of having acquired knowledge, if not wisdom, similar to the Homeric Odysseus (9.13).

This development comes about when the wife resorts to magic, which the ass defines as an art habitual to women: *ad familiares feminarum artes* ('[she] was roused to use arts natural to women', 9.29).[21] The miller's wife engages a witch by offering her gifts and begs her either to reconcile her husband to her (and, by implication, enable her to continue her immoral life) or to send a ghost or demon to kill him.

This plan, like her earlier one, exhibits a theatrical design. The wife is the *auctor*, 'maker' of this second scheme, while the witch takes the Greimasian

[21] F. Jones, 'Punishment and the Dual Plan of the World in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius', *LCM* 20 (1995) 15, characterises the miller's wife as a witch.

role of a 'helper', earlier reserved for the maid who does not take part in the later portion of the tale.[22]

In the enactment of this plan the witch, as expected, fails to break the husband's spirit. Her failure to sooth the miller's wrath forms a contrast to the miller himself who earlier managed to calm the fuller when he discovered the adulterer at his house. Consequently, the witch incites the ghost of a violently murdered woman to kill the miller.[23] The selection of this particular ghost is understandable because victims of violent death were considered to be especially dangerous.[24] Clearly, the figure of a wretched woman is calculated to convey the impression that she is not dangerous in any way.

The narrator interrupts the flow of his narrative and recounts in direct speech a possible reaction from his own fictive audience who may question the credibility of his tale.[25] The narrator assures the addressees of his tale that thanks to his curiosity and his asinine appearance he was able to find out the plans of the two women, the miller's wife and the witch. A reader, however, may hold the ass fully responsible for bringing about his master's death, as he fails to understand the supernatural world of his wanderings despite his eyewitness knowledge of the events of his narrative.

This tragic development takes place when a mysterious woman arrives at the mill in the middle of the day, half-dressed and disfigured by emaciation (9.30). In retrospect, the figure of this wretched woman is a mask that the ghost puts on in order to win the miller's sympathy and then destroy him. Structurally speaking, the repulsive look of this woman forms a contrast with the handsome Philesitherus in the tale's first part.

The encounter between this woman and the miller re-enacts themes that originally appear in the miller's revenge on Philesitherus in several ways. First,

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[22] In the Greimasian model (above, n. 13), the wife's second scheme acquires the function of a 'narrative program' (NP2). In this program, the wife is the subject (S2) and the husband is the object (O2); the husband moves from the position of the 'opponent' in his wife's earlier program to that of the object in her later program.

[23] A discussion of this episode as evidence for Apuleius' interest in demonology both in the *Metamorphoses* and the *De Deo Socratis* appears in P. Habermehl, '*Quaedam divinae Mediae Potestates:* Demonology in Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*', *GCN* 7 (1996) 138.

[24] D. Felton, *Haunted Greece and Rome: Ghost Stories From Classical Antiquity* (Austin 1999) 57.

[25] For discussion see Winkler [4] 69f. Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 257 *s.v. sed forsitan lector* . . . make the interesting observation that this metanarratological element directs attention to the limited perception of the narrator in narrating this incident. On the other hand, G. N. Sandy, 'Apuleius' *Golden Ass*: From Miletus to Egypt', in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context* (London 1999) 92 notes that here the narrator 'steps off the pages of the novel to underscore the irony of an asinine narrator'.

the woman looks emaciated and pale (*lurore buxeo macieque foedata*, 'she was disfigured by emaciation and the pallor of the boxwood', 9.30), thus making a distant parallel to the boy who was portrayed as pale and trembling in the presence of the master (*exangui pallore trepidantem puerum*, 'bloodlessly pale and trembling boy', 9.27). Secondly, the woman leads the miller to the private space of his bedroom (*in suum sibi cubiculum deducit*, 'she took him away to his own room', 9.30). This feature recreates the context of the miller leading the adulterer to his bed to exact his vengeance on him for destroying his marriage (*deducebat ad torum*, 'he led him off to bed', 9.28). Finally, the woman remains in the room with the miller for a long time with the doors shut, thus evoking memory of the miller who lays with the adulterer in his bedroom and locks his wife in the next room. This skilful repetition of themes in the narrative of Philesitherus' punishment by the miller makes the miller's punishment by his own wife artfully mirror his own revenge on Philesitherus.

The disclosure of what actually happened in the room takes place when the servants come to their master to ask for more grain for the mill and call him aloud. Since the miller does not respond to their calls, the slaves burst into the room. There they see the body of their master hanging from a noose, while the woman was nowhere to be seen (9.30).[26] This punishment of the miller bears some connection with that of Philesitherus, when the miller's two servants lift him high up to whip his buttocks with the rod (9.28). The manner of his death characterises a feminine way of dying, thus forming a structural parallel with Philesitherus whom the miller in his own revenge transforms, in some sense, into a woman by laying alone with him and then throwing him out of his house in tears. The servants then remove the noose from the miller's neck and perform the burial rites in lamentation. Thus both scenes, the punishment of the adulterer by the miller and the wife's revenge upon her husband, end in tears and wailing respectively.

The next day the miller's daughter arrives from the neighboring town in mourning. The ghost of her murdered father has appeared in her sleep with the noose in his neck and disclosed to her the infidelity of her stepmother, her resort to witchcraft and his descent to the underworld. Intratextuality in the tale reveals a striking association with the resurrection of the dead husband in the tale of Thelyphron (2.21-30).[27] In the *Thelyphron* tale, an old uncle of the dead appeals

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[26] See also Hijmans, Jr *et al.* [5] 264 *s.v. nec uspiam reperta illa muliere*, who observe that 'the reader-who had his suspicions-now knows for certain that she was a *nekudaimon*, the actors (that is, in the narratological sense of the terms) now for the first time suspect something like that.' In intratextual terms, the miller's hanging contrasts with Aristomenes' failure to kill himself with the rope. On Aristomenes' failure to commit suicide because of the effect of magic, see Frangoulidis [16] 384f.

[27] I thank John Hilton for drawing this to my attention.

to the magician/priest of Isis Zatchlas to reanimate his nephew and reveal the secret of his death by his wife's poison. In both narratives, the tale of Thelyphron and that of the miller's wife, the dead husband is reanimated for a while; in both, this revived husband reveals the infidelity of his wife, her resort to witchcraft and her involvement in his death; and in both the husband gains a thorough understanding of his wife's *mores* only after his death. The similarities, however, seem designed to direct attention to a stark contrast between the two narratives: the uncle of the dead appeals to the priest/magician Zatchlas to resurrect the dead husband and prove the widow's guilt. On the other hand, the miller's wife resorts to a witch in order to kill her husband and therefore to be able to continue her transgressive life. This contrast in turn illuminates the vast difference between the beneficial magic that Zatchlas practices and the destructive powers of the witch. After the memorial on the ninth day, the miller's daughter auctions her father's estate as well as all the animals along with the ass, who is sold to a new owner, the market-gardener.

From the foregoing analysis, it becomes clear that the ass, who reveals the presence of the adulterer at the mill, may be viewed in a position analogous to the maid who plays the 'helper' and brings the lover to her mistress. In her own revenge, the wife resorts to magic and brings about her husband's cruel death as well as the ass' further wanderings. In stark contrast to both the miller and the ass, the miller's wife and her maid are not punished for their actions. Thus the ass ironically sets in motion the events that lead to his master's horrible murder and his own further wanderings.

The ass' failure to understand his own role in the tale as actor in it is also reflected in his failure as narrator to interpret correctly the events of his narrative. Before the start of his tale the ass compares his knowledge to Odysseus, his literary prototype in Homer's *Odyssey* (9.13). In contrast to the narrator, a reader may view the ass as completely unable to understand the magic world of his adventures as he unwittingly becomes responsible for his master's cruel death and his own further misfortunes through his actions. This tale then, just like several other tales before it (e.g., the tale of Aristomenes in book 1), directs attention to the inability of humans to improve their lot because of the destructive power of magic; this helplessness is alleviated only through divine help, as happens with the goddess Isis' intervention in the final book of the work to save Lucius from his asinine form. Thus the ass fails completely to learn anything from the world of his adventures, despite his claim of having acquired knowledge, if not wisdom, comparable to Odysseus.

HORACE, *SATIRES* 1.4.34 AND HANNIBAL'S TACTIC OF ESCAPE FROM THE *AGER FALERNUS*

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Abstract. Hannibal's name commanded fear and respect among the Romans. He was remembered for his disregard for the rules of combat. In 217 BC he burned bundles of sticks tied to the horns of cattle as a distraction in order to escape from the *ager Falernus*. This event may be reflected in Horace, *Satires* 1.4.34: *faenum habet in cornu: longe fuge* ("He has hay on his horn: stay far away.").

Over the past twenty-two centuries the memory of Hannibal has retained its power to frighten and to command the respect of Romans and non-Romans alike.[1] As Serge Lancel recently reminded us, in the time of the Flavians almost three hundred years after Hannibal left Italy, Domitian was not amused when Mettius Pompusianus named two of his slaves Mago and Hannibal.[2] Even today the casual tourist can follow the trail of Hannibal in Italy. He or she can see, for example, the bust of Hannibal at Tuoro, be shown the "house of Hannibal" at Ossaia, and visit the Campi d'Annibale at Monte Cavo where Hannibal is said to have rested in 211 BC as he marched on Tusculum.[3]

Among the things remembered about Hannibal was his utter disrespect for fair rules of combat. He often turned to trickery and "a whole range of stratagems, ruses, surprise raids and ambushes."[4] To the Romans this was "strange and overly clever wisdom" (*nova ac nimis callida sapientia*), as Livy described it in his narrative at 42.47.5-9 about another dangerous enemy, namely Perseus in 172 BC. It was to them the acme of perfidy. They found it both alarming and terrifying and it took them considerable time to adjust to it. An example of such a tactic was the ploy Hannibal used to escape from the Roman held territory north of the Volturnus River known as the *ager Falernus* in 217 BC. As Lazenby described it,

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[1] See A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* 1-2 (New York 1965) *passim*; S. Lancel (tr. A. Nevill), *Hannibal* (Oxford 1998) 211-24.

[2] Lancel [1] 221.

[3] F. Mayes, *Bella Tuscany* (New York 1999) 102-03, 165.

[4] Lancel [1] 218.

> Hannibal camped in the level ground below the hill on which Fabius had taken up his position, and after trying in vain to lure the dictator down to battle (Livy 22.16.1ff.), realised that he would have to try to break through the pass—here called by Livy (22.16.5) the "iugum Calliculae" ["ridge of Calliculae"]. But one again he was equal to the occasion: in effect, he worked out a plan to trick the 4000 Roman troops guarding the pass from their position. He ordered Hasdrubal, here described by Polybius (3.92.4) as the officer in charge of "services", to collect as much dry wood as possible and bind it into bundles, and to assemble 2000 of the strongest cattle that had been captured. Then he gathered the army-servants together, and, pointing out a saddle between his camp and the pass, ordered them to be ready to drive the cattle towards it as soon as he gave the word. If the location of this incident adopted above is correct, the saddle will have been the one between Monte Caievola, to the west of which would have been Fabius' camp, and Monte S. Nicola. With his usual care, he finally bade his soldiers have their supper and get some rest (Polybius 3.92.3-6). "As the third part of the night was coming to an end" (Polybius 3.92.7—i.e. about 3 a.m.), he roused the army-servants and ordered them to tie bundles of wood to the horns of the cattle, and then to set light to them and drive the cattle towards the saddle he had pointed out; the faithful spearmen were ordered to accompany the cattle-drive, and to seize and hold the saddle. At the same time, he got the rest of his army in motion, his Africans in the van, then the cavalry and the rest of the captured cattle, and the Spaniards and Celts in the rear, making for the pass. The result was that the Roman force guarding the pass, assuming that the enemy was attempting to break out over the saddle, made for that point, only to be non-plussed by what they found, while Hannibal led his main force through the pass without striking a blow. Fabius, meanwhile, true to his habitual caution, remained where he was rather than be drawn into some trap. Next day, Hannibal's Spaniards returned to relieve the spearmen, and safely brought them through, killing about 1000 of the Roman force in the process. The whole episode was a triumph, not only for Hannibal's ingenuity, but for the disciplined expertise of his army.[5]

Lancel suggests that this plan was "a ruse which he [Hannibal] had perhaps already tried out in the Alps."[6] No one, however, has had much more to say about the incident. I suggest that an aspect of Hannibal's successful ploy may have lived on in a line from Horace's *Satires*, namely 1.4.34. There Horace says that men driven by corrupt practices and perverted libido fear the pen of a writer. "He has hay on his horn," says Horace, so "stay far away" (*faenum habet in cornu: longe fuge*). This curious line, one "which happens not to occur elsewhere,"[7] has provoked little comment. Scholars note that Plutarch used it in

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[5] J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War: A Military History of the Second Punic War* (Norman 1998) 70f.

[6] Lancel [1] 100.

[7] E. P. Morris, *Satires* (New York 1909) 73.

Greek dress in a passage from his biography of Crassus. There Sicinnius, known for annoying a wide assortment of prominent men in Rome, explains that he has left Crassus undisturbed because "he has hay on his horn" (χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος, *Crass.* 7.8). Plutarch then observes that "the Romans used to wrap hay about the horn of an ox that gored so that those who met up with it might be careful" (εἰώθεισαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν κυρίττοντα τῶν βοῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτῳ περιελίσσειν τὸ κέρας, *Crass.* 7.9).

In the third century, Horace's commentator Pomponius Porphyrius, accepted the same explanation and said that "today at Rome, however, we see that hay is placed like a loop of a sandal on the horn of an ox, which gives a signal to passersby to stay clear of him" (*Romae autem videmus hodieque faenum velut ansulam fact<u>m in cornulo bovi poni, quo signum datur transeuntibus, ut eum vitent.*[8]).

This explanation is what is found in our modern commentaries, both philological and historical. Many editions of Horace's satires, tell us much the same thing. J. L. Lincoln, for example, says in his edition, *The Works of Horace*, that this was "a common cry of the street, here humorously applied to a poet. A vicious ox or cow usually had a wisp of hay fastened to its horns as a warning to the passers-by."[9]

J. M. C. Toynbee, however, makes no mention of this unusual technique of animal husbandry in his chapter on cattle in *Animals in Roman Life and Art*.[10] Yet we do find some evidence for tying materials to the horns of cattle in Columella. In *De Re Rustica* 6.2 he gives advice about training young oxen. There he notes that "cords of hemp should be fastened to their horns" (*cannabinisque funibus cornua iuvencorum ligato*, 6.2.3f.) and that "the nooses used to catch them should be wrapped in sheep skin so that the tender areas under the horns are not hurt" (*laquei, quibus capulantur, lanatis pellibus involuti sint, ne tenerae frontes sub cornua laedantur*, 6.2.4). At 6.16.1f. he describes a remedy for broken horns. He says "when the horns are broken, small pieces of cloth steeped in salt, vinegar, and oil are placed on them, and the same ingredients are poured over them for three days after they have been bound up" (*praefractis cornibus linteola sale atque aceto et oleo imbuta superponuntur, ligatisque per triduum eadem infunduntur.*). Thus techniques of tying and

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[8] F. Hauthal (ed.), *Acronis et Porphyrionis Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum* 2 (repr. Amsterdam 1966) 89 ll. 10-12.

[9] J. L. Lincoln, *The Works of Horace* (New York 1885) 450. See also C. E. Bennett, *Horace: Odes and Epodes* (New York 1901) 187 and T. E. Page, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (London 1922) 398.

[10] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Ithaca 1973) 148-62.

binding up horns, however sketchy our understanding of them may be, must have been part of the traditional methods of cattle-raising in ancient times. Nevertheless, no scholar has stopped to use this evidence to question the real meaning behind such a phrase. Since then the maxim has had fair use as a proverb. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England and continental Europe, we see it in Erasmus' *Adagia* 59B and then in Francis Bacon (*c.* 1594), Ben Jonson (1602), Robert Herrick (1648), and N. Waker (1663).[11]

In accounts of the Second Punic War about Hannibal's daring escape, both Polybius and Livy describe the binding of dry twigs and branches to the horns. Polybius says during his account at 3.93.3-94.6 that Hannibal led out the army workers "and commanded them to tie the kindling wood to the horns of the cattle" (καὶ προσδεῖν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὰ κέρατα τοῖς βουσὶ τὰς λαμπάδας, 3.93.7f.). Livy in his narrative of the event at 22.16.5-17.7 writes that "firebrands gathered everywhere from the surrounding fields and also bundles of twigs and dry brushwood were bound to the horns of the cattle" (*faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum*, 22.16.7).

Neither historian tells us how this binding was actually done, and hay is not mentioned at all. Nevertheless, it is not hard to imagine that Hannibal's men at 3 a.m. in the morning would find pieces of straw ready at hand, easy to use and appropriate to the task as inflammable binders. Hannibal could well have found the inspiration for his idea from the cattle marked out in similar fashion which he had seen and captured in Roman territory. Furthermore, neither Polybius nor Livy found anything strange about the trick.

Thus the Horatian phrase "he has hay on his horn" (*faenum habet in cornu*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.34) finds one of its sources in techniques of animal husbandry practiced by the Romans. For that reason Horace need not have drawn the image exclusively from Polybius and/or Livy, for he may well have seen it with his own eyes. Nevertheless, his warning conveys two distinct messages. On one level, it is an indirect reminder to the Romans of a terrible humiliation that they suffered in 217 BC by sheer trickery. On another level, because the defeat was one effected not by force of arms or muscle, but by the genius of a clever mind, it is a reminder to watch out for the creative talent of a bold and feisty man. For this reason an ox with hay on its horns, like a poet with a fertile mind, is a dangerous creature no one wants to encounter or provoke. When it comes to fighting, pointed things like horns, pens, and swords are equally dangerous.

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[11] M. P. Tilley, *Proverbs in England* (Ann Arbor 1950) H223.

PARTES DEL DISCURSO Y ESTRUCTURA ANAFÓRICA EN LA *SINTAXIS* DE APOLONIO DÍSCOLO

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Abstract. Apollonius Dyscolus presents in *Syntax* 1.14-29 a description of the parts of the speech that seem designed to serve as a program for his treatise. This program, however, ceases to be maintained early in the *Syntax*. This paper deals with the problem of this truncated program and consequently with the structure and underlying logic of the *Syntax*. In addition, an attempt is made to show the relation between Apollonius' concept of *mére toû lógou* and the phenomenon of anaphora.

Introducción

La obra de Apolonio Díscolo constituye el primer gran trabajo de sistematización en el área de los estudios gramaticales de la antigüedad y recoge la larga experiencia de investigaciones lingüísticas de la Escuela de Alejandría.[1] Su influencia, especialmente a través de sus continuadores latinos, ha sido determinante en la gestación de los cánones tradicionales de esta disciplina, y si bien se ha discutido largamente si la gramática ha surgido de los trabajos de los filósofos estoicos o de los gramáticos alejandrinos, lo cierto es que no existe para nosotros ningún testimonio que se acerque en importancia a la obra de Apolonio y tampoco parece haberlo habido para los antiguos, a juzgar por sus propios comentarios.

Esta obra, sin embargo, ha dado lugar a numerosos problemas interpretativos, causa tal vez de que su autor se haya ganado el mote de 'Díscolo' ('difícil').[2] Acaso uno de los desacuerdos principales entre los estudiosos esté dado por la determinación del esquema básico de la *Sintaxis*. Es nuestra intención, entonces, relevar en lo que sigue los ejes de la organización de las partes del discurso (1.14-29), para abordar luego el estado de la cuestión respecto de la estructura programática de la *Sintaxis*, lo cual nos permitirá esbozar una tesis acerca de la importancia de la conceptualización de la

[1] A la memoria de mi padre, Jacinto O. Mársico. Agradecemos a los Profs. Victoria Juliá y Luis A. Castello, así como al árbitro anónimo de *Scholia*, las valiosas sugerencias realizadas a una versión previa de este trabajo.

[2] La posibilidad de que la dificultad y oscuridad de su estilo haya ocasionado esta denominación es tenida en cuenta por la *Vita Apollonii* 12.12ss.

categoría de anáfora en la economía de la obra, y por lo tanto en el momento fundacional de la gramática como disciplina.

La organización de las partes del discurso

Entre los capítulos 14 y 29 del libro 1 de la *Sintaxis*, Apolonio Díscolo establece el orden lógico y jerárquico de las partes de la oración, pensada en términos abstractos como 'oración perfecta' (λόγος αὐτοτελής, 1.14 *et passim*), de la cual los casos concretos son instanciaciones. Hay un tipo, entonces, de 'oración universal' que funciona, por un lado, como parámetro fundante y normativo del lenguaje, y por otro, como eje organizador de la teoría apoloniana que pretende explicarlo. A efectos de entender esta relación es preciso tener en cuenta que Apolonio tiene en mente la idea de un 'modo natural del lenguaje',[3] aquel mismo que dicta las pautas de la organización típica de una oración y los criterios de corrección del discurso.[4]

El fundamento de la organización oracional está constituido por dos de sus partes: el nombre y el verbo. Apolonio sigue la tradición que se abre con Platón y se continúa sin interrupciones hasta su época. La primera formulación del par nombre-verbo como constituyente básico del *lógos* es el pasaje del

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[3] Cf., por ejemplo, 1.50, 144; 2.24, 154, 169; 3.63, 83.

[4] Se han propuesto varias lecturas para desentrañar la naturaleza de esta 'oración perfecta'. Los escolios remiten a una 'oración genérica o universal' que subyacería a toda oración concreta (Escolio londinense 517.28). Las interpretaciones modernas han perfeccionado esta interpretación prestando atención a la relación con la estructura constitutiva de la frase y a la relación de su estatuto lógico con la oración concreta. F. Ildefonse, *La Naissance de la grammaire dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1997) 295ss. presenta las diversas interpretaciones a partir de la tesis de F. Lambert, 'Théorie syntaxique et tradition grammaticale: les parties du discours chez Apollonius Dyscole', *Archives et Documents de la Societé d'Histoire et Epistémologie des Sciences du Langage* 6 (1985) 121s., quien hace hincapié en que el *lógos autotelés* constituiría el modelo terminado, resultado del ensamblaje sucesivo de las diferentes partes del discurso: ((((((nombre + verbo) + participio) + artículo) + pronombre) + preposición) + adverbio). J. Lallot, 'L'ordre de la langue. Observations sur la théorie grammaticale d'Apollonius Duscole', en H. Joly (éd.) *Philosophie du langage et grammaire dans l'Antiquité* (Bruxelles/Grenoble 1986) 421s. retoma esta interpretación apuntando que esta 'frase perfecta' es en verdad una metafrase de máxima densidad semántica, pero no una oración ella misma; en tanto esquema de las partes de la frase, no es ella misma una frase, así como tampoco el paradigma alfabético es una palabra. Esta metafrase sería más bien un prototipo referencial de todo enunciado. Ildefonse [*supra*, esta nota] 297ss., finalmente, partiendo de las caracterizaciones anteriores, interpreta este ensamblaje progresivo de la metafrase como una herencia del procedimiento de determinación del esquema categorial estoico).

Sofista 261d-62d en que dicho par es presentado como enunciado mínimo.[5] A este primer esbozo, las consideraciones aristotélicas en torno del lenguaje irán agregando progresivamente otros elementos que darán por resultado el capítulo 20 de la *Poética* y su caracterización de las 'partes del discurso', los μέρη τῆς λέξεως. La gramática posterior profundizará la línea de investigación abierta por estas primeras conceptualizaciones. El nombre tiene preeminencia sobre el verbo, ya que este último apunta a la descripción de la acción o estado de los cuerpos y de este modo los presupone.[6] Entre otros elementos que abonan esta tesis, será de fundamental importancia la noción de '(significado) concomitante'[7] (παρυφισταμένον), según la cual las palabras conllevan además de su significado propio y específico una 'sobresignificación' que suele estar reflejada en marcas morfológicas y funciona, por lo tanto, como articulador de la coherencia de la frase. El significado concomitante puede apreciarse, en el caso de los verbos, en la naturaleza de su desinencia, que indica una presencia del nominativo sujeto en el propio verbo (1.17), presencia nominal que, lejos de independizarlo del nombre, lo coloca en un plano similar, por ejemplo, al del artículo o el pronombre, que se definen por referencia al nombre. La fuerza del elemento nominal como punto de partida, como condición de posibilidad de la oración, se hace sentir para Apolonio en el hecho de que la 'palabra' (ὄνομα), una categoría aplicable a todas las partes de la oración, es además la nomenclatura específica de su parte fundante: el nombre (ὄνομα).

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[5] '. . . Porque en cierto modo nosotros tenemos, para expresarnos con la voz acerca del ser, dos clases de signos.—¿Cómo?—Unos se llaman nombres (ὀνόματα), los otros, verbos (ῥήματα) . . .—El discurso (λόγος) se forma y resulta en el primer entrelazamiento, que es ya el primero y más sencillo de los razonamientos.—Pues, ¿cómo dices?—Cuando alguien dice *el hombre aprende*, ¿dices que éste es el razonamiento menor y primero?—Lo digo.' (Traducción [modificada] A. Tovar, *Platón: El Sofista* [Madrid 1970])

[6] *Sintaxis* 1.16: 'El nombre ha de preceder necesariamente al verbo, ya que ser agente y ser paciente es cosa propia de los cuerpos, y a los cuerpos es a lo que se impone los nombres, de los que nace la propiedad del verbo, esto es, la acción o pasión.' Seguimos, excepto indicación en contrario, la traducción de V. Bécares Botas, *Apolonio Díscolo: Sintaxis* (Madrid 1987).

[7] En el pasaje 1.2 esta noción es referida como παρυφισταμένον νοητόν. Esta expresión, que representa la manifestación completa del uso apoloniano habitual—esto es, suele utilizar sólo el término παρυφισταμένον, con el sentido de 'significado concomitante'—ha sido repetidamente referida a efectos de argumentar a favor de la herencia estoica de los principales conceptos gramaticales de Apolonio. En efecto, las fuentes del estoicismo atestiguan a menudo el uso de las formas de ὑφιστάναι para referirse a los incorpóreos y especialmente a los predicados, así como νοητόν parece ser una variante de λεκτόν. Cf. V. Goldschmidt, 'Hypárchein et hyphistánai dans la philosophie stoïcienne', *REG* 85 (1972) 31-34; M. Frede, 'The Origins of Traditional Grammar', *Essays in Ancient Philosophy* (Oxford 1977) 354ss.; Ildefonse [4] 264ss.

Creemos que es preciso ahondar en el sentido de este funcionamiento, en tanto el sistema sintáctico completo está estructurado en base a un cuerpo de referencias y participación de las partes secundarias o derivadas respecto de las primarias o básicas de la oración. Y en última instancia, por lo que antes hemos dicho de la preeminencia absoluta del nombre, este sistema estaría establecido, primariamente, sobre una referencia y participación respecto del mismo. Tanto en el pronombre (ἀντωνυμία)—aquella parte que está en lugar del nombre—como en el artículo (ἄρθρον), cuya función es definida propiamente como anafórica respecto de esta parte,[8] se manifiesta de manera eminente esta dependencia lógica inequívoca con respecto al *ónoma*. Subrayar esta preeeminencia no significa desestimar la función verbal, imprescindible por otro lado para explicar la naturaleza del participio o los adverbios, sino que apunta a enmarcar incluso al verbo como tributario de la categoría nominal fundante, más allá de que en los hechos nombre y verbo actúen a la par como ejes de la construcción de la oración. El resto de las partes, entonces, se define por su relación con estas formas básicas.

Revisemos en primer lugar el estado de la cuestión acerca del programa de la *Sintaxis* para volver luego sobre el análisis de la naturaleza de esta relación entre nombre y verbo y el resto de las partes de la oración.

La cuestión del programa de la Sintaxis

El problema interpretativo al que hemos hecho referencia respecto del sistema de la *Sintaxis* surge al notar que siendo el nombre una categoría absolutamente fundamental para la comprensión del resto, y especialmente de aquellas que funcionan exclusivamente por referencia a él—esto es artículo y pronombre—no hay, en principio, en toda la obra un estudio exhaustivo que le corresponda. El cuerpo de la *Sintaxis* no desarrolla un tratamiento sistemático de las partes del discurso en el orden propuesto por los capítulos introductorios del libro 1,

[8] Puede sorprender a lectores modernos la consideración de que la función principal del artículo es la anáfora. Es preciso tener en cuenta, sin embargo, para no adentrarnos en las disquisiciones de detalle dedicadas a los grados de anáfora del artículo (cf. 1.43), que Apolonio tiene en mente el funcionamiento habitual del artículo griego, que constituye un articulador (ἄρθρον) del discurso en tanto se presenta junto a nombres que ya han sido nombrados previamente. Este uso básico, llamado por Apolonio *anáfora simple*, es el que guía la caracterización general de esta parte de la oración, que representa un claro avance respecto de conceptualizaciones anteriores que se discuten en la misma *Sintaxis*. Especialmente la opinión estoica, según la cual el artículo está llamado a explicitar la distinción del género, es objetada con una declaración de principios que da cuenta de un notable avance en la elaboración de los fenómenos lingüísticos: '. . . ninguna parte de la oración fue ideada para resolución de la ambigüedad de otra, sino que cada una se ha construido en virtud de su propia significación' (1.39).

esto es: nombre, verbo, participio, pronombre, artículo, adverbio, preposición, conjunción (1.13-29). Respecto del verbo, que a juzgar por la lista debería aparecer en un hipotético segundo lugar, encontramos un tratamiento diferido hacia el libro 3, tras los análisis dedicados al artículo (1.38-157) y el pronombre (libro 2). Estos dos temas ocupan, entonces, los lugares que se habría esperado estuvieran dedicados a las dos categorías principales de la 'oración perfecta'. Creemos que es importante observar que, en cambio, éstas son dadas por supuestas y se altera lo que podría considerarse el orden programático inicial para pasar a un orden dirigido por la relación, en primer lugar, respecto del nombre, por lo cual se procede a un estudio del artículo (1.36-141) y del pronombre (2),[9] y en segundo lugar se retoma el estudio del verbo (especialmente 3.54-190) y de una categoría que establece vínculos con múltiples partes de la oración: la preposición (4).[10]

Este esquema de la *Sintaxis* ha desconcertado a la mayoría de los intérpretes que, dejándose llevar por la aparente pretensión sistemática de los primeros pasajes, se veían traicionados al no encontrar en el cuerpo de la obra un desarrollo que siguiera estos lineamientos. Este desconcierto ha sido históricamente resuelto de dos formas: (1) negando toda forma de sistematicidad a la *Sintaxis*, atribuyendo tal ausencia a la incapacidad o falta de intención de su autor, o (2) tratando de relevar una sistematicidad subyacente. Revisemos brevemente los principales autores que sostienen estas posiciones y sus argumentos.

Son numerosos los estudiosos que atribuyen este esquema a una falta de capacidad para plasmar en los hechos el programa inicial: autores como A. Egger[11], G. Funaioli[12] y J. Pinborg[13], en épocas diversas y desde diferentes matrices teóricas, coinciden en señalar la inconsecuencia de Apolonio respecto del programa y su tendencia a perderse en cuestiones de detalle que oscurecen el sistema general. La negativa repecto de la existencia misma de un sistema en la obra no requiere en este caso de mayores argumentaciones, excepto la

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[9] Nótese que vuelve a infringirse el orden primitivo, ya que al nombre y al verbo sigue en orden lógico el participio, parte de la oración que no merece en toda la obra más que referencias secundarias en la órbita del estudio de otras partes.

[10] El libro 4 está dedicado por completo—si dejamos de lado la posibilidad de que el tratado acerca de los adverbios haya constituido parte de este libro—a la preposición, que establece relaciones con las partes tratadas en detalle en la *Sintaxis* y a las que habría que agregar el nombre y el participio—nunca tratados exhaustivamente (1.26).

[11] A. Egger, *Apolonius Dyscole, Essai sur l'histoire des théories grammaticales dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1854) 237ss.

[12] G. Funaioli, *Studi de letteratura antica* (Bologna 1946) 1.235.

[13] J. Pinborg, 'Classical Antiquity: Greece', *Current Trends in Linguistic Theory* 13 (1975) 119ss.

impugnación de las razones que harían plausible la tesis contraria, haciendo hincapié en el caracter artificial y poco evidente de tales construcciones desde el análisis de la obra apoloniana. La arista constructiva de esta postura sostiene que el resultado final de la *Sintaxis* no es necesariamente la consecuencia de una incapacidad de su autor, sino que por el contrario puede bien corresponder a la verdadera intención de Apolonio, que tras presentar un esquema de conjunto que permita al lector integrar los diferentes enfoques, se adentra en problemas particulares que juzga especialmente interesantes o relevantes desde el punto de vista lingüístico. D. Blank[14] subraya la posibilidad de esta hipótesis remitiéndonos a los repetidos símiles que establece Apolonio entre los tratados de ortografía y su propia obra. En efecto, dichos tratados de ortografía no solían ser tratados teóricos sistemáticos sino que relevaban casos puntuales en los cuales la correcta escritura se presentaba dudosa. Si la similitud funciona, tal como en estos tratados, el cuerpo de la *Sintaxis* pretendería abordar algunos temas particulares problemáticos sin pretensiones de organicidad absoluta.

Frente a esta posición se yergue la de aquellos que creen encontrar en la *Sintaxis* un ordenamiento más o menos preciso. Entre estos autores se cuenta O. Schneider[15], editor de los tratados de Apolonio en los *Grammatici Graeci;* pero el intento tradicional más relevante es el de L. Lange[16] que abre la línea exegética según la cual el texto de la obra sigue en verdad el ordenamiento de la parte introductoria (1.1-36), pero no lo hace de manera absolutamente lineal, sino que Apolonio divide la exposición según las estrictas áreas de influencia del nombre y el verbo, tratando primero las partes que refieren al nombre—artículo y pronombre—y procediendo luego a rastrear las partes que se ligan al verbo, partiendo de la consideración general de la construcción verbal y las partes que se le subordinan. Lange cree entrever la clave de esta interpretación en la lógica que se desprende de 1.30-36, donde Apolonio trata de las frases interrogativas y su organización en dos series a partir de su naturaleza nominal o adverbial.[17] Lange concede que no todas las partes de la frase son objeto de un tratamiento particular pero encuentra argumentos para justificar incluso que luego del tratamiento del verbo se pase directamente al tratamiento de la preposición.

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[14] D. Blank, *Ancient Philosophy and Grammar* (California 1982) 8ss.

[15] O. Schneider, 'Ueber die Schlusspartie der Schrift des Apollonius Dyscolus *perì epirrhemáton*', *RhM* 3 (1845) 446-59.

[16] L. Lange, *Das System der Syntax des Apollonios Dyskolos* (Göttingen 1852) 9ss.

[17] Cf. especialmente el pasaje 1.30: 'Antes de pasar a la sintaxis de cada parte de la oración hemos de detenernos a considerar por qué a los interrogativos se les ha dado cabida en dos partes de la oración distintas, a saber, en la nominal y en la adverbial. . . . ¿Es acaso ésta la explicación de que las partes más vitales de la oración sean dos: nombre y verbo, las cuales, cuando no son conocidas, suscitan de inmediato la pregunta por ellas? . . .'

Por su parte, Bécares Botas[18], que sin tratar específicamente de este problema parece adherir al grupo 'sistematista', ha tratado de explicar la llamativa ausencia de referencia al nombre arguyendo que Apolonio tal vez 'conforme a un tratamiento aristotélico' habría considerado que el nombre es un 'elemento cero', constituyente básico y condición de posibilidad del resto de las partes de la oración, por lo cual lo que ha de estudiarse son todas las partes dependientes de este fundamento. Podríamos agregar que si la *Sintaxis* lleva a cabo un análisis de las partes del discuso tomando al nombre como punto cero, se pondría de manifiesto una vez más que el verbo no está en el mismo nivel que el nombre. Esto es, si a efectos de la división según áreas de influencia nombre y verbo son los organizadores, en un nivel más profundo, el verbo no deja de ser otra parte que participa del nombre y por lo tanto recibe un tratamiento descriptivo igual que el resto. Si además, tal como sostiene Lallot[19], se tiene en cuenta que los aspectos que merecen mayor atención en el análisis de la categoría verbal son aquellos que se relacionan de algún modo con la persona, básicamente nominal—esto es, modo y diátesis—se reforzaría la idea de una última organización en torno del nombre.

J. Lallot[20], por su parte, en la 'Introducción' a la reciente traducción de la *Sintaxis*, basa su argumentación en torno de este problema en la tesis de Lange, reconociendo las esferas nominal y verbal como base de organización del discurso.[21] También otros estudios contemporáneos que sostienen la sistematicidad de la *Sintaxis* tienden a aceptar en sus puntos básicos la propuesta de Lange. En el caso de F. Lambert[22] se encuentra una profundización de la idea de esferas—o dominios, como este autor los denomina—de influencia de las partes de la frase. Para Lambert, en efecto, la *Sintaxis* responde a un orden estructural que no coincide exactamente con el orden jerárquico que plantean los parágrafos introductorios. Este orden estructural, que Apolonio declararía a través de la referencia a los tipos de interrogación y reforzaría con la mención de los mecanismos de acompañamiento y sustitución que siguen las partes dependientes, reconoce tres puntos que nuclean al resto. Éstos son nombre, verbo y frase: al nombre se subordinan artículo y pronombre; al verbo, adverbio y preposición; a ambos, participio y preposición; y al nivel de la frase

[18] Bécares Botas [6] 50.

[19] J. Lallot, *Apollonius Dyscole: De la construction (Syntaxe)* 2 (Paris 1997) 35.

[20] Lallot [19] 31s.

[21] Lallot sólo se aparta de la tesis de Lange en algunas cuestiones referentes a la organización de los libros 3 y 4, proponiendo la interpretación de la exposición del verbo desde el punto de vista de las formas que apuntan a la persona—modo y diáthesis—y modificando la explicación de la posición del tratamiento de la preposición.

[22] Lambert [4] 126s.

se adscribe la conjunción. Estas son las relaciones que pretendería relevar la *Sintaxis*, prefiriéndolas al orden canónico de las partes de la oración, que pondría de relieve su jerarquía relativa pero al costo de desdibujar su funcionamiento conjunto. Ildefonse, en la misma línea, sostiene que la influencia del orden canónico se refleja en el tratamiento del dominio del nombre en primer término y del dominio del verbo a continuación.[23]

Si hemos de hacer ahora una evaluación crítica de los aportes de ambas líneas exegéticas, es preciso notar que parece difícil sostener una posición pura respecto de un fenómeno hasta tal punto complejo. Por una parte, afirmar que la estructura supuestamente anárquica de la obra es fruto de la incapacidad de su autor no es otra cosa que clausurar el problema, desestimando que tal vez haya sido precisamente éste el resultado planeado. E incluso es preciso reconocer que la *Sintaxis* difícilmente puede ser considerada una obra desarticulada y caótica. En efecto, su parte preliminar es extremadadamente cuidadosa en la presentación de las partes del discurso, con lo cual la incapacidad sistemática de Apolonio podría quedar descartada. Por otra parte, la sugerencia de Lange y sus seguidores es profundamente seductora, si no fuese que la tesis se complica en extremo cuando la investigación se acerca a la problemática estructura de los libros 3 y 4. Incluso aceptando que tal complicación pueda deberse a la incompletitud del último libro, las cuestiones abiertas parecen demasiadas.

Creemos que la hipótesis más plausible es la de una *sistematicidad restringida*. Sin descartar que puedan inferirse otros esquemas más complejos, un estudio de la estructura de la obra deja al descubierto un primer esquema cuidadoso y detallado, el de los parágrafos introductorios, que prepara para un desarrollo posterior en que tal detalle es abandonado en pro de una mayor libertad para tratar diferentes problemas que no necesariamente se enrolan en el orden canónico y sólo secundariamente en un orden estructural.[24]

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[23] Ildefonse [4] 300ss. propone además una interpretación basada en el paralelismo entre los tipos interrogativos y la organización de las categorías estoicas, lo cual constituiría un indicio respecto de la influencia de esta línea de pensamiento. Este tema, que escapa a los límites del presente trabajo, constituye un interesante aporte a la relación entre gramática y filosofía.

[24] Es preciso tener en cuenta que en el momento de afirmar la presencia o ausencia de pretensión sistemática es de suma importancia no restringir el análisis al mero orden de las partes del discurso, sino que tal vez sea de mayor provecho analizar los desarrollos internos de cada uno de estos tratamientos. Se constatará, en este caso, que buscar allí absoluta sistematicidad será todavía más difícil. En general ninguno de dichos tratamientos releva todos los puntos que serían de esperar. Citemos como ejemplo al pasar el caso del verbo, donde la noción de tiempo no merece comentarios.

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La anáfora: Una tesis sobre la estructura de los libros 1 y 2

Es probable que en la *Sintaxis* Apolonio haya intentado plasmar un estudio de lo que debe de haber considerado los principales problemas que constituyen el núcleo de la disciplina gramatical, campo de estudio que su obra está llamada a consolidar. Si esto es así, es de tener en cuenta que prácticamente los dos primeros libros están estructurados sobre el estudio del artículo y el pronombre, las partes de la oración cuya función principal está determinada por su relación respecto del nombre, y en la cual, en ambos casos, la anáfora tiene un valor fundamental.

En efecto, creemos que es posible arriesgar una hipótesis que explique la elección de este tópico como primer objetivo de análisis de la *Sintaxis*. Es de notar que la estructuración apoloniana de las partes de la oración está regida por un *sistema referencial*, que, según intentaremos mostrar, tiene muchos puntos de contacto con el *funcionamiento anafórico*. No es de extrañar que si ésta ha sido la lógica, aunque sea subyacente, que marcó la construcción de los principios de la organización de las partes del discurso, sea en verdad relevante para Apolonio llevar a cabo un estudio detallado de este fenómeno. Emprenderá entonces esta tarea a través del análisis de la parte de la oración en la cual se encarna la función anafórica, esto es, el artículo. Un estudio detallado del planteo y resolución de este problema pondrá de manifiesto, además, la lógica argumentativa de Apolonio y el perfil metodológico de la obra, condición para que podamos reevaluar el propósito y la lógica del ordenamiento de la *Sintaxis*.

Entenderemos 'anáfora' en sentido amplio, como reenvío o referencia de un elemento del discurso a otro.[25] La descripción apoloniana mostrará que la anáfora puede además presentarse bajo otros mecanismos, los de acompañamiento y reemplazo, que no son más que las manifestaciones concretas del funcionamiento anafórico. Los dos primeros libros de la obra presentan una nutrida cantidad de términos que remiten a un sentido general que podemos indentificar como 'reenviar' y que en lo que sigue denominaremos *grupo lexical anafórico*. Entre dichos términos se cuentan ἀνάγεσθαι, ἀναπέμπειν, ἀναφέρειν, ἀναπολεῖν, ἀνατείνεσθαι, ἀνατρέχειν, ἀπότασιν ἔχειν. Estas formas son más numerosas en los dos primeros libros, pero se encuentran también, en menor medida, en los libros 3 y 4. De todos estos términos (cuyo estudio detallado sería de mucha utilidad), nos interesan

[25] Cf. la definición de B. Fox, *Studies in Anaphora* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1996) viii de la anáfora como 'morpho-syntactic forms available to speakers for formulating reference'. Para un estudio más amplio de la noción de anáfora, cf. J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge 1977) 650ss.; H. Hintikka y J. Kulas, *Anaphora and Definite Descriptions* (Dordrecht 1985); G. Chierchia, 'Anaphora and Dynamic Binding', *Linguistics and Philosophy* 15 (1992) 111-83.

especialmente en este caso ἀνάγεσθαι y ἀναφέρειν. Las formas de ἀνάγω aparecen a menudo en pasajes clave de los parágrafos introductorios para referirse al modo en que las partes del discurso derivadas remiten a la/s principal/es. Así, en 1.36, que cierra la parte introductoria del libro 1 y presenta sintéticamente el funcionamiento básico y los mecanismos de las partes del discurso,[26] se dice:

> Pues bien, dado que el resto de las partes de la oración refieren (ἀνάγεται πρὸς) ya sea al verbo, ya sea al nombre, de lo que recibieron su significado propio (ἰδία ἔννοια), es preciso considerar en cada una de ellas la que acompaña (συμπαραλαμβάνω) y la que se usa en reemplazo (ἀνθυπάγω) de aquéllos o bien ambas cosas . . . (traducción nuestra).

La referencia a las partes fundantes de la oración es tan determinante que en general determina su ἰδία ἔννοια—significación propia—con lo cual podríamos decir que las demás partes se constituyen en la referencia a las partes principales. La referencia, la anáfora, marcada precisamente por los términos del *grupo lexical anafórico*, es constitutiva de la identidad misma de las partes de la oración. También se utiliza una forma de ἀνάγεσθαι en el pasaje 1.39 que constituye un buen complemento de 1.36:

> En primer lugar . . . ninguna parte de la oración fue ideada para resolución de la ambigüedad de otra, sino que cada una deriva (ἀνάγεσθαι ἐξ) de la significación que le es propia, como se mostrará en lo que sigue. . . (traducción nuestra).

Al comparar los dos textos se constata una misma idea basada en la intrínseca relación entre las partes básicas de la oración y la significación propia (ἰδία ἔννοια) del resto. En efecto, en 1.36 se dice que lo referido (ἀναγομένον) es nombre y verbo, aquello que otorga además dicha significación propia, objeto ella misma de referencia según 1.39. En el mismo acto se dan evidentemente ambas cosas. Es de notar que la forma ἀνάγεσθαι convive en otros contextos con formas de ἀναφέρω, por ejemplo, en 1.94, donde éstas últimas no difieren en sentido de la primera. Este funcionamiento se extiende a las demás formas del grupo anafórico, hecho que hace que a menudo convivan en un mismo pasaje, como en 1.140, donde encontramos usos de ἀναφέρω, προαναφέρω y ἀναπολεῖν.

Esta fluctuación de la 'terminología técnica' es una característica de este momento del desarrollo de la disciplina, y contamos con numerosos ejemplos en

[26] Este pasaje, junto con el pasaje 121.4 del tratado *De Adverbiis*, constituye la base de la interpretación de Lange y sus continuadores (cf. *supra*) con vistas a argumentar en favor de la sistematicidad de la obra.

que la clara delimitación del campo semántico de términos cercanos resulta extremadamente dificultosa. Así, existen usos de términos que parecen ser cruciales en su contexto y luego son abandonados casi por completo, como es el caso de νοητόν en 1.2.[27] Es éste un indicio de que no está instalado por completo aún el funcionamiento de términos técnicos, en el sentido de persistencia de una forma para referir a una noción específica. Así, existen varios modos para referirse a ella; por ejemplo, para mentar la idea de transformación se usan las formas μεταβάλλειν, μεταλαμβάνειν, μετάλεψις, μεταπίπτειν, μετάπτοσις, μεταποιεῖν, μετασχεματισμός, μετατιθέναι, μετάθεσις, μεθιστάναι, τρέπειν, y para la de siginificación, σεμαίνειν, δελοῦν, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, νοεῖσθαι. Este último caso es notado ya por Ildefonse[28] que lo interpreta como un índice de los orígenes eclécticos de la gramática, ya que la variedad terminológica remite a diferentes líneas teóricas.[29]

Si nos remitimos ahora a los términos que acompañan a ἀνάγεσθαι en el pasaje 1.36 en que se define el funcionamiento de las partes de la oración, veremos que éstos sufren la misma fluctuación del caso anterior, ya que la noción de acompañamiento es mentada según los contextos con variados términos (προσλαμβάνειν, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι, συνεῖναι, συνοδεύειν, σύν τινι λέγεσθαι) sin que se afecte la especificidad de la noción, y lo mismo se aplica a la de reemplazo (ἀμείβειν, ἀντί τινος εἶναι, παραλαμβάνεσθαι, ἀνθυπάγεσθαι, ἀνθυπελθεῖν, ἀνθυποφερέσθαι, ἀντιτιθέναι, ἐναλλαγή). La relación con la noción de 'reenvío', 'referencia', o 'anáfora' que encarna el *grupo lexical anafórico* bien puede integrarse a esta clase. En efecto, si se acepta que es usual la utilización de variados significantes para referirse a un mismo significado, bien podríamos aceptar que en el caso del *grupo lexical anafórico* se dé el mismo fenómeno. De este modo, cuando se habla de ἀνάγεσθαι, ἀναφέρειν o cualquiera de los otros ejemplos, Apolonio puede haber estado refiriéndose a lo mismo y entonces, cuando dice que las partes de la oración ἀνάγονται al nombre podríamos bien pensar que dichas partes ἀναφέρουσιν al nombre, o ἀναπόλουσιν a dicha parte fundante. Si es así, entonces es lícito sostener que la noción de anáfora está en la base del funcionamiento sintáctico en tanto determina de qué modo se produce la relación entre las partes constitutivas del *lógos*.

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[27] Cf. *supra*, la utilización de este término en la expresión παρυφισταμένον νοητόν (significado concomitante).

[28] Ildefonse [4] 262s.

[29] En el caso concreto del problema de la significación, tal superposición terminológica mezclaría presupuestos del sustancialismo aristotélico y de la física estoica en principio difícilmente conciliables, pero que encuentran su lugar en este sistema 'ecléctico'.

Estamos en condiciones ahora de sugerir que este elemento condiciona el ordenamiento de la *Sintaxis*. En efecto, la anáfora, referida por los términos que integran el *grupo lexical anafórico*, constituiría la lógica básica del funcionamiento sintáctico: la referencia a las partes fundamentales de la oración a través de las figuras del remplazo y el acompañamiento. No es de extrañar que sea precisamente ésta la parte del discurso que se trata primero. En efecto, no se trata solamente de que por ser la categoría nominal la fundante se la trate en primer lugar, omitiendo un tratamiento específico del nombre por considerárselo algo así como el 'grado cero', sino que es el interés por este tipo de funcionamiento el que llama la atención sobre el artículo. La estructura del libro 1 respondería entonces a los parágrafos introductorios en los que se describe las partes del discurso (1.13-29), se insiste en el fenómeno aglutinador del nombre y el verbo que crea dominios que se manifiestan en el esquema de la interrogación, y se explicita el modo en que se articula dicha relación en base a la referencia (anáfora), materializada en los mecanismos de acompañamiento y reemplazo. El interés por este 'sistema de referencia' lleva a ocuparse de la parte del discurso que precisamente se caracteriza por la anáfora, el artículo. Se procede entonces a un tratamiento detallado de su funcionamiento (37-141). El tratamiento del pronombre, a continuación, se impone por varias razones: en primer lugar el artículo se manifiesta a veces en usos pronominales, i.e. deícticos (ya que la deixis es lo propio del pronombre), hasta tal punto que su división en dos grupos distintos es relativamente nueva; en segundo lugar, el artículo hipotáctico (142-57) tiene profundos puntos de contacto con el pronombre, índice de lo cual es el hecho de que la tradición gramatical optará finalmente por descartar la propuesta apoloniana y adscribir esta parte al grupo de los pronombres bajo la denominación de pronombre relativo, i.e. pronombre anafórico. En tercer lugar, artículo y anáfora configuran el ámbito en que se dan deixis y anáfora, los elementos que Bühler, inspirándose en gran medida en la tradición clásica, denominará campo mostrativo del lenguaje.[30]

El libro 2 se centra, por lo dicho, en el examen del pronombre, apuntando fundamentalmente a relevar la lógica de los usos deícticos y anafóricos, lo cual redunda en un acabamiento del análisis del dominio del nombre. No es entonces la necesidad de examinar el nombre lo que impone este orden—a lo sumo esto se da por añadidura—sino que la motivación fundamental es el estudio del funcionamiento anafórico. En suma, creemos que esta es la lógica que puede haber llevado a Apolonio a alterar el orden canónico de las partes del discurso.

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[30] Cf. I. Bühler, *Teoría del lenguaje* (Madrid, 1961) 461s. En la clásica teoría de Bühler, frente a este 'campo mostrativo' se erige el 'campo simbólico', donde no existe referencia a objetos—reales o intralingüísticos—sino a significados. Ambos grupos están reflejados en las dos clases de primitivas raíces indoeuropeas: pronominal-adverbiales y nominal-verbales (Bühler [*supra*, esta nota] 187-92).

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Esta cerrada integración se produce en los dos primeros libros y propone una relación más cercana a la asumida habitualmente entre los parágrafos introductorios y el resto de los libros 1 y 2. En efecto, el parágrafo que inflexiona ambas partes (1.36) conecta el funcionamiento anafórico de las partes del discurso con los mecanismos de acompañamiento y reemplazo que comienzan a rastrearse precisamente a partir de aquellas partes que mejor representan dicho sentido anafórico. No hay que olvidar que la anáfora se encuentra presente incluso en algunas formas pronominales. Los dos libros siguientes no presentan un panorama tan compacto, y si bien se puede aceptar aquí que se produce un desplazamiento hacia el dominio del verbo, la lógica que guía esta parte es notoriamente distinta a la que parece dirigir los dos primeros libros.

Conclusiones

Artículo y pronombre ocupan los lugares que parecen corresponder al nombre y al verbo. La *Sintaxis*, sin embargo, está lejos de ser un intento enciclopédico fallido. A juzgar por lo dicho hasta ahora, los pasajes introductorios deben apuntar más bien a proveer un marco general de interpretación de los fenómenos lingüísticos, que ayude a contextuar los desarrollos posteriores, constituidos en torno a problemas relevantes según diversos criterios de selección. No es casual, según hemos argumentado, que la mitad del cuerpo de la obra esté dedicado al estudio de las categorías de deixis y anáfora, ya que es esta última la que guía la constitución del esquema de participación en que Apolonio organiza los elementos de la teoría gramatical, en la cual cada parte de la oración remite a la fundante.

La *Sintaxis,* lejos de ser un estudio sistemático (logrado o no), es más bien un testimonio de la etapa de constitución orgánica de la gramática. No es en realidad el resultado de la intención de Apolonio de mostrar los presupuestos de la sintaxis, su naturaleza y su lugar en el sistema lingüístico[31] sino que el hecho de que constituya un 'tratado teórico' viene más bien por añadidura, y nos inclinamos a creer que las posiciones que extreman la lectura de una coherencia interna, más propia de los manuales modernos que del estilo de este período, se internan peligrosamente en la proyección de construcciones teóricas ajenas a la obra. Llamados a decidirnos por una postura, diríamos que el programa apoloniano, tras proponer un sólido marco contextual exegético, se vuelca a ofrecer ejemplos prácticos de cómo funciona la metodología gramatical y escoge por eso algunos problemas que son, por un lado, lo suficientemente ilustrativos, y por otro, relevantes para la inteligibilidad del incipiente sistema,

[31] Cf. Blank [14] 53.

como es el caso de la anáfora y su relación con el artículo, la deixis y el pronombre.

Por otra parte, si bien Apolonio es el heredero de una larga tradición gramatical, no deja de ser un pionero en la instauración y perfeccionamiento de la etapa madura de esta disciplina, por lo cual no es de esperar una sistematización excesivamente acabada. Esto se manifiesta, tal como hemos intentado mostrar a través del funcionamiento del *grupo lexical anafórico*, en la baja sistematización—y muchas veces fluctuación—de la terminología técnica. Es más plausible suponer que durante un período de constitución de un área de estudio los diferentes aspectos se desarrollen de modo no homogéneo y las cuestiones de detalle aventajen a las visiones globales complejas. Si bien es cierto, tal como hemos dicho, que para esta época la práctica gramatical está lo suficientemente sedimentada, su sistematización general no corre la misma suerte, ya que precisamente es recién entonces cuando se está alcanzando la fase superior o plenamente sintáctica de la disciplina. Esto hace que prefiramos creer que Apolonio no se propone escribir un tratado de metodología de la investigación sintáctica sino que muestra un *ejercicio de investigación sintáctica*. Esto no implica negar toda lógica al esquema de la obra, y en efecto hemos propuesto un hilo conductor, especialmente para los dos primeros libros, que se apoya en una conexión de temas bien desarrollada, pero la sistematicidad es más bien difusa y está constituida como marco para la argumentación. La gramática ha adquirido con Apolonio un relativo grado de madurez que se trasluce en el cuidadoso planteo de problemas y soluciones, que muchas veces no satisfacen los criterios modernos, pero también muchas veces constituyen el origen de los lineamientos que la disciplina mantiene en nuestra época.

MERITIS ET NOMINE FELIX: I *WORTSPIELE* CON I NOMI PROPRI NEGLI SCRITTI DI PAOLINO DI NOLA

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Abstract. Among the many rhetorical components that characterise the Christian literary production of the fourth and fifth centuries AD, *Wortspiele*, or puns, are common. In Paulinus' *Epistles* they have basically a pastoral purpose and theological meaning. In his *Poems* the *Wortspiele* that Paulinus employs with considerable originality are spiritually encomiastic in aim and content.

Nell'àmbito della produzione cristiana del IV-V secolo notevole importanza ha l'interpretazione simbolica, spirituale oppure tropologica dei testi sacri o di singoli episodi del Vecchio o del Nuovo Testamento. All'interno di essa infatti non è piccolo lo spazio che gli esegeti riservano all'interpretazione del significato dei nomi propri di coloro che vi sono ricordati o che ne sono i protagonisti, nella convinzione che il significato che se ne può ricavare «serve non per il senso letterale, ma per quello spirituale».[1] Questa particolare forma di ermeneutica, che ha per oggetto l'onomastica biblica e in Girolamo il suo rappresentante più insigne, costituisce tuttavia l'aspetto 'dotto' di un fenomeno che, a dire il vero, ha una dimensione alquanto vasta e che si incontra anche nella letteratura pagana. Ma mentre qui essa ha una finalità di natura prevalentemente comica o parodistica,[2] nella letteratura cristiana il gioco di parole persegue invece una finalità ben diversa.

Anche nel significato letterale del nome proprio di un martire, di un santo o di un personaggio più o meno rappresentativo della comunità ecclesiale, variamente analizzato ed interpretato, gli autori cristiani cercavano infatti di trovare quasi il presagio o la conferma di quella perfezione spirituale che egli aveva mostrato o ancora mostrava nella sua esistenza terrena. In tal modo egli appariva ben degno dell'appellativo che gli era stato dato al momento della

[1] A. Penna, *Principi e caratteri dell'esegesi di S. Girolamo* (Roma 1950) 106. Siffatto tipo di esegesi è esteso anche ai toponimi nonché, a volte, anche agli stessi numeri con cui s'indicano, ad esempio, i Salmi; cfr. *ibid.* 104-09.

[2] Per gli autori classici basti ricordare H. Holst, *Die Wortspiele in Ciceros Reden* (Oslo 1925) e per quelli cristiani I. M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Boston 1894).

nascita o del battesimo. Siffatta consuetudine interpretativa, di ispirazione certamente più popolare e più aperta alla retorica, ha una diffusione molto più ampia di quanto non ci si aspetti e non è sconosciuta né ad Ambrogio[3] né allo stesso Girolamo.[4] Anche Agostino usa assai spesso questo particolare genere di *Wortspiel* ed il pregevole studio di Christine Mohrmann,[5] per quanto limitato ai *sermones*, ci dà la misura del notevole uso che egli ne fa e dei risultati più o meno originali cui perviene. Lo stesso Paolino, infine, si serve abbastanza di questo espediente retorico-esegetico in relazione al nome proprio di alcuni personaggi da lui ricordati. E proprio l'esame delle caratteristiche e del contenuto che di volta in volta assume nei suoi scritti questo particolare genere di *Wortspiel* ci permetterà di illuminare meglio un aspetto non trascurabile della sua molteplice ispirazione e della sua abilità retorica, che finora non ha suscitato molto interesse negli studiosi.[6]

Sebbene i giochi di parole sono usati da Paolino in tutta la sua produzione letteraria, bisogna tuttavia rilevare che quelli usati nelle *Lettere* evidenziano una maggiore ricchezza dottrinale e non rifuggono dall'usare il tipo di interpretazione simbolico-spirituale, che caratterizza l'ermeneutica di Girolamo. E tuttavia, ad un più attento esame, ci si rende conto della loro fragilità dottrinale e si capisce meglio la fondatezza delle esortazioni che Girolamo gli rivolgeva in una sua lettera, affinché egli approfondisse lo studio delle Scritture (*epist.* 58.9, 11).[7]

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[3] Cfr. ad esempio *epist.* 42 (88 a Maurini: O. Faller [ed.], *Sancti Ambrosii Opera: Epistularum Libri* [Vindobonae 1968]), una breve lettera in cui Ambrogio, scrivendo a *Priscus*, perviene di volta in volta a conclusioni diverse, utilizzando il termine *priscus* nel suo duplice valore di nome proprio e di aggettivo.

[4] *Epist.* 118.7.23-25 (J. Labourt [ed.], *Saint Jérôme, Lettres* [Paris 1963]): *domestica sanctae Verae exempla sectare, quae vere secuta Christum* . . . ('Segui gli esempi domestici della santa Vera che, avendo seguito veramente Cristo . . .'). Per un *Wortspiel* di Girolamo di contenuto invece denigratorio, cfr. *epist.* 133.3: *Melania* . . . *cuius nomen nigredinis testatur perfidiae tenebras* . . . ('Melania . . . il cui nome attesta le tenebre della sua perfidia . . . ').

[5] Chr. Mohrmann, 'Das Wortspiel in den Augustinischen *Sermones*', *Mnemosyne* 3 (1936) 33-61. Anche in altri scritti Agostino fa uso del *Wortspiel*; cfr., ad esempio, *epist.* 263.2.30s. (Al. Goldbacher [ed.], *S. Aurelii Augustini Epistulae* [Vindobonae 1911]): *Sapida quod vocaris, adtende et, quae sursum sunt, sape* ('Poiché ti chiami Sapida, fa' attenzione ed intendi le cose che stanno in alto').

[6] S. Costanza, 'I generi letterari nell'opera poetica di Paolino di Nola', *Augustinianum* 14 (1974) 637-50.

[7] Sull'interpretazione dei due capitoli, cfr. Y.-M. Duval, 'Les premiers rapports de Paulin de Nole avec Jèrôme: Moine et philosophe? Poète ou exégète?', *Studi tardoantichi* 7 (1989) 177-216, in particolare 198-205 e *passim*; G. Guttilla, 'Il *Panegyricus Theodosii* di S. Paolino di Nola', *Koinonia* 14 (1990), 139-54. Sul valore di Paolino come teologo, cfr. N. Cipriani, 'La Chiesa negli scritti di S. Paolino di Nola, tra mistero e istituzione', in G. Luongo (ed.),

Il *Wortspiel* che Paolino introduce in una lettera a *Delphinus*[8] trova la sua giustificazione nel fatto che proprio da lui, il vescovo di Bordeaux, egli aveva ricevuto il battesimo. Nel momento in cui lo sollecitava a pregare per lui, affinché egli potesse resistere «ai flutti delle tentazioni del mondo», tale ricordo gli suggeriva commosse parole di gratitudine: *Meminerimus nos ab utero terrae et cognationis nostrae segregatos Delphini filios esse factos* ('Ricordiamoci che noi, segregati dal grembo della nostra terra e della nostra parentela, siamo diventati figli di Delfino', *epist.* 20.6.20s.).[9] Questa sentita dichiarazione di appartenenza spirituale a Delfino, rifacendosi al significato letterale del suo appellativo, si sviluppa nel resto del brano in termini di metafora marinaresca: *ut efficeremur illi pisces, qui perambulant semitas maris* ('affinché fossimo resi simili a quei pesci, che percorrono i sentieri del mare', *epist.* 20.6.21s.).[10] Siffatta paternità spirituale, che Delfino può vantare su di lui, è riaffermata subito dopo da Paolino, ancora una volta in chiave marinaresca: *Meminerimus te non solum patrem sed et Petrum nobis esse factum, quia tu misisti hamum ad*

Anchora Vitae (Napoli/Roma 1998) 189-208; L. Padovese, 'Considerazioni sulla dottrina cristologica e soteriologica di Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 209-24; D. Marafioti, 'Aspetti dell'antropologia teologica di san Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 225-62; D. Sorrentino, 'La «teologia» di Paolino di Nola: problematica e prospettive', *ibid.* 487-512; T. Piscitelli Carpino, 'La teologia della croce in Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 263-94 ed inoltre D. Sorrentino, 'Il vissuto teologico di Paolino di Nola. Un'analisi del carme 21 nella prospettiva della teologia «sapienziale»', in L. Longobardo e D. Sorrentino (edd.), *Mia sola arte è la Fede: Paolino di Nola teologo sapienziale* (Napoli 2000) 29-78; A. Ruggiero, 'Teologia e dossologia nei Carmi di Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 79-96; G. Santaniello, 'Il dialogo teologico nell'epistolario di Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 97-150; G. Di Palma, 'Paolino di Nola di fronte alla Bibbia: *Intelligentia cordis*', *ibid.* 151-66; P. Cacciapuoti, 'Motivi teologici in alcune lettere di Paolino di Nola: Un approccio semantico-semiologico', *ibid.* 167-84; A. Terracciano, 'Esperienza e immagini della Chiesa in Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 185-250; C. Scanzillo, 'L'ecclesiologia di Paolino di Nola e la tematica dell'amicizia', *ibid.* 250-70; R. Russo, 'La vita cristiana nell'epistolario di Paolino di Nola. Una prospettiva teologico-morale', *ibid.* 271-98; C. Sarnataro, 'La comunicazione della Fede in Paolino di Nola', *ibid.* 299-346.

[8] Su questo personaggio e la sua corrispondenza epistolare con Paolino, cfr. P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris 1949) 252-61. A proposito dei personaggi d'origine gallica, con cui Paolino continua a mantenere rapporti anche dopo il suo definitivo trasferimento a Nola, cfr. J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425* (Oxford 1975) 147 ss.

[9] G. de Hartel (ed.), *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Epistulae* (Vindobonae 1894). Secondo Fabre, *Essai sur la chronologie de l'oeuvre de Saint Paulin de Nole* (Paris 1948) 141, la lettera fu scritta nell'estate del 401, datazione accolta, anche se in maniera più generica, anche da J. T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Köln/Bonn 1977) 189: «401, early in the year».

[10] L'espressione *qui perambulant semitas maris* ('che percorrono i sentieri del mare') è tratta dal salmo 8.9.

me profundis et amaris huius saeculi fluctibus extrahendum, ut captura salutis efficerer et cui vivebam naturae morerer, ut cui mortuus eram viverem domino ('Ricordiamoci che tu sei diventato per noi non solo padre ma anche Pietro, perché hai gettato l'amo per trarmi fuori dai profondi ed amari flutti di questo mondo, affinché io diventassi una preda destinata a salvarsi e morissi per la natura per la quale vivevo, affinché vivessi per il Signore per il quale ero morto', *epist.* 20.6.22-26).[11] Grazie alla paronomasia allitterante *patrem . . . Petrum* Paolino può precisare meglio ciò che Delfino era stato per lui. In relazione al suo nome battesimale Paolino ravvisa in lui un novello Pietro, anch'egli un pescatore, il quale, 'catturandolo' spiritualmente, aveva fatto sì ch'egli morisse per il mondo, per cui allora viveva, e cominciasse a vivere per il Signore, per il quale fino a quel momento egli era stato spiritualmente morto. Proprio per questo, prosegue Paolino, *si piscis tuus sum, debeo ore pretiosum praeferre denarium, in quo non Caesaris figura et inscriptio sed regis aeterni viva et vivificans imago praefulgeat* ('se io sono il tuo pesce, devo tenere in bocca un prezioso denaro, in cui non risplenda la testa e l'iscrizione di Cesare, ma l'immagine viva e vivificante del Re eterno', *epist.* 20.6.26ss.).[12]

Molto elaborato dal punto di vista retorico è il gioco di parole che troviamo all'inizio dell'*epist.* 28. Esso ha come oggetto l'appellativo *Victor*, il nome del corriere che, recapitando le sue lettere a Severo, che è il destinatario anche di questa lettera, permette a Paolino di tenersi sempre in stretti rapporti con lui: *Redit a me tibi Victor, ut redeat a te mihi, Victor commune pignus et fidele contubernium et solemne solatium nobis, Victor in te meus et in me tuus* ('Ritorna a te da parte mia Vittore, affinché egli ritorni poi a me da parte tua, Vittore legame comune d'affetto e fedele compagno di tenda e per noi straordinario sollievo', *epist.* 28.1.25ss.).[13] Appare evidente la struttura volutamente solenne di questa prima parte dell'ampio periodo, caratterizzata

[11] Lo stesso *Wortspiel* di natura dottrinale, con cui si conclude il brano, era stato già usato da Paolino nel *carm.* 15.25: *occidimus mundo, nascamur ut in bona Christo* ('moriamo per il mondo, affinché nasciamo per il bene grazie a Cristo').

[12] Per il suo contenuto il brano si richiama dottrinalmente all'episodio del Vangelo in cui i Farisei presentano a Cristo un denaro con l'effigie di Cesare; cfr. *Matth.* 22.21, *Marc.* 12.16, *Luc.* 20.24. Nel capitolo finale (7.7-9) Paolino riprende tutti i temi simbolici, mediante i quali s'è sviluppato il lungo *Wortspiel*: *Donet orationibus tuis dominus, ut monetae tuae nummus, ut hami tui piscis, ut vitis tuae sarmentum, ut uteri castitatis tuae filius sim* ('Conceda il Signore alle tue preghiere che io sia un centesimo della tua moneta, un pesce del tuo amo, un tralcio della tua vite, un figlio dell'utero della tua castità.').

[13] La lettera è datata sia da Fabre [8] sia da Lienhard [9] «estate del 404». A proposito di questo passo Fabre [8] 330 n. 3 osserva che Paolino si compiace d'esprimere «sous une forme soignéè et souvent précieuse» l'affetto che egli nutre per *Victor*. Su questo personaggio cfr. M.-Y. Perrin, 'La place des courriers dans la correspondance de Paulin de Nole', *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 1025-68 e in particolare 1062-65.

dalla struttura simmetrica delle sue parti, nonché dall'anafora dell'appellativo *Victor*. Ma nello stesso tempo vi si coglie l'affetto sincero che Paolino nutre nei confronti del personaggio che subito dopo, con bonomia e con un evidente gioco di parole di natura allitterante, egli definisce *epistolarum nostrarum veredarius pedes aut veredus bipes* ('corriere che si muove a piedi che fa da cavallo da posta o cavallo da posta fornito di soli due piedi', *epist.* 28.1.1s.).[14]

Quest'ultima espressione permette a Paolino di introdurre subito dopo un nuovo *Wortspiel*. Infatti l'appellativo *Victor*, già usato anaforicamente nell'àmbito del periodo ben quattro volte, è ripreso subito dopo con valore aggettivale: *victor longissimarum viarum* ('vincitore di lunghissime strade'). Ma anche questo aggettivo si sviluppa subito dopo mediante un altro *Wortspiel* di natura allitterante: *bene idem dicendus simul et victor et victus* ('che deve anche essere giustamente definito nello stesso tempo vincitore e vinto', *epist.* 28.1.2-4),[15] che trova il suo completamento logico in termini chiastici nelle due proposizioni seguenti: *quia vincitur caritate, qua vincit vias duras et magnos labores* ('perché è vinto dall'amore, con cui egli vince strade difficili e grandi fatiche'), in cui s'evidenzia a livello retorico la paronomasia *vincitur . . . vincit* ('è vinto . . . vince').

Al pari di quello per *Victor*, anche il *Wortspiel* che ha per oggetto il nome proprio *Aper* si sviluppa in un contesto baroccamente lirico e laudativo: *Quis daret mihi pennas sicut columbae, ut volarem ad te et in conspectu tuo conloquioque requiescerem, in voce exultationis et confessionis epularer, videns te non te et videns ex leone vitulum . . . ?* ('Chi mi darebbe ali come ad una colomba per volare da te e riposarmi stando al tuo cospetto e conversando con te? Tra canti di esultanza e di lode io banchetterei, vedendo te non più te e vedendoti da leone trasformato in vitello?', *epist.* 38.9.7-10).[16] Continuando a

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[14] Si osservi la struttura del *Wortspiel*. I termini *veredarius* ('corriere postale') e *veredus* ('cavallo destinato al servizio postale'), legati per la comune radice dall'allitterazione, e parimenti *pedes* ('che si muove a piedi') . . . *bipes* ('fornito di due piedi'), uniti dall'omoteleuto, invertendo nel contesto il loro valore grammaticale, sono riproposti concettualmente in termini chiastici: «essere che si muove a piedi che fa da cavallo da posta» ~ «cavallo da posta che si muove a due piedi».

[15] Per un analogo *Wortspiel* (*Felix . . . felix*) presente nei *Carmi*, cfr. n. 28 e testo relativo. Anche Fabre [8] 328 sottolinea il fatto che Paolino tesse l'elogio di questo messaggero così fedele «en accumulant les citations scripturaires et en jouant de diverses manières sur son nom». L'antitesi *victor . . . victus* ('vincitore . . . vinto'), anch'essa un gioco di parole, s'incontra spesso nei *Carmi*; cfr. n. 27.

[16] Il *Quis mihi daret* ('Chi mi darebbe') è tratto dal salmo 54.7 ed è riproposto alquanto spesso non solo da Paolino, sia nelle lettere sia nei carmi, ma anche da Girolamo ed Ambrogio. Sui rapporti di Paolino con *Aper*, cfr. Fabre [8] 190s. Solenne e letterariamente 'dotto' è l'*incipit* del brano, in cui Paolino, rifacendosi ad una consuetudine propria dell'eloquenza sacra, utilizza questo testo biblico. Non si può non condividere il giudizio di

sviluppare il suo pensiero e dando all'appellativo *Aper* il valore di un nome comune ('cinghiale'), Paolino così prosegue: *videns in apro Christum, nunc versa ferocitatis aut virtutis vice aprum saeculo, agnum deo* ('vedendo Cristo nel cinghiale e, essendosi ora mutata la ferocia in virtù, vedendoti come un cinghiale per il mondo e come un agnello per Dio', *epist.* 38.9.10-12).[17] Infatti l'amico non è *iam de silva sed de segete aper* ('non è più un cinghiale di bosco, ma di campo seminato'), dal momento che si ingrassa con i frutti dei buoni insegnamenti e trova nutrimento nella messe delle virtù. E sulla falsariga di queste affermazioni si sviluppa il resto del capitolo in chiave anch'essa laudativa (*epist.* 38.9.12ss.).

Allo stesso tipo di esegesi, che evidenzia una maggiore presenza di spunti dottrinali e simbolici, ci riporta il brano del *carm.* 21, che a guisa di un ampio *excursus* è dedicato al valore simbolico dell'appellativo *Pinianus*, il nome d'uno degli illustri visitatori presenti a Nola nel 407 in occasione della festività di S. Felice, il protettore di Nola. Inizialmente Paolino spiega perché mai al giovane marito di Melania *iunior* è stato dato questo nome battesimale, quasi come presagio della sua futura profonda religiosità e spiritualità: *Nam puer hinc Melani coniunx in corpore Christi, / cui deus a pinu nomen habere dedit, / natus ut aeternae vitae puer arbore ab illa / susciperet nomen, quae sine fine viret* ('Infatti da una parte c'è il giovane sposo di Melania nel nome di Cristo, cui Dio concesse di derivare il nome dal pino, affinché egli, nato per la vita eterna, fin da piccolo prendesse il suo nome da quell'albero che verdeggia perennemente', *carm.* 21.294-97).[18]

Cosa comporti per Pinario avere un siffatto nome è chiarito nei versi seguenti, in cui Paolino descrive con ricchezza di particolari la natura privilegiata e le caratteristiche salutari del pino, prima di sottolineare ancora una volta il significato spirituale insito in quell'appellativo e cosa ci si aspetta da chi lo porta: *Istius instar erit domino puer iste beatus / arboris, ut maneat gratia*

Fabre [8] 195, secondo il quale nelle lettere ad *Aper* «on relève des éloges dithyrambiques» rivolti al destinatario ed alla sua famiglia.

[17] A proposito della natura e del contenuto dell'esegesi usata da Paolino nella sua corrispondenza con Apro, Fabre [8] 194, la giustifica ricordando il livello culturale del suo destinatario: «Mais ici, il n'oublie pas qu'il a affaire à un débutant dans l'art savant de l'exégèse allégorique, et il se contente de comparaisons facilement accessibles». Al riguardo cfr. anche n. 7.

[18] Per un'ampia analisi del *carme*, oltre a S. Costanza (ed. e trad.), *Meropio Ponzio Paolino: Antologia di Carmi* (Messina 1971) 276ss.; cfr. A. Ruggiero, 'Carme 21: Nola crocevia dello spirito', in *Atti del Convegno XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola (431-1981)* (Roma 1983) 183-212; G. Guttilla, 'Le metafore encomiastiche della spiritualità e della militanza cristiana nel *carm.* 21 di Paolino di Nola', *Cassiodorus* 5 (1999) 201-34 ed in particolare 221-23.

perpes ei ('Come quest'albero, questo giovane sarà beato al cospetto del Signore, cosicché gli rimanga sempre la grazia', *carm.* 21.308s.).[19] E queste premesse spirituali implicite nel nome di battesimo del giovane, a giudizio di Paolino, s'erano già realizzate in pieno.

A differenza dei *Wortspiele* finora esaminati, quelli presenti nei *Carmi* sono quasi sempre molto più brevi ed hanno un minore spessore dottrinale. Nello stesso tempo essi evidenziano una struttura retorica talvolta elaborata ed un frequente uso di motivi e di espressioni quasi formulari. Il processo di cristianizzazione dei nomi propri, che nel IV-V secolo aveva raggiunto un livello abbastanza notevole,[20] ci aiuta a capire il diffondersi di questo tipo di *Wortspiel*, che non ubbidisce ad una vera esigenza dottrinale, ma piuttosto ad una consuetudine laudativa di contenuto vagamente spirituale.[21]

La forma più semplice e comune di questo particolare tipo di *Wortspiel* è senza dubbio quella che ravvisa nel nome del personaggio di cui si parla un significato di natura spirituale, costituito dai suoi meriti, che ne confermano e giustificano in pieno quello letterale. Da questo punto di vista si può considerare paradigmatico il verso iniziale del *carm.* 12: *Inclite confessor, meritis et nomine Felix* ('O glorioso confessore, Felice di meriti e di nome'). L'emistichio *meritis et nomine Felix*, con cui termina l'esametro dopo la cesura, ci appare chiaramente un'espressione formulare e intercambiabile, che non solo ritorna nei *Carmi*, ma anche nei *tituli*, le iscrizioni basilicali in versi composte da Paolino, nonché in alcuni epigrammi di Damaso.

La troviamo infatti, con la stessa collocazione metrica, all'inizio del secondo dei tre *tituli* composti da Paolino in onore di *Clarus*, il discepolo

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[19] Per le doti spirituali simboleggiate dal pino, cfr. vv. 306s.: *Haec igitur typus est aeterni corporis arbor, / pulchra ferax vivax ardua odora virens* ('Quest'albero è dunque il simbolo di un corpo immortale, bello, fecondo, pieno di vita, alto, profumato, verdeggiante') ed inoltre i vv. 298-305. Per questa forma d'interpretazione tipologica, cfr. Penna [1] 93ss. A ragione Costanza [18] 300 osserva che l'accostamento simbolico tra Piniano e il pino «consente a Paolino di caratterizzare -è vero che con una certa sovrabbondanza- quest'albero sempre verde».

[20] Per quanto concerne il diffondersi dell'onomastica cristiana nei primi secoli del Cristianesimo, oltre a J. Schrijnen, 'Die Namengebung im Altchristlichen Latein', *Mnemosyne* 2 (1935) 271-77; cfr. A. Harnack (trad. P. Marrucchi), *Missione e propagazione del Cristianesimo* 2 (Milano 1945) e in particolare 296-310 (I nomi dei fedeli) e 314-19 (I nomi individuali dei Cristiani); H. Leclerq, *s.v. Noms propres: Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 12.2, specialmente coll. 1511ss.

[21] Per quanto riguarda gli autori greci, cfr. G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Sur les allusions aux noms propres chez les auteurs grecs chrétiens', *VChr* 15 (1961) 32-39. Per l'uso del *Wortspiel* in relazione ai nomi propri cristiani, oltre a J. H. Waszink, 'Varia critica et exegetica', *Mnemosyne* 11 (1943) 68-81 ed in particolare 77, per quanto concerne Agostino, si veda Mohrmann [5] 38-41.

prediletto di Martino di Tours: *Presbyter hic situs est meritis et nomine Clarus* ('Qui è sepolto il presbitero Claro, -famoso- per i suoi meriti e il nome', *epist.* 32.6),[22] nonché nel verso iniziale di un epigramma dedicato da Damaso al patrono di Nola. In quest'ultimo caso però la corrispondenza che esiste tra il significato del nome proprio del Santo e le doti spirituali da lui dimostrate in vita è evidenziata in maniera più analitica di quanto non avvenga negli esempi già esaminati: *Corpore mente animo pariterque et nomine Felix* ('O Felice di corpo, di mente, di animo e parimente anche di nome', *Epigr.* 61.1).[23] Sebbene in un contesto di contenuto più terreno, una espressione similare si incontra anche in Corippo in relazione a Magno, un funzionario imperiale: *nec non magnanimus meritis et nomine Magnus* ('ed inoltre magnanimo per i suoi meriti e Magno per il suo nome', *In laud. Iustini* 1.22).[24]

Se si considera che, a differenza di quanto avviene in Agostino, nei *Carmi* e nei *tituli* la quasi totalità dei *Wortspiele* ha come oggetto sempre gli stessi nomi, soprattutto quello di *Felix*, il protettore di Nola, si capirà perché mai Paolino cerchi di sviluppare e di riproporli in forme variamente nuove, anche se ad un lettore moderno essi possono apparire a volte piuttosto ripetitivi o artificiosi. È questo il caso dei versi iniziali del *carm.* 13, nei quali la posizione chiastica dei termini *merito* e *nomine* sembra evidenziare meglio l'uguale importanza che essi hanno in relazione al nome del Santo: *Felix, hoc merito quod nomine, nomine et idem / qui merito* ('O Felice, che per i meriti sei quello che sei per il nome, e per il nome sei anche ciò che sei per i meriti', *carm.* 13.1s.).

Altrove invece il nome stesso del destinatario del *titulus* sembra quasi autorizzare Paolino ad evidenziare una sua particolare dote di carattere

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[22] Cfr. al riguardo G. Guttilla, 'I tituli in onore del presbyter Clarus e la datazione del *carme* 31 di Paolino di Nola', *BStudLat* 19 (1989) 58-69. Il *Wortspiel* riguardante l'appellativo *Felix* potrebbe essere stato suggerito inizialmente a Paolino da Giovenco, *Evang. libr.* 1.86s.: *Felix o femina, salve, / felicem gestans uteri sinuamine fetum* ('Salve, o donna fortunata, che porti nel rigonfiamento del tuo ventre un bambino fortunato.').

[23] M. Ihm (ed.), *Damasi Epigrammata* (Leipzig 1895). La stessa clausola è usata da Damaso 7.1: *O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix* ('O una volta ed un'altra tu veramente Felice di nome'). Su questi epigrammi cfr. S. Pricoco, 'Valore letterario degli epigrammi di Damaso', *Misc. di studi di lett. crist. antica* 4 (1954) 19-40 e G. Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (München 1968) 55-63.

[24] Bisogna tuttavia rilevare che nel contesto i termini *meritis et nomine* non formano più un concetto unico come nei casi sopra esaminati, ma con collocazione chiastica all'interno del verso si riferiscono rispettivamente a *nec non magnanimus* ed a *Magnus* che, grazie alla paronomasia e alla presenza nel verso di numerosi termini allitteranti, hanno nel contesto un maggiore rilievo; cfr. U. J. Stache, *F. Caesconius Corippus, In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris* (Berlin 1976).

intellettuale: *Nominis ut titulo, sic mentis lumine Clarus / presbyter hoc tegitur, sed membra caduca, sepulchro* ('Il presbitero Claro, -famoso- per il significato del suo nome così come per lo splendore della sua mente, è racchiuso in questo sepolcro, ma solo le sue membra caduche', *epist.* 32.6.1s.).[25] Lo stesso avviene a proposito del giovane *Asterius* che, a giudizio di Paolino, *sidereo pariter nomine et ore micat* ('brilla egualmente per il suo nome ed il suo volto celeste', *carm.* 21.321),[26] ed anche nel caso del vescovo *Nicetes*, nel cui nome il poeta ritrova il presagio e la conferma della sua perfezione spirituale: *Tuque, Niceta, bene nominatus / corporis victor* ('E tu, o Niceta, opportunamente chiamato vincitore del tuo corpo', *carm.*17.161s.).[27]

Un altro tipo di *Wortspiel*, più interessante per gli espedienti retorici mediante i quali si realizza, consiste nell'associare nel contesto, a breve distanza l'uno dall'altro, l'appellativo al corrispondente termine aggettivale. Varia è la maniera in cui si sviluppa questa particolare forma di paronomasia. A volte essa compare nell'àmbito dello stesso verso: *Tu Felix semper felix mihi* ('Tu, o Felice, sempre felice per me', *carm.* 21.414),[28] a volte si sviluppa invece mediante l'*enjambement* all'interno di due versi, come avviene nell'invocazione *Sancte deo Felix, inopum substantia, semper / pro miseris felix et semper dives egenis* ('O Felice, santo agli occhi di Dio, aiuto dei poveri, sempre felice per i miseri e sempre ricco per i poveri', *carm.*18.254s.).[29]

Talvolta l'appellativo *Felix* non è espresso, ma non per questo il *Wortspiel* risulta meno evidente, come si vede nell'invocazione *Sis bonus o*

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[25] Cfr. al riguardo Guttilla [22] 56s. e, per la punteggiatura e l'interpretazione dei versi riportati; G. Guttilla, '*Rectius legenda*, (Paolino di Nola: *ep.* 32, 6, 281, 1-4)', *BStudLat* 25 (1995) 111-13.

[26] Questo presagio di futura beatitudine, che si può cogliere sia nel nome sia sul volto del ragazzo, trova la sua spiegazione nel v. 320: *iamque parente deo regnis caelestibus ortus . . .* ('e già nato per il regno celeste, essendo Dio il suo genitore . . .').

[27] Anche altrove (*carm.* 27.231-34) Paolino introduce un gioco di parole in relazione al nome del personaggio: *et quia Nicetes . . . / longinqua tellure mihi modo missus ad istum / ecce diem venit, vir tam bonus ore magistro / quam sacer est victore animo vel corpore victo* ('e perché Niceta . . . che mi è stato ora mandato da una terra lontana per -festeggiare- questo giorno, è finalmente arrivato, un uomo tanto buono per la sua parola maestra, quanto egli è santo per la vittoria del suo spirito o per la sconfitta della sua carne'). Ma si veda anche *carm.* 27.179-82: *Video praesenti lumine coram / Niceten ridere mihi, visoque parente, / . . . et ipse / Nicetes fio* ('Vedo che Niceta mi sorride con la sua luce che mi sta davanti ed avendo visto il padre mio . . . anche io divento un Niceta'). Cfr. al riguardo G. Guttilla, 'Situazioni catulliane e lucreziane nei *Carmi* di Paolino di Nola', *Scholia* 6 (1997) 96-110 e in particolare 102ss.

[28] Cfr. al riguardo G. Guttilla, 'Preghiere e invocazioni nei *Carmi* di S. Paolino di Nola', *ALGP* 28-30 (1991-1993) 93-188 e in particolare 160s.

[29] Cfr. anche Guttilla [28] 122s.

felixque tuis ('Orsù sii buono, -o Felice-, e favorevole ai tuoi fedeli', *carm.* 13.31).[30] Talvolta invece l'aggettivo *felix* si ricollega a distanza, non meno allusivamente, all'appellativo *Felix* usato nel periodo precedente: *Iure oculis hunc aequo meis, in lumine cuius / Felicis manus in Christo, mea gloria, fulget. / O felix casus* . . . ('A ragione io tengo nello stesso conto dei miei occhi costui, nella cui vista risplende in Cristo la mano di Felice, la mia gloria. O caso felice . . .', *carm.* 23.330-32).[31] Talvolta, infine, la beatitudine implicita nel significato del nome del Santo patrono è estesa mediante il poliptoto a tutti i fedeli: *et nos de miseris et egenis sorte sui iam / nominis obtineat felices vivere Felix* ('e Felice ottenga che noi, da miseri e poveri, viviamo ormai felici per la partecipazione alla beatitudine del suo nome', *carm.* 21.857s.).[32]

La popolarità di cui gode il *Wortspiel* nel IV-V secolo sollecita Paolino a riproporre in termini di *aemulatio* il famoso, sebbene poco ... 'felice', verso ciceroniano: *O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!* ('O fortunata Roma, perché sei rinata sotto il mio consolato!').[33] La *retractatio* dell'esametro ciceroniano è proposta nel *carm.* 13.26, in cui Paolino contrappone abbastanza allusivamente alla *fortuna* di Roma la *felicitas* della città di Nola, da lui esaltata per avere come *patronus* S. Felice: *O felix Felice tuo tibi praesule Nola* . . . ('O felice Nola per essere Felice il tuo presule').[34] Pur conservando la struttura di

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[30] Al riguardo cfr. Guttilla [28] 108s. e n. 46. Anche nel *carm.* 20.145-48, sebbene l'antitesi a livello verbale riguarda gli aggettivi *miser* e *felix* (*hac in sede miser, qua, si miser adveniat quis, / efficitur felix!*, 'misero in questa sede, nella quale, se qualcuno giungesse misero, è reso felice!'), tuttavia si può pensare che il *Wortspiel* è implicito nel contesto, se si considera che l'autore di siffatto cambiamento interiore nell'animo del fedele resta sempre *Felix*, il santo protettore di Nola.

[31] Una collocazione molto più lontana nel contesto ha l'appellativo *Felix* del *carm.* 14.95 (*Nunc quoque perpetuo decorat te nomine Felix*, 'Ora Felice ti adorna anche di un nome immortale') rispetto al corrispondente aggettivo del v. 104s., che è ora esteso da Paolino a tutti i fedeli: *Nos quoque felices, quibus istum cernere coram / et celebrare diem datur* ('Anche noi felici, ai quali è concesso di vedere e di celebrare personalmente questo giorno.'). Per un analogo uso dell'aggettivo *felix* al plurale, cfr. n. 32 e testo relativo.

[32] Per quanto concerne il sorgere del culto dei Santi, ed in particolare di quello di S. Felice, cfr. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago 1981) 53-60. Per il nuovo significato che acquista il termine *patronus* in ambiente cristiano, una volta che esso indica il Santo protettore, cfr. A. M. Orselli, *L'idea e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana* (Bologna 1965) 32ss. e 46-51.

[33] Il verso, che apparteneva al poemetto *de consulatu meo*, c'è stato tramandato, tra gli altri, da Quintiliano, *Inst.* 9.4.41. Sulla genesi e la tradizione del verso, cfr. G. Monaco, 'Due note filologiche', *Annali Sc. Norm. Super. Pisa* 21 (1952) 63-69 ed in particolare 65-69.

[34] Per il termine *praesul* ('presule'), con cui ora Paolino indica Felice al posto del più comune appellativo *patronus* ('patrono'), oltre ad Orselli [32] 49, cfr. C. Iannicelli, 'Note al lessico paoliniano. Indagine su alcuni appellativi riferiti a S. Felice', *Impegno e Dialogo* 8

base che trovava nell'intertesto (*O fortunatam . . . Romam ~ O felix . . . Nola*), Paolino sa renderne meno roboante il ritmo sostituendo lo spondeo del terzo e del quarto piede con dei dattili, nonché la paronomasia *fortunatam natam* col poliptoto allitterante *felix Felice*, e ripropone infine in maniera abbastanza allusiva, se consideriamo la loro identica collocazione metrica e l'omoptoto dei rispettivi dattili del quinto piede, la parte finale dell'esametro: *me consule Romam ~ tibi praesule Nola*.

Lo stesso tipo di paronomasia è usato da Paolino nel *carm.* 31 a proposito del piccolo Celso, il figlio di Pneumazio e Fedele, morto ad otto anni, allorché afferma che *Celsus in excelso laetus agit nemore* ('Celso vive beato nell'eccelso bosco', *carm.* 31.42),[35] ovvero, in un contesto retoricamente più elaborato, nei versi iniziali dello stesso carme: *Ante puer patribus et nomine avito / Celsus erat, sed nunc celsus agit merito* ('Prima Celso era un bambino di illustri antenati e di antico lignaggio, ma ora egli è eccelso per i suoi meriti', *carm.* 31.1s.).[36] In questo secondo caso la beatitudine di cui gode ora il piccolo, oltre che dal gioco di parole *Celsus . . . celsus*, è evidenziata anche dalla presenza del motivo topico *nomine . . . merito*, termini questi che, oltre all'isosillabismo e alla allitterazione, evidenziano altresì un isovocalismo interno avente una struttura chiastica.

Non meno interessanti sotto questo profilo sono i versi finali del *carm.* 25: *Esto et Paulini Therasiaeque memor, / et memor aeternum Christus erit Memoris* ('Sii memore di Paolino e di Terasia, e Cristo in eterno sarà memore di Memore', *carm.* 25.240s.).[37] Basta considerare il rilievo metrico che hanno nei

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(1990-1991) 183-204 ed in particolare 192-94; G. Luongo, *Lo specchio dell'agiografo: S. Felice nei carmi XV e XVI di Paolino di Nola* (Napoli 1992) 76.

[35] Il carme, di natura consolatoria, è uno dei più belli e studiati. Cfr. Costanza [18] 211-20; S. Costanza, 'Dottrina e poesia nel carme XXXI di Paolino di Nola', *GIF* 24 (1972) 346-53; S. Costanza, 'Catechesi e poesia nei carmi XXII, XXV e XXXI di Paolino di Nola', in S. Felici (ed.), *Crescita dell'uomo nella Catechesi dei Padri* (Roma 1988) 225-85 ed in particolare 257-85; A. Quacquarelli, 'Una *consolatio* cristiana (Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 31)', in *Atti del Convegno* [18] 121-42; ed infine G. Guttilla, 'Una nuova lettura del *carme* 31 di S. Paolino di Nola', *Koinonia* 11 (1987) 69-97.

[36] Il termine *merito* è nel contesto un sostantivo avente un valore collettivo e si contrappone concettualmente al *nomine avito* precedente. Al riguardo cfr. *carm.* 19.287: *elogio martyr, merito officioque sacerdos* ('martire per il titolo, sacerdote per merito e funzioni'). «Sull'intreccio del nome *Celsus* con l'aggettivo *celsus*», cfr. T. Piscitello Carpino, 'Paolino elegiaco', in *La poesia latina in distici elegiaci* (Assisi 1993) 104. Poco convincente è l'interpretazione di P. G. Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola* (New York 1975) 309: «but now he rightly dwells *in excelsis*».

[37] Su questo componimento, oltre a J. A. Bouma (ed. e trad.), *Het Epithalamium van Paulinus van Nola, Carmen XXV* (Assen 1968); cfr. R. Gelsomino, 'L'epitalamio di Paolino di Nola per Giuliano e Titia (Carme 25)', in *Atti del Convegno* [18] 213-30; Costanza [18]

pentametri i termini *memor* . . . *Memoris*, su cui poggia il *Wortspiel*, nonché l'efficacia anaforica dell'aggettivo *memor*, che ha nel contesto una collocazione chiastica. Talvolta, invece, il *Wortspiel* si realizza associando all'appellativo la litote del corrispondente termine aggettivale. Ciò avviene ancora una volta nel *carm.* 25 ed ha come oggetto sempre lo stesso personaggio: *Hinc Memor, officii non immemor* . . . ('Perciò Memore, non immemore del suo dovere . . .', *carm.* 25.225).[38]

Ma il componimento che più d'ogni altro è caratterizzato dalla presenza di questi giochi di parola, e che si può considerare a ragione il punto d'arrivo di siffatta esperienza retorico-letteraria che Paolino porta avanti nel tempo nei suoi scritti in versi, è senza dubbio il terzo *titulus* da lui composto in onore del *presbyter Clarus*:

> Clare fide, praeclare actu, clarissime fructu,
> qui meritis titulum nominis aequiperas,
> casta tuum digne velant altaria corpus,
> ut templum Christi contegat ara dei.
> Sed quia tu non hac, qua corpus, sede teneris,
> qui meritis superis spiritus involitas,
> sive patrum sinibus recubas dominive sub ara
> conderis aut sacro pasceris in nemore,
> qualibet in regione poli situs aut paradisi,
> Clare, sub aeterna pace beatus agis.[39]
>
> (*carm.* 25.225)
>
> 'O famoso (*Clare*) per la tua Fede, o molto famoso (*praeclare*) per le tue opere, famosissimo (*clarissime*) per i frutti (conseguiti), un altare immacolato copre degnamente il tuo corpo, affinché l'altare di Dio copra nello stesso tempo (te), il tempio di Cristo. Ma poiché tu non sei trattenuto in questa sede,

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181-90; T. Piscitello Carpino [36] 127s.; F. E. Consolino, 'Cristianizzare l'epitalamio: il carme 25 di Paolino di Nola', *Cassiodorus* 3 (1997) 199-213; A. F. Basson, 'Paulinus of Nola *Carm.* 25: A Poem in Search of a Genre', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 75 (1993) 141-62; A. F. Basson, 'Tradition and Originality in Late Latin Literature: Classical Literary Genres in Paulinus of Nola', *Scholia* 8 (1999) 79-95.

[38] Un caso analogo, in cui l'aggettivo si contrappone in termini negativi al nome proprio, si trova in *carm.* 20.157-61: *qua* [scil. *gratia*] *factum est mihi nunc, ut tam cito tangere rursus / limina Felicis misero veneranda liceret . . . tunc magis infelix de prosperitate fuissem* ('per la quale grazia ora s'è verificato che fosse lecito a me misero di toccare così presto nuovamente le venerande soglie del tempio di Felice . . . allora io sarei stato maggiormente infelice come conseguenza della fortunata vicenda che mi è capitata.' Per la collocazione alquanto distante che hanno i termini *Felicis* . . . *infelix*, cfr. n. 31.

[39] N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (London 1955) 76 definisce bene a ragione questo *titulus* «exquisite lines». Per il significato che assumono nel contesto alcuni termini dottamente biblici, cfr. Guttilla [22] 62-65; R. P. H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola: A Study of His Latinity* (Bruxelles 1971) 79 e *passim.*

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> in cui (riposa) il tuo corpo, tu, che come anima per i tuoi meriti ti aggiri volando nelle superne regioni, sia che riposi nel seno dei patriarchi o ti trovi sotto l'altare del Signore o pascoli (come un agnello) nel sacro bosco, in qualunque regione del cielo o del Paradiso hai dimora, o Claro, tu vivi beato nell'eterna pace.'[40]

Appare evidente, a chi legge, la struttura anulare del componimento. Sebbene Paolino se ne serva anche altrove, tuttavia qui è possibile coglierla più facilmente per la relativa brevità del *titulus*. Il vocativo dell'aggettivo *Clare*, con cui si apre il carme, ripreso al v. 10 dal vocativo dell'appellativo *Clare*, conferisce al carme una armonica unità e ripropone nello stesso tempo un *Wortspiel* del tipo *Felix . . . felix*, di cui ci siamo già occupati. Il significato dell'aggettivo iniziale *clare*, riproposto nel verso dai vocativi anch'essi aggettivali *praeclare . . . clarissime*, si precisa mediante tre ablativi di limitazione *fide . . . actu . . . fructu* ('per la fede . . . per l'operosità . . . per i benefici conseguiti'), che riassumono e caratterizzano efficacemente la vicenda umana e spirituale di Chiaro, prima d'essere ripresi sinteticamente nel verso seguente di contenuto anch'esso topico: *qui meritis titulum nominis aequiperas* ('che eguagli con i meriti lo splendore del tuo nome').

Ma anche per altra via Paolino riesce a variare e ad arricchire a livello formale il suo componimento, pervenendo a risultati piuttosto validi sotto il profilo artistico. Non sfugge infatti a chi legge l'efficace *gradatio* del vocativo aggettivale *clare* ('O famoso') presente nel verso iniziale. Essa si realizza prima mediante l'omoteleuto *Clare . . . praeclare* e successivamente mediante l'allitterazione *clarissime*. Per apprezzare in pieno l'abilità retorico-compositiva di Paolino ci sembra che meritino d'essere anche sottolineati gli ablativi di limitazione *actu* e *fructu*, che completano gli aggettivi *praeclare* e *clarissime*. Oltre ad essere isosillabici e ad avere la stessa quantità metrica, essi sono accomunati anche dall'omoteleuto, quasi ad evidenziare a livello fonico la

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[40] G. Santaniello (ed. e trad.), *Paolino di Nola, Le lettere* 2 (Napoli/Roma 1992) 239 intende il *Clare*, con cui inizia il componimento, come un nome proprio : «O Chiaro per la fede, ben chiaro per le opere, chiarissimo per i frutti . . .». Filologicamente poco convincente ci sembra anche la traduzione di P. G. Walsh (ed. and tr.), *The Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola* 2 (New York 1966) 140 che, trascurando la punteggiatura del testo, duplica per così dire il valore del *Clare* iniziale: «Clarus, renowned in faith, highly renowned in deeds, most renowned in your harvest . . . Clarus . . .». In entrambi i casi non si tiene conto che il *Clare* costituisce il primo termine della *gradatio* aggettivale che caratterizza il verso: *Clare . . . praeclare . . . clarissime*. Considerando il *Clare* in entrambi i casi un nome proprio, esso avrebbe il valore di anafora. Ma a parte le considerazioni che la struttura stessa del testo suggerisce, ci sembra difficile pensare che in proprio in questo *titulus* Paolino si sia lasciata sfuggire l'occasione di introdurre ancora una volta un *Wortspiel*, di ben più ampio respiro degli altri due che lo precedono; cfr. Guttilla [22] 60-64.

corrispondenza che c'è stata tra l'impegno spirituale di Chiaro, finché visse in terra, ed il premio eterno, di cui ora egli sta godendo in cielo.

I *Wortspiele* finora esaminati, senza perdere nulla della loro natura retorica e della loro finalità pratica, su cui a volte è lecito forse anche dissentire, mostrano tuttavia l'abilità di Paolino nello sfruttare al massimo le possibilità simbolicamente allusive dal punto di vista spirituale, che egli ravvisava nei nomi propri di alcuni personaggi ricordati nei suoi scritti. Inseriti in componimenti di varia natura ed aventi finalità diverse, questi giochi di parole rappresentano nello stesso tempo l'adesione del poeta ad una consuetudine letteraria molto diffusa ai suoi tempi. Vista in questa ottica, l''inventiva' di Paolino ci appare notevole, se si considera che nel suo caso, a differenza di quanto avviene in Agostino, l'autore che ne fa un maggiore uso, essa si sviluppa in relazione a ben pochi nomi propri.

REVIEW ARTICLES

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'SED SERVIENDUM OFFICIO'

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William Calder III and Bernhard Huss[1] (edd.), *'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .': The Correspondence Between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Eduard Norden 1892-1931.* Hildesheim: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997. Pp. xxii + 287. ISBN 3-615-00188-4. DM88.00 / William Calder III and Bernhard Huss (edd.), *'The Wilamowitz in Me': 100 Letters Between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Paul Friedländer (1904-1931) with Translations of Selected Letters by Caroline Buckler.* Los Angeles: Charles E. Young Research Library, 1999. Department of Special Collections Occasional Papers 9. Pp. xxv + 227. ISSN 1041-1143. No price supplied.

In July 1996 the U.S. scholar William M. Calder III was honoured by the German authorities for his many impressive works on European and American *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* with the prestigious and lucrative Alexander von Humboldt prize. The two books to be discussed here are a direct result of this distinction; Calder used the money for their speedy production. If ever any prize money was spent well, this was.

However, *Wissenschaftsgeschichte/Wissenschaftlergeschichte* is still under dispute. While Albert Henrichs, the well-known present Professor of Greek at Harvard, is all in favour of it,[2] the former Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, detests it thoroughly.[3] Will the two volumes under review here help us to form a clear opinion on this controversy? In this matter, I confess that I adhere to the

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[1] While on the book covers and title pages this name is spelt 'Huss', it appears in the text regularly (except in *The Wilamowitz in Me*, pp. xxiii, 195) as 'Huß'.

[2] See Henrich's contribution 'Philologie und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Zur Krise eines Selbstverständnisses', in H. Flashar (ed.), *Altertumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren. Neue Fragen und Impulse* (Stuttgart 1995) 423-57.

[3] See Lloyd-Jones' review article 'Interesting Times', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4 (1998) 580-613, esp. 606f., 612. This review is more or less in the same vein as his comments on *Geistesgeschichte* at the meeting of the Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques held in Philadelphia in 1964.

point of view that was recently expressed to me as follows: 'It seems to me that no-one can make a useful contribution without an adequate sense of the history of our discipline both in itself and in relation to others. And then there is the simple fascination of the figures: there has never been anyone like Wilamowitz!'[4]

It is indeed the towering figure of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931) that Calder has researched for three decades. He has unearthed many important documents and letters and has made them available in handy modern editions. In fact, Wilamowitz the Man as well as Wilamowitz the 'Forscher' has become a much more distinct figure through Calder's untiring efforts; and since Wilamowitz is such a central figure in Classical scholarship in so many respects, Calder's research also throws light on numerous other scholars, on many philological problems, and on academic life and administration in general.[5]

It should not be forgotten that Wilamowitz was disliked by some of his contemporaries quite strongly. Both the faculties of Göttingen and Berlin resisted his appointment and had to be coerced into accepting him by the influential Althoff, an administrator of the Prussian universities in Berlin. Calder himself goes so far as to say that Wilamowitz, without Althoff's furtherance, might have ended as a brilliant eccentric in provincial Greifswald ('Vermutlich hätte Wilamowitz ohne Althoffs Förderung als ein brillanter Exzentriker im provinziellen Greifswald geendet', *'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, p. 181 n. 6). And Karl Reinhard reports that as a freshman at the University of Bonn in 1905 he was advised that Berlin's Wilamowitz was brilliant, not quite reliable, and tasteless.[6] However, it also cannot be forgotten that the 'Junker' exerted an irresistible charm on his audiences and his many visitors alike. And on posterity as well.

What about his two correspondents? Eduard Norden (1868-1941), hailed by Harvard's president Conant in 1936 as 'the most famous Latinist of the world', was two decades younger than Wilamowitz (1848-1931) but his colleague in Berlin for almost three decades.[7] Paul Friedländer (1882-1968) was thirty-four years younger than Wilamowitz and a student of his in Berlin (1900-1905); he later became professor in Marburg (1920) and Halle (1932-1935). Both men had to flee from Nazi

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[4] R. Fowler, personal communication on 10 September 1999 *per litteras electronicas vulgo* 'e-mail'.

[5] See especially W. Calder III and A. Kosenina (edd.), *Berufungspolitik innerhalb der Altertumswissenschaft im wilhelminischen Preußen: Die Briefe Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorffs an Friedrich Althoff, 1883-1908* (Frankfurt/Main 1989); see also W. Calder III and S. Trzaskoma, *Further Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff* (Hildesheim 1994) with my review in *BMCR* 6 (1995) 17f.

[6] K. Reinhard, *Vermächtnis der Antike* (Göttingen 1960) 365: 'Als ich 1905 in Bonn zu studieren anfing, galt er dort als glänzend, nicht durchaus solide und geschmacklos'.

[7] On various aspects of Norden's life, work and influence, see the eleven contributions and seventeen photographs in B. Kytzler *et al.* (edd.), *Eduard Norden* (Stuttgart 1994). See also my edition of his *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1966).

Germany; both felt strongly they were Germans and refused to escape until very late; both died in exile.

Friedländer,[8] who had been imprisoned in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen for some time after the cruel pogroms of the infamous *Reichskristallnacht* in 1938, was later appointed assistant(!)-professor at UCLA in 1940 at the age of 58 and full professor in 1945 at the age of 63; he retired in 1949, receiving as a monthly pension the sum of US$58. I visited him twice at the end of 1964 in his home at Camden Avenue in Los Angeles. He presented me with a copy of his *Epigrammata* of 1948, a work that he would have liked to see continued. Friedländer, a stranger in a strange land, felt lonely and unhappy. On his writing desk there were two photographs: the German poet Stefan George (1868-1933) and the German professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff—a startling sight, particularly against the backdrop of Hollywood.[10]

Wilamowitz and Norden were good colleagues and friends who admired each other for their outstanding scholarly work. Although they were not such intimate buddies as Calder assumes,[11] they had, according to this correspondence, only one single quarrel in all these long years. This occurred when Norden felt hurt because of a criticism by Wilamowitz; Wilamowitz sent his apologies and concluded that a collision between noble people always should bring them nearer together ('Nun ist aber ein solcher Zusammenstoß unter vornehm denkenden Menschen am Ende dazu da, daß sie sich näher kommen, und in diesem Sinne sei er dann abgeschlossen', *'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*, p. 217).

Unfortunately almost all of Norden's letters are lost: the collection contains 293 pieces by Wilamowitz but only twelve by Norden. Norden's *persona* still comes through clearly enough: his health is unstable ('Norden sehr schwankenden Befindens', *'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, p. 157: Wilamowitz to Friedländer, 20 December 1921), his sense of duty similar to that of his great colleague; similar also was his dedication to the Fatherland. So we see here Norden mostly through the eyes of Wilamowitz. Norden's own letters, although few in number, still give a vivid portrait of how he sees Wilamowitz in many respects and how he admires his work and his genius.

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[8] For Friedländer, see W. Bühler, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 619-23; H.-G. Gadamer, *Eikasmos* 4 (1993) 179-83; W. Calder III, 'Paul Friedländer', in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of American Classicists* (Westport/London 1994) 200-02.

[10] For a photograph of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, see below, p. 114.

[11] The supposed 'intimacy' (p. xi n. 2) is based on a wrong translation. The two professors did not discuss 'anal warts' but simply 'Furunkeln' (p. 42), a malaise totally different: warts are caused by viruses, furuncles by bacteria; the former are chronic, the latter transient. The original text does not at all mention any such part of the human anatomy. In parenthesis, I refuse to believe Wilamowitz would ever discuss in a letter to his colleague his wife's 'anal warts'; see p. 42: '. . . als meine Frau im Sommer-Herbst mehr als ein Dutzend gehabt hat, und Aufschneiden zeugte nur neue'. (Thanks to K.-D. Fischer, Medizinhistorisches Institut der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz for information *per litteras electronicas vulgo* 'e-mail', 6 September 1999.)

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931)

Friedländer is much more critical. Central to this problem is his long-postponed letter dated 4 July 1921 of no fewer than twenty-three handwritten pages (no. 75, *'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, pp. 141-49).[12] After his wartime experiences he cannot return any more to the *Gelehrtenleben* as he led it before and as some colleagues continue to lead it even now. He feels that he must separate himself, that is, actually free himself from the example of the great man, and that he now must turn no more to work that needs doing but to what is central. In fact he sets out to compose his book on Plato as an answer to Wilamowitz's *Platon*. And he feels the need to free himself from 'den Wilamowitz in mir' (p. 142). The book,[13] however, is dedicated on the occasion of Wilamowitz's eightieth birthday in 1928 'To Wilamowitz τῷ δαιμονίῳ'.

There is another human experience documented in these letters that is deeply touching to the reader. Only a few weeks after the beginning of World War I, Tycho, the son of Ulrich Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, was killed in action. Friedländer, in the trenches like his student colleague, does not hear about this death for months and continues asking the father about the son's well-being (pp. 68, 72). Wilamowitz himself states to Norden[14] that he and also his wife had had some presentiment of the loss (24 October 1915): 'Es kommt bloß auf die Intensität des Seelenlebens an, dann ahnt man so etwas. Wir wußten auch, daß wir einen Sohn opfern müssten, von Anfang an' (*'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*, p. 108).[15]

The final blow, the collapse of the German Empire in 1918 and the abdication of the Kaiser, brings more personal loss: it appears now that his son has died in vain and that the province where Wilamowitz was born will be yielded up; he feels he will hardly survive such a catastrophe (24 October 1918 to Norden: 'Es droht . . . daß die Ostprovinzen abgetreten werden!! Meine Heimat. Ich werde das schwerlich überleben', p. 168). There is hunger in Berlin and the two academics exchange information about places where ersatz food can be bought; Wilamowitz sends Norden a recipe for artificial goose-dripping and adds a note with the words *probatum est* ('it has my approval', p. 162). Looting takes place in broad daylight. *Vereor ne prela*

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[12] This is actually the third edition of this important document; it first appeared in *Antike und Abendland* 25 (1980) 90-102 and was reprinted in *Antiqua* 23 (1983) 127-39 with an addendum on p. 307. It is also among the eleven selected letters translated into English in *'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, pp. 195-217 although it appears in a shortened form (pp. 212-17). This letter was meant to introduce Wilamowitz to Friedländer's first publication since 1914. This publication, *Der Große Alcibiades. Ein Weg zu Platon: Erster Teil* (Bonn 1921), was soon followed by *Zweiter Teil* (Bonn 1922).

[13] P. Friedländer, *Platon* 1–3 (Berlin 1964-1975); there is also an English translation by H. Meyerhoff (New York 1958-64).

[14] Wilamowitz's unpublished book *Die Dramatische Technik des Sophokles* was edited by E. Kapp only in March 1918; it has by now seen its fourth edition (Hildesheim 1996). For its genesis see the article by W. Calder III and A. Bierl, 'The Tale of Oblomov: Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1885-1914)', *Eikasmos* 2 (1991) 257-83.

[15] The photograph below on p. 116 shows Tycho's cenotaph in the family estate in Markowitz as it is today. The photograph was taken during the summer of 1999 by Marian Szarmach of Nicholas Copernicus University, Torun (Poland).

The Cenotaph of Tycho Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

per turbas ministrantium cessent ('I fear that the presses may stop because of the disturbances of the workers'): Despite the danger of imminent strikes, Wilamowitz would like to see his Plato book printed; he receives finally three author's copies (23 and 31 December, 1918). For Friedländer this 'Platobuch, während des Krieges geschrieben, ist Symbol, daß Deutschland als geistige Nation nicht aufgehört hat zu bestehen' (p. 133).

Moving as all human elements of these correspondences are, there is also another no less important side to these two publications: both editions offer an Index Personarum and in addition more than eight astonishing pages of an Index Locorum Antiquorum. Here lies the real core of both collections: they 'elucidate on the highest level hundreds of passages in Greek and Latin texts' (*'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*, p. xvii). We come across sixty-one authors in Friedländer and ninety-one in Norden: writers like Philo (ten entries), Vergil (sixteen) and Cicero (fourteen), but also *Carmina Popularia* 2 (Bergk), *Lamentationes Ieremiae*, thirteen inscriptions and four papyri, not to mention the long Plato column.

In the twenty-eight columns of names, there are scholars and artists, philosophers, poets and politicians, for example, the Prussian Feldmarschall Paul von Hindenburg, the first German Reichpräsident, Friedrich Ebert, Mommsen, Mussolini, Sieur du Cange and Friedrich Althoff (see above, n. 5), Thomas Mann and Voltaire. Not in the index is the fact that Wilamowitz had dinner with the Kaiserin and the Crown Princess; he found both women 'sehr sympathisch' and reports their silence concerning war and politics (*'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*, p. 138f.).

In parenthesis, a tribute to the *genius loci*; there is also Johannes Basson, a doctoral student from South Africa, 'aus Malmesbury (Kapland)'. Friedländer asks Wilamowitz in 1914 to write on his behalf so that he, as a South African formally a British subject, may continue his studies in the enemy capital. Apparently both Wilamowitz and Norden supported Basson's application successfully. Basson earned his PhD 1917 in Berlin and had his dissertation printed in Göttingen in the same year. He later became a professor at the University of Stellenbosch.[16]

Since Wilamowitz, Norden and Friedländer were in close contact, they often refer to facts or persons in an abbreviated, insider style. Fortunately the reader is not left alone but finds a wealth of information at the bottom of each page. The footnotes (509 in *The Wilamowitz in Me'*, 935 in *'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*) are 'philological rather than historical' (*'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, p. viii).[17] That means that not so much

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[16] See the conference abstract of J. H. D. Scourfield, 'The Prussian Aristocrat and the Boer: A Chapter in the History of Culture and Scholarship', *AClass* 41 (1998) 136. Scourfield plans to publish an edition of Basson's letters to Wilamowitz in the near future.

[17] Friedrich von Schiller's famous 'Die Glocke' ought to be mentioned: When Friedländer writes to Wilamowitz as a *Bescheidenheitstopos* and expresses the fear that his book *Herakles* (Berlin 1907), which he sent to the professor, 'seinen "meister" nicht recht loben wird', he quotes Schiller (leaving open the question whether the 'master' is the writer of the book or his teacher): 'Von der Stirne heiß rinnen muß der Schweiß, soll das Werk den Meister loben, doch der Segen kommt von oben'.

general or military history is explained as *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* and *Prosopographica* (*Wissenschaftlergeschichte*). Of course the numerous quotations from classical authors integrated into the text of the letters are also elucidated. This commentary fulfils extremely well its aim 'to make the text intelligible to an educated reader without recourse to other books' (*'Sed Serviendum Officio . . .'*, p. x; *'The Wilamowitz in Me'*, p. viii). I wish that an Index Rerum Memorabilium had been included in addition to the Index Locorum and Index Nominum; we would learn so much about social life, the history of ideas and professorial psychology.

We learn, however, a great deal about the innermost feelings of these three outstanding men, their scientific theories and research methods, their thoughts concerning translation, transmission, transformation, and the situation of Classics then in general. Of course there is also much about their daily life, their teaching and examining routine, details we are not concerned with any more. But even if there is some sand, there is also gold in abundance.

OVID AT THE END OF THE MILLENNIUM

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Alessandro Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse.* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997. Pp. xi + 292. ISBN 0-520-20223-6. US$45.00/UK£35.00.

In a century that has swept from confident capitalist imperialism through world wars, totalitarianism, military dictatorships, social, cultural, political, economic and technological revolutions, nationalism, globalisation, existentialism, anger, angst, flower power and new age syncretism, Augustan scholarship has mirrored contemporary experience. The splendid leader of the imperial adventure story gave way to the propagandist figurehead of the party; his poets have gone from positive propagandists to pro-, anti- or un-Augustan voices; perceived dissent has been explained away, denied or, conversely, underlined in terms of genre and Alexandrianism. *Quot homines, tot sententiae*—and 'the anxiety of influence' hounds philologists no less than poets.[1] Now, at the end of a disturbed and disturbing century

[1] Random examples: John Buchan's *Augustus* (London 1937) and Sir Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* (London 1939), as far apart ideologically as they are in scholarly purpose (and for a more extreme construction in the latter vein see C. Ransmayr (tr. J. Woods), *The Last World with an Ovidian Repertory* (London 1991), published earlier as *Die Letzte Welt* (Nördlingen 1988), one of three novels discussed by Barchiesi in his 'Introduction', pp. 1-4). The bibliography for literary (as for historical) studies of the period is too vast to attempt to cite here, but see, for example, R. Marache, 'La Revolte d'Ovide contre Auguste', in N. I.

and amid the intensively canvassed hopes and fears associated with the 'new millennium', we are acutely aware that no institution, political, intellectual or domestic, is immutable or monolithic and, as always, current concerns have affected the way we construe and construct the past. It is no coincidence that the last decade or so in Augustan studies has seen a synthesis of literary, historical, socio-political, archaeological and cultural insights, together with an insistence that the character of the age and of the man from whom it takes its name is neither static nor unitary. Barchiesi's contribution to this process has been considerable and influential.

At the same time there has been a comprehensive re-evaluation of Ovid's *Fasti* and exile poems.[2] *The Poet and the Prince* both reflects and furthers these interactive

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Herescu (ed.), *Ovidiana: Recherches sur Ovide* (Paris 1958) 412-19; A. J. W. Holleman, 'Ovid and Politics', *Historia* 20 (1971) 458-66; F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972); D. Little, 'The Non-Augustanism of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972) 389-401; C. Moulton, 'Ovid as Anti-Augustan: *Met.* 15.843-79', *CW* 67 (1973) 4-7; J. Griffin, 'Augustus and the Poets: "*Caesar Qui Cogere Posset*"', in F. Millar and E. Segal (edd.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 189-218. A valuable survey of trends in scholarship on Augustan literature is offered by E. Fantham, 'Review Article: Recent Readings of Ovid's *Fasti*', *CPh* 90 (1995) 367-78, while Barchiesi's own bibliography is comprehensive.

[2] Again, the bibliography is dauntingly extensive; a selective list would include (besides Barchiesi's own work) Fantham [1]; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus and the *Fasti*', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby (edd.), *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol 1987) 221-30; S. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-conscious Muse* (Cambridge 1987); S. Hinds, 'Generalising about Ovid', in A. J. Boyle (ed.), *The Imperial Muse: Ramus Essays on Roman Literature of the Empire* (Bendigo 1988) 4-31; S. Hinds, '*Arma* in Ovid's *Fasti*', *Arethusa* 25 (1992) 81-149; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988); B. Harries, 'Causation and the Authority of the Poet in Ovid's *Fasti*', *CQ* 39 (1989) 164-85; P. Hardie, 'The Janus Episode in Ovid's *Fasti*', *MD* 26-27 (1991) 47-64; D. 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; D. F. Kennedy, '"Augustan" and "Anti-Augustan": Reflections on Terms of Reference', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London 1992) 26-58; G. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti: A Historical Study* (Oxford 1994); C. E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Ithaca 1995); K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton 1996); G. Tissol, *The Face of Nature: Wit, Narrative and Cosmic Origins in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Princeton 1997). Here again Barchiesi's bibliography is extensive (and has been updated in the English edition); for the exile poetry see G. D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge 1994) and the series of publications by J.-M. Claassen, most recently *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius* (London 1999); the bibliographies of Williams and Claassen are also comprehensive. One should not ignore the importance of work on genre and allusion by Gian Biagio Conte, Don Fowler, Stephen Hinds and others (see, for example, S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* [Cambridge 1998] with bibliography).

approaches, as the 'Introduction' (pp. 1-11) indicates. Barchiesi offers a useful survey, outlining the interplay of considerations—political and aesthetic, public and private—necessary for interpretation: 'In short, scholars who study the subject of "Augustus and the poets" are generally highly aware of the ambiguities, tensions and nuances that belong to poetic discourse; but they are not sufficiently aware of the ambiguities, tensions and nuances that belong to the category "Augustus"' (pp. 8f.). His sense of the delicate balancing act between revolution and restitution, change and continuity, crisis and stability, which informs the Augustan age, and of the connotations of 'Augustus' and 'Augustan' for subsequent ages, leads him to emphasise the importance of symbols in the Augustan discourse. Nor are the paradoxes of continuity and revolution to be found only in the political sphere. In the preface to this second, translated, edition Barchiesi explains his interest in the synthesis of formalist/structuralist and historicist readings and in the contrast of the '*perpetuum*' of the *Metamorphoses* and the *digesta* of the *Fasti*: ' . . . I began to look for ways in which the meaning of the poem is constituted—in a cultural context, I guess—through its peculiar, fragmented and Callimachean format' (p. x). And here is a further essential recognition of what is comprised in the definition 'Augustan': the continuum embraces Alexandria no less than Caesar. This is the framework on which Barchiesi's study of the *Fasti* is built.

Like his chosen poet, Barchiesi's text is learned, witty, elegant, allusive, resonant with imagery and wordplay, and open to multiple interpretations (though he is kinder to his readers than Ovid, for he is lucid and unambiguous where Ovid is elusive and equivocal). The very title of part 1 ('*Arma Virumque* in the Mirror of the Black Sea [Featuring Observations on Politics and Poetry]', pp. 13-44) points to reflections, as it were, on reflections. And in and through this speculum we are led to reflect on Ovid's life-long engagement with Vergil, on literal and literary realities, on Ovid in exile as 'a *vir* surrounded by *arma*' (p. 24), on the elegiac rejection (and subversion) of militarism ('The *Fasti* is the Augustan poem that both dissociates itself most completely from *arma* and accounts for this dissociation and dislike most exhaustively', p. 19), on *Tristia* 2 as a lesson in how to read poetry. Barchiesi is not alone in reading the letter to Augustus as a criticism of the *princeps*, a challenge rather than an apology, but his approach is arresting. His close reading shows how Ovid uses literary form to expose Augustus. The epistolary form conventionally addresses an individual, but Ovid makes Augustus both addressee and subject and intends a wider and more literate readership to judge them both. As he shows how even the most unimpeachable writing can be open to double and doubtful interpretation, reminiscences of Horace's literary epistles thrust home: 'Horace had invited Augustus to do something about his fellow citizens' cultural backwardness, but here the prince's ideas on poetry are held up to public inspection' (p. 29). In a nice reversal 'the dismissed poet' becomes 'the *delator*, that formidable instrument of imperial power, comes back into play to write careful reports on the dangers represented by Virgil, Euripides and even Homer' (p. 30). As he had formerly used the buildings of Augustan Rome, Barchiesi argues, so Ovid also uses literature. In depicting both as subservient to amatory purposes, he 'offers us a clear key for our reading: every work

of art is open to deviant interpretations' (p. 33). So Ovid exploits genre for irony and paradox: his complaints about conditions of life in exile are realised through literary associations with the type of poetry he had always refused to write.

The message here is how the late twentieth century, sensitised to flux and mutability and interconnections, reads the late Augustan age. '[Ovid's] political discourse has constructed an Augustus who is a changeable figure, fluctuating as need be between the Roman citizen and the god on earth' (p. 43). And here my casual comparisons must cease, for on the level on which I am making them, the modern era can be seen as eclectic, intellectually undisciplined, momentarily captivated by successive fleeting fancies, whereas Barchiesi's application of recent approaches to reading literature and culture are anything but that. We have rightly learnt to regard dogmatic pronouncements on poetry with reservations imparted by an increased awareness of the interaction of author and audience in the constructedness of understanding and interpretation and the instability of texts, but this does not mean that reasonable and substantiated judgements are impossible to achieve. And since Barchiesi's critique is grounded in close, contextualised and informed reading of Ovid's text, he may be permitted occasional indulgences, such as his Ahl-ian play at the end of this chapter, alluding to the *Fasti* as 'a text in which (to recall a symbolic square) the loftiest of subjects (*ROMA*) contends with the legacy of light Callimachean verse (*AMORes* and, if we like, also *MetAMORphoses*), while the exigencies of celebration and the reconstruction of Augustan values are continually postponed (*MORA*), and the poet retraces and contests the work of his inescapable predecessor, the author of *arma virumque* (*MARO*)' (p. 44). If this is not provably Ovidian in intention, it is certainly an Ovidian conceit. Having delineated the contexts within which he will read the *Fasti*, Barchiesi turns to the poem itself in part 2, 'Ovid Writes Rome'. He begins with 'Calendar and Poetic Form' (chapter 1, pp. 47-78), drawing attention to the function of a calendar as a vehicle for national identity and to Augustus' interest in the calendar and religious festivals. Some scholars have seen Ovid as constrained and so poetically impoverished by the calendar form, but Barchiesi rightly insists that the poem's form is 'Alexandrian, unstable, corrosive' (p. 48) and questions the import of harmony, or conflict, between form and content (p. 48); moreover, his observations on, for example, movable feasts remind us that the calendar was not fixed, but was in many respects subject to interpretation, not to say manipulation. I for one find it hard to resist the impression that surprising or dissonant aspects of genre and form urge the reader to be open to the possibility of irony and subversion, though I fully agree with Barchiesi's assertion that 'black-and-white alternatives, such as "conformism" versus "subversion," [are] inadequate' (p. 44).

In the section 'Programs without Polemics' (pp. 51-53) Barchiesi looks at the poetic aims expressed in the *Fasti* proem, noting 'the absence of tensions and polemics. For the first time in the history of Roman poetry, poetic objectives on the Alexandrian model . . . are unproblematically applied to a celebratory and official function' (p. 52). For a moment, Barchiesi seems to be adopting the view that Ovid undertook the *Fasti* as a serious attempt to please and praise. But Barchiesi, like Ovid, is expert at revealing his matter in partial and circuitous stages by which he entices the

reader to consider a range of possibilities before surprising him with the (often open-ended) conclusion; and so we soon learn that 'the constitution of the *Fasti* is bifocal and highly ambiguous. The poem is permeated by a continual tension between the realm of elegy and that of epic' (p. 53). Barchiesi explores this tension in 'Venus' Army and the Disarming of Mars' (pp. 53-65). Typical of his findings is the statement: 'This Venus is a prism—an ambiguous signifier that concentrates in herself a plurality of literary influences, as well as of ideological issues, as is typical of the *Fasti*; she is at once erotic and elegiac, didactic and Julian. It is up to the reader to decide whether to attempt a synthesis or to accept the irreconcilable nature of the different voices that the poet keeps in play' (p. 60). Yet the 'genre crossing' critics love to notice is too facile for the *Fasti*, where Ovid is not so much crossing genres as drawing attention to the problems of 'creating a dialogue between them' (p. 66, in the section 'The Crossing of Literary Genres: Old and New Solutions', pp. 65-67). One result of Ovid's explicit and constant concern with programme and genre is, paradoxically, 'political', in that it forces us to notice the *Fasti*'s borderline stance between opting out and engaging with the public sphere.

'Augustus Rewrites Rome' (pp. 69-73) sees the *princeps* as both theme and example, rewriting history and writing himself into city's life and its calendar. Augustan 'order' is contrasted with the flexibility of the pagan calendar, leading on to 'Order and Variation' (pp. 73-78), in which (predictably, since Barchiesi emphasises that both the poet of the *Fasti* and his emperor are fictions) the instability of 'order' is exposed: 'The poet makes use of the pressure exerted by the calendar to trigger contradictions' (p. 75).

In chapter 2, 'Syntagmatic Tensions' (pp. 79-104), Barchiesi addresses the structure of the *Fasti*, which he describes as paratactic, with syntactic links, at once 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' (p. 86). As before, this way of reading allows the critic to encompass and reconcile apparent conflicts of interpretation and reject inferences of poetic ineptitude: so far from being the slave of calendar form and content, or incapable of sustaining classically ordered structure on a grand scale, Ovid positively exploits formal problems. And again, the reading may be pressed for ideological implications: was Ovid celebrating Augustan order or drawing attention to the disintegration of traditional values?[3] Certainly his ordering of material by combination and by selection (whether inclusion or omission) can be suggestive, as Barchiesi goes on to demonstrate in chapter 3, 'Paradigmatic Effects' (pp. 105-40). He first takes issue with suggestions that Ovid's choice and treatment of subject matter reflects Augustus' aetiological and antiquarian religious concerns,[4] offering readings of passages that emphasise disruption rather than continuity or exploit fortuitous juxtapositions: the Lares (*Fast.* 5.139-46), the Salii (3.259-392), the Quirinalia (2.475-532), the Lemuria (5.451-92), the Ides of March and Anna Perenna (3.523-710), the Fordicidia followed by the conferring of the title of *imperator* after Mutina (4.629-

[3] For the latter view see Newlands [2], which appeared after Barchiesi's first edition but which he (p. x n. 2) notes as 'quite compatible with [his] approach'.

[4] E.g., D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide* (Paris 1985).

76), the self-conscious postponement of the poet's audience with the sensuous, pleasure-loving Flora to give precedence to Vesta (4.946-49). A quotation from Barchiesi's discussion here of the apotheosis of Romulus will illustrate his thesis and his figured but lucid (Ovidian) style: '*Sed Proculus Longa veniebat Iulius Alba* ('But Julius Proculus was coming from Alba Longa', *Fast.* 2.499) echoes the official voice of the Augustan Apollo in a political poem by Propertius: *O Longa mundi servator ab Alba / Auguste* ('Augustus, saviour of the world from Alba Longa', Prop. 4.6.37). Right from the very foundation of Rome, it is made clear, a Julian was concerned in the process of apotheosis and Romulus is a god because one must believe what he says (his descendant Augustus will repeat this pattern: as *divi filius* he will make Caesar's divinity plausible and his ascent to the heavens too will be vouched for by a single witness, well rewarded for this service). After a similar exercise in credulity, the reader is immediately informed that the day that commemorates all this is also called All Fools' Day. Naturally there can be no malice in the calendar: but a narrator who decides to tell this controversial story of apotheosis on the very day of the *Quirinalia*—and not on 7 July, the generally accepted date for Romulus' mysterious disappearance—could appear far less innocent, if required to answer for this insidious combination of elements' (p. 118).

Another theme of the poem is considered in chapter 4, 'Genealogies' (pp. 141-80): 'Augustus is in the singular position of having constructed his own genealogy in two directions, both forward into the future and backward into the past' (p. 141). But here again Ovid's 'syntagmatic' and 'paradigmatic' technique informs his relation of heroic narratives. Romulus, Aeneas, the Fabii are problematic. 'Ovid allows his readers to share the distancing awareness, so typically Alexandrian, that the narrative could also have gone differently . . .' (p. 168). Tracing the changes in the responses of early and later Augustan writers to the founders and traditions appropriated by Rome's new founder, Barchiesi continues to interrogate context and style: if the way in which Romulus is presented repeatedly raises a quizzical eyebrow, what is the critic to make of Augustus, the new Romulus? The ongoing and ultimately inconclusive Augustan search for an ideal ruler has generic implications: the ultimate failure to reconcile what Romulus and Numa stand for is reflected in the impasse between epic and elegy.[5]

By this stage the reader has been alerted to a number of strategies by which Ovid subverts superficially obvious interpretations, suggesting variant and multiple meanings. But can we trust our poet? Chapter 5, 'Guarantors and Self-Destroying Information' (pp. 181-213), examines the problems of poetic authority and divine and human sources of inspiration. Callimachus' and Ovid's reflections of Hesiod show that even the father of didactic poetry sanctioned by the Muses can be read in different ways; Propertius' Vertumnus takes what Barchiesi calls the 'metamorphosis of an informant' (pp. 186-89), a stage nearer the position in which 'the authority of divine informants is an open question in the *Fasti*, in a state of constant negotiation with the

[5] Barchiesi here acknowledges debts to Wallace-Hadrill [2] 221-30; R. E. Fantham, 'The Role of Evander in Ovid's *Fasti*', *Arethusa* 25 (1992) 155-71; Hinds [2] 81-149.

reader and liable to produce unexpectedly mischievous innuendos' (p. 191). (Here and throughout, Barchiesi's stress on the role of the reader and the sense of fun that can be inferred from the admittedly double-edged expression 'mischievous'—and which is too often sidelined in recent critiques of Ovidian wit—is what distinguishes his treatment of Ovid's informants from that of Newlands, who sees the increasing undermining of the informants as a more sinister strategy; but for both Barchiesi and Newlands, poetic authority in the *Fasti* is yet another way in which Augustan values are opened to interrogation.

Chapter 6, 'The Causes and Messages of Rites: Recuperation of the Antique' (pp. 214-37), considers the implications of aetiological poetry's exploration and explication of origins in the light of the Augustan discourse, in which the interplay of concern to preserve traditions and to define the identity of a people is potentially political. By incorporating Greek sources Ovid raises questions of variant and possibly malicious interpretation in this aspect of the poem, as well, as Barchiesi demonstrates in readings of Terminus (2.639-84), Venus (4.1-162), the veiled statue (6.569-636) and Janus' programmatic speech (1.101-288).

In chapter 7, 'The Satyric Element' (pp. 238-51), Barchiesi moves from 'that authoritarian voice that is supposed to make itself heard through the means of poetic celebration' to 'the opposite pole' of the *Fasti*, the phallic (p. 238). Noting first the domains of Roman public life and literature, in which phallic display is tolerated, he shows how the repeated farcical sexual elements of the *Fasti* (whose inclusion is hardly justified by the calendar) are similarly demarcated and associated with the popular stage. Even so, they pose a further destabilising generic problem: 'Augustan culture did not envisage . . . a [literary] form so open and various that it could combine the Prince's Parthian victories with ithyphallic misadventures.' Viewed in the light of the *princeps*' revival, not to say appropriation, of state religion, and in the light of contemporary ideals of literary *decorum* and order (witness Horace's *Ars Poetica*, discussed on pp. 246-51), Ovid's recuperation of the satyric, Dionysiac element gives pause for thought. Barchiesi duly pauses, in chapter 8 (pp. 251-56), to consider where all the debate on the *Fasti* is leading. He is adamant that recognition of the poem's irreverent, disruptive aspects must not replace interpretations that see it as official homage (however reluctant), but must be combined with them. By the end of Augustus' reign and the beginning of Tiberius', 'propaganda' has become the unifying 'discourse' of a culture that impinges on every facet of public and private life, so that it is hard to define terms of 'opposition'. The 'fractured and Callimachean form of the *Fasti*' (p. 256) resists the identification of *princeps* and Rome.

Part 3, 'The End' (pp. 257-72). Barchiesi's 'end' engages with the apparent end-lessness of the *Fasti*. Ovid blamed Augustus (*rupit opus*, '[my fate] interrupted the task', *Trist.* 2.552; cf. *Trist.* 1.14, referring to the *Metamorphoses*), but Barchiesi, with other recent critics,[6] asks: 'Are we so sure that the *Fasti* are just an interrupted

[6] Newlands ([2] 209-36; 'The Ending of Ovid's Fasti', in A. J. Boyle [ed.], *The Imperial Muse: Ramus Essays on Roman Literature of the Empire* [Bendigo 1988] 129-43) treats the extant books of the *Fasti* as a complete(d) work, with the ending raising problematic

utterance and that the interruption cannot be a communicative "gesture"?' (p. 262) Metaphorically, 'the time of Ovid's life is severed like the structure of the poem', while the last ten days in book 6 have 'a recurrent sense that time is escaping' (p. 262). In these entries Barchiesi draws attention to several indications of closure, to the vexed issue of the omission of the adoption of Tiberius, to Julian and Augustan commemorations excluded by the non-survival, or non-existence, of the missing six books. Like Newlands,[7] he pays detailed attention to the final entry of the poem as we have it, with the complex of connections and associations surrounding the temple of Hercules of the Muses, its first founder, Numa, its builder, L. Marcius Philippus, Philippus' daughter Marcia, the wife of Paulus Fabius Maximus. Both Barchiesi and Newlands foreground dynastic issues and conjectures of opposition to Tiberius, exploring a complex of intertextual resonances in the process. Barchiesi offers a sense of poetic resolution, in which the (Horatian) lyre reconciles the generic stresses of the *Fasti* and allows the poem to become a genuine celebration of Augustan peace, only to destabilise it (evincing, not for the first time, an intensely Ovidian 'narrative indirection'[8]). In the end, Barchiesi's 'end' is as inconclusive as Ovid's—no weakness, but a powerful recognition of the intricacies of this poem and this poet. Brief but important remarks on the politics of closure, reminding us that Ovid's poem coincides with an unprecedented political expropriation of the Roman calendar by Augustus, bring us back to the unavoidable but essentially inadequate 'Anti-Augustan'/'Augustan' dichotomy. 'To bring something to an end is a clear sign of power' (p. 271). Symptomatically and tellingly, Barchiesi's own final remark is disingenuously minimised in a footnote on the antithesis: 'I would not know how to place myself outside this contradiction' (p. 272 n. 20). My own feeling is that the admission of concepts of open-endedness, multivalency, multiple layering of meaning into the classical literary criticism of the last two decades has been a positive and liberating move, especially when—as is the case with Barchiesi's writing—tolerance of variability and multiple 'truths' does not result in inconclusive or unclear argument. In part the clarity derives from Barchiesi's constant dialogue on 'Questions of Method' (p. 99), as well as from his lucid expression; he commands theoretical

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questions about issues of Augustan succession and ideology. See too A. Barchiesi, 'Endgames: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15 and *Fasti* 6', in D. H. Roberts, F. M. Dunn and D. Fowler (edd.), *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature* (Princeton 1997) 181-208'. In *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and ex Ponto of Ovid* (Brussels 1980) Betty Rose Nagle suggests that 'Ovid's decision to write elegies from exile rather than to finish the *Fasti* is intended as a symbolic representation of the discontinuity . . . [confirming] Ovid's explicit insistence that his style declined in exile' (pp. 19f.). Disillusionment, combined with intellectual isolation, are often suggested as reasons for the abandonment of the work; see particularly W. R. Johnson, 'The desolation of the Fasti', *CJ* 74 (1978) 7-18; cf. D. E. W. Wormell, 'Ovid and the *Fasti*', *Hermathena* 127 (1979) 39-50.

[7] Newlands [2] 209-36; [6] 129-43.

[8] The phrase is derived from Tissol [2] 10: 'the characteristic indirection and unpredictability of Ovid's narrative'.

discourse without being a slave of jargon. Moreover, he is skilled at presenting succinctly the gist of critical issues that have extensive bibliographies. He does not—as we used to—mine the texts for political evidence, but lets the potential for political import emerge from the reading in the cultural context.

Aristophanes of Byzantium famously asked, 'O Menander and Life, which of you copied the other?' We have reached a stage in Ovidian studies at which we must begin to ask a similar question in two different ways. The first might begin 'O numerous current critics of the *Fasti* . . .', and I do not intend the obvious conclusion to be offensive, for it is not 'copying' but a welcome interactive evolution, through a number of conferences and publications, of an important understanding of Ovid's poem in its time. My one qualm about the current productive focus on the 'Augustan discourse' is that it appears to neglect the many continuities—not least in calendar and religious reform—between the programmes of Julius Caesar and Augustus.[9] For instance, on p. 110 Barchiesi writes: 'Augustus has presented an image of himself as a brake on the excesses of modernity and as a guarantor of the past. His role as the nation's restorer and archaeologist is exemplified by the attention he gives to the oldest religious cults. By means of a complex and gradual procedure of recuperation, rewriting and correction, the prince places his own figure, as *pontifex* and member of all the most important priestly colleges, in a dramatically central position'. This is true and it is essential to Barchiesi's presentation of the 'Augustan discourse', but is not in all aspects unique to Augustus. And this leads me on, or back, to the second 'O Menander' question: 'O critics and Ovid, which of you constructed each other?'

This is not to say that I do not find Barchiesi's constructs of Ovid, Ovid's *Fasti* and the 'prince' to be a most fruitful and satisfying approach, its scholarly depth enhanced by its engaging style.[10] Readers who are familiar with recent work on the *Fasti* will find the work an intriguing advance in the field; those who are not could hardly get a better introduction.[11]

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[9] This is well documented in S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971).

[10] I am not competent to judge the Italian, but the English translation reads extremely well and betrays very few signs of its translatedness.

[11] I noticed very few errors in the text. On p. 155 a cross-reference is missing ('see p. 000 above'). On p. 267 I would expect 'Marcii' rather than 'Marci', Aemilius rather than Emilius. On p. 268 a missing comma complicates a long sentence: ' . . . the current of political tensions that accompany the entire period of succession[,] a period in which the *Fasti* . . .'. The bibliography, however, has not been checked as carefully as might have been expected. On p. 274 (no doubt because the work was still in preparation at the time this bibliography was compiled) there are no pages given for Barchiesi's 'Endgames: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15 and *Fasti* 6', in D. H. Roberts, F. M. Dunn and D. Fowler (edd.), *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature* (Princeton 1997); the volume is cited erroneously as *Reading Classical Closure* and the editors are listed in reverse order of that actually appearing on the title page. The last page reference for Braun (1981) on p. 274 should be 2383, not 2385. The publication date of the 1985 seminars that appeared in *PLLS* 5 (cited for Hofmann on p. 277) was in fact 1986. The pages given for Miller (1983) on p. 278 should be 156-92, not 56-92. The second part of the title of Newlands (1995) p. 279 is 'Ovid

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APULEIUS IN CONTEXT

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Gerald Sandy, *The Greek World of Apuleius: Apuleius and the Second Sophistic.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997. Mnemosyne Supplement 174. Pp. x + 276. ISBN 90-04-10821-1. Gld144/ US$90.00.

I should at once declare an interest: this volume intersects in many ways with my own recently published work *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist.*[1] Both books seek to fill an evident gap in Apuleian studies—a general contextualising of Apuleius in his intellectual background in the Roman Empire of the second century AD and in relation to the contemporary Greek Second Sophistic, which is evidently so important a part of that background. In many ways, the two works are complementary, though inevitably (and pleasingly) there is also much common ground. The chief strength of *The Greek World of Apuleius* is its provision of a broad and valuable overview of Apuleian background and intellectual milieu rather than the depth of its analyses of Apuleian texts; it is also conveniently accessible to the non-Latinate reader through its frequent translations. *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist*, written for the Latinate reader, attempts to provide a kind of relatively detailed handbook to the lesser-known rhetorical and philosophical works of Apuleius.

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and the *Fasti*', not 'A Study of Ovid's *Fasti*'. At Phillips (1983) on p. 279 the volume number for *Latomus* should be 42, not 62. In the title of Porte (1984) on p. 279 'satyrique' should read 'satirique'; in the title of Winkler (1985) on p. 281 'Author' should read 'Auctor'. For Wallace-Hadrill (1987) on p. 281 the place of publication is incorrectly given as Oxford instead of Bristol (and Oak Park); there follows an incomplete and incorrect reference for a work of Wallace-Hadrill (1990) that is not in *JRS* 80 (1990) 247-52. Titles and authors are often given in a shortened form: for example, on p. 278 J. C. McKeown is cited as 'McKeown, J.' and the full title '*Fabula Proposita Nulla Tegenda Meo*: Ovid's *Fasti* and Augustan Politics' is abbreviated to 'Ovid's Fasti and Augustan Politics'. A surprising omission from the bibliography is G. D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge 1994).

[1] S. J. Harrison, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist* (Oxford 2000). The delay in the appearance of this review (entirely my own fault) has at least conferred the opportunity of comparing Sandy's views with those published in my book, which I hope will be of benefit to the reader; I must apologise in advance for the disproportionate amount of self-citation this necessarily involves, and it is not implied that my own view is automatically authoritative. In what follows, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist* is abbreviated to *ALS* and the works of Apuleius are abbreviated as follows: *Apol.* = *Apologia*; *DDS* = *De Deo Socratis*; *Flor.* = *Florida*; *Met.* = *Metamorphoses*; *Mu.* = *De Mundo*; *Pl.* = *De Platone*.

The three large introductory chapters cover more than half the book. These cover Apuleius' life and works and general intellectual background. Here Sandy's account is full and helpful, though supplementary bibliography may be added and disagreement is often possible. In chapter 1, 'The Formation of A Latin Sophist' (pp. 1-41), Sandy is firmly convinced (pp. 9-12) of Apuleius' full bilingualism in Greek and Latin (my own view is that Apuleius exaggerates this for self-promoting purposes; cf. *ALS*, p. 15) and is confident (p. 1) that no date after 164 is discoverable in Apuleius' works (though he rightly notes (p. 8 n. 27) that *Florida* 16 might be from the late 160s; cf. *ALS*, p. 7). He is strictly right to state (p. 3) that there is no firm evidence that Apuleius made an extended visit to Rome, but *Florida* 16.36f. and 17.4 suggest studies and social connections in Rome, as he notes on p. 8; he makes no mention of apparent journeys by Apuleius to Samos (*Flor.* 15.4) and Phrygian Hierapolis (*Mu.* 17), and this means that he makes Apuleius less cosmopolitan than he perhaps was (though of course Apuleius was keen to exaggerate his 'well-travelled' status, an important part of sophistic glamour). He classes the *De Mundo* and *De Platone* as clearly Apuleian (p. 4), a verdict with which I concur, but sees them as youthful works, a natural view given their doxographical/derivative character, but one that does not confront the difficulties of their use of the *cursus mixtus* system of prose rhythm, raised by Axelson and Redfors, which strongly suggests a later date (cf. *ALS*, pp. 178-80).[2] He also goes for an early date for the *Met.* (p. 6), in good scholarly company, seeing it referred to by the phrase *historiae variae* ('various kinds of narrative') at *Florida* 9.27f. (AD 162-63); but I would regard that phrase as referring to Apuleius' lost *Epitoma Historiarum* (cf. *ALS*, p. 24) and would like a later date for the *Metamorphoses* (180s) for many reasons (summarised at *ALS*, pp. 9f.). He must, I think, be wrong (p. 7) in stating that only two ancient sources give Madauros as Apuleius' birthplace and expressing undue scepticism on the issue: there are also two references in Augustine, one in Sidonius and one in Cassiodorus (see *ALS*, p. 1 n. 3).

There is a useful analysis of the function of Carthage as a cultural centre (pp. 16-20), though here the article of Opeku would have been usefully cited,[3] and of Apuleius' links with Fronto (Sandy rightly notes on p. 21 that it is surprising that Apuleius does not allude to Fronto); there is good use of epigraphic evidence for characters from the *Apologia* (p. 8 n. 25). The question on p. 23 'was Apuleius an alumnus of the Platonic Academy in Athens?' seems not to confront the arguments of Glucker (though the reference is cited in the bibliography)[4] that the Academy was virtually non-functional in that period (cf. *ALS*, p. 5 n. 19; though Apuleius does hint that he is in some sense an 'Academic' at *Florida* 15.26 *academicis meditationibus*). The account of Apuleius' publication record (pp. 36-40) gives a good flavour of its

[2] B. Axelson, *Akzentuierender Klauselrhythmus bei Apuleius* (Lund 1952); J. Redfors, *Echtheitskritische Untersuchung der apuleischen Schriften. De Platone und De Mundo* (Lund 1960).

[3] F. Opeku, 'Popular and Higher Education in *Africa Proconsularis* in the Second Century AD', *Scholia* 2 (1993) 31-44.

[4] J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen 1978).

variety but was unfortunately unable to use the detailed researches of Sallmann.[5] Perry's view that the lost *Hermagoras* was a novel is dismissed too lightly (p. 38; for contrary arguments see *ALS*, pp. 21f.) and the assertion that no one now defends the *Asclepius* as Apuleian (p. 38) has been overtaken by Hunink;[6] I concur with Sandy and most scholars on its inauthenticity (*ALS*, pp. 12f.), not least on the ground that Apuleius elsewhere invariably refers to this divinity as 'Aesculapius'. Sandy favours (pp. 38f.) with many moderns the authenticity of the logical work *Peri Hermeneias* and its role as the third book of the *De Platone* (p. 39), though he is careful not to give final judgement (cf. p. 217); but the evidence of language, prose-rhythm and textual transmission could equally suggest the opposite conclusion (cf. *ALS*, pp. 11f.).

In the second chapter 'Literature and Learning in the Second Century' (pp. 42-91), Sandy is clearly somewhat unsympathetic to the modern rehabilitation of the Second Sophistic; he talks of the 'Cult of the Past' and its 'disruptive effect on the systematic development and expression of original thought' (p. ix) and of the 'uniformity of conditioned thought' (p. 60), and the impression often given is that the second century was an era of second-rate scholasticism and 'ossified conventions' (p. 63), somewhat misleading for a literary epoch now generally viewed as more creative. Much good and effective background is given on standard topics, anthologies and collections of moralising anecdotes in the second century (Gellius, Favorinus, Aelian), and the notion of culling and compilation is applied to Apuleius too, fair enough for his didactic works but not for major literary achievements such as the *Apologia* and the *Metamorphoses*. Here and elsewhere Sandy seems to share the reductive view of Helm and Perry, seeing Apuleius even in the *Metamorphoses* as a mere reworker of earlier literature, a view that is only partly true and from which much of modern scholarship has moved away. But overall this chapter gives a good idea of Greek sophistic literary culture, crucial for understanding Apuleius, and of the common Greco-Roman intellectual atmosphere of the high Empire (though it could be more stressed that second century Roman archaism differs from Greek Atticism in lacking an ideological agenda of political nostalgia/Greek self-assertion).[7]

The third chapter 'Sophistic Discourse' (pp. 92-130), provides a good account of the key features of the topics and techniques of sophistic rhetoric and its relevance to Apuleius. Sandy aptly brings in extensive illustration from Favorinus and Maximus of Tyre (Michael Trapp's excellent annotated translation of the latter[8] unfortunately appeared too late for Sandy, who would have saved seven pages [pp. 95-102] of the first modern English translation of Maximus, *Oratio* 1), and good use is made of Vallette's 1908 book on the *Apologia*,[9] which, as Sandy implies in his preface (p. ix),

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[5] K. Sallmann (ed.), *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.* (Munich 1997); for a fuller list and discussion of the lost and fragmentary works, see now *ALS*, pp. 10-38.

[6] V. Hunink, 'Apuleius and the *Asclepius*', *Vig. Christ.* 50 (1996) 288-308.

[7] See, for example, S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford 1996).

[8] M. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford 1997).

[9] P. Valette, *L'Apologie d'Apulée* (Paris 1908).

provides an extensive and stimulating general account of Apuleian rhetorical techniques and still deserves the close attention of scholars. The sophistic connections of Apuleius' didactic streak and interest in improvisation are rightly stressed; in tune with Sandy's general approach, Apuleius' tendency to deviation and divergence from the point in hand is seen as part of imperial/rhetorical decline (p. 110), but it could equally be seen as virtuoso play with an audience that appreciated the art of apparent irrelevance and 'improvisation' within a structure that was in fact carefully controlled and motivated.

The remaining chapters (pp. 131-255) treat individual Apuleian works. Here Sandy gives a good idea of the interpenetration on the ground of the philosophy, rhetoric and literary learning sketched out in his introductory chapters. Given the structure and length of the book, analyses cannot go into great detail (*ALS* has more for those who want it), but there is much useful material here and those seeking illumination in English on Apuleius' lesser-known works should be duly grateful.

Chapter 4, '*Orator Sophisticus Latinus*' (pp. 131-75), turns to two works, the *Apologia* and *Florida*, which Sandy rightly acknowledges as masterpieces of the Second Sophistic (though it is unclear precisely how high that counts as praise here). In the *Apologia* Sandy is good on its virtuoso qualities and rightly recognises the synergy of epideictic and forensic rhetoric (pp. 141-46); he does not see what I would view as the strong Ciceronian colour of the speech (cf. *ALS*, p. 44), and his view that in it 'literature and scholasticism have pre-empted spontaneous living' (p. 148) seems to me to underestimate both the literary vitality and the contemporary realism of the speech, in which financial, social and cultural capital are all heavily in play (again it was unfortunate that the commentary of Vincent Hunink appeared too late for Sandy to use).[10] On the *Florida* Sandy rightly stresses its common ground with the *Apologia* and has good material on the analogy of Apuleius and Pythagoras, and his extensive account of the way in which the fragments of the *Florida* use the various established techniques of Greek sophistic rhetoric is very helpful, though it could be more fully stressed that many of Apuleius' rhetorical techniques are especially closely linked to the different disciplines of the *progymnasmata* ('preparatory exercises', cf. *ALS*, pp. 133f.). Perhaps wisely in a relatively short and general account, he does not engage with the complex issues of the *Florida*'s genesis, transmission and anthology selection criteria; some material on this can be found in *ALS* on pp. 90-94, 132-59.

Chapter 5, '*Philosophicus Sophisticus Latinus*' (pp. 172-232), casts welcome light on the neglected philosophical works and on the interface between Apuleius' literary activity and his professed Platonism, beginning with a good discussion of the ambivalent relationship between philosophy and rhetoric in the Second Sophistic. The brief discussion of the issue of the authenticity of the *De Mundo* and *De Platone* rightly sees the basic problems of evidence, but a good deal more could be said and many further discussions cited (cf., e.g., *ALS* pp. 174-80), and Sandy's use of the name 'Albinus' rather than 'Alcinous' (cf. especially p. 215 n. 93) perhaps needs

[10] V. Hunink, *Pro Se De Magia (Apologia) 1: Introduction, Text, Bibliography, Indices* (Amsterdam 1997), *Pro Se De Magia (Apologia) 2: Commentary* (Amsterdam 1997).

reconsideration in the light of Whittaker's recent Budé,[11] though he is quite right to stress that Apuleius is derivative as a philosopher. The discussion of the *De Deo Socratis* (pp. 191-213) provides an effective and valuable analysis of a number of issues, rightly stressing the Latin-speaking audience, Apuleius' use of Platonic demonology, and his links with Maximus of Tyre. On the vexed issue of the 'False Preface' transmitted with the *DDS* (pp. 192-96), Sandy holds with Ben Hijmans[12] that its fifth paragraph might be an introduction to a lost Greek section of the *DDS*, but the Latinate audience for the work that needs even its Homer translating (*DDS* 145) is unlikely to have relished such a performance; along with most moderns, I would assign the whole of the 'False Preface' to the *Florida*, as wrongly divided from it in transmission (for this and other connected problems, see *ALS* pp. 91f., 141-44). The discussion of the *De Mundo* (pp. 224-30) is good on Apuleius' adaptation of the Greek text for a Roman reader, but could certainly have benefited from the detailed treatment of this issue in Antonio Marchetta's 1991 monograph.[13]

The last chapter, '*Fabulator Latinus*' (pp. 233-55), provides a brief account of the *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass* (like Sandy, I am happy to accept a dual title; cf. *ALS*, p. 210[14]). Sandy rightly begins by stating that no single chapter can cover all the key issues of this rich work and limits himself to the issues of compilation from Greek sources and relationship to the Greek novel. Sandy's unwillingness to provide references even to the key general discussions (cf. p. 233 n. 1) is understandable in an era when publications on the *Metamorphoses* are emerging at an alarming rate, but one remarkable omission is Winkler's *Actor & Auctor*,[15] a work that most Apuleian scholars would regard as a crucial contribution to the interpretation of the work on almost every level and that certainly touches the concerns dealt with by Sandy in his chapter.

Sandy's analysis of the work's famously problematic prologue assumes that Lucius is the narrator, but that has been questioned by a number of scholars, and one misses especially a reference to the article of Smith that argues that the speaker is an anonymous Plautine *prologus*.[16] Sandy's analysis of the term 'Milesian' as 'made-in-

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[11] J. Whittaker, *Alcinoos: Enseignment des doctrines de Platon* (Paris 1990).

[12] B. L. Hijmans, 'Apuleius Orator: "*Pro Se De Magia*" and "*Florida*"', *ANRW* 2.34.2 (1994) 1708-84.

[13] A. Marchetta, *L'autenticità apuleiana del De Mundo* (L'Aquila 1991); for other references, see *ALS*, pp. 174-203.

[14] Cf. also A. Bittel, '*Quis Ille Asinus Aureus: The Metamorphoses of Apuleius' Title and Its Entomological Subtext*, *Ancient Narrative* 0 (2000) 1-35.

[15] J. J. Winkler, *Auctor & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (Berkeley 1985).

[16] W. S. Smith, 'The Narrative Voice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *TAPhA* 103 (1972) 513-34; for my own view that the book is the speaker, see S. J. Harrison, 'The Speaking Book: The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *CQ* 40 (1990) 507-13.

Greece' (p. 234) is important,[17] and he provides a good brief account (pp. 235f.) of the crucial passage of Photius comparing the extant *Onos* and the lost Greek *Metamorphoses*. But the chief contribution of this chapter is the comparison of the *Metamorphoses* with Greek novels (pp. 242-51), sharing much with Sandy's article in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*.[18] This importantly stresses that the papyrus discoveries of Greek low-life novels such as the Iolaus narrative and Lollianus' *Phoinikika* provide important predecessors for Apuleius.[19] Sandy's view of Apuleian allusion here seems rather ambivalent: he can state that 'Apuleius rarely develops and sustains literary imitation beyond isolated phrases' (p. 252), but also that 'Apuleius' use of literary allusion is far more complex than appears to be the case in any of the Greek novels . . . one finds here subtleties worthy of Alexandrian writers and their Roman disciples in the Augustan period and what would now be called intertextuality' (p. 252). The latter approach would I think be that more widely held by modern Apuleian scholars and there is now a vast bibliography.[20]

Apuleian scholars should be grateful to Sandy for his achievement in supplying the first broadly effective modern account of Apuleius' cultural and intellectual background. While this work does not provide the last word in bibliography, survey of scholarly debate or detailed analysis, there is no doubt that it provides a firm contextualisation of its author and many useful contributions to ongoing Apuleian arguments and issues.

TWO ESSAYS ON POMPEII

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Paul Zanker (tr. Deborah Lucas Schneider), *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998. Revealing Antiquity 11. Pp. 251, incl. 22 colour plates, 76 black-and-white photographs and 57 line-drawings. ISBN 0-674-68967-4. US$22.95.

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[17] On further aspects of the Milesian character of Apuleius, see now my article 'The Milesian Tales and the Roman Novel', *GCN* 9 (1998) 61-73.

[18] G. Sandy, 'Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the Greek Novel' *ANRW* 2.34.2 (1994) 1511-74.

[19] For more of this, see A. Barchiesi, 'Tracce di narrativa greca e romanzo latino', *Semiotica della novella latina* (Rome 1986) 219-36, now reprinted in English (tr. B. Graziosi) as 'Traces of Greek Narrative and the Roman Novel: A Survey' in my edited *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel* (Oxford 1999) 124-41.

[20] See, for example, E. Finkelpearl's *Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius* (Ann Arbor 1998); cf. also S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel* (Oxford 1999) xxxivf.

Paul Zanker's *Pompeji* appeared in 1995 and was in turn preceded by an Italian version.[1] Now in Deborah Lucas Schneider's excellent English translation, English readers are for the first time given ready access to two essays by Zanker that have come to be regarded as landmark studies for the reading of material remains as documentation of society: 'Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanische Wohngeschmacks', which is the basis for the third section, 'The Domestic Arts in Pompeii' (pp. 135-203), and *Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform*, now 'Urban Space as a Reflection of Society', the second section of the book (pp. 27-133).[2] The two texts have been revised for this edition, especially in the notes, to take account of recent scholarship up to 1997, some of which in an odd circularity has been strongly influenced by the sociological approach—novel in its time—of Zanker's original publications.

Zanker has written an introductory chapter on 'Townscape and Domestic Taste' (pp. 1-25) to provide a unifying framework for the subsequent two essays, establishing the groundlines for his holistic approach that requires any one kind of evidence for ancient times to be comprehensively situated within the broad and encompassing context of the relevant society taken as a whole. Zanker's explanation of what he means by 'townscape' makes his philosophy clear at the outset, for he uses it to convey 'the outward appearance of a city in the most comprehensive sense, meaning not so much the architecture of single buildings as their function within the total context of public space' (p. 3). He presents the concept of a dynamic relationship between inhabited space and those that inhabit it, building an awareness of Pompeii as the multiplex palimpsest of a living, ongoing entity in existence over some 600 years. In challenge to the common perception of Pompeii as constituting a frozen snapshot of a specific point of time on 24 August AD 79, Zanker reconstructs in outline four distinct townscapes, 'each corresponding to the larger world in which its inhabitants lived' (p. 4): the comparatively egalitarian design of the Campanian *apoikia*, overlaid by the contrastively hierarchical Roman structures of the late Republic, and further re-defined in turn by the ideology of the Augustan programme of cultural renewal and by the shift towards new concepts of 'public' space in the early Empire.

These four townscapes then constitute the essential framework of the second essay, 'Urban Space as a Reflection of Society', which for the most part focuses on the public spaces of Pompeii, with discussion of private houses along the way to fill out the reader's perception of the whole ambience of the periods under examination. In this way, for instance, in the Oscan city of the second century BC a conscious desire to adopt Greek culture and the Greek way of life is attested to by theatre construction in close proximity to a palaestra and the peristyle tentatively identified as a gymnasium, while in the private sphere houses such as the House of the Faun are

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[1] German version: *Pompeji: Stadtbild und Wohngeschmack* (Mainz 1995); Italian: *Pompei: Società, immagini urbane e forme dell' abitare* (Turin 1993).

[2] The first essay appeared as 'Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanische Wohngeschmacks', *JDAI* 94 (1979) 460-523, the second as *Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform* (Mainz 1988).

situated in a context where extremely wealthy citizens expended great effort as well as large sums of money on private acquisition and display of 'the Hellenistic culture that would link them to the larger Mediterranean world' (p. 32).

Zanker's discussion of the House of the Faun indeed offers an example of the rewards of his holistic approach. One begins almost to recognise the character of a (surely composite) house-owner in the addition of a blind upper story with painted columns to increase the grandeur of the atrium, in the 'more menacing than impressive' effect (p. 38) of the crowding architectural stucco in the confined front entrance and, above all, among other Greek-inspired extravagances such as the 'faun' in the impluvium, in the incorporation of the well-known Alexander Mosaic. The re-invention of a celebrated painting as a floor-mosaic 'represents a unique feat of acculturation', as 'the owner turned his possession of a work of art into an insistent display of Hellenistic culture' (p. 42). The adjudged lack of connoisseurship in this 'almost painfully blatant claim to education' (p. 40) is supported by the illustration (fig. 10), which, though small and in black-and-white, shows the mosaic—as rarely—in its entirety where the battle scene is juxtaposed in close association with the technically inferior Nilotic water-scapes. The self-conscious opulence of the house, in contrast to the apparent lack of interest at the time in embellishing public space such as the Forum, attests to a new concept of domestic luxury, comparable with the expansive display associated with eastern potentates and characteristic of Hellenistic palatial residences in such places as the trading-centre Delos, where doubtless members of the Italic merchant class in the second century BC would have encountered it and been inspired to imitation.

Once Pompeii had become a Roman colony in 80 BC, in the aftermath of the Social War, profound changes were made to the public spaces of the city, with construction of new buildings to reflect essentially Roman values. To this period belong the Stabian Baths, the Forum Baths, the Odeon and the huge Amphitheatre, and to this period Zanker dates the conversion of the old temple (of Jupiter?) into a much grander *capitolium* designed to dominate the Forum area. Translated into the private sphere, the imitation of Roman style was less successful, as the colonists set out to import room forms and decoration styles associated with the villa into smaller town-house dwellings to which they were proportionally unsuited—the House of the Cryptoporticus and House of the Trojan Shrine, at that time a single dwelling, provide an example, backed up by the evidence of the ostentatious tombs constructed in that period along the main roads leading into the city.

During the Augustan period the Pompeian townscape quickly came to reflect the ideology of the time, with due attention paid to the temples of Apollo and Venus as well as to the cult of the emperor himself with the construction of the temple of Fortuna Augusta. Private citizens such as the priestess Eumachia funded much of the flurry of construction of public buildings for the enhancement of the public aspects of the city. One sees here a continuation and intensifying of the tendency, begun in the previous period, towards the public display of private wealth, usually with political implications: as Zanker points out, probably inspired by the Porticus Liviae in Rome, Eumachia dedicated her building in the Forum to Concordia Augusta and Pietas in the

name of her son as well as herself, one M. Numistrius Fronto, who may be identifiable as the duumvir of AD 2/3 (*CIL* 10.810); in this case, as Zanker observes, his election campaign was doubtless enhanced by his mother's munificence. In its associated statuary as well as in concept, Eumachia's building also exemplifies the extent to which the Pompeian townscape of the Augustan period reflected Augustan ideology and the trend towards worship of the emperor and his family. Zanker's prosopographical approach reveals many other instances of identifiable individual citizens' advancing their own or their family's status through munificent civic sponsorships aligned to the imperial cult.

Zanker's probing eye has discerned many instances of the essential provinciality of Pompeii, again challenging common perceptions of the preserved remains as representing the pinnacle of luxury for the time; for instance he observes that the ideological magnificence of Augustus' famed transformation of Rome into a 'city of marble' is in Pompeii as in other such satellite settlements translated into allusive pale limestone or stucco embellishments.

The fourth townscape described by Zanker is that of the period between the earthquake of AD 62 and the final destruction in AD 79. Significant in this period, as Zanker makes clear, is what the inhabitants chose to rebuild, for these were the places with the greatest meaning for them. Private houses were of course restored in large numbers, complete with their shrines to the Lares and small altars. It is to be noted, however, that some of the public buildings, for example, the basilica, and some of the old municipal sanctuaries, such as the *capitolium* and the temple of Venus, were not afforded an equally high priority. In Zanker's original version of this study, he included the Sanctuary of the Lares in the forum as one of the unrestored structures after AD 62; however in an addendum at the end of this chapter (pp. 131-33) he acknowledges the recent research of John Dobbins and Kurt Wallat on the structures along the east side of the forum, which suggests that the Sanctuary of the Lares was not designed and built until after AD 62. Zanker himself remains unconvinced of this theory.

At every turn Zanker offers insights into the members of Pompeii's society that help to flesh out a comprehensive perception of the period derived largely from material evidence. For instance, he comments (pp. 126f.) on the inscription (*CIL* 10.846) that identifies one N. Popidius Ampliatus as the benefactor in the rebuilding of Isis' temple, observing that he was a wealthy freedman who donated the requisite sum in the name of his six-year-old son Celsinus; in response the town council elected the boy to their number, a source of satisfaction for the upwardly mobile father, no doubt, as a former slave, but also to be seen as evidence of the political influence of Isis followers at the time.

The third essay of this book, 'The Domestic Arts in Pompeii', opens with a discussion of the concept of the Roman villa, tracing its origin in part back to the time of Rome's expansion into the eastern Mediterranean, to the impact on the old Roman aristocracy of the opulent life-style of the Hellenistic world. Gardens and structured landscape vistas came to be incorporated into the inhabited space and architectural forms as well as interior decoration changed correspondingly in the late Republican

period to include porticoes and imposing façades, real or painted, as a suitable backdrop for the ostentatious cultivation of *otium* in its widest interpretation. Zanker goes on to describe how diverse elements of villa architecture and decor were increasingly introduced into the town-houses of Pompeii, most markedly in the last decades before the destruction: peristyle gardens, *aediculae* and *nymphaea*, fountains and water-courses were fitted into limited spaces, often without regard for the practicalities of use and enjoyment. This is particularly so in the 'miniature villa' in the Via dell'Abbondanza, where 'two people cannot walk next to each other under the pergola without running up against a fountain, little bridge, pillar, or post at every turn . . . a portion of the architecture has lost its original function' (p. 148), but a considerable number of other Pompeian houses is analysed in detail, providing ample illustration of what can be deduced about taste and lifestyle from close observation of material remains within their place in the socio-historical continuum.

Zanker moves on to discuss the collections of statuary found in many Pompeian gardens and then turns to the frescoes; he explains how the wall-paintings reflect the same desires and ambitions that motivated the architectural and design features. Noting, for instance, that large-format pictures of gardens and outdoor vistas are mainly to be seen in small houses with limited scope for architectural enhancement, he recognises that these too must be classified as forms of villa-imitation, less expansive and expensive than solid construction. He also comments on the absence of logical coherence in interior decoration that so often disturbs the modern viewer of Pompeian wall painting, especially that dating from the renovations after the earthquake of AD 62. 'What counted was size—namely, as large and conspicuous as possible—and the quantity of associative motifs.' (p. 189) The intention seems to have been that each pictorial element should be received separately as an evocation of the imagination. This trend also underlies the *pinacotheca* effect familiar particularly from the Houses respectively of the Vettii and the Tragic Poet.

The final section of this essay, headed 'Domestic Taste and Cultural Identity' (pp. 192-203), underlines the conclusions that have been constructed bit by bit in the preceding pages. There is a close connection between the forms of the houses and their various decorative elements and, although the different owners found diverse ways of expressing their ideas of a suitable backdrop for their lifestyles, their intention was the same in striving for the illusion of a villa and suggesting a far more hedonistic and luxurious manner of living than could realistically have been achieved by the well-to-do middle-class inhabitants of a provincial town. A series of fourteen groundplans of the houses principally discussed in the preceding pages, all drawn to the same scale for direct comparison, illustrates the considerable variety in the shape of living-space, the repetitive inclusion of features such as the peristyle courtyard in all but the smallest, and the comparable size of the actual rooms across the range. Finally Zanker, perhaps a little whimsically, invokes the lifestyle, outlook and values of Trimalchio in the *Satyricon*, with special mention of the way Petronius reveals the illusionary aspects of Trimalchio's show of wealth and luxury in the absence of a critical good taste, the general existence of which seems to be implied by the satirical nature of the work.

The numerous black-and-white photographs and reconstructive drawings that punctuate this volume are for the most part clear and of good quality, as are the plans and sketches; many drawings and reconstructions are included from long out-of-print earlier publications, recording details that are now blurred or lost. It must be noted, however, that the drawing of the temple of Isis (fig. 67) is reversed and the captions to figures 104 and 105 are interchanged, since the image in 104 is from the House of the Large Fountain and figure 105 is drawn from the House of the Small Fountain. The colour plates, which are clustered in two divisions, are excellent and help to create an awareness of the rich colours, intricate details and varied styles that must have enlivened the successive Pompeian townscapes. The only irritating flaw in this otherwise most useful book is in the Notes (pp. 209-43), which are gathered together at the back of the volume without page references in the headers: the referencing system adopted stands in the way of ease of consultation, since the full bibliographical information is provided only on the occasion of first citation and thereafter references are given in abbreviated form without indication of where the full information may be found. This reviewer spent much frustrating time poring back and forth through the notes in search of publication dates. A comprehensive bibliography would have resolved this problem. The Index (pp. 245-51) is comprehensive, including references to discussion of modern scholars' work.

This is a book that will admirably serve as recommended reading for more senior undergraduate students (as a textbook it would perhaps assume too much prior knowledge and access to other illustrations: one could not, for instance, study the Alexander Mosaic from fig. 10); that its approach has the power to draw social historians into a closer consideration of the implications of material remains as well as encouraging archaeologists to (re-)construct a context for their familiar world of objects has already been demonstrated by the work of those influenced by the earlier manifestation of Zanker's two essays.

REVIEWS

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

Alan H. Sommerstein (ed.), *The Comedies of Aristophanes. Vol. 10: Ecclesiazusae.* Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1998. Pp. xiv + 242. ISBN 0-85668-708-1. UK£16.50/ US$28.00.

It is now twenty years since Alan Sommerstein published the *Acharnians*, his first edition of Aristophanes, and further volumes have appeared at regular intervals of two to three years ever since. The *Ecclesiazusae* is the penultimate play in Aristophanes' surviving corpus to be thus tackled, and Sommerstein promises to round off what is, by any yardstick, a most impressive achievement (for sheer stamina, to look no further) by delivering the *Plutus* 'ca. 2001'. This series, among other things, graphically chronicles the huge advances made in computerised desktop book-production involving complex typography and the regular use of Greek-language texts. Comparison of Sommerstein's new *Ecclesiazusae* with an early edition such as his *Knights* (Warminster 1981) strikingly demonstrates the sophisticated techniques developed over the past decade for dealing with even the most recalcitrant classical material (though for some impenetrable reason this volume still transliterates Greek phrases in the commentary). At the same time Sommerstein himself has, inevitably, learned a great deal on the job. Dealing with the minutiae of text, production, dramatic techniques, character allotment, topical jokes and historical background through ten volumes will sharpen anyone's scholarship, and Sommerstein's was pretty sharp to start with. Which is simply to say that for justifiably confident judgements, textual surefootedness, percipient interpretation and a subtle insight into the rough-and-tumble of Athenian politics, his *Ecclesiazusae* must be reckoned—with the possible exception of his *Frogs* (1997)—the most successful volume yet in the series. It does not hurt, either, to have a broad abrasive sense of humour well attuned to that of your author.

Sommerstein's overall achievement becomes very clear when we look at his predecessors. Victor Coulon's Budé edition (Paris 1923-30) is still, alas, the best in the field, though by default only, and overrated by too many scholars (Sommerstein included): his text is in fact extremely shaky. Both the text and apparatus of the Hall and Geldart (Oxford 1906-7^2) leave a great deal to be desired. Van Leeuwen (Leiden 1896-1909) and Rogers (London 1902-15) are primarily of value for their commentaries, though both are severely outdated and van Leeuwen is hard to access. The future looks brighter: Kassell and Austin are editing all eleven comedies as volume 3.1 of their monumental *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin) and Henderson is following up his exemplary edition of the *Lysistrata* (Oxford 1987) with a complete new Loeb translation. But for an overall series of the entire corpus, including critical text, commentary, translation and full introduction, all subsumed to one man's

intelligent analysis and wide-ranging scholarship, Sommerstein stands triumphantly alone. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*: ten (soon to be eleven) invaluable volumes, their matter so presented as to be of equal use to student beginner and advanced research scholar, is in itself a remarkable piece of academic legerdemain.

The *Ecclesiazusae* offers ample scope for Sommerstein to show his paces: it has problems and to spare. First, its date. It was produced at some point during the Corinthian War (395-387/6), but before the *Plutus* (388). The most commonly accepted year is 392; Ussher (Oxford 1973) opted for 393. Sommerstein, whose control of the evidence for early fourth century history is better than that of many professional historians, recognises that no reliable sense can be extracted from the corrupt scholion on 193 and therefore ignores it. Though this scholion's source is Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 148), its claim that two years prior to the date of the play's production an alliance had been made between Sparta and—of all Greek states!—Boeotia is patent nonsense, since for most of the Corinthian War, beginning with a vigorous invasion in 395, Sparta showed herself aggressively hostile to Boeotia. Sommerstein prefers, rightly, to rely on internal evidence. Here the key statements occur at 197f. and 823-29. There has been much-debated talk about launching a new fleet; and Heurippides' proposal to impose a new tax has been voted down. As Sommerstein points out, 'while Athens had available Conon's fleet and Persian money, there was no need to create a large Athenian navy or to propose special taxes' (p. 6). But after Tiribazos imprisoned Conon in the summer of 392 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.16) it was a very different matter. If we allow time for the rejection of Heurippides' tax-proposal, the date we are looking at for the production of the *Ecclesiazusae* in which these allusions would be topical is 391. Sommerstein reinforces his thesis with further references at *Ecclesiazusae* 202f. and 356f. He is almost certainly right.

He is also pithily sensible (in less than two pages) on the far-from-satisfactory manuscript tradition. Apart from the great tenth century Ravenna codex, only Mu1 and Λ contain the complete text of *Ecclesiazusae*, and Sommerstein, who has collated Λ and reported the readings of its scholia for the first time (revealing, *inter alia*, that a conjecture by Bentley at 23 goes back at least to medieval times) now firmly, and with justice, downgrades Mu1 to a copy of Λ. Bentley, however, benefits from the first-ever papyrus reading recorded of *Ecclesiazusae*, Michigan Papyrus 6649 (Π60), published as recently as 1981 by T. Renner,[1] which confirms his conjecture of λιπαρῷ at 652. Sommerstein advances Λ as a good manuscript 'basically of the AΓ family' (p. 38), its ancestor being 'not Γ but a sister of Γ' (p. 39), that offers a series of sound readings, often against the Ravenna codex. Again, his arguments are persuasive and cumulatively confirmed in the text he prints, the notes to which cite Λ throughout.

But of course the chief interest of *Ecclesiazusae* for modern readers, both lay and professional, is Praxagora's famous proposal for communism by gynocracy; and here Sommerstein shows himself as familiar with ancient political theories and the considerable modern scholarship generated by them as earlier with the historical context in which they arose. His analysis (pp. 8-22) of Praxagora's 'new society' and

[1] T. Renner, 'Two Papyri of Aristophanes', *ZPE* 41 (1981) 1-12.

its much debated relationship to books 2 and 5 of Plato's *Republic* is a model of clear exposition and informed, commonsensical judgement, which begins—very necessarily in these politically correct days—with a tart reminder that 'to ancient Greeks (as to most peoples before the last few generations) the domination of men over women was part of the natural order of things' (p. 8). Thus gynocracy is fundamentally conceived and not just in a comic context, for example, here or in the *Lysistrata*, as fantasy—at least among the vast majority of Athenians. This does not mean that a small minority was not seriously considering such novel and subversive notions as a 'permanent gynaecocratic Utopia' (p. 10), but does serve to keep them in proportion.

To begin with, Praxagora seems not have any specific aim in mind except for women to take over political power in Athens 'because it was thought that this was the only thing that hadn't so far been tried' (456f.), and the situation was desperate. But at 583-710, in lieu of the normal comic ἄγων ('contest'), she delivers a speech outlining a new and radical model for society, the archetype of every subsequent communist-style utopia and in particular virtually identical with Plato's blueprint for his guardians. (Its essentials also soon resurfaced in Zeno of Citium's notorious *Politeia*, a point Sommerstein doesn't mention.) Private property and marriage—but not slavery—are both to be abolished. Sex, here equated with the women expected to supply it, is to be communally available, preference being given to the old or ugly. But women still also supply clothing even if food is provided by slaves: men, as Praxagora admits (652), have it easy. This gynocracy is very tongue-in-cheek.

It is also, for dedicated Platonists, more than a little embarrassing since its detailed, point-by-point resemblance to the Guardians' regimen is far too close for coincidence. There have been two main attempts to get round the embarrassment and Sommerstein demolishes both of them. Was Aristophanes caricaturing Plato's model? Impossible: all the evidence places the *Republic* at least a decade later than the *Ecclesiazusae*. Could they both—the latest favourite explanation—have been drawing on a common source? But if there was one, Aristotle, who specifically names Plato as unique in proposing communal property, sex and parentage (*Pol.* 1266a31-36, 1274b9-10), somehow missed it. The obvious answer, that Plato was deliberately adapting Aristophanes' schema, has been dismissed out of hand as frivolous. It is hard to see why, not least when we recall that what Plato sent Dionysius of Syracuse, when asked for literature explaining Athens' system of government, was precisely the collected works of Aristophanes. Sommerstein's arguments in favour of this solution are again both meticulous and sensible: it is interesting, as he says, that it is in this precise part of the *Republic* that Socrates most fears his proposals being ridiculed as comic fantasy (*Rep.* 452a-d). Praxagora's proposals attack the wealth/poverty gap and, allied with this, social selfishness: fantasy maybe, but still well rooted in social fact.

Sommerstein's commentary is, as always, user-friendly and commonsensical, besides (in welcome contrast to most of its predecessors) quite evidently enjoying Aristophanes' sexual and scatological fun. It is also fuller and more detailed than many of Sommerstein's own earlier efforts in this field, thus implicitly signalling (a

process it has been fascinating to watch throughout) the steady deepening and consolidation of his scholarly expertise in all aspects of Aristophanic studies. For excellent examples see his notes on 197f. (contrasting class reactions to the desirability of naval rearmament), 202f. (Thrasybulus), 652 (shadows and sundials), 729-30 (choral interludes) and 1113 (identity of the δέσποινα, 'mistress'), a discussion which also reminds us of Sommerstein's skill at that most difficult Aristophanic game, speech-allotment, something materially aided by his hands-on involvement with play-production. (Any would-be director will find this edition a treasure-trove.) His translation properly aims for *utilitas* rather than *decus* but still manages to achieve the occasional neat rendering, for example, at 720 for 'the p(r)ick of the young men'. Ten down and one to go: Aristophanes is lucky to have so devoted, erudite and witty a modern celebrant.

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Stanley M. Burstein (ed.), *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum.* Princeton, New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998. Pp. vii + 166. ISBN 1-55876-148-9. US$16.95.

Students of the early history of Africa include romantics 'who fill their charts of the African past with tales of Sheba and Ophir, of strange Phoenicians building cities in Rhodesia, and mysterious peoples "from the north" who came and stayed but altogether vanished', enthusiasts such as Emil Torday, who dated the chronology of the kings of Congo by the solar eclipse of 1680, and imperialists who believe that ancient Africa was an island of primitive savagery in a world of ever-increasing enlightenment and progress.[1] Burstein, an ancient historian from Los Angeles with an established publication record in the field of Greek relations with north-east Africa,[2] does not belong to any of these categories; instead he has made the evidence for the kingdoms of Kush and Axum available in readable translations so that English readers can discover for themselves the fragmentary but growing body of source material for these impressive civilisations.

Information about this region in antiquity is tenuous, despite the fact that its monarchs conquered Egypt (Kush between 712-664 BC) and troubled Rome (Axum in AD 298); Burstein's selection of twenty-seven short texts covers a chronological span of approximately one thousand years and encompasses the historical periods of

[1] The quotation is from B. Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered* (London 1960) 21f., who also refers (p. 25) to the researches of Emil Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (London 1925) and the comments of imperial British governors of Africa (p. 20). The date of the book is underlined by the reference to Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, but similar attitudes to the African past persist.

[2] Cf., e.g., *Graeco-Africana: Studies in the History of Greek Relations with Egypt and Nubia* (New Rochelle 1995), *Agatharchides of Cnidus: On the Erythrean Sea* (London 1989).

Egyptian and Greek explorations to the south beginning in the third millennium BC (pp. 23-52), Roman imperial hegemony in the first and second centuries (pp. 55-75), Axumite regional supremacy in the third century (pp. 79-10), and the Christianisation of Nubia up to the end of the sixth century (pp. 103-31). Nevertheless, the present collection represents a significant increase in the range of texts included in it by comparison with what was previously available in various English translations and conveniently gathers rather inaccessible material together under one cover. The book has the added benefit of being produced by an experienced editor with a good knowledge of the Greek sources.[3] There are, inevitably, still omissions; I would, for instance, have liked to have seen the story of the apostle Philip's conversion of the Ethiopian ambassador (*Acts* 18.27-40) included. There are also the references to the Blemmyes and Axumites in Vopiscus' life of Aurelian (33.4), paralleled in Heliodorus' fiction, the *Ethiopian Story* (10.27.1), though generally the latter should not be taken as a significant historical source for Axumite history. Other collections feature texts not included by Burstein, such as the correspondence between the emperor Constantius and Ezana (Migne, *PG* 25 coll. 636f.).[4] There appears to be a need for greater co-ordination of scholarship relating to the compilation of source material for the history of this region in antiquity.

Interest in cultural relations between the Mediterranean and Africa has increased dramatically in the last decades of the twentieth century.[5] This has been due not only to the heat generated by the debate over Bernal's *Black Athena*, but also to progress in the archaeology and historiography of the hinterland of the horn of Africa, despite the instability of the area in modern times.[6] Indeed, in his valuable introduction (pp. 3-21), Burstein regards the reconstruction of the history of Kush as

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[3] Compare the dozen or so documents collected by B. Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited* (Trenton 1991) 54-73. The unreliability of African historians in matters of Greek literature may be illustrated by Davidson's note (p. 59) describing the prose writer Heliodorus as a poet whose work might have illustrated Meroitic life. A full, scholarly edition of the sources for the history of this region is given by T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce and L. Török (edd.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* 1-2 (Bergen 1996).

[4] Cf. B. Hendrickx, *Official Documents Written in Greek Illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia: 3rd century BC-6th Century AD* (Johannesburg 1984). The terms 'Axumite', 'Nubian', 'Meroitic' and 'Ethiopian' are, of course, hard to use with precision, but concerns with relevance may have determined the omission of some texts.

[5] Besides the works mentioned by Burstein in his bibliography, the reader should note D. Phillipson's authoritative work, *Ancient Ethiopia* (London 1998), which contains much of interest on Meroe and Aksum. Reference to J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992) would also have been enlightening.

[6] M. Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Civilization* 1*: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (New Brunswick 1987) and *Black Athena. The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Civilization* 2*: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence* (New Brunswick 1991). For a review of the controversy, see S. Burstein, 'The Debate over *Black Athena*', *Scholia* 5 (1996) 3-16.

'one of the triumphs of twentieth-century historiography' (p. 5). It is no surprise that the civilisations of the Nile and its tributaries should be the main focus of this revival. Not only did this river provide the Mediterranean peoples with economic access to central Africa (and vice versa), otherwise prevented by the Sahara desert, but it is also situated adjacent to the Red Sea, the gateway to the Indian Ocean and the trade routes to the east. Consequently, it is not entirely unexpected, although admittedly rather incongruous, to find a bronze head of Augustus looted from Meroe in 25 BC from the same region as later Indian and even Chinese artefacts.[7] Archaeology is not the concern of this book but the rulers of Axum from the second to the fourth centuries were clearly aware of the importance of the region for international trade, as Ezana's inscription recording the punishment of a tribe that had raided a merchant caravan (pp. 89f.) aptly illustrates.

This collection provides many insights into the culture of Kush and Axum. The complexity of relations between the Roman authorities in Egypt and their southern neighbours is neatly illustrated by the fragment of Priscus' account of the treaty (c. 453 AD) between Maximinus, the Roman governor of the Thebaid, and the Blemmyes and Nobatai, allowing them access to the temple of Isis and its statue of the goddess 'in accordance with the ancient law' (pp. 106f.). The hymn to the Nubian Sun god, Mandulis, by Paccius Maximus, a Roman soldier of Nubian descent, uses Greek poetic convention in referring to Calliope, Pythian oracles and the Muses (pp. 66-68). The reader will be reminded of the Greek education of the Axumite king, Zoscales, in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (5): 'miserly in his ways and always striving for more, but otherwise upright, and acquainted with Greek literature' (p. 81). Local knowledge of Greek is also attested by the many inscriptions in the region that use the Greek alphabet rather than any of the indigenous writing systems. Agatharchides' description of the harsh conditions in the Nubian gold mines (pp. 31-36) and the contract for the sale of a twelve year-old Nubian slave girl to enable Isidora 'to acquire, to possess, to use her and, with God willing, her children' are shocking reminders of the iniquitous and long-standing exploitation of slaves in ancient north-east Africa. The trade in human-beings from Nubia and further south is repeatedly emphasised in this collection.

Some of the translations have been done especially for this book; others are revisions of existing versions, such as Schoff's in the case of *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.[8] Occasionally, the use of earlier versions results in quaint English (e.g. 'wine, beer and flesh', p. 71; 'the Nile resembles the letter N', p. 29: 'the Nile resembles the Greek letter ν' would be more helpful; and 'In Aithiopia there are many islands' has lost the necessary qualification 'in the river', p. 35). The translations are clearly aimed at a general readership: line numbers of the original editions have been

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[7] For the importance of Axum in international trade, see Phillipson [5] 63-70.

[8] W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* (London, Bombay & Calcutta 1912). References to the standard work by L. Casson, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989) are made in the notes.

omitted throughout; details are omitted concerning the exact length of longer documents from which excerpts have been taken—only about half of the sixth century contract for the sale of a Nubian slave girl has been given (pp. 118-20) but this has not been indicated; abridgements, such as those of Strabo and Diodorus of Agatharchides, have been blended together to make a more readable text; and information concerning the source of each document has been relegated to endnotes. The result is a useful introductory text that students will find attractive but they should also be encouraged to discover for themselves the complex transmission of much of the material and the difficulties of its interpretation. Information of this kind might have been provided in the notes, rather than being omitted entirely.

The book could have been improved in a number of ways: the illustrations that accompany the texts appear to have fallen victim to modern publishing technology, with the misleading result that Sidebotham's photograph of the royal pyramids at Meroe (facing p. 11) looks as though it was taken in moonlight; the map (facing p. 3) is regrettably deficient as it fails (to take just one example) to identify the location of the river Atbara, which is mentioned in the text; I find the renumbering of notes (but not documents) within each of the four sections, without any indication of the change, rather confusing; the notes should possibly be fuller and more numerous; the introduction needs to refer more to the texts that follow; and the bibliography at the end of the book does not include references made in the notes.[9] These minor criticisms aside, this is a readable and indeed fascinating collection of texts that should prove to be extremely useful to students entering newly-devised courses (some of which are already running in South African universities) on the cultural linkage between the ancient African civilisations of Meroe and Axum and the Mediterranean. This would appear to be a text to herald the recently much-discussed concept of an African Renaissance to a wide general readership.

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K. Hopwood (ed.), *Organized Crime in Antiquity*, London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 1999. Pp. xv + 278, incl. five sketchmaps and an index. ISBN 0-7156-2905-0. UK£40.00.

This work consists of an introduction, nine papers read at a conference held in Lampeter in Wales in 1996 and an index. In the Introduction (pp. vii-xv) Hopwood traces some differences between the ancient and the modern (Western!) concept of crime. The conference was based on the assumption that important insights can be gained into the structure and development of a society by examining the forms of crime in it. A major conclusion emerges that organised crime flourishes best in a society where there is a large gap between the rich and the poor. The most prominent

[9] There are very few misprints in the book, but note 'in the late first or early first century' (p. 66).

form of organised crime in the classical world was that perpetrated by groups of bandits, who might well have regarded themselves as freedom-fighters. Mitchell (p. 157) provides a useful definition and discussion of the terminology used for the various types of this sort of anti-state activity that fall short of formal warfare.

H. van Wees discusses in the first chapter (pp. 1-51) the curbing of violence that took place in Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries BC as the early city states came into being. He shows how the transition occurred from the dominance of the type of heroic figure lording it over his personal followers prominent in Homer to communities succeeding in gaining more control over powerful individuals. The power of the early aristocrats was often asserted by marked aggression and open violence. Their 'honour' was of supreme importance to them as they claimed to maintain a type of order in the community in exchange for which they received 'gifts'. He makes an extended and very illuminating comparison with early *mafiosi* figures in Sicily and shows how their sense of values was adapted to their role in society. The early Greek states succeeded in containing the depredations of these epic 'princes' only gradually; attention is given to the role played by Solon in Athens in replacing individual violence by acceptance of laws.

In chapter 2 (pp. 53-96) N. Fisher asks whether there was much organised crime in fifth- and fourth-century Athens. Even when fully developed Athens had no police force. Citizens had to rely on communal support to enforce accepted values: however, the consensus was very effective. Accordingly much depended on self-help, usually with the assistance of relatives and neighbours. Fisher finds little evidence of large, well-organised criminal gangs in Athens: even commercial fraud seems to have been on a fairly small scale. He concludes that Athens was a non-violent society (p. 75).

Chapter 3 (pp. 97-127) by L. Rawlings is a companion piece to that of van Wees. It discusses early Italian *condottieri* and clansmen, that is, the relationship between powerful individuals and their communities in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. In effect, as the evidence dictates, attention is devoted almost entirely to Rome. There the nobles built up power networks based on kinship and clientship; in Rome one was a client of an individual, not of a (political) grouping. Eventually the growing sophistication of the army and the increasing control exercised by such figures as the fetial priests restrained warmongering by powerful individuals.

In chapter 4 (pp. 129-53) R. Alston discusses the late second-century AD revolt of the *Boukoloi* in Egypt. The evidence for it is tenuous, but he distinguishes 'mythical' accretions in the ancient accounts from the possible historical events. (Tacitus' emotionally charged descriptions of the Egyptians and the Jews could have been compared, as well as Josephus' account of the Jewish revolt in Cyrene.) Historicity seems confirmed by the mention of a centurion: as Alston shows, centurions played an important role in 'policing' Egypt.[1] The centurions in Judaea (e.g., Luke 7.2, 23.47) might also have been adduced. He then tries to recover the

[1] Cf. the valuable discussion in his book *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995) 86ff.

background of the revolt by a discussion of the geography of the Delta, where it was probably localised, suggesting that conflict may have arisen between nomadic pastoralists and settled agriculturalists (but that these were not always at variance with each other has been shown by Rushworth[2]). This does indeed provide a likely context, but he does not make it clear whether he regards the revolt as an example of 'organised crime' or an attempt to gain independence from Rome.

S. Mitchell heads his contribution (chapter 5, pp. 155-75) 'Native Rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus'. This is a perceptive analysis of events there at the end of the third century under Probus. The literary record is now fleshed out by information deduced from the archaeological discoveries around Cremna and the nearby fort of Ovarlik. Some very informative inscriptions have turned up. Mitchell shows that this was not a contest between *montagnards* and plainsmen (a never-ending struggle which he illuminates by connecting it with mythological accounts of snakes and dragons attacking the weak). It was a contest between different communities with connections to urban centres in the district, one pro-Roman and, though using largely local forces, supported at least ideologically by Rome, and the other seeking independence. Accordingly it was a revolt. There are useful incidental remarks on eirenarchs and pirates.

K. Hopwood discusses a not dissimilar uprising in nearby Rough Cilicia (pp. 177-206). This was by an Isaurian group driven back up into the mountains behind the Cilician plain in the second half of the fourth century AD. They requested the citizens of Germanicopolis 'whom they had always respected' (cf. Amm. Marc. 27.9.7, quoted on p. 177) to negotiate a peace deal with the Roman forces operating in the area. Again, Hopwood shows that this was not a simple mountain-versus-plain struggle, but that tensions in the agricultural hinterland of the city had led to peasant and shepherd groups withdrawing into the hills and then engaging in raiding to support themselves. In fact, there was not a dichotomy between city and bandit; many of the city councillors had actually enlisted wild shepherds and bandits into 'protection units' on their estates. As power was increasingly shifting from the cities to the central government in late antiquity, the nature of banditry was affected. There are useful parallels with both earlier and modern times.

S. R. Holman (pp. 207-28) considers 'usury as civic injustice' on the basis of a sermon of Basil of Caesarea delivered in the last third of the fourth century. It is unfortunate that she does not give its reference number in a standard edition (e.g., Migne *PG* 29 coll. 263ff.). She introduces her discussion by a brief account of lending at interest in antiquity, with its 'normal' rate of twelve per cent per annum, but often inflicting a much more ruinous one escalating exponentially. She seems to think there are huge differences between ancient and modern economies. However, she shows how the bishop viewed debt within the theoretical context of loans made within a patron-client 'friendship'. The courtesies this implies had of course long evaporated. Basil pleads for a restoration of a sense of humanity in the lender-debtor relationship,

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[2] A. Rushforth, 'North African Deserts and Mountains', in D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (Ann Arbor 1996) 297–316.

but his basic advice is for the poor to make every effort to avoid borrowing and for the rich to lend without interest or to make outright gifts as a form of charity, thereby acquiring 'credit' with God. This may not have been as quixotic as Holman implies. In the economy of antiquity we hear of reduction of taxation and the cancellation of debts and (in the parables in the New Testament) of some rich landowners who were considerate.

In chapter 8, M. Whitby discusses 'The Violence of the Circus Factions' (pp. 229-53) in the early Byzantine period. He shows that there was more to it than just 'soccer hooliganism' (as stated in a recent explanation); he draws attention especially to the chanting that occurred before the emperor. He finds a political role in the factions, especially visible in the open choice by Theodosius of the Greens as his club. The factions could be used as channels to official and imperial support. Their unruliness was tolerated because they helped to shore up the official's or even the emperor's power. Once again official tolerance is shown to be a factor in the operation of large-scale organised crime. In the final contribution, 'Crime and Control in Aztec Society' (pp. 255-69), F. F. Berdan gives a very interesting introduction to the fourteenth-century Aztec empire in Mexico. But, as he openly admits, the evidence only allows the assumption that there was 'considerable potential for collective activity of a legally-marginal nature' (p. 268).

What appears is the absence of evidence for organised crime in antiquity except in times of state formation or political transformation. This is reflected in the spread of the papers. Only one discusses a successful society (classical Athens). Two show the position in pre- or proto-states (Athens and Rome), while five analyse aspects of the late Roman empire (three on 'revolts', two on urban problems). But surely a more even spread could have been attempted. A most unfortunate omission is late Republican Rome, especially the extent to which the *collegia* used by Clodius and others had become 'criminalised' and the reason why a Cicero felt it necessary to wear a breastplate under his toga while consul and why an Antony needed a guard of Ituraean archers when attending the Senate. What was the debt problem that Caesar solved? Equally surprising is the neglect of Josephus, our most detailed source for the problem in a province of the early Roman Empire. He accuses both Roman governors and Jewish rebels of criminality (and even shows them co-operating), even if his accounts are presented with exaggeration and bias, and he constantly applies such terms as robber, brigand and bandit to those whom others might label freedom fighters.

What we have is a valuable collection of essays that, besides discussing crime, throw an interesting light on aspects of 'the state' in early Athens and Rome and various rural and urban situations at the end of the Roman Empire. Disappointment arises from the title, which leads one to expect a well-rounded historical, if not sociological, analysis of organised crime in antiquity. The book is beautifully produced, but the nine separate contributions could have appeared more inexpensively as articles in journals. There is no summing up.

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Anne Haward, *Art and the Romans*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1999. *Classical World Series*. Pp. ix + 99, incl. 40 black-and-white plates and 3 figure drawings. ISBN 1-85399-558-4. UK£8.95.

Roman art is the art not only of Rome but of the whole Roman world. *Art and the Romans* aims to examine the art created by and for the Romans and consider what they wanted from it. In the process of drawing on visual images and literary sources from different parts of the Roman world up to the time of Constantine, Anne Haward introduces her readers to a number of ancient sources and important issues in Roman art. In addition to providing this artistic and literary context, Haward explains how art for the Romans was different from the practice of modern art. The student new to Roman art will learn, for instance, that not only was it generally commissioned and could not be made known to the public with the modern techniques of printing and photography, but also that it involved a much closer relationship between artist and patron and a more direct influence by the patron upon the artist than is involved in modern art.

Art and the Romans contains seven chapters averaging thirteen pages in length. Each chapter really serves as a general introduction to a specific genre of Roman art. The emphasis in each chapter is on the broad stylistic characteristics of the given genre, what this particular art form reveals about the Romans and what they expected of it. After a brief preface outlining its pedagogical purpose (p. ix), Haward opens with a chapter on portraiture (pp. 1-15). In this chapter she considers what can be told about Romans from their portraits on statues, busts and paintings. In her second and longest chapter, Haward discusses statuary and relief sculpture (pp. 15-38). One of the most interesting sections of the entire book is her discussion of the place and development of the copy of an original statue in Roman art; the discussion of relief sculpture focuses on the Ara Pacis, arches, columns and sarcophagi. The third chapter on painting first outlines the four main styles, then focuses on some individual paintings to highlight and distinguish between the major characteristics of each style (pp. 39-53). Another stimulating discussion occurs in the fourth chapter on the different types of mosaics (pp. 54-66), where Haward asks whether we should consider mosaics art or craft and leans toward the former, although I think the answer is more obvious than she suggests. The subsequent chapters focus on the luxury arts, with silver and bronze the focus of chapter 5 (pp. 67-75) and the decorative arts the subject of chapter 6 (pp. 75-86). In the latter chapter Haward not only discusses the usual topics of jewellery, glassware and ceramics but in yet another interesting discussion also analyses the design of gardens. A brief concluding chapter highlighting the formal variety, symbolism, anonymity, originality, verism and fantasy of Roman art rounds out her discussion (pp. 87-89).

Consistent with the pedagogical aims of *Art and the Romans*, there are at the back suggestions of recommended sites to view the art discussed, including North Africa (pp. 90f.), questions on the various genres of Roman art intended to promote further analysis (pp. 92f.), and lists of general and specialised books to encourage further exploration of the topics covered (pp. 94-96). In addition to the black-and-

white plates and figure drawings, there are a number of source passages from ancient writers presented in translation only. There is a helpful glossary (pp. 97f.) for the student unfamiliar with the terminology of Roman art and an index (p. 99).

Is it possible for an introductory text to be written that specifically examines what constitutes, characterises and distinguishes Roman art, including such issues as the bias against it, its anonymity and immense quantity, and the issue of the numerous copies of original works? A text that not only outlines the major genres of Roman art but also emphasises intellectual achievements such as the complexities of concrete architecture and narrative relief? Haward commendably explores some of these critical topics through her discussion of the copy (pp. 17-24) and consideration of whether the making of a mosaic constitutes Roman art or craft (pp. 64-66).

Haward also suggests other promising avenues of intellectual exploration, notably in her discussion of garden design (pp. 84-86). This topic, which is more suited to the genre of architecture, could lead to a fruitful examination of the ways in which gardens reveal the Roman penchant for interiority, aestheticism, social functionality, and the organic structuring of space. When discussing sculpture, furthermore, there is room for a discussion of such defining characteristics as its architectural function, psychological realism, intellectual dimension, historical allusiveness, social consciousness and emblematic significance. This may seem to be too ambitious a concept for a volume that would purport to meet the need of an introductory teaching text, especially for a secondary school audience, but such a text would help to place Roman art on an equal footing with that of the Greek in the classroom. By touching upon some of the aforementioned topics, Haward has planted the seeds of such an introductory text and shown that its conception is realisable.

How does Haward's slim volume compare with other introductory texts on Roman art? Donald Strong's *Roman Art* is devoted almost solely to sculpture and Martin Henig's *A Handbook of Roman Art* focuses mainly on the luxury arts.[1] But Roman art embraces not just sculpture, painting and the decorative arts but also architecture. This is because sculpture and painting lose much of their meaning when they are viewed in isolation from their architectural context. Until Nancy and Andrew Ramage's *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art*, Mortimer Wheeler's somewhat dated *Roman Art and Architecture* was the only introductory text to feature a reasonably balanced discussion of the various genres of Roman art, including architecture.[2] Eve D'Ambra's recent *Art and Identity in the Roman World* and *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology*, which are commendable for their thematic, social and cultural focus on Roman art, are wide ranging in its treatment of the subject but lack the depth of these volumes.[3] Haward's slim volume of 99 pages and 43 illustrations

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[1] D. Strong, *Roman Art* (New York 1976; repr. 1988); M. Henig, *A Handbook of Roman Art* (Ithaca 1983).

[2] N. Ramage and A. Ramage, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art* (Cambridge 1991); M. Wheeler, *Roman Art and Architecture* (New York 1964).

[3] E. D'Ambra, *Art and Identity in the Roman World* (London 1998); *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs 1993).

cannot really be compared with these other introductory Roman art texts, especially not with the Ramages' volume (304 pages and 373 plates and figures).[4]

Furthermore, Bristol Classical Press' cover blurb suggests that Haward's generic approach is unique, but this is not really the case. It is true that Strong and the Ramages do outline Roman art in their introductory texts by using the historical approach, which involves taking the reader chronologically through its various stages, periods and genres, but Wheeler and Henig do explore the subject generically by tracing the development and evolution of painting, sculpture and the luxury arts. D'Ambra's approach is unique among these art historians, as she discusses Roman art by examining it in relation to its social context, which helps to demonstrate its original and unique qualities.

For what type of reader is *Art and the Romans* most suitable? Does it best serve as an introductory text for any particular group of students? First, it is apparent that Haward is labouring under the constraints of the *Classical World Series*, in which her book is published, since other volumes in the series are short and simply, if professionally, produced. The *Classical World Series* promotes itself as a concise yet informative introduction to the culture and achievement of Greece and Rome. This series dictates the form of Haward's book. Only so much can be said, illustrated and achieved in a text containing about one hundred pages and a few dozen illustrations. This means, for instance, that there is insufficient space for Haward to discuss a genre such as coins. Secondly, while the *Classical World Series* purports to be designed for students and teachers from secondary school to university, *Art and the Romans* probably will be of most service to secondary school students, for whom the depth of analysis seems best suited, although it could be used as a class text for first-year university students as their first introduction to Roman art, perhaps as one of a number of books on a general reading list for a classical civilisation course.

Throughout *Art and the Romans* there is a consistent quality in the descriptions of individual genres and objects that makes it worthwhile reading as a basic introduction to Roman art. Haward's expression is generally clear and concise, but there are some awkward sentences of the sort typified by the opening sentence in the first paragraph on page 3. The quality of the black-and-white photographs is uneven, while some important works discussed (e.g., the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, pp. 9f.; the column of Marcus Aurelius, p. 33; wall paintings in the Villa of the Mysteries, pp. 46f.) lack accompanying photographs. Some supplementation of the text will inevitably be required, but the main artefacts are covered at least in their basic form. For a secondary or first-year university classical civilisation course featuring a Roman art component, Haward's text could be used in conjunction with Martin Thorpe's *Roman Architecture*, another title in the *Classical World Series*, which would help to provide an architectural context for her discussion of portraiture,

[4] Compare Henig [1] 288 pages and 246 illustrations; Strong [1] 197 pages and 265 illustrations; and Wheeler [2] 250 pages and 215 illustrations; and D'Ambra [3] 176 pages and 115 illustrations.

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sculpture, painting and mosaics.[5] But for a more detailed and comprehensive introduction, the only real up-to-date, lucid, basic, broad and relatively inexpensive introductory text that communicates the beauty, grandeur, exquisiteness and meaning of Roman art, including architecture, remains Nancy and Andrew Ramage's *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art.*

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R. Leighton, *Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age.* London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. viii + 312 pages, incl. 148 illustrations and 4 tables. ISBN 0-7156-2770-8. UK£14.95.

Sicily has traditionally been relegated to a secondary position within discussions of central Mediterranean prehistory. Despite much research into prehistoric Sicily the island has tended to be defined as an extension of prehistoric southern Italy and (in later periods) in terms of dominant Graeco-Roman colonial influences. Only in recent years has Sicily's rich history been seen in a different light. Cultural transformations are explained as being the result of indigenous modifications and maintenance of cultural traditions stimulated by a series of interactions with Italy, nearby islands and the Mediterranean world (p. 7).

Despite the redirected research there are still problems within Sicilian prehistoric archaeology. Few university departments within Sicily teach prehistory and the majority of work focuses upon classical material. It is only relatively recently with the conference at Corleone (1997) and the publication of *Prima Sicilia* (1997) that there have been noticeable improvements in the diffusion and discussion of research.[1] Sicilian archaeology is also restricted by the dominance of material culture studies and there is clearly a need for more survey, environmental and scientific analyses to take place in order to improve our understanding of Sicilian prehistory. There is also little written in English that discusses this field.[2] It is therefore refreshing to finally see a text, which sheds light onto the wider scope of research on prehistoric Sicily for both the student and general reader.

Leighton's aim in *Sicily Before History* is to chart the development of the prehistoric cultures of the island from the Palaeolithic until the middle of the first millennium BC ending with the early period of Greek and Phoenician colonisation. As most archaeologists are specialists in a particular period or region, writing a coherent and comprehensive account of the whole of Sicily's prehistory is no easy task. Nevertheless, Leighton, whose research usually focuses on the last two millennia of

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[5] M. Thorpe, *Roman Architecture* (London 1995).

[1] S. Tusa (ed.), *Prima Sicilia: alle origini della societa siciliana* (Palermo 1997).

[2] Apart from L. Bernabo Brea, *Sicily Before the Greeks* (London 1957); R. R. Holloway, *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily* (London 1991); R. Leighton, *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research* (London 1996).

prehistory, has produced an extremely well-written synthesis, which should be seen as a substantial contribution to our understanding of the prehistory of the island.

In the Introduction (pp. 1-9), Leighton provides a short history of the prehistoric archaeology of the island. This account not only sets the archaeological context of this work but also illustrates the biases in the archaeological material. The geology and geography of the island are presented subsequently and their influence on the processes of diffusion, cultural interaction and transformation clearly position the book within a processual framework. Unfortunately, limitations in space prevent the author from being more explicit about his own theoretical position. It is clear, however, that he regards cultural change as the result of interaction and transformations as opposed to more traditional reasoning that argues for the diffusion and cultural domination of people and ideas. Instead of relying on conventional artefact studies to discuss Sicilian prehistory, Leighton utilises a whole suite of environmental, dating and artefact data to construct a more complete understanding of the past.

Rather than depend on a chronological framework to structure the work, Leighton has written thematic chapters that roughly correspond to the traditional divisions of prehistory. De-emphasis of the rigid chronological divisions of cultural periods successfully creates a sense of the continuities and discontinuities that occurred throughout this time. Covering such a huge chronological range in just under 270 pages could have induced the author to be highly selective in his choice of topics. However, Leighton provides a lucid and wide-ranging account of the archaeological material throughout prehistory. The book not only provides coverage of a wide body of material but also goes into sufficient detail about individual sites and regions not to be too general. Information about individual sites such as the Uzzo cave (p. 32) and Thapsos (p. 150) is well focused and concisely presented. Leighton's discussion of specific sites is supported by theoretical approaches that are not only integral to our understanding of the prehistory of Sicily but also to the rest of the Mediterranean.

In chapter 1 (pp. 11-50) the changing landforms, floral and faunal assemblages of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic are briefly discussed. The environmental data and cultural material is presented to indicate movement into Sicily of both animal and human populations. This creates an impression that Sicily was an extension of southern Italy in the earliest phases of prehistory. The processes of migration of early faunal and human populations are argued to be the main factors for change in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods. However, adaptation to localised environments are proposed to have resulted in regional variations of cultures within Sicily. Although there were identifiable similarities between the populations in Sicily and Northern Europe in the Late Palaeolithic, those in Sicily appear to have been less specialised than their neighbours and more similar to the later Mesolithic peoples than was the case further north.

Similarity and difference are themes further developed in 'The First Farming Societies' (chapter 2, pp. 51-85). The origins and growth of farming societies in Sicily are discussed with reference to changes that occurred over the wider geographical area and the associated relative chronologies, settlement patterns, subsistence practices and broader economic and social questions. Sicily is presented as part of the broader

European Neolithic culture as defined by similarities in ceramic sequences with those in southern Italy and the Balkans. Other forms of stylistic variation and cultural difference, however, are interpreted as indications of distinctive cultural groupings that are the result of growth in regional networks and movements of goods and ideas.

Chapter 3, 'New Territories and Tombs' (pp. 87-146), and chapter 4, 'Interaction and Trade' (pp. 147-86), examine the metamorphosis of societies in the Copper and Bronze Ages. Whereas external forces and long-distance connections with the east and west of the Mediterranean have previously explained cultural change in the Copper Age, Leighton argues that local originality, diversity and a propensity for innovation are hallmarks of the period. Changes in burial customs during this period of prehistory are explained as an organic process rather than as a radical departure from previous practices caused by outside influences. In the analysis of the Middle and Late Bronze Age external contacts are seen as having 'stimulated' and 'encouraged' existing social organisation with ideas being absorbed from outside and applied within the context of the existing settlement and culture.

It is characteristic of this volume that questions are raised of the terminology that is used to explain prehistory. Definitions of chronology and phasing are queried as material-culture distinctions between different phases that have become increasingly blurred. In the concluding chapter (pp. 219-68) definitions of cultural interaction and change are also critically evaluated. Traditional explanations of the end of Sicilian prehistory are dominated by the use of analogies from more recent colonial experiences, which have been used to explain the changing indigenous cultural practices and identities as a result of interaction with more civilised Greek populations. There is a wide body of material that now questions our definitions and explanations of cultural identity and change during the colonial period.[3] Utilising an assortment of archaeological and literary evidence, indigenous identity during the period of Greek colonisation is redefined as a combination of indigenous cultural practices with adopted and transformed Hellenic influences.

The presentation is excellent throughout. The text is accompanied by 148 figures, which include well-drawn maps at the beginning of each chapter that illustrate all of the major sites that are mentioned in the text. There is also a wide range of drawings, photographs and tables that provide a certain depth to the work. Four tables at the end of the book provide chronological, dating and burial information. Overall the book provides a detailed and up-to-date account of the prehistory of Sicily. It manages to be a general introduction, textbook and source book in one that will be a welcome resource for anyone studying Mediterranean prehistory, general reader and academic alike. Leighton succeeds in illustrating Sicily's interconnectedness with Europe and the ability of the indigenous populations to absorb and transform external

[3] R. M. Albanese Procelli, 'Greeks and Indigenous People in Eastern Sicily: Forms of Interaction and Acculturation', in Leighton [2] 167-76; C. L. Lyons, 'Sikel Burials at Morgantina: Defining Social and Ethnic Identities', in Leighton [2] 177-88; G. Shepherd, 'The Pride of Most Colonials: Burial and Religion in the Sicilian Colonies', in T. Fischer-Hansen (ed.), *Ancient Sicily* (Denmark 1995) 51-82.

influences throughout prehistory, forcing readers to reassess their interpretation of the island.

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Jo-Marie Claassen, *Displaced Persons. The Literature of Exile form Cicero to Boethius*. London: Duckworth, 1999, Pp. viii + 352. ISBN 0-7156-2919-0. UK£16.95.

In the present volume, Claassen has put together her accumulated expertise on Latin exile-literature in a monograph, covering such diverse authors as Cicero, Ovid, Seneca, Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom and Boethius. This is a tall order indeed, but Claassen manages to convey a wealth of information as well as outline some common techniques and themes. Rather than proceeding by author or by theme, Claassen has chosen to present her findings in sections dealing with third, second or first person narrative. She presents her material in easily digestible, short sub-chapters of two to ten pages, starting with a summary of the argument to come, followed by a brief outline of the consolatory aspects of Cicero's letters, Plutarch *Moralia* 102a-121f, 608b-612b, Ovid, Seneca, Dio Chrysostom and Boethius. Chapter 1, 'Exiled Persons' (pp. 9-35), ends with a sketch of how Ovid, on the basis of Cicero, creates what she calls 'the myth of exile' (p. 34). A very interesting chapter follows on 'The Third Person: Exilic Narrative' (pp. 36-72), in which she surveys third person narratives about exiles, such as the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, the story of Medea in a whole range of versions, and the *Eclogues*, before providing an extremely useful list of historical exiles in the Greek and in the Roman world. Within this scheme she pays special attention to Cicero, Ovid (*Pont.* 13) and Boethius.

Three chapters on the exile's second person outreach follow with extensive analysis of Cicero's 'primary epistles' which, when dealing with the writer's own banishment, turn out to be 'a complete palinode of the normal *consolatio* (p. 84 *à propos Att.* 3.15). She briefly compares Dio Cassius' imaginary dialogue between Cicero and Philiscus (28.18-29) with Plutarch *Moralia* 599a-607f, before taking a close look at Seneca's *Ad Marciam*, *Ad Polybium* and *Ad Helviam Matrem*. Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* provides final proof that the second person address in the *consolatio* offers a 'double focus, on both the writer as first person and on the second person as object of the exchange' (p. 102). Another detailed look at Cicero and Ovid in chapter 4, 'From You to Me: Exilic Appeal' (pp. 103-31), yields the result that the second person address of friends is ultimately designed to draw attention to the speaker, his emotions as a 'uniquely lonely self' (p. 122), or the persona of the exile that he creates. In the course of this, she finds that Ovid engages in 'subtle polemic' (p. 153) and is 'deconstructing the Augustan programme of literary propaganda' (p. 152).

The focus finally shifts to the first person narrative on p. 155. Cicero after his return is seen as re-writing history in almost epic terms (p. 163), romanticising through selective memory (p. 161) and dramatically overdrawing (p. 162). Dio

Chrysostom is similarly found to mythicise himself as Nestor (*Or.* 7.2), Odysseus or Orestes (*Or.* 13.4, 5). Boethius does something analogous in casting himself as both Boethius, the exile, and Dame philosophy (p. 172). Ovid falls into a pattern similar to Cicero's, re-shaping the past to express his present mood (p. 178). However, 'in exile the fusion of the poet's life and art is complete. The autobiographical letter form graphically fuses life and art, portraying what the exiled poet has set out to deny. The poet's exile is his final metamorphosis, equating past art with present life, illustrating the factual reality of '"impossible", literary changes' (p. 181). The following chapter, 'The Horror of Isolation' (pp. 182-204), also deals mostly with Ovid. His reaching out is one-dimensional, he lives in the perpetual present characterised by 'a baffling silence of non-communication' (p. 186). His depiction of Tomis depends to a large extent on literary sources and is 'verifiably fantastic' (p. 203). In chapter 8, 'Generic Range in the Poetry of Exile' (pp. 207-28), exilic elegy is compared to love-elegy in many respects. *Recusationes* are analysed: Ovid rejects the 'unprecedented intrusion of the state into private morality' (p. 223). His triumph-poems (*Pont.* 2.1, 3.4) and his use of imperial cult are scrutinised (pp. 225-27). All this is pulled together in chapter 9, 'Exile Universalised: Ovid's Contribution to the Exilic Genre' (pp. 229-51), by means of the mechanism of humour and self-irony which bridge the gap between the creative poet and the persona of the exile (p. 236). Ovid managed to universalise exilic conventions. Consequently, a consideration of Senecan epigrams and a Boethian elegy shows the continued use of Ovidian vocabulary and themes. This survey of 'Nachleben' is continued in the epilogue which pays homage to Vintila Horia's *Dieu est né en exil*, David Malouf's *An Imaginary Life*, Christoph Ransmayr's *Die letzte Welt*, as well as the South Africans N. P. Van Wyk Louw and Breyten Breytenbach.

Claassen has managed to pack an enormous amount of information into these 258 pages of argument. I have been made aware of exilic literature that formed a black hole in my reading; I have also been motivated to re-read Boethius whom I last read as an undergraduate. The fact that all passages are translated well and no Greek is quoted in the original will appeal to undergraduates who are 'linguistically challenged' as will the explanation of technical terms such as *prooemium* in brackets. One might have gone a step further and explain other technical terms, such as 'Botenbericht' (p. 174), 'epistemology' (p. 173), 'solipsism' (p. 155), 'apothegm' (p. 167), and many more.

Others might quibble with the amount of space granted to Ovid, but, as a fellow-Ovidian, that's just fine by me. I particularly liked Claassen's comparison between love-elegy and exile-poetry (pp. 213, 223). I also see him as presenting an image of himself that is deliberately de-eroticised. Claassen furthermore shows very well that Ovid creates something quite new (p. 229), although based on tendencies already present in Cicero. I am not sure that 'myth' is the perfect term for it. Essentially what he does is to present a stylised picture which includes literary traits already found in Herodotus, Vergil and Cicero. It is also not certain that Ovid's picture of Tomis is 'verifiably fantastic' (p. 203). Podossinov showed that Ovid picks,

chooses and exaggerates as poets do.[1] Using him as a source for Black Sea history would be as perilous as using the *Georgics* as a farming manual. This does not mean that the entire picture is pure fabrication: as Claassen points out, Ovid's picture expresses his mood (p. 233). Inconsistencies are therefore generated by different emotions which include nonchalant disrespect (p. 223) and self-therapy (p. 228) as well as an assertion of the resilience of the human spirit (p. 234).

What I found least attractive was having to flick back to the endnotes which also didn't help me write my commentary as I had hoped to. With the pervasive use of word-processing and photomechanical reproduction publishers should really consign endnotes to the dust-bin of history. Another superficial point has to do with the format Claassen chose. While the convenient slices consisting of sub-headings may seem inviting to students with a short attention-span, the arrangement by grammatical person means that quite some cross-referencing is going on (cf., e.g., pp. 57, 59, 69), which leaves the reader dangling at times. I was also hoping for a more exhaustive analysis of the topics of exile as death (pp. 11, 239f.) and emperor-cult (p. 227).

Textual matters have been on my mind for two and a half years. Claassen unfortunately never says which edition(s) she uses, but I am quite certain that she is still quoting from Owen's 1915 Oxford Classical Text.[2] Richmond's Teubner *Ex Ponto* appeared in 1990 and Hall's *Tristia* in 1995,[3] time enough to work them into a pre-existing manuscript. Even so, quotations needed to be checked again (cf., e.g., pp. 59, 128, 145, 145, 203), although I know from personal experience how hard it is to catch all errors. My main objections, however, concern Claassen's more fanciful interpretations, some based on intertextuality, others on deconstruction. Three examples shall suffice. On p. 143, she compares *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.1.45f. *en ego pro sistro Phrygiique foramine buxi / gentis Iuleae nomina sancta fero* with *Ibis* 453-56 (better: 451-56 in Owen's Oxford text) and concludes: 'This Ovidian self-reference turns an ostensibly innocent metaphor into an insinuation that the bearer of the Julian name politically emasculates his opponents.' The best book on 'intertextuality' to my mind is Boyd's.[4] Using her standards, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.1.45f. is not a reference to the *Ibis* passage, not even an echo. Ovid is not talking about self-castration, but about an ecstatic, oriental cult whose priests depended on begging (*Pont.* 1.1.39f.); these, to my mind, must have been contrasted with a Roman cult which was financially independent. Such a cult is not in our text, but I would strongly argue that a pentameter and a hexameter are missing after the textually vexed *Dianae* of verse 41. Obviously Augustus *in imagine* corresponds to Kybele and Ovid to her begging priest. But Ovid contrasts this 'wacky', foreign stuff with the cult of Diana who is as

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[1] A. Podossinov, *Ovids Dichtung als Quelle für die Geschichte des Schwarzmeergebiets* (Konstanz 1986).

[2] S. G. Owen (ed.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri Quinque, Ibis, Ex Ponto Libri Quattuor, Halieutica, Fragmenta* (Oxford 1915).

[3] J. A. Richmond (ed.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Ex Ponto Libri Quattuor* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1990); J. B. Hall (ed.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995).

[4] B. W. Boyd, *Ovid's Literary Loves* (Ann Arbor 1996).

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vengeful as Isis in 37f., but also *placabilis* ('easily appeased') and, best of all, Roman. Augustus is therefore not as bloody-minded as Isis, but ambiguous like Diana. The Kybele image, I think, was in the lost verses contrasted with another Roman cult which had financially independent priests who provide a perfect parallel for the relegated Ovid with his portfolio of high-flying tech-stocks! Ovid may be underlining his independence, but he also stresses that Augustus can be placated. As for severing private parts, there is no evidence anywhere.

Then there is deconstruction. Claassen claims on p. 124: 'The poet's style often deconstructs apparent religious solemnity.' At *Tristia* 3.2.3f. t-alliteration (*docta sacerdoti turba tulistis opem*, 'you learned crowd, you did <not> come to the help of your priest') is said to create a 'tension between words and message' (p. 125). I cannot follow the logic of this interpretation. If this were so, what do you make of a line like *o Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti* (Enn. *Ann.* 104[5])? It seems to me that Claassen is simply trying too hard in such cases to come up with an imaginative interpretation. The same is the case in reading sexual innuendo into *Pont.* 2.8.30 *et cui maiestas non onerosa tua est* ('and to whom your majesty is not a burden', p. 127). My students will testify that I am happy to see sexual references wherever possible. However, this is a case of the 'familiar actress-bishop syndrome',[6] in which the phrase 'as the actress said to the bishop' is added to any sentence, thereby rendering it sexually suggestive. To my mind, Ovid throughout his exile-poetry is at pains to show off his conformity (after all, continuing rebellion could lead to a worsening of conditions or death, compare the case of Cassius Severus in Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.21.3), which is why he omits any salacious details. As Claassen points out, there is a deliberate contrast between the *tenerorum lusor amorum* and Ovid the devoted husband of the exile-poems. Analogously, there is an ostensible antithesis between the naughty tease of the amatory poems and the exile, trying to demonstrate that his poetry eschews eroticism. However, while I disagree with individual interpretations, I think Claassen's book provides a very important contribution to understanding Ovid as well as a very useful general introduction to ancient exile-literature.

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D. Wardle (ed. and tr.), *Valerius Maximus. Memorable Deeds and Sayings: Book 1.* Clarendon Ancient History Series. Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1998. Pp. ix + 301. ISBN 0-19-815016-4. UK£40.00.

Wardle's English translation of the first book of Valerius Maximus *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* is the first since that of Samuel Speed in 1678[1] and there has been no commentary on Valerius in any language. The publication of this

[5] O. Skutsch (ed.), *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford 1985).

[6] D. West, *Horace Odes I: Carpe Diem* (Oxford 1995) 161.

[1] S. Speed, *Romae Antiquae Descriptio* (London 1678).

translation and commentary is testament to a revival of interest in an author for whom more manuscripts survive than any other Latin prose text with the exception of the Bible.[2] The very extent of Wardle's commentary (223 pages), by comparison with the translation (36 pages), indicates the wealth of material that can be drawn from the *exempla* contained in the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*.

The introduction (pp. 1-25) has customary concerns: the author's life, the date of composition, the contents, construction and purpose of the work, its sources and textual transmission, and observations specific to book 1 and Roman religion. The subject matter is, however, somewhat uneven. Over four pages build up to the negative conclusion that the publication date of the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* 'remains uncertain' (p. 6), although we do know by virtue of the dedication that the book was published during the reign of Tiberius. Wardle's comments on Roman religion, however, are restricted and result in at least one over-generalisation. For, although the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* could recommend that the Senate send an embassy to Delphi or introduce a new cult or religious practice to Rome, this was not their 'usual' (p. 22) practice.[3] It would also have been helpful if this overview of Roman religious practice during the Republic had been expanded and some consideration given to other forms of divine experience, such as dreams and miracles, to which Valerius pays close attention.

Rightly Wardle does not try to pigeonhole Valerius into a particular school of thought, rejecting any reliance on Stoic principles (p. 7). He suggests that Valerius' evident belief in the gods and their involvement in human affairs provides the incentive to the moral tone of his work. Wardle argues that Valerius provided what he 'believed his emperor would find appropriate' (p. 25). However, Valerius' reliance on the Latin annalists, Livy in particular, as well as Varro and Cicero, indicates an adherence to a certain mode of thought prevalent in the late Republic, a mode of thought that continually looked for and offered to their reader a concept of a 'traditional' Roman religion.[4] It is thus not surprising that Valerius' ideas often coincide with a most traditional emperor and another scion of the late Republic, Tiberius.

Although Wardle admits that he has not attempted to recreate the elegance of Valerius (p. v), the English style of his translation (pp. 27-65) is often stilted. Some sense of Valerius' ornate style might have better conveyed why Valerius remained popular in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. However, the translation is mostly free from error. There are one or two minor quibbles. I am not totally convinced that the

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[2] W. M. Bloomer, *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility* (London 1993) 2. Cf. also C. Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen: The Work of Valerius Maximus* (Exeter 1996), reviewed in *Scholia Reviews* 7 (1998) no. 8 and archived at http://www.scholia-reviews.nu.ac.za/98-08ski.html.

[3] An analysis of Livy indicates seven definite instances where they do introduce a new rite or suggest the consultation of Delphi in comparison to twenty-four instances where the rituals of expiation already pre-existed or were not that unusual.

[4] D. S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden 1993) 248, with references to Cic. *Leg.* and Var. *Antiq. Rer. Div.*, who address the question of 'authentic Roman religious practice'.

translation of *sollemnis* as 'customary' (p. 30) conveys enough of the solemnity of such occasions, and Wardle's translation of *procurare* as 'averted' (p. 30) does not adequately suggest the principle of reciprocity where the Romans 'took care' to avoid the anger of the gods. On p. 42 Wardle translates *perisse* and *decesserat* as 'had died' rather than finding a suitable synonym.

The commentary is primarily historical. Each section commences with a survey of the known and probable sources of Valerius' *exempla*. His reliance on Livy, Cicero and Varro is apparent, but so too are the number of instances where we simply do not know what the source was. Although instructive, Wardle fails to match passages of the translation with the numbers given for the cross-references. For example, 1-4 on p. 74 all refer to passage 1.1.1; therefore, the reader has to be completely *au fait* with the translation of Valerius or keep turning the pages to match the figures with the appropriate passages. Wardle comments on various versions of the *exempla* as in his discussion of Appius Claudius and the reorganisation of the Hercules' cult (pp. 118-20) or that concerning the prodigy of the Alban lake (pp. 187-89). Wardle also shows an ability to synthesise the modern interpretations of such events to produce concise but intelligible statements concerning the substance of the *exempla*. This is particularly evident in his comments on the preface and his discussion of the dedication to Tiberius (Val. Max. *praef.*; pp. 68-70) which considers the importance of the invocation and its precedents, the ideological themes which mirror the propaganda of the early principate, the question of imperial divinity and a discussion of the background to the reign of Tiberius.

The introductory statements for each section give useful overviews of the meaning and etymology of the terms under discussion, as for example, *auspicium* (p. 153) or *omen* (p. 167). Other terms are discussed as they appear. The etymology and meaning of *superstitio* is analysed on p. 144 but neither the article by Calderone, nor that of Grodzynski is utilised,[5] although the latter's views on the meaning of the term seem to form the basis for his discussion regarding the pejorative sense of the term in the third century. The historical form of the commentary, however, does not mean that Wardle is averse to linguistic comments regarding, style, translation or textual emendation as, for example, at p. 170 on the formulaic 'if to any of the gods', p. 279 on Callanus' prophecy to Alexander, pp. 122f. on the interpolation, and p. 231 on the emendation of *hausit* to *habuit*. Useful though such observations are, there is an implicit irony given the lack of a Latin text with this translation and commentary.

The constraints of the commentary form mean there are instances where more clarity was required. For example, at p. 78 Wardle states that 'in Roman practice a sacrificial animal was slain and then the entrails inspected by a *haruspex*'. In fact, it is probable that magistrates could preside over sacrifices as they could over the taking of the auspices.[6] There was also a clear distinction between the Roman practice of *litatio*

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[5] S. Calderone, '*Superstitio*', *ANRW* 1.2 (1971) 377-96; D. Grodzynski, '*Superstitio*', *REA* 76 (1974) 36-60.

[6] J. Linderski, 'Roman Religion in Livy', in W. Schüller (ed.), *Livius: Aspekte Seines Werkes* (Konstanz 1993) 61f.

and Etruscan extispicy.[7] The use of the word *haruspex* ('seer', 'diviner') needs to be employed with more care if, by its use, Wardle does not mean an Etruscan *haruspex*. In another instance, Wardle refers to 'crucial augural terms' (p. 201) when discussing a *haruspex*' interpretation of the entrails. This sort of error undermines the credibility of the work. Fortunately, there were very few of these in the commentary.

Wardle also does not consider North's revisionist view concerning the passage from Cato's *De Agricultura* 5.4.4. Cato does not despise astrology here but rather suggests that his *vilicus* ('bailiff') should not have access to the kind of power of which only is master might make correct and proper use.[8] Under 1.6.4 (pp. 189f.) Wardle suggests that Sulla was accompanied by a private *haruspex* named Postumius. However, it is not at all certain that Postumius was not an Etruscan *haruspex*.[9] Moreover, this relationship was certainly not like Caesar's relationship with Spurinna as Wardle intimates. Caesar had an uneasy relationship with the Etruscan nobility[10] and, in any case, it is highly likely that Spurinna was a member of the Etruscan nobility and his name may have been preserved because he was the *summus haruspex* in 44 BC.[11] *Haruspices* accompanied Roman commanders on campaign and it is likely that Postumius has gained notoriety, as did Tiberius' astrologer Thrasyllus, because of his association with an extremely prominent public figure and a timely remark that with hindsight appeared prophetic.

More could have been made of the difference between Greek and Roman oneiromantic practices. At p. 218 Wardle suggests that dreams did not require oneirocritics for their interpretation but authors from Homer onwards had suggested that only certain individuals could reliable receive dreams, a view later echoed by Artemidorus.[12] It is also surprising to find that Wardle does not include as bibliographic references the important works of van Lieshout, Hanson or Kessels, which have provided the groundwork for explorations into the form and function of dreams in ancient literature.[13] The copy-editing of the translation and commentary

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[7] R. Schilling, 'À propos des exta: L'extispicine étrusque et la litatio romaine' in M. Renard (ed.), *Hommages à A. Grenier* 3 (Paris 1962) 1371-78.

[8] J. North, 'Diviners and Divination at Rome', in M. Beard and J. North (edd.), *Pagan Priests* (London 1990) 59, after Columella, *Rust.* 11.1.22.6; cf. *Rust.* 1.8.5.7. Compare the similar prescription of the emperor Theodosius in 392 BC (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12) where a similar sentiment is expressed, although in more forceful terms.

[9] *Contra* E. Rawson, 'Caesar, Etruria and the Disciplina Etrusca', in E. Rawson (ed.), *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford 1991) 289-323.

[10] E. Rawson [9] 311f.

[11] Rawson [9] 309-11; M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* (Firenze 1975).

[12] Hom. *Il.* 16.233; Artem. *Oneir.* 1.2 specifies only a king, archon or someone important could interpret dreams reliably.

[13] R. G. A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht 1980); J. Hanson, 'Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity' *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1979-80) 1395-1427; A. H. M. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature* (Utrecht 1978). Wardle's practice of incorporating into the bibliography only secondary literature cited in more than

should have been more thorough.[14] Criticism is simple to make, however, and faults easy to find.

This translation and commentary is a fine contribution to the study of a neglected author. In his opening comments Wardle admits to a relatively low estimation of Valerius as 'one of those authors into whom historians dip for minor details . . .' (p. v). In the production of this commentary David Wardle has produced a book that, like its subject matter, will be dipped into again and again for the wealth of information and insight that it provides the modern commentator on aspects of Roman history, religion and culture.

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Richard Heinze (trr. Hazel Harvey, David Harvey and Fred Robertson), *Virgil's Epic Technique*[2]. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, 1999. Pp. xiv + 401. ISBN 1-85399-579-7. UK£16.95.

Richard Heinze's *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig 1903) is inarguably one of the major works on Vergil of the twentieth century. But until the English translation of Hazel Harvey, David Harvey and Fred Robertson appeared in 1993, there was a tendency among some Anglophone scholars to gloss over its critical achievement

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one lemma results in several important omissions. Most obvious by its absence is the most comprehensive scholarly work on divination: A. Bouché Leclerq, *L'Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1879). Others include M. Beard and J. North (edd.), *Pagan Priests* (London 1990); R. Bloch *Les Prodiges dans l'Antiquité Classique* (Paris 1963); W. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford 1979); C. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin* 1–3 (Göteborgs 1905-09); L. Wülker, *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern. Studien zur Geschichte und Überlieferung der Staatsprodigien* (Leipzig 1903).

[14] There is confusion at the top of p. 20 due to a lengthy omission. On p. 79 there is an odd sentence discussing Serv. *Aen.* 11.301 and Cic. *Div. Caec.* 43, which are said to confirm that the 'orators of old began rightly with Jupiter Best and Greatest' . . . 'but one that could be ridiculed by 70'. In fact, the ridicule was based on the fact that there were orators who thought that if this or similar phrases were learnt one would then be ready for court (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 43). There are minor errors on p. 45 (1.6.6) the pronoun 'he' is reiterated once too often; p. 59 (end of 1.8.6) seems to require some additional commas to assist the reading; p. 87 (insertion of 'the' required); p. 93 deletion of | required; p. 113 'oVer' should read 'offer'; p. 114 an extra *r* has found its way into *imperartores*; p. 133 fifth line down the letter 'n' needs inserting after 'a'; the English at the bottom of p. 152 is also unclear; a minor hiatus (t he) appears on p. 185, 14 lines from the bottom of the page; p. 201, *Diskiplin* should read *Disciplin*; p. 223 Hermann lacks an *r*; p. 224 Lactautius is presumably Lactantius. Herrmann is variously cited in the main text of the commentary (pp. 223, 228, 231). It is ironic that Wardle's own article, '"The Sainted Julius": Valerius Maximus and the dictator', *CP* 92 (1997) 323-41, is not included in the bibliography, although it is cited frequently (pp. 73, 209, 219, 263).

since only those who could read German were truly aware of its importance to Vergilian studies. Part of the importance of this critical work stems from the fact that it was originally published at the beginning of the twentieth century after Vergil's reputation as a poet had undergone a battering at the hands of various scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was the fashion among scholars of the time to look for supposed weaknesses, inconsistencies and other lapses of poetic judgement. Scholars argued at the time that the *Aeneid* was a derivative epic and therefore its writer was not worthy to be considered a poet. It was widely held that Vergil had copied indiscriminately from his predecessors without an overall conception or a unifying plan of action. Heinze's revolutionary work immediately helped to restore a sense of balance to Vergilian studies, as it helped to divert critical energies to the issue of Vergil's artistry and achievement in relation to his poetic aims, sources and precursors.

In the first half of his book Heinze analyses the technique of some of the major passages in the *Aeneid*; in the second half he summarises the results of his investigation of these passages and attempts to provide an overview of Vergil's poetic technique. While the central concern of Heinze's study involved the intentions of the poet, a concept that has lost favour among literary critics in the late twentieth century, Heinze effectively established that Vergil shaped his material with a clear poetic vision in mind. *Virgils epische Technik* was critically well ahead of its time when it was first published, as is apparent from the fact that it immediately encouraged scholars to consider various aspects of Vergil's narrative technique and adaptation of his sources although, of course, there were those who did not approve of his new critical methods.

By focusing on the narrative technique of the poet, by looking for the significance of passages adapted from Homer and other poets, and by generally avoiding subjective value judgements, Heinze laid the foundation of a number of critical trends in the interpretation of the *Aeneid* in the twentieth century. While some of his ideas never really gained critical acceptance, others generally accepted have since gone out of fashion—for instance, his view that Aeneas' character gradually moves toward perfection and toward the ideal of Roman Stoicism is undermined by numerous incidents in the narrative—but even today no one serious critic of Vergil can fail to take note of Heinze's scholarly contribution. Vergilian scholars everywhere outside Germany, not just in Anglophone countries, owe a handsome debt to the translators of this important text.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, ***Scholia.***

Susanne Aretz, *Die Opferung der Iphigeneia in Aulis: Die Rezeption des Mythos in Antiken und Modernen Dramen.* Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 131. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1999. Pp. 553. ISBN 3-519-07680-2. DM168.00.

Rhiannon Ash, *Ordering Anarchy: Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories.* London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. ix + 246. ISBN 0-7156-2800-3. UK£40.00.

Mary Beard and Michael Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic.* London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. viii + 120. ISBN 0-7156-2928-X. UK£10.95.

Reinhold Bichler and Robert Rollinger, *Herodot.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag. Pp. 209. ISBN 3-487-10931-X. DM29.80.

Joan Booth (ed.; tr. with Guy Lee), *Catullus to Ovid: Reading Latin Love Elegy.* London: Bristol Classical Press, repr. 1999. Pp. xlv + 164. ISBN 1-85399-606-8. UK£9.95.

Sarah Annes Brown, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid: From Chaucer to Ted Hughes.* London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. viii + 246. ISBN 0-7156-2887-9. UK£40.00.

Stanley Burstein (ed.), *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum.* Princeton, New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998. Pp. vii + 166. ISBN 1-55876-148-9. US$16.95.

William M. Calder III & Bernhard Huß (edd.), *'Sed Serviendum Officio': The Correspondence Between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Eduard Norden, 1892-1931.* Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1997. Pp. 287. ISBN 3-615-00188-5. DM88.00.

William M. Calder III and Robert Kirstein (edd.), *'Der geniale Wildling': Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff und Max Fränkel. Briefwechsel 1874-1878, 1900-1903.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999. Pp. 85. ISSN 0065-5287. DM24.00.

Jonathan Campbell, *Roman Art and Architecture from Augustus to Constantine.* Auckland: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998. Pp. 115. ISBN 0-582-739-845. NZ$29.95.

Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (edd.), *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike in 15 Bänden: Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 13: *A-Fo.* Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 1999. Pp. lvi + 1162. ISBN 3-476-01470-3. DM328.00.

David Christenson (ed.), *Plautus: Amphitruo.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. x + 339. ISBN0-521-45401-8. UK£45.00.

Jo-Marie Claassen, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius.* London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. viii + 352. ISBN 0-7156-2857-7. UK£16.95.

A. M. Dale (ed.), *Euripides: Alcestis*. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, repr. 1999. Pp. xl + 130. ISBN 1-85399-597-5. UK£12.95.

Fernand Delarue, *Stace, poète épique*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Booksellers, 2000. Pp. viii + 453. ISBN 90-429-0861-0. BEF2000/Euro50.00.

William J. Dominik and William T. Wehrle (edd.), *Roman Verse Satire: Lucilius to Juvenal*. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2000. Pp. xv + 219. ISBN 0-86516-442-8. US$24.00.

K. J. Dover (ed.), *Thucydides: Book VI*. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, repr. 1999. Pp. xxix + 111. ISBN 1-85399-587-8. UK£11.95.

H. R. Fairclough (ed. and tr.; rev. G. P. Goold), *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6*. London: Harvard University Press, 1999. Pp. x + 597. ISBN 0-674-99583-X. UK£12.95.

Stefan Faller, *Taprobane im Wandel der Zeit: Das Sri-Lanka Bild in griechischen und lateinischen Quellen zwischen Alexanderzug und Spätantike*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000. Pp. 243. ISBN 3-515-07471-6. No price supplied.

Marion Findlay, *Classical Mythology*. Auckland: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. Pp. 132. ISBN 0-582-739-845. NZ$24.95.

Marion Findlay, *Roman Religion*. Auckland: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. Pp. 103. ISBN 0-582-71846-5. NZ$29.95.

Gary Forsythe, *Livy and Early Rome*. Historia Einzelschrift 132. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. Pp. 147. ISBN 3-515-07495-3. DM88.00.

Annette Lucia Giesecke, *Atoms, Ataraxy, and Allusion: Cross-generic Imitation of the De Rerum Natura in Early Augustan Poetry*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2000. Pp. 202. ISBN 3-487-11105-5. DM54.00.

Barbara Goward, *Telling Tragedy: Narrative Techniques in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides*. London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. vi + 214. ISBN 0-7156-2795-3. UK£40.00.

Fritz Graf (tr. Franklin Philip), *Magic in the Ancient World*. London: Harvard University Press, 1999. Pp. 313. ISBN 0-674-54153-7. UK£10.50.

Philip Hardie, Alessandro Barchiesi, and Stephen Hinds (edd.), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's Metamorphoses and Its Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1998. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume 23. Pp. 336. ISBN 0-906014-22-0. UK£32.50/US$78.00.

George W. M. Harrison (ed.), *Seneca in Performance*. London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 2000. Pp. xi + 260. ISBN 0-7156-2961-X. UK£40.00.

Anne Haward, *Art and the Romans*. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, 1999. Pp. ix + 99. ISBN 1-85399-558-4. UK£8.95.

Richard Heinze (trr. Hazel Harvey, David Harvey and Fred Robertson), *Virgil's Epic Technique*[2]. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, 1999. Pp. xiv + 401. ISBN 1-85399-579-7. UK£16.95.

Stephen Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: New Perspectives*. London: Duckworth, 1999. Pp. xxvi + 427. ISBN 0-7156-2908-5. UK£48.00.

Gwen Hunter, *Socrates*. Auckland: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. Pp. 84. ISBN 0-582-71899-6. NZ$24.95.

Claudine Jomphe, *Les theories de la dispositio et le Grand Oeuvre de Ronsard*. Paris: Éditions Honoré Champion, 2000. Pp. 410. ISBN 2-7453-0262-0. Fr360.00.

Klaus Kartunnen, *India and the Hellenistic World*. Studia Orientalia 83. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 1997. Pp. ix + 439. ISBN 951-9380-35-3. Kr200.00.

David Konstan, Diskin Clay, Clarence E. Glad, Johan C. Thom, and James Ware (edd.), *Philodemus: On Frank Criticism*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1998. Pp. xi + 189. ISBN 0-7885-0434-7. US$34.95.

David Kovacs (ed.), *Euripides: Trojan Women, Iphigenia Among the Taurians, Ion*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1999. Pp. 511. ISBN 0-674-99574-0. UK£19.95.

Bernhard Kytzler, *Mythologische Frauen der Antike: Von Acca Larentia bis Zeuxippe*. Düsseldorff: Artemis and Winkler Verlag, 1999. Pp. 239. ISBN 3-538-070901-1. DM39.80.

Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians: Peoples of the Past Series*. London: British Museum Press, 2000. Pp. 224. ISBN 0-7141-2095-2. UK£24.99.

R.W. Moore, *Comparative Greek and Latin Syntax*. London: Bristol Classical Press, repr. 1999. Pp. xiii + 224. ISBN 1-85399-598-3. UK£12.95.

Judith Mossman, *Wild Justice: A Study of Euripides' Hecuba*[2]. London: Bristol Classical Press and Duckworth, 1999. Pp. xiii + 283. ISBN 1-85399-596-7. UK£13.95.

Peter Nichols, *Aristophanes' Novel Forms: The Political Role of Drama*. London: Minerva Press, 1999. Pp. x + 258. ISBN 1-86106-288-5. UK£7.99.

Rainer Nickel (ed.), *Lexikon der antiken Literatur*. Düsseldorf: Artemis and Winkler Verlag, 1999. Pp. 904. ISBN 3-538-07089-X. DM98.00.

John R. Patterson, *Political Life in the City of Rome*. Classical Word Series. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2000. Pp. vii + 90. ISBN 1-85399-514-2. UK£8.95.

Sarah B. Pomeroy, Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donlan and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. xxix + 512. ISBN 0-19-509743-2. US$27.95.

Kenneth Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution*. London: Bristol Classical Press, repr. 1999. Pp. xxxv + 119. ISBN 1-85399-600-9. UK£11.95.

Stephanie Quinn (ed.), *Why Vergil? A Collection of Interpretations*. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2000. Pp. xxiii + 450. ISBN 0-86516-418-5. US$40.00.

Licinia Ricottilli, *Gesta e parola nell' Eneide*. Bologna: Patron Editore, 2000. Pp. 246. No price supplied.

Michael Elliot Rutenberg (tr.), *Oedipus of Lucius Annaeus Seneca*. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1999. Pp. vi + 103. ISBN 0-86516-459-2. US$9.00.

R. B. Rutherford, *The Art of Plato*. London: Duckworth, 2000. Pp. xv + 335. ISBN 0-7156-2993. UK£16.99.

Bernd Schneider (ed. and tr.), *Sebastian Brant: Fabeln*. Stuttgart and Bad-Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1999. Pp. 454. ISBN 3-7728-1877-3. No price supplied.

Charles Segal (ed.), *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 99. Pp. 409. ISBN 0-674-37947-0. UK£29.95.

Christopher Stray (ed.), *Classics in 19th and 20th Century Cambridge: Curriculum, Culture and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1999. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume 24. Pp. xii + 176. ISBN 0-906014-23-9. UK£22.50/US$54.00.

Judith Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games*. London: British Museum Press, repr. 1999. Pp. 112. ISBN 0-7141-2161-4. UK£8.99.

David Taylor, *The Greek and Roman Stage*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1999. Pp. 88. ISBN 1-85399-591-6. UK£8.95.

Richard F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and his Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999. Pp. 351. ISBN 0-472-10897-2. US$52.50.

Rex E. Wallace (ed.), *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2000. Pp. xxii + 80. ISBN 0-86516-455-X. US$12.00.

Derek A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires*. Princeton: Marcus Wiener, repr. 1998. Pp. 240, incl. 81 colour and black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 1-55876-182-9. US$19.95.

Marta Anna Wodarczyk, *Pyrrhonian Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 2000. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume 25. Pp. 72. ISBN 0-906014-24-7. No price supplied.

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 1999-2000, the Museum of Archaeology purchased two new acquisitions to extend the range of the existing collections.[1] The first acquisition is an ancient terracotta lamp, from Sicily, datable to between 550-475 BC.[2] This is an early form of lamp, in which the shallow bowl is open and the lip incurved, without the customary discus that closes the mouth of later lamps. It has a horizontal band handle opposite a rounded, projecting nozzle (slightly chipped near the mouth), and is black-glazed over its entire surface, with the slightly grainy texture that characterises Sicilian artefacts of this period. The bowl was formed on a potting wheel,[3] and the turned base is slighly concave, with correspondingly convex lamp floor. Lamps such as this were used for lighting in houses, and also in public buildings where a strong light was not required (this would rather have been supplied by a torch or contained fire); they were often dedicated at shrines as votive offerings, and were also regularly included among the objects placed in tombs.[4] Lamps of closely comparable form to this example were made during the same period in Athens,[5] while another lamp in the British Museum, of generally similar form, is regarded by Bailey as being 'a local [Sicilian] variant stemming from local copies of imported Athenian examples'.[6]

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[1] The financial support of Joan Law, which has made these purchases possible, is acknowledged with gratitude.

[2] Figures 1a-b: 2000.42, length 112 mm. Charles Ede Limited, *Antiquities Catalogue* 168 (1999) no. 43b.

[3] After the closed lamp-form with the discus became common, lamps were increasingly mould-made.

[4] For a more extended overview of the uses of lamps, see D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* 1*: Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London 1975) 9f.

[5] Compare Bailey [4] Q46 (Reg. 1836.2-24.317), Q47 (reg. [1842] TB. 900), although the latter lacks its handle (p. 42 and pll. 10 and 11).

[6] Bailey [4] 309, of Q662 (Reg. 1918.1-1.35); pll. 122 and 123.

The second acquisition is a bronze handle from a Roman *patera* (libation bowl) of the second century AD.[7] The handle-end is in the form of a dog's head, with open mouth, and the columnar shaft is ridged along its length, with a 'collar' of three relief rings marking the junction of shaft and dog's head. A complete Roman bronze patera in the British Museum, of approximately the same period, has a more decorative handle, although of the same basic conception: it terminates in a bearded face with elaborately styled curly hair; the shaft has two swimming ducks in relief, and the attachment of handle to bowl is accentuated by a modelled head projecting slightly over the bowl, attached to arms that stretch out along the bowl-rim. The bowl itself has a raised central boss similar to that of the Greek *phiale* (which served a similar purpose), although the handle on the Roman bronze example would seem to obviate the need for such a steadying finger-hold. It is probable that the missing bowl of the Durban handle would have had a raised boss of the same kind.

Figure 1a: Durban 2000.42. Terracotta lamp.

[7] Figures 2a-b: 2000.43, length as preserved 147 mm. Charles Ede Limited, *Antiquities Catalogue* 168 (1999) no. 17.

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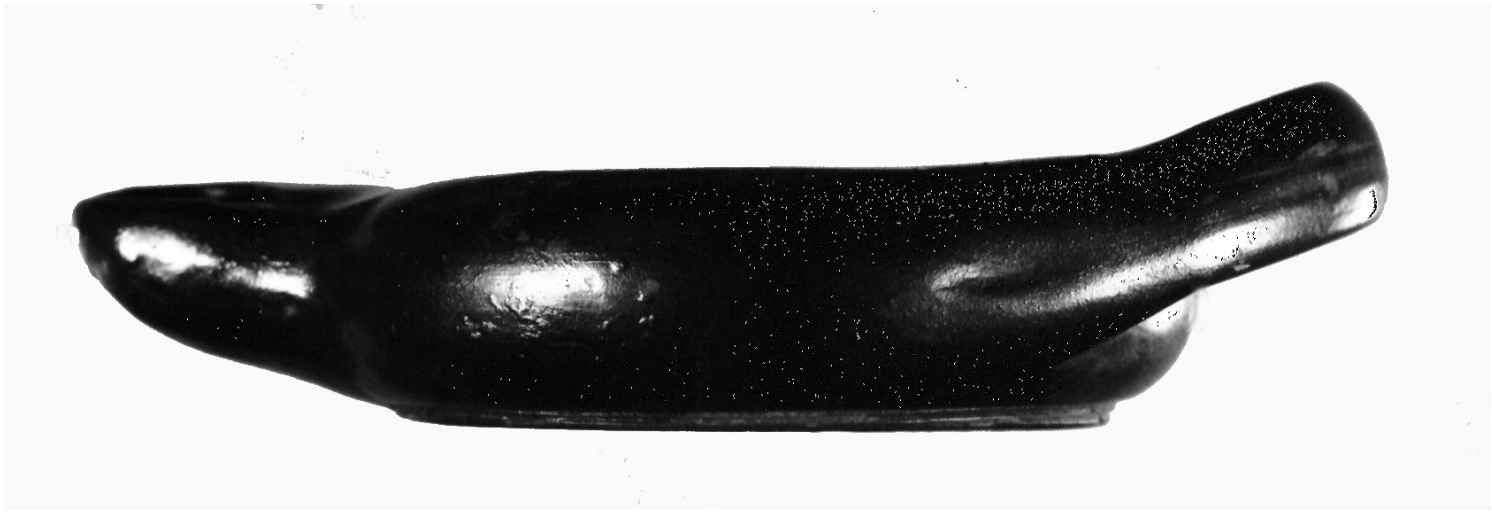

Figure 1b. Durban 2000.42. Terracotta lamp (profile).

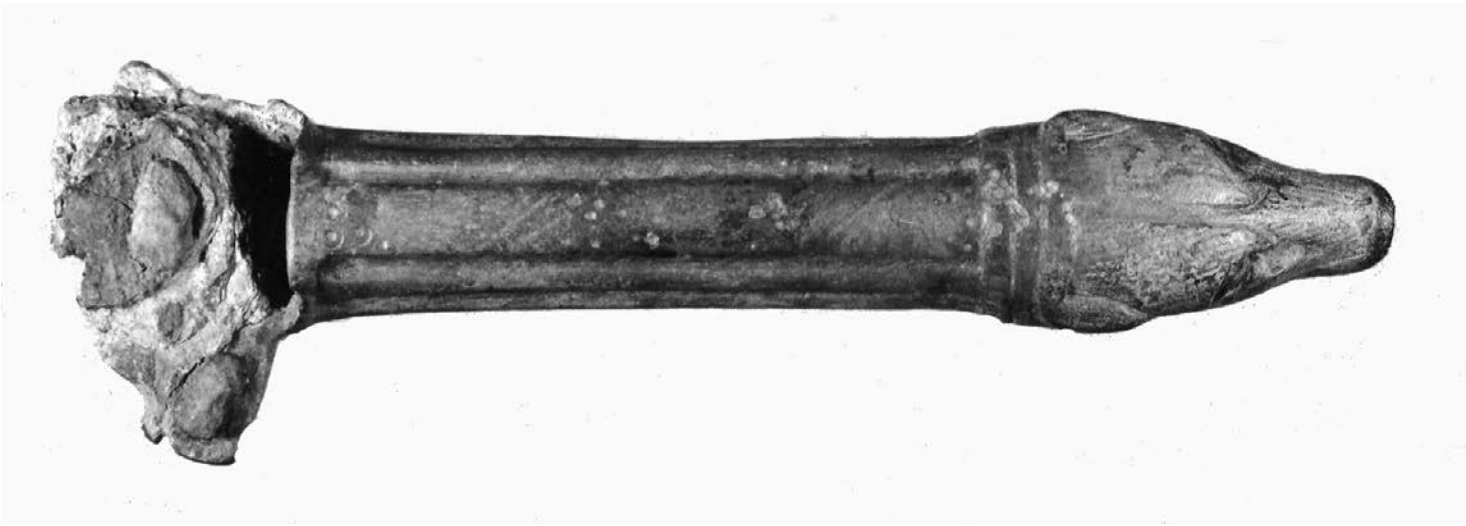

Figure 2a. Durban 2000.43. Bronze patera handle.

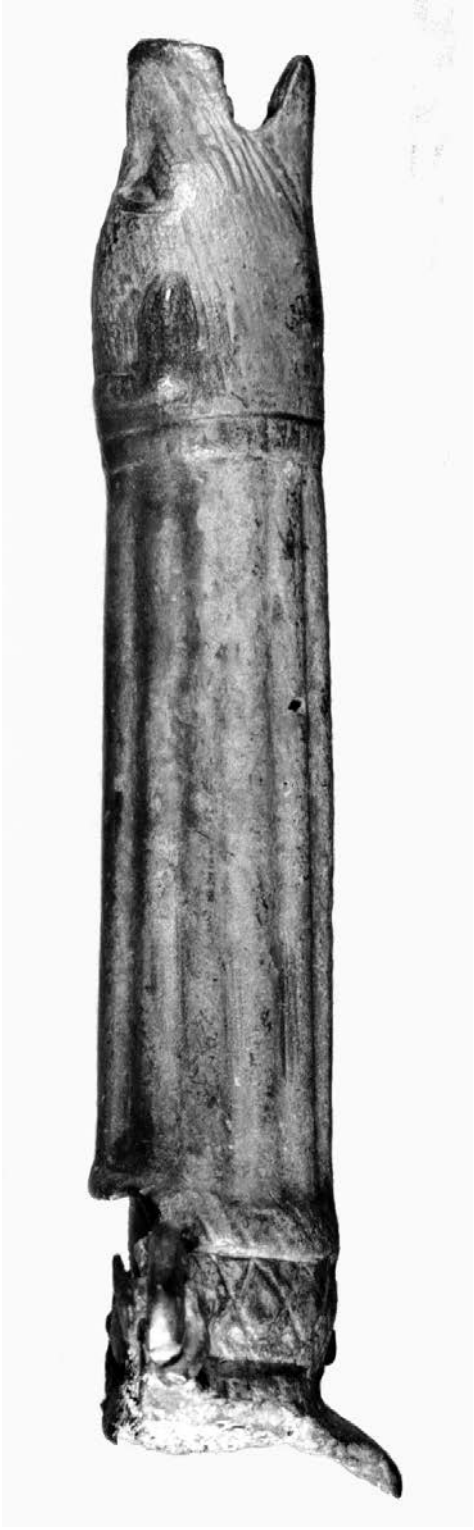

Figure 2b. Durban 2000.43. Bronze patera handle.

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.*

UNSTITCHING THE TAPESTRY: LÈVI-STRAUSS' STRUCTURALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

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> . . . Colours
> That glowed every gradation
> Of tints in the rainbow
> Where the sun shines through a shower
> And each hue dissolves
> Into its neighbour too subtly
> For the human eye to detect it.[1]

For the mythologist, the task of interpretation is much like that of trying to distinguish the boundaries between the colours of the rainbow—to locate the links which hold the myth together and connect it to the lives of those who hear and tell it. At first reading, these links do seem to 'dissolve' into one another, which is the inevitable result of the narrative form of the myth. Mythologists, however, have an advantage over observers of the rainbow in that the meaning or purpose of a myth is not always 'too [subtle] for the human eye to detect it'. In this paper I will begin by discussing the manner in which an analysis of myth should be approached and carried out. I will then examine the structuralist theory of myth as conceived by Claude Lèvi-Strauss, justifying my support of it and finally analysing the myth of Arachne and Minerva imitating Lèvi-Strauss' mode of analysis.

[1] T. Hughes (tr.), *Tales from Ovid* (London 1997) 177. Hughes' 1997 translation of twenty-four tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is an excellent translation not only in linguistic but also in emotional terms. I will use Hughes' translation in any cases where I feel it necessary to quote the myth of Arachne and Minerva, both because of the high standard of his translation and because I find his writing as beautiful as it is powerful.

Teasing Out the Wool: Analytical Methodology[2]

In his 1969 lecture on 'Theories of Myth', Percy Cohen introduced his subject by commenting that 'some of the different theories of myth might be seen not as competing but as complementary'.[3] I agree with this statement to the extent that I believe that no one theory of myth can account for the entire body of mythology that exists. Nevertheless, I do not subscribe to the idea that the answer to the mythologist's problem of interpretation lies in a mishmash of the five main theories into one. The result of this would most likely be what Kirk refers to as 'a theory so simple as hardly to deserve the name' or one 'so complicated, and containing so many qualifications and alternatives, as not to be a single theory at all'.[4] The semiotic approach appears to me to fit into the former category, as its gist seems to be simply to confirm that myths do indeed have a deeper meaning than that of story-telling—as if this were somehow news to those who had spent decades developing theories based on that very idea.

Kirk continues to declare that 'analysis of a myth should not stop when one particular theoretical explanation has been applied and found productive',[5] because myths contain a number of different meanings which may not all be uncovered by a single analysis. This is a legitimate statement and one that the scholar of myth should no doubt keep in mind. However, in some cases, a specific theory may draw out a convincing meaning that may conflict with the less convincing, but still feasible meaning exposed by another theory, or at least the two meanings may sit uncomfortably beside each other. Cohen argues for multifunctionalism by describing myths as performing 'several linked functions' and containing 'levels of meaning which achieve an intuitively experienced correspondence'.[6] It seems, therefore, that analysis of a myth should cease when the meanings revealed become unrelated—when they lose their 'intuitively experienced correspondence'. In my structuralist analysis of the myth of Arachne and Minerva, I will briefly examine other theories that allow for 'linked' mythical functions.

Conceding to the proponents of multifunctionalism, however, does not solve the problem of where the mythologist should begin. Beginning my analysis convinced that, for instance, the theory of myth-as-explanation is the best applicable, I might read the Arachne myth as an *aetion*. This rather simplistic theory does not allow for the existence of very many 'linked functions' and, if I am convinced by my analysis, I might discard the other four theories before I have begun. If I follow Kirk's advice and follow through my set of five analyses for the sake of completeness, I will no doubt discard my results because they are not linked to my original interpretation. What I am attempting to demonstrate is not my own stubborn narrow-mindedness

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[2] The title of this section and all following sections are paraphrases from Hughes [1] 174.

[3] P. Cohen, 'Theories of Myth', *Man* 4 (1969) 338.

[4] G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Hammondsworth 1974) 38.

[5] Kirk [4] 39.

[6] Cohen [3] 351.

concerning analysis, but the unavoidable influence of the mythologist's starting point. The theory I select as the most convincing will dictate what sort of links I am searching for and if I do not find them, I will attribute their lack to the failure of other theories, not to the invalidity of mine. A successful analysis, therefore, depends on comprehensive research and an informed decision regarding the most credible theory of myth.

Conjuring Images into Their Places: Structuralist Theory

Lèvi-Strauss' presentation of structuralism is notoriously verbose and, ironically, vague, a disappointing state of affairs for the prospective disciple of his theory. As Cohen points out, Cassirer's theory of mythopoeic thought touched on structuralism with its view that myth relates to 'the processes of the mind as projected onto the world'.[7] The assumption on which Lèvi-Strauss' theory was based was that 'all cultural forms express basic structural characteristics of the mind',[8] an assumption that strikes me as being both insightful and fairly likely. Owing to the fact that the human mind confronts a number of seeming contradictions in daily life, Lèvi-Strauss saw the main function of myth as setting up these contradictions or oppositions for the purposes of mediating them.[9] In that way, myth reflects the structure of the human mind in its confrontation of oppositions and resolves the conflict by mediating between contradictions with what Cohen rather skeptically terms an 'intellectual trick'.[10] Myth thereby dispenses with the need for much mental anguish, making the daily contradictions of life 'bearable, not so much by embodying wish-fulfilment fantasies or releasing inhibitions as by setting up pseudo-logical models by which the contradictions are resolved, or . . . palliated'.[11]

The purpose of structural analysis, then, is to reveal the 'coherent apparatus of oppositions' that underlies, according to Lèvi-Strauss, every myth. This fundamental structure does not depend on narrative sequence for its purposes,[12] and Lèvi-Strauss' method of practising his analysis exhibits this feature of it. The theorist only ever demonstrated structural analysis on Greek myth once, in a rather dubious interpretation of the Oedipus myth that he excused as being a trivial demonstration rather than an attempt at genuine research.[13] Lèvi-Strauss uses structural linguistics to describe mythic structuralism and begins his analysis by dividing the myth concerned into what he terms 'mythemes'—'phrases . . . that condense [the myth's] essential

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[7] Cohen [3] 340.

[8] Cohen [3] 347.

[9] C. Lèvi-Strauss (trr. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf), *Structural Anthropology* (New York 1963) 224.

[10] Cohen [3] 346.

[11] Kirk [4] 83.

[12] J-P. Vernant (tr. J. Lloyd), *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (Sussex 1980) 227f.

[13] Lèvi-Strauss [9] 213.

episodes into a simple relationship'.[14] According to what we have already established, these mythemes must necessarily present a contradiction, or a set of contradictions, which is resolved either, as in the case of Oedipus, by an 'intellectual trick' on the part of the analyst or, as I will show in my analysis, by an event (most often supernatural) that allows for a neat mediation between the oppositions.

Why should this theory be any more convincing than the other four main theories of myth: myth-as-nature-allegory, myth-as-explanation, the charter theory, and psychological theories of myth? Why should the mythologist choose to begin his/her analysis with structuralism rather than with, as in my example above, the myth-as-explanation theory? For remember that we are seeking only to select a starting-point for analysis, not a universal theory that alone explains a myth in full. I would suggest that the choice of structuralism as the best applicable theory depends on the myth undergoing the scholar's scrutiny; but would add that, in my opinion, structuralism is one of the most widely relevant theories. Myth-as-nature-allegory clearly has limited application and struggles to account for the more complex myths such as the Oedipus myth. Myth-as-explanation can be split into the theory of primitive speculation and the myth-and-ritual theory. The first has been recognised as ignoring important aspects of myth such as its symbolic content,[15] and the second explains a limited number of myths—there is not, as Cohen points out, a ritual for every myth.[16] The charter theory is perhaps more plausible, but its chief proponent, Malinowski, believed that 'myths have nothing to do with philosophy' [17] and this limits the theory to the practical, leaving no room for the symbolic and speculative. The psychological theories of myth at least provide an area in which to read the symbolic content of myth and if Lèvi-Strauss had not stepped in with his four volumes of structuralism, Freud and/or Jung would have held the stage with the maximum degree of credibility. Cohen, however, points out that psychoanalytic theory accounts for only some myths; and furthermore, that this theory may be incorporated into other, more convincing theories.[18]

Structuralism in its pure form is difficult to apply and nebulous in design; the use of the fundamental ideas of structuralism, however, is largely successful and logical. My reasons for choosing it as the most convincing theory of myth are firstly that the remaining four theories are not as widely applicable; and secondly that its broad appeal allows for the existence of 'several linked functions' as they are discovered by analysis in terms of other theories. This allowance for the maximum number and variety of links is important considering that I am looking only for a place to *start* my analysis—it serves as a safety device, so to speak, in case of too specific interpretation. This danger would be present were I to begin with, for instance, the myth-as-nature-allegory theory, which does not permit a number of functions. Finally,

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[14] Vernant [10] 228.

[15] Cohen [3] 339.

[16] Cohen [3] 344.

[17] Kirk [4] 61.

[18] Cohen [3] 343.

I have selected a structuralist approach because I have found that the Arachne myth lends itself to such analysis.

Spinning the Yarn: A Structural Analysis of Arachne and Minerva

I have chosen, in my analysis of the myth of Arachne and Minerva, to imitate Lèvi-Strauss' analysis of the Oedipus myth in spite of a number of factors that would indicate this to be a ridiculous idea. As I have already mentioned, this single analysis is little more than an 'intellectual trick', a tenuously logical collection of tables and wild statements. Furthermore, Lèvi-Strauss himself felt it necessary to apologise for the analysis. Contemporary mythologists have found great success in applying the skeleton of the theory rather than its apparently complex and ambiguous body. I feel, however, that it is a pity that Lèvi-Strauss should have unjustly undermined his own theory in his one and only demonstration of its application to Greek myth. For I believe the disregarding of his original plan of analysis to be unjust, although understandable. I hope that my use of Lèvi-Strauss' table of mythemes in a simpler manner will justify my belief in its partial, if not complete success in the analysis of myth. I will show, by means of a structural analysis, that the myth of Arachne sets up a series of oppositions that it resolves in the moment of Arachne's metamorphosis. Where I feel Lèvi-Strauss has become unnecessarily complex in his mode of analysis, I will discard the methodological elements concerned, thereby using those aspects of his example that seem to me to be the most successful.

In keeping with Lèvi-Strauss' analysis of the Oedipus myth, it is necessary at first to identify the mythemes of the myth of Arachne and Minerva. In my interpretation, there are eight, which are as follows:

1. Arachne challenges Minerva.
2. Minerva warns Arachne to be modest.
3. Arachne ignores Minerva's warning.
4. Minerva and Arachne compete.
5. Arachne wins.
6. Minerva punishes Arachne and destroys her tapestry.
7. Arachne hangs herself.
8. Minerva transforms Arachne into a spider.

The following step is to place these mythemes on a table in such a way as to demonstrate the underlying relationships between them.

Elevation of Arachne Over Minerva	*Self-Denial of Minerva*	*Self-Affirmation of Minerva*	*Self-Abasement of Arachne*
1. Arachne challenges Minerva.			

Elevation of Arachne Over Minerva	*Self-Denial of Minerva*	*Self-Affirmation of Minerva*	*Self-Abasement of Arachne*
	2. Minerva warns Arachne to be modest.		
3. Arachne ignores Minerva's warning.			
		4. Minerva and Arachne compete.	
5. Arachne wins.			
	6. Minerva punishes Arachne and destroys her tapestry.		
			7. Arachne hangs herself.

I have omitted the final mytheme from this table, as this is the event, referred to earlier in this paper, which ultimately mediates between the oppositions arising from the seven mythemes above. In the case of Lèvi-Strauss' analysis, all his mythemes were included in the table, which necessitated the 'intellectual trick' that completed his analysis. In this case, I have found it productive to isolate the one mytheme that fits into none, or all, of the columns above.

The relationships between the columns of mythemes are not immediately clear and depend on what I will term the 'sub-significance' of the actions of Minerva and Arachne. The first column is a collection of events in which Arachne either asserts her skill at weaving over that of Minerva, or, as in the fifth mytheme, actively demonstrates this talent. By challenging Minerva, Arachne implies her belief that she is better at weaving than Minerva—no one ever issues a challenge unless they think they are going to win. By ignoring Minerva's warning, she further affirms this belief; and finally, winning the competition, she offers proof of her superior skill. I will call the 'common feature'[19] of these mythemes the *elevation* of Arachne over Minerva, whether an alleged (1, 3) or actual (5) elevation.

In order to understand the common feature of the mythemes in the second column, we must understand the vital connection between Minerva and her position as goddess of weaving. For my purposes, which I believe to be legitimate ones, I will turn to the myth-as-nature-allegory theory and erase the 'nature' from that description. Minerva can, in my opinion, be viewed as the personification of weaving. The art of weaving is synonymous with Minerva's very character, her person, her ego (in the sense closest to the Latin meaning). The sub-significance of her actions in the second

[19] Lèvi-Strauss [9] 215.

column of mythemes is thus a *self-denial*. Her warning to Arachne arises from a desire to be given credit for the woman's skill:

> 'Listen to my warning. Give to mortals
> The tapestries that make you
> Famous and foremost among mortal weavers,
> But give to the goddess
> Your gratitude for the gift . . .'[20]

If Arachne gave the goddess her credit, it would be an act of affirmation for Minerva. However, by warning Arachne and threatening the elevation of Arachne's skill at weaving, Minerva is exercising self-denial. This self-denial springs not so much from her demand for credit as from her threatening of Arachne's elevation, which should, in the understanding of Minerva as the personification of weaving, likewise be an elevation of the goddess. The second mytheme in this column, Minerva's punishment of Arachne and the destruction of her tapestry, is another act of self-denial. Arachne is a symbol, quite a blatant one, of skill at weaving—human skill, but nonetheless skill. Minerva *is* skill at weaving. Thus Minerva's punishment of Arachne and more obviously her destruction of the woman's tapestry are acts of self-denial.

There is only one mytheme in the third column, but it is a vital one. When Minerva and Arachne compete, Minerva performs the act of weaving. This is an act of total *self-affirmation*. The goddess is the act of weaving. She performs the act of weaving. In this way she not only affirms herself, but also engages in a type of self-perpetuation.

The 'common feature' of the fourth column can no doubt be guessed at this stage. Arachne, in despair, hangs herself:

> She refused to live
> With the injustice. Making a noose
> And fitting it round her neck
> She jumped into the air, jerked at the rope's end,
> And dangled, and spun.[21]

In contrast with Arachne's former arrogance as indicated by her elevation, this is an act of *abasement*, and abasement as total as Minerva's self-affirmation.

We are confronted, therefore, by two pairs of contradictions, namely Arachne's elevation versus her abasement; and Minerva's self-denial versus her self-affirmation. At this point in Lèvi-Strauss' analysis, he proposes that 'the inability to connect two kinds of relationships is overcome . . . by the assertion that contradictory relationships are identical inasmuch as they are both self-contradictory in a similar way'.[22] The logic behind and the sense of this statement escape me entirely. I see no need to

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[20] Tr. Hughes [1] 175.

[21] Tr. Hughes [1] 181.

[22] Lèvi-Strauss [9] 216.

'overcome' any such problem in my analysis before moving onto the next step, which is to elucidate one of the meanings of this myth. If this constitutes sacrilege in terms of Lèvi-Strauss' original theory, I will excuse myself by citing the obscurity of this theory as presented by its creator.

What, then, is the meaning of this myth that is revealed by a structuralist analysis? The sum of the contradictions above is this: as goddess of weaving, Minerva should desire the elevation of Arachne's skill, that is to say, her own self-affirmation. Instead, she drives Arachne to abasement—her own self-denial. This myth addresses a conflict experienced by humanity throughout history: if the gods have endowed us with gifts of such magnitude that we be able to touch heaven, why should it be wrong to reach for divinity? Arachne's skill, given to her by the goddess of weaving, enables her to match the skill of a deity; and yet the same divine teacher who is responsible for her talent brings her down as soon as she exercises that skill to its utmost.

This brings us finally to the mediation that this myth provides for its contradictions—the resolution. The eighth mytheme, in which Minerva transforms Arachne into a spider, certainly neither '[embodies] wish-fulfilment fantasies or [releases] inhibitions', but sets up a 'pseudo-logical' model.[23] It is logical in the resolution it suggests and pseudo-logical in that the resolution is not a real one—until we are all metamorphosed into beings of less intelligence and ability, the conflict expressed in this myth will remain just that. Ovid's account, however, offers a solution in symbolic form. Minerva does not let Arachne die; rather, the goddess turns Arachne into a creature that is substantially inferior to a human being but one that weaves with great skill in its own natural microcosm. By rescuing Arachne, Minerva exercises self-affirmation—she does not let such a representative of herself die. Simultaneously, she exercises self-denial by lessening Arachne's talent. Arachne is elevated in not being allowed to die and simultaneously abased in her metamorphosis into a spider. In short, the meaning of the myth is that the gods give humans gifts to be used, but only on a level below them. It is what Pierre Grimal refers to as 'a basic concept in Greek thought: people who rise above their condition expose themselves to reprisals from the gods since they risk overthrowing the order of the world and must be punished'.[24]

In my analysis of the myth of Arachne and Minerva, I have deviated at times from Lèvi-Strauss' methods, but only insofar as I have omitted those methodological complexities that I felt would not help my analysis. I believe I have remained true to the essence of the theory and performed a successful analysis. This is most likely because the myth I selected lent itself to structuralism and was decidedly less complex than that of Oedipus. In turn, the structuralist analysis lends itself to multi-functionalism. Performing a very shallow charter theory analysis (much like Lèvi-Strauss' structuralist analysis, a 'street peddler's' demonstration[25]), I might reach similar conclusions regarding meaning. Arachne represents the (unacceptable) human

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[23] Kirk [4] 83.

[24] P. Grimal, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (London 1991) 289.

[25] Lèvi-Strauss [9] 213.

desire for a form of omnipotence, which is impossible in terms of social norms. The myth teaches the same 'basic concept in Greek thought'.

Conclusion

I have in this paper argued the manner in which I believe mythological analysis ought to be approached. These ideas prompted me to select Claude Lèvi-Strauss' structuralism as the best method with which to analyse the myth of Arachne and Minerva. I find Lèvi-Strauss' theory to be one that is convincing both in its premises and in its practice, although its practical success may depend on the myth in question. Furthermore, this theory allows for multifunctionalism where the more rigid theories do not, and in terms of contemporary mythological thought multifunctionalism is an important aspect of thorough analysis. I would therefore suggest that structuralism is the best theory with which to begin unravelling the threads of a myth; although I believe that sometimes it is equally satisfying simply to enjoy the tapestry as it stands whole.

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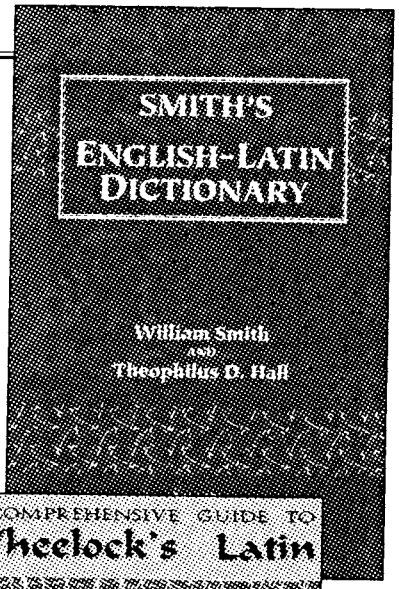

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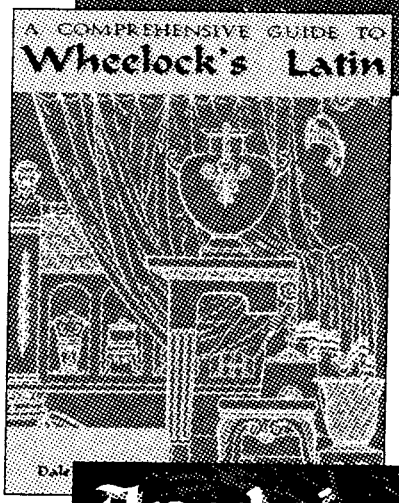

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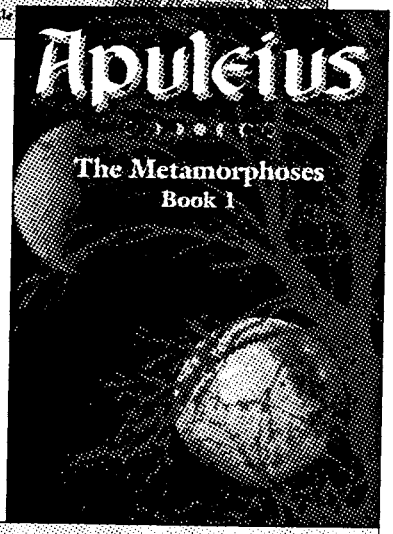

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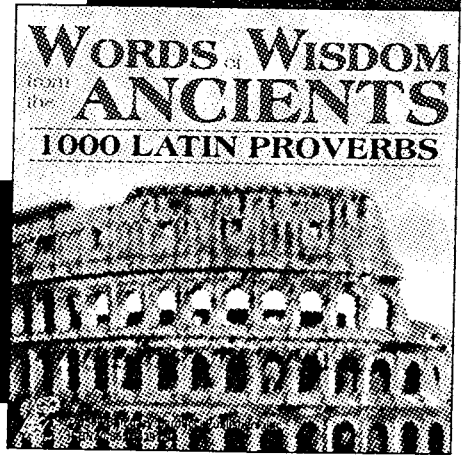

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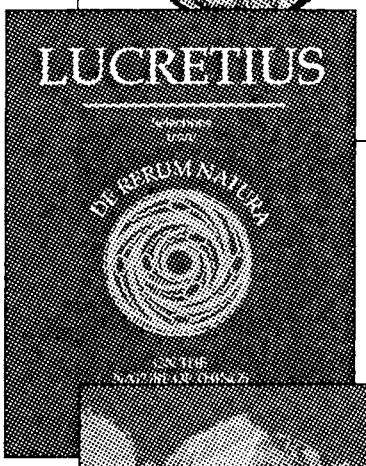

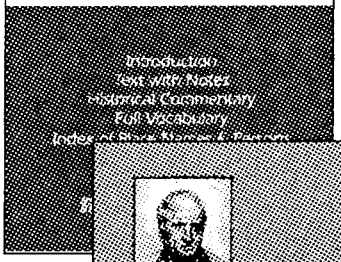

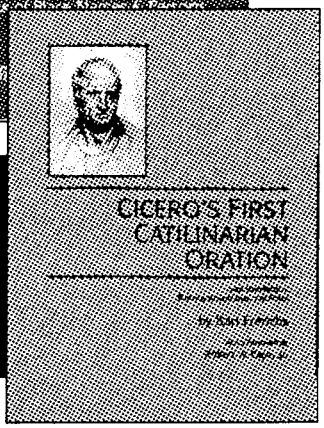

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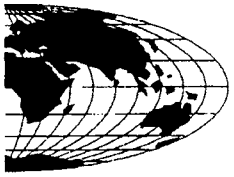

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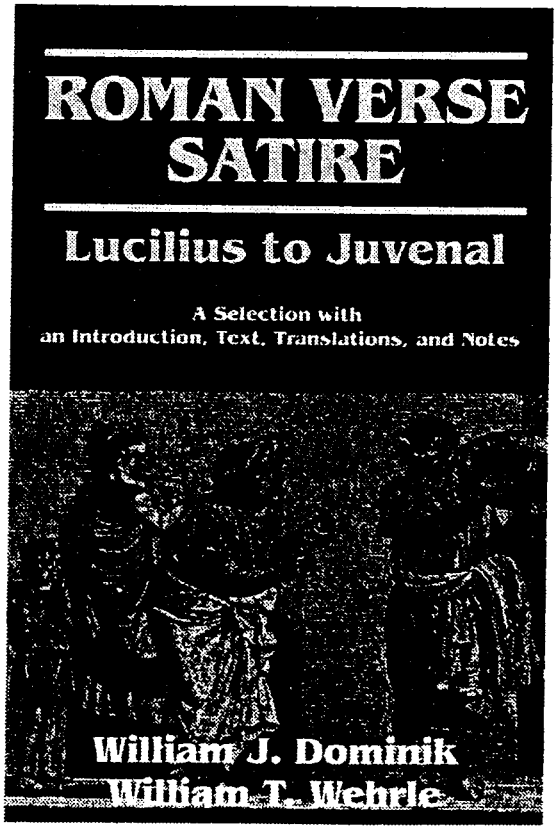

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