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The Editor  
Illinois Classical Studies  
Department of the Classics  
4072 Foreign Languages Building  
707 South Mathews Avenue  
Urbana, Illinois 61801



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## The Survival of the Bronze-Age Demon

DAVID SANSONE

There exist numerous representations on Minoan and Mycenaean objects of creatures that have generally come to be known as "demons" or "genii." The material has been conveniently collected and surveyed in an article entitled "The Minoan 'Genius'" by M. A. V. Gill.<sup>1</sup> In what follows, the objects will be referred to according to the numeration of Gill's catalogue, which contains 59 items and which can now be supplemented as follows:

60. Seal impression of a fragmentary haematite cylinder from Enkomi, Cyprus. A demon holds a libation vessel in a religious context.<sup>2</sup>
61. Cypriot haematite cylinder in a private collection. Two demons holding libation vessels face each other in a religious context.<sup>3</sup>
62. Steatite lentoid from Medeon, Phocis. Two demons face each other; between them are three dots and stylized vegetation (?).<sup>4</sup>
63. Agate amygdaloid from Nichoria, Messenia. A demon holding a libation vessel stands facing a low column or altar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. A. V. Gill, "The Minoan 'Genius'," *AthMitt* 79 (1964) 1-21, with a catalogue (15-21) containing 54 items, extended to 59 items in Gill, "Apropos the Minoan 'Genius'," *AJA* 74 (1970) 404-06. See also G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton 1966) 166-68; S. Marinatos, "ΠΟΛΥΔΙΨΙΟΝ ΑΡΓΟΣ" in L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick (eds.), *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Cambridge 1966) 265-74; F. T. van Straten, "The Minoan 'Genius' in Mycenaean Greece," *BABesch* 44 (1969) 110-21; J. H. Crowel, "The Minoan Genius in Mycenaean Greece: a review," *Talanta* 2 (1970) 23-31 (with a reply by van Straten, pp. 33-35); R. Hampe and E. Simon, *The Birth of Greek Art* (New York 1981) 191-95; C. Baurain, "Pour une autre interprétation des génies minoens," *BCH Suppl.* 11 (1985) 95-118. The reader should be alerted to the following abbreviations, which will be used below:

AGDS = *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Schmuckungen* (Munich 1968-75)

CMS = *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* (Berlin 1964-)

I should like to thank my colleague James Dengage for his generous assistance and encouragement.

<sup>2</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus* (Nicosia 1968) 42, Pl. 38. 4; Crowel (*supra* n. 1) 24, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York 1970) 106, Pl. 206.

<sup>4</sup> CMS V.2 no. 367.

<sup>5</sup> CMS V.2 no. 440.

64. Steatite cylinder from Palaikastro, Crete. A demon stands facing two females (wearing animal masks?) and two aniconic goddesses.<sup>6</sup>
65. Glass paste plaque from Mycenae. No further details are available.<sup>7</sup>
66. Stone rhyton in the form of a conch from Malia. Part of the decoration consists of two demons facing each other; one holds a libation vessel.<sup>8</sup>
67. Haematite lentoid from Cyprus. A demon with a dog on either side runs.<sup>9</sup>

While the vast majority of these representations are engraved, we also find these creatures occasionally on ivory reliefs, on the handles of bronze urns and, once or twice, in fragments of fresco paintings. It is difficult, if not impossible, to assign precise dates to many of the objects; still, it is clear that the demons continued to be represented over a fairly long period, from the time of the First Palace at Phaestos<sup>10</sup> to the very end of the Bronze Age.<sup>11</sup> On these objects the demons appear singly, in pairs antithetically disposed or, rarely, in larger groups. They are depicted as engaged in a variety of activities of apparently ritual character. Most often they are holding ewers, but they are also shown leading, carrying or, in one instance, slaying large animals. In appearance these demons are quite striking: they are quadrupeds standing upright on their hind legs and their most conspicuous feature is a "dorsal appendage" that reaches from the top of the head to about the middle of the calf or to the ankle.

So much can be said without fear of provoking controversy and disagreement. Beyond this there is little consensus among experts regarding the nature of these demons, their sex, their origin, the significance of the dorsal appendage or even the species of animal that they are intended to resemble. Concerning the nature of these creatures the most sensible remarks are those of Martin Nilsson, which it is worth while to quote here:

The daemons . . . are intimately associated with the cult. They appear as ministrants of the cult and . . . as guardians and attributes of a deity, or rather as his servants and subjects over whom he exerts his power. But a daemon appears also as the central figure exerting his power over lions and in another case with a man on each side of him. That he occupies the place usually set apart for the deity, or his symbol or shrine, can hardly be explained except on the assumption that he is of the same divine, or at least

<sup>6</sup> V. E. G. Kenna, *AJA* 72 (1968) 331-32, Pl. 108, fig. 22; Crowel (*supra* n. 1) 24, no. 5 (with Addenda, p. 31).

<sup>7</sup> G. E. Mylonas, *Praktika* (1963) 101; cf. van Straten (*supra* n. 1] 111, n. 10), who adds two further possible examples. But these are so fragmentary that it is not even certain that it is the demon that is represented.

<sup>8</sup> C. Baurain and P. Darque, "Un triton en pierre à Malia," *BCH* 107 (1983) 3-58.

<sup>9</sup> *CMS* VII no. 126.

<sup>10</sup> No. 8 (= *CMS* II.5 no. 322); cf. D. Levi, *ASAtene* 35-36 (1957-58) 124-25.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 17 and 18; cf. H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964) 156-61 (who strangely refers to "winged Genii"); Karageorghis (*supra* n. 2) 29-30. Crowel (*supra* n. 1] 29-30) however would assign these to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

semi-divine, nature. The nature of these demons is consequently in a certain respect ambiguous, but seems easily intelligible. They are not gods themselves, but the stuff of which gods are made, daemons or beings of popular belief.<sup>12</sup>

Nilsson's use of masculine pronouns to refer to the demons is indicative of his belief that they are of indifferent gender.<sup>13</sup> In this regard Nilsson is at odds with the majority of scholars, who consider the demons to be definitely female. The reason for this is that, in most instances, scholars' views of the sex of the demons have been linked with the consideration of the demons' origin. As early as 1890 it was suggested that the Minoan artists modeled these creatures on representations of the Egyptian goddess Ta-wrt, familiar in Crete from Egyptian imports.<sup>14</sup> General (but not universal<sup>15</sup>) acceptance of this explanation for the origin of the demons has tended to influence the view that they are female. It will be best, however, to separate the issues of sex and origin in the discussion below.

If we regard, for the time being, the derivation from Ta-wrt as irrelevant to the question of gender, we find that there is very little in the iconography of the demons that helps us determine whether the artists regarded these creatures as male or female. That they hunt in the wild is not decisive, for females as well as males are so depicted in Minoan art.<sup>16</sup> Their dress may suggest that they are male since (disregarding the mysterious dorsal appendage) they are naked apart from the belt that adorns the slender waist of some of the demons. But the same belt is found worn by women<sup>17</sup> and, as far as the nakedness (which is uncharacteristic of the representation of Minoan women) is concerned, we are here dealing with creatures that are near, or indeed on the other side of, the borderline between the human and the animal. As is the case with Minoan griffins and sphinxes, even though they are female they need not be clothed. That the demons are in fact female is strongly suggested by the fact that, on the fresco fragment from Mycenae,

<sup>12</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*<sup>2</sup> (Lund 1950) 381; cf. C. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques* (Paris 1948) 89–92.

<sup>13</sup> "The Nature daemons . . . are both male and female, their sex being a matter of slight importance" (Nilsson [previous note] 383).

<sup>14</sup> F. Winter, *ArchAnz* (1890) 108, followed by A. Evans, *JHS* 21 (1901) 169 and *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (London 1921–36) IV 431–41; S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae* (New York 1960) 176; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *AGDS* II 31–32; Boardman (*supra* n. 3) 53; Hampe and Simon (*supra* n. 1) 191.

<sup>15</sup> Rejected already by A. Milchhoefer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* (Leipzig 1883) 56 note. See also C. Tsountas, *ArchEph* (1891) 35–37; A. B. Cook, *JHS* 14 (1894) 82; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* III (Leipzig 1900) 41; R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1914) 382; D. Levi, *ASAtene* 8–9 (1925–26) 192; E. Herkenrath, *AJA* 41 (1937) 421–22; D. Isaac, *RHR* 118 (1938) 67–68; R. Dussaud, *Iraq* 6 (1939) 61.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the comelian lentoid from Crete, *AGDS* II no. 20; Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 366.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. the sardonix lentoid from Elis, *AGDS* II no. 21; the gold ring from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 219; the sardonix amygdaloid from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 226.

they are painted white.<sup>18</sup> Still, it must be admitted that the same argument that allowed for the possibility of naked females may be permitted to allow for the possibility of white males. But there is, in the end, no positive evidence that requires, or even encourages, us to regard the demons as male. Thus, while we cannot claim that the case is proved, it seems that, even disregarding the possible derivation of these demons from the goddess Ta-wrt, on balance the evidence inclines us toward the view that they are indeed female.

But it is impossible to disregard the connection between the Minoan demons and the Egyptian goddess, as it has been emphasized by the majority of scholars who have concerned themselves with the question of the nature of the demons. Indeed Margaret Gill, in the most comprehensive discussion of the question, has shown that it is unreasonable to deny the connection. But we are not compelled to agree with her when she says, "Once derivation from Ta-wrt is accepted the physical characteristics of the 'genius' are no longer a problem."<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, acceptance of the derivation from Ta-wrt generates more problems (and not about the physical characteristics of the demons alone) than it resolves. For, while there are arresting similarities between the appearance of the hippopotamus-headed goddess and that of the mysterious demons, there are also numerous and significant differences, and these differences must be accounted for. Now, some of the differences can be readily explained. For example, the elimination of hippopotamus-features is explicable on the grounds of the absence of that animal from the territory and consciousness of Minoan and Mycenaean Greece, and the reduction of the potbelly is understandable in terms of the conventions of Minoan artistic representation. But how can we account for the fact that, while Ta-wrt is a single deity with an identity of her own, the demons are multiplied like the satyrs or nymphs of later Greek art? And, more importantly, how can we account for the iconography of the demons, who are regularly represented as engaged in activities that have no associations with the Egyptian goddess? Even from its earliest appearance in Crete the demon leads a life of its own. The sealing from Phaestos, for example, already depicts the demon with the characteristic ewer and vegetation and, perhaps, also the heap of stones that is found elsewhere in Minoan art.<sup>20</sup> We would have to make the assumption (which, I think,

<sup>18</sup> No. 25. (For color illustrations see *ArchEph* [1887] Pl. 10. 1; Marinatos and Himer [*supra* n. 14] Pl. 43; Hampe and Simon [*supra* n. 1] Pl. 33.) Likewise on the fresco fragment from Pylos (no. 55), if indeed it is a demon that is represented.

<sup>19</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1) 4.

<sup>20</sup> No. 8. For the ewer, see nos. 2-9, 13, 18, 20-23, 26, 46, 47, 52, 58-61, 63, 66; for the vegetation, nos. 10, 11, 14, 19, 23, 26, 47, 54, 59. On one of the Zakro sealings (no. 27) a demon spears a bull over a heap of stones. On a glass plaque from Mycenae (no. 20) two demons hold ewers over a heap of stones. More commonly, demons are depicted holding ewers over an object described as an altar or a pillar (nos. 13, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 56, 58, 63). There may be no practical difference between these latter objects and the heap of stones, as there is



cannot easily be paralleled) that Minoan artists adopted a distinctive Egyptian deity, multiplied her, modified some details of her appearance and associated her with the conventions of Minoan cult. Artists, particularly those whose medium is the "minor arts," simply do not have the authority to make the kinds of innovations that we are here asked to assume. It is much more likely that these demons correspond to something already existing in Minoan cult and belief. If, as seems likely to be the case, Tawrt has exercised some influence, it is not a matter of the demons owing their existence to artists' acquaintance with representations of the Egyptian deity. Rather she has contributed some details to the iconography of a native divinity.<sup>21</sup>

If this is the case, we cannot simply dismiss the details of iconography as arising from misunderstandings on the part of artists.<sup>22</sup> The artists were not copying, at several removes, a foreign original which they were unable to comprehend. Rather they were attempting to depict a being that had an objective reality in the context of the local cult. When the Cretans spoke of these creatures, even worshipped them, they referred to them with a specific name (not the vague "demons" or "*genii*" which we are forced to use), applied to them pronouns and epithets that were either masculine or feminine in gender, used vocabulary that was appropriate to creatures of leonine or asinine (or some other) character, and surely did not employ the Minoan equivalent of the expression "dorsal appendage" in reference to the demons' most distinctive feature. Our task, then, is to attempt to determine, in the first place, the kind of animal that the Minoan artists were attempting to represent and, in the second, the nature of the material of which the "dorsal appendage" was thought to be composed.

It has been variously suggested that the demons' appearance is that of a horse, an ass or a lion. And indeed some of the representations are strikingly equine, asinine or leonine. But the features that make one identification attractive would seem to rule out the others. The clear representations of paws, for example, on the demons of the famous gold ring from Tiryns<sup>23</sup> render impossible the supposition that we are dealing with a hooved creature, while the long, pointed ears in the fresco from

later no practical difference between a herm and a heap of stones; cf. W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 39–43; van Straten (*supra* n. 1) 114; Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 256; Evans, *Palace of Minos* (*supra* n. 14) IV 455. Thus the activities of the demons have several points of contact with the ritual (described in detail at Plut. *Arist.* 21) in honor of those who died at Plataea, with its branches of myrtle, sacrifice of a bull and washing of stelae with water from a ewer.

<sup>21</sup> Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 381; Baurain (*supra* n. 1) 98–102.

<sup>22</sup> So Gill (*supra* n. 1) 4.

<sup>23</sup> No. 26 (= *CMS* I no. 179).

Mycenae are obviously not those of lions.<sup>24</sup> Either, therefore, we are dealing with a creature that is sometimes represented with the attributes of one species and sometimes with those of another, or we need to find some other species which possesses all the various attributes with which the demons are endowed. But first a word must be said about the significance of these attributes. Minoan and Mycenaean artists (or, at least, some Minoan and Mycenaean artists) were quite capable of representing convincingly a hoof or a lion's head. The lentoid from the tholos tomb at Vaphio, for example, which depicts a two-horse chariot,<sup>25</sup> illustrates well the care that the Mycenaean engraver takes in portraying a horse's hoof. And the lions on the famous inlaid dagger blade from Grave Circle A in Mycenae are gloriously and realistically leonine. But it is unnecessary to deal in generalities when we can compare directly two representations by the same artist in the same work. Several seals show the demon carrying, leading or subduing a stag or a bull, and in every instance the artist has been careful to distinguish the paws of the demon from the hooves of its victim.<sup>26</sup> In similar fashion we can compare lions and demons on the same engraving. A cornelian lentoid in Berlin has a demon carrying a pole with the body of a lion suspended from each end.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, while the demon is represented in profile, the lions are shown from above, so that the comparison is not exact. Still, comparison is instructive: the paws are similar (though not identical) but, of even greater interest, while the lions have the lunate ears that are characteristic not only of lions but, more importantly, of Minoan and Mycenaean representations of lions, the demon has the long, pointed ears that these demons often display.<sup>28</sup> Not only are

<sup>24</sup> No. 25 (see n. 18). Also against the identification of the demons with lions is the fact that there is never a trace on the visible part of the demons' neck of a lion's mane. For, to the Minoan artists the mane was such a distinctively leonine feature that they regularly furnished even lionesses with it: e.g. conglomerate lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 106; cornelian lentoid in Boston, *CMS* XIII no. 26; cornelian lentoid in Oxford, V. E. G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford 1960) no. 314; two cornelian amygdaloids in Munich, *AGDS* I nos. 41 and 42; marble lentoid in Munich, *AGDS* I no. 43; agate lentoid in London, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems . . . in the British Museum* (London 1926) no. 48. Compare Anacreon's antlered doe (fr. 408 Page); H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Oxford 1975) 295.

<sup>25</sup> *CMS* I no. 229; color illustration in Hampe and Simon (*supra* n. 1) Pl. 264. It is instructive to compare also the heads of these horses with those of the demons. It will be seen that there is no resemblance. In any case, the demons cannot be modeled on horses, as these demons appear earlier in Minoan art than does the horse; cf. Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 19.

<sup>26</sup> Nos 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 54. For no. 54, see now S. Symeonoglou, *Kadmeia* I (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 35 [Göteborg 1973]) 48-52, Pls. 70-73.

<sup>27</sup> No. 41 (= *AGDS* II no. 28).

<sup>28</sup> Furtwängler (*supra* n. 15] III 39) recognizes that the demons regularly do not have lions' ears, but he is clearly mistaken in regarding the ears as belonging with the dorsal appendage. The fresco from Mycenae as well as other representations make it clear that the appendage is entirely separate from the ears.

Minoan and Mycenaean artists generally capable of depicting a convincing lion's ear,<sup>29</sup> but this particular artist is capable of so doing. Yet he has chosen not to. He does not conceive of his demon in leonine terms.<sup>30</sup> Rather it is an animal with paws and with long, pointed ears. Nor is this artist alone; the paws and long ears are plainly visible in a number of other representations of the demon, including the gold ring from Tiryns.

An animal which has paws and which can have long, pointed ears is the dog.<sup>31</sup> But of greater relevance than the actual appearance of dogs is, of course, the practice of Bronze-Age artists when dealing with canine representation. To be sure, there is great variety in the depiction of dogs in Minoan and Mycenaean art. Nor is this surprising considering the diversity of breeds. Indeed, this diversity may account for the variation in the appearance of the demons. But the long, pointed ears are very much in evidence, sometimes pricked up, sometimes laid back along the head.<sup>32</sup> And the faces, some short and square, others long and pointed, bear close resemblances to the faces of many of the demons.<sup>33</sup> These resemblances,

<sup>29</sup> E.g. the gold rhyton in Athens, from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae; rock crystal lentoid from Knossos, Kenna (*supra* n. 24) no. 315; jasper lentoid from Athens, Kenna, no. 318; agate lentoid from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 243; onyx lentoid from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 248; jasper prism bead in the British Museum, *CMS* VII no. 115c; comelian lentoid in the British Museum, *CMS* VII no. 118; comelian lentoid from Athens, *AGDS* II no. 34; sardonyx lentoid from Pylos, *CMS* I no. 277. Unfortunately Hanns Gabelmann (*Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild* [Berlin 1965]) does not concern himself with Bronze-Age art.

<sup>30</sup> Similarly the other artists who depict lions and demons side by side: no. 43 (= *CMS* I no. 172); no. 44 (= *CMS* I no. 161); no. 46 (= H.-G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros* [Tübingen 1971] no. 1753); no. 50; no. 61.

<sup>31</sup> It seems not to have been previously suggested that the demons are dogs, although Hampe and Simon correctly observe, "Scholars have generally regarded the head and paws as those of a lion, though the ears are often elongated and more like those of a dog" (*supra* n. 1] 191), and Walter Burkert notes their "dog-like snouts, pointed ears, and paws" (*Greek Religion* [Oxford 1985] 35). In later antiquity demons often have the appearance of dogs: *JHS* 100 (1980) 161, with n. 23.

<sup>32</sup> Onyx lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 81; lapis lazuli lentoid from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 255; seal impression from Vaphio, *CMS* I no. 256; conglomerate lentoid from Pylos, *CMS* I no. 294; sardonyx amygdaloid from Crete, *CMS* I no. 480; comelian lentoid in London, *CMS* VII no. 66; steatite prism bead from Zakro, *CMS* VII no. 216b; steatite prism in Paris, *CMS* IX no. 14c; jasper lentoid in Paris, *CMS* IX no. 195; steatite prism bead in New York, *CMS* XII no. 50a; jasper lentoid from Crete, Kenna (*supra* n. 24) no. 240; seal impression from Knossos, Kenna, no. 40S; ivory half cylinder from Crete, Evans, *Palace of Minos* (*supra* n. 14) I 197, fig. 145; haematite lentoid from Crete, Evans IV 581, fig. 586; seal impression from the "Little Palace" deposit, Evans IV 608, fig. 597A g; frescoes from Pylos, M. L. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor* II (Princeton 1969) Pls. 64 and 116.

<sup>33</sup> Compare the face of the demon on the agate amygdaloid from Vaphio (no. 2) with the dog's-head seal impression from Phaestos, *CMS* II.5 no. 300; the face of the demon on the comelian lentoid from Crete (no. 41) with that of the hound on a comelian amygdaloid in Munich, *AGDS* I no. 37; the face of the demon on the haematite cylinder from Crete (no. 13) with that of the dog on a haematite lentoid from Knossos, Boardman (*supra* n. 3) Pl. 115; the face of the taller of the two demons on the steatite lentoid from Crete (no. 16) with the faces of the dogs on an agate lentoid in Athens, *CMS* I Suppl. no. 109; the faces of the demons on the

along with the pointed ears, paws and variation in the depiction of the face, make it quite likely that the appearance of the demons is intended to be canine. This identification is securely confirmed by two observations. In the first place, on a number of occasions the demon is represented with what appears to be a collar around its neck,<sup>34</sup> and collars are a regular feature of the portrayal of dogs in Minoan and Mycenaean art.<sup>35</sup> In the second place, the rôle that the demon frequently assumes is that of the hunter, and in art (as in life) the dog is the companion of its master on the hunt.

Unfortunately, recognizing the canine character of the demons does not help with the identification of the dorsal appendage, for there is nothing that is commonly associated with dogs—the same is true, of course, of lions, horses and asses—that can plausibly be related to this particular appurtenance. Clearly the demon is, like the sphinx and the hippogriff, a composite creature, having the shape of a dog, the posture of a human<sup>36</sup> and an additional element derived from elsewhere. Various attempts have been made to explain and identify this element<sup>37</sup> but, according to Margaret Gill, who considers the demons to be descended from Ta-wrt, “there is no need to try to explain the dorsal appendage as part of the costume assumed by a human worshipper masquerading as an animal nor attempt to account for it by comparison with a variety of animal forms. . . . That no single explanation based on comparison with natural objects could be found to fit

fresco from Mycenae (no. 25) with the face of the dog on a fresco from Pylos, Lang (previous note) Pl. 116; the face of the demon on the serpentine lentoid from Crete (no. 35 = *AGDS* II no. 29) with the faces of the dogs on an onyx lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 81. (These Mycenaean dogs look somewhat horse-like and may help explain the occasional equine identification of the demons.) Finally, the faces of the demon and the dogs on no. 67 are strikingly similar.

<sup>34</sup> Nos. 3 (= *AGDS* II no. 26), 8 (= *CMS* II. 5 no. 322), 23 (= *CMS* I no. 231), 25 (see n. 18), 58, 61, 63 and 66.

<sup>35</sup> Frescoes from Pylos (Lang [*supra* n. 32] Pl. 116) and Tiryns (G. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II [Athens 1912] Pls. 13 and 14.6). Frequently on seals: *CMS* I nos. 81, 255, 256, 294, 480; V.2 no. 677a; VII nos. 66 and 115; IX no. 135; XIII no. 71; *AGDS* I no. 37; Kenna (*supra* n. 24) nos. 237, 238, 239, 240, 40S; Evans, *Palace of Minos* (*supra* n. 14) II 766, fig. 496.

<sup>36</sup> Another element that is possibly human is the forelock (clearly visible in nos. 2, 25, 26, 49 and 59), which can be compared with, e.g. those of the figures on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus; of “la Parisienne” from Knossos; of the woman on the fresco from the cult center at Mycenae; of the women on the fresco from Tiryns; of the bearded man on the amethyst disc from Mycenae (*CMS* I no. 5). Cf. Crouwel (*supra* n. 1) 24–25.

<sup>37</sup> “On the back of each lion is, apparently, a hide, possibly covered with a net,” A. W. Persson (*The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* [Berkeley 1942] 78, of the demons on the ring from Tiryns, no. 26); “a beetle-like covering. . . . It seems . . . to be taken from the insect world, specifically from butterflies and their larvae,” Hampe and Simon (*supra* n. 1] 191); “der Rücken ist mit einem anscheinend losen, borstigen Fell bekleidet, das in eine Wespentaille endet,” M. P. Nilsson (*Geschichte der griechischen Religion*<sup>3</sup> I [Munich 1967] 296); “the crocodile hide and tail is [*sic*] quite unmistakable,” Catling (*supra* n. 11] 158, of the demons on the bronze urn handles, no. 18). According to Baurain (*supra* n. 1] 103–10) the dorsal appendage is a figure-eight shield.

all examples is not surprising since the Minoan craftsman was copying not from nature but from a picture, and that in a foreign artistic style and possibly in a different medium."<sup>38</sup> But, as indicated above, the demons undoubtedly possessed an independent identity apart from their appearances on works of art, and the artists were attempting to depict—granted in a stylized manner—a feature to which they could most likely apply a name and which they no doubt thought had a purpose. Still, it is not surprising that scholars have either produced wholly unsatisfactory identifications or have despaired altogether of identifying the appendage. For, while its general shape is fairly consistent in the various representations, its decoration varies considerably. Occasionally it is without decoration entirely,<sup>39</sup> but more commonly it is decorated either on its surface or with protrusions on the outer edge, or both. The protrusions sometimes have a spiky appearance,<sup>40</sup> sometimes are spherical in shape,<sup>41</sup> and sometimes appear to be spikes terminating in balls.<sup>42</sup> The surface decoration sometimes consists of striations,<sup>43</sup> sometimes of a combination of stripes and circles,<sup>44</sup> and sometimes of a crosshatching or scaly effect.<sup>45</sup> The protrusions belong to the repertory of contemporary glyptic<sup>46</sup> and are reminiscent of the purely decorative elements with which Minoan and Mycenaean engravers like to adorn, for example, goats' horns and griffins' wings.<sup>47</sup> If they serve any purpose at all, it is a conceptual one rather than a pictorial: they indicate that the dorsal appendage, whatever its actual shape and nature, serves as the demon's mane.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, in some representations the appendage looks shaggy or bristly. But this need not mean that the

<sup>38</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1) 4.

<sup>39</sup> Nos. 13, 20, 31, 40, 41, 50, 52, 53, 58.

<sup>40</sup> Nos. 2, 5, 6, 11 (?), 16, 19, 20, 33, 34, 35, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 51, 60, 61, 63.

<sup>41</sup> Nos. 3, 8, 14, 21, 22, 23, 27, 46.

<sup>42</sup> Nos. 26, 29, 30, 32. For the aberrant and problematic no. 38, see Gill (*supra* n. 1) 3.

<sup>43</sup> Nos. 2, 8 (?), 11, 12 (?), 14, 15, 16, 18, 25, 29, 30, 42, 45, 49.

<sup>44</sup> No. 23.

<sup>45</sup> Nos. 4, 17, 26, 27, 39 (?), 54.

<sup>46</sup> It is therefore perhaps significant that they are missing from the representations on the frescoes from Mycenae and Pylos (nos. 25 and 55).

<sup>47</sup> E.g. agate lentoid from Megalopolis, *AGDS* II no. 54; agate lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 74; conglomerate lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 115; two gold rings from Mycenae, *CMS* I nos. 119 and 155; jasper lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 168; agate prism from Midea, *CMS* I no. 193; jasper lentoid from Pylos, *CMS* I no. 266; two agate lentoids from Crete, Kenna (*supra* n. 24) nos. 286 and 320; sardonyx lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 73; agate lentoid from Mycenae, *CMS* I no. 98; haematite lentoid from Crete, Kenna, no. 342; serpentine lentoid from Crete, *CMS* IV no. 287; steatite lentoid in New York, *CMS* XII no. 301.

<sup>48</sup> I am thinking not so much of lions' or horses' manes, but of those of wild boars and goats, which extend the length of the animal's body, e.g. *AGDS* I no. 58; II nos. 23 and 56; *CMS* I nos. 158, 184, 192, 227, 276; IX nos. 136, 139, 140, 141; XII nos. 215, 261. We may also compare the spherical protrusions on the dorsal appendages with the series of dots that represent the flowing locks of some of the human figures on the gold rings depicting the vegetation cult, e.g. *CMS* I nos. 17, 126, 127, 191, 219, 514.

artist considered the appendage to have the appearance of a boar's or a goat's mane—the shape of the appendage and the fact that in many instances it lacks these protrusions indicate otherwise—but merely that it takes the place of a mane.

But the shape of the dorsal appendage indicates that the artists had something specific in mind which was transferred from elsewhere to serve as a mane. The shape and, I think, even the surface decoration show that it is intended as a snake-skin. It will be readily conceded that the shape of the dorsal appendage has more in common with that of a snake-skin than with that of anything from the insect-world. And the surface decoration, even by its very variety, proclaims its serpentine, or at least reptilian, origin. We can classify the method of decorating the surface of the dorsal appendage in three general categories, none of which is inconsistent with the representation of a snake. Some demons have appendages that are without surface decoration entirely, indicative either of the smoothness of a snake's skin or of the artist's inability or unwillingness to adorn so small a detail.<sup>49</sup> Others have appendages with a crosshatching very similar to the appearance of scales.<sup>50</sup> The rest have appendages that are decorated in such a way as to imitate the various patterns of stripes, spots, etc. that so colorfully embellish the skins of many snakes.<sup>51</sup> The most striking example of this last category is the fresco from Mycenae, which shows the dorsal appendage decorated with wavy chevrons of red and blue.

If we summarize here what we now know about these demons it will become apparent what we are dealing with. They are divinities of a somewhat lesser status than the purely anthropomorphic deities in whose company they are occasionally found; they are concerned both with hunting and with the propagation of vegetation; they appear singly or in groups; they are apparently female; they are basically canine in appearance, although their upright posture anthropomorphizes them to some degree; they have a

<sup>49</sup> We must bear in mind that the majority of demons appear on surfaces the largest dimension of which is less than an inch. Not surprisingly, when snakes are seen on Bronze-Age seals (as they occasionally are: *CMS* II.1 no. 453c; IV no. 54; IX no. 86; *AGDS* I no. 24) they are typically without any sort of decoration. The same is usually the case with later engravings (see, for example, Boardman [*supra* n. 3] Pls. 219, 289, 372, 494, 509), but we do on occasion see the artist attempting to suggest the texture or pattern of the snake's skin. When he does this, he frequently employs a technique similar to that used by the Bronze-Age artists to decorate the demons' dorsal appendage (see Boardman, Pls. 378, 486, 503, 699). Of perhaps greatest interest in this connection is the sea-serpent (Scylla [?]; note what appears to be a collar on its neck) on an island gem of the seventh century: J. Boardman, *Island Gems* (SocPromHellStud, Supplementary Papers 10 [London 1963]) no. 293. The artist has represented the serpent's scales with a pattern of lines and dots that resemble the protrusions on some of the demons' dorsal appendages.

<sup>50</sup> See n. 45.

<sup>51</sup> For snakes in Minoan art see especially Evans, *Palace of Minos* (*supra* n. 14) IV 138–99, although it is not necessary to accept Evans' derivation (178–92) of the "wave and dot" motif from the pattern on the skin of *tarbophis vivax*.

mane (if that is the right word) consisting of a snake-skin. They are, to give them the name by which we must now refer to them, Erinyes.<sup>52</sup>

That the Greeks worshipped the Erinyes (or, at least, an Erinyes) in the Bronze Age is proved by the appearance of *E-ri-nu* in the Mycenaean tablets.<sup>53</sup> That they are to be identified with the demons that we have been concerned with is shown by the remarkable coincidence of attributes and associations. To begin with, the demons have the appearance of dogs, and the Erinyes are frequently referred to in canine terms.<sup>54</sup> To be sure, it has been asserted that the canine aspect of the Erinyes is a late invention<sup>55</sup> and even that the original character of the Erinyes was equine rather than canine.<sup>56</sup> But neither of these assertions is provable. Indeed, both are unlikely. The association of the Erinyes with horses is very tenuous and is supported by such "evidence" as the fact that Sophocles applies the same epithet (*χαλκόπους*) to the Erinyes that Homer applies to horses<sup>57</sup> and the

<sup>52</sup> The demons were earlier identified as Erinyes by Milchhoefer (*supra* n. 15) 58–64, but only because he considered the demons to be horse-headed. For the alleged equine character of the Erinyes see below. I have not seen M. Visser, *The Erinyes* (Diss. Toronto 1980).

<sup>53</sup> M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 1973) 306–07, 411, 476; M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (*Incunabula Graeca* 32 [Rome 1968]) 103–04; G. Neumann, "Wortbildung und Etymologie von 'Ἐρινύς,'" *Die Sprache* 32 (1986) 43–51; A. Heubeck, "Ἐρινύς in der archaischen Epik," *Glotta* 64 (1986) 143–65. Reference to the deity on the tablets from Knossos is in the singular but, since the usual procedure is for an individual divinity to be separated out from a collective group rather than for a group to come into being from the multiplication of an individual (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* V.2 34; M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* [Oxford 1925] 111–13; Burkert *supra* n. 31] 173), we must assume that, even in the Mycenaean Period, the Erinyes are now plural, now singular, just as they are in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 9.454 and 571; for the number of the Erinyes see Jane Harrison, *JHS* 19 [1899] 207–08; E. Wüst, *RE Suppl.* VIII [1956] 122–23). Similarly our demons are sometimes shown as an undifferentiated collectivity and sometimes as a single divinity.

<sup>54</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 924, 1054, *Eum.* 132, 246; Soph. *El.* 1388; Eur. *El.* 1252, 1342, *Or.* 260; Hesychius s. v. κύων; Eustathius on Homer *Il.* 9.454 (763.40); Horace *Serm.* 1. 8. 35; Lucan 6. 733; Servius *Aen.* 3. 209; W. H. Roscher, *Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side* (*AbhLeipz.* 17. 3 [Leipzig 1896]) 46–50. In the visual arts the Erinyes are not depicted as dogs (or, indeed, with any other theriomorphic appearance, apart from their snakey locks) but they are often portrayed as huntresses; cf. A. Rosenberg, *Die Erinyen* (Berlin 1874) 85.

<sup>55</sup> "As soon as the Erinyes develop out of ghosts into avengers the element of pursuit comes in, they . . . become all vindictive; they are no longer δράκαιναι but κύνες," Jane Harrison (*JHS* 19 [1899] 220). But we now see that the element of pursuit and the chase is as old as the Minoan Period.

<sup>56</sup> S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (Christiania 1902) 61–63; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* VI 224 and *Griechische Tragödien*<sup>5</sup> II (Berlin 1907) 225–31; E. Hedén, *Homerische Götterstudien* (Uppsala 1912) 135–38; L. Malten, *JDAI* 29 (1914) 200–02; A. H. Krappe, *RhMus* 81 (1932) 305–20.

<sup>57</sup> *El.* 491; *Il.* 8. 41, 13. 23. See B. C. Dietrich, *Hermes* 90 (1962) 141–42. (That brazen foot and canine attributes are not incompatible is shown by *Ar. Ran.* 292–95.) Eitrem ([previous note] 62) even considers the possibility that the goad, which is an occasional attribute of the Erinyes, can be explained with reference to their equine origins. If the archaeologist of the

fact that the grove of the Eumenides (!) in Attica was at Colonus Hippius. A somewhat more direct connection is provided by a myth recounted by Pausanias, in the course of which Poseidon mates with Demeter Erinys and the product of their union is the horse Areion (Erion). Whatever the significance of this myth may be,<sup>58</sup> it is surely not evidence that the Erinyses were originally equine in character, or even that there was any particular connection between the Erinyses and horses. In fact, the mating of Poseidon and Demeter appears to be a late element in the myth, as there is a strikingly similar Hittite myth from which horses are absent.<sup>59</sup> In addition, the ritual which Pausanias describes in connection with the myth is a form of sacrifice characteristic of the Bronze Age and is appropriate to the myth in its earlier (i.e. horseless) state. The focus of this ritual at Phigalia, where the goddess is called not Demeter Erinys but Black Demeter, is a wooden cult statue which had been destroyed by fire long before Pausanias' day. Nevertheless, Pausanias records what he had been told of its appearance: "She was seated upon a rock and had the appearance of a woman except for the head. She had the head and mane of a horse, and snakes and other creatures were represented as growing from her head. She was dressed in a *chiton* which reached to her feet and she held a dolphin in one hand and a dove in the other."<sup>60</sup> The rock, the snakes and the dove are all elements that are familiar from Bronze-Age iconography and they, in conjunction with the evidence of the ritual, indicate that the statue was itself very old.<sup>61</sup> It is interesting that one parallel that Frazer produces for this horse-headed female divinity is precisely a representation of the Bronze-Age demon on a lentoid seal which was supposed to have come from Phigalia.<sup>62</sup> Just as the seal misled Frazer, Cook and others, so the venerable *xoanon* misled the

future follows this reasoning, when confronted with a picture of Wilhelm Tell he will identify it as one of St. Sebastian.

<sup>58</sup> Paus. 8. 25. 4-10. For the enormous bibliography concerned with this myth, see E. Wüst (*supra* n. 53) 94-101; B. C. Dietrich, "Demeter, Erinys, Artemis," *Hermes* 90 (1962) 129-48 and *Death, Fate and the Gods* (London 1965) 118-38; R. Stiglitz, *Die grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Vienna 1967) 110-34.

<sup>59</sup> Burkert (*supra* n. 20) 123-29. According to Burkert (126) the ritual "is strangely reminiscent of Bronze Age religious practice." Cf. also Burkert (*supra* n. 31) 68. It is unclear to me whether A. Schachter (*Cults of Boeotia* I [BICS Suppl. 38. 1 (London 1981)] 164) agrees that the horses are secondary.

<sup>60</sup> Paus. 8. 42. 4.

<sup>61</sup> The demons are sometimes shown in conjunction with birds (nos. 13, 24, 26, 30, 46, 53, 58) and once (no. 46) in conjunction with a dolphin. For the survival of Mycenaean *xoana* into the archaic period and later, see Marinatos (*supra* n. 1) 270, with n. 1. It is perhaps also significant of the antiquity of the cult of Black Demeter that she is worshipped in a cave (Paus. 8. 42. 1); Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 53-76; R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 141-47.

<sup>62</sup> No. 48. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* IV (London 1898) 407; cf. A. B. Cook, *JHS* 14 (1894) 138 ff. Above (n. 33) I noted the similarity of some Mycenaean representations of dogs to horses.



Phigalians, who interpreted the features of their Demeter as equine and concocted, or adopted from another context, a myth to explain her appearance.

The connection, on the other hand, between the Erinyes and dogs, although it cannot be proved to be of very long standing, is more widespread and is more directly attested. It is explicit first in Aeschylus, but it makes its appearance in such a way as to indicate that Aeschylus expected his audience to be familiar with it. At *Cho.* 924 Clytaimestra warns Orestes to "beware a mother's angry hounds" (μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας) should he kill her, and Orestes replies that, if he does not kill her, he will be unable to escape his father's (hounds). Orestes and the audience know what she means. She means the Erinyes, as is confirmed by the fact that later Orestes uses precisely the same expression to refer to the Erinyes, whom he sees before him.<sup>63</sup> As is well known, Aeschylus will develop further in the *Eumenides* the image of the Erinyes as hounds tracking their quarry.<sup>64</sup> But it is important to note that at *this* point in the trilogy (*Cho.* 924) that development has not yet taken place. Furthermore, when the Erinyes are actually seen on stage they do not have the appearance of hounds.<sup>65</sup> If Aeschylus had himself been responsible for the identification of the Erinyes with hounds, he could not have referred to them with no explanation as hounds in *Cho.* and then produced them on stage as women in the following play. Aeschylus and his audience were accustomed to the identification of the Erinyes with hounds but, for reasons of propriety connected with the conventions of the stage,<sup>66</sup> he and they had to be content with an anthropomorphic chorus. How long before the time of Aeschylus this identification existed we cannot be certain<sup>67</sup> but, if we are right in equating the Minoan demon with the Erinyes, it goes back to the Bronze Age.

The most common association of the Erinys with an animal is with the snake,<sup>68</sup> and the iconography of the Bronze-Age demon enables us to

<sup>63</sup> *Cho.* 1054 μητρὸς ἐγκοτοι κύνας. With this phrase compare μητρὸς Ἐρινύας Homer *Il.* 21. 412 and *Od.* 11. 280, Ἐρινύς πατρὸς Hesiod *Th.* 472, Ἐρινύς πατρὸς Aesch. *Sept.* 70 (cf. 723, 886-87; Soph. *OC* 1299, 1434; Hdt. 4. 149. 2). Cf. E. Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* II 233-35.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. G. Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*<sup>2</sup> II (Amsterdam 1966) 195 (on *Eum.* 130-39) and add ὡή (*Eum.* 94) which, to judge from Xen. *Cyn.* 6.19, is part of the vocabulary of hunting with hounds.

<sup>65</sup> The priestess' description: *Eum.* 46-54.

<sup>66</sup> Compare Griffith on *PV* 588 (bovine Io).

<sup>67</sup> It is perhaps significant that, according to Homer, the daughters of Pandareus are given to the *Erinyes* to act as their servants (*Od.* 20. 78). For, according to later accounts, their punishment is occasioned by their father's theft of Zeus' dog and takes the form of an affliction called κύων (see Roscher [*supra* n. 54]).

<sup>68</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 1049-50, *Eum.* 128; Eur. *IT* 286-87, *Or.* 256; Jane Harrison, *JHS* 19 (1899) 213-25; E. Wüst (*supra* n. 53) 124-25; E. Mitropoulou, *Deities and Heroes in the Form of Snakes* (Athens 1975) 46-47. If K. Scheffold (*Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* [Munich 1978] 261-62) is right to identify one of the metopes from the Heraion on the Sele as Orestes and the Erinys, we have evidence of the Erinys in serpentine form from the middle of the sixth century.

understand how the Erinyes can be at once canine and serpentine. The association with snakes has been readily accepted by scholars primarily because the Erinyes has been felt to represent the spirit of the dead, which in turn is often represented in serpentine form. But the Mycenaean evidence shows that it is incorrect to regard the Erinyes as the hypostatization of the spirit of the dead: *E-ri-nu* was worshipped as a goddess in her own right already in Mycenaean Crete. Also, if our identification of the demon is correct, it is clear that the character of the Erinyes as individual avenger is a later development.<sup>69</sup> In fact, we can now follow that development with some confidence. The demon wears the snake-skin as an emblem of death and renewal. She is (originally) a satellite of the great Cretan nature goddess and it is her function to see to it that the processes of nature are carried out. These processes include the termination of life as well as the continuation of growth. And so the demon is portrayed as the hunter, serving notice to the lion, the stag and the bull that the inexorable law of nature is to take effect. She is depicted either as doing this by violent means or simply as carrying off or leading the victim whose appointed time has come or, in one instance, as binding the victim with a rope.<sup>70</sup> This last may remind us of the *desmios hymnos* of Aeschylus' Erinyes and of the bonds that are so frequently associated with those deities who are concerned with the workings of fate.<sup>71</sup> But "fate" is perhaps too abstract a concept to use in this connection; better to speak here of "the inviolable order of nature," an expression that Werner Jaeger uses<sup>72</sup> to characterize the Dike of Heraclitus, whose ministers, the Erinyes, will find out if the Sun should overstep his

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 7-8; Dietrich (*supra* n. 58) "Demeter" 142 and *Death* 139.

<sup>70</sup> Violence: nos. 27, 50 (?). Carrying: nos. 31-35, 38, 40, 41, 54. Leading: nos. 30, 42. Binding: no. 29. (The similarity of nos. 29 and 30 [= Kenna (*supra* n. 24) nos. 306 and 307] may indicate that the artist of no. 30 also intends to depict the bull as bound.) It is difficult to tell whether the object over the shoulders of the demons on the fresco from Mycenae (no. 25) is a pole or a rope. In view of its helical striation and in view of the evidence of no. 29, perhaps rope is more likely; cf. Crouwel (*supra* n. 1) 26. According to Gill, "It is interesting to note the realistic distinction made between the domestic animal, cow or bull, that could be led to the slaughter guided by a stick or rope or controlled by its horns, and the wild animals slain or wounded in capture that had therefore to be carried to the offering table" (*supra* n. 1] 10). But this distinction does not hold (cf. the lion being led in no. 42) and, in any case, there is no question here of sacrifice. (There is, after all, no evidence of Minoan lion-sacrifice.) Rather the action depicted testifies to the power that the demon is capable of exercising over the beasts. The same power is wielded by the *Potnia theron*, whose satellites the demons are: Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 356-60. The Erinyes are themselves *πόντιαι*: Aesch. *Sept.* 887, 987, *Eum.* 951; Soph. *OC* 84; Eur. *Or.* 318.

<sup>71</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 306, 331-32; cf. D. L. 8. 31; R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 1954) 331-33, 368, *et passim*.

<sup>72</sup> *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1947) 116; cf. 229, n. 31: "The Erinyes avenge every violation of what we should call the natural laws of life." Jaeger aptly compares Homer *Il.* 19. 418, where the Erinyes prevent Achilles' horse from continuing to speak.

measures (fr. 94 D-K = 52 Marcovich). Thus the original function of the Erinyes is to serve as the overseers and executors of the laws of nature in a general sense.<sup>73</sup> As a specific application of that function, they become the deities who are responsible for avenging human crimes that are perceived to be contrary to nature. In this capacity their composite nature is particularly appropriate. Their character as hounds enables them to track down and pursue their victim, while their serpentine nature associates them with the chthonic world in two respects. The snake-skin, which they had originally worn as a symbol of regeneration, becomes a wreath of snaky locks,<sup>74</sup> which enhances the hideousness of their appearance and forecasts their victim's imminent demise. And at the same time this aspect associates them with the angry spirit of the dead, calling out for vengeance.<sup>75</sup>

But, in addition to their connection with death, they have a beneficent side as well. For their most characteristic pose on Minoan and Mycenaean seals is holding a beaked ewer of peculiar shape. What the function and contents of this ewer are is not clear, but scholars are generally agreed that it has ritual associations.<sup>76</sup> A vessel of similar shape is found in a clearly ritual context on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada and the demons themselves are sometimes portrayed as using it in a way that suggests a ritual character. On the lentoid from Vaphio, for example, a pair of antithetic demons hold these ewers over the "horns of consecration."<sup>77</sup> And on the gold ring from Tiryns four demons with ewers are standing before a seated female, presumably a divinity. The nature of this ritual (or these rituals) is revealed by the vegetation that springs up between the "horns of consecration" on the seal and that stands behind each of the demons on the ring.<sup>78</sup> Similar vegetation is elsewhere associated with this type of ewer

<sup>73</sup> E. Peterich (*Die Theologie der Hellenen* [Leipzig 1938] 224), whom Jaeger (previous note) appears to be following, refers to Achilles' horse and to the Erinyes who is sent in response to the complaint of the vultures at Aesch. *Ag.* 59. But these vultures explicitly represent the (human) Atreidae. Likewise in the fable that was (according to Martin West, *CQ* 29 [1979] 1-6; cf. also *CQ* 30 [1980] 291-93, *Hermes* 109 [1981] 248-51) Aeschylus' inspiration, the animals allegorically represent humans. Cf. rather the proverb εἰσὶ καὶ κυνῶν Ἐρινύες, E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen 1839-51) 397 and II 161.

<sup>74</sup> First in Aeschylus, according to Pausanias (1. 28. 6). This had been a feature of the Gorgons (to whom Aeschylus assimilates the Erinyes, *Cho.* 1048, *Eum.* 48-49) at least by the seventh century: K. Scheffold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (New York 1966) 34-35.

<sup>75</sup> E. Rohde, *Psyche* (London 1925) 179; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1908) 214-15.

<sup>76</sup> Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 147-52; Gill (*supra* n. 1) 6-7; C. R. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 41 [Göteborg 1974]) 65-66; V. Stürmer, "Schnabelkannen: Eine Studie zur darstellenden Kunst in der minoisch-mykenischen Kultur," *BCH Suppl.* 11 (1985) 119-34; A. Onassoglou, *Die "Talismanischen" Siegel* (CMS Suppl. 2 [Berlin 1985]) 12-22.

<sup>77</sup> No. 23; cf. no. 52 (= CMS V.1 no. 201) which, however, may be a forgery.

<sup>78</sup> No. 26; cf. nos. 8, 10, 12 (?), 14, 17 (?), 19, 24, 35, 47, 54, 62, 63.

even when not held by the demons.<sup>79</sup> Obviously the ewer has a connection with a ritual that is concerned with the growth of vegetation and, since the ewer is so common an attribute of the demons, they are themselves to be seen as divinities that ensure the fecundity of the earth. That the Erinyes too are fertility spirits is clear from their chthonic character, from the identification of Demeter and Erinys at Arcadian Thelpusa and from the blessings on the land that Aeschylus' Erinyes confer at the end of the *Eumenides*.<sup>80</sup> It is this dual nature of the Erinyes, concerned alike with destruction and with propagation, that makes their identification with the Bronze-Age demon especially attractive.<sup>81</sup>

If the Erinyes are not the demons, we are presented with a peculiar and complex situation which we will have difficulty accounting for. We know that the Greeks of the Mycenaean Age worshipped a divinity called *E-ri-nu* and that they made images of a divinity with the following characteristics: capable of being conceived of as a plurality; apparently female; responsible for bringing death as well as for promoting fertility; portrayed as a hunter; having characteristics of dogs and snakes. We know that the Greeks of the fifth century recognized divinities called Erinyes, who could be referred to in the singular, were female, were regarded as bringers of destruction and as promoters of fertility and could be portrayed by contemporary poets as hounds, as hunters and as serpents. We can account for this situation either by assuming a degree of continuity between the Bronze Age and the Classical Period—let us not forget that Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Hermes and Athena were worshipped in Mycenaean Crete and by the emperor Julian

<sup>79</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos* (*supra* n. 14) IV 446–50; Nilsson (*supra* n. 12) 262–64; Kenna (*supra* n. 24) 68–69; S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (Hammondsworth 1978) 220; Stürmer (*supra* n. 76) 128–31.

<sup>80</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 938–48. When the chorus say *δενδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέει βλάβη, / τὰν ἐμῶν χάριν λέγω* (938–39), they are alluding to the name Ἄβλαβία, under which name the Erinyes were worshipped at Erythrae in Ionia: *RE* VI.1 (1907) 588; Rohde, *Kl.Schr.* II 243; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* II (Munich 1906) 763.

<sup>81</sup> The dual nature cannot have been purely the invention of Aeschylus. It is difficult to imagine how the Athenian audience was duped into conferring first prize in the tragic competition on a poet who, utterly without precedent, included as the climax of his trilogy a bizarre and unpalatable identification between two sets of deities that were felt to have absolutely nothing in common. Either Aeschylus was not the first to identify the Erinyes with the Semnai Theai (not the Eumenides, as A. L. Brown has now convincingly shown: *CQ* 34 [1984] 260–81), or the two groups of divinities have a great deal more in common than we are usually led to believe. There is, in fact, no evidence for the identification before Aeschylus, so it is reasonable to believe that the Erinyes were enough like the Semnai Theai that the mature dramatist did not feel that he was risking ridicule and defeat by asking his audience to believe that they were one and the same. Why, then, do we assume that the Erinyes were loathsome and malignant while the Semnai Theai were benevolent and gentle? Surely the reason is that our conception is determined to a great extent by our knowledge of Aeschylus' drama, and Aeschylus has himself engaged in considerable exaggeration (see especially F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* [Ithaca 1949] 178–91) in order to lend dramatic force to a transformation that was, if not familiar, at least not surprising.

1,700 years later—or we can posit a remarkable series of coincidences, whereby the attributes and associations of a defunct Mycenaean divinity later individually and by separate routes clustered about another divinity whose name (but not attributes) had happened to survive from the Bronze Age.

*The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*



An [Hesiodic] *danse macabre*: *The Shield of Heracles*

PETER TOOHEY

When discussing the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* it is customary to stress how poor a poem we are dealing with.<sup>1</sup> The poet of the *Aspis* may be no Homer; but he has composed an intriguing,<sup>2</sup> if bizarre poem.<sup>3</sup> Value judgments, so often involving anachronistic comparison, have greatly hindered the pursuit of the meaning of the *Shield*.<sup>4</sup> In this paper I will argue that the *Shield* is, thematically speaking, typical of its era. The argument is a convoluted one; it might be best at the outset to provide a summary. I believe that the *Aspis* is a reflexive and unintellectual response to the problem of death.<sup>5</sup> The theme of the poem is death (rather than, say, the horror of war and mortal combat, or violence and the hero).<sup>6</sup> To demonstrate the presence of this theme it is necessary to analyze the structure of the *Aspis* and above all the structure of the shield depiction. The shield

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the detractors are H. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod* (London, New York 1914) xxiv; R. M. Cook, "The Date of the Hesiodic Shield," *CQ* 31 (1937) 204–14, 212; P. Mazon, *Hésiode* (Paris 1944) 128; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Bern and Munich<sup>3</sup> 1971) 128; O. Taplin, "The Shield of Achilles within the *Iliad*," *G & R* 27 (1980) 1–21, 18 n. 4; W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Baltimore, London, 1984) 64; P. Levi, *A History of Greek Literature* (London 1985) 57.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst those interested in the poem there is M. van der Valk, "Le Bouclier du Pseudo-Hésiode," *REG* 79 (1966) 450–81, and "A Defence of Some Suspected Passages in the *Scutum Hesiodi*," *Mnem.* 6 (1953) 265–82, and B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958) 109–23.

<sup>3</sup> Bizarre because of its fascination with the macabre. See the comments of C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum* (Firenze 1950) 7 ff. (and the criticisms by J. A. Davidson, *CR* 2 [1952] 153–54). See also van der Valk (above, note 2: *Mnem.* 6 [1953]) 266. Note also H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, trans. M. Hadas and J. Willis (Oxford 1975) 108–12.

<sup>4</sup> Lesky (above, note 1) 128 feels that the *Aspis* is a pale imitation of Homer. Compare also Evelyn-White (above, note 1).

<sup>5</sup> By "reflexive" I mean spontaneous, unlaboured, unelaborated—the "reflexive," presumably produced with speed rather than care, responds in a straightforward, immediate, in an *unanalytical* manner to a single issue. The "reflexive" may highlight a problem rather than attempting its solution. "Relective" art analyses, attempts solutions, shows all of the signs of revision. The "Shield of Achilles" (especially on Taplin's convincing reading) is a good example of the latter. Sappho, I dare say, typifies the former.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Fränkel (above, note 3) 108–12 and Thalmann (above, note 1) 62–64.

depiction, as Fränkel demonstrates, creates a metaphorical commentary on the duel between Heracles and his opponents.<sup>7</sup> It will be suggested that Perseus, acting as a doublet for Heracles, is the focal point of both the shield depiction and of the poem as a whole. This "doublet" relationship provides an approximate though recognisable structure for the poem. There are, however, dissimilarities between Heracles and Perseus, most notably that one became immortal, the other remained mortal. The crucial dissimilarity directs attention towards the theme of death. But the poem as a reflexive work—posing problems without offering answers—opens a window into the poet's own and his age's preconceptions. It will also be suggested that the macabre imagery of this thanatological text is symptomatic of the attitude to death of the era in which it was composed. Deracination, burgeoning prosperity, individualism, led to an heightened, sometimes macabre fear of death. The attitude to death of the seventh and sixth centuries spawned the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*.

## I

That Perseus and Heracles act as doublets has been stated recently and without qualification by Janko (citing in support van der Valk's observations concerning the penchant of the *Aspis* for doublets).<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the most important link between the two heroes concerns their roles as *alexikakoi*. Let us consider Perseus. The two *tableaux* following the Perseus interlude (depicting two cities, one at war, one at peace) are especially instructive.<sup>9</sup> In the first (v. 237b–270a) an horrifying picture of the circumstances of the sacking of a city is drawn: men fight, women scream, old men pray while the fates and death stand by. In the second city (v. 270b–313), peacetime is seen with its feasting, dancing and revelling, its sowing, harvesting, hunting and sports playing. The two pictures illustrate Perseus' capacity as *alexikakos*. In the city at peace the order which he should be capable of protecting is shown; in the city being sacked the fate his protection may avert. The latter is double-edged, for although suggesting Perseus can avert evil, it must also hint at the destruction he is capable of towards wrong doers. There may well be an unstated parallel between Seriphus and the city being sacked, since it comes immediately after the description of Perseus with Medusa's head. (Perseus' intention,

<sup>7</sup> See Fränkel (above, note 3) 108–12. But contrast van Groningen (above, note 2) 117 and 121, who finds no logic behind the descriptive sequence of the poem, and van der Valk (above, note 2: *REG* 79 [1966]) 453, who believes the shield description was inserted to compensate for the brevity of the battle scenes.

<sup>8</sup> See R. Janko, "The Shield of Heracles and the Legend of Cycnus," *CQ* 36 (1986) 38–59, 40 and 40 n. 12 (on van der Valk).

<sup>9</sup> That the Perseus description dovetails with the description of the city at war and that this dovetails with the description of the city at peace is significant. The enjambment creates an artificial "sense block."



known from Pindar *Pyth.* 10 and 12, was to free his mother held captive in Seriphus by Polydectes. Perseus, utilising Medusa's head, turned Polydectes and the Seripheans to stone. Though these subsequent events are not mentioned there is a strong possibility that the poet intends the listener to fill out the details.) Through the juxtaposition of the two cities with the Perseus digression the poet has carefully outlined what was missing in the actual description of Perseus. Perseus, it is implied, is a protector of the weak (his mother who has a parallel in the image of the city at peace) and a punisher of evil (the Seripheans and Medusa who have a parallel in the image of the city at war). In this manner the poet emphasises the function of Perseus as *alexikakos*. Heracles too is an *alexikakos* (*fidei defensor* as Janko terms him). (For some the purpose of the poem is to describe Heracles in this well known role.)<sup>10</sup> The point need not be laboured: Cycnus (and his conspirator father) is not just a brigand, he is also impious for he has desecrated the temple of Apollo.<sup>11</sup> Heracles has done the world a good job by ridding it of this sinful villain.

There are other similarities between Heracles and Perseus.<sup>12</sup> They were related (Eur. *Alc.* 509): Heracles was the great grandson of Perseus. Both had an immortal father and a mortal mother. In this poem both heroes triumph over seemingly indomitable opponents. Both are assisted by the goddess Athena. Other parallels, but this time extraliterary, between the two heroes are offered by the late Protoattic Nessus vase. In this amphora, according to Cook, "intended like the big Geometric pots as a marker for a grave," there is on its neck a depiction of Heracles killing Nessus. "Below, two Gorgons take off in pursuit of Perseus (wisely out of sight), while their sister Medusa collapses behind them."<sup>13</sup> The parallel between the *Aspis*,

<sup>10</sup> So G. K. Galinski, *The Heracles Theme* (Oxford 1974) 17–19. The historical study of P. Guillon, *Le Bouclier d'Héraclès et l'histoire de la Grèce centrale dans la période de la première guerre sacrée* (Aix-en-Provence 1963) e.g. 49–51, seems to presume an unblemished Heracles (see W. G. Forest's review, *JHS* 86 [1966] 173).

<sup>11</sup> The scholiast on Pindar *Olympian* 10. 15 judges Cycnus an even bigger villain. See further Janko (above, note 8). Worth consulting for information on artistic depictions of the Heracles-Cycnus battle is F. Vian, "Le combat d'Héraklès et de Kyknos d'après les documents figurés du VI<sup>e</sup> et Ve siècle," *REA* 47 (1945) 5–32 and note also C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1961) 122. On the relation of the *Aspis* to contemporary art see Cook (above, note 1), and J. L. Myres "Hesiod's 'Shield of Heracles': Its Structure and Workmanship," *JHS* 61 (1941) 17–38.

<sup>12</sup> The relationship between the two heroes may bear resemblance to that between epic heroes such as Achilles and Patroclus (on which see N. van Brock, "Substitution rituelle," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 65 [1959] 117–46; C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* [New York 1965] 199–203, and G. Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans* [Baltimore 1979] 292–97). The doublet relationship here, however, seems rather too simple to profit by such comparison.

<sup>13</sup> See J. M. Cook, *Greek Pottery* (London 1960) 68–70. See too J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece* (Ithaca 1985) 165 ff. Another possible link between Heracles and Perseus may be offered by Pindar, *Pythian* 10. The myth of this poem refers to Perseus' visit to the land of the Hyperboreans and his slaying of Medusa; significantly at the very outset of this ode (v. 2–3) Heracles is indirectly invoked.

Gorgons and this picture is obvious. The Nessus amphora "may perhaps be dated about 625 B.C.," to within, at the best, 25 years of the *Aspis*. Thus, within at least one artistic mind there was a similarity between the exploits of Heracles and Perseus. Enough, at any rate, to place them on the one vase. The similarity may be even more deep. In the final section of the poem Heracles is described as utilising the advice of Athena and not only managing to repulse the attack of Ares but even to wound him in the leg (v. 458 ff., note also v. 359 ff.). The ability to defeat an immortal in battle implies that the victor has himself a "share" of immortality. To a limited extent, that is, the victor conquers death. (It is worth remembering that Heracles in other contexts—the labours involving Geryon, Cerberus, and the Apples of the Hesperides—"conquers" death). Heracles' action may parallel that of Perseus when he conquers those *kêres* of death, the three Gorgons. Both heroes "conquer" death and this capacity may be further emphasised by the depictions on the previously mentioned Nessus amphora. The vase was intended as a grave marker and the inclusion of both heroes must in some way suggest the triumph of the dead person over normal human limitations, a triumph as it were over death. The dead person presumably was wished the capacities of Heracles and Perseus.

The structure of the poem also assists in the comparison of the two heroes.<sup>14</sup> The "doublet" relationship provides a rough shape for the poem. Heracles at either end provides a frame, while Perseus, more or less in the centre, provides a focus. Over the next few paragraphs I hope to demonstrate this point and, further, to emphasise some of the contrasts between Perseus and Heracles.

The description of the shield begins, more or less, at v. 139 and concludes at v. 320. The centre of the shield description, therefore, is approximately at v. 228. The combat section—the core of the poem—is v. 57–480. The centre of this section, numerically speaking, is v. 228. (If one were to include v. 1–56 then the numerical centre of the poem is v. 240.)<sup>15</sup> It should be apparent that the centre, say v. 230, is in the middle of the Perseus interlude. Needless to say, one ought not place too much faith in figures, especially in as imprecise and interpolated a poem as this. Even

<sup>14</sup> For observations on the structure of the poem see the introduction to Russo's edition (above, note 3); Thalmann (above, note 1) 62–64; van der Valk (above, note 2: *REG* 79 [1966]) 454, 459, 460; his earlier article (above, note 2: *Mnem.* 6 [1953]) 268–69; van Groningen (above, note 2) 117; and José Vara Donado, "Contribución al conocimiento del *Escudo de Heracles*: Hesíodo, autor del poema," *CFC* 4 (1972) 315–65, 323 ff.

<sup>15</sup> On the authenticity of v. 1–56 see Wilamowitz, "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* 40 (1905) 116–25, 122, who believes v. 1–56 belong to the rest of the poem. So too Russo (above, note 3) 33 n. 34. See also L. Anderson "The Shield of Heracles — Problems of Genesis," *C & M* 30 (1969) 10–26, *passim*; J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodica* (Leiden 1960) 458–66; and van Groningen (above, note 2) 107 and 120, who treats the poem, including v. 1–56, as a whole. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985) 136 (and 136 n. 9), believes the lines are inauthentic. Their authenticity will not affect the conclusions of this paper; what matters is the relationship of Heracles with the depictions (especially Perseus) upon the Shield.

so, the force of the sums may suggest a poem which is shaped about the Perseus interlude. (Thus v. 139–215 and v. 237b–320 balance about Perseus in v. 216–237a).

The texture and content of shield description may justify this contention. Outline of the physical construction of the shield begins at v. 141, but of its actual subjects at v. 144. Each of the subjects described up to and including Perseus begins with the formula *en* or *en de* (v. 144, 154—but note v. 155 and 156–, 161, 168, 178, 191, 197, 201—but note v. 204–, 207, and finally v. 216). Each new subject for description begins a line. The *en/en de* formula provides the poet with a simple means of “paragraphing” his narrative. It deserves note, furthermore, that the descriptions within each of these paragraphs are brief and often undetailed. The subjects depicted are supernatural creatures—hostile or beneficent gods—, immortal monsters, mythological prodigies such as the Centaurs or the Lapiths, animals such as boars, lions, or fish, but significantly there is only one human. This is a fisherman whose presence, partly obscured by Apollo's regal fish the dolphins, doubtless acts as a transition to the mortal Perseus. Observe especially that there is no real individuation in this section of the poem. There are only personified symbols or groups.

Compare the texture and content of v. 237b–320. Where in v. 139–215 the narrative is paragraphed, imprecise, almost staccato, the narrative of v. 237b–320 dovetails or enjambes. The description of the city at war “enjambes” unexpectedly with the description of Perseus in v. 237. Similarly the description of the city at peace “enjambes” by beginning unexpectedly in mid-line in v. 270b. Within these sections the same tendency for “enjambed” narrative is evident. Inside the section on the city at war descriptions enjambe one with another—note v. 242, and especially v. 248. Within the section on the city at peace, this is more pronounced. There the description of wedding festivities dovetails with a description of agricultural pursuits (v. 286), as agricultural pursuits dovetail with a description of hunting and athletic activities (v. 301). The content of these lines may also be distinguished from v. 139–215. In that section there were a series of ostensibly unrelated tableaux which depicted, primarily, the non-human. In v. 237b–320 attention is directed relentlessly towards the human, even in the long section where the *kêres*, the fates and *achlus* are limned—their function is to heighten concentration upon the misfortunes of the city at war. The narrative of v. 139–215 was episodic. In v. 237b–320 it is “organic”: that is to say, the individual elements unequivocally contribute to the linked portraits of war and peace.

There are more than contrasts. One important similarity between v. 139–215 and v. 237b–320 is that in both there is no real individuation of subjects. Attention is given primarily either to horrendous personifications of abstract forces or to *groups* of individuals. V. 216–237a distinguish themselves from both v. 139–215 and v. 237b–320 through the strong *individuation* of a single creature, Perseus. He is the only character (and the

only mortal character) to be singled out within the shield depiction for extended description. The point is crucial. The individuation of Perseus is that which makes him stand out from what precedes and from what follows. It is this individuation, coupled with the textual and content dissimilarities between v. 129–215 and v. 237b–320, which provides the shield depiction with its characteristic shape.

If the points made above can be accepted, the structure of the poem is as follows:

	A	1–56	Introduction: Alcmene and Heracles ( 56 vv.)
	B	57–139	Cycnus and Ares versus Heracles and Iolaos ( 81 vv.)
139–320: Shield	{	C	139–215 Immortals, animals, etc. ( 76 vv.)
		D	216–237a Perseus ( 21 vv.)
		E	237b–320 Mortals: the two cities, etc. ( 83 vv.)
		F	320–480 Cycnus and Ares versus Heracles (160 vv.)

The exactness of the numeration is of no great significance. (The *Aspis* is a heavily interpolated poem). Of more significance is the ring structure within and without the shield depiction, which results from this tabulation. Such a tabulation, by isolating Perseus and consequently contrasting him with the framing Heracles, helps to elucidate the thematic concerns of the poem. Perseus, it has been implied, is the key to the *Aspis*. The key to an interpretation of the role of Perseus is offered by comparing and contrasting him with Heracles. The structure forces the comparison. As is often the case, it is the dissimilarities rather than the similarities which are crucial.

Within the poem itself Heracles is shown unequivocally as the victor. In spite of the ferocity of Cycnus and his divine assistant there is never any doubt as to the outcome of the conflict. Although the outcome of Perseus' flight is known, the poet has chosen to represent the hero in a most vulnerable and unheroic light; that of the fugitive. In v. 216–237a Perseus seems to have little chance of escape: the Gorgons' pursuit is ferocious, their description with snake and fear emblazoned vestments is terrifying. The Gorgons had a traditional association with death; sometimes they are described as death *kêres*.<sup>16</sup> While Perseus' ability to defeat Medusa and to wield the Gorgon's head suggests an extraordinary ability, the frightening depiction of Sthenno and Euryale suggests that he is not wholly in control. A further indication of the role of Perseus for this poem is his proximity to the brief description of the dance of the immortals in v. 201–206. Thalmann has emphasised this.<sup>17</sup> To paraphrase crudely his argument: the depiction of the peace of the dance of the immortals is the yard stick against

<sup>16</sup> See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 139–41.

<sup>17</sup> Thalmann (above, note 1) 62–64.

which the actors of the rest of the poem are found sadly wanting. The absence of violence and death in v. 201–206 highlights the presence of violence and death in all of the other contexts of the poem. Without agreeing or disagreeing with Thalmann's other conclusions, it could be stressed that v. 201–206 is one of the few sections of repose in the frenetic poem. It is difficult not to contrast this with the description of Perseus. The near juxtaposition of Perseus with the "dance of the immortals" tells against an easy comparison of Perseus and Heracles. The contrast underscores Perseus' mortality and the vulnerability alluded to above.

The similarities between Heracles and Perseus insist that account is taken of their dissimilarities. The most urgent of the latter is the subjection of Perseus to mortality. Theme and structure, therefore, conspire. By highlighting Heracles and Perseus—structurally and thematically—the poet insists upon the listener's contemplation of his theme. But is this theme of death, an important implication of the contrast between Heracles and Perseus, important for the poem as a whole? Attention now must be turned to the deployment of this theme elsewhere in the *Aspis*.

## II

The two most persuasive readings of the *Aspis* are those of Fränkel and Thalmann. Both scholars maintain that war and violence rather than death are the real themes of the poem. For the sake of clarity, it might be best to summarise their views. Fränkel interprets the poem thus: "The defeat of a violent robber, who is a son of War (Ares), by the greater warrior Heracles, who achieves peace and security for men and gods, serves as a framework within which the full horror of war and mortal combat is represented. This is the real theme. For this purpose the poet employs a form which he borrowed from Homeric epic [sc. the description of the warrior's shield]."<sup>18</sup> Thalmann builds upon this: "The images on the shield, then, reflect the encounter that is about to take place. Heracles will face Ares' son Cyncus and the war god himself, carrying a shield that exposes the grotesque ugliness of war . . . . But the case is not that simple. If Heracles' shield comments on war in general, it comments on its owner's particular actions within this poem, and its message rigorously excludes the notion of heroic glory."<sup>19</sup> How does the shield depiction make this comment? "The pictures on the shield make an implicit statement about war. It is monstrous, irrational, an activity proper to beasts in which man also engages."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Fränkel (above, note 3) 110.

<sup>19</sup> Thalmann (above, note 1) 64.

<sup>20</sup> Thalmann (above, note 1) 63. He also states: "at the centre of the poetic account lie three scenes of gods (v. 191–206), which stand out from the five scenes that precede and the five that follow them. In these flanking parts there is a general progression from monstrous personifications of war and violence through strife in the animal world to warfare among

An alternative to this view, however, might take the function of the essentially artistic representations of the shield at their face value. The representations on the actual shield of Heracles are of a familiar type. "Terror symbols" as they are termed in other contexts, their function seems to have been apotropaic.<sup>21</sup> Parallels for most of these symbols may be found in contemporary art. They appear to have been especially common on *stelae*, on various types of weaponry and upon temples.<sup>22</sup> Their function as apotropaic symbols, while not entirely agreed upon,<sup>23</sup> must have entailed a threat of death against the sacrilegious, or the opponent, or the polluter. The Gorgon head upon a shield or pair of greaves threatens the assailant with the fate of the Seriphians. The function of the terror symbol (a Gorgon, say, or a Griffin) atop a *stèle* or on a funeral urn must have been similar: the threat of destruction for the tomb disturber. The function of the terror symbol upon a temple gable threatens a like punishment upon any person rash enough to cause pollution at the holy place. Death, we must conclude, is the threat intended by the various monsters on the *Aspis*. The link, therefore, between the terror symbols and the suggested functions of Perseus should be apparent. The contrast between Perseus and Heracles emphasised the theme of death. The use of "terror symbols" or, as it could be said, of death symbols complements what is already an apparent theme. To return to the reading proposed by Fränkel and Thalmann: the shield, rather than offering a series of images which display the grotesque ugliness of war, may offer a stylised series of images which starkly threaten death. But, we should be clear, the conscious parallel drawn between Perseus and Heracles raises the intent of the poem above the merely representational. The terror symbols hint at a larger poetic concern which is not war, but death.<sup>24</sup>

The theme of death is apparent throughout the shield description. V. 178–190, describing the conflict between the Lapiths and the Centaurs provide an instance. The depiction is perhaps a type of terror symbol, hinting at the destruction awaiting an opponent. By the time this poem may have been composed, however, Centaurs had a precise association with Heracles. An audience in the sixth century would have been familiar with the myth describing Heracles' death by Nessus' cloak and doubtless have drawn a parallel between the Centaurs and Heracles.<sup>25</sup> The undercurrent of

mankind." van Groningen (above, note 2) 117 notes that v. 144–200 concern themselves primarily with war.

<sup>21</sup> M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, 2 vols. (London 1975) 48.

<sup>22</sup> See Robertson (above, note 21).

<sup>23</sup> Contrast Robertson (above, note 21) 48 for example and Vermeule (above, note 16) 90–91.

<sup>24</sup> A brief reading of v. 264–70, of v. 248–57 or of the medieval (if genuine) v. 151–53 may emphasise the point.

<sup>25</sup> The story of his poisoning and self-immolation predates this poem. Fr. 25, 18–25 in Merkelbach's and West's edition of Hesiod's poems mention Deianira, Lichas and the robe as

this myth, therefore, may be death. It deserves to be noticed, furthermore, that the appearance of Ares (v. 191–196) and Athena (v. 197–200) may link with this conflict. Van Groningen<sup>26</sup> speculates that the two gods may be placed here because they participated in the conflict between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The appearance of the gods may link the shield depictions with the conflict of the outer myth where both gods appear on opposing sides.<sup>27</sup> In other words, they may reinforce the relevance of the Centaurs to Heracles, and so re-emphasise the undertone of the theme of death.

V. 168–177, which describe the conflict between the lions and boars, may create a similar effect. In funerary art and literature from the sixth century onwards the lion was depicted as a protector of the body of the dead. Vermeule quotes this epigram (a lion is speaking) as typical of the literary tradition:<sup>28</sup>

θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγώ, θνατῶν δ' ὄν ἐγὼ νῦν  
φρουρῶ τῷδε τάφῳ λαΐνῳ ἐμβεβαώς.

Lions (always victorious) and boars are often depicted in combat in literary and artistic artefacts. Vermeule interprets one funerary example from the sixth century thus: "When the lion and the boar are shown together in the sphere of death, as on the Clazomenian sarcophagos . . . the lion should win and become guardian of the body."<sup>29</sup> Now Heracles was usually associated with lions and, although his lion-skin is not mentioned in this poem, he is twice compared to a lion (v. 402 and v. 426)—although he is once compared to a boar (c. 387). In the simplest sense the lion and boar conflict may be seen as a parallel to the Heracles and Cycnus conflict. In the more complex sense Heracles, the metaphorical lion, acts as a protector against death. There is a seeming conflict between the roles of Heracles in these two sections of the poem; in one the hero is by implication the victim of death, in the other the conqueror of death. The conflict may be resolved, however, by thinking of the various sections of the poem as variations on a single theme of death. This "relexive" poem provides a series of versified *reactions* to a single pervasive notion. The poet has not been strict or laboriously logical in the manner by which he has strung together the reactions.

Another instance of the theme of death acting as a backdrop or undertone to these terror symbols is provided by v. 161–167 which refer to

part of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*. The Nessus amphora discussed above and note 13 may be significant. Compare Lefkowitz's usually accepted reading of Bacchylides 5 (*HSCP* 73 [1969] 45–96).

<sup>26</sup> van Groningen (above, note 2) 117, notwithstanding their presence in the Iliadic shield.

<sup>27</sup> Janko (above, note 8) 40.

<sup>28</sup> [Simonides] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 344a. I owe this reference to Vermeule, (above, note 16) 233, n. 7; on page 88 of the same work she cites Antipater, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 426. See also *RE* 13 (1927) 968–90, s.v. Löwe.

<sup>29</sup> Vermeule (above, note 16) 90–91. Compare Robertson's comments cited above, note 21.

the twelve snakes. The snake was a profoundly ambivalent emblem. Associated, on the one hand, with healing and longevity<sup>30</sup> snakes were, on the other hand, viewed with considerable fear (so Medusa). The ambiguity is present in this poem: the snake-haired head of Medusa in Perseus' hands brings death to the Seripheans and deliverance to Danaë. Snakes were also associated with Heracles (the tale of the Lernaean Hydra, or the snakes of Pindar's *Nem.* 1 are relevant) where they seem intended to emphasise his superhuman abilities. Snakes, especially associated with Perseus and Heracles, betoken life or death. There is, therefore, another variation on the theme of death.

I doubt that the *Aspis* has a simple meaning. It is at once about the saviour warrior, Heracles, the *alexikakos*, it is also about the intrusion of evil and violence into life, it is also about war. But none of these themes provides the poem with a real thematic unity. This is provided by the notion of death. The poem offers what is best described as a series of variations on the theme of death. The *Aspis*, a reflexive poem, takes the theme of death and unanalytically responds to this in verse. The response—and surely it is a puzzled response—is worked in a series of *tableaux* borrowed from Homer and from contemporary art. The structure of the poem, as its actors,<sup>31</sup> is designed with a modicum of care to reflect a central preoccupation.

### III

Critics often point out the taste of the poet of the *Aspis* for the macabre. This seems to reflect his conception of death. Death is violent, terrifying, and often as not painful. Indeed the martial ambience of so much of the poem may serve to emphasise the horror of death. But it is the macabre elements of the *Aspis* which have brought it into disrepute. For many readers the poem is so insistent in its striving for horror as to become strained and almost gratuitous. Why such strained insistence? The poet may indeed have been morbid. It seems more likely, however, that he is reflecting the attitudes of his society. To demonstrate this I would like to draw some parallels with the Middle Ages. These may suggest an alternative explanation for the presence in the *Aspis* of the macabre.

Philippe Ariès, in his long study analysing medieval and modern attitudes to death,<sup>31</sup> maintains that in the later Middle Ages there was a shift

<sup>30</sup> See Aristophanes, *Plut.* 733 ff. C. Kerényi, *Asclepius* (London 1960) e.g. figs. 40 and 41 offers depictions pairing Asclepius and snakes. The goddess Hygeia was represented also with a snake—see figs. 33 and 34.

<sup>31</sup> *The Hour of our Death*, trans H. Weaver (New York 1981). Ariès apparently bases his work upon that of A. Tenenti, *La vie de la mort à travers l'art du XVe siècle* (Paris 1952). Ariès repeats his views in *Images of Man and Death*, trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 158. Also of interest on this topic is J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans F. Hopman (Harmondsworth 1968) 9–29. For a discussion (generally favourable of Ariès' views on this



in popular attitudes to death. Ariès states: "Individualism triumphed in an age of conversions, spectacular penitences, and prodigious patronage, but also of profitable businesses; an age of unprecedented and immediate pleasures and of immoderate love of life."<sup>32</sup> Individualism, he suggests, was the product of burgeoning economic prosperity. Increased prosperity brought with it a greater sense of individual worth and with this a greater love of life. Death, the destruction of life and the individual, became a far greater threat. This is the explanation offered for the persistent fascination in funerary texts for the macabre. Death, personified, is represented in an increasingly macabre fashion because it is seen as such an unwarranted threat to life.

The intrusion of death is represented by a variety of macabre iconography. Three examples will suffice: the *transi*, the "triumph of death," and the *danse macabre*. The *transi*, or half-decomposed corpse, became one of the most important minor characters "in the macabre iconography of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries."<sup>33</sup> Ariès describes the depictions of the "triumph of death" in this manner: "Death, in the form of a mummy or skeleton, stands with his symbolic weapon in hand [the scythe], driving a huge slow chariot drawn by oxen. One recognises this vehicle as the heavy cart used for holiday processions, inspired by mythology and intended for the grand entry of princes into their loyal towns. Here it is driven by a prince whose emblems are skulls and bones . . . . But whatever its appearance the chariot of Death is an engine of war, an implement of destruction that crushes beneath its wheels—and sometimes beneath its fatal shadow—a large number of people of all ages and conditions."<sup>34</sup> The *danse macabre* is described "as an eternal round in which the dead alternate with the living. The dead lead the dance; indeed they are the only ones dancing. Each couple consists of a naked mummy, rotting, sexless, and highly animated, and a man or woman dressed according to his or her social condition and paralyzed by fear and surprise. Death holds out its hand to the living person whom it will draw along with it, but who has not yet obeyed the summons."<sup>35</sup> As with the representations of the *transi* and of the "triumph of death," the *danse macabre* was extremely common in

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period) see J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality* (London 1981) 5–8, and the essay in the same volume by J. McManners, "Death and the French Historians," 117 ff. See too L. Stone, "Death and its History," *New York Review of Books*, 12 Oct. 1978, 22–32, and P. Robinson, "Five Models for Dying," *Psychology Today*, March 1981, 85–89. Most recently on medieval death there is J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages* (Liverpool 1984).

<sup>32</sup> Ariès, *The Hour* (above, note 31) 606, and *Images* (above, note 31) 158.

<sup>33</sup> Ariès, *The Hour* (above, note 31) 113.

<sup>34</sup> Ariès, *The Hour* (above, note 31) 118.

<sup>35</sup> Ariès, *The Hour* (above, note 31) 118. See too in *Dies Illa* (above, note 31) 15–27 and 29–43: J. Batany, "Une image en négatif du fonctionnalisme social: Les danses macabres," and J.H.M. Taylor, "Un miroir salutaire."

the late Middle Ages. The three representations of the macabre iconography of the period, to repeat, have been taken not as the product of a sadistic or morbid psychology, but of one too little morbid, too much enamoured with its own individualism and life. The suggested parallel may be becoming obvious. The "macabre iconography" of the *Aspis* may be representative not of a morbid psychology but of a psychology not unlike that of the late Middle Ages. The depiction of death in the *Aspis*, commonly described as macabre, is the product of an individualistic temperament. The attitudes of this reflexive poem may be quite typical of their era.<sup>36</sup>

It is usual to place the composition of the *Shield* somewhere between 590 and 570 B.C.<sup>37</sup> It is said not to be Boeotian, but to have been composed in one or another of the "centri progrediti di cultura e di arte, certamente fuori di Boezia."<sup>38</sup> Cook and Shapiro<sup>39</sup> demonstrate the similarities between scenes in the *Aspis* and those in Attic and Corinthian pottery. While Attica will not represent its compositional provenance, the conditions of Attica in this period may well be similar to those experienced by the poet of the *Aspis*. The improved conditions in Attica in the period 600–500 B.C. hardly need stressing. Amongst other things one might note that Solon won Salamis from Megara, gave the lead to the Amphictyons in the Sacred War, while in the Hellespont about 590 Athens had some success at Sigeum. In 566 state claims were strengthened by the institution of the Panathenaic festival, and about the same time by the institution of the games at Eleusis. By mid-century Attic pottery adopted a leading position in the Greek world, and thus encouraged the export of Athenian goods. The coinage maintained its strength.<sup>40</sup> If it is correct to see an upsurge in individualism in these centuries the improved economy and social standing of regions such as Attica are doubtless responsible. Also crucial was the widespread personal "deracination" brought on in these centuries of colonisation. The removal from home, family surrounds, often family itself placed the person more seriously "on his own." Isolation from the inherited

<sup>36</sup> The point has been observed independently of the admirable study by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After" in *Mirrors of Mortality* (above, note 31) 15–39.

<sup>37</sup> Russo (above, note 3) 34. So too Myres (above, note 11) 178; Cook (above, note 1), *passim*; and J. Ducat, "La Ptoion et l'histoire de la Béotie à l'époque archaïque," *REG* 77 (1964) 283–89, attempting to correct Guillon (above, note 10), who places the poem in the second half of the seventh century; and J. A. Davidson, "Quotations and Illustrations in Early Greek Literature," *Eranos* 53 (1955) 124–40, 137. The most recent discussion to confirm these dates is that of Janko (above, note 8) 40–44.

<sup>38</sup> Russo (above, note 3) 34. Contra van der Valk (above, note 2: *REG* [1966]) 451.

<sup>39</sup> Cook (above, note 1) 204 ff., and H. A. Shapiro, "Heracles and Kyknos," *AJA* 88 (1984) 523–29.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford 1967) 165 f.

norms of family and community may have encouraged individual self-reliance and self-centredness.<sup>41</sup>

Symptomatic of these tendencies was the sudden efflorescence of "personal" lyric poetry in the previous century and the emergence of personal religion (Eleusinian religion and, possibly, Orphism). The emergence of seemingly altruistic reformers such as Solon points to a reformation of values, of a *mentalité* whose origins and whose concerns are insistently individualistic. The parallels between this period and the late Middle Ages, as Sourvinou-Inwood notes, are more than superficial.<sup>42</sup> But this is not the place to suggest these parallels. The point is to demonstrate that the death-obsession of the *Aspis* may not be the result of morbid psychology, but the result of a sane psychology in an age of burgeoning prosperity and of individualism. There is ample evidence that the people of the late Middle Ages were obsessed with death. The seventh and sixth centuries in Greece have not left a great deal of evidence, archaeological or literary, by which we might be able to assess easily the contemporary attitude to death.<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, it is conceivable that the *Aspis* is the result of a shift in the attitude to death, a shift which has been posited by Sourvinou-Inwood.<sup>44</sup>

The changes cannot be examined here in detail.<sup>45</sup> Certain aspects, however, deserve mention. The aristocratic funerary ideal, perhaps typified by the Homeric funeral, seems to reflect the value system of its class. Prolonged *prothesis* —even to the point of putrefaction, the extravagant display of wealth at a funeral, an extravagant place of burial, may reflect the *aretê*, the *timê*, the social standing of the dead person. The extravagance of the funeral rites may be designed in part to guarantee the remembrance of the dead person and to reinforce his family's social standing within its own immediate community and within neighbouring communities. But note: such funerary customs presuppose that, at the very worst, the dead man's reputation may survive death. (Indeed, thanks to the survival of his *genos* it must.) Notice, furthermore, that death is a social, even communal

<sup>41</sup> See A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece* (London 1960) 157 ff., and Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36) 17, 17n., 10, and 37, who cites A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London 1980) 160–200.

<sup>42</sup> By Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36) 39.

<sup>43</sup> Generally on death (compare note 31, above) there is Vermeule (above, note 16), G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (edd.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge and Paris 1982); S. C. Humphreys and H. King (edd.), *Mortality and Immortality: The Anthropology and Archaeology of Death* (London 1981) (including articles by Humphreys and Vernant); S. Humphreys, "Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?" *JHS* 100 (1980) 96–126; and R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985).

<sup>44</sup> See Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36). Some profit may be derived from the following articles: J. Hurwit, "Palm Trees and the Pathetic Fallacy in Archaic Greek Poetry and Art," *CJ* 77 (1982) 193–99, and the responses by R. Madden, *CJ* 78 (1983) 193–99, and J. Hurwit, *CJ* 78 (1982) 200–01.

<sup>45</sup> They are alluded to by Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36) 36 ff.

process.<sup>46</sup> Death is honoured by the family and in the preservation of the family the dead man is enabled to transcend death. That we witness the emergence (or rediscovery or re-emphasis) of individualist values (doubtless the product of the weakening of the family) in the Archaic period is frequently asserted.<sup>47</sup> One important way by which the deracinated individual assailed in poetry the aristocratic tradition was through a rejection of memoriality. Without the security of a strong *genos* in which to preserve his memory the possibility of remembrance after death is questioned.

As early as the seventh century Archilochus (133 West) questions memoriality:

οὔτις αἰδοῖος μετ' ἀστῶν οὐδὲ περίφημος θανῶν  
γίνεται· χάριν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ζοοῦ διώκομεν  
(οἶ) ζοοί, κάκιστα δ' αἰεὶ τῶι θανόντι γίνεται.

Steisichorus (245 Page), not too many years later, appears to echo the sentiment. (*Charis* here seems to mean "renown.")

θανόντος ἀνδρὸς πᾶσα †πολιὰ† ποτ' ἀνθρώπων χάρις

Although a poet such as Simonides is responsible for many funerary epigrams (which in their very plea for remembrance of the dead person bespeak a fear of personal oblivion), he exhibits, at least once (fr. 581 Page), a profound scepticism in memoriality, or the *kleos aphthiton* which for the aristocrat might be seen as a weapon against death:<sup>48</sup>

τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόωι πίσυνοσ Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον,  
ἀεναοῖσ ποταμοῖσ' ἄνθεσι τ' εἰαρινοῖσ  
ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέασ τε σελάνας  
καὶ θαλασσαῖαισι δῖναισ' ἀντία θέντα μένοσ στάλασ;  
ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ  
καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ  
φωτὸσ ἄδε βούλα.

The suggested shift in the attitude to death reflected by these views on fame after death may well reflect some of the causes for Solon's supposed laws attempting to limit the extravagance of funerals and burial practices.<sup>49</sup> There were limitations on the size of the cortege in an *ecphora*, upon the size of grave monuments, upon their decorations, upon the ways in which the dead could be praised. It is customary to link the large scale or extravagant funeral with the aristocratic or strongly based family society:

<sup>46</sup> The section on the aristocratic mode of Homeric death in Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36) deserves consultation.

<sup>47</sup> See Bum (above, note 41), and Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36).

<sup>48</sup> In some quarters the attitude persisted. Compare Sophocles, *Ajax* 266-67, and the more comical Euripides, *Alcestis* 725-27.

<sup>49</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 22 and 34. See also S. Humphreys, (above, note 43) 101. The ancient source is Cicero, *de Leg.* 2. 64.

funerals provided a good opportunity for a demonstration of kin solidarity and their display of wealth.<sup>50</sup> Significantly it is in the 590's that the ceramic funeral urn is replaced by *stèle*.<sup>51</sup> *Stelae*, it could be argued, place the *individual* more firmly at odds with his immortality.<sup>52</sup>

The new attitude may also be reflected in the many artistic representations of themes related to death in the sixth century.<sup>53</sup> But perhaps the new attitude may be seen most clearly in a poem roughly contemporary to the *Aspis*, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (note especially v. 480–482). In an aetiological allegory the poem depicts the origins of the increasingly popular Eleusinian rites. The very existence of these individualistic rites indicates a fear of death which is alien to the Homeric and aristocratic mode.

It is sometimes stated that the fear of death is not something which is typical of Greek culture in any period.<sup>54</sup> Yet anxiety about death, however indirectly expressed, seems more typical of some eras than of others. The expression is indeed oblique—no Roman or Christian skeletons here: instead it was expressed by a distrust in memoriality, by a change in funeral rites and iconography, by an upsurge in religious cult addressing itself to the problems of the survival of the soul. The concern and anxiety which I contend the *Aspis* reflects on death, therefore, has ample parallels in several areas. Indeed a normal man of the period might be expected to express such a concern.<sup>55</sup> The securities of an older world had been broken down in the uprooted Archaic period.

Are there parallels for the macabre? They seem to exist not so much in the actual personifications of death, but in the depictions of deaths or figures associated with death. Terror symbols have already been mentioned. Their popularity was delimited by the Archaic period. In the sixth century there were, particularly on a grave *stèle*, examples of horrendous Gorgon heads.<sup>56</sup> The sphinx (herself one of the death *kêres* and often set atop grave *stelae*,<sup>57</sup>) may be depicted ripping open the bellies of opponent men.<sup>58</sup> There are frightening representations of Hecate, half dog-bodied, eating corpses in the

<sup>50</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 21.

<sup>51</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 10 f.

<sup>52</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (above, note 36) 35 states: "The use of monumental painted pots as grave-markers signalling status in eighth-century Athens is another manifestation of the aristocratic self-definition and its symbolism." She cites J. V. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 137 in support. The change to the use of *stelae* doubtless may suggest the opposite of what is claimed for the pot.

<sup>53</sup> Compare Robertson (above, note 21) on "terror symbols."

<sup>54</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 122.

<sup>55</sup> Fear of death (unpersonified) and regret at the brevity of life is also common. See, for example, Mimnermus 1 West, and Anacreon 395 Page.

<sup>56</sup> Gorgons, as symbols of death, have been mentioned already. For some convincingly horrendous reproductions of Gorgons see J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (London 1964) 59 and 92. Compare also the depiction of Cerberus in Vermeule (above, note 16) 41.

<sup>57</sup> See J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture* (London 1978) 162 f.

<sup>58</sup> See Vermeule (above, note 16) 173.

underworld.<sup>59</sup> Artistic representations of war—itsself a poetic symbol of death—may be sometimes so explicit as to be best labelled macabre.<sup>60</sup> Cerberus first appears on pottery at the beginning of the sixth century,<sup>61</sup> as do the first references to Charon.<sup>62</sup> The representation of Achilles about to plunge a spear into the lower neck of the Amazon Queen Penthesileia—seems in this period to have been popular in art and literature.<sup>63</sup> There is in the depiction an element of the macabre, with its linking of love, violence and death. Eros, strangely confused with Death and his brother, Sleep, seems to play a role in the iconography of the macabre.<sup>64</sup> Nor, in the cultic sphere, should one overlook the rites of Dionysus, whose waxing popularity may be dated to the sixth century.<sup>65</sup> The tales of Pentheus, of the daughters of Minyas, of Bacchantes rending live animals or even children limb from limb are potent emblems of the macabre. Van der Valk has pointed out that the most obvious literary parallels for the depiction of the macabre<sup>66</sup> are contained in Hesiod's *Theogony* (note the descriptions of the offsprings of Night, v. 211 ff. and 295 ff., of Cronus' eating of his own children, v. 466 ff., of the Gigantomachy, v. 687 ff., or the denizens of Hades, v. 767 ff.). The *Odyssey* itself is not without elements of the macabre. These few examples from iconography, cult, and literature ought to have demonstrated that the macabre does not go without parallel in the Archaic period—and indeed it may have been more popular than is usually allowed.<sup>67</sup>

While in no sense intended to provide a justification in artistic terms for the *Aspis*, these examples do make the poem more credible. The *Aspis* is not the product of a morbid psychology or one out of tune with its age (a late debased product of a defunct oral epic tradition), rather it is the product of an individual firmly rooted within the *mentalité* of his time.

<sup>59</sup> See Vermeule (above, note 16) 109.

<sup>60</sup> See the reproductions of Vermeule (above, note 16) 103.

<sup>61</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 54.

<sup>62</sup> See Garland (above, note 43) 55.

<sup>63</sup> Vermeule (above, note 16) 158–59, discusses the archaic artistic representation of this scene. In literature there is the *Aethiopsis*. On which see G. H. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969) 147–49.

<sup>64</sup> According to Hesiod, *Theogony* 744 f. Sleep and Death were children of Night. Pausanias 5. 18. 1 describes a chest of Cypselus, dedicated at Olympia about 570 B.C., depicting more or less the same. Vermeule (above, note 16) 153 ff. outlines the link between Eros, Sleep and Death.

<sup>65</sup> See Bum (above, note 41) 345 ff., who associates the emergence of the Dionysiac rites with the mysteries of Eleusis, Orphism and Pythagoreanism.

<sup>66</sup> van der Valk (above, note 2: *Mnem.* 6 [1953]) 266.

<sup>67</sup> The extreme popularity of this poem in artistic circles may provide further evidence. See, *passim*, Shapiro (above, note 39), and F. Vian (above, note 11).

## IV

In this reading of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*, above all I have attempted to suggest that rather than being an analysis of the horror of war and of mortal combat, the poem is concerned with death. The *Aspis* offers a series of variations on this theme. While the poem may not be great art, it is of profound interest as an artefact. It represents a puzzled, at times disorganised, at times stolid attempt to represent the most fundamental of all problems. Above all, it may show us how Greeks of one period reacted to the paradox of their existence.<sup>68</sup>

*University of New England at Armidale,  
New South Wales, Australia*

<sup>68</sup> My thanks for assistance, at various places, to Mr. R. J. Baker, Prof. D. Boedeker, Prof. T. R. Bryce, Dr. T. W. Hillard, Prof. W. R. Nethercut, and Mr. A. Treloar. They would, I suspect, prefer to disclaim responsibility for the final product.





## Ctesias and the Fall of Nineveh

J.D.A. MACGINNIS

The *Persica* of Ctesias are not extant but fragments are preserved in the works of many other ancient writers, notably Diodorus Siculus and Photius; König 1972 is an excellent edition of these excerpts.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this article is to suggest that certain elements in Ctesias' description of the fall of Nineveh (best surviving in Diodorus II.xxiv-xxviii) go back to details actually derived from an earlier siege and fall of Babylon. This is not to deny that the narrative of Ctesias—insofar as it is historical—does preserve material genuinely traceable to the fall of Nineveh, only that it has further incorporated extraneous particulars. Thus the barest outline of a Babylonian and a Median king uniting to bring about the end of the Assyrian empire is correct (Smith, 126–31; Roux 1980, 343–47) though the exact chronology has been much disputed (see J. Oates in the forthcoming volume 3. 2 of the new Cambridge Ancient History). Furthermore, the names of the protagonists are confused: Belesys could just be a corruption of Nabu-aplatur (Nabopolassar) but Arbaces cannot be Umakishtar / Cyaxares, and in fact the suggestion of Jacoby (col. 2049) that Ctesias has inserted the names of two leading Persian officials of the time known from Xenophon, namely the Arbaces who commanded at Cunaxa and the Belesys who was satrap of Syria, is convincing. Another mistake in the Greek accounts is making the last king of Assyria Sardanapallos, that is Ashurbanipal. In fact the last king was Sinshar-ishkun; among the writers of antiquity only Abydenus names him correctly in the form Sarakos (Gadd 1923, p. 18 & n. 8).

The other conflict of interest to us here is the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin, the brother of Ashurbanipal. The background to this is as follows (cf. Smith 1925, Wiseman 1958, Roux 1980, 303–08, Grayson 1980): in 672 Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, convened ambassadors from all over his realm to swear cooperation with his plan for the succession by which one son, Ashurbanipal, was to be crowned king of Assyria and another, Shamash-

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Rupert Macey-Dare for his assistance in the writing of this article. The abbreviations used are those of the two modern Akkadian dictionaries: CAD (The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary) and AHW (the *akkadisches Handwörterbuch* of W. von Soden).

shum-ukin, king of Babylon. This arrangement was put into effect following the death of Esarhaddon in 669 B.C. and worked peacefully until Shamash-shum-ukin rebelled against Assyria in 652; after some initial success Babylon was placed under siege in 650 and fell in 648 B.C. The sources for this are the annals and royal correspondence of Ashurbanipal, the Babylonian Chronicle and contemporary legal and economic documents.

What interests us here is that there are correspondences between events in this rebellion and in Ctesias' account of the fall of Nineveh.

Firstly, the length of the siege is given as two years by Ctesias (Diod. II.xxvii.1): the siege of Nineveh in 612 lasted only two and one-half months (Gadd 1923, p. 17) whilst the siege of Babylon during the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion lasted from April 11, 650 until at least February 29, 648 (when a legal document from Babylon records that "the enemy is encamped against the city"), if not in fact until April 15 of that year—the latest known date of Shamash-shum-ukin (Grayson 1980, p. 234–38). Gadd made the suggestion that the figure of two years in Diodorus might be traced back to the fact that the siege of Nineveh was begun in 614 B.C., abandoned and recommenced successfully in 612, so that the whole operation was of two years' duration (Gadd 1923, p. 9 & 12, followed by Wiseman 1956, p. 14); or that somehow "the three months occupied by the final siege had been expanded by tradition into three years" (Gadd 1923, p. 17). This is a clever suggestion, though there is no firm evidence to support it, but even if it is correct it remains true that the reason for the transposition could be memory of the 650–648 siege.

Secondly, the composition of the allies fits better the forces of Shamash-shum-ukin than those of Nabopolassar. They are given in Diodorus (II.xxiv.5) as the Medes, Persians, Babylonians and Arabs, and whilst it is true that Cyaxares and the Medes were at the forefront of the attacks on Assyria, there is nowhere in the cuneiform evidence any suggestion of the Arabs or Persians being involved in the fall of Nineveh. When on the other hand we look at the allies of Shamash-shum-ukin, we find that although the list includes Akkad (particularly Babylon, Borsippa and Sippar), the Chaldeans, the Arameans, the Sea-land, Elam, Gutium, Amurru and Meluhha (Luckenbill no. 789), it is clear that the Elamites and Arabs were the most important as it was they whose subjugation Ashurbanipal describes most conspicuously. In Elam the kings involved were, successively, Humban-nikash II, Tammaritu, Indabigash and Humbanhattash II (Carter & Stolper, p. 51); in Arabia it was Uaite' who "like Elam listened to the rebellious words of Akkad" (Luckenbill no. 817) and gave troops to Abiyate' and Ayamu to help Shamash-shum-ukin (Eph'al, p. 143–44 & 155–56).

Now of course the Elamites were not the Persians, but it is not unlikely that Ctesias used this appellation for them since part of the area subsequently occupied by the Persians was the former Elam (viz. the region from Susa to Persepolis) where the two peoples lived in symbiosis (Carter

& Stolper, p. 54–59); since he will have realised that no Greek will have known where Elam was; and, not least, since he was writing at the Persian court and would have had an interest in playing up the role of the Persians. Finally, Diodorus claims that the revolt was started by the leaders of the army (Goosens, p. 39), which corresponds well with the epigraph on a sculpture of Ashurbanipal (Luckenbill no. 1076).

Thirdly, there is the celebrated story of Sardanapallos collecting together all his possessions and eunuchs into the palace, setting it alight and perishing in the flames (König, p. 127, 130 & 165; Diod. II.xxvii.2) which recalls Ashurbanipal telling how the Assyrian gods “cast Shamash-shum-ukin my hostile brother who had rebelled against me into the burning flames and destroyed him” (Luckenbill no. 794). This parallel has long been noted (e.g., Gadd, p. 19, Smith, p. 124, Goosens, p. 39) but not pursued. Gadd dismisses its importance in emphasising that “the end of Sin-shar-ishkun is expressly indicated” in the chronicle (p. 13) but in fact, as both his and Grayson’s (1975 no. 3) editions of the text agree, the relevant line 44 is broken and reads “At that time Sin-shar-ishkun king of Ass[yr]ia . . .)” and whilst the death of that king may be inferred from the fact that a new king, Ashur-uballit, is installed in Harran (line 50), nothing is said of the manner of his death: our only other clue is the tradition in Nicolaus Damascenus and Athenaius that he was slain by Arbaces (Gadd, p. 18 & n. 9). This again could refer to Shamash-shum-ukin as a fragment of the annals of Ashurbanipal excavated at Nimrud talks of  $\text{mdGISH.SHIR.MU.GI.NA} / [\text{sha ina MJE}_3 \text{ina u}_2\text{-si mah-su}$ , that is “Shamash-shum-ukin [who in a bat]tle was wounded by an arrow” (E. Knudsen *Iraq* 29 (1967), p. 53, l. 5–6). On the other hand, the detail of the story in which Sardanapallos gathers together his treasure and staff to destroy them cannot wholly apply to the case of Shamash-shum-ukin as we know that Ashurbanipal reviewed the goods, vehicles, horses, furniture and retainers of his brother after his death (Luckenbill nos. 795 & 1036). Accordingly, that part may well be pure fantasy. Nevertheless, the likelihood remains that the story of Greek tradition is an embellished version of the death of Shamash-shum-ukin.

There are a few minor points to consider in addition: both Ashurbanipal in his dealings with Shamash-shum-ukin (Luckenbill no. 790) and Greek tellings of the fall of Nineveh (Diod. II.xxv.8; Xenophon *Anab.* III.iv.8) recount an ominous eclipse; Diodorus (II.xxvi.6 & xxvii.1) places the besieged Ninos (Nineveh) not on the Tigris but on the Euphrates as would be true of Babylon; the story of Belesys transporting the rubble of Nineveh to Babylon (Diodorus II.xxviii) sounds like a folk-tale explaining the presence of the zigurrat, which still existed as a ruined mound at the

time of Ctesias, not yet having been cleared away by Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps to note in this context is Ashurbanipal's claims to have collected earth from the cities of the conquered Elamites (Luckenbill no. 811), a symbolism also known from classical sources (e.g. Herodotus VI. 48).

In summary, it might then be that elements of Ctesias' story of the fall of Nineveh owe their origin to the siege of Babylon during the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. Ctesias was the court physician to Artaxerxes II in the early fourth century B.C. and would have been able to travel to Babylon. Indeed, on the basis of his description of the palace (excavated by the Germans in the early years of this century), Goosens (p. 29 f.) followed by Drews (1965, p. 140) is certain that he did. So, in addition to the Persian "royal leather recordbooks" that Ctesias himself says that he used (Drews 1965, p. 140: Diod. II.xxxii.4) he will have been able to consult the keepers of the Babylonian archives, and Goosens (p. 37) and Drews (1965, p. 138-40) have shown that he did just that.<sup>3</sup> This was denied by Jacoby who held that "von Quellen kann man hier eigentlich nicht reden" (col. 2047), but as it is hardly likely that all of Ctesias' *Persica* is fictitious he must have had sources of some sort, and perhaps Jacoby is nearer the mark when he goes on to name Herodotus as one of the major ones (col. 2051).

As far as cuneiform sources go, we do not know whether or not any of the contents of the Assyrian libraries were taken to Babylon after the fall of Nineveh<sup>4</sup> (though note that Goosens, (p. 38), thinks that Ctesias could only have used Babylonian, not Assyrian, material), but even if not, much of Ashurbanipal's siege of Babylon must have been preserved in popular memory if not in written Babylonian sources. It is transparent that much of the story of the fall of Nineveh of both Ctesias and other classical writers is fantasy, but it may well be that it was not invented by the authors but records the tale as current in Babylon at the time.<sup>5</sup> At any rate there is no reason to doubt that a tradition that included much fantasy and may well be derived directly from the popular fabulary could have included in its handling of the fall of Nineveh memorable details from an earlier war.<sup>6</sup> Specifically,

<sup>2</sup> Wiseman 1985, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly it is beyond doubt that Berossus made use of the Babylonian Chronicle (Drews 1975, 54).

<sup>4</sup> The recent discovery by Iraqi archeologists at Sippar of an intact Babylonian library of the first millenium may eventually throw light on this matter.

<sup>5</sup> A hint of this is given by Abydenus when he uses the phrase "an army like locusts" to describe the multitude of the host coming against Sarakos: this translates a common semitic idiom (cf. *erbu c2'* in CAD for Akkadian, *arbh* on page 916 of Brown, Driver & Briggs's Lexicon for Hebrew) and the phrase must reflect the Akkadian wording, whether from a written text or oral narration.

<sup>6</sup> Other examples of such telescoping of tradition in Mesopotamian folklore have been demonstrated in the cases of Semiramis (Eilers 1971), Cyrus (Drews 1974) and Nabonidus (Sack 1983).

the type of synthesis outlined above would suggest that—at any rate for his history of the end of the Assyrian empire—Ctesias relied mainly on oral tradition. Inasmuch, then, as he failed to correct this tradition through his use of the cuneiform sources, Sayce's judgement that Ctesias was “devoid of critical power” (p. 362) must be considered exact.

*Trinity College, Cambridge*

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## Magic and the Songstress: Theocritus Idyll 2

HUGH PARRY

The Second Idyll of Theocritus takes the form of a spell which is intended to restore the affections of Simaetha's beloved. Failing in that purpose, it nevertheless succeeds in a way unintended by the speller herself; the mere performance of the spell makes the singer feel better in the end. The technique of the Second Idyll can therefore be compared with that of the Eleventh, where Polyphemus, after failing to win the object of his affections, has his song to thank for curing the pain of unrequited love. Both points have been well established.<sup>1</sup> What is distinctive about the Second Idyll, and neglected, is the spell itself as a form of *poiesis* and therefore as therapy. In myth and literature a woman anguished in love was much more likely than a man so anguished to turn to magic. Not only did magic claim to offer her one of the few solutions available to her to counter resistance in love, namely a chance to either restore the beloved or punish him; it also provided her, in the absence of some characteristically male alternatives, with an appropriate vehicle for therapeutic self-expression, *her* antidote to the miseries of unrequited love.

We begin with the claim that through song Simaetha and the Cyclops "come to master their turbulent and otherwise uncontrollable emotions."<sup>2</sup> Our conclusion will be that for these victims of unrequited love, neither the cure nor the song that engineers it is precisely identical. To what extent the

<sup>1</sup> See P. Henkel's summary of the scholarship, *Zu Theokrit*, in *Serta Philologica Aenipontana*, ed. R. Muth (1962) 191-214. More recent discussions include Gilbert Lawall, *Theocritus' Coan pastorals* (Harvard 1967) 7 f.; F. T. Griffiths, "Poetry as *Pharmakon* in Theocritus' Idyll 2," in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (New York 1979) 81-88. Charles Segal (I), *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (Cornell 1981) 73-84; (II) "Space, Time, and Imagination in Theocritus' Second Idyll," *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 4. 1 (1985) 103-19. On the influence of mime here, see A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, vol. II (Cambridge 1950) 33-35; Pierre Monteil, *Théocrite* (Paris 1968) 50 f., sees mime converted in the Second Idyll into "verité psychologique."

<sup>2</sup> Lawall (above, n. 1) 8. Among other relevant studies of Idyll 11, see: Ettore Bignone, *Teocrito* (Bari 1934) 201 f.; E. B. Holtsmark, "Poetry as Self-Enlightenment: Theocritus 11," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 253-59; Edward W. Spofford, "Theocritus and Polyphemus," *AJP* 90. 1 (1969) 22-35; R. Schmid, "Theocritus 11. The purblind poet," *CJ* 70. 4 (1975) 32-36.

experiences of singer and songstress here can be read as typically male and female is a question to be addressed in due course.

The Cyclops' cure is called a *pharmakon* (*Id.* 11, 1–3, 17). *Pharmakon* means “remedy” in general, “drug” in particular, whether literally as substance (cf. *Id.* 2. 161) or figuratively as intoxicating power. In the Eleventh Idyll *pharmakon* is explicitly defined as “the Muses.” As a charm it fails to beguile the beloved into reciprocal passion (63: “Come, Galatea . . .”), but it cures the singer himself of his “madness” (11, 71). In fact, the Idyll centres on a playful exchange between the ways of music and of medicine. Theocritus gently mocks the doctor's art for its inability to cure love-sickness, yet song apes medical procedure: both are means whereby the disease is allowed to run its course until it reaches its climax of pain, the fever breaks, and the patient returns to a normal condition of body and mind. The singer's cure is at once the healing of his diseased emotions and an act of self-discovery: Polyphemus finds out who he really is, and by the same token he is able to *poimainein* his passion (80) and so be healed. The literal meaning of *poimainein* is to “shepherd,” suggesting control, here, punningly, the mastering of emotions which is also the formal mastering that, according to such critics as Horace and Longinus, constitutes *poiesis*. We are reminded that *νομός* meaning “pasture” or habitable area, and *νόμος* meaning “custom,” “law,” “music” are essentially the same word. In the end the singer has found the way to order his unruly passion, containing it and shaping it into both sense and poetic resolution that are triumphs of clarity: “O Cyclops, Cyclops, where have you flown to in your wits?” (72). The singer then rehearses the truth he has newly discovered—that he is a somebody on land with ewes at his beck and call who has no business with a nymph of the sea. Thus did he find his remedy. Thus did he “shepherd his love” (17, 80). To turn the Eleventh Idyll into a Freudian case-study would be to butcher its distinctive qualities as a whimsical poem. I have drawn attention merely to its explicit language of cure as the work of song. The Muses are the Cyclops' *pharmakon*; they embody what we may call Apollonian form, that is the capacity shared by prophecy, law, medicine, music, and shepherding (we remember that Apollo was once a herdsman) in their most constructive guises to reduce disorder to order and madness to sense. Or at least to *claim* to do so—it is the assumption that matters.

The Thirtieth Idyll provides a parallel. Its love-sick minstrel finds relief only in endurance: “I must stretch out my neck its full length and drag the yoke” (28 f.). We compare Simaetha's “I will endure my longing as I have endured it” (164). But this male poet, like Polyphemus, arrives at his conclusion after a self-injunction to be sensible (*ὦρα τοι φρονέην*, 14) and a lengthy rational weighing of the evidence (14–27) which concludes with wise advice from his own soul. His distant ancestor is Archilochus, who



appealed to his downcast soul to think rationally about life's misfortunes: "learn the rhythm by which men are bound" (*fr.* 128).<sup>3</sup>

Like Polyphemus Simaetha is the victim of unrequited love, like him she resorts to lyrical, that is, self-expressive poetry to do something about it, like him she seeks to change her beloved's response, and like him she finally changes her own state of mind. These similarities have been well explored but there are differences also; these have been less well explored. Simaetha's song takes the form of a demonic hymn, and in so doing reveals a significantly different structure, imagery, mood, and resolution. We look first at some of her song's hymnal and demonic properties. Like many another speller Simaetha fails in her conscious purpose, for reasons that could be properly explained only with reference to the psychology that creates and sustains belief in systems of magic. But our concern here is with Simaetha's success; that is, with the effect of the spell on the singer herself as self-expressive, self-healing therapy, and the extent to which the fantasies of myth and literature are likely to have mirrored in this regard the real experience of Greek women.

While it may be true that the typical Theocritean pastoral is not tightly structured, a chain of links leading to a conclusion,<sup>4</sup> we do find in the Second Idyll, perhaps because it is not a typical pastoral, a careful and effective design that forces Simaetha's emotions into redemptive shape. The larger principle organising this design is hymnal form. After a brief introduction to her problem and her intentions (1–10), Simaetha invokes supportive deities—Selena, Hecate, and a divinized *iunx*; and she returns to hymnal invocation at the end of the Idyll (163) via a conventional *v̄n* (159) and forms of *χαίρειν* (163, 165). Also, beginning and end are conventionally ringed: *καταδήσομαι* (3, 10, 159); *χαῖρ'* (14), *χαίροισα* (163), *χαῖρε, χαίρετε* (165), *Σελάνα* (10), *Σελαναία* (165). The first refrain (throughout 17–57), bidding the demonically potent bird-wheel to grant her request, extends the opening invocation. The second refrain, to Selana, introduces and punctuates the section of the hymn that falls between the opening and closing apostrophes, the narrative recollection (69–135), technically called the hypomnesis. (That the reminiscence is here a rehearsal not of the deity's manifested power in the past but of the singer's personal experience is a not unusual adaptation of the hypomnesis in secularized versions of hymnal form.)<sup>5</sup> The hymnal arrangement of the Second Idyll is assertively clear, although the hymn is finally both demonic and lyrical, that is, both a spell and an outpouring of personal emotion.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Achilles' advice to Priam that humans must endure whatever sorrows the gods send, a measure of his own return to sanity and of the part that logic has played in that return (*Il.* 24. 525–51).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969) 47.

<sup>5</sup> See H. Parry, *The Lyric Poems of Greek Tragedy* (Toronto and Sarasota 1978) 26–28.

The deities Simaetha invokes and seeks to bind have magic as their province. The line between supplication and compulsion can be a fine one, especially when the invoked deity is an ambiguous Olympian like Hermes, Aphrodite, or Apollo.<sup>6</sup> Simaetha's imperatives, to Hecate and Iunx (14, 17, etc.), smack of the *katadesmos*; binding the gods of magic, she will be able to bind Delphis too (3, 10). She raises her curtain on a stage of chilling presences: on Selana, who is no Olympian, on Hecate who makes hounds shiver as she crosses graves and dark blood, and on the demonic Iunx. The Artemis she turns to is another face of Hecate, a goddess of the crossroads (33–36). And when she mentions Aphrodite, it is with an eye to her support in turning the rhomb (3). She also lets us know early that this is the world of Circe and Medea and their *pharmaka* (15 f.). The details of her ritual actions speak to the magician's sombre intentions; her insistent refrains and the strict patterns of her verse, based on the magical number three and multiples,<sup>7</sup> are the mesmerising rhythms of her art. If after the last appearance of the refrain at 135 we begin to forget that Simaetha is treating the dark art, she herself reminds us when she returns to binding threats, and worse, before the end (159–61). And her quiet farewell to Selana brings to mind the dismissal of spirits at the close of magical ceremony, especially necromancy.<sup>8</sup>

The Second Idyll is a spell in the form of a demonic hymn, but it is a demonic hymn serving the ends of self-expression. Like sorrowing Gilgamesh raising the dead Enkidu, or raging Medea calling on Hecate to fortify her drugs, Simaetha is in part at least a lyric poet plumbing the depths of her passionate feelings. If at times she seems less than *docta*,<sup>9</sup> it is because her gaucherie is appealing and poetically effective. To select a few of the many points where the spell reveals the singer's mind, we begin with a number of images whose ambiguous effects seem to mirror the ambiguity of Simaetha's purposes. The love-philtre Simaetha resorts to to bend Delphis' will is an unsettling image; the *philtion* is a drug, and every drug inspires at once the hope of a cure and the fear of unpredictable effects. Most often turned to by the female and in its contents usually expressive of corruption and death,<sup>10</sup> the philtre also embodies male fear of the female lover. Fire too, which figures prominently in Simaetha's ritual, provides a metaphor of the dangerous energy that lies at the heart of erotic experience and intent. Even deities lend themselves to possibilities of lyrically expressive focus. Iunx, as Detienne has shown, is an image able to mediate

<sup>6</sup> These are often invoked in spells: see the examples in Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Leipzig 1928), *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> See Gow (above, n. 1) 39.

<sup>8</sup> See Gow (above, n. 1) 62 f.

<sup>9</sup> See Griffiths (above, n. 1) 83 f. R. W. Johnson thinks that Simaetha is, appealingly, not very good at magic either: *The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982) 168.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Horace, *Epod.* 5. 30–40; Apuleius, *Met.* 3. 17.

between contrary sides of *eros*.<sup>11</sup> She is therefore the handmaiden of Aphrodite, who brought the *iunx* to men,<sup>12</sup> who turns the rhomb, and who sits at the divide between *eros* as compulsion and *eros* as the confusions of the lover's mind, full of hope and full of menace.<sup>13</sup> Once acknowledged, this goddess deepens the meaning of *Iunx*, casting her shadow over the entire poetic narrative and its revelation of the singer's passions.

So strict are the formal patterns of Simaetha's song that the few irregularities inevitably help concentrate the energy of the singer's emotions. The final appearance of the second refrain at line 135 is notably curious. The first refrain contributes to the formally monotonous rhythms of magical ceremony. The second refrain, an apostrophe to Selana, belongs to a pattern of rhythmical effects that is not only different but also less monotonous, since it does not consistently separate off discrete units of thought. It interrupts a single sentence at line 105. And, most peculiarly, the final rehearsal of the refrain at 135 cuts across Simaetha's recollection of her lover's words which continue to 140. One might have expected him to reach an end at 134 immediately before the refrain, or his appeal to be closed off by a thirteenth appearance of the refrain at 141. After the first series of refrains, to *Iunx*, which mark the compulsions of magic ritual and the emotional energy that feeds them, the second series that introduces and punctuates the hypomnesis both suggests formal continuity yet establishes a change of pace. The new set of line clusters suggests a continuation of the pulse beat of magic, but the fire of sorcery has now become the metaphorical fire of passion recollected. The descriptive, quieter tone in these clusters helps diminish the force of the beat, and so reduces our surprise when the narrative thrust of the sentence at 104 carries it across the refrain in the following line. This break occurs shortly after the midpoint of the second set of refrains; it therefore makes it all the easier to tolerate the dislocation with which the set concludes. Delphis' words sweep over the refrain, incorporating it into the flow of Simaetha's thoughts as she reaches the climax of her reminiscence, her confession that she was "easily persuadable" (*ταχυπειθής*, 138) to submit to her lover's embrace, indeed that finally she solicited it: "taking his hand I drew him down on the soft bed." No refrain breaks the final 22 lines of the hypomnesis, from Delphis' winning argument, that Eros "with terrible madness" scares the maiden from her chamber (136 f.), to Simaetha's concluding fear that she must now have been betrayed by her lover.

<sup>11</sup> Marcel Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis: la mythologie des aromates en Grèce* (Paris 1972); and see Segal I (above, n. 1) 73–83.

<sup>12</sup> Pind. *P.* 4, 214–17; on *iunx* and *rhombos*, see Gow (above n. 1) 41, 44.

<sup>13</sup> On Simaetha's mixed motives, see Gow (above, n. 1) 40, 46; Griffiths (above, n. 1) 85. On the connexions between the setting of *Idyll II* and Simaetha's confused and violent emotions, see Lawall (above, n. 1), 16; also Monteil on Simaetha's "strange isolation" (above, n. 1, 51). The singer also becomes trapped by the formal correspondence between spell and curse, each a form of "binding."

And so the majestic formalities of the Second Idyll finally serve the self-expressive needs of a love-sick girl. But does Simaetha achieve roughly the kind of catharsis Polyphemus achieves through his song? Those who believe so<sup>14</sup> point to Simaetha's words: "I will endure my passion as I have endured it" (164). The dismissal of spirits coincides with the singer's change of mood. Her ceremonial hail and farewell also perhaps recalls the ending of such impassioned songs as those of Odysseus: "All fell silent, held by the spell (κηληθμῶ)" . . . .<sup>15</sup> The concluding silence is part of the performance itself, the moment when singer and audience alike absorb the import of the song before finally "the spell is broken."

And then there is Selana. Simaetha at first pairs her with the infernal goddess Hecate, next isolates her as a celestial witness in the first series of refrains, then links her with "rosy dawn" and the rhythms of the diurnal round (142-48). In her final appearance "with shining throne" Selana suggests beauty without menace, especially in the context of "quiet night" (166). It is an appropriate setting for Simaetha's own quiet mood. The spell reaches its conclusion, the song its form, the singer her catharsis.

But the differences between the Second and Eleventh Idylls are as informative as the similarities. Simaetha's song does not close on the imagery or language of cure. She does not, like the Cyclops, come to recognize the folly of her sentiments. Nor does she emerge from that folly into enlightenment, restored at last to a sense of the community to which she properly belongs and aware of her true interests. Instead, the fire of her conflicting emotions seems more subdued than extinguished. She expresses at the end no hope of winning Delphis. The only alternative to that hope has been, throughout, her desire to punish him. That wish receives its climactic expression in the image of the *kaka pharmaka* (161). We hear no apology for that turn of mind, indeed no departure from it. Only the note of resignation and the imagery of redeemed nature suggest some change of direction. But if her resignation reminds us of the male singer's response in the Thirtieth Idyll, yet it is not like his the product of considered analysis. It is therefore more fragile, a sigh that fails to recognize even the theoretical possibility of better alternatives. As for the beauty of the night sky, comforting though it is, it cannot entirely erase the very recent image of the murderous *kaka pharmaka* or the ringing technique of a hymn that opens with invocations of Moon and Hecate (10-12) and closes with farewells to "Mistress" (162) and Moon (165).

<sup>14</sup> Among discussions of the Idyll's close, see Griffiths (above, n. 1) 87 f.; Segal (above, n. 1) I. 84; II. 112-19. Segal in particular makes an intriguing case for "some increase of understanding and control," for an "emerging self-understanding" on Simaetha's part. But the comparatively inexplicit, indirect, and ambivalent manner in which Simaetha finds her release, certainly any sense of "self-understanding," suggests a significantly different experience.

<sup>15</sup> *Od.* 13. 1-2. In Homer it is the audience whose silence is explicitly referred to, in Vergil the singer's: *conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit* (*Aen.* 3. 718).

Simaetha the love-sick magician is the creation of a male imagination. Is her experience authentically female? Evidence is largely circumstantial, but we cannot overlook Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite*.<sup>16</sup> The penultimate stanza of this ode (21–24) is among the controverted lines of ancient verse: "If she flees, soon shall she follow; if she accepts not gifts, she'll offer them; if she loves not, soon she'll love, even unwillingly." A number of points are relevant to the present investigation. The poem is a plea to the Goddess of Love for release from the cares of unrequited love: "Don't keep on oppressing my heart with pain and anguish, but come . . . (3–5); release me from harsh care (25 f.)." How the goddess will help is disputed. On a previous occasion recalled by the poet Aphrodite asked, "Whom yet again am I to persuade to restore you to her affection? (18 f.)." Most critics take this past event as a mirror of the present. Giacomelli, however, points out the absence of an object in the promises "she shall pursue, give, love", and suggests that they express the general law that the insouciant beloved will inexorably in time become the anguished lover "against her will." It is the recital of this law with its promise that the biter will be bit that comforts Sappho.<sup>17</sup>

Whether Sappho hopes for another reconciliation or expects that the tables will be turned, the climax of Aphrodite's words is, as Cameron long ago pointed out, "couched in a form which has magical associations paralleled in the *Magical Papyri*."<sup>18</sup> In the mouth of a child, the words might be the jingling accompaniment to a skipping game. As the promise of Aphrodite, goddess of beguilement, they suggest a compulsive spell. The jingle itself, the inexorable future tenses, and the final reference to the victim's unwillingness all suggest compulsion. Whatever threat these words pose the victim, can their very form, rhythm, and pedigree, as well as their content, also be read as an example of how Sappho in her *erotika* "gives vent to the passions of her heart . . . so curing her *eros* with the

<sup>16</sup> There are echoes in the Second Idyll "*étrangement près de Sappho*" Monteil (above, n. 1) 51; for an earlier discussion of Sapphic echoes, see Ph.-E. Legrand, *Études sur Théocrite* (Paris 1898) 121, 350. Simaetha's account of passion's assaults, leaving her now fevered, now pale, remembers Sappho's remarkable self-analysis (31). Griffiths finds bathos in the shift from the girl's Sapphic (and Medean) pose to her "abrupt descent to babies and dolls" (above, n. 1, 83).

<sup>17</sup> Anne Giacomelli, "The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho Fr. 1," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 135–41.

<sup>18</sup> A. Cameron, "Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite," *HTR* 32 (1939) 1–7; see too C. Segal, "Eros and Incantation: Sappho and Oral Poetry," *Arethusa* 7. 2 (1974) 148–50. Sappho's goddess is Aphrodite *doloploskos*. The epithet means "wile-weaver"; it suggests love's "magical deceptions, but suggests too, perhaps, that *eros* can weave lyrical poems out of its own intense experiences. Johnson (above, n. 9) calls the poetess herself *doloploskos* (46 f.). There may be echoes too of "crafty" Hermes, a god of magic and of poetry: on *dolos* see N. O. Brown, *Hermes the Thief* (New York 1947) 6 f. There is a temptation to translate *koma* in 2. 8 as "sleep of enchantment" (D. A. Campbell, Loeb *Greek Lyric* 1, 57), because of the sense of hypnotic effect, but this is perhaps metaphorical magic. On the other hand, see Eva Stehle Stigers, "Sappho's Private World," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H. Foley (New York 1981) 45–61: she refers to those who have emphasised "the atmosphere of magic and incantation in [Sappho's] poems" (45).

sweet-voiced Muses?"<sup>19</sup> Her final appeal for "release from care" is both an injunction for future action and a mark of what the poem is already achieving as a therapeutic exercise.

To ask whether Greek women turned to spells for relief more often than men did, and whether the spell suggested itself as a form of *poiesis* more readily to the female poet than to her male counterpart, is to immerse oneself in conjecture. The more general one's answers, the more tentative and vulnerable they must be. Apart from what is left of Sappho and the even skimpier fragments of other female writers, the Greek and Roman poetess—that is, the woman who sings—is for us the creation of a male imagination. From the Choruses of tragedy to the *Heroides* of Ovid, most of our songstresses are, like Simaetha, the fictions of a male Muse. What we "know" about female poets and female magic is mostly what the male imagination conceived these to be. But, *faute de mieux*, we must listen to what myth and male poetry have to say, testing such evidence against the certain or probable conditions of ancient life.

Several points suggest themselves. First, the experience of women must have varied from rank to rank, from place to place, and from time to time. And so must the kind of poetry that reflected such variations.<sup>20</sup> Antigone and others in Greek tragedy, for example, might have counterparts in the real world in Queen Artemisia of Halicarnassus and Argive Telesilla, a poetess remembered for the initiative she took in resisting Spartan aggression. On the whole, however, Greek women were by the conditions of ancient life typically excluded from the world "out there" and so had available fewer opportunities to balance intense experiences against intellectual alternatives grounded in possibilities of social action. Where Polyphemus, shaggy shepherd that he is, thinks and acts like the most urbane of Greek males, Simaetha suggests the typical female reduced by social circumstance and realistic expectation to more limited alternatives.

Another assumption that persists in Greek myth and may well reflect real life is that the true magician is female. Male associations with effective magic are weak in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>21</sup> Female associations

<sup>19</sup> Philoxenos paraphrased by Plutarch (*Am.* 18).

<sup>20</sup> On varieties of female experience and possibilities in Greece and Rome, a good place to start is Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women in Greece and Rome* (Toronto and Sarasota 1977). Also *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (above, n. 18); *Women in the Ancient World*, ed. John Peradotto and J. P. Sullivan (Albany 1984); Elaine Fantham, "Women in Antiquity: A Selective (and Subjective) Survey (1979–84)," *Classical Views* 30, N.S.5 (1986) 1–24. J. Winkler well notes that "all social codes can be manipulated and subverted as well as obeyed" (*Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, 64); but, despite such examples of political initiative as those displayed by Artemisia and Telesilla, ancient social codes seem generally to have intensified whatever differences between male and female experience may be attributed to biology (on which see Stigers in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, 49 f.).

<sup>21</sup> Practitioners like the *magi*, a "barbarian" import, are often denounced as mere tricksters (cf. *Eur. Or.* 1497–99; *Bacch.* 234) and remain well away from the centre of Greek thought and imagination. Hadrian had his own magician at court, but even now in Roman times, when

are correspondingly strong: the entire panoply of Thessalian witches, led by the daunting Erichtho, springs immediately to mind. Only in the area of song is male magic at all prominent. But in recorded Greek times at least male and female song charm in different ways. Magic and song, it is widely believed, were in most cultures at first inseparable;<sup>22</sup> the Welsh bard Taliesin, son of a witch and himself a magician, is our paradigm. In the earliest Greek literature, however, musical magic has begun to divide into the literal and therefore menacing potency of certain kinds of spellbinding song, the province of females, and into the more figurative enchantments of male music. Homer's Phemius "beguiles" his audience with his sweet song (*Od.* 1. 337), but this is the largely metaphorical charm of persuasive and delectable entertainment. There is nothing even in Orpheus' magic comparable to the varied and sinister forces which surround the spells of Circe or Medea or Simaetha. Myth reflects the popular belief, maintained from Homer to Theocritus, that male "charms" are figurative—either sweet music or verbal trickery (well exemplified in the scorn heaped on sophistic rhetoric by critics like Hippolytus' father superior to its "charms"<sup>23</sup>), while female charms are literal and dangerous magic in all the areas where magic operates, including that of musical beguilement.

More than one commentator on the Second Idyll has suggested that Delphis casts his own *epaoidē* on Simaetha.<sup>24</sup> But the text, while attesting to the dominion of *eros* over Simaetha, nowhere colours the effect Delphis

popular beliefs in magic have risen closer to the surface of official life, the male magician is an obedient servant. In the imaginative world of ancient mythology, male sorcery is almost unknown, except in references, largely figurative, to musical beguilement. Vergil's Moeris, who dispenses magical drugs (*Ec.* 8. 95–99), is the counterpart of Simaetha's "Assyrian stranger" (*Id.* 2. 162) and is not heard of before or later (unless the harmless shepherd of the Ninth Eclogue is the same Moeris). Anyway, it is the female singers of both the Idyll and the Eclogue who imaginatively embody the mind of the magician. The Telchines, malignant magician smiths, are very shadowy figures, as are the Curetes and Dactyli. The latter have connexions with medical charms and with music; if the legends of Orpheus are any guide, such healing and musical powers are likely to have fallen under the tutelage of Apollo as god of harmony in its many forms.

<sup>22</sup> Brown (above, n. 18) 31 f., finds the origin of song in the intoned formulae of magical incantations, related to heraldic function. And see Jacqueline de Romilly, *Magic and Rhetoric in Ancient Greece* (Harvard 1975) 4 f., 11–13; Northrop Frye, *Spiritus Mundi* (Indiana 1976), 123–47. On ceremonial magic as itself a form of art, see E. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge 1949) 3 f., 295 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Hipp.* 1038–40. On magic and rhetoric, see de Romilly (above, n. 22) 26–32. We do find males occasionally associated with necromancy, for example Odysseus, but Homer's hero is here a poor poet compared with his eastern counterpart, Gilgamesh, doing no more than dutifully repeat the words and carry out the instructions given him by Circe (*Od.* 10. 516–29; 11. 24–36). The male singers who raise the dead Darius are highly lyrical performers, but of course they are exotic Persians; even so, Darius adds a touch of Greek rationalism when he says that he was able to defy the usual restrictions imposed on the dead because of his despotic authority in the underworld (*Aesch. Pers.* 623–80).

<sup>24</sup> Most recently, Griffiths (above, n. 1) 86.

has on her with magical terms, literal or figurative. Simaetha on the other hand seeks literally to enchant her beloved. Magic is female and for the most part malignant; the spell—the form resorted to by magicians like Circe and Medea, by seductive singers like the Sirens, and by ladies like Simaetha for whom song is at least partly a weapon—is one of its malignant forms. The male bard, from the Homeric court minstrel to Pindar, unites with his audience in a healing exercise, “magical” in its shamanic assumptions, yet implications of effective magic are always very weak. Phemius’ offerings are *thelkteria*, “beguilements” (*Od.* 1. 337), but again the figurative connotations are clear: where the spell is only one of the ways a female demonstrates her magical power, male “spellbinders”, even Orpheus, that most shamanic of singers, have no other connections with sorcery.

These contrary images of the singer and the songstress derive in large part from male values that underlie social structure and determine roles within that structure. From Homer on the poet’s task is to order his inspiration within the limits of social tolerance, to be *utilis urbi*. Inspired by divine Muses and possessing unusual powers of memory and insight, the poet must strike a difficult balance between the pain or awesome grandeur of remembered events and the poetic form that orders them into beautiful and so acceptable and useful experiences. Where the poet fails to achieve that balance he must accede to the authoritative voice of the society he serves. Penelope, distressed by the troubling exempla of Phemius’ song, bids him cease; Telemachus, assuming the weightier authority of the male, overrides her (*Od.* 1. 340 f.; 346 f.). And we recall the Athenians’ harsh reaction to Phrynichus when his *Milesians*, dwelling on the fate of the islanders in 494 B.C., caused the audience more pain than pleasure.

Where one kind of stereotype puts the male charmer as poet within the social order and makes him its servant, a Merlin who knows his place, another puts the female charmer as poet outside and makes her a threat. Our examples must once again be imaginative and so handled with caution. But there are no female poet laureates in the courts of Homeric kings. The songstresses of Homer are Circe (*Od.* 10. 221) and the Sirens. What the latter offer sounds at first blush precisely the same as what male singers offer. They “know everything”, in particular the events of the Trojan War, and they claim that their listeners will derive both pleasure and enlightenment from their song. Why, then, is their song so dangerous? One could say that it is not the performance itself but what the Sirens do afterwards, having once enticed their victims, that constitutes the peril. But Homer insists that it is precisely their “voices” and their “song” that are lethal (*Od.* 12. 41; 44). The Sirens’ song is not merely a ruse to entrap the unwary, it is itself a menace, the dangerous, beguiling side of *molpe*, song’s extraordinary power in its most nakedly disorienting form. If it is not to destroy, it must be mastered by the ordering power of Odysseus’ intelligence



or of Orpheus' lyre (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 909).<sup>25</sup> The Sirens' song suggests binding as *katadesmos*, a demonic counterpart of order and a purpose of the spell.

Of course, in real life the line between male and female sensibility and practice can never have been rigid. We are talking about typical emphasis. But one might find in Longinus' account of the poet's task an enduring male ideal from Homeric to much later times, at least in the Greek period, a reflection of male status, role, and opportunity in the community: "to reduce inspiration to order" (*De Sublim.* 33. 5).

It is an ideal that seems to inform not only the "socially useful" poem monitored by the Homeric court or the Attic theatre but also the poem that gives vent to the author's personal feelings. The Cyclops' cry, "Where have you flown to in your wits" (*Id.* 11. 72) is, I have argued, like Archilochus' self-injunction, a typical male attempt to impose order on his interior world. Magic is antithetical to the assumptions that underlie these attitudes, but not to those adopted by Simaetha. We might fortify the argument that essential gender differences are involved here by considering the broad range of alternatives available to unhappy male and female lovers.

For both the man and woman frustrated or disappointed in love the two larger options are aggressive countermeasures and forms of consolation. In the first group, the most peculiarly and disagreeably male response to frustrated desire is rape (exemplified in Archilochus' seduction-cum-rape in the *Cologne Epode* and throughout Ovid's *Metamorphoses*). The female equivalent is magic, intended to seduce, or punish, or both. Limited options must sometimes have encouraged a female to resort to the magic of drugs or spells; and drugs were always perilous, while spells, as Plato well noted,<sup>26</sup> could do psychological harm to a credulous recipient.

Either sex may turn violence against the self, in the form of suicide. However, few males actually go through with it. The singer of Theocritus' Third Idyll talks about it, but his thoughts smack more of self-pitying rhetoric than of desperate intent (25-27). Many more females actually commit suicide. Iocasta, for example, the mother-wife, takes her own life; Oedipus, her husband-son, does not. Often the woman reacts thus to the pressures of love. The Sappho of legend leaped to her death for love of Phaon, while in the grip of unendurable emotions. And whatever complex

<sup>25</sup> The lyre of Orpheus that once tamed the Sirens (Apollon. *Argon.* 4. 909) is finally overcome by the discordant song of the Maenads, as they themselves tear him to pieces (Ovid *Met.* 11. 3-22). Among other notable female singers who took root in the Greek imagination is the Sphinx, an *aidos* (Soph. *O.T.* 36 etc.), who sits belligerently on the city walls, whose song takes the form of the riddle, whose power depends on the riddle's baffling properties, and whose victims are explicitly male (Eur. *Phoen.* 1027). She is mastered eventually by male intelligence.

<sup>26</sup> Plato *Laws* 933a-b. The strength of Plato's attack on magic suggests how misleading the extant, elitist, largely male literary tradition may be as evidence for contemporary practice, even in the fifth and fourth centuries.

reasons lie behind the deaths of Deianeira, Phaedra, and Dido, the source of their anguish is unrequited love and self-inflicted death is their desperate last resort. The subject is riddled with complexities<sup>27</sup> and the examples cited are, once again, imaginative and male-created. But myth seems here to embody at least psychological realities of ancient life, and probably more than that.

Our second kind of option, namely consolation, is again likely to have taken somewhat different forms for men and women. One form of consolation finds itself on the lessons of experience. The evidence we cited earlier suggests that men tended to appeal to a wider range of experience, to see alternatives more clearly, to be able to apply them more realistically to their own cases, and in particular to recognize the advantages of a more balanced state of the emotions which finds fulfilment in "useful" actions. Even where a man opts for resignation, he is more likely to think it through first. Sappho perhaps also appeals to a law that helps clarify one's thoughts—the biter will inevitably be bit. But this is one of *love's* laws; other kinds of rationalization might have been less accessible to women, or at least less implementable.

A second form of consolation finds itself on the therapeutic properties of song, the extent to which performance itself can be an act of self-ordering. Horace expresses an ideal of *poiesis* when he chides Empedocles for his act of irrational suicide, dismissing him as merely "mad" (*vesanus*, A.P. 296 f.; 464-66), a poet who failed to achieve mastery of himself and his craft. The poet can and should master the "manic" energies of his emotions, and his verse should embody rational control. That way salvation lies. One might read this injunction as founded on principles that social and political realities of ancient life offered more readily to the male than to the female. It is not surprising that according to myth and male prejudice the female, more vulnerable to the pressures of emotion and less likely to have to hand the means of philosophical reflection about realistic alternatives to deal with them, should, if she resists suicide, turn to magic and its hope of wholly automatic forms of control, including self-control. Even the outpourings of a Medea, best represented in Ovid and Seneca, are hardly necessary to the preparation of her poison, but they do reveal and accommodate the depths of the sorceress' passion—even if they do not in this instance exorcize it.

It has been noted that the references to magic ritual in Theocritus' Second Idyll have "every appearance of being true to contemporary practice."<sup>28</sup> It is also possible that the spell offered many a desperate woman, no less in real life than in the world of a largely male imagination, a useful resource as a version of therapeutic song. After all, belief in magic

<sup>27</sup> For example, the occasional male like Narcissus and Daphnis is destroyed by the power of unrequited love, without recourse to the antidote of sober reflection.

<sup>28</sup> Gow (above, n. 1) 35. On Alexandrian magic, see also Monteil (above, n. 1) 52. On magic and the search for "lurid effects" in Hellenistic poetry, see Segal I (above, n. 1) 50.

is sustained by the psychological support such belief provides. As an outlet for women, magical ritual may perhaps be compared with other ecstatic rituals, especially those associated with Demeter and Dionysus. For the woman disappointed in love, the spell's images of binding, burning, and melting suggest the confusions of betrayed love, its energies promise to compel change, its inexorable patterns impose order and so provide their own kind of relief. If such relief has its dark overtones, we should not be surprised. Simaetha's kind of magic is the province of Hecate, whose "hounds tremble as she crosses the graves of corpses and black blood" (*Id.* 2. 12 f.). The aid she brings bears the marks of its origin.<sup>29</sup>

*York University, Ontario*

<sup>29</sup> The songstress of Vergil's Eighth Eclogue seems to fare better than Simaetha. Her magic draws her lover harmlessly to her door, and "may all be well: the dog barks at the doorway . . . Daphnis returns from the city!" (107–09). But Vergil's Eclogue is finally no more about magic than is the Idyll on which it is modelled, but about a certain kind of self-expression: "Is my confidence justified? Or do those who love merely fashion dreams?" Once again, a female singer turns to ritual imperatives that invoke and seek to exorcise spirits from a dark world, but finds only ambivalent solutions.



Aitia in the Second Book of Apollonius' *Argonautica*

T. M. PASKIEWICZ

One of the most unHomeric features of Apollonius' poem are its many aitia, a type of subject absent from the Homeric epics, though well-established elsewhere. In non-epic poetry aitia appear in the Homeric hymns (e.g. *h. Dem.* on the origin of the Eleusinian mysteries), Pindar (e.g. *O.* 10 on the institution of the Olympic Games), tragedy (Euripides' plays often end with the foundation of some Attic cult, e.g. in *Hipp.* 1425 ff.) and very often in Hellenistic poetry, above all in Apollonius' contemporary Callimachus, who devoted an entire work in elegiac verse to the subject.<sup>1</sup> Aitia are not lacking in earlier epic poetry, either, in Hesiod (e.g. *Aigimios* fr. 296, which explains the name Euboia, *Euioi* fr. 233), Peisander of Cameirus (*Heracleia* fr. 7 Kinkel on the springs at Thermopylae) and Antimachus (*Thebais* fr. 35 on the cult of Demeter *Erinys*, frs. 44, 53).

Where Apollonius differs from such epic poets and reflects instead the interests of his contemporaries, especially Callimachus, is in the amount of space that he devotes to aitia. For he includes not only ones directly linked with the Argonauts (e.g. the hero-cults of crew-members who die at various stages of the voyage) but also a great many without any such link (e.g. some rather obscure Black Sea cults), which he manages to incorporate within the framework of a voyage to and from Colchis. The second book, which deals with part of the outward journey, contains more aitia and less narrative than the others, especially the more dramatic third book, to which it provides a contrast. Indeed at times, especially in the section 648–961, the lively, colourful aitia, combined with geographical and ethnographical details, seem more important than the heroes' rather dull, uneventful voyage.

Those aitia directly connected with the Argonauts generally concern cults founded by sailors or colonists but later given a more impressive and venerable origin and associated with the Argo's voyage to Colchis. They follow (with variations) a standard pattern—the heroes land, build an altar, offer sacrifices and thus institute a cult—except for one which is introduced in a speech and linked with a well-known episode on the outward voyage.

<sup>1</sup> On aitia in Hellenistic poetry see G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* (London 1987) 120 ff.

When the Mariandyni are welcoming the Argonauts as victors over their enemy Amycus, whose encounter with the heroes has been described in 1 ff., their king promises to found a cult of the Tyndaridae in order to honour Polydeuces for killing Amycus (806 ff.).

Many of the other aitia are also connected with the main narrative in some way. The Argonauts' construction of an altar to the Twelve Gods (531 f.) takes up an earlier motif, Phineus' admonition to honour the Gods before the passage of the Symplegades (336); and their institution of a cult of *Homonoia* (715 ff.) develops ideas important throughout the poem, concord among the crew and united efforts for a common goal (cf. 1. 336 f., 1344). Idmon's death (815 ff.) has been foretold in a prophecy (1. 443 f.); that of Tiphys (851 ff.) not only supplies an aition for another hero-cult but also introduces a scene exploring the Argonauts' state of mind and Jason's method of leadership when a new pilot must be chosen to replace Tiphys (859 ff.). Later this theme of the death of two heroes, one of whom is killed by a wild animal, is repeated in the deaths of Mopsus and Canthus (4. 1485 ff.).

These aitia vary greatly in length and tone. Apollonius' treatment ranges from a bare statement (e.g. the cult of Zeus *Phyxios* 1146-47) to an extended episode (e.g. the cult of Apollo *Eoios* 669-713). He tries to give each aition an individual colouring by elaborating and enlivening the dry facts offered by his sources, mainly local historians such as Herodorus of Heraclea (mentioned several times in the scholia, e.g. on 684-87). For the cults of Apollo *Eoios* and of Sthenelos he invents two striking epiphanies. The first presents the sun god as a handsome, radiant youth passing by at dawn on his own affairs (674 ff.). This motif leads into a joyful celebration of Apollo by the Argonauts, with, quite naturally, a hymn of praise by Orpheus (705 ff.); that gives Apollonius the chance to introduce other aitiological themes (also in Call. *h.* 2. 97 ff.), the god slaying a monstrous snake at Delphi and an explanation of the ritual cry *ἦ ἦ ἦ*. The second epiphany is another silent, fleeting vision, but of a very different nature—a lonely, feeble ghost who appears in all his old splendour as a warrior but must soon return to the gloom of Hades, from which Persephone has compassionately released him for a brief glimpse of his fellow-Greeks (915 ff.). Idmon's death is also presented in sombre tones, for it is decreed by fate (815, 817) and forms part of a dramatic sequence of events in which the hero is gored by a monstrous, terrifying boar (824 ff.). Apollonius may have invented this manner of death to allude to a less colourful Homeric boar hunt (*Od.* 19. 428 ff.), in the same way as he shapes the episode of Apollo *Eoios* to recall Odysseus' landing on another deserted island (*Od.* 9. 116 ff.).<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere too he seems to have boldly reshaped earlier traditions, inventing details or carefully choosing between different versions (as far as we

<sup>2</sup>Parallels in F. Vian, *Argonautiques* I-II (Paris 1976), pp. 216, n. 1, 275-76. Note Complémentaire 698.

can tell, given that most of his sources are lost). The altar of the Twelve Gods was linked not only with the Argonauts but also with Phrixus' sons (in Timosthenes, according to schol. 531–32); and the cult of *Homonoia*, as founded from Heraclea, probably had a different emphasis, on political stability and concord within a city. In Promathidas, a local historian, Orpheus dedicated a lyre to Sthenelos (schol. 928–29) and thus gave a place the name of *Lyra*; but Apollonius feels that Apollo as patron of music and of the Argonauts' voyage is a more suitable recipient (928 f.). In one case his invention of a link between the heroes and a local cult has left certain inconsistencies. The Tyndaridae were actually honoured as protectors of sailors at a sanctuary some distance from Heraclea, at whose site Apollonius sets the cult's founder, a local king. When he connects the cult instead with Polydeuces' victory over Amycus, he cannot explain why Castor should share in the honours too, although he does take care to locate the sanctuary not at Heraclea but more vaguely along the "Acherousian coast" (806).<sup>3</sup>

The second group of *aitia*, those not directly connected with Argonauts, concern place-names or local cults and are generally introduced in a smooth relative clause of the pattern "the heroes sailed past (reached/saw) a place where . . ." (e.g. 652), with two exceptions. In order to include topics not linked with places on the way to Colchis, Apollonius has the voyage delayed by Etesian winds (498), which gives him a chance to speak of Aristaeus and Cyrene (590 ff.—cf. Call. *h.* 2. 90 ff., *Aitia* fr. 75. 33 ff.); and he mentions the cult of Priolas in a speech (780–82), probably inventing Priolas' position as the speaker's elder brother.<sup>4</sup>

He often gives these *aitia* some slight connection with the main narrative. The story of Aristaeus (506 ff.) repeats the themes of divine punishment and atonement from the Phineus episode (178 ff.). The peaceful life of Dipsacus, an obscure local divinity whose shrine the heroes pass (658), contrasts with their strenuous exertions at the oars (660 ff.). They sacrifice at Ares' altar (1169 ff.), a sanctuary built by Amazons (385 ff.), and they actually meet Deimachus' sons (955 ff.), the legendary founders of Sinope, who have been left behind after Heracles' expedition against the Amazons; this meeting anticipates their later encounter with other stranded travellers, Phrixus' sons (1093 ff.).

This group of *aitia* is also extremely varied. The lengthy Aristaeus episode is distinguished by learned allusions and evocative proper names, and by its unfamiliar portrait of Cyrene as a virgin shepherdess whose peaceful existence is rudely disrupted by Apollo (500 ff.). Dipsacus also leads a placid pastoral life (*ἔθελήμους* 656 recalls Hes. *Op.* 118 and the Golden Age), while Dionysus conducts mysterious nocturnal rituals in a cave (905 ff.) and Artemis bathes peacefully in the gently-flowing Parthenius (937 ff., cf. Call. fr. 75. 24 f.). In contrast, Ares' cult (385 ff.,

<sup>3</sup> Vian pp. 162–63.

<sup>4</sup> Vian p. 277. N. C. 782.

1169 ff.) is a primitive barbarian rite involving horse-sacrifices to a black stone. Priolas is presented as an epic warrior fallen in defence of his country (ὄντινα λαός / . . . ὀδύρεται 781 f. may recall the Trojans lamenting Hector καί μιν λαοὶ . . . ὀδύρονται *Il.* 24. 740), not in his original role as a vegetation deity, a youth like Hylas or Bormus, whose death is honoured by annual ritual mourning (although this aspect is evoked by οἰκτίστοις ἐλέγοισιν 782).<sup>5</sup> Apollonius may have changed the legend in order to motivate neatly Heracles' campaigns against the enemies of Priolas' tribe (campaigns which anticipate the wars of the Greek colonists from Heraclea), for the hero can begin by taking revenge for this death (786).

Also innovatory may be his explanations of the place-names Sinope and Philyra. For the first he relates an amusing anecdote, probably a Hellenistic invention conflating earlier traditions (946 ff.).<sup>6</sup> The eponymous nymph Sinope is duly carried off from Boeotia to the Euxine by Zeus, but then outwits the god with a folk-tale stratagem, exacting a promise of anything she desires in return for her favours and choosing virginity; and she similarly discomfarts Apollo, her seducer in another version. The island of Philyra, which probably derived its name from a local tribe, the Philyres, is linked instead with Philyra, Cheiron's mother, and her union with Cronus is located here (1232 ff.). Rhea's interruption of the guilty pair introduces a new, more subtle explanation of Cheiron's nature—in order to escape from his wife Cronus changes into a horse and conceives the centaur at the moment of transformation from human to equine shape (ἀμοιβαίη . . . εὐνή 1241); and it motivates Philyra's flight to Thessaly, where she can bear Cheiron at his traditional birth-place.

Two features of Apollonius' treatment of aitia deserve comment. In order to add more authority he often suggests that he is faithfully reporting ancient traditions, especially local ones, and hence uses expressions such as πεφάτισται (500), καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧς ὑδέονται (528), φάτις (854 ff.); although where two traditions disagree about which hero a tomb should be assigned to and he wishes to mention both while supporting one, he appeals for confirmation of the truth to the Muses, otherwise generally reserved for his epic narrative (844 ff.). This idiom is not new—φασί is used several times in Homer to introduce familiar traditions or beliefs (e.g. *Il.* 2. 783, 19. 416), while variations on "they say," "the story goes," appear in Pindar (e.g. *O.* 2. 28, *N.* 3. 52 f.) and in tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 4). But it is especially typical of Hellenistic poetry (it introduces aitia in e.g. Antim. fr. 35, Call. *h.* 3. 210) and was taken up by some Roman poets, especially Virgil (e.g. *A.* 7. 735—see Fordyce ad loc.).<sup>7</sup>

Apollonius also emphasises the continuity of traditions reaching back to the distant past and still observed in his own day—so Κέφ δ' ἔτι νῦν

<sup>5</sup> Vian p. 278. N. C. 785.

<sup>6</sup> Vian p. 280. N. C. 953.

<sup>7</sup> C. J. Fordyce, *Aeneid* VII–III (Oxford 1977).



(526) priests sacrifice to Sirius, εἰσέτι νῦν (717) stands the shrine built by the Argonauts. This attitude, already present in Pindar and tragedy, is another characteristic of Hellenistic poetry (e.g. Call. fr. 59. 21 νῦν δ' ἔθ') and of Virgil (e.g. *A.* 7. 601–03 *Mos erat . . . , quem protinus urbes / Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc . . . / Roma colit*). Here too Apollonius is closer to contemporary non-epic poetry than to the Homeric epics, which stress instead the gulf between the Heroic age and men “as they now are.”

*University of Manchester*



The Vertumnus Elegy and Propertius Book IV<sup>1</sup>

CHRIS SHEA

4. 2, on the surface, at least, is as smooth and well-behaved an elegy as ever Propertius wrote: the transitions, often a source of grave difficulty in understanding this author, are here clearly marked and logical; the text, reasonably easily construed. Moreover, the poem is emotionally satisfying as a discrete entity in a way in which the Cynthia elegies, for example, are not: the reader's curiosity is sated by these 64 lines—they presuppose no previous knowledge of the major character, and that major character has no history beyond these lines. Propertius has said all there is to say about Vertumnus. The framework of the poem reinforces this impression: the poem opens with a reference to the god's origin (birth) in line 3 and ends with the epitaph of his maker (death). It feels then as if we have covered the whole lifespan of a statue—a cunning conceit.

Paradoxically, however, the more the poet seeks to impress upon us the completeness, the oneness, of this particular poem, the more we should struggle against complacent acceptance of a single interpretation. For, if, as Dee puts it,<sup>2</sup> "the central theme of the elegy [is] unity of essence within multiplicity of appearances," it is as much "multiplicity of appearances" within "unity of essence." Observe how many times the poet invites us, in language which applies to poems as well as to statues, to look for the many beneath the one, as well as the one beneath the many: *meas tot in uno corpore formas* (1), *opportuna mea est cunctis natura figuris* (21), *quod formas unus uertebat in omnis* (47), *unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos* (64). If the god, described in rigid bronze, can assume different

<sup>1</sup> This is an abridgment of a chapter of my 1984 dissertation, completed at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, under the direction of Prof. David F. Bright. These editions were used in its preparation: H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933) = BB; all citations are from this edition unless otherwise indicated; C. Lachmann, *Sex. Aur. Propertii Carmina* (Leipzig 1816); P. J. Enk, *Ad Propertii Carmina Commentarius Criticus* (Zutphaniae 1911); G. Luck, *Propertius und Tibullus. Liebeselegien* (Zurich 1964); W. A. Camps, *Propertius Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge 1965); E. Pasoli, *Sesto Propertio, Il libro quarto delle elegie* (Bologna 1967).

<sup>2</sup> J. Dee, "Propertius 4. 2: Callimachus Romanus at Work" *AJPh* 95 (1974) 52.

guises, surely we are not to imagine he sports a single aspect in the more malleable medium of verse. There are others masquerading behind the "I" of the god, other answers to the riddle of the first line.

The delineation of the god's function and nature centers around the etymology of his name, in the manner of Callimachean aetiology.<sup>3</sup> The first two etymologies, VERT-AMNIS (10) and VERT-ANNUS (11), have been proposed, I believe, to fix the location of the statue and date of the ritual in accordance with the published program of the book (*sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum* 4. 1. 69). The third etymology VERTO-MENOS (47), as the correct one, is given more play. Each etymology marks a transformation in the god: from Etruscan to Roman, from rustic fertility god to god of all the Romans.

Surely, however, in this context any form of *uerto* is suggestive; there may be another (implicit) etymology, another transformation which the poet intends us to mark: *uersus* in line 57.<sup>4</sup> We may postulate, then, that this last etymology is to be accompanied by yet another transformation in the nature of the god. He has now become the god of poetry, probably, because of his Italic origin and vaunted affection for the city, of native Roman poetry, and possibly, because of his Etruscan roots,<sup>5</sup> of Augustan poetry.

There are several indications of the validity of this hypothesis. Firstly, the statue of Vertumnus is located in the booksellers' district, and the name alone is direction enough for Horace (*Ep.* I. 20. 1):

Vertumnnum Ianumque, liber, spectare uideris,  
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.

Secondly, 4. 2 is replete with imitations and recastings in elegiac meter of lines of most of the Augustan poets.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, much of the language of the poem has its place in the world of the bookseller, as well as in other spheres: for example, *corpore* (1 = "compendium of literary writings"), *formas* (1 = *character*), *signa* (2 = "seal"), *index* (19), *figuris* (21), down to the mysterious mention of the original maple statue (maple is the most

<sup>3</sup> Propertius is playing it straight here; as others have observed, this is the only pure aetiology of the book. For the relationship between this poem and the *Aitia* (fr. 114) and *Iambi* (7, 9) of Callimachus, see H. E. Pillinger's 1965 dissertation (120-24) and his "Some Callimachean Influences on Propertius, Book 4" *HSCPh* 73 (1969) 171-99.

<sup>4</sup> T. Suits ("The Vertumnus Elegy of Propertius" *TAPhA* 100 [1969] 484 n.) hints at this.

<sup>5</sup> Vertumnus has often been associated with Maecenas; cf. R. Lucot, "Vertumne et Mecène" *Pallas* 1 (1953) 65-80, for example.

<sup>6</sup> For the correspondences, cf. Pasoli; A. La Penna "Properzio e i poeti latini dell'età aurea" *Maia* 3 (1950) 209-36; 4 (1951) 43-69. Line 13 is an excellent example, as a reminiscence of Horace (*Carm.* 2. 5. 9-12):

. . . tolle cupidinem  
inimitis uvae: iam tibi lividos  
distinguet autumnus racemos  
purpureo varius colore.

common material for writing tablets).<sup>7</sup> Fourthly, observe these two passages:

prima mihi uariat liuentibus uua racemis,  
 et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet;  
 hic dulces cerasos, hic autumnalia pruna  
 cernis et aestiuo mora rubere die;  
 insitor hic soluit pomosa uota corona,  
 cum pirus inuito stipite mala tulit. (13-18)

nam quid ego adiciam, de quo mihi maxima fama est,  
 hortorum in manibus dona probata meis?  
 caeruleus cucumis tumidoque cucurbita uentre  
 me notat et iunco brassica uincta leui;  
 nec flos ullus hiat pratis, quin ille decenter  
 impositus fronti langueat ante meae. (41-46)

Here, Propertius, who has not previously evinced interest in the subjects and style of Roman didactic poetry, has crafted two close imitations of Vergil's *Georgics*.<sup>8</sup> Lines 13-18 so suit their immediate context (Vertumnus speaks of his role as recipient of the first fruits) that it may seem perverse to attempt to force a broader interpretation. Lines 41-46, however, are often candidates for transposition (usually to a position after 18), since their inclusion seems gratuitous here.<sup>9</sup> When one considers that the poet has interjected two unmistakable echoes of the most prominent of Augustan poets, two obvious examples of the most Roman of literary genres, and has, moreover, pointedly forced the reader's attention to them (18 is followed by the insistent *mendax fama, noces: alius mihi nominis index*; the second passage is introduced by *de quo mihi maxima fama est* 41), then there would seem to be a literary-critical subtext here. Finally, Vertumnus himself encourages his identification as the god of Augustan poetry by coopting the attributes of both patron deities of Augustus's coterie:

cinge caput mitra, speciem furabor Iacchi;  
 furabor Phoebi, si modo plectra dabis. (31-32)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ov. Am.* 1. 11. 27-28.

<sup>8</sup> There are echoes of other authors here as well (for a complete list, see Pasoli *ad loc.*), but the whole is unmistakably Vergilian, as J. Dee, *A Study of the Poetic Diction of Select Elegies of Propertius, Book IV* (diss. Austin 1972) 15 f., has noted: 1 line 13 = *G.* 2. 60; 14 = *G.* 1. 314 f.; 16 = *Ecl.* 6. 22; 17-18 = *G.* 2. 32-34; 43 = *G.* 4. 121-22; 46 = *A.* 11. 69, 9. 435-36. One of the few passages in the Propertian corpus which resemble these in subject and diction is the explicit evocation of the *Georgics* at 2. 34. 77-78.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. P. Goold, "Noctes Propertianae" *HSCP* 71 (1966) 99; Dee, diss. 11. Lachmann sees them as out of context, but does not approve this transposition. For opposing arguments, see Suits 478 n.; A. Otto, *Commentationes philologiae in honorem A. Reifferscheid* (1884) 10-21; Enk 301.

If Vertumnus is indeed the personification of Augustan verse, the elegy may be read as a paean to the "versatility" of native Roman poetry.<sup>10</sup> There is, however, a second possibility: the very fact that Propertius has reworked in elegiacs some notable productions in other meters suggests that Vertumnus may also be regarded as an avatar of elegiac verse. The poet, in the process of extolling the variety of themes and forms exploited by his contemporaries, may mean to insinuate that elegy is the most versatile of all.

We might take the equation Vertumnus equals the god of verse, or of elegiac verse, a bit further and examine its immediate implications. It may be said that line 57 makes explicit something which the ancient reader suspected all along. That first line which poses a riddle

Quid<sup>11</sup> mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas

may momentarily misdirect the audience of a poet who has but once used the first person to refer to anyone but himself.<sup>12</sup> The reader may presume that *corpore* and *formas* have their literary connotations and that the subject of this poem is the same as the subject of the last—Propertius's Book IV. That hypothesis is apparently exploded by the next line

accipe Vertumni signa paterna dei,

but, if the reader returns to lines 2–56 after Vertumnus is unmasked in 57, he may well return to his original supposition; *signa paterna* may mean "his father's (= the poet's) tokens," i.e., "the signs by which you may identify this as a work of the author" or "the author's seal."<sup>13</sup> The reader may then

<sup>10</sup> This aspect of the poem may account for the cryptic references to the god's *patria* in lines 2 (*signa paterna*) and 48 (*nomen ab euentu patria lingua dedit*). If the poet intends Vertumnus to be understood as the tutelary deity of Latin poetry, then *patria lingua* serves some larger purpose which the poet was eager to promote, even at the risk of eliciting the complaint that Vertumnus's native tongue must be Etruscan (cf., for example, Suits 486, Marquis 496–97, Grimal 111, who discuss the apparent contradiction). The description of the *insitor* (17–18) may carry some metaphorical baggage also; if the poet means to glorify the diversity of verse-forms (*quod formas unus uertebar in omnes* 47) employed by poets writing in the native language (*patria lingua* 48), what better analogue for the Callimachus Romanus, busily and successfully (*corona* 17) grafting Greek forms and Latin language? Pliny (*Ep.* 4. 3. 5), I note, uses the metaphor of the Latin and Greek languages.

<sup>11</sup> Camps, BB print *qui*, but the parallel in 3. 11. 1 (*quid mirare, meam si versat femina vitam*), cited by Pasoli *et al.*, seems convincing evidence that we should read with 0 here, against the *deteriores*.

<sup>12</sup> And that in 4. 1, as Horos; note, however, Propertius appears as himself in the first half (always assuming, of course, that 4. 1 is a unity).

<sup>13</sup> For the author as "father" of a book, cf., for example, *Ov. Tr.* 1. 1. 115, *Pont.* 4. 5. 29. *Signa paterna* is a troublesome expression and has been much discussed and emended. Cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge 1956) 227; F. H. Sandbach, "Some Problems in Propertius" *CQ* 56 (1962) 272; Rothstein 219; Suits 481, 486, *al.*

recognize this elegy as a new hat on a old friend, the author's apostrophe to his book.<sup>14</sup>

The reader passes through the first two (false) etymologies to arrive at the "title" or "summary" (*index* 19).<sup>15</sup> What follows (23–40) is not only a list of the possible transformations of the statue<sup>16</sup> or god, or of occupations of the *turba togata* which passes through the Vicus Tuscus;<sup>17</sup> it is also a partial table of contents for this book. The first couplet hints at the pattern:

indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella:  
meque uirum sumpta quis neget esse toga? (23-24)

*Cois* and *dura puella* carry the impress of the elegist, particularly of this elegist.<sup>18</sup> *Dura puella* must suggest Cynthia; indeed, the expression appears in the poet's mock-epitaph in 2. 1. 78 (*huic misero fatum dura puella fuit*).<sup>19</sup> We are, then, firmly in the realm of Propertian love-elegy, where we find the Cynthia poems of this book—4. 7 and 4. 8. Moreover, the couplet may owe its existence not only to its appropriateness as an illustration of the range of Vertumnus's gifts (he can become polar opposites), but also to its appropriateness as an illustration of the range of the poet's "voice" in this book.<sup>20</sup> Just as Vertumnus can convincingly play both male and female, so in this book, for the first time in the corpus, the poet will doff his masculine garb and speak in womanly guise (4. 3, 4. 4, 4. 5, 4. 7, 4. 11).

Note, however, the ambiguity inherent in this first transmogrification, an ambiguity which underlies the whole of the poem (as we have stated above, p. 1): the couplet appears to emphasize the polarization of the sexes as a paradigm for the limits of Vertumnus's powers, but the very fact that the shapes of both male and female coexist in the same single body makes the god also a metaphor for the confusion of the sexes. Thus, lines 23–24 anticipate not only the novel narrative technique of this book (see below, p. 70) and the poet's new interest in expressing the feminine perspective, but

<sup>14</sup> E. g., Ov. *Tr.* 1. 1, 3. 1, *Pont.* 4. 5; Hor. *Ep.* 1. 20 where the personification is complete and sustained as this one. In each case, the book is imagined as accosting passers-by; the whole of *Tr.* 3. 1 is a monologue by the book. Propertius has merely chosen completely (except for his *sphragis*; see below, p. 71) to efface himself.

<sup>15</sup> There may be, I think, a pun here in the juxtaposition of *index* and *nominis*, as well as a clue to the riddle. Otherwise, this is a very peculiar expression, as others (e.g., Camps) have noted.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. W. Eisenhut, "Vertumnus" *RE* 8, A2 (1958) 1669–87. The notion that the statue is somehow adjustable is unique to Propertius.

<sup>17</sup> On Vicus Tuscus "types," cf. Hor. *S.* 2. 3. 226–30.

<sup>18</sup> *Cous* many times, thrice in this book (4. 5. 23, 56, 57). Cynthia is wearing Coan silks in one of her earliest appearances (1. 2. 2).

<sup>19</sup> Cf., from many examples, 1. 17. 16 *quamuis dura, tamen rara puella fuit. Non dura* is a pun on the statue's physical properties, as is *non leue pondus* (36; see below, p. 68 f.) and *curuare* (39), all noted by Dee (*AJPh* 51–52).

<sup>20</sup> P. Grimal ("Notes sur Propertius I.—La composition de l'épigramme à Vertumne" *REL* 23 [1945] 118) emphasizes the feminine-masculine dichotomy in this first transformation, but to different ends.

also a major theme of the book—females in male guise (Tarpeia, Cynthia, Cleopatra), males in female guise (Hercules; Propertius *supinus*, in 4. 8).

The succeeding lines seem also to contain allusions to the elegies of Book IV:

da falcem et torto frontem mihi comprime faeno:  
iurabis nostra gramina secta manu.  
arma tuli quondam et, memini, laudabar in illis:  
corbis et imposito pondere messor eram.  
sobrius ad lites: at cum est imposta corona,  
clamabis capiti uina subisse meo. 30  
cinge caput mitra, speciem furabor Iacchi;  
furabor Phoebi, si modo plectra dabis.  
cassibus impositis uenor: sed harundine sumpta  
fautor plumoso sum deus aucupio.  
est etiam aurigae species Vertumnus et eius, 35  
traicit alterno qui leue pondus equo.  
sub petaso<sup>21</sup> pisces calamo praedabor, et ibo  
mundus demissis institor in tunicis.  
pastor me ad baculum possum curuare uel idem  
sirpiculis medio puluere ferre rosam. (25-40)

The first and last couplets of the series evoke Propertius's stray into bucolic themes in 4. 9, where Hercules assumes the role of *pastor*, as well as the agricultural associations always to the fore in representations of Vertumnus. Line 27 looks forward to the martial themes of 4. 6 and, most particularly, 4. 10. *Sobrius ad lites* (29) succinctly summarizes the tone and setting of 4. 11, while the rest of the couplet salutes the elegist's customary posture, in which we find the poet in 4. 6 and 4. 8. Phoebus (32) is one of the poet's *personae* in Book IV (4. 6) and he is coupled in that poem with the god of wine and elegy

ingenium potis irritet Musa poetis:  
Bacche, soles Phoebos fertilis esse tuo, (4. 6. 75-76)

as he is here.

The catalogue of occupations outlined in 33-38 (*uenor* 33, *fautor* 34, *auriga* 35, *desultor* 36, *piscator* 37, *institor* 38) may possibly represent a mischievous double-meaning inventory of the love-poet's erotic repertoire: hunting, fishing and fowling are elsewhere metaphors for seduction techniques;<sup>22</sup> Ovid's *non sum desultor amoris* (*Am.* 1. 3. 15) attests to the currency of the double entendre of line 36; the *institor* is regularly

<sup>21</sup> *Sub petaso* was first proposed as a correction of the manuscripts' *suppetat hoc* by E. H. Alton in a marginal note, unearthed by W. Smyth, "Propertius IV 2, 37" *CQ* 62 (1948) 14. It has since been adopted by Luck and Camps in their editions.

<sup>22</sup> The lovers appear as predator and prey in *Ov. Ars* 1. 45-48; the lover is a limed bird at *Ars* 1. 391, a hooked fish at 1. 393.



envisioned as a corruptor of lonely housewives.<sup>23</sup> That this may be a sly recreation of the elegist's *mise-en-scène* seems confirmed by the presence of the elegiac catchword *leue* (36), cast into prominence as a punning reference to the statue's bulk.<sup>24</sup> These allusions to the lover's stock-in-trade, however, may have a more specific application. Note that Cynthia appears as a charioteer (35) in 4. 8 and that the poet's position in that poem

quaeris concubitus? inter utramque fui (4. 8. 36)

qualifies him as a *desultor amoris*.

Another, subtler evocation of Book IV lies hidden in this poem. As the poet varies the appearance of the god (and thereby foreshadows the diversity of subjects contained in the succeeding elegies), he is at pains to vary his diction and form of expression.<sup>25</sup> It may be that the variation in vocabulary and phraseology is also intended to suggest an accompanying variation in generic style. Two striking passages have been discussed above (pp. 66 f.). One line in particular seems indicative to me:

arma tuli quondam et, memini, laudabar in illis. (27)

Lefèvre and Dee mark the wryness and cleverness of *memini* and *laudabar in illis*,<sup>26</sup> and certainly these elements are in character for Vertumnus. For me, however, the line has preemptively the feel of the epic proemium. The conjunction of *arma tuli*, echoing the by-then celebrated first line of the *Aeneid*, and *memini*, recalling the prominence of verbs of the remembering-class in invocations of the Muses,<sup>27</sup> seems evidence enough. When, in addition, one considers the substance of the speaker's boast, this position seems not indefensible. Elsewhere, epic is invoked for a description of an

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sen. fr. 52; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 6. 30, *Epod.* 17. 20; Ov. *Ars* 1. 421, *Rem.* 306; Liv. 22. 25. 19. Of *mundus*, Dee, after citing the TLL's gloss (this is the only *epitheton laudans* associated with *institor* in a classical work), says (diss. 26):

This is slightly ingenuous. Propertius actually conforms to the general opinion, since the *institor* here is the god himself, presumably the only *institor* who could merit such an adjective as *mundus*.

The elegist, however, is just as sophisticated and polished—and just as much a peddler—as his god.

<sup>24</sup> For *leuis* and its association with elegy, cf. Ov. *Am.* 2. 1. 21. Dee (diss. 24) has noted the joke. In this context, however, there may be a second pun: *leuis* has elsewhere the connotation "fickle," "unfaithful."

<sup>25</sup> For a close analysis of the diction and style of this passage, cf. Dee, *AJPh* 51, diss. 28; H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Propertius und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 15 (Wiesbaden 1960).

<sup>26</sup> E. Lefèvre, *Propertius ludibundus* (Heidelberg 1966) 97; Dee, diss. 19, *AJPh* 49.

<sup>27</sup> E. g. (again, from Vergil) *A.* 1. 8–11; 7. 37–41, 641–46. As a god, of course, particularly as a god of poetry, Vertumnus needs no intermediary Muse.

episode from Roman history which will provide the setting for the epyllion 4. 4.<sup>28</sup>

et tu, Roma, meis tribuisti praemia Tuscis  
 (unde hodie Vicus nomina Tuscus habet),  
 tempore quo socius uenit Lycomedius armis  
 atque Sabina feri contudit arma Tati.  
 uidi ego labentes acies et tela caduca,  
 atque hostes turpi terga dedisse fugae.  
 sed facias, diuum Sator, ut Romana per aeuum  
 transeat ante meos turba togata pedes. (4. 2. 49–56)

With all this emphasis on *poikilia*, Propertius is doubtless recalling the "Romanization of Callimachus" pledged in 4. 1. 64, as Dee has suggested.<sup>29</sup> However, if we are correct in regarding Vertumnus as a personification of Book IV, these echoes of other genres may have a broader application in prefiguring one of the structural principles of the book.

We began this discussion by using *uersus* in *sex superant uersus* (57) as a fourth etymology of "Vertumnus." Thus, *uersus* inspired a re-reading of the preceding 56 lines. Conversely, it seems reasonable, in consideration of a poem in which etymological meaning plays so large a part, to permit lines 1–56 to influence the meaning of *uersus*. In that case, *uersus* would carry its full etymological force, i.e., "turnings" or, the meaning of *uerto* which has had the most significance for the first part of the poem, "transformations." Now, as we have remarked above on line 1 of this poem, the Vertumnus elegy represents a departure from the poet's usual practice: the "I" of the poem is no longer the "I" of the poet. The poet intends to signal a change in point of view, a change from the *persona* "Propertius," a transformation. What better way could there be, after all, to indicate both the fact of a material change in one's work and the substance of that change than by personifying that change with the god of change himself? In that case, *sex superant uersus* would herald the variety of *personae* the poet assumes throughout the poems to come—and may give a waggish hint as to their number, as well. In this book, in fact, there are six major characters in whose favor the poet has resigned the personal for the dramatic "I"—Arethusa (4. 3), Tarpeia (4. 4), Acanthis (4. 5), Cynthia (4. 7), Hercules (4. 9), Cornelia (4. 11).<sup>30</sup>

Those lines which follow *sex superant uersus*:

. . . te, qui ad uadimonia curris,  
 non moror: haec spatiis ultima creta meis.  
 stipes acernus eram, properanti falce dolatus,

<sup>28</sup> For a complete discussion of the epic reminiscences, see Tränkle 39, 174–75; Dee, *AJPh* 52–53.

<sup>29</sup> Dee, diss. 41.

<sup>30</sup> For the dramatic monologue and its place in this book, cf., for example, C. Becker, "Horos redselig? (Zu Properz IV 1)" *WS* 79 (1966) 442–51.

ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus.  
 at tibi, Mamurri, formae caelator aenae,  
 tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus,  
 qui me tam dociles potuisti fundere in usus.  
 unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos (57–64)

also seem to have some bearing on the problem. Lines 61–64 refer to the artist who crafted the statue, but 59–60 may put a maker's mark on the poem. *Stipes acernus* accurately describes a tablet as well as a wooden effigy; *properanti* may be a pun on the poet's name. *Pauper* (60), a puzzling epithet of a god, can be applied with justice to the poet who has assumed the usual pose of starving artist (cf. 4. I. 127–30).<sup>31</sup> This couplet, then, may represent the author's *sphragis*, in accordance with the conventions of book dedication and Propertius's own practice.<sup>32</sup> To preserve intact the dramatic monologue and the complete personification of this book in the form of Vertumnus, Propertius may not intrude here, hence the oblique reference.

The closing lines (60–64) are cast in the mold of a statue's tribute to its maker,<sup>33</sup> but line 62

tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus

suggests another antecedent for these lines: the funerary epigram.<sup>34</sup> We might see in this epitaph of Mamurrius an anticipation of the poems to follow; several poems (e. g., 5, 7, 11) are clearly derivatives of the "biographical" epitaph.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting that he should introduce such a theme in a poem concerning an inanimate object; he may be anxious to establish the importance of death-related themes in this book.

In sum, then, I propose to read 4. 2 as a riddle of sorts and suggest that the answer to the question "what am I?" is "Propertius's apostrophe to Book IV." Thus, it may be that we are to consider 4. 2 as amplifying (or, perhaps, slightly skewing) the program laid out in 4. I.

### Ball State University

<sup>31</sup> E. C. Marquis ("Vertumnus in Propertius 4. 2" *Hermes* 102 [1974] 500) and Dee (diss. 41) use the pun and the reference to the statue's poverty to support their contention that Propertius may have identified with Vertumnus and that the poor, foreign god represents the poet himself. I agree that this couplet probably refers to Propertius, but prefer to regard it as his "seal."

<sup>32</sup> Cf., for example, Hor. *Ep.* 1. 20. 19–28; Prop. 1. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hor. *S.* 1. 8. 1–3; Call. *Iamb.* 7; E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 121–23.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Suits 483 f.; for the formula, see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 65–74.

<sup>35</sup> For the biographical form, see Lattimore 266–300.



## Ovid's Poetics of Exile

MARTIN HELZLE

An evaluation of the *Tristia* and *ex Ponto* has to take into account the tradition of poetic theory in which Ovid places himself, especially how he develops the Callimachean *apologia* commonly known as *recusatio* with all its language, imagery, and commonplaces to suit his new situation in exile.

Ovid's poetic programme both in the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* manifests itself in a number of apologies<sup>1</sup> and in occasional statements made throughout the corpus. The distinction made by Evans between *Tristia* I–IV and *Tristia* V, *ex Ponto* I–IV<sup>2</sup> seems artificial since the real break in Ovid's career is his relegation after which he presents himself as "dead."<sup>3</sup> Although Ovid varies his programmatic pronouncements from one poem to another the only reasonable distinction within the exile-corpus is the one the poet makes himself by deciding to name his addressees (*Pont.* I 1. 15 ff.):

inuenies, quamuis non est miserabilis index,  
non minus hoc illo triste, quod ante dedi;  
rebus idem, titulo differt; et epistula, cui sit  
non occultato nomine missa, docet.

If Ovid did not name the addressees in the *Tristia* the naming cannot have been essential. His appeal is therefore not only to certain addressees but also generally to the *candide lector*.<sup>4</sup> Though some individuals may have known that they were addressed, the majority of readers in antiquity, as in modern times, does not. Ovid's intention must therefore have been to win

<sup>1</sup>*Trist.* I 11; II 313–56; III 14; IV 1; V 1; *Pont.* I 5, and III 9.

<sup>2</sup>H. B. Evans, *Publica Carmina—Ovid's Books from Exile* (London 1983) 151 calls the latter *publica carmina*.

<sup>3</sup>On this metaphor see below on justification of one's poetry by means of one's circumstances ("Rechtfertigung im Bios") and B. R. Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile*, Coll. Lat. 170 (Bruxelles 1980) 139. Nagle *op. cit.*, 13 n. 67 also treats the *Tristia* and *ex Ponto* as a whole.

<sup>4</sup>*Trist.* I 7. 32; I 11. 35; III 1. 2, 19; IV 1. 2; IV 10. 132; V 1. 66; *Pont.* II 4. 55; this was seen quite clearly by A. G. Lee, "An Appreciation of *Tristia* III 8," *G & R* 18 (1949) 114; L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955) 318; W. Marg, "Zur Behandlung des Augustus in den 'Tristien,'" in *Ovid*, ed. v. Albrecht/Zinn (Darmstadt 1968) 503, and E. J. Kenney, "The Poetry of Ovid's Exile," *PCPS* n.s. 11 (1965) 39: "the *Tristia* were addressed to the public," J. Bartsby, *Ovid, G & R new surveys in the Classics* 12 (Oxford 1978) 42 f.

the Roman reading-public's *benevolentia* by means of *publica carmina* (*Trist.* V 1. 23). By naming the addressees in *ex Ponto* Ovid's appeal becomes more specific and therefore more urgent. The indirect pressure<sup>5</sup> on the addressees is increased. This does not mean that the poetic programme changes, but rather that the poet's cry for help and *amicitia* is intensified.

Throughout the *Tristia* and *ex Ponto* Ovid seems to develop motifs previously found in the poetic *recusationes* of Propertius and Horace.<sup>6</sup> By Ovid's time, however, such refusals to write epic have become independent of the particular circumstances of the Augustan poet justifying his choice of genre vis à vis the emperor's pressure to write a panegyric epic of some sort. Ovid therefore uses motifs from this tradition freely to serve his particular purposes in exile. His poems might be grouped with the examples of the more liberal *excusatio* like Horace *Epist.* II 2.<sup>7</sup>

One therefore finds Ovid proceeding selectively in a way similar to Horace. The standard reference to predecessors,<sup>8</sup> for instance, only occurs at *Trist.* II 361–470 in Ovid's longest *recusatio* (*Trist.* II 313 ff.) and at V 1. 17 f.:

aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris,  
aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit.

At *Pont.* IV 16. 5 ff., however, Ovid uses a variation on this element of poetic apologies by enumerating his contemporary poets rather than his predecessors. In this catalogue Ovid seems to reverse the standard situation of the *recusatio* in that he is the predecessor of the Tiberian poets named.

The poet's treatment of the enumeration of rejected "grand" subjects is equally rare.<sup>9</sup> A few instances are found at *Trist.* II 317–24, 471–538 and IV 1. 4–18. It would appear, however, that Ovid plays on this topos when he rejects spending his time in a way other than writing poetry.<sup>10</sup> In this case he takes the apologetic topos to its opposite extreme; the obvious inversion of the topos would be to refuse to write in a low genre like satire. Ovid, however, takes it one step further. The opposite of writing in the grand manner of epic for him consists of not writing at all. In response to his new situation, Ovid therefore uses the rejection-topos in a highly idiosyncratic manner.

<sup>5</sup> Marg *op. cit.* 508 on Ovid's indirect pressure on Augustus and H. B. Evans, "Ovid's Apology for *ex Ponto* I–III," *Hermes* 104 (1976) 105 on this strategy in *ex Ponto*.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden 1960), *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Wimmel, *op. cit.* 283 f., J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Bruxelles 1967) 400 has shown that Ovid draws on his Augustan predecessors rather than Callimachus himself.

<sup>8</sup> Wimmel *op. cit.* 119.

<sup>9</sup> Wimmel *op. cit.* 119.

<sup>10</sup> e.g. *Pont.* I 5. 43–52; IV 2. 39 ff.

Trying to find any traces of Ovid defining his "Dichtungsideal"<sup>11</sup> in exile proves futile. Instead, the poet expresses the grim reality of his exile-poetry<sup>12</sup> and contrasts this with his earlier poetry:

laeta fere laetus cecini, cano tristia tristis:  
conueniens operi tempus utrumque suo est.<sup>13</sup>

By implication, then, his idea of what good poetry should be like is found in his pre-exilic works. It is his amatory elegy, the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* which represent Ovid's "Dichtungsideal," whereas the exile-poetry ostensibly is the very opposite.

In some apologies the poet justifies his choice of genre by arguing that he is unable to write in a grander vein.<sup>14</sup> This motif frequently occurs in Ovid's exile-poetry,<sup>15</sup> e.g. *uerba mihi desunt dididicique loqui* (*Trist.* III 14. 46), since the lack of powers fits the overall picture of the exile-poetry as the opposite of Ovid's previous writings.<sup>16</sup> Ovid then takes this apologetic motif from its original setting and applies it within the new context of justifying his choice of genre in the exile-poetry.

Most important, however, in Callimachean and Augustan poetic apology are the image-clusters of the water and the path.<sup>17</sup> In accordance with his predecessors, Ovid uses a great number of images related to water and the path. Spring imagery, for instance, is found at *Trist.* III 14. 33 ff., V 1. 37 ff., *Pont.* III 4. 55 f., and, above all, *Pont.* IV 2. 17 ff.:

scilicet ut limus uenas excaecat in undis  
laesaque suppresso fonte resistit aqua,  
pectora sic mea sunt limo uitiatata malorum,  
et carmen uena pauperiore fluit.

In this case, Ovid might be going back directly to Callimachus. At the end of his hymn to Apollo, Callimachus contrasted his own poetry with that of

<sup>11</sup> Wimmel *op. cit.* 119.

<sup>12</sup> *Trist.* V 1. 71, *Pont.* I 5. 55 f., III 9. 49 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Pont.* III 9. 35 f.; on *conueniens* and τὸ πρέπον see below.

<sup>14</sup> Wimmel *op. cit.* 294 n. 2 mentions Lucil. *Frg.* 622 Marx, *Hor. Sat.* I 10. 46 f., II 1. 12 f.; *Epist.* II 1. 259; *Ars* 38 f.; *Prop.* II 1. 17 f., III 9. 5 (now with Fedeli's note) as examples of this development; see also M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt 1949) 147. 154. 167.

<sup>15</sup> e.g. *Trist.* II 334; *Pont.* I 5. 51 f., III 3. 34, III 4. 79, III 7. 1, III 9. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ovid in exile seems to be particularly fond of inverting standard motifs, see J. A. Barsby, *op. cit.* 45.

<sup>17</sup> R. Reitzenstein, "Zur Stiltheorie des Kallimachos," *Festschr. E. Reitzenstein* (Leipzig-Berlin 1931) 54 ff.; Puelma Piwonka *op. cit.* 164; Wimmel *op. cit.* 222 ff. A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik*, (Heidelberg 1965) 23 ff., 66 ff., 98 ff., 110 ff.; the image of the spring goes back to Hes. *Theog.* 5 f. καὶ τε λοισσάμεναι τέρενα χροά Περμησσοῖο / ἢ Ἰπκου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο via Call. *Hymn. Apoll.* 108 ff. with Williams' note on 105-13, and *Epigr.* 28. 3 f. = *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1043 Gow-Page.

writers of epic by means of the image of the great, muddy river (Apollo speaking at 108 ff.):

“Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ  
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἔφ’ ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.  
Δηοὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι,  
ἀλλ’ ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει  
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.”

The comparison shows how Ovid on the one hand takes up Callimachus' ὀλίγη (112) and outdoes the master at his own game. For Ovid's spring of poetry is not only small but blocked. This provides an extreme contrast to the Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος as well as a *reductio ad absurdum* of Callimachus' concept. On the other hand, at the same time as outdoing Callimachus<sup>18</sup> Ovid presents himself as the opposite of the Callimachean ideal. For the term *limus* seems to recall Callimachus' συρφετός<sup>19</sup> which is clearly a negative characteristic, the opposite of καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος (111). The echo of Callimachus is also supported by the close parallel between ἐφ’ ὕδατι (109) and *in undis* (17). Ovid therefore presents himself as un-Callimachean on the surface, but at the same time also as more Callimachean than Callimachus. In the same image the poet therefore summarizes the dichotomy which is fundamental to the entire exile-poetry.<sup>20</sup> On the one hand the *Tristia* and *ex Ponto* purport to be the opposite of his earlier, poetically polished works, on the other hand Ovid keeps asserting clandestinely that he is still using the same standards of poetic perfection.

The other cluster of images is centered around the image of the path<sup>21</sup> (Apollo speaking at Call. *Aetia* Frg. 1. 25 ff.<sup>22</sup>):

πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ’ ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι  
τὰ στεῖβειν, ἐτέρων δ’ ἔχνια μὴ καθ’ ὅμα  
δίφρον ἐλ]ῆν μηδ’ οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους  
ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στεινοτέρην ἐλάσεις.

From this *locus classicus* it becomes clear that the images of the path and the poet as charioteer or horseman are closely linked. Ovid draws on this concept in *ex Ponto* IV 2. 23 *studiis (studii: Heinsius) quoque frena remisi* and *immensum gloria calcar habet* (36). The former may have to be

<sup>18</sup> On this common Augustan hallmark of *imitatio* see I. M. le M. DuQuesnay, "From Polyphemus to Corydon: Virgil, Eclogue 2 and the Idylls of Theocritus," in *Creative Imitation in Latin Poetry*, ed. Woodman/West (Cambridge 1979) 38 with n. 13.

<sup>19</sup> This motif also occurs at Hor. *Sat.* I 1. 59, I 4. 11, I 10. 62; see C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles* (Cambridge 1963) 159, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Nagle *op. cit.* 141.

<sup>21</sup> Wimmel *op. cit.* 104 ff.; O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (Berlin 1937) *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> For the literary ancestry of this motif cf. Henderson and Lucke on Ov. *Rem.* 397 f. and add Cic. *De Orat.* III 36; *Bruet.* 204; *Att.* VI 1. 12; Prop. III 9.57 f.; Manil. II 58 f. 158 f.; Juv. 1. 19 f. (with Courtney's note), Quint. *Inst.* X 1. 74, II 8. 11; Nemes. *Cyneg.* 9; see also Wimmel *op. cit.* 105.



contrasted with III 9. 26: *et cupidi cursus frena retentat equi*. At *Pont.* III 9. 23 he is clearly talking about polishing his poetry (*corrigere*). Tightening the reins therefore seems to be an image of applying *ars* whereas letting them go may imply surrendering to the forces of *ingenium*. On one level Ovid wants his reader to realize that the exile-poetry is completely different from everything he had written in Rome because of its lack of polish, on another level he asserts his persistent use of *ars*.<sup>23</sup>

Similar contradictory statements are to be found in connection with the fame of Ovid's poetry.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand he claims that he does not write for fame any more:

da ueniam scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis  
causa, sed utilitas officiumque fuit.<sup>25</sup>

This, however, contrasts sharply with a few claims to future fame, such as *Pont.* IV 16. 3 *famaque post cineres maior uenit*<sup>26</sup> and with the poet's previous assertiveness in this field, e.g. *Am.* I 15. 41 f.

ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis,  
uiuam, parsque mei multa superstes erit

and *Met.* XV 878 f.:

perque omnia saecula fama,  
siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia, uiuam.

<sup>23</sup> The concept of poetry as a voyage or poems as ships combines the water and path images. This notion goes back to Pindar (see C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* [Oxford 1964] 230), e.g. *Pyth.* 4. 3; 11. 39; *Nem.* 3. 26 f. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὴν / ἄκραν ἐμόν πλόον παραμείβεται; 5. 51; 6. 28; Verg. *Georg.* II 41; Hor. *Carm.* IV 15. 3 f. (with Kiessling-Heinze's note); Prop. III 3. 22 (with Fedeli's note); Becker *op. cit.* 71 f.; Wimmel *op. cit.* 227 f. The motif occurs in the *Tristia* at II 329 f. (with Owen's and Luck's notes), where it may be consciously looking back to the *Ars* (I 722, II 429 f., III 26, 99 f.; Hollis on I 39 f.), and at *Trist.* II 548 where a reference to *Met.* XV 176 (with Bömer's note) seems possible. See also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 363; E. de Saint-Denis, *La mer dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1935) 319, 367; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge 1956) 205; Kambylis *op. cit.* 154; most judiciously J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (Cambridge 1974) 167 f.; Bömer on *Met.* IX 589; Lucke on *Rem.* 811 ff.

<sup>24</sup> This topos goes as far back as Alcman *Frg.* 118 Bergk; Enn. *Ann.* 3 f. Vahlen = 12 f. Skutsch; Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 9; Hor. *Carm.* II 20. 14 with Nisbet-Hubbard's note who give numerous further examples.

<sup>25</sup> *Pont.* III 9. 55 f.; similar examples of the reversal of this motif are found at Aratus, *A.P.* XI 437 and Hor. *Epist.* I 20. 13, 18 (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* II 20. 14). Further examples in Ovid are *Trist.* I 1. 49 f., IV 1. 3 f. (with de Jonge's note), V 1. 75 f. (all with Luck's notes), *Pont.* IV 2. 33 ff. Lack of fame is, of course, a characteristic of exile, e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 604.

<sup>26</sup> Further passages where Ovid asserts his fame are *Trist.* I 6. 35 f., IV 9. 17 (with de Jonge's note), IV 10. 2, 128, V 1.74, V 14. 5 f., 13 f., *Pont.* I 5. 63 f., II 6. 33 f., III 2. 29 ff. (with Staffhorst's note), III 4. 53 ff., IV 7. 53 f., IV 8. 45 ff.

Again, the conflicting statements about the exile-corpus both have to be taken seriously. One stresses the break with the past, the other the continuity which exists all the same.<sup>27</sup>

Such contradictions and reversals of apologetic elements are ultimately the effect of a heavy emphasis on the justification of the poetic genre by means of the poet's personal circumstances in the exile-poetry.<sup>28</sup> Ovid's relegation to Tomi is the most fundamental element in his later poetry not only as regards subject matter, but also as regards his poetic programme. Since exile is visualized as death<sup>29</sup> Ovid in the role of the Roman *lusor amorum* (*Trist.* IV 10. 1) or the *nequitiae poeta* (*Am.* II 1. 2) is dead as well. The exile-poetry therefore is the opposite of what a Roman reader might expect from a book of poems. Ovid makes this very clear at the very beginning of his exile in *Tristia* I 1. 3–16 where he describes the book as the very opposite of a standard edition<sup>30</sup> and at *Tristia* I 1. 39–44 where he contrasts the general requirements for writing poetry<sup>31</sup> with his circumstances. Again, however, a hidden dichotomy can be detected in the case of the "programmatically charged lines"<sup>32</sup> at *Trist.* I 1. 3 ff. This passage also contains a hidden claim to literary polish by virtue of the echoes of Catullus 22 where the *pauper poeta* contrasts his palimpsest with Stufenus' luxurious edition.<sup>33</sup> Although the state of Ovid's book, which is the result of the author's relegation, suggests that the content is anything but polished<sup>34</sup> the allusions to Catullus 22 imply that the content is just as polished as Catullus' work. Furthermore, the parallels suggest to the reader that he should not be intent on externals but on the content. On an ostensible level, then, the poems from exile are determined by circumstances, but at a deeper level Ovid has remained the same.

<sup>27</sup> The dichotomy between discontinuity and continuity has been pointed out by M. H. Thomson, *Detachment and Manipulation in the Exile Poems of Ovid* (diss. Berkeley 1979), 36 ff.

<sup>28</sup> This was seen clearly by Wimmel *op. cit.* 297: "ja dies Moment ist so sehr tragend, dass es sich nicht mehr auf bestimmte Abschnitte eingrenzen lässt"; see also Nagle *op. cit.* 109 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Tristia* I 1. 27 (with Luck's note), 117 f., I 2. 42, 71 f., I 3 21 ff., 89, I 4. 27 f., I 7. 19, 38, I 8. 14, II 2. 23, III 3. 73, III 10. 1 ff., III 11. 25 f., III 13. 21 f., III 14. 19 f., IV 1. 23, IV 4. 37, IV 10. 82, V 1. 48; *ex Ponto* I 5. 85, I 9. 17, II 3. 3, II 7. 48, III 3. 46, III 5. 33 f., III 7. 40, IV 12. 43 f., IV 16. 3 f.; *Ibis* 6. 16. The notion is quite common before and after Ovid: Leonidas Tarentinus *AP* VII 711. 5 = *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2535 ff. Gow-Page; Cic. *Sen.* 27; *Att.* IV 1. 8; *Quint. Fr.* I 3. 1; *Stat. Silv.* I 5. 65 (with Vollmer's note); III 3. 154; Nagle *op. cit.* 22 ff., and E. Doblhofer, *Exil und Emigration*, *Impulse der Forschung* (Darmstadt 1987) 166 ff.

<sup>30</sup> S. E. Hinds, "Booking the Return Trip: Ovid and *Tristia* I," *PCPS* n.s. 31 (1985) 14.

<sup>31</sup> Compare Catull. 50 with C. P. Segal, "Catullan *otiosi*: the Lover and the the Poet," *G & R* 17 (1970), 25 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Hinds *op. cit.* 13.

<sup>33</sup> *Trist.* I 1. 5 cf. Catull. 22. 7; *Trist.* I 1.7 cf. Catull. 22. 6; *Trist.* I 1. 8 cf. Catull. 22. 7; *Trist.* I 1. 11 cf. Catull. 22. 8.

<sup>34</sup> One has to contrast Catull. 1, see Hinds *op. cit.* 14.

This ostensible contrast between Ovid's life before exile and circumstances in Tomi is reflected in the constant presentation of the latter as the opposite of Rome (*Pont.* I 3. 37):<sup>35</sup>

quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius?

Furthermore, it is not only Tomi which is described as the opposite of Rome, but Scythia in general is as unlike Italy as possible. Ovid's general, cumulative picture of the region draws not only on Vergil's passage on Scythia in *Georgics* III<sup>36</sup> and the ethnographical and historiographical tradition behind Vergil;<sup>37</sup> rather, he presents the region on the lower Danube as an inversion of Italy as described at *Georgics* II 136 ff.<sup>38</sup> Vergil's *laus Italiae* is turned upside down and into Ovid's complaint about Scythia just as Libya and Scythia provided a contrast to Italy within the *Georgics*.<sup>39</sup> Vergil, for instance, dwells on the fact that no mythological horrors are reported to have taken place in Italy (*Georg.* III 139–42). This is clearly not true of the shores of the Black Sea where, as Ovid tells us in *Tristia* III 9, Medea lacerated her brother Apsyrtus thus giving Tomi its name (from Greek τέμνω).

Moreover, one of Italy's major characteristics, its fertility, (*Georg.* II 143–50),<sup>40</sup> is inverted by Ovid's statements that nothing grows in Tomi,

<sup>35</sup> This contrast is already present at *Trist.* I 2. 77 ff., I 3. 61 f. (with Luck's note): *denique 'quid propero? Scythia est, quo mittimur,' inquam, 'Roma relinquenda est: utraque iusta mora est!'* I 5. 61 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Verg. *Georg.* III 349 ff.; R. F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry and the Ethnographical Tradition* (Cambridge 1982) 1 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Richter on Verg. *Georg.* III 349 ff.

<sup>38</sup> This description in turn draws on a tradition of encomia of countries and cities which is theoretically dealt with e.g. by Menander Rhetor 382. 10 ff. Thus there are similarities between Vergil and other writers of *laudes Italiae*, e.g. Varro *Rust.* I 2. 3–6. The central importance of the Vergilian passage for the time in which Ovid wrote is underlined by the close resemblances between *Georgics* II 136–76 and accounts by Ovid's contemporaries Strabo (who praises Italy at VI 4. 1; on the uncertain date see *Kl. Pauly* V 382. 33 ff.; in any case after Vergil) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* I 36. 2–I 37. 5); further examples at Thomas (1982) 39.

<sup>39</sup> L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 98. Since Vergil's praise of Italy also incorporates elements of the Golden Age (F. Klingner, *Vergils Georgica*, [Zürich-Stuttgart 1963] 80; Thomas *op. cit.* 41; Italy's fertility at *Georg.* II 143–50, for instance, recalls Hes. *Op.* 101 f. Perpetual spring is also a feature of the Golden Age at *Ov. Met.* I 107) Ovid's Tomi also implicitly inverts these elements. If the Golden Age provided the best circumstances for man to live in, Tomi by contrast has the worst.

<sup>40</sup> For this standard characteristic of *laudes Italiae* cf. also Varro *Rust.* I 2. 6–7; Strabo VI 4. 1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I 36. 3–I 37. 3; in general it is recommended as an encomiastic topos by Men. Rhet. 384. 9 ff. φυντὰ γὰρ καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ ὄρων ὑπεροχὰς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁ τῆς φύσεως παρέχει λόγος. It also occurs in descriptions of the Golden Age, e.g. Hes. *Op.* 117 f. καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / αὐτομάτῃ πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφρονον, Plato *Rep.* 272a; Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 39 f.; *Ov. Met.* I 101 ff. with Bömer's note; Thomas *op. cit.* 3. 39 f.

neither vine nor trees.<sup>41</sup> The eternal summer or spring<sup>42</sup> which generates Italy's fertility is therefore juxtaposed by Ovid's perpetual Tomitan winter (*Pont.* I 2. 24):<sup>43</sup>

et quod iners hiemi continuatur hiems.

Winter is so omnipresent in Ovid's picture of Tomi that even spring—on the one occasion when it is mentioned other than in an *exemplum* or a simile—is presented as a lack of winter (*Trist.* III 12. 27 ff.)

at<sup>44</sup> mihi sentitur nix uerno sole soluta,  
 quaeque lacu durae non fodiantur aquae,  
 nec mare concrescit glacie, nec, ut ante, per Histrum  
 stridula Sauromates plaustra bubulcus agit.

Scythian barbarism and deprivation also manifest themselves in the lack of cities. Where Italy has *tot egregias urbes* (Verg. *Georg.* II 155) human habitation on the lower Danube usually takes the form of carts, e.g. *onerata . . . / . . . plaustra* (*Pont.* IV 7. 9 f.). The existence of towns other than Tomi (*proxima . . . oppida* [*Pont.* IV 9. 104]) is mentioned only once. Furthermore, whereas Italy is praised for its seas, lakes, and metal-bearing rivers (*Georg.* II 158–65)<sup>45</sup> the lower Danube is characterized by its brackish water<sup>46</sup> and its complete lack of metals (*Pont.* III 8. 5):<sup>47</sup>

nec tamen haec loca sunt ullo pretiosa metallo.

<sup>41</sup> *Trist.* III 12.11 ff., V 13. 21; *Pont.* I 2. 25, I 3. 51 f., I 7. 13, III 1. 13, 19 f., III 8. 13 ff., IV 10. 31.

<sup>42</sup> The beneficial climate is a commonplace in this context, cf. Varro *Rust.* I 2.4; Strabo VI 4. 1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I 37.5; in general Men. Rhet. 383. 17 f. ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς ἀέρας, ὅτι ὑγραινῶς ἔχει; Thomas *op. cit.* 3. 40. The motif also occurs in Ovid's account of the Golden Age *Met.* I 107 *uer erat aeternum* (with Bömer's note).

<sup>43</sup> E.g. *Trist.* III 10. 9 ff.; *Pont.* IV 7. 7 ff.; H. M. R. Leopold, *Exulum Trias* (diss. Utrecht 1904) 99 ff.; A. D. Fitton Brown, "The Unreality of Ovid's Tomitan Exile," *LCM* 10 (1985) 18, with his temperature chart is just as rhetorically biassed as Ovid's account. Which other scholar feels inclined to trust the Rumanian National Tourist Office's 1979 brochure to supply representative data?

<sup>44</sup> Together with Luck and some of the older manuscripts (AK) I read *at*, rather than *et* (GT) because it provides the required contrast between the preceding *urbe frui* (26) and Ovid's present situation.

<sup>45</sup> All three elements are also mentioned in Strabo's version (VI 4. 1) and in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I 37. 4 f. (rivers, metal, and seas); Thomas *op. cit.* 42 f.

<sup>46</sup> *Pont.* II 7. 74, III 1. 17 f., IV 10. 61 f.

<sup>47</sup> This feature is also a standard element of geographical descriptions, see Thomas *op. cit.* 44 f.

The Italian people, finally, are brave and hardy (*Georg.* II 167–72),<sup>48</sup> but the Getae and Scythians are wild and barbaric.<sup>49</sup> Almost all elements of Vergil's praise of Italy are constantly inverted by Ovid in order to stress the polarity between Rome and Tomi. The *uitium* in Ovid's surroundings becomes the cause of the *uitia* in his poetry. This may be the point of the verbal echo at *Pont.* III 9. 5 *o, quam de multis uitium reprehenditur unum* and *quid nisi de uitio scribam regionis amarae* (37). The *uitia* of Tomi affect the poet to such an extent that they intrude into his poems.

It may also be profitable to look at Ovid's account of having written a poem in Getic (*Pont.* IV 13. 19 ff.) in this light. Whether this information is true or not is only of secondary interest. Ovid's point surely is to stress the change brought about by relegation since *Ille ego qui fuerim tenerorum lusor amorum* (*Trist.* IV 10. 1) and *paene poeta Getes* (*Pont.* IV 13. 18) are worlds apart. Life among the Getae has affected him so much that he is now *paene poeta Getes*.<sup>50</sup> Closely linked with this motif are his complaints about linguistic isolation.<sup>51</sup> E. Lozovan has shown that Ovid exaggerates in this respect.<sup>52</sup> His point must therefore be a rhetorical one. Linguistic isolation provides another explanation of the "flaws" in his exile-poetry.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the same statements can be read in a completely different way. One might argue that this very difficulty of writing Latin poetry among the Getae enhances the value of the exile-poetry.

The effect of circumstances on Ovid's poetry may also be reflected in the use of *durus* and *hirsutus* as recurring epithets of the Getae,<sup>54</sup> for both are also used as epithets of poetry, most prominently in Horace.<sup>55</sup> "H. . . uses *durus* for (archaic) harshness."<sup>56</sup> Thus, if the people in Tomi are *duri* Ovid's poetry necessarily becomes *dura* as well by implication. This also follows from the repeated use of the phrase *durum tempus* to describe exile<sup>57</sup> and the key phrase *conueniens operi tempus utrumque suo est* (*Pont.* III 9. 36). This characterization in turn provides a neat contrast to Ovid's elegy written

<sup>48</sup> The peoples of Italy are similarly mentioned by Strabo VI 4. 1 s. f., τῶ μὲν κρατιστεύειν ἐν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ μεγέθει τὰ περιεστῶτα αὐτὴν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν εὐφυῶς ἔχει; cf. in general Men. Rhet. 384. 18 ff., ἐπαίνεσον τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

<sup>49</sup> *Trist.* III 10. 5, 55 ff., IV 4. 59, V 2. 69 f., V 7. 45 ff., V 10. 27 ff.; *Pont.* I 3. 57 ff.; Leopold *op. cit.* 95 f.

<sup>50</sup> Nagle *op. cit.* 133 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Trist.* III 1. 17 f. with Luck's note, III 11. 9, III 14. 47 f., V 7. 55 ff., V 10. 35 f., V 12. 57 f.

<sup>52</sup> "Realités Pontiques et nécessités littéraires," *Atti del convegno internazionale Sulmoniano*, vol. II (Roma 1959) 364.

<sup>53</sup> Nagle *op. cit.* 133.

<sup>54</sup> *durus*: *Pont.* I 5. 12, III 2. 102, *hirsutus*: *Pont.* I 5. 74, II 5. 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Hor. Sat.* I 4. 8; *Epist.* II 1. 66 f. with Brink's note; *Ars* 446 with Brink's note; Fedeli on *Prop.* I 7. 19; *Thes.* V 1. 2310. 58 ff., 2314. 66 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Brink on *Hor. Ars* 446.

<sup>57</sup> *Trist.* I 5. 26, III 4. 1, V 10. 12; *Pont.* II 6. 29, and IV 9. 88.

before the exile which is described as *mollis*,<sup>58</sup> a standard epithet for amatory verse or elegy.<sup>59</sup>

*Hirsutus* and the conceptually related *intonsus* (*Pont.* IV 2. 2) provide a similar link between reality and poetry. Both epithets are used of the Getae. They seem, however, to be also related to stylistic criticism as expressed by Horace and Vergil.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Ovid uses *hirsutus* himself to describe his first book of the *Tristia* in the programmatic passage already mentioned: *hirsutus sparsis ut uideare comis* (*Trist.* I 1. 12). It is also used in a stylistic context of Ennius at *Trist.* II 259: *Annales*, —*nihil est hirsutius illis!*,<sup>61</sup> and at *Prop.* IV 1. 61 *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona*. If, then, the people in Tomi are *hirsuti* Ovid's poetry, by implication, becomes *hirsuta* because it reflects its surroundings.

The ostensible change in Ovid's poetry is presented by him as caused by the principle of τὸ πρέπον<sup>62</sup> *qualem decet exulis esse* (*Trist.* I 1. 3), *non est conueniens luctibus ille color* (6) and the essential (*Pont.* III 9. 35 f.):

laeta fere laetus cecini, cano tristia tristis:  
conueniens operi tempus utrumque suo est.

Further examples are found at *Trist.* III 1 .10 and V 1. 5 f. The characteristically Ovidian trait about the use of τὸ πρέπον, however, is the shift in its application from the purely stylistic sphere<sup>63</sup> to the area of choice of subject. If it was a commonplace to postulate that the style be appropriate to the subject, Ovid now goes one step further by stating that his subject is appropriate to his personal circumstances, and the subject, of course, needs and appropriate style.<sup>64</sup>

As in the case of the *Ars Poetica* scholars might object that it is "always convenient to fall back on τὸ πρέπον when everything else fails."<sup>65</sup> Considering, however the weight given to this concept by Ovid (see above and add *Am.* I 1. 2), Horace, and their predecessors,<sup>66</sup> the reservations of modern critics seem to be outweighed by the evidence found in the primary sources.

<sup>58</sup> *Trist.* II 307, 349.

<sup>59</sup> *Prop.* I 7. 19, III 1. 19 both with Fedeli's note, Bömer on *Fast.* II 3, Puelma Piwonka *op. cit.* 220 n. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *incomptis* [*sc. uersibus*] (*Ars* 446 with Brink's note), *uersibus incomptis ludunt* (*Georg.* II 386).

<sup>61</sup> See Luck's note: "*hirsutius*: bezieht sich auf Stil und Sprache," rather than Owen's: "hard in subject, unsentimental."

<sup>62</sup> M. Pohlenz, "Τὸ πρέπον: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Geistes," *NGG* 11. 16 (1933) 53 ff.; Brink *op. cit.* 228–30, Brink on *Hor. Ars.* 157, 308; Nagle *op. cit.* 117 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Style has to be appropriate to subject and character, Brink *op. cit.* 229.

<sup>64</sup> The importance of the justification of one's poetry by means of personal circumstances or "Rechtfertigung im Bios" (Wimmel *op. cit.* 119) becomes even more obvious now.

<sup>65</sup> Thus Tate in his review of W. Steidle, *Studien zur Ars Poetica des Horaz*, *CR* 53 (1939) 192.

<sup>66</sup> *Hor. Ars* 226, *Arist. Rhet.* 1408a10 and presumably Neoptolemus; see Brink *op. cit.* 96.

The principle of τὸ πρέπον finally explains the monotony of Ovid's subject-matter in the *Tristia* and *ex Ponto* which has often been criticised.<sup>67</sup> If life in Tomi is monotonous the exile-poetry necessarily has to reflect this monotony (*Trist.* III 1. 10):<sup>68</sup>

carmine temporibus conueniente suis.

It seems, then, that Ovid when dealing with the poetics of his exile, adapts some motifs of the Callimachean tradition in Augustan poetry. He uses the familiar themes and images of Augustan theorizing about poetry in the new context of his exile-poems where they have to fit in with the overall picture of Tomi as the opposite of Rome and Scythia as the opposite of Italy. The mere fact that he is still using and re-applying the same motifs and symbols as his predecessors for his own needs show that he still defines his poetic stance in those very terms. So even when he draws attention to ostensible changes in his poetics his standards remain the same. If his poetry falls short of these principles it is the effect of the change in his "bios." The point of this is rhetorical: if Ovid is to write polished verse again all one has to do is recall him from exile.

*University College of North Wales*

<sup>67</sup> E. g. E. Norden, *Die Römische Literatur* (Leipzig 1954) 75; A. L. Wheeler, *Ovid: Tristia, ex Ponto* (London-Cambr. Mass. 1924) XXXIII; L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* 360 (Cambridge 1955).

<sup>68</sup> Ovid argues this point in *Pont.* III 9; see Nagle *op. cit.* 132.





## Notes on Ovid's poems from exile\*

W. S. WATT

The following modern editions are referred to: A. Riese (Leipzig 1874); S. G. Owen (*Tristia*, Oxford 1889); R. Ehwald (Leipzig 1889); A. L. Wheeler (Loeb edition, London 1924); G. Luck (*Tristia*, Heidelberg 1967-77). Reference is also made to S.B. = D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1982), 390-98.

*Tristia*

1. 2. 81:

quod faciles opto uentos, (quis credere possit?)  
 Sarmatis est tellus quam mea uela petunt.  
 obligor ut tangam laeui fera litora Ponti,  
 quodque sit a patria tam fuga tarda queror.  
 nescioquo uideam positos ut in orbe Tomitas  
*exilem* facio per mea uota uiam.

Ovid prays for an easy and swift journey—to his place of exile.

"I am trying to shorten the road by prayer" (Wheeler). This is certainly the sort of sense we expect, and *exilem* has traditionally been taken "pro breui et compendiosa" (Heinsius); under this rubric our passage stands by itself in *TLL* 5. 2. 1482. 25 ff. But J. Delz, in his discussion of it in *Mus. Helv.* 28 (1971), 54 ff., is justified in doubting whether *exilis* could have this meaning, for which there is no parallel. Delz even doubts whether *facio* combined with any predicative adjective would be acceptable, because it is the gods, and not Ovid, who would make the journey easy or short; but this objection ignores the common usage by which "qui facit per alium facit per se." As an acceptable phrase I suggest *en celerem facio*, comparing *Her.* 16. 332, "iam facient celeres remus et unda uias." I would explain the corruption by the omission of the *er* syllable; similarly at Cicero, *Fam.* 10. 24. 3 I believe that *celeris* has been corrupted in our manuscripts to *talis*.

\*I am very grateful to Professors J. B. Hall and J. A. Richmond for commenting on an earlier version of these notes.

## 2. 211:

altera pars superest, qua turpi carmine *factus*  
arguor obsceni doctor adulterii.

Ovid's second offense was the composition of the *Ars*.

From the evidence presented by Luck it seems safe to conclude that the paradosis is *factus*, and that the variants *dictus*, *laesus*, and *lectus* are mere conjectures. Most editors have in fact been content with *factus*, but the resulting sense ("I am accused of having become the teacher") is impossibly feeble; none of the manuscript variants is worthy of consideration, and the same may be said of modern conjectures like Luck's *lecto* and Axelson's *luso*. What I should expect is an indication of the recipients of Ovid's "teaching," as at 244, where he says that his *scripta* do not "Romanas erudiunt nurus." I suggest *castis*, which makes an excellent contrast with *turpi*, as at *Pont.* 1. 1. 7 f. (Ovid addresses his poems), "certe nil turpe docetis: / ite, patet castis uersibus ille locus." The dative, instead of the genitive, with *doctor* is no more surprising than the dative (*elapsis*, sc. *dis*) with *cultor* at *Her.* 7. 131; cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Synt. u. Stil.* 91.

## 2. 331:

forsan (*et hoc dubitem*) numeris leuioribus aptus  
sim satis, in paruos sufficiamque modos.

The fullest discussion of this passage is that of J. Diggle in *CQ* 30 (1980) 416; he objects to the subjunctive *dubitem* and supports the variant *dubito*. But then *et hoc dubito* is scarcely necessary after *forsan*, which is itself an "aduerbium dubitandi" (*TLL* 6. 1136. 69 f.). The proper relationship between *forsan* and the verb *dubitare* can be restored by retaining the paradosis *dubitem* and merely changing *et* to *ut*; then *ut dubitem* is a parenthetic final clause like *ut omittam*, *ut redeam*, etc.

## 3. 4. 49 (=4b.3):

Bosporus et Tanais superant Scythiaequae paludes  
uixque satis noti nomina *pauca* loci.

Beyond Tomis lie the Bosporus, etc.

Luck comments: "50 ist noch nicht befriedigend hergestellt; vielleicht liegt ein ähnlicher Gedanke vor wie Pompon. Mela 3. 30 *montium altissimi Taurus et Retico, nisi quorum nomina uix est eloqui ore Romano*." Heinsius long ago solved the problem by emending *pauca* to *rauca* ("harsh-sounding"), but apparently no editor since Owen (1889) has mentioned this solution. Even Owen did not report that Heinsius wanted (I think rightly) to take *nomina rauca* in apposition to *loci* (plural), comparing *Trist.* 3. 10. 5 f., "Sauromatae . . . Bessique Getaeque, / quam non ingenio nomina digna meo!" Similarly at Val. Flacc. 1. 330 *raucos* has been corrupted to *paucos* in our oldest manuscript (V).

## 3. 8. 35:

haeret et ante oculos ueluti spectabile corpus  
adstat fortunae forma *legenda* meae.

In his text Luck adopts *tegenda* (a conjecture first proposed by Riese), "die ich verhüllen sollte," but a reference to Ovid's determination not to reveal the nature of the "error" which had caused his exile seems here out of place. In his commentary, on the other hand, Luck is inclined to defend *legenda*, taken in the sense of "oculis legenda" (cf. *TLL* 7. 2. 1128. 19 ff.); this is quite otiose after the preceding line. The conjectures *uerenda* and *querenda* are scarcely convincing palaeographically, although the latter yields good sense. More satisfactory, I suggest, would be *gemenda* (the form occurs at *Met.* 13. 464); if this were reduced to *genda* by the omission (for an obvious reason) of *me*, the metre would have to be repaired by the addition of a syllable. With *fortunae forma gemenda* I compare 3. 11. 37, "fortuna potest mea flenda uideri."

## 3. 11. 49:

"pro quibus inuentis, ut munus munere penses,  
da, precor, ingenio praemia digna meo."  
dixerat; at Phalaris "poenae mirande repertor,  
ipse tuum *praesens* imbue" dixit "opus."

Phalaris gives Perillus his due reward for inventing the brazen bull.

*Praesens* is not adequately rendered by "in person" (Wheeler); Luck's rendering, "du bist ja eben hier," certainly is adequate but merely shows how otiose the word is. This was realized by Heinsius and Bentley, who agreed on emending to *princeps* (*primus* is already found as a humanist conjecture). Luck favours this, but I do not think that it is the answer: apart from palaeographical considerations, *princeps* is not required with *imbuere*, which by itself can mean "do something for the first time" (*OLD* sense 3); cf. *Ars* 1. 654 (likewise of Perillus), "infelix imbuit auctor opus." Burman, I think, was right in suggesting *praestans* (apparently mentioned by no editor later than Owen 1889); this would qualify *opus* just as *mirande* qualifies *repertor*. For the confusion of the two words cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 1. 9. 1 *praestantiores* (*praesentiores* codd.) *fructus*.

## 4. 8. 5:

nunc erat ut posito deberem fine laborum  
uiuere *me nullo* sollicitante metu.

The manuscripts vary between *me* and *cum*; modern conjectures are *nunc* (Withof), *iam* (Riese), and *cor* (Luck). Perhaps the simplest solution is to suppose that an original *non ullo* was changed to *nullo* and the resulting gap filled by conjecture.

4. 9. 1:

si licet et pateris, nomen facinusque tacebo  
 et tua Lethaeis acta dabuntur aquis  
 nostraque uinctur lacrimis clementia seris,  
 fac modo te pateat paenituisse tui.

"I shall forget what you have done provided that you have clearly repented."

There is no reason to question the soundness of *clementia* (of which the variant *dementia* is merely a slight miswriting). It has been proposed to substitute *uementia* (Postgate), *sententia* (Alton, followed by Luck), or *constantia* (S. B., p. 398) on the ground that *clementia uinctur lacrimis* cannot mean "my mercy shall be won by tears" (Wheeler); that is true, but the conclusion which I draw is that *uinctur*, not *clementia*, is corrupt. Nor need we look far for a satisfactory replacement which involves the minimum of change: *iungetur*, "my mercy shall follow closely on your tears." This sense of *iungere* is numbered 10 in *OLD*: "to cause (events, etc.) to succeed without a break"; examples are listed both there and in *TLL* 7. 2. 655. 66 ff. The supposed corruption, easy enough in itself, may have been helped by the recollection of a line (39) towards the end of the previous poem, "ipsaque delictis uicta est clementia nostris."

4. 9. 27:

iam feror in pugnas et nondum cornua sumpsit,  
 nec mihi sumendi causa sit ulla uelim.  
 Circus adhuc cessat, spargit iam toruus harenam  
 taurus et infesto iam pede pulsat humum.

Ovid threatens to attack his enemy if he does not repent.

In *Euphrosyne* 16 (1988) 137, J. B. Hall points out that *iam feror in pugnas*, "already I am rushing into battle," cannot be right because what follows (*Circus adhuc cessat* and the image of the bull pawing the sand) proves that battle has not yet been joined; he therefore proposes *moror* for *feror*. It would be easier (a) to alter *feror* to the future *ferar*; (b) to adopt, instead of *et*, the less well attested variant *sed*, which, even if it is only an emendation, is a very easy change after the last letter of *pugnas*; battle will commence "soon" but has not yet done so. The fact that *iam* in lines 29 and 30 means "already" does not prove that *iam* in line 27 must likewise have that sense.

5. 6. 35:

elige nostrorum minimum minimumque malorum,  
 isto, quo reris, gradus illud erit.

The least of Ovid's woes will be greater than his correspondent imagines.

For the gemination of *minimum* the editors quote *Her.* 1. 41, *nimum nimumque oblite tuorum*, but the adverb *nimum* lends itself much more

naturally to gemination than does the adjective *minimus*; indeed, "bei Adj. ist die rein intensive Gemination kaum zu belegen," Hofmann-Szantyr 809. I suggest that the comma should be placed after *minimum*, not after *malorum*, and that *malorum* should be supplied with the first *minimum*; such ἀπὸ κοινοῦ constructions are frequent in Ovid (a collection of examples is given by E. J. Kenney in *CQ* 8 [1958] 55). This punctuation guarantees *malorum* against the variant *laborum* (the other manuscript variations in the couplet do not affect the construction).

*Ibis*

23:

di melius, quorum longe mihi maximus ille est  
qui nostras inopes noluit esse *uias*.

In banishing Ovid, Augustus had refrained from confiscating his property.

If *uias* is sound it must mean Ovid's journey into exile (so *TLL* 7. 1. 1755. 70): he had enough money to pay his travelling expenses. But is it credible that he should mention this, and nothing else, as the consequence of being allowed to retain his property? I suggest that *uias* should be *uices*, "my changed circumstances"; *uices* has either certainly or probably been corrupted to *uias* at Seneca, *Med.* 307 and *Phaed.* 965, Silius 15. 809.

*Epistulae ex Ponto*

1. 2. 63:

nec tamen ulterius quicquam speroue precorue  
quam male *mutato* posse carere loco.

*Mutato* arouses justified suspicion, whether interpreted as "given in exchange" (so Wheeler . . . "even by a wretched change to be rid of this place," but "even" is not in the Latin) or as "taken in exchange" (*sc.* for Rome; so the word is generally understood nowadays, although *male* is very feeble). Only one suggested emendation is worthy of consideration, that of T. Faber, *male me tuto*. This, I think, is on the right lines, but I should prefer *male munito*. Time and again Ovid complains about the inadequate defences of Tomis; so just above (22), "portaque uix firma submouet arma sera"; *Trist.* 5. 2. 70, "uixque breuis tutos murus ab hoste facit"; *ib.* 5. 10. 27, "uix ope castelli defendimur"; *ib.* 4. 1. 69 f.; *Pont.* 1. 8. 61 f. The same corruption, of *munito* to *mutato*-, has occurred at *Ciris* 105; also, in some manuscripts of Cicero, *Att.* 4. 16. 7, *munitos* has become *muratos*, a late-Latin word which editors have no business to foist on Cicero.

2. 3. 15:

nil nisi quod prodest carum est, sed detrahe menti  
spem fructus auidae, nemo *petendus* erit.

Friendships are valued according to the profit which they bring.

Madvig (*Adv.* 2. 102), objecting to the use of *petere* in the sense of *appetere* or *colere*, conjectured *uerendus*. Why not the *mot juste*, which is *colendus*? The confusion of *p* and *c* is quite common (see note on 4. 1. 23 below).

2. 3. 33:

te, nihil *exacto* nisi nos peccasse fatentem,  
sponte sua probitas officiumque iuuat.

No one has succeeded in emending the meaningless *exacto* or *ex acto*; the favourite modern reading, Ehwald's *exactos* ("I, the exiled one," Wheeler), is quite unconvincing. I suggest *ex toto* (*toto* reduced to *to* by haplography, then wrongly expanded); the meaning would be "te, fatentem nihil ex toto nos fecisse nisi peccasse," "acknowledging as you do that I was guilty of nothing whatever but an error of judgment, you stand by your duty to me." This supposes an ellipse of *facere* with *nihil nisi* akin to the prose idiom with *nihil aliud quam* (less often, *nisi*), for which see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gramm.* 2. 564. For *ex toto* preceded by a negative cf. *Pont.* 1. 6. 28 and 4. 8. 72; *Her.* 16. 160; *TLL* 5. 2. 1125. 12 ff.

2. 5. 57:

huic tu cum placeas et uertice sidera tangas,  
scripta tamen profugi uatis *habenda* putas.

The addressee is Salanus, the tutor (in rhetoric) of Germanicus (*huic*).

What does *habenda* mean? Wheeler says "worthy of consideration," but this cannot be got from the Latin. It could mean "kept" in the sense of "given house-room," but that is intolerably feeble. I suggest that it should be emended to *alenda*, "worthy of being fostered"; for *alere* used of fostering the poet's inspiration cf. *Trist.* 3. 14. 37 f., "non hic librorum per quos inuiter alarque / copia." The encouragement which Ovid owes to Silanus is expressed at 21 f., "ingenioque meo . . . / plaudis et e riuo flumina magna facis." The corruption of *alere* to the colourless *habere* is not always recognized where some sort of sense can be extracted from the latter; e.g. at Statius, *Silu.* 1. 3. 23, *habentes carmina somnos*, apparently only Baehrens has adopted Heinsius's *alentes*; at Gellius 11. 2. 2 (= Cato, *Carmen de moribus* frag. 1, p. 82. 10 Jordan), *auaritiā omnia uitia habere*, I have emended *habere* to *alere* in *Glott.* 62 (1984), 249.

2. 7. 43:

nec magis assiduo uomer tenuatur ab usu  
nec magis est curuis Appia trita rotis  
pectora quam mea sunt serie *caecata* malorum.

The main manuscripts vary between *caecata* and *calcata*. The latter seems impossible, because a heart cannot be "trampled upon" or "spurned" by an uninterrupted chain of misfortunes (the company which this passage

keeps in *TLL* 3. 138. 25 does not inspire confidence). In support of *caecata* (a word not elsewhere used by Ovid) editors adduce *Culex* 199, *timor occaecauerat artus*, of fear "benumbing" a man's limbs. If this is not accepted my solution would be *cumulata*, reduced to *culata* by the omission (for an obvious reason) of *mu* and thereafter variously "emended." I compare *Trist.* 4. 1. 55 f., "meque tot aduersis cumulant [*sc. di*] quot litus harenas / . . . habet."

2. 7. 77:

sustineas ut onus, nitendum uertice *pleno* est;  
aut, flecti neruos si patiere, *cedes*.

S. B. (p. 397) finds it difficult to believe that *pleno* can mean "stiff" and emends to *prono*, thus shifting the load from the head to the back of the carrier. But it is on the shoulders that a load is most naturally carried (cf. *Trist.* 2. 222; *OLD* s. v. *umerus*, sense 1 d); and he who carries a load on his shoulders must keep the muscles at the back of his neck taut. The proper word, I suggest, is *tenso* (or *tento*); and there are stranger corruptions in these epistles than that of *tenso* to <p>len[s]o. This solution was proposed in 1895 (in a Leiden dissertation) by C. Schreuders, but it is never mentioned nowadays.

Wherever the load is carried, when the carrier relaxes his muscles it is much more likely that the load will fall off than that he himself will fall. Like Heinsius, therefore, I should adopt the less well attested variant *cadet*, and explain *cedes* as being due to assimilation to *patiere*.

3. 2. 23:

sint hi contenti uenia, †sientque† licebit  
purgari factum me quoque teste suum.

Ovid forgives his timid friends who failed to help him in his hour of need.

Our oldest manuscript (A) reads *sientque*, the other *signentque* or *fugiantque*; all three words are meaningless. Conjectures are numerous: *iurentque*, *iactentque*, *scierintque* (wrong tense), *sperentue*, *fingantque*, *fidantque*, and others. I add, as closer to the reading of A, *si<mul>entque*.

3. 4. 88:

alter enim de te, Rhene, triumphus adest.  
inrita uotorum non sunt praesagia uatum:  
danda Ioui laurus, dum prior illa uiret.

Ovid confidently prophesies for Tiberius a triumph over Germany soon after his Pannonian triumph of 23 October A. D. 12 (cf. r. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford 1978, 53 ff.).

It is futile for editors to support *inrita uotorum* by Statius, *Theb.* 7. 314, *manus inrita uoti*. No one would deny the Latinity of this phrase for "disappointed of one's wish," but whereas that sense fits the Statius passage

excellently it does not fit ours: how can "prophecies" be "disappointed of their wish?" What is required is an epithet of *uatum*, and the later manuscripts offer three, *notorum*, *magnorum*, and *uerorum*; of these the last is best, but hardly convincing palaeographically. Heinsius added *motorum*, which has been adopted by some modern editors, but no one has produced a parallel for the adjectival use of *motus* in the sense of "inspired." Yet that is the sort of sense which is required. I suggest *doctorum*, a standing epithet not only of poets (*TLL* 5. 1. 1757. 2 ff.) but also of prophets (ib. 1756. 76 ff.); and of these two meanings of *uates* it is the latter which here predominates. The confusion of *d* and *u* is not so common as some others, but it does occur; e.g. *dirus/uirus* (Seneca, *Med.* 718 and *Phoen.* 297), *ductor/uictor* (Lucan 3. 71, Silius 9. 600).

## 3. 7. 21:

spem iuuat amplecti quae non iuuat inrita semper  
 et, fieri cupias siqua, futura putes.  
 proximus huic gradus est bene desperare salutem,  
 seque semel uera scire perisse fide.

To W. A. Camps belongs the credit for having made the first couplet intelligible. In *CR* 4 (1954) 206, he writes: "The quatrain distinguishes, as best and second best respectively for an unhappy man, two states of mind. The second of these consists in not hoping when hope is vain. It follows therefore that the first . . . must consist in hoping with some ground for hope." Camps therefore proposes to replace *non iuuat* by *non uenit*, adducing *Her.* 2. 62, "quaecumque ex merito spes uenit, aequa uenit." It is true that *uenit* could easily have been corrupted to *iuuat*, but that is not a strong argument since the second *iuuat* looks like an erroneous repetition of the first, and the word which it has displaced need not have resembled it very closely. Much more suitable in our passage would be *cadit*, which is used of *spes* at *Pont.* 1. 2. 62 and 1. 6. 36; *Trist.* 2. 148; *Her.* 9. 42 and 13. 124; and other passages listed in *TLL* 3. 26. 47 ff.

Camps is also clearly right in changing *et* at the beginning of the following line to *ut*.

## 4. 1. 23:

numquam pigra fuit nostris tua gratia rebus,  
 nec mihi munificas arca negauit opes.  
 nunc quoque nil subitis *clementia* territa fatis  
 auxilium uitae fertque feretque meae.

Ovid acknowledges his indebtedness to Sextus Pompeius for financial help (so too at 4. 5. 37 f.), a context in which *clementia* is out of place. S. B. (p. 398) would substitute *constantia*, not an easy change. I miss a possessive adjective corresponding to *tua* in 23, and suggest *pia mens tua*; for the confusion of *p* and *c* see note on 2. 3. 15 above. Both *mens* and *pius* occur earlier on in the epistle (7 f.), where they are used of the other



side of the relationship (Ovid's loyal devotion to Pompeius): "non potuit mea mens quin esset grata teneri: / sit precor officio non grauis ira pio."

4. 7. 17:

sit licet hic titulus *plenus* tibi fructibus, *ingens*  
ipsa tamen uirtus ordine maior erit.

*plenus EO: plenis cett.*

Addressed to Vestalis; the honour in question is his rank (*ordo*) of *primus pilus*.

The reading and punctuation given above is that of Ehwald, which with surprising unanimity all subsequent editors have followed, wrongly. One should return to the *paradosis plenis* and to the pre-Ehwald punctuation, which put the comma after, not before, *ingens*. Sense-pause at the end of the fifth foot is rare (Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse*, Cambridge 1951, p. 25), and here spoils the obviously intended contrast between *ingens* and *maior*: "quamquam titulus est ingens, maior tamen est uirtus."

*Aberdeen, Scotland*



## Horace and Statius at Tibur: an Interpretation of *Silvae* 1. 3

CAROLE E. NEWLANDS

*Silvae* 1. 3, Statius's poem describing the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur, has been long regarded as a versified commonplace of minor topographical importance.<sup>1</sup> In this poem, and its companion-piece *Silvae* 2. 2,<sup>2</sup> Statius's approach to description is markedly unsystematic. Unlike Pliny the Younger, who in his descriptions of two of his villas<sup>3</sup> shows a passion for methodical, exact detail,<sup>4</sup> Statius makes it impossible for the reader to reconstruct his patrons' villas. He gives little in the way of explicit or technical detail. In *Silvae* 1. 3, for instance, he refers to only two types of rooms indoors, the *cubilia* (37) and the *aula* (40),<sup>5</sup> and these are the most common components of any house.

With its unsystematic approach to description, *Silvae* 1. 3 may well seem to earn the label of mannerist. In the past, this term has been generally used of Statius's poetry to suggest that he is a poet of virtuosic display rather than serious depth.<sup>6</sup> Recently, this generally negative view of

<sup>1</sup> This is the long-standing, influential opinion of P. Vollmer, ed., *P. Papinii Statii Silvarum Libri* (Leipzig 1898) 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Silvae* 2. 2 describes the Surrentine estate of Pollius Felix.

<sup>3</sup> The Laurentine villa (*Epistles* 2. 17) and the Tuscan (*Epistles* 5. 6).

<sup>4</sup> P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius—Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig and Berlin 1912) 70–71, comments on Pliny's intention *omnes angulos tecum epistula circumire* (*Ep.* 5. 6. 40) that "Plinius wählt die Form des Spazierganges. Aber er fügt nicht immer nur Stück an Stück, sondern knüpft gelegentlich das eine mit einem weiter vorher genannten zusammen, um so einen etwas grösseren Komplex zu gewinnen."

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of *trichoris* (58) has been disputed. Vollmer (above, note 2) explains the word as a separate floor or story. More recent editors, A. Traglia and G. Arico, *Opere di Publio Papinio Stazio* (Turin 1980), argue for the meaning of alcoves, since in Medieval Latin the word refers to a dining room. The word in Greek means a building with three parts. By the phrase *partitis distantia tecta trichoris* Statius probably means buildings with three wings such as are depicted in Campanian paintings; he is not, then, naming a type of room.

<sup>6</sup> E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York 1953) 273–92, defines mannerism as the counterpart and inevitable successor of classicism. His thorough discussion of the term has influenced critics of Statius, notably H. Bardon, "Le goût à l'époque des Flaviens," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 732–48; H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius, Spudasmata* 13 (Hildesheim

Stattius has been persuasively challenged by Ahl who, in his analysis of *Silvae* 1. 1—a political poem conventionally thought to flatter the emperor—shows that Stattius in fact conveys powerful criticism of Domitian through his masterful and ambiguous use of figured speech.<sup>7</sup>

*Silvae* 1. 3, as far as we know, is not connected with Roman politics.<sup>8</sup> Yet Szelest, Newmyer, and Hardie<sup>9</sup> have done important work in showing that this private, descriptive poem is the result of more careful planning and original thought than had previously been supposed. In her formal reevaluation of the descriptive *Silvae* Szelest, for instance, points out that Stattius is original in two ways. First, he makes ecphrasis the entire subject of an extended poem<sup>10</sup>—before Stattius similar descriptions appeared only as digressions in epic poetry<sup>11</sup> or else formed the subject matter of epigrams<sup>12</sup>—and second, he uses the extended poem to fuse ecphrasis with encomium.<sup>13</sup>

Hardie suggests that Stattius's unsystematic approach to description can be seen as a result of this fusion of encomium with ecphrasis. Despite the appearance of randomness, Stattius is deliberately attempting to reproduce his initial impressions of almost overwhelming wonder and thus, through such

1965); D. Vessey, *Stattius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973). The term mannerism is generally given a negative value; Vessey (p. 8) calls it "a disease of classicism." More recently, D. Bright, "Elaborate Disarray: The Nature of Stattius's 'Silvae,'" *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 108 (Meisenheim an Glan 1980), accepts the terms mannerist and baroque as appropriate to Stattius's work, but claims that Stattius's apparent randomness of organization and his dissonant style is in fact carefully planned and cultivated.

<sup>7</sup> F. Ahl, "The Rider and the Horse: Politics and Power in Roman Poetry from Horace to Stattius," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (1984) 85–102. Cf. also Ahl, "The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome," *Am. J. Phil.* 105 (1984) 174–208, where he argues that "during the Roman Empire, the techniques of figured speech . . . became the most prudent mode of expression" (p. 204), allowing the poet to attack the emperor with safety.

<sup>8</sup> A marble inscription found at Tibur refers to a Vopiscus who was consul in 114 A.D.; he is probably the son of Stattius's Vopiscus. We know no more of Stattius's Vopiscus than what the poet tells us. See A. Hardie, *Stattius and the "Silvae"* (Liverpool 1983) 68.

<sup>9</sup> H. Szelest, "Die Originalität der sog. beschreibenden *Silvae* des Stattius," *Eos* 56 (1966 [1969]) 186–97; "Rolle und Bedeutung des P. Papinius Stattius als des Verfassers der 'Silvae' in der Römischen Dichtung," *Eos* 60 (1972) 87–101; S. T. Newmyer, *The "Silvae" of Stattius: Structure and Theme, Mnemosyne* Suppl. 53 (Leiden 1979); A. Hardie (above, note 8).

<sup>10</sup> Szelest (above, note 9, 1972) 90: "Stattius unterscheidet sich dagegen von seinen Vorgängern vor allem dadurch, dass er die Beschreibungen von Bauten, Villen oder Statuen zum Hauptthema längerer Gedichte machte." See also Z. Pavlovskis, *Man in an Artificial Landscape: The Marvels of Civilisation in Imperial Roman Literature, Mnemosyne* Suppl. 25 (1973) 1: "Stattius . . . may well have been the first to devote whole poems to the praise of technological progress, as well as the delights of a life spent in a setting not natural but improved by man's skill."

<sup>11</sup> The archetype is the description of Achilles' shield, *Il.* 18. 482 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See Hardie, 128–36, for an overview of the epigrammatic tradition of ecphrasis.

<sup>13</sup> Szelest (1966) 196.

hyperbolic praise, to please his patron.<sup>14</sup> Statius's chief focus in his villa poems is not the house but its owner. Newmyer points out that Statius combines panegyric successfully with ecphrasis by making the beauties of the house correspond to the virtues of its owner.<sup>15</sup> For instance, in the conclusion of *Silvae* 1. 3, Statius invokes a blessing upon Vopiscus's goods of the heart and mind, *bona animi* (106), a metaphor that stresses the link between material and spiritual well-being. The poet earlier had singled out for praise Vopiscus's most outstanding qualities of character in lines 91–93:<sup>16</sup>

hic premitur fecunda quies virtusque serena  
fronte gravis sanusque nitor luxuque carentes  
deliciae,

With the words *quies* and *serena* Statius emphasizes the tranquility of Vopiscus, just as he claims that the landscape possesses *aeterna quies* (29). Vopiscus's *nitor*, radiance of soul, corresponds to the radiance of his house's interior with its *nitidum . . . solum* (54–55). This parallelism breaks down with the last attribute, *luxuque carentes / deliciae*, however, for Statius's previous description of Vopiscus's villa with its precious gold and ivory (35–36), its modern amenities such as hot baths (43–44), running water indoors (37), outdoor dining tables (64), and its elaborate mosaic floor (55–56), have created the impression of nothing but luxury. Newmyer's hypothesis seems in practice to work only partially in *Silvae* 1. 3.

As an encomium, the poem has other puzzling inconsistencies. When Statius goes on to praise Vopiscus as worthy of the wealth of Croesus and Midas (105), his statement casts doubts over the proper use of Vopiscus's wealth, for Midas made notoriously foolish use of his riches.<sup>17</sup> Complicating the picture further is Statius's concluding reference to Vopiscus's Epicureanism.<sup>18</sup> Statius claims that the Greek philosopher would gladly have preferred Vopiscus's *deliciae* to his own garden (93–94), but the Epicurean ideal of moderation is uneasily applied to a life of seemingly excessive wealth and ease. *Silvae* 1. 3 poses a problem of inner

<sup>14</sup> Thus Hardie, 179: "Statius's personal entry makes us see the villa through the eyes of an excited visitor, recalling the highlights. The dominant emotion is expressed in the repeated *miser* (37, 57). He is selective, impressionistic, and does not linger too long on individual detail . . . his real interest is in the villa as a physical foil to the character of its owner."

<sup>15</sup> Newmyer (above, note 9) 40.

<sup>16</sup> All quotations of Statius's *Silvae* are from the Oxford text of J. S. Phillimore, 2nd ed. (1967).

<sup>17</sup> See Ovid., *Met.* 11. 92–193. Ovid's juxtaposition of the stories of Midas's golden touch and his asinine ears, along with his interplay between *aurum* and *auris*, emphasises the connection between love of wealth and stupidity.

<sup>18</sup> Vopiscus's Epicurean beliefs are also suggested at the start of the poem through the supervision by Voluptas (v. 9) and Venus (v. 10) of the building of the house.

consistency.<sup>19</sup> If the poem is to be regarded as a straightforward encomium, the description of the estate and the owner's character do not properly mesh.

Rather than return to the acceptance of Statius as a mannerist poet from whom we should not expect consistency, I propose to seek an understanding of the poem through a hitherto neglected aspect, its debt to Horace. According to Hardie, Statius's imitative practices in the *Silvae* show that "the work which Statius held in highest esteem was the *Odes* of Horace" (p. 170). Apart from his two lyrical poems modeled on the Horatian Ode, *Silvae* 4. 5 and *Silvae* 4. 7, Statius makes unstated but pervasive use of the Augustan poet. Although Statius never mentions Horace by name in *Silvae* 1. 3, he brings the Augustan poet immediately to mind with the first line, *cernere facundi Tibur glaciale Vopisci*. The chiasmic arrangement of nouns and adjectives that leads to the juxtaposition of Tibur with *facundi* reminds the reader of the association between Tibur and poetry that was first formulated by Horace in his *Odes*. Like Horace in *Odes* 4. 2. 27-32 and 4. 3. 10-12, Vopiscus is a poet living in Tibur, yet he follows a far more indulgent lifestyle than that of the Augustan poet. *Silvae* 1. 3 derives an inner coherence from its formulation as a deliberate response to Horace's philosophical and poetic beliefs. Its aims are more complex than has been generally allowed. Although at first glance the response to Horace seems critical of the Augustan poet, on another, deeper, level it is more truly critical of Vopiscus. At the same time as Statius expands the traditional nature of ephrasis, he also undermines it.

Horace particularly cherished Tibur. In his last book of *Odes* he praises not the Sabine farm but Tibur alone as his source of poetic inspiration.<sup>20</sup> In *Odes* 2. 6 he names Tibur as his chosen resting-place in old age and describes Tibur as a *modus* (7) to his wanderings as *vates*.<sup>21</sup> With his choice of the word *modus* Horace suggests that Tibur provides not simply a

<sup>19</sup> Hardie notes the discrepancy between owner and villa and attempts to minimize it by claiming that a rather broad interpretation of Epicureanism can give the poem its coherence and avoid the embarrassing problem of excessive wealth. He thus claims, p. 178, that Statius accommodates "praise of Vopiscus' wealth to a philosophy which preached the simple life . . . by reference to the principle  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma \zeta\eta\eta\nu$ : we live according to nature, and nature determines our needs. Since nature has 'indulged herself' so expansively at the villa site (16 f.), Vopiscus must accommodate the house and its artifices to the splendour of its natural environment." This is a good point, but unfortunately the principle in question is one developed by the Stoics rather than by the Epicureans; it does not therefore help solve the problem of consistency. See further notes 29 and 30.

<sup>20</sup> I. Troxler-Keller, *Die Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* (Heidelberg 1964) shows how Horace develops the metaphor of poetic inspiration from an abstract, generalized landscape to one that is concrete and specifically Italian. C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz* (Göttingen 1963) 249, suggests that Horace chooses Tibur to represent the condition of poetic inspiration, since the Sabine farm, after the first three books of the *Odes*, was too closely connected with ethical beliefs.

<sup>21</sup> All quotations of Horace's works are from the Oxford edition of E. C. Wickham and H. W. Garrod (1975).

physical limit to his travels, but also a moral limit; Tibur is a symbol of the life of moderation which is intimately connected with Horace's poetic credo.<sup>22</sup> Tibur's value for him is chiefly ethical and spiritual. Although Tibur was a popular holiday resort for the Romans, Horace makes no mention of *villae* in any of his poems referring to the place,<sup>23</sup> for such a detail would introduce an inappropriate secular element. In *Odes* 4. 2 and 4. 3 he mentions only the water and trees of Tibur, general features that he associates with the symbolic landscape of poetic inspiration.<sup>24</sup> Unlike the Sabine farm, the Tibur of the fourth book of the *Odes* is a landscape devoid of all particularizing detail apart from the fact that it is rooted in the Italian soil. Thus it is a symbol of the simple yet inspired existence of an Italian poet.

Although Vopiscus, like Horace, chooses Tibur as his home, Statius suggests that he leads there a life of luxury rather than moderation. From the start of the poem Statius describes the estate in such a way as to make clear that the villa, rather than the natural environment, is the dominant feature. Thus the river Anio has been artificially channeled between the two halves of the villa, *inserto geminos Aniene penates* (2), the ablative absolute here suggesting that the river has been made to fit in with the design of the house rather than vice versa. The banks of the river have been domesticated and are associated with materialistic values, for their closeness to one another is described in terms of commercial exchange, *commercia . . . ripae* (3). The business metaphor suggests the accommodation of the rural retreat to urban modes of life. Having recalled Horace in the first line of the poem, Statius now proceeds to introduce values that were alien to Horace's thought. While his ostensible aim is to show that Horace's Tibur can be adapted to the grand style of living that Horace consistently eschewed, the demonstration contains the seeds of doubt within it.

Throughout his poetry, and particularly in his later works, Horace treats the country as definitively opposed to Rome, the city with its wealth and corrupt morals.<sup>25</sup> In *Odes* 4. 3. 1-9, for instance, he sets the simple

<sup>22</sup> C. P. Segal, "Horace: *Odes* 2. 6," *Philologus* 113 (1969) 235-53, convincingly demonstrates how central to the poem is the concept of moderation. I therefore accept the case that he makes (p. 240) for retaining the reading *modus* instead of Peerlkamp's emendation *domus*.

<sup>23</sup> Apart from *Odes* 4. 2 and 4. 3, Horace describes Tibur in *Odes* 1. 7. 12-14 and 20-21, and refers briefly to it in *Odes* 1. 18. 2. Although in the latter poem he mentions the city walls of Catillus, the mythic founder of Tibur, he offsets *moenia* with its associations of human works by means of the preceding phrase in the line, *mite solum Tiburis*.

<sup>24</sup> Lines 5-8 of *Odes* 3. 4 provide an example of a generalized poetic landscape to which Horace imagines he is summoned by the Muses: *audire et videor pius / errare per lucos, amoena / quos et aquae subeunt et aerae*.

<sup>25</sup> J. Öberg, "Some Notes on the Marvels of Civilization in Imperial Roman Literature," *Eranos* 76 (1978) 146, sees as an important theme in Horace "the repudiation of all contemporary extravagance and artificiality as contrasted with the simplicity of the ancestors and even of primitive peoples . . . Horace's ideals obviously are in strict keeping with Augustus' program for moral rearmament and return to ancient customs." The country offered Horace a

Tiburtine landscape against the famous centers of power and worldly ambition of Greece and Rome and shows that it alone has true value. Tibur may be a quiet spiritual retreat, but it is no backwater, for like a skillful sculptor it fashions Horace into a noble poet (10–12):

sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt  
et spissae nemorum comae  
fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.

The landscape of Vopiscus's Tibur likewise is not simply passive but has *ingenium* (15), creative power. Yet to this noun Statius adds the adjective *mite* (15): the landscape is gentle and therefore unthreatening to man. Nature's power, such as it is, is directed not towards the fashioning of a poet and his innermost being but towards the development of a landscape that will complement a grand house and provide a comfortable home for Vopiscus. Thus the landscape and the house have similar qualities. In keeping with the extravagance of the villa, nature has lavishly indulged herself (16–17). The groves are lofty, *alta* (17), like the house whose radiance floods down *ab alto* (53); and the illusive gleam of the river, *fallax* . . . *imago* (18), corresponds to the brilliance of the mosaic floors, aflood with light like water, *defluus* (54).

This correspondence between the house and its landscape is not one of equals. Nature's *ingenium* has limited scope, for the landscape serves as well as complements the house. Man, not nature, is the main fashioner here. The river, like an obedient slave, *veritus* (22), ceases its customary roar as it passes Vopiscus's villa. The Nymphs (a metonym for water pipes) are sent through all the bedrooms (37), and different rooms offer different views of the river or trees, according to the time of day and individual need (38–42). Like Horace Statius emphasizes trees and water as the main features of the Tiburtine landscape, but he turns them to different ends. They have become the providers of human comfort and pleasure rather than of poetic inspiration.

Statius shows that Vopiscus has attempted to adapt Horace's simple Tiburtine landscape to his personal needs for citified comforts and sophisticated pleasures. What Horace would see as a travesty of his Tiburtine ideal Statius presents, on the surface at least, as a positive improvement upon nature. In several places he recalls and tries to refute

convenient symbol for the life of *paupertas*, but he was not unaware of the ambiguities implicit in such a choice. Thus in *Satires* 2. 2 Horace puts the *laudatio ruris* into the mouth of a usurer. In *Epistles* 1. 10 he handles the dichotomy between city and country with a certain amount of ironic, humorous distance; his addressee, Aristius Fuscus, is an old friend with whom Horace had made lighthearted use of convention in *Odes* 1. 22. See also Pavlovskis (above, note 10) 1–5, particularly n. 9.



statements from Horace's *Epistles* that defend the simple life of the country against the decadent temptations of the city.

*Epistles* 1. 10 is worth close scrutiny, for it seems to have particularly influenced *Silvae* 1. 3.<sup>26</sup> Addressing a city dweller who is his old friend Aristius Fuscus, Horace argues somewhat lightheartedly for country as opposed to city life. By contrasting a series of urban luxuries with their natural equivalents, Horace shows how unnecessary the former are and how irrational therefore the desire for them is. First he asks his friend if grass shines or smells worse than a colored mosaic floor: *deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis* (19)? The answer to this rhetorical question occurs in *Silvae* 1. 3. On Vopiscus's estate the mosaic floor represents a definite improvement over the untreated soil, for nature as well as for man, since the earth rejoices at its adornment, *varias ubi picta per artes gaudet humus* (55–56).

Horace uses a second rhetorical question in lines 20–21 to suggest that the confinement of water within pipes is unnecessary and unnatural:

purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,  
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?

Stattius adopts Horace's unprecedented use of *plumbum* to mean pipe. But instead of opposing the piped water to the stream, Stattius makes them complementary, with the natural stream subservient to the conduit. The Marcian aqueduct crosses the river Anio on Vopiscus's territory, bearing its piped water to Rome. It is a sight to be admired (66–67):

teque, per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem,  
Marcia, et audaci transcurris flumina plumbo.

Horace's imagery of violence—*tendit, rumpere*—is negative in intent. Stattius's attachment of the epithet *audaci* to *plumbo* retains the violent note but places it within a positive context since the piped water, rather than struggling to break its bonds, glides as smoothly as Horace's unrestricted brook. *Audaci* therefore suggests the heroic, pioneering spirit of Roman technology; the piped water represents material advance rather than moral decadence. The natural stream, on the other hand, is reduced in value to an ornament of the estate that lacks independent life, for it can be swiftly crossed without difficulty. The dominating presence of the Marcian aqueduct symbolizes the close links between Vopiscus's Tibur and the city of Rome.

Horace's third cause for complaint is the urban taste for planting trees among the columns of a house's inner courtyard: *nempe inter varias nutritur*

<sup>26</sup> The poem is set not at Tibur but on the Sabine farm. Horace claims to have written the epistle behind the shrine of a local Sabine deity, *post fanum putre Vacunae* (49).

*silva columnas* (22).<sup>27</sup> Vopiscus has followed this fashion with his cultivation of one large tree within the atrium (59–63):

quid te, quae mediis servata penatibus arbor  
 tecta per et postis liquidas emergis in auras,  
 quo non sub domino saevas passura bipennis?  
 et nunc ignaro forsā vel lubrica Nais  
 vel non abruptos tibi debet Hamadryas annos.

Again Statius recasts in a positive light what was for Horace a sign of urban decadence. Statius justifies the tree's presence by making its preservation seem an act of benevolence on Vopiscus's part, as if nature were grateful for the incursions of "civilization." Yet he does so rather frivolously, by turning the reader's attention to the anthropomorphism of the tree and entering into the fanciful idea of a nymph, who is grateful to have been spared the axe. The motif of the tree within the house of course originates in the *Odyssey* (23. 190–204), where it symbolizes the strength of the royal household and of Odysseus' and Penelope's love. More importantly for our purposes, in *Aeneid* 2. 512–14, Vergil describes a huge, ancient laurel in the center of Priam's palace that overshadows the Penates. Vergil's tree has a protective, sacral function; it symbolizes the strength and antiquity of the Trojan household as well as its piety. Significantly, the collapse of this household, with the murder of Priam, takes place under this laurel (550–58). Although Statius's tree, like Vergil's, protects the Penates (59), the rather frivolous fancy about the nymph deprives the tree of its religious awe and gives it the type of ornamental, secular function that Horace derided.<sup>28</sup>

In the same *Epistle* Horace tries to convince Aristius Fuscus that the Stoic ideal of living according to nature, *vivere naturae . . . convenienter* (12), by which the Stoics meant life according to the principles of right reason,<sup>29</sup> is identical with country life, for those who dwell in the city do not conduct their lives according to rational principles. Vopiscus's concept of *vivere naturae convenienter* is rather different from Horace's. True, he lives in the country, but he possesses luxurious accoutrements of the sort that Horace decries as unnecessary. His life therefore may seem to accord

<sup>27</sup> Cf. also *Odes* 3. 10. 5–6.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Martial, *Epigrams* 9. 61, who gives the motif of the tree's invulnerability a biting political significance, for it was planted by Julius Caesar.

<sup>29</sup> A. A. Long, "The Logical Basis of Stoic Ethics," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 6 (1971) 85–104, demonstrates how the Stoic goal of living in accordance with nature entails obedience to sound reason; such obedience is a moral principle. In Stoicism, then, "nature should be understood as first and foremost a normative, evaluative, or . . . moral principle" (p. 88). Cicero, *De Officiis* 3. 3. 13 defines the phrase *vivere convenienter naturae* as equivalent to *cum virtute congruere*. Horace, playing on the ambiguity of the word *natura*, equates this Stoic ideal with country life; in a playful spirit he tries to show Aristius Fuscus that the life of sound reason endorsed by the Stoics can be led only in the country, since city dwellers are possessed by unnatural and therefore unreasonable desires.

with neither Epicurean nor Stoic principles. It can be seen to have positive ethical value, nonetheless, if we accept Statius's fancy that the land welcomes its transformation. According to this conceit, Vopiscus's improvements do not bring him into conflict with nature. His desires are in accordance with right reason, for like the Stoic wise man he has not put self before the good of the whole.<sup>30</sup> Vopiscus may then seem to have the best of both worlds. He possesses the peace and the apparent harmony with nature that Horace sought after in the country, yet with some philosophical justification he enjoys all the comforts of the city. If we accept that Vopiscus is not only the transformer of nature but also its benefactor,<sup>31</sup> the instruments of his comfort and pleasure such as hot baths and mosaic floors can perhaps be acquitted of the charge of luxury, and therefore of moral decadence. We can then after all fit the troubling phrase *luxuque carentes / deliciae* (92–93) into the eulogistic schema of the poem, since Vopiscus's wealth is used for the good of the land rather than purely private pleasure.

It is possible, however, that Statius intended the careful reader to see such justification of Vopiscus's villa as strained. The denunciation of wealth was a common literary topos even in Statius's day.<sup>32</sup> If Statius diverges from contemporary wisdom in his praise of ostentatious wealth, perhaps his praise is not altogether what it seems. White rightly cautions, "the language of a poet who lives by patronage is not always to be trusted."<sup>33</sup> We cannot tell the precise nature of the relationship between Vopiscus and Statius. Since Statius addresses only this poem to him, and does not use any terms of affection, it is unlikely that the two men were very close; certainly Vopiscus was not another Maecenas. Apart from the references to Midas and to Epicurus, there are other, disturbing elements in this poem that subtly undermine the positive view of Vopiscus's villa and character that Statius presents on the surface. These suggest that Statius's

<sup>30</sup> See Cicero, *De Finibus* 3. 64. A. A. Long, "Greek Ethics After MacIntyre and the Stoic Community of Reason," *Ancient Philosophy* 3 (1983) 188, cites Epictetus' definition of the wise man as "acting always for the good of the whole and never for exclusively private advantage, treating oneself as a member of a rationally organized structure."

<sup>31</sup> D. Goguet, "Le paysage dans les *Silves* de Stace: conventions poétiques et observation réaliste," *Latomus* 41 (1982) 610, points out the dual aspect of man's relationship to nature in Statius's villa poems: "Maître absolu de la nature, l'homme est son 'formateur' et son bienfaiteur."

<sup>32</sup> Hardie, 174 ff., finds it strange that since Statius lived during the post-Neronian decline in luxury, he did not praise frugality or at least restraint in wealth, a popular literary theme at the time. Cf. Martial, *Epigram* 3. 58 and *Epigram* 12. 50, where he denounces the type of luxury villa Statius describes. Seneca, *Epistles* 90, cites architecture as the first of the artisan crafts which signify man's historical degeneration.

<sup>33</sup> P. White, "The Friends of Martial, Statius, and Pliny, and the Dispersal of Patronage," *HSCP* 79 (1975) 265–300, 267. White concludes that the relationship between poet and patron in the late first century A.D. was fairly tenuous and that there is no evidence for a literary circle around Statius and Martial.

response to Horace's *Epistle* 1. 10 represents more truly Vopiscus's views than the author's own.

The description of Vopiscus's villa, for example, concludes with a list of Italian places to which Vopiscus's Tibur is superior: Tusculum, Ardea, Baiae, Formiae, Circeii, Anxur, Caieta, Antium (83–89). These towns, linked by the anaphora of *cedant*, are not praised for their natural beauty, as we might expect: Martial, for instance, bestows on the Lucrine Lake the epithets *blanda* and *lascivi* (*Epigrams* 4. 57. 1) as well as *mollis* (*Epigrams* 6. 43. 5); Statius, on the other hand, simply says *Lucrinaeque domus* (84) without further elaboration. Moreover, he refers to Anxur in partly negative terms that suggest overbearing pride, *arcesque superbae / Anxuris* (86–87). Statius describes the rest of the towns he lists, with the exception of Antium, in terms of their mythical past. Yet this too is strange, for these towns have unhappy or sordid pasts which Statius, by his deliberate allusions, brings to the forefront. Tusculum is named after Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, and a parricide: Ardea is named after Aeneas' maddened foe, Turnus; Formiae is named after Antiphates, who is described as *cruenti* (84), because as king of the Laestrygonians he killed his guests; Circeii is referred to as *iuga perfida Circes* (85), howled upon by wolves. The transference of the epithet *perfida* to the mountain ridges suggests the unattractiveness of the terrain as well as recalling the theme of moral perfidy. The effect of this catalogue of impieties is to diminish the stature of Vopiscus's Tibur. Many places could be better than the ones named in Statius's catalogue without having any great virtue in themselves.<sup>34</sup>

By naming only Italian towns, Statius automatically narrows the bounds of his encomium. In *Odes* 1. 7 Horace praises Tibur through the same device that Statius uses here, the catalogue. But in Horace's catalogue he lists the most famous cities of the ancient world, those in Greece (1–11). Furthermore, he endows them with encomiastic epithets. For instance, he describes Rhodes as brilliant with sunshine and fame, *claram* (1), Thebes and Delphi as distinguished for their gods Bacchus and Apollo, *insignes* (4), Athens as the city of virgin Athena, *intactae Palladis* (5), the plain of Larissa as fertile, *opimae* (10). Unlike Statius's Italian places, those that Horace lists are physically and morally worthy of great praise. Furthermore, they offer fit subjects for inspired song.<sup>35</sup> Thus, unlike Statius, Horace uses the catalogue to throw into sharp relief the virtues of Tibur, a humble

<sup>34</sup> In *Silvae* 3. 4. 40–44, Statius uses the same form of catalogue, beginning with *cedet*, to compare the beauty of Earinus to handsome youths of myth. J. Garthwaite's perceptive comments on these lines in the appendix to Ahl (above, note 7) 115–16, reveal that Statius's emphasis is in fact not on the beauty of the youths but on the sterile and destructive passion they inspired. Their fate thus prefigures Earinus's own.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. lines 5–6: *Sunt quibus unum opus est, intactae Palladis urbem / Carmine perpetuo celebrare . . .*

Italian town but for beauty, sanctity, and poetry on a level with the most famous places of Greece.

Stattius's catalogue also ends in a strange fashion for a supposed panegyric (88–89):

cedant, quae te iam solibus artis  
Antia<sup>36</sup> nimbosa revocabunt litora bruma.

Vopiscus has to leave Tibur in the winter because of the foggy weather. With the final word *bruma*, Statius emphasizes that the climate at Tibur is far from ideal. One would expect Statius's list of Italian towns to end with a resounding note of praise and with a positive affirmation of the superiority of Tibur. In *Odes* 1. 7, for instance, Horace's concludes with a brief but evocative sketch of Tibur's echoing beauty (12–14). Instead, Statius undercuts our expectations by ending on an anticlimactic note that suggests one of Tibur's faults, its poor climate in winter. Horace found the perfect year-round climate at Tarentum where, he tells us in *Odes* 2. 6, spring was long and winters mild, *tepidasque . . . / brumas* (17–18). In *Silvae* 1. 2, the epithalmium for Stella and Violentilla, Statius praises the home of the happy couple for its mild climate where *Bruma tepet* (157). Since Statius dedicates the entire first book of the *Silvae* to Stella, and addresses to him an affectionate and fairly personal preface, he presumably had closer links to Stella than to Vopiscus. Vopiscus's Tibur, on the other hand, is no ideal landscape free from the encroachments of either bad weather or time. Statius's use of *bruma* here has rather sinister overtones, for by linking the word with *solibus artis*, a phrase that also occurs at the end of the line, Statius draws attention to its original meaning of the shortest day in the year, a time associated with the brevity of human existence. There is a similar connection of thought in *Silvae* 2. 1. 215, where *bruma* with its chilly jaws, *ora rigentia Brumae*, is cited in a catalogue listing the violent means by which we mortals inevitably meet our end (213–18). The preceding place mentioned in Statius's catalogue is Caieta, the name of Aeneas's nurse, whose death at the start of *Aeneid* 7 is her sole mention in Vergil's epic. Thus, the conclusion of this rather strange catalogue in *Silvae* 1. 3 subtly associates Vopiscus's Tibur too with the transience of human life and glory.

The partly negative impact of this conclusion is reinforced by the position of the catalogue within the structure of the poem. The catalogue of

<sup>36</sup> Since Antia is a reading from marginalia, Vollmer, 278–79, argues for retaining M's reading of *avia* on two accounts, first that Statius is making a personal reference to Vopiscus's choice of a winter retreat, and second that Statius means us to understand the line in the sense of *avia a nimbosa bruma*. The preceding catalogue of towns, however, seems to call for one final name in conclusion, particularly since Statius again uses *cedant* (88), the verb that has linked the other place-names together. M's reading can be ascribed to the copyist's unfamiliarity with the name of an obscure Italian town.

towns concludes the section describing the villa and its landscape (1–89); the account of Vopiscus's character follows and completes the poem (90–105). The description of the villa is framed by references to winter, for in the opening line of the poem Statius refers to Tibur as *glaciale*. In a hot climate, coolness is highly desirable but *glaciale* is an odd word to choose, as it connotes not only coolness but unpleasant cold. Elsewhere in Latin literature it is chiefly used of harsh, wintry conditions.<sup>37</sup> Statius emphasizes the extreme cold of Tibur again a few lines later (7–8):

talis hiems tectis, frangunt sic improba solem  
frigora . . . .

The adjective *improba*, in particular, suggests an extremity of temperature that is inappropriate to the general context of eulogy. The adjective also conflicts with the Epicurean motifs of *Voluptas* (9) and *Venus* (10) that Statius introduces at the start to suggest that Vopiscus is an adherent of Epicureanism.<sup>38</sup> Moderation was a key concept of Epicurean thought, but *improba* emphasizes that the cold is excessive.<sup>39</sup> At lines 4–5 Statius mentions the Dog Star and the constellation of Leo as signs of unbearable heat. Likewise, at the start of *Epistle* 1. 10, Horace contrasts *rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis* (16) to the coolness of the country which he describes as *hiemes* (15). Unlike Statius, however, he immediately moderates the force of the word by juxtaposing a word suggesting a temperate climate, *tepeant*. Thus Horace maintains the concept of moderation that is so important to his rural ideal. By exaggerating an unpleasant aspect of Tibur's climate at the beginning and end of his villa description, Statius strikes a discordant note that culminates in his suggested reminder of the brevity of human life and possessions. He thus destabilizes the general pattern of the eulogy.

Statius's emphasis on Tibur's coldness jars metaphorically not only with Vopiscus's philosophical pursuits as a quasi-Epicurean but also with his poetic pursuits. Unfortunately we know very little about Vopiscus. Our sole source of information for his literary activities resides with Statius. In the preface to Book 1 of the *Silvae*, Statius describes Vopiscus as a very learned man who is a patron of literature, *vir eruditissimus et qui praecipue vindicat a situ litteras iam paene fugientis* (25–26). In *Silvae* 1. 3. 90–104, Statius tells us that Vopiscus is a poet who has practised a variety of

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Vergil, *Aeneid* 3. 285: *glacialis hiems*; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 788: *extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris* (the home of *Fames*). Unlike *glacialis*, the more common adjective *gelidus* can occasionally mean a refreshing coolness; e.g. Juvenal, *Satires* 3. 190: *gelida Praeneste*.

<sup>38</sup> Hardie p. 176, describes Vopiscus's philosophical attitude as an "emasculated Epicureanism."

<sup>39</sup> J. Conington, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera*, ed. H. Nettleship (London 1898), vol. 1, comments on Vergil's use of *improbos* for a goose in *Georgics* 1. 119, that the word denotes the absence of "the civic virtue of moderation . . . and is applied to the wanton malice of a persecuting power, E VIII 51, to the unscrupulous rapacity of noxious animals, (G)III 431, A. II 356, etc., and even to things which are exacting and excessive, (G I) 146 'labor.'"

genres. Vopiscus's choice of Tibur as a home thus throws him into comparison with Horace in poetry as well as in landscape. As a poet himself and an admirer of Horace, Statius doubtless had strong feelings about Vopiscus's literary efforts at Tibur. Through his implicit but pervasive comparison between the poetic styles of Horace and Vopiscus, Statius subtly suggests that the latter is an inferior poet.

In *Odes* 4. 2 and 4. 3 Horace claims a direct link between the Tiburtine landscape and his poetic inspiration. The type of poetry that he composes there is not epic but lyric, which is short and perfectly crafted. In keeping with his adoption of the short, carefully wrought poem, Horace compares himself to a bee collecting sweet honey from the moist banks and grove of Tibur (*Odes* 4. 2. 27–32):

... ego apis Matinae  
more modoque

grata carpentis thyma per laborem  
plurimum circa nemus uvidique  
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus  
carmina fingo.

In this poem Horace is contrasting his style with the high-blown vehemence of Pindar. By referring to the banks of Tibur, Horace makes the reader envisage a river that is contained. When he describes Pindar's poetry, however, Horace uses the contrasting metaphor of a river that has burst its banks and is racing down a mountain out of control (5–8):

monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres  
quem super notas aluere ripas,  
fervet immensusque ruit profundo  
Pindarus ore . . . .

In contrast to these images of violent energy, Horace describes his own poetry in terms of careful, orderly craftsmanship. At Tibur his songs are *operosa* (31), and he fashions them like a sculptor, *fingo* (32)—the same verb that he uses in *Odes* 4. 3. 12 to suggest the formative influence of Tibur on his poetry.

Statius tells us that Vopiscus is versatile as a poet. Like Horace, he writes satires, poetic epistles, and lyric (99–104). He also, however, attempts to rival Pindar: *seu tibi Pindaricis animus contendere plectris* (101). Unlike Horace, then, he attempts the grand style in his poetry as well as in his life. Just as Vopiscus conceives of the humble Tiburtine landscape of Horace on a far greater scale, so he attempts a greater scope as a poet.

The implicit contrast with Horace works to Vopiscus's detriment, of course. History does not record any poet called Vopiscus of even minor fame. Tibur fashions Horace as a poet; at Tibur, as we have seen, Vopiscus

is the craftsman, fashioning the landscape to suit his needs for comfort and ease. Unlike Horace's bee, energetically flitting to and fro, gathering the sweet honey of the Muses, Vopiscus has no intimate poetic relationship with nature. He is also far different from the vehement, resounding Pindar. His poetic inspiration is not associated directly with the physical beauty of the landscape; only its *quies* is a contributing factor. Statius introduces the witty conceit that the Anio deliberately flows more quietly when it passes Vopiscus's villa, fearful of disturbing Vopiscus's poetic meditations and dreams (22–23):

. . . ceu placidi veritus turbare Vopisci  
Pieriosque dies et habentis carmina somnos.

Like Horace, Vopiscus as a poet is associated with a quiet, contained river. But the later poet's river has no formative influence; it does not even provide background music.

Furthermore, the phrase *habentis carmina somnos* is rather a strange one. Sleep was often seen as the prelude to inspired song;<sup>40</sup> that songs should "have sleep" is, however, another matter. *Somnos* appears again at the end of a line (42), and is again used to suggest the quiet of Vopiscus's house. But here the noun is qualified by *nigros*, an adjective that stands out as oddly sinister in this context.<sup>41</sup> In Statius's poetry, *niger* almost invariably has negative connotations. In the *Thebaid* it is frequently used of death, the Underworld, or of places with infernal associations.<sup>42</sup> In the *Silvae* the adjective appears six times, twice to suggest gloom,<sup>43</sup> and three times to describe death.<sup>44</sup> Its application to *somnos* here causes therefore a somber undercurrent. Silius Italicus uses the similar phrase *niger somnus* of the death of one of his warriors in battle.<sup>45</sup> As a poetic as well as a physical environment, Vopiscus's Tibur is associated with the end of life and, consequently, with the lack of vibrant song.

Vopiscus's poetic landscape is marked by a curiously emphasized lack of noise and almost of movement. The woods are quiet, *tacentis* (40), the night is undisturbed, *turbine nullo* (41), and is silent, *silet* (42). These words, leading up to the climactic phrase *nigros somnos*, cumulatively suggest that the quiet is less peaceful than deadening. Such an atmosphere

<sup>40</sup> The neoteric tradition of poetic inspiration gave special importance to the association between sleep and poetry. In a dream Callimachus was transported to Mount Helicon (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 42; cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.4. 9–11).

<sup>41</sup> Hence the suggested emendation of *nigros* to *pigros*. See E. Courtney, "The *Silvae* of Statius," *TAPhA* 114 (1984) 331–32.

<sup>42</sup> E. g. *Thebaid* 1. 307: *nigra . . . Tartara*; *Thebaid* 9. 851: *nigrae . . . mortis*; *Thebaid* 5. 153: *niger . . . lucus* (where the Lemnian women swear to murder their husbands).

<sup>43</sup> *Silvae* 1. 3.103 (of satire); *Silvae* 4. 4. 62 (of Thule).

<sup>44</sup> *Silvae* 2. 1. 19; 3. 3. 21; 5. 1. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Silius Italicus, *Punica* 7. 632–33: *membris dimissa solutis / arma fluunt, erratque niger per lumina somnus*.



of deep lethargy can scarcely be conducive to inspired *carmina*. In *Odes* 1. 7, Horace describes Tibur in terms of its resonant music, as *domus Albunae resonantis* (12), and in terms of its movement, *mobilibus . . . rivis* (14). For a poet who models himself on Pindar and Horace, Vopiscus's landscape is strangely without movement or musical echo.

Statius also advances the pleasing fancy that Vopiscus's poetry charms the local divinities (99–100):

hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys et iuvat ipsum  
Alciden dictumque lyra maiore Catillum.

If there is a compliment here, it is backhanded. The poets referred to by the phrase *lyra maiore* are presumably Vergil and Horace, and possibly also Silius Italicus, who all briefly mention Catillus in their poetry. Vergil and Silius say no more of Catillus than his name (*Aeneid* 6. 672; *Punica* 4. 225); Horace's reference too is exceptionally brief, for he calls Tibur *moenia Catilli* (*Odes* 1. 18. 2). Although it is flattering of Statius to compare Vopiscus to such masters of epic poetry, it is decidedly less so when the basis of comparison involves only one or two words.

Also double-edged is Statius's preceding reference to the Tiburtine Fauns. Ennius set the precedent in Roman literature for associating the Fauns with a primitive form of poetry in the well-known lines from the *Annales* that condemn Naevius' uncultured verse and proclaim Ennius a pioneer in receiving both inspiration from the Muses and the enlightenment of learning:

206 (213) scripsere alii rem  
Vorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant  
208 (215) [cum] neque Musarum scopulos  
Nec dicti studiosus [quisquam erat] ante hunc  
210 (217) Nos ausi reserare<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, although Faunus appears as a special symbolic patron of Horace's lyric poetry,<sup>47</sup> in *Epistles* 1. 19 Horace associates the Fauns as a group with bad poetry. He begins the epistle jokingly with the idea that poets need strong drink, not water, to write immortal verses (1–3). But the result can be excess and lack of decorum (3–5):<sup>48</sup>

ut male sanos  
adscriptis Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,  
vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.

<sup>46</sup> Book 7. i–ia in *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, ed. O. Skutsch (Oxford 1985). See also the comments of Skutsch on these lines 366–75.

<sup>47</sup> *Odes* 1. 4. 11; 1. 17. 2; 2. 17. 28; 3. 18. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Martial likewise associates the Fauns with a fondness for strong drink. See *Epigrams* 8. 50.4; 9. 61. 11.

If this is the kind of audience that Vopiscus's poetry pleases, it is clearly one that does not have high standards of taste. What appears on the surface to be a pleasing rustic fancy turns out to undercut Vopiscus's literary pretensions.

At Tibur Vopiscus tries to be both a Horace and a Pindar in poetry, but he clearly fails at both. Since in his personal life he attempts an amalgam of Horatian principles with the grand style of living, the suggestion is delicately made that here too, in Statius's eyes, he failed. The nature of Vopiscus's art is reflected in his lifestyle. His poetic inferiority to Horace suggests that his physical alteration of Horace's beloved Tiburtine landscape may not, after all, be the unqualified improvement that it seems.

Statius's breathless style of wonder and enthusiasm may seem to militate against my interpretation of this poem. Certainly Statius's initial, and politic, intent is to please Vopiscus. He cannot afford to offend his patron. But in various ways Statius undermines the traditional nature of the encomium to show that he has deep reservations about Vopiscus's attempts to make Horace's Tibur his own. The answers to Horace's rhetorical questions in *Epistles* 1. 10 represent Vopiscus's views, not Statius's, for the comparison between Vopiscus and Horace in lifestyle and in poetry ultimately serves to demonstrate that Vopiscus has violated Horace's spiritual landscape.

Having compared Statius's *Silvae* 4. 4 to Horace's *Epistles* 1. 8, Hardie concludes that, as in *Silvae* 1. 3, the verbal reminiscences of Horace are slight. He still maintains that the Horatian model is clear: "Statius shows that his primary interest is not in superficial borrowing of vocabulary, but in the interpretation, understanding, and adaptation of Augustan ideas."<sup>49</sup> Hardie's words are highly pertinent to my own discussion of *Silvae* 1. 3. It is through the medium of Augustan poetry, including particularly Horace, that we can best understand the ideas and purposes of *Silvae* 1. 3. The dominating position of Tibur in the first line of the poem invites us from the start to view *Silvae* 1. 3 as a careful reconsideration of the value and meaning of Horace's poetic landscape.

Statius's hyperbolic, quicksilver style reveals his virtuosity as a poet more than it catalogues his patron's wealth. While we learn very little that is concrete about Vopiscus's acquisitions, we are invited to admire a detailed display of Statius's literary skill. It is Statius, rather than Vopiscus, who is more truly the inheritor of Tiburtine Horace, for Statius's method of poetic composition is like that of the bee, flitting around Tibur gathering the sweet honey of poetry and shaping it into an artful poem.

<sup>49</sup> Hardie 170.

This is a tactful poem. It presumably had to be, since Vopiscus was a patron of the arts, including presumably Statius himself. But beneath the fulsome praise lies an undercurrent of dissent. Through his Horatian allusions, Statius subtly undermines the type of life and poetry that Vopiscus displays at Tibur. Not only in his political poems but in seemingly straightforward private poetry, Statius reveals a complex, skeptical intelligence. On inspection, what seems to be a simple exercise in encomiastic description reveals itself to be showpiece of Statius' virtuosity in handling multileveled meaning. Ultimately, it celebrates not Vopiscus's powers or skill but Statius's own.

*Cornell University*



## Juvenal, *Satire* 16: Fragmentary Justice

MARK EDWARD CLARK

Our collection of Juvenal's *Satires* concludes with a fragmentary poem of only sixty lines that ends in mid-sentence. *Satire* 16 is probably just part of what was or was intended to be a much larger poem that treated a delicate issue in the second century, the Roman army and the advantages it enjoyed. Despite the intriguing subject matter, the poem has received little attention from scholars, who have directed their efforts toward the complete satires.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment has presented more than its share of difficulties. Today, however, we can set aside some of these problems, such as the question of authenticity, the satire's problematic position in the corpus of Juvenal, and even the difficulty of the satire's abrupt ending, for we now have acceptable solutions from which we can work.<sup>2</sup> The time has come to examine the contents of the satire and to take advantage of recent Juvenalian scholarship on the other satires in order to understand what the author intended in this poem. Previous examinations of *Satire* 16 have emphasized the military aspects. For instance, G. Highet found here an attack on military ambition, and, in a rather bold reconstruction of the lost portion of the satire, he

<sup>1</sup> See W. S. Anderson, "The Programs of Juvenal's Later Books," *CP* 57 (1962) 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Authenticity*: In late antiquity the authenticity of *Satire* 16 was rejected: *Ista a plerisque exploditur et dicitur non esse Iuvenalis, Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*, ed. P. Wessner, (Leipzig 1967) 233-34. In the nineteenth century the poem was included among the spurious works; see O. Ribbeck, *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* (Berlin 1865) 71-72. The satire, however, has been defended as Juvenal's on grounds of language and style by P. Ercole, "La satira 16 di Giovenale," *Athenaeum* 8 (1930) 346-60, and we may assume today that the poem is genuine. See also G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 287-88, n. 4.

*Textual problems*: In some manuscripts this poem precedes the fifteenth satire. See J. L. Perret, *La transmission du text de Juvenal* (Helsinki 1927) 65; R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum* (Leipzig 1885) 47; U. Knoche, *Die Überlieferung Juvenals* (Berlin 1926) 27; G. Highet, "Housmaniana," *CW* 67 (1974) 367-68, n. 11.

*The satire's abrupt ending*: some scholars have supposed that Juvenal simply did not finish *Satire* 16, e. g., Knoche 27, and P. de Labriolle, *Les satires de Juvénal* (Paris 1943) 325. But it is just as likely that the last folia of Juvenal's text were lost in late antiquity. See Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* 287, n. 3, and L. Friedländer, *Friedländer's Essays on Juvenal*, trans. J.R.C. Martyn (Amsterdam 1969) 49-50. E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980) 613, allows for either possibility, but he feels that Juvenal did not give the poem "its final polish."

assumed that this continued to be Juvenal's theme.<sup>3</sup> The aim of the present examination is to demonstrate how the work fits into the scheme of Juvenal's later books, where a change in the satirist's approach has been observed.<sup>4</sup> There is no need to reconstruct the lost portion of the fragment. Rather, we will seek to determine from the extant lines what Juvenal was setting out to satirize, in the hope that the general direction of that attack will become clear. We should not fail to note that certain aspects of the satire deal with civilians, even though the focus here is upon the army. In his recent commentary on Juvenal, E. Courtney has observed that *Satire* 16 as a whole represents the alienation of civilians from the army.<sup>5</sup> It remains to show how the disparate elements of military and civilian life work together within the satire to form a unified theme.

## 1

The fragment of the satire can be divided into four sections with transitions that are unusually clear for Juvenal.<sup>6</sup> In the introduction (1–6) we find the satirist expressing a wish to join the army as he begins with a question put to Gallius (1–2): *Quis numerare queat felicitis praemia, Galli, militiae?* Together with Gallius, the satirist intends to count the army's rewards and advantages; indeed the remaining portion of the satire unfolds by focusing upon these.

The very next sentence, however, is incomplete.<sup>7</sup> We do not know exactly how long the lacuna is, but the missing lines presumably contained some reference to the advantages and prizes accumulated by a recruit who attached himself to a camp that promised prosperity (2: *nam si subeuntur prospera castra*). When the text begins again Juvenal is ready to enlist as a trembling recruit (3: *me pavidum . . . tironem*), but he curiously insists that the time of his enlistment be under a favorable star, for the period of

<sup>3</sup> Highet (above, n. 2, *Juvenal the Satirist*) 154–60; for Highet's reconstruction see pp. 288–89, n. 6. M. Durry, "Juvénal et les prétoriens," *REL* 13 (1935) 95–106, points out that Juvenal takes his advantages of the army actually from the pretorian guard, although it is clear that the attack applies to the military as a whole. Highet and Durry have been the only scholars to deal with the literary content of *Satire* 16.

<sup>4</sup> Highet (above, n. 2, *Juvenal the Satirist*) 138; Anderson (above, n. 1) 145–60; L. I. Lindo, "The Evolution of Juvenal's Later Satires," *CP* 69 (1974) 17–24, esp. 17, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> Courtney (above, n. 2) 613.

<sup>6</sup> After the proemium (lines 1–6), each paragraph begins with a transitional sentence calling attention to the advantages of the army:

v. 7: *commoda tractemus primum communia, . . .*

v. 35: *praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus . . .*

vv. 51–52: *solis praeterea testandi militibus ius / vivo patre datur.*

See also Courtney (above, n. 2) 613.

<sup>7</sup> Since O. Jahns' edition (Berlin 1851) the lacuna has been noted. The editions of U. Knoche (Munich 1950) and W. Clausen (Oxford 1959) show the lacuna.

good fate is worth more than a letter on his behalf from Venus or Hera to Mars (3–6).

Juvenal has immediately established in the proemium two conspicuous advantages of the military that are important for the subsequent examination of army life. First, there are allusions to fortune and astrology. The military is lucky (1: *felix*) and the camp itself promises good fortune (2: *prospera castra*). Enjambement emphasizes Juvenal's stipulation that a favorable constellation accompany his enlistment (3–4: *secundo / sidere*). The time of a well-disposed fate (4: *fati . . . hora benigni*)<sup>8</sup> has been taken as a reference to contemporary astrological notions. The accumulation of ideas concerning fate and good fortune introduces the military as a truly rewarding occupation and the soldier as a very lucky fellow indeed. But, at the same time, the satirist has exaggerated his praise of the soldier's good luck in the hyperbolic claim that fortune and fate are more vital to military success than a letter of recommendation to Mars by Hera or Venus. The effect is an ambivalent view of soldiering, one which, in fact, will hold for the rest of the fragment. The prospects of becoming a lucky recruit are undermined even at this early stage in the poem. Juvenal has created a tension between the ideal of the fortunate soldier and the soldiers who will subsequently be held up for mockery.

Secondly, in the proemium Juvenal's perspective on the lucky army suggests, almost misleadingly, the course he will follow in treating the subject. It is a stance of false admiration that is thoroughly ironic, and through it Juvenal leaves the impression that he is going to provide an evaluation of the army's advantages from a civilian's perspective. Neither he nor Gallius is a member of the army, but both are presented as lowly civilians who admire and count the army's prizes (*praemia*). At this stage, the prizes are left undefined, but they will remain the focus of Juvenal's treatment and eventually they will come to mean something quite different from military rewards. In a military context *praemia* often denoted land grants to veterans in return for their services or a monetary award given upon a soldier's military discharge.<sup>9</sup> We are thus led to expect a satire on military virtue, specifically *felicitas*, and an enumeration of as many benefits that result from being a good soldier as Juvenal can muster.

A satiric distortion, however, comes in the first advantage (7–34), which Juvenal describes as "conveniences held in common" by soldiers (7: *commoda . . . communia*). The undermining of the military, begun at verses 5–6, is continued here with the solemn announcement that as a soldier you can attack and beat civilians with impunity (8–12). With mock

<sup>8</sup> J. Gérard, *Juvenal et la réalité contemporaine* (Paris 1976) 382, connects *Sat.* 16. 2–5 with 7. 194–201, as I shall do below.

<sup>9</sup> See G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (New York 1969) 257. The word *praemia* occurs later (35), where it is certainly not used in a strictly military sense. Here, as Courtney has observed (above, n. 2) 614, the term has a non-technical meaning.

admiration the satirist insists that this particular advantage is not the least of the army's privileges (7–8). In his compact description of a beating, Juvenal dwells upon the brutal details: the civilian will not dare to show to the praetor his knocked-out teeth, his swollen face, and his one remaining eye that the doctor gives no promises of regaining sight (10–12).<sup>10</sup>

Juvenal's vivid scene of the beaten civilian suggests that the first reward of military service is the privilege of exercising cruelty with total impunity. He accentuates the threat to civilians by pointedly describing the soldier's boots and leggings (14; 24–25). Indeed, if we can believe Umbricius' complaint in the third satire (248), to have a hobnail stuck in one's toe by a soldier's boot was not an uncommon experience in the streets of Rome. Just how far Juvenal is exaggerating any real encounters between soldiers and civilians is not in question for the thrust of the passage. The satirist is intent upon emphasizing the brutality identified with the first military advantage. His perspective on that advantage is one of a threatened civilian who suffers from the actual privileges that soldiers enjoy.<sup>11</sup>

What is the defenseless civilian to do when he is attacked by a soldier? If he decides to press charges against the soldier, he must present his case before a centurion, a type of individual known for crudity and intimidation.<sup>12</sup> The judge will be an "Illyrian boot," again a menacing symbol of impersonal cruelty.<sup>13</sup> Besides the physical punishment, the civilian must appear, not in a civil court, but in a military camp, where he will be tried under the ancient laws of the army and according to the *mos Camilli*, a legal practice that purported to keep soldiers within their camp for trials (15–17). The assumption is that Juvenal here is alluding to a contemporary law that forbade soldiers to be away from their standards.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, one of the

<sup>10</sup> This particular passage is sometimes cited as evidence for the cruel treatment of civilians by Roman soldiers. Webster (above, n. 9) 261–66, summarizes some complaints against the army's brutality, taken mostly from the provinces in the fourth century. Actually one of the earliest references to soldiers' brutality is this passage of Juvenal. A later story of a fight between a civilian and a soldier is told by Apuleius, *Meta*. 9. 39–42.

<sup>11</sup> Juvenal's perspective of a threatened civilian is further seen in his form of address in the satire. He begins by addressing Gallius as soldier in the second person singular (8: *te*), but this perspective is shifted to that of a civilian, still in the second person singular (24: *habeas*), and the civilian's viewpoint is maintained throughout the fragment.

<sup>12</sup> See Persius, *Sat.* 3. 77–85, 5. 189–91, concerning the brutal nature of centurions. Juvenal's claim here that the civilian must appeal to a centurion raises questions of legal procedure. Usually the civilian would make his appeal to the *praetor urbanus*, who would appoint a judge. Juvenal is the only authority who indicates the judge could be a centurion. See Courtney (above, n. 2) 615.

<sup>13</sup> Vv. 13–14: *Bardaicus iudex datur . . . calceus . . .*. See J.E.B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (London and New York 1888) 402–403, and de Labriolle (above, n. 2) 327: "Les Bardaei étaient un peuple illyrien, et ce seul nom évoquait l'idée de brutalité." See also Courtney, (above, n. 2) 615–16.

<sup>14</sup> *Dig.* 22. 5. 60; see Highet (above, n. 2, *Juvenal the Satirist*) 287, n. 1; B. d'Orgeval, *L'Empereur Hadrien: oeuvre législative et administrative* (Paris 1950) 87, 348–51; L. Friedländer, *D. Junii Juvenalis Saturarum Libri V* (Leipzig 1895) 595; Courtney (above, n. 2) 616.



satirist's points is that the soldier will not be *procul a signis* (17), whereas the civilian will be *procul . . . ab urbe* (25).<sup>15</sup> To the injured civilian thus the army's advantage resides in a freedom to show cruelty and in a possible trial in a military court where the outsider will be threatened by a legal system of a foreign environment.

In spite of the prospect of an unfair military trial, the injured civilian, here presented as an interlocutor, expresses a naive faith in justice, even going so far as to claim that the centurion's judicial examination will be most just (17–18: "*iustissima centurionum / cognitio est igitur de milite*").<sup>16</sup> He cannot fail to gain revenge for his injuries, provided a fair case is put forward (18–19: "*nec mihi derit / ultio, si iustae defertur causa querellae*"). The satirist's reply is much less naive, however. The whole affair is a lost cause and worth "only the heart of Vagellius, the declaimer," and so it is silly to strike against so many boots and hobnails while you still have two legs (22–25). Under circumstances like these no one would be such a faithful Pylades as to accompany his injured friend to a military camp, and we may as well not trouble our friends by asking them to come to the trial as witnesses (25–28). To be sure, anyone who steps forward when the judge calls for witnesses is worthy of the ancients (29–32). Juvenal concludes the discussion on the first advantage (32–34):

citius falsum producere testem  
contra paganum possis quam vera loquentem  
contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.

In the first advantage the satirist has gone out of his way to represent an army composed of brutal soldiers whose good fortune is now defined in terms of the abuse of tradition and power. The ancient laws and military customs have been preserved (16: *servato*) to work only to the soldier's devious benefit. It is wasted effort to argue, even with truth on your side, against the soldier's fortune and honor (34: *fortunam . . . pudorem*). The manner in which Juvenal has juxtaposed these two qualities reflects the divergent directions of his satire. They represent the advantages of being a soldier but they are seen from the viewpoint of the civilian's disadvantage. The soldier's fortune and honor strike fear into civilians, thereby making truth in court an impossibility and preventing them from testifying on behalf of a friend.

<sup>15</sup> Courtney (above, n. 2) 617–18, takes *tam procul . . . ab urbe* (25) as a joke: the praetorian camp would in fact be just outside Rome; if Juvenal has in mind here only the praetorian guard, then the remark should be seen as an excuse from the defendant's friend.

<sup>16</sup> Vv. 17–18 present a troublesome textual problem. At 18 *etsi agitur de milite* has been proposed and defended. See R. R. Kilpatrick, "Two Notes on the Text of Juvenal: *Sat.* 12. 32 and 16. 18," *CP* 66 (1971) 114–15; J. P. Sullivan, "A Note on Juvenal 16. 18," *CP* 79 (1984) 229. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "Juvenal 16. 18," *CP* 81 (1986) 60–61, however, has argued for the reading in Clausen's Text, *est † igitur † de milite*. Shackleton Bailey says that the *iustissima . . . cognitio* (17–18) should not be taken as a compliment of the centurion and rejects *etsi* at v. 18, which would indicate that centurions could try cases not involving soldiers.

The soldier's advantage has an adverse effect upon civilians. It has rendered civilians helpless and it has destroyed the bonds of true friendship in hard times, such as that symbolized by Pylades (26). The implication in verses 20–28 is that the centurion will work in the military court to support the brutality of soldiers (20): *tota cohors tamen est inimica*. While soldiers have thus banded together in a manipulation of their traditions and legal system and in their animosity toward civilians, the rest of society is fragmented and does not have the advantage of unity found in the army. This appears to be the common advantage (7) now possessed by the military, but not enjoyed by other members of society. The result is that the brutality of the army has extended indirectly into civilian life and the perversion of the military has debased Roman society as a whole.

In the next section of the poem (35–50), Juvenal announces that he will deal with various emoluments accruing from the military oath soldiers have taken (35–36). The word *sacramentum* (36) as a metonymy for military service attracts our attention. Having just concluded that soldiers make truth in a court impossible, Juvenal produces a quick jibe at the military oath. The satirist passes over the army, however, and anticipates the legal complications that would hamper his trial, if he were to prosecute someone for stealing land, removing a boundary stone (38: *sacrum . . . saxum*), or for not repaying a loan. Each of the hypothetical trials is civil and perhaps not of great consequence to other people, the state, or community. But to Juvenal the trial would have great significance and even religious overtones. We see his personal involvement when he states that the stone has been piously kept in order by proper sacrifices, and we are to assume that its removal would constitute to him a sacrilege (38–39).<sup>17</sup> This is, at any rate, not a hopeless case presented before a military court and it is certainly worth more than the cheap declamation of Vagellius' prosecution. We find that Juvenal has gone to the trouble of hiring a lawyer and makes his appearance in court (46–47).

Yet complications arise. Instead of the case being prosecuted immediately, Juvenal complains, he would have to wait an entire year before the matter came to court (42–43). Even when it gets this far there will be a thousand delays and troubles (43–44), some of which are outrageous enough that any hope of justice is dashed. For instance, once in court the plaintiff must wait while the pillows are positioned correctly on the bench, while Caedicius, an eloquent lawyer, removes his cloak, or while Fuscus, the opposing advocate, answers the call of nature (44–47).<sup>18</sup> Finally, when the

<sup>17</sup> Juvenal's worship of the boundary stone recalls Ovid's description of the sacrifice to Terminus (*Fasti* 2. 639–84). The penalty for removing such stones was increased by Hadrian; see Courtney (above, n. 2) 618.

<sup>18</sup> Courtney (above, n. 2) 620, understands *Fusco iam micturiente* (46) to mean that "Fuscus realises that he will have to stay in court for some time and is taking the precaution of going to the lavatory beforehand." I would see the force of *iam* as indicating that Fuscus, like the other lawyer Caedicius (45–46: *iam facundo ponente lacernas / Caedicio*), uses his call to nature as an

trial does get underway, it begins with all the mock severity of a gladiatorial contest. Juvenal and his opponent "fight on the sticky sand of the forum" (47). We are not given the outcome of the trial. Rather, Juvenal goes on to make the point that, in contrast to dilatory civilian courts, soldiers suffer no such protracted trials in their legal procedures (48–50):

ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit  
quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,  
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

Juvenal has spent the major portion of his account of the soldier's second advantage describing his own case and the trouble he can expect to find in court. The brunt of his attack lands upon civilian courts, especially the lawyers with their delaying tactics. The criticisms of the legal profession here are reminiscent of *Satire 7*, 105–49, where Juvenal decries the uselessness of eloquence (see especially lines 135–49). The requisites for an advocate were costly—a shining ring, eight servants and ten assistants—but eloquence was dispensable (7. 140–43). This view of lawyers implies that the legal profession has been reduced to showmanship. In the sixteenth satire the legal system again suffers from a lack of substance. Although Caedicius is eloquent (45), the portrait of his ritual removal of his cloak ridicules an inappropriate interest in rhetorical *actio*, a kind of showmanship that delays, rather than promotes, the process of justice. Even less promising for obtaining justice is Fuscus' exit to the toilet, an action that essentially reduces eloquence in the law courts to obscenity. Juvenal leaves the impression that Caedicius and Fuscus are more interested in such absurd actions than in the substance of the case or justice for their clients.

Although the last paragraph (51–60) is incomplete, it is possible to determine its general direction. On one level, Juvenal sets out to attack the army as affording an opportunity for wealth and promotion. The passage begins with a statement that soldiers alone have the right of making a will while the father is still alive (51–52: *solis praeterea testandi militibus ius / vivo patre datur*). The purpose for this beginning is partly to create the absurd situation of Coranus, apparently a young recruit who is earning money in the army (55: *aera merentem*). In a complete role reversal, Coranus' father, "trembling with old age," pursues his own son's legacy

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excuse for delay. Certainly the point that Juvenal is making is that civilian lawyers are dilatory. The frustration of enduring a civilian trial is thus expressed through the *iam . . . iam*. It is not so much that the legal preparations of Fuscus include micturition, as it is a case of an obscene *para prosdokian* which adequately expresses the frustration of the satirist, here representing himself as the participant in the trial.

(55–56). The criticism of the military is obviously aimed at the perversion of military tradition into a means of gaining wealth.<sup>19</sup>

On this same level, military promotion is criticized. The attack is expanded rather suddenly by means of the demonstrative pronoun *hunc* (56) as the only indication that the topic is extended: “a fair partiality (*favor aequus*) promotes this man (Coranus) and renders its own recompense for good labor” (56–57). “Fair partiality” is an arresting oxymoron that becomes ironic by virtue of Juvenal’s continued stance of mock admiration. The idea of partiality continues in the association of wealth with promotion in the next sentence, where Juvenal claims that a general will see to it that a brave soldier is also the most wealthy (58–59). There is then mention of the soldier’s bosses and necklaces (60), but these are the last words of the poem. We may imagine that the sentence concluded with something to the effect that soldiers flaunt themselves and prance around in rich ornaments, displaying their rank and wealth.

A second level is also evident in this attack on military rank and wealth. Juvenal is not just criticizing the army, nor is he solely interested in the inheritance laws that soldiers enjoyed. Just as the satirist has been an outside observer of the army and just as he has carefully implied that the advantages of the military work to the disadvantage of civilians, so here too Juvenal means to focus attention on his fellow citizens. It is for soldiers alone (51: *solis . . . militibus*) that the law of inheritance creates convenience. The clear implication is that civilians do not enjoy such a privilege.

Juvenal’s mention of the law of inheritance may help us in putting *Satire* 16 into perspective. The Roman army of the pre-Flavian period enjoyed special privileges of making wills while the father remained alive, but these privileges came from a special dispensation of the general and were not the issue of codified law.<sup>20</sup> According to *Digest* 29. 1. 1–14, however, the emperor Nerva granted special indulgence toward soldiers’ rights of inheritance, and Trajan followed suit by providing the same advantages.<sup>21</sup> Juvenal had thus seen in his own lifetime the creation of a law that was designed for “soldiers alone,” and we may take the implied exclusion of civilians from the law as partly responsible for arousing the satirist’s ire.

<sup>19</sup> The criticism of military life as a means of becoming wealthy parallels Juvenal’s earlier attack at *Sat.* 14. 189–98.

<sup>20</sup> J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (London 1967) 22. See also d’Orgeval (above, n. 14) 87.

<sup>21</sup> *Dig.* 29. 1. 3–4: . . . *divus Nerva plenissimam indulgentiam in milites contulit: eamque et Traianus secutus est . . .* In all fairness to Trajan, however, this measure was taken to simplify the lives of soldiers and to accommodate their simplicity (29. 1. 10–14): *simplicitati eorum consulendum existimavi*. See also Friedländer (above, n. 14), pp. 599–600, and Courtney (above, n. 2), p. 621, for other allusions to Roman law.

## 2

As we have seen in the discussion of the last advantage, Juvenal's attack operates on two levels. An interpretation of *Satire* 16 must consider these levels, the one focusing upon the army's privileges, the other upon the unfortunate status of civilians. Surely, one of the features of the poem is the extent to which the satirist draws attention to the Roman citizenry. This is seen most clearly in his account of the second advantage (35–50), where the privilege of an unencumbered trial as enjoyed by soldiers is not in question. Here Juvenal does not really attack the military and its advantage of a quick trial. It would be strange indeed for the satirist or anyone else to suggest that there is some inherent evil in finding swift and uncomplicated justice. At this point, rather than criticize the military, Juvenal launches into an attack upon private lawyers and the civilian legal system for failing to provide to citizens the same convenience as is offered to soldiers. In other words, the soldier's advantage is used merely as a foil for emphasizing the unfortunate state of civil courts (48–50). Juvenal is saying that there is a failure in civilian society. In the second advantage the fault lies in civilian lawyers and civil courts, which are dilatory and unresponsive. At least as far as this passage is concerned, there is no direct link between what is wrong in civil society and the perverted advantages of soldiers. This emphasis upon civilian society in the second advantage merits special attention, for it indicates that the scope of Juvenal's attack is much wider than has previously been noted.

Elsewhere in the fragment the criticism of civilian society is not so direct as in the second advantage. Nevertheless, it is present. For example, Juvenal claims that a civilian cannot expect protective friendship when he must make a complaint in a military court against a soldier (25–28). It is now no longer possible to expect that a witness will stand up and speak the truth on a friend's behalf (29–34). Such faults can be understood as an oblique criticism of a society that has been intimidated by the threats and brutality of Roman soldiers. Another instance of indirect criticism is the passage in which Coranus' father makes a fool of himself by pursuing his soldier son's legacy (54–57). What is wrong here is that, instead of the usual situation in which a younger man pursues an older person's legacy, we have just the reverse. Here again the real villains are not the citizens so much as the soldiers, who are making money and enticing civilians, excluded from the army's wealth, into becoming fools. The army of the satire thus has the effect of perverting civilian society and reversing roles of father and son.

Both the direct and indirect criticism of civil society suggest that Juvenal means to examine Roman society as a whole in *Satire* 16. It is true that the view of society presented here is oversimplified, for the satirist makes the obvious division of Romans into soldiers and civilians with the military enjoying all sorts of conveniences while normal citizens suffer

misfortune. This dichotomy is maintained throughout the fragment by the open conflict between soldiers and civilians (7–34), by the two contrasting legal systems (35–50), and by the law that excludes everyone in society except soldiers (48–50). The contrast is of course presented to us by means of the army's privileges and examples of good fortune. In short, Juvenal has created the type of soldier who will be what the civilian is not: *felix*.

We can now understand better Juvenal's technique of making the army into such a propitious, but perverted and cruel, occupation. We began with the fortunate army (1–2) and the expectation that Juvenal intended to treat somehow military virtue and luck. As a military quality *felicitas* was required of generals and was evinced in battle by such situations as a commander's personal appearance on the field to bring success.<sup>22</sup> In the satire, however, Juvenal deals with good fortune in a twofold manner which is unexpected. First, he has changed the military ideal into something grotesque. This was accomplished immediately in the description of the first advantage by Juvenal's definition of good fortune as the ability to mistreat civilians. Secondly, the soldier's fortune has been expanded beyond the scope of the military ideal to include what properly should belong to the realm of a civilian's good fortune. This second step is seen in the passage where Juvenal claims that only soldiers can receive swift justice (48–50). Normally such a convenience should not be viewed as any special privilege of one sector of society, but rather as a civil right belonging to all citizens.

Another and more specific example of this second step is the reference to the brave soldier as *felicissimus* (59). The word occurs in a context of opulence that creates tension for it as a military ideal. The point is that soldiers are becoming wealthy and that the general will strive to make the brave soldier "the richest." Again one would assume that the acquisition of wealth belongs to the civil sector of society and not to the military, especially not to the Roman army. But the army of Juvenal's satire is perverted and so is its value of *felicitas*. Good fortune thus does not mean just military fortune, but it also includes the acquisition of wealth and even such harmless pursuits as obtaining a fair and unencumbered trial.

Good fortune was viewed by Juvenal as an elusive quality. While the satirist is by no means consistent on the subject, one idea from the other satires stands out as particularly relevant for the mock admiration of military benefits. In the seventh satire Quintilian is presented as an abundantly fortunate man (7. 190–93: *felix . . . felix . . . felix orator*), and there follows a passage reminiscent of the proemium of *Satire 16*, since Juvenal claims that fate determines good fortune (7. 199–201). But, we are warned, fate is not often kind and a fortunate man is rarer than a white crow (7. 202). Good fortune and happiness thus are presented as something out of reach.

<sup>22</sup> See L. Zieske, *Felicitas. Eine Wortuntersuchung* (Hamburg 1972) 41 ff., on *Sulla Felix* (see also 310), and H. Erkell, *Augustus. Felicitas. Fortuna. Lateinische Wortstudien* (Göteborg 1952) 45–47, concerning Cicero, *Man.* 47–48.

When such a rare phenomenon of good fortune can be found in the army, civilians (in this case, Juvenal and Gallius) can only marvel at the army's advantages over themselves. Of course, the ideal of fortune that Juvenal is establishing here is hardly fair and just, but it is typical of the satirist to twist and undermine such ideals. The contrasts in Roman society become even more painful when the ideal of good fortune is found to be so elusive.

The conspicuous differences between the lucky soldier and the unfortunate civilian are ultimately a matter of inequity in society. It is, therefore, the theme of justice and injustice that provides a unity for what remains of the satire. This is partly seen in Juvenal's use of law, litigation and the courts. The first two advantages center around trials in court, civil or military, and the third benefit begins with the law of inheritance. Recurrent words that represent all levels of justice draw attention to themselves throughout the fragment, and the reader constantly has the image of legal proceedings in such words as *iudex* (29), *legibus* (15), *litiget* (16), "*da testem*" (29), *lites*, *litis* (42, 50), and *testandi . . . ius* (51).<sup>23</sup> The allusions to military law at verses 51–54 also point to Juvenal's interest in developing the theme of justice.

The attack on injustice develops in several directions, as for example in the antithetical motifs in which law is pitted against might and fairness against partiality. The army, perverted as it is, represents the primary destroyer of justice, for soldiers are above civilian law and restraint. Military justice is in no way connected with truth as spoken by a civilian witness in the law court (32–34). Further, Juvenal is careful to point out that soldiers' disregard for truth and justice is a benefit derived from their brute force. Military fortune is viewed as that of an armed man (34: *fortunam armati*, or else soldiers are depicted as those "whom arms protect and the sword belt encircles." Because they bear arms, soldiers can obtain justice on their own terms in their own law courts and they can enjoy uncomplicated trials. Soldiers have thus banded together in a common advantage (7) in order to thwart justice and to create their own standards of equity in the form of intimidation. Their brutal behavior toward civilians partly equates the soldiers' force with justice and reduces the question of equity to armed might.

On a wider level, soldiers' misuse of power also entails an unfair manipulation of law for their own benefit (15–17; 51–54) and the subversion of justice by having partial judges (17–19). One cannot really expect that a centurion's legal judgment concerning one of his own soldiers will be "most just" (17), even if the complaint is well founded. Rather, the soldier's judge and centurion will be partial to his own side in court. The same favoritism shown by the centurion in litigation is carried to a more

<sup>23</sup> Also: *iustissima . . . cognitio* (17–18), *ultio* (19), *iustae . . . causa querellae* (19), *vindicta* (22), *testem* (32), *vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni* (41) (see also *Sat.* 13. 137), *subsellia* (44), *tempus agendi* (49), *res* (50), and *testandi . . . ius* (51).

general level by the "fair partiality" of verse 56. Juvenal here touches upon a concern that appeared earlier in the *Satires*. For him military justice represents a helplessness on the part of ordinary Romans to find justice in society. A similar situation of helplessness in the face of injustice appeared in *Satire* 3. 297-99, where a poor Roman citizen, who is likewise beaten, cannot appeal to Roman authorities, because he himself might be threatened by a lawsuit.<sup>24</sup>

In the last advantage Juvenal has moved to examples outside the law courts. Here freedom from litigation meant that a soldier did not even have to enter court to make his will. It also meant that a soldier would not labor in vain and could perhaps gain some personal fortune. *Labor* occurs twice in the last paragraph (52, 57), and it is clear both times that soldiers do not live the frustrated life of civilians. One is reminded again of the third satire, where Umbricius complains that, although he was honest and hard working, in Rome he could not enjoy the advantages of labor (3. 22: *emolumenta laborum*). The unfairness suffered by civilians here is completely the reversal of soldiers' good fortune, which is enhanced either by the law of inheritance or a general's favoritism. The two Roman concepts of justice, *iustitia* and *aequitas*, are thus both represented in the satire, the one in the concrete idea usually associated with litigation and the other in the abstract concept of equity in society.

The civilian, weak in comparison to soldiers, therefore, cannot find justice in society. Justice is an elusive and unrealistic goal before a military court. Almost as bad is the quest for justice in a civilian court. Where justice ought to be the supreme consideration, it is delayed and is reduced to a mockery of showmanship by civil lawyers. Besides suffering injustice from the army and lawyers, Juvenal's civilian also has no protector who as general can establish laws for the citizen's benefit. It is a bleak picture, and the fragment leaves us with civilians caught in an unjust world where there is no hope of being as fortunate as the soldier. Perhaps, as Juvenal moved from the concrete examples of injustice in the Forum to the abstract idea of equity in society, he intended to move to a resolution of the problem. But this cannot be supported by anything other than speculation, and it is better, however grim the picture, to maintain Juvenal's representation of the problem.

Whatever the final outcome was, Juvenal is here dealing with an ethical problem that goes beyond the scope of military life. Other scholars have

<sup>24</sup> See J. Adamietz, *Untersuchungen zu Juvenal*, Hermes Einzelschriften 26 (Wiesbaden 1972) 72-73, who saw a connection between *Sat.* 16 and 3 through the idea of "Rechtlosigkeit." F. Bellandi, *Etica diatribica e protesta sociale nelle Satire di Giovenale* (Bologna 1980) 52, likewise found a connection between the maltreatment of civilians by soldiers and that of the citizen of Rome in *Sat.* 3. The specific passage that seems to parallel *Sat.* 16 is 3. 297-99:

dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,  
tantumdem est: feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde  
irati faciunt.



argued that in Juvenal's later satires there is an increased concern for abstract issues of a broad nature. For example, E. S. Ramage has demonstrated that in the twelfth satire Juvenal was treating the question of friendship.<sup>25</sup> S. C. Fredericks has observed that the fifteenth satire deals with the problem of man's inhumanity to man.<sup>26</sup> Both scholars have also shown that Juvenal develops his themes via such concrete circumstances as Catullus' shipwreck in *Satire 12* or Egyptian cannibalism in *Satire 15*. The last poem we have of Juvenal follows a similar pattern in that the satirist attacks injustice in Roman society by means of the Roman army as his subject.

*The University of Southern Mississippi*

<sup>25</sup> E. S. Ramage, "Juvenal, *Satire 12*: On Friendship True and False," *ICS* 3 (1978) 221-37.

<sup>26</sup> S. C. Fredericks, "Juvenal's Fifteenth Satire," *ICS* 1 (1976) 174-89.



## Die Mysterien von Eleusis in rhetorisch geprägten Texten des 2./3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus

CHRISTOPH RIEDWEG

Klemens von Alexandrien gilt—nicht zu Unrecht—als ein Kronzeuge für unsere noch immer eher bescheidene Kenntnis der antiken Mysterienkulte. Er hat sich in seinem Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἑλληνας diese Rolle selber zugewiesen, erhebt er doch im zweiten Kapitel dieser Schrift, welche auf die folgenden Generationen starken Eindruck gemacht hat,<sup>1</sup> den Anspruch, den Schwindel der heidnischen ὄργια endlich einmal schonungslos aufzudecken.<sup>2</sup> Wie es um diesen Anspruch steht, ist eine viel diskutierte Frage. Ich habe an anderer Stelle zu zeigen versucht, dass Klemens im Kernstück seines Abschnittes über die Mysterien ein nichtchristliches, enzyklopädisch konzipiertes Handbuch exzerpiert und polemisch bearbeitet hat.<sup>3</sup> Hier soll auf einen Punkt näher eingegangen werden, der dort nur kurz skizziert werden konnte, von der früheren Forschung indessen fast völlig unbeachtet gelassen worden ist.

Analysiert man nämlich den von Klemens sicher frei komponierten, auf das sehr informative Exzerpt folgenden Schlussteil genauer, so fällt zum einen die grossartige rhetorische Gestaltung auf:

22. 6–7 ὃ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀναισχυντίας,

πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώποις σωφρονουῖσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἡδονῆς νύξ  
 νυνὶ δὲ τοῖς μουσμένοις πείρα τῆς ἀκρασίας νύξ ἔστι  
 καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐλέγχει τὰ πάθη δαδουχούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius zitiert Protr. 11–23. 1 in PE II 2. 64 wörtlich; sicher von Klemens abhängig sind auch Amobius (*Adversus nationes* V) und Firmicus Maternus (*De err. prof. rel.* X, XI u.ö.), cf. unten Anm. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Protr. 12. 1; 14. 1 (Ἦδη δέ, καὶ γὰρ καιρὸς, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ ὄργια ἐξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας ἔμπλεα) etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 26). (Berlin-New York 1987) 117 ff. — im folgenden mit "Verf., *Mysterienterminologie*" zitiert.

(7) ἀπόσβesson, ὃ ἱεροφάντα, τὸ πῦρ·  
αἰδέσθητι, δαδοῦχε, τὰς λαμπάδας·  
ἐλέγγει σου τὸν Ἰακχον τὸ φῶς·

ἐπίτρεπον ἀποκρύψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὰ μυστήρια·  
σκότει τετιμήσθω τὰ ὄργια·  
τὸ πῦρ οὐχ ὑποκρίνεται, ἐλέγγειν καὶ κολάζειν κελεύεται.

Ich habe den auf den entrüsteten Ausruf folgenden kunstvollen triadischen Bau durch die Darstellung bereits verdeutlicht: Klemens gliedert diesen Schlussabschnitt, wo er die nächtlichen Mysterien ein letztes Mal durch den Vorwurf unzüchtiger Handlungen zu diskreditieren sucht,<sup>4</sup> in drei Teile, von denen jeder dieselbe wiederum triadische Binnenstruktur aufweist.

Teil I: Die ersten beiden Perioden sind streng parallel gebaut. Dem "Früher war" steht pointiert das traurige "Jetzt ist" der Mysterienweihe gegenüber, den anständigen Menschen die verruchten Initianden, der Nacht als legitimer Hülle für den ehelichen Umgang<sup>5</sup> die unzüchtige Mysteriennacht, über die man gar noch spricht (σιωπωμένη—λαλουμένη als Homoioteleuta). Als Abgesang folgt die kürzere und anders strukturierte Phrase καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐλέγγει τὰ πάθη δαδουχούμενον, die mit den vorausgehenden beiden Sätzen immerhin ein passives Präsenspartizip als letztes Glied gemeinsam hat. Als Bauprinzip ergibt sich: a-a'-b.

Teil II zeigt dieselbe Gliederung: Die ersten beiden, nun eher staccatoartigen<sup>6</sup> Kola sind wiederum weitestgehend parallel gebaut: Imperativ-Vokativ-Objekt (also: a-a'), während das indikativische ἐλέγγει σου τὸν Ἰακχον τὸ φῶς als "b" diese Formeinheit abschließt. In der Klammerfunktion sind mit den Präsenspartizipien von Teil I die hier ebenfalls am Schluss stehenden Begriffe Feuer-Fackeln-Licht zu vergleichen.

Teil III ist—als Coda—etwas freier gebaut, wobei freilich die analoge Dreigliedrigkeit klar erkennbar bleibt. Die beiden a-Teile haben folgende Gemeinsamkeiten: Imperativ (ἐπίτρεπον ἀποκρύψαι-τετιμήσθω), τῇ νυκτὶ-σκότει, τὰ μυστήρια-τὰ ὄργια. Der abschliessende b-Teil ist zweiteilig; die Verbreiterung hat gewiss Klauselcharakter.

Die stets im Indikativ Präsens stehenden b-Teile erhalten im übrigen durch die Iteration von ἐλέγγειν besonderes Gewicht. Beachtlich ist ferner die die drei Teile übergreifende Abfolge von Begriffen für Nacht-Dunkelheit (N) und für Feuer-Fackeln-Licht (F): N-N-F / F-F-F / N-N-F. Vier

<sup>4</sup> Dieselbe Polemik zeigt sich bereits in 13. 4 (τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὄργια); 14. 1-2; 16. 1; 19. 4; 20. 1; 21. 1-2. Unmittelbarer Anlass ist an unserer Stelle die vorausgehende Aufzählung verschiedener Symbola, welche sich nach Klemens in den "cistae mysticae" befinden und als deren letztes er bewusst ein Genitalsymbol nennt (κτεῖς γυναικείος).

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. zum Gedanken Clem. Al. Paed. II 96. 2 (τὰ μυστικά τῆς φύσεως ὄργια sollen nicht am Tag vollzogen werden).

<sup>6</sup> Diese kurzen, abgehackten Sätze bewirken eine Temposteigerung—in der Musik würde man von einer "Stretta" sprechen.

Erwähnungen der Mysteriennacht stehen fünf des Feuers gegenüber, wobei das erweiterte letzte Glied auch unter diesem Aspekt Klauselcharakter hat.

Soviel zur Form dieses Passus, eines eindrücklichen Beispiels der für das 2. Jh. n. Chr. charakteristischen "Konzert rhetorik."

Inhaltlich ist der Bezug auf die *eleusinischen* Mysterien mit der Anrede der Kultpriester unzweifelhaft gegeben. Der bei der Mysterienschau die heiligen Gegenstände zeigende *ἱερο-φάντης* und der Fackelträger (*δαδοῦχος*): diese beiden Priesterfunktionen wurden in Eleusis von den Familien der Eumolpiden und Keryken bekleidet.<sup>7</sup> Als weitere Sachinformationen sind dem Textabschnitt zu entnehmen: die Nacht (Mysterien waren ja allgemein Nachtfeiern),<sup>8</sup> das Mysterienfeuer—wobei am Ende eine Umdeutung auf das *Feuergericht* erfolgt,<sup>9</sup> Fackeln bzw. Fackellicht.<sup>10</sup> Iakchos—an sich die Personifikation des Iakchos-Kultrufes bei der grossen Prozession, welche am Tag vor der Mysteriennacht von Athen nach Eleusis führte<sup>11</sup>—steht hier wohl einfach metonym für die "schändlichen" Mysterien überhaupt.<sup>12</sup> Mehr lässt sich aus diesem Passus nicht gewinnen. Vor allem aber wäre es verfehlt, mit Foucart aufgrund der Polemik eine Anspielung auf eine "Hiérogamie de Zeus et de Déméter" in Eleusis zu vermuten.<sup>13</sup> Das hiesse, die Intention des Klemens und seine ganz auf den Effekt bedachte fulminante Rhetorik<sup>14</sup> völlig missverstehen. Quellenwert für unsere Kenntnis der antiken Mysterien hat Klemens lediglich in jenem Abschnitt, wo er, wie erwähnt, ein heidnisches Sachbuch in polemisch bearbeiteter Form wiedergibt (§§ 13–21). In welcher

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Aristid. XXII 4 Keil; Clem. Al. Protr. 20. 2; Schol. Aischin. III 18; Paus. I 38. 3; Plut. Alc. 22. 4 etc.; cf. K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia 1974) 10 ff.; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Roma 1986) 45.; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1987) 37.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 47 Anm. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Klemens schliesst damit den Bogen zum Beginn seiner Schlussabrechnung mit den Mysterien (§ 22. 1–2), wo auf das heraklitische Feuergericht (VS 22 B 66 = Marcov. 82) angespielt wird. Ähnlich doppeldeutig sind in § 22. 7 auch "Nacht" und "Finsternis"—die Dunkelheit steht als Symbol für Unwissenheit und heidnische Verirrung, cf. z.B. Philo Quod Deus sit imm. 46, Clem. Al. Protr. 2. 2–3, 114. 1 etc.

<sup>10</sup> Zu den kultischen Entsprechungen dieser Angaben vgl. Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 47 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. P. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris 1914) 110–13; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 73; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griech. Religion I* (München 1967<sup>3</sup>) 664; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin-New York 1972) 307 f.; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin-New York 1974) 54 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Ἰακχος* findet sich bei Klemens nur noch in den orphischen Versen Protr. 22. 1 (dazu M. Marcovich, *Demeter, Baubo, Iacchus, and a Redactor. VChr.* 40, 1986, 294–301) und in Protr. 62. 3 (Nennung der auch aus Paus. I 2. 4 bekannten Praxitelesstatuen der drei Gottheiten Demeter, Kore und Iakchos in Athen).

<sup>13</sup> Foucart (oben Anm. 11) 480. Einen sicher im Ritual verankerten Mythos von der Vergewaltigung der Demeter durch Zeus bezeugt Klemens bzw. seine Vorlage dagegen für kleinasiatische Demetermysterien (Protr. 15 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. auch G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 305.

Bildungstradition dagegen seine eigene Kenntnis der eleusinischen Mysterien steht, soll nun im folgenden aufgezeigt werden.

Als erstes sei ein leider nur recht fragmentarisch erhaltener Papyrus aus hadrianischer Zeit genannt, der formal und inhaltlich überraschende Parallelen zu Klemens Protr. 22. 6–7 aufweist (Pap. della R. Università di Milano, 1937, Nr. 20, Col. I p. 176 f.). Es handelt sich offensichtlich um ein Streitgespräch zwischen Herakles, der zu den eleusinischen Weihen nicht zugelassen wird, und dem Daduchen. Dass Herakles, "das mythische Urbild der eleusinischen Mysterien,"<sup>15</sup> sich in Eleusis einweihen liess, ist seit Pindar bezeugt.<sup>16</sup> In Abweichung von der gängigen Tradition, wonach diese Einweihung vor Herakles' Gang in die Unterwelt stattfand,<sup>17</sup> lässt unser anonyme Autor dieses Streitgespräch nach der Rückkehr aus der Unterwelt stattfinden,<sup>18</sup> setzt doch Herakles den eleusinischen Weihen, die ihm vom Daduchen verweigert werden, jene weit wahreren entgegen, die—soviel lässt sich den folgenden Worten entnehmen—darin bestanden, dass er die Kore direkt gesehen habe:<sup>19</sup>

Z. 18 λόγοι Ἡρακλέους μὴ ἐωμέ-  
 νου τελεῖσθαι τὰ Ἐλευσίαια.  
 πάλαι μεμ(ύ)ημαι. ἀπόκλει-  
 σον τὴν Ἐλευσίαια καὶ τὸ πῦρ  
 τὸ ἱερόν,] δᾶδούχε, καὶ φθό-  
 νει νυκτὸς ἱερᾶς· μυστήρια  
 πολλῶ ἀληθέστερα μεμύημαι . . . .  
 Z. 31 ] τὴν Κόρην εἶδον . . .

Die Parallelen zur erörterten Klemensstelle sind, wie gesagt, nicht zu übersehen: Hier wie dort handelt es sich um eine polemische Auseinandersetzung mit *Apostrophe des Kultpriesters*, der dabei aufgefordert wird, das heilige Feuer zu verschliessen (bei Klemens: zu löschen). Als weitere Sachinformation hören wir ferner wiederum von der *Mysteriennacht*.

"Non direi esclusa una esercitazione retorica": so A. Vogliano, der Herausgeber dieses ägyptischen Papyrus (p. 180). Wir können es noch präziser fassen: Der anonyme Autor und Klemens von Alexandrien fassen

<sup>15</sup> Burkert, *Homo necans* (oben Anm. 11) 284.

<sup>16</sup> Burkert, *ibid.* 294 Anm. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Apollodor II 5. 12; Diodor IV 25. 1; E. Herc. 613; cf. Aristid. Panathen. 374; Plut. Theseus 30. 5; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 211 f.; F. Brommer, *Herakles II. Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden* (Darmstadt 1984) 18 f.

<sup>18</sup> Sollte diese Weihe Herakles vom Mord an seinen Kindern entschöhnen, wie K. Kerényi (*Die Mysterien von Eleusis* [Zürich 1962] 90) vermutete? Auch in der geläufigen Fassung des Mythos wird dem Helden die Weihe zunächst verweigert, ἐπειπερ οὐκ ἦν ἠγνωσμένος τὸν Κενταύρων φόνον (Apollodor II 5. 12). Zur Reinigung davon sollen speziell die Kleinen Mysterien von Agrai eingerichtet worden sein, vgl. Burkert (oben Anm. 11) 293 Anm. 4; Richardson (oben Anm. 17) 212 f.; Sfameni (oben Anm. 7) 61 f.

<sup>19</sup> Nicht nur in der rituellen Erscheinung, wie sie für die eleusinischen Mysterien anzunehmen ist—vgl. Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 60 ff.

offensichtlich auf derselben rhetorischen Bildungstradition, wenn beide mit den gleichen Materialien eine "controversia" über die eleusinischen Mysterien gestalten.

Dass die Mysterien von Eleusis zu dieser Zeit ein beliebtes Thema für rhetorische Übungen aller Art waren, zeigen verschiedene weitere Texte aus dem 2./3. Jh. n.Chr. Herausragend ist in diesem Zusammenhang ein echtes Schulbeispiel: Beim Rhetor Hermogenes von Tarsos ist uns ein fiktiver Fall überliefert, bei dem es um die heikle Frage geht, ob ein Eingeweihter die strenge Schweigepflicht verletzt und somit zu Recht der Mysterienprofanation angeklagt wird, wenn er einem Nichteingeweihten, der in einer Traumvision die Mysterien geschaut hat, bestätigt, dass dies tatsächlich die eleusinischen Mysterien seien (Περὶ τῶν στάσεων IV 37, p. 64. 17 ff. Rabe):

... οἷον ἀμύητος ὄναρ ἰδὼν τὰ μυστήρια ἤρετό τινα, εἰπὼν  
 ἅ εἶδεν, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι· συγκατέθετο ὁ ἐρωτηθεὶς καὶ ὡς ἐξειπὼν  
 ὑπάγεται.

Dass sich ein solches Fallbeispiel ausserordentlich gut für eine deklamatorische Gerichtsrede zu Schulzwecken verwenden liess, zeigt die weitere Ausgestaltung dieses ζήτημα durch Sopatros im 4. Jh. n.Chr. Besondere Erwähnung verdient dabei zum Vergleich mit dem oben erwähnten Papyrus Sopatros' weitere argumentative Überlegung, ob denn dieser nicht eingeweihte Mensch nicht eine viel bessere Weihe erfahren habe, da er doch im Traum nicht nur durch einen Hierophanten, sondern durch die Götter persönlich eingeweiht worden sei (Rhet. Gr. Walz VIII, p. 122. 23 μνηθῆναι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐντελέστερον ἢ ὁ ἱεροφάντης τελέσειε).<sup>20</sup> Die Parallele zu Herakles' Argumentation liegt auf der Hand: Die Einweihung durch die Götter direkt (ob in Traum oder Unterwelt) wird gegen die Einweihung durch die eleusinischen Priester ausgespielt.

Auf dem Hintergrund dieser rhetorischen Bildungstradition gewinnt auch die Schlusspartie von Aristoteles' berühmter Klagerede über die Verbrennung und Verwüstung des eleusinischen Heiligtums beim Einfall eines dakischen Volksstammes im Jahre 170 n.Chr.<sup>21</sup> neues Relief. Aus gegebenem Anlass konnte Aristoteles in dieser enkomologischen Klagerede auf u.a. aus dem Rhetorikunterricht vertrautes Material zurückgreifen. Die Fackeln begegnen uns hier ebenso wieder wie die Mysteriennacht und das Mysterienfeuer (§ 11):

ὦ δῶδες, ὑφ' οἴων ἀνδρῶν ἀπέσβητε, ὦ δεινὴ καὶ ἀφεγγῆς  
 ἡμέρα, ἣ τὰς φωσφόρους νύκτας ἐξεῖλες, ὦ πῦρ, οἷον ὠφθῆς  
 ἀνθ' οἴου.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. p. 123. 12 f. βελτίων ἢ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τελετῇ, 124. 3 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Die Katastrophe ist auch archäologisch nachweisbar, vgl. Mylonas (oben Anm. 14) 160 f.

Auch von Mysterienprofanation ist natürlich die Rede: Die Kostoboken haben mit ihrer Brandschatzung die Mysterien "ausgetanzt,"<sup>22</sup> τὰ ἄφωνα φήναντες (§ 13).

Echte Mysteriengeheimnisse werden in allen diesen rhetorischen Darstellungen der eleusinischen Mysterien<sup>23</sup> nicht berührt, bei Aristeides so wenig wie bei Klemens—auch wenn dieser christliche Autor, der offensichtlich keine eigene Anschauung von den Eleusinien hatte,<sup>24</sup> dies mit seiner Polemik zu suggerieren versucht.<sup>25</sup>

Natürlich braucht dieses Wissen, da es nicht über das spätestens seit dem 5. Jh. v.Chr. allgemein über Eleusis Bekannte hinausgeht, nicht immer ausschliesslich auf die rhetorische Bildungstradition zurückzugehen. Dass indessen die eleusinischen Mysterien in den ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten ein auf allen Stufen der Rhetorik—von den προγυμνάσματα bis zu den μελέται—beliebtes Übungsbeispiel waren,<sup>26</sup> scheinen mir die angeführten Beispiele hinlänglich zu dokumentieren.<sup>27</sup> Man geht wohl nicht

<sup>22</sup> Zu ἐξορχεῖσθαι siehe Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 58.

<sup>23</sup> Philostrate der Erste soll nach Suda s.v. vier "eleusinische" Reden verfasst haben.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 120 f.

<sup>25</sup> Dasselbe gilt für Gregor von Nazianz Or. 5. 30 f., der im übrigen (trotz Verf., *Mysterienterminologie* 48 Anm. 91) doch wohl direkt von Klemens abhängt—man vergleiche die folgenden weiteren Parallelen: Greg. Na. Or. 4. 108 . . . μυστήριον . . . αἰσχρὸν . . . καὶ νυκτὸς ὄντως ἄξιον—Clem. Al. Protr. 22. 1 ἄξια μὲν οὖν νυκτὸς τὰ τελέσματα κτλ., Greg. Na. Or. 39. 4 οὐδὲ Κόρη τις ἡμῖν ἀρπάζεται (cf. Clem. Al. Protr. 12. 2; 17. 1), καὶ Δημήτηρ πλανᾶται (cf. Clem. Al. Protr. 20. 1), καὶ Κελεοῦς τινὰς ἐπεισάγει καὶ Τριπτολέμους καὶ δράκοντας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ποιεῖ, τὰ δὲ πάσχει (Anspielung auf Clem. Al. Protr. 15. 17). αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ ἡμέρα δοῦναι τὴν νυκτὸς τελετὴν (vgl. zur Formulierung Clem. Al. Protr. 13. 4 . . . Κινύρας . . . τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὄργια ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρα παραδοῦναι τολμήσας) . . . (C) . . . οὐδὲ Ἀφροδίτης πορνικὰ μυστήρια, τῆς αἰσχρῶς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, καὶ γεννωμένης καὶ τιμωμένης. Von diesen Aphroditemysterien (vgl. dazu W. H. Engel, *Kypros. Eine Monographie Bd. II* [Berlin 1841] 136 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* [Stuttgart 1906] 364 f.) berichtet einzig Clem. Al. Protr. 13. 4 und 14. 2; von ihm abhängig sind Arnob. Adv. nat. IV 24 and V 19 sowie Firm. Mat. De err. prof. rel. X 1.

<sup>26</sup> Wie ich meine, gehört auch Epiktet, der ja mit dem Rhetorikbetrieb seiner Zeit durchaus in Berührung gekommen ist (vgl. Diatribe III 23; III 9), in diesen Zusammenhang, wenn er in III 21. 13 Menschen, die sich leichtfertig als Lehrer der Philosophie ausgeben, mit Mysterienfrevlern vergleicht: Τί ἄλλο ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, ἢ τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχῆ καὶ λέγεις· οἰκνῆμά ἐστι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐνθάδε. ἐκεῖ ἱεροφάντης· καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω ἱεροφάντην. ἐκεῖ κῆρυξ· καγὼ κῆρυκα καταστήσω. ἐκεῖ δαδούχος· καγὼ δαδούχον. ἐκεῖ δῆδες· καὶ ἐνθάδε. αἱ φωναὶ αἱ αὐταί· τὰ γινόμενα τί διαφέρει ταῦτα ἐκείνων;

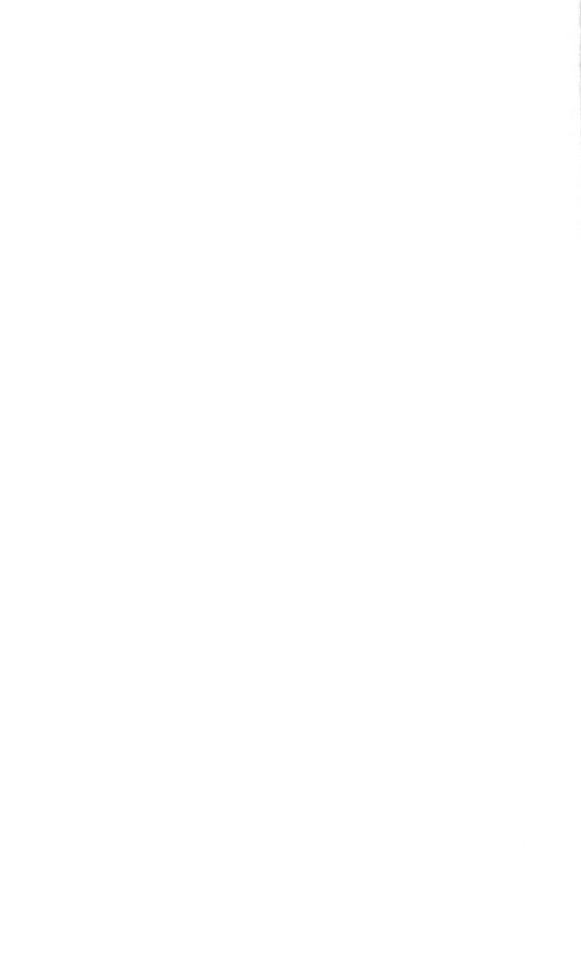
<sup>27</sup> Ausgerechnet über die der Geheimhaltung unterstellten "unsagbaren" Mysterien Reden zu halten, muss ja besonders reizvoll gewesen sein; vgl. etwa auch die detaillierten Ausführungen Sopatros' über die eleusinische Schweigepflicht (Rhet. Gr. W. VIII p. 118. 12 ff.).



fehl, wenn man die Vorliebe für dieses Thema im Zusammenhang mit dem für die zweite Sophistik charakteristischen "Attizismus der Motive" sieht.<sup>28</sup>

*Universität Zürich, Schweiz*

<sup>28</sup> A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Bem-München 1971<sup>3</sup>) 935; vgl. zu Lukian J. Delz (*Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten*, [Freiburg i.d. Schw. 1950]), der von einem "sachlichen Attizismus" spricht (184).



## Patristic Textual Criticism

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

(1) Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 13. 4 ed W. R. Schoedel (Oxford 1972): Τί δέ μοι ὀλοκαντώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ θεός; Καὶ προσφέρειν, δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν; Schoedel translates, "But what have I to do with whole burnt offerings which God does not need? And what have I to do with sacrificing, since what is required is to offer up our rational worship as an unbloody sacrifice?"

I think Eduard Schwartz (*T.U.* 4. 2, Leipzig 1891) was right when positing a lacuna after καὶ. Read instead: Τί δέ (δεῖ) μοι ὀλοκαντώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ θεός; Καὶ (αἷμα) προσφέρειν, δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν "τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν" (cf. *Rom.* 12:1).

For the supplement δεῖ compare 24. 1 Τί δέ δεῖ (μοι) . . . (already Schwarz read Τί δε(ῖ) μοι); as for the added αἷμα, compare ἀναίμακτον, in the context, and 13. 2: 'Ο τοῦδε τοῦ παντός δημιουργός καὶ πατήρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ κνίσης . . .

(2) *Idem* 14. 1. Every city worships its own god. So: 'Αθηναῖοι μὲν Κελεὼν καὶ Μετάνειραν ἴδρυνται θεούς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μενέλεων . . ., Ἰλιεῖς δὲ . . . Ἐκτορα φέρουσιν, καὶ Κεῖοι Ἄρισταῖον . . ., Θάσιοι Θεαγένην . . ., Σάμιοι Λύσανδρον . . ., Μήδειαν ἢ Νιόβην Κίλικες, Σικελοὶ Φίλιππον τὸν Βουτακίδου, Ὀνησίλαον Ἀμαθούσιοι, Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιοι.

The Cilicians do not worship Medea but Melia. Read: Μελίαν καὶ Νιόβην Κίλικες (καὶ for ἢ already Prudentius Maran, Paris 1742), and compare Pherecydes ap. Schol. in Eurip. *Phoen.* 159 (p. 271. 16 Schwartz); Apollodor. *Bibl.* 3. 5. 6; Pausanias 2. 21. 9; Sophocle. *Antig.* 834; E. Maass, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. Klass. Alt.* 14 (1911) 46.

(3) *Idem* 14. 2. Τὸ δὲ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἢ τύπονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσιν καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς. "I cannot help thinking that what goes on among the Egyptians is ridiculous. For on their festivals they go to the temples and beat their breasts as though lamenting the dead, and yet they sacrifice to them as though to gods!" (Schoedel).

It is Osiris, in the first place, whom the Egyptians bewail as a dead person, and at the same time worship as a god, as this becomes clear from the quotation of Herodotus 2. 61 at *Legatio* 28. 8. Consequently, read: κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις (Ὀσίρει καὶ ἄλλοις) ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσιν καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς, and compare Plutarch *Amatorius* 763 D Ξενοφάνης Αἰγυπτίους ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ὀσίριν, εἰ θνητὸν νομίζουσι, μὴ τιμᾶν ὡς θεόν, εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἡγούνται, μὴ θρηνεῖν; Seneca Fr. 35 Haase (ap. Augustine *De Civ. Dei* 6. 10); Theophilus *Ad Autolyicum* 1. 9; Minuc. Felix *Octavius* 22. 1 et *Isiaci miseri caedunt pectora et dolorem infelicissimae matris* [i.e. *Isidis*] *imitantur* . . . *Nonne ridiculum est vel lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas?*; Firm. Matern. *De errore* 8. 3 et alibi.

(4) *Idem* 15. 2. 'Ἄλλ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν σκευὴ γενέσθαι χωρὶς τέχνης ἀδύνατος, καὶ ἡ πανδεχῆς ὕλη ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διάκρισιν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ κόσμον οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν. Athenagoras opposes God as the active Demiurge to the passive matter. Thus read τεχνίτου for τέχνης. The term τεχνίτης appears three times in the context: τεχνίτης vs. παρασκευή (15. 2); Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς καὶ ὁ πηλός, ὕλη μὲν ὁ πηλός, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ κεραμεύς, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δημιουργός, ὑπακούουσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ὕλη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην (15. 2); τὸν τεχνίτην ἐπαινοῦμεν, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι δόξαν καρπούμενος (15. 3).

(5) *Idem* 16. 3. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν παραλιπόντες οἱ ἀθλοθέται τοὺς κιθαριστάς, τὰς κιθάρας στεφανοῦσιν αὐτῶν. "Judges do not neglect the players in a contest and crown their lyres instead!" (Schoedel). The translation is correct, but the Greek text is not; read: Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνισ(μά)των.

(6) *Idem* 22. 1. Athenagoras quotes Empedocles B 6. 2-3:

Ζεὺς ἀργής, . . . Ἦρη τε φερέσβιος ἡδ' Ἀἰδωνεύς  
Νῆστὶς θ', ἢ δακρύσις τέγγ(ε)ι κρούνωμα βρότειον.

τέγγει κρούνωμα is an emendation of Stephanus and Gesner (Paris, 1557), the Arethas codex A (Paris. gr. 451 a.D. 914) has τ' ἐπικούρου νωμᾶι. Robert Grant asks, "But how did Epicurus get into the text?" (*Vigiliae Christianae* 12 [1958] 146), while suggesting that the error goes back to Athenagoras himself: "The conclusion we should draw from this fact is that Athenagoras himself was writing about Empedocles while thinking about Epicurus. It is hard to explain the error otherwise."

This is not at all likely. *Epicurus* is the makeshift of a desperate scribe. After νωμᾶ had been separated from κρούνωμα to make a νωμᾶι, the rest, ΤΕΓΓΕΙΚΡΟΥ, was misread as ΤΕΠΙΚΡΟΥ, and interpreted as τ' Ἐπικούρου. Here is a similar misreading of the same line. Michael, the

scribe of Paris. suppl. gr. 464, comprising Hippolytus' *Refutatio*, writes at 7. 29. 4 κρουνη μακρόγιον, and at 10. 7. 3 κρουνη μαβρόντιον, for the correct κρούωμα βρότειον.

(7) *Idem* 22. 3. . . . ἐὰν μίαν καὶ τὴν (αὐτὴν) τοῦ τε ἀρχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος δύναμιν θῶμεν, λήσομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἰσότιμον τὴν ὕλην, τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ ῥευστὴν καὶ μεταβλητὴν, τῷ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀίδίῳ καὶ διὰ παντὸς συμφώνῳ ποιῶντες θεῷ. "If then we attribute one and the same power to the ruled and the ruling, we shall inadvertently make perishable, unstable, and changeable matter equal in rank to the uncreated, eternal, and ever self-same God" (Schoedel).

Again, the translation is correct, but the Greek original is slightly lacunose. Read: καὶ διὰ παντὸς (ἑαυτῷ) συμφώνῳ ποιῶντες θεῷ, and compare Aristides *Apology* 13. 5 Geffcken, ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον; Theodorus Heracleensis ap. *Cat. Joh.* 14:27, αὕτη [sc. the peace of Christ] . . . οὐ μόνον . . . πάντας κοινῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνάπτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ σύμφωνον ἀποτελεῖ.

(8) *Idem* 25. 1. Athenagoras quotes Euripides Fr. 901 N.<sup>2</sup> Its text is corrupt. I am offering the following tentative reading:

Πολλάκι μοι πραπίδων διήλθε φρονίς,  
εἴτε τύχα (τις) εἴτε δαίμων τὰ βρότ(ε)ια κραίνει,  
παρὰ τ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ δίκαν  
τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' οἴκων (οὐ)δένα(ς) ἐκπίπτοντας  
5 ἄτερ θεοῦ, τοὺς δ' εὐτυχοῦντας (εἰς)άγει.

2 τις add. A. Matthiae | βρότεια E. Dechair (Oxonii 1706) : βιότια A |  
κραίνει A : κρίνει coniec. Nauck || 4 (οὐ)δένα(ς) ἐκπίπτοντας  
scripsi : δ' εναπίπτοντας A : ἀπο- vel καταπίπτοντας Gesner (Parisiis  
1557) : ἀναπίπτοντας Dechair || 5 ἄτερ θεοῦ Gesner : ἀτὰρ Θυ A:  
ἄτερ βίου Grotius, Dechair | (εἰς)άγει scripsi : ἄγει A

(9) *Idem* 27. 2. Καὶ ὅσα καθ' αὐτὴν, ὡς ἀθάνατος οὖσα, λογικῶς κινεῖται ψυχῇ, ἢ προμηνοῦσα τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ θεραπεύουσα τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, τούτων τὴν δόξαν καρποῦνται οἱ δαίμονες. "And the demons harvest the fame of all the remarkable things which the soul, because of its immortal nature, brings about in a rational way of itself, whether it be foretelling the future or healing present ills" (Schoedel).

The soul is a creator, it "conceives and brings forth" wonderful things. Consequently, read: ὅσα . . . λογικῶς κινεῖται ψυχῇ, for the transmitted

κινεῖται. First, we read in 27. 1 that the irrational movements of the soul mould and *conceive* different images (ἀναπλάττουσιν καὶ κούουσιν). Second, Athenagoras is a *Philosophus Platonicus* and as such employs Platonic terminology. Compare Plato *Sympos.* 206 c 1 κούουσιν γὰρ . . . πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν; 209 a 2 ἄ ψυχῇ προσήκει καὶ κυῆσαι καὶ τεκεῖν . . . φρόνησίν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετήν; *Theaet.* 184 b 1 ὧν κυεῖ περὶ ἐπιστήμης [sc. Θεαίτητος]; 151 b 8; 210 b 4.

(10) *Idem* 28. 8. Athenagoras quotes Herodotus 2. 61: “ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ἑορτήν, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι. Τύπτονται γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται τρόπον, οὐ μοι ὀσιόν ἐστιν λέγειν.” “All the men and women, numbering many many thousands, beat their breasts after the sacrifice. I would profane their rites were I to say how they beat their breasts,” translates Schoedel.

There is no secret in the way the Egyptians beat their breasts while mourning the death of Osiris. The expression, τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, means, “But *whom* they are mourning (I am not going to reveal).” Compare Herodotus 2. 132. 2: ἐπειδὴν τύπτονται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑφ’ ἐμεῦ [sc. Ὀσίριν]; 2. 42. 6: τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριόν; and point (3), *supra*. A scribe had misunderstood the sense of τύπτονται and added τρόπον, which is not present in Herodotus and should be deleted.

(11) *Idem* 31. 3. Συνέσει γὰρ πάντας ὑπερφρονοῦντες, οἷς ὁ βίος ὡς πρὸς στάθμην τὸν θεὸν κανονίζεται, ὅπως ἀνυπαίτιος καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος αὐτῷ γένοιτο, ἵστε τούτους μηδ’ εἰς ἔννοιάν ποτε τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἐλευσομένου ἀμαρτήματος. “For you [sc. Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus], whose wisdom is greater than that of all others, know that men whose life is regulated, so to speak, by God as their measure, so that each one of us may be blameless and faultless before him, have no intention of doing the least wrong” (Schoedel).

This interpretation leaves ἄνθρωπος unaccounted for. Wilamowitz tried to get rid of this ἀνά by reading it *παρά*, while Schwartz conjectured ἐναντίον instead. Both changes are violent. But γένοιτο means “may become,” not “may be.” Accordingly, read the clause as follows: ὅπως ἀνυπαίτιος καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν (ἂν) “ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ” γένοιτο. “. . . so that each one of us, remaining faultless and blameless, may become “a man of Him [sc. God].”

While the end of the sentence has in mind Matthew 5:28 (as this becomes clear from *Legatio* 32. 3 and 33. 3), the idea of “becoming a man of God” alludes to *Romans* 14:8 τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν; 2 *Timothy* 3:17 ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος; 1 *Tim.* 6:11 ὁ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ; Ignatius of Antioch

*Ephes.* 8. 1 ὅλοι [sc. ὑμεῖς] ὄντες θεοῦ; *Romans* 6. 2 τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι [sc. ἐμέ]; *Philadelphians* 3. 2 ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν.

(12) *Idem* 34. 2. . . οὔτοι δὲ ἅ συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους λέγουσι θεοῦς, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἄξια ἀυχοῦντες, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦνται . . . “. . . they [these gentile adulterers and pederasts] revile us [the Christians] for vices they have on their consciences and which they attribute to their own gods, boasting of them as noble deeds and worthy of the gods” (Schoedel).

“Ἄξια is Schwartz’s emendation of A’s αὐτὰ. Read instead: . . . οὔτοι δὴ [P. Ubaldi, 1920] ἅ συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ (περὶ) τοὺς σφετέρους λέγουσι θεοῦς, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀν(ήκον)τα ἀυχοῦντες, . . . The expression, τῷ θεῷ ἀνήκοντα, “beseeming God,” may use the terminology of *Philemon* 8 τὸ ἀνήκον; *Ephes.* 5:4; *Col.* 3:18, and is closer to A’s αὐτὰ. Incidentally, Baanes, the scribe of A, six lines later (34. 3) writes αὐτοῦς for ἀνως (= ἀνθρώπους).

(13) Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 6 ed. C. Otto (Jena 1879). Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ τριμερῆ αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν ψυχὴν] εἶναι φησιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν λογικὸν αὐτῆς, τὸ δὲ θυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν εἶναι λέγει. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ οὐ κοινοτέραν τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι φησιν, ἐν ᾧ περιεῖληπται καὶ τὰ φθαρτὰ μόρια, ἀλλὰ τὸ λογικὸν μόνον. Otto translates (p. 37): “Aristoteles vero non tam late patere animam ait, ut partes etiam corruptioni obnoxias comprehendat, sed id tantum quod rationis est particeps.”

However, the comparative κοινοτέραν and the gender of ἐν ᾧ reveal a textual corruption. Read instead: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ οὐ κοινὸν ὄρον τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι φησιν, ἐν ᾧ περιεῖληπται καὶ τὰ φθαρτὰ μόρια, ἀλλὰ τὸ λογικὸν μόνον, and compare Aristotle *Polit.* H 14, 1333 a 16; *De anima* Γ 9, 432 a 25; *M.M.* A 1, 1182 a 23.

(14) *Idem* 7. Ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων ποτὲ μὲν τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι λέγει, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην καὶ εἶδος, ποτὲ δὲ τέσσαρας· προστίθησι γὰρ καὶ τὴν καθόλου ψυχὴν [cf. *Plat. Laws* 10, 899 a 2; *Epinomis* 981 b 7; 984 c 4]. Καὶ αὐτίς τὴν ὕλην ἀγένητον πρότερον εἰρηκῶς, ὕστερον γενητὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγει [cf. *Hippol. Refut.* 1. 19. 4]· καὶ τῷ εἶδει δὲ ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν πρότερον δεδωκῶς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ οὐσιῶσθαι ἀποφῆνας, ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει. The final part of the passage, dealing with the idea, is translated by Otto (p. 39) as follows: “atque, licet prius ideae principium proprium tribuerit eamque per se subsistere professus sit, postea eam ipsam in mentis notionibus esse dicit.”

But Platonic ideas (or Middle-Platonic paradigms) do not exist in a man’s mind. Accordingly, read: ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς (τοῦ θεοῦ) νοήμασιν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει, and compare Aetius 1. 3. 21 = 1. 10. 3: ἰδέα δὲ

οὐσία ἀσώματος ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις τοῦ θεοῦ. The suggested supplement is confirmed by Cyrillus of Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum* 2 (P.G. 76, 573 CD), who copies our passage and has τοῦ θεοῦ.

(15) *Idem* 9 (p. 44 f. Otto). The author quotes Diodorus 1. 94. 1: Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον βίου κατάστασιν, τὴν μυθολογουμένην γενέσθαι ἐπὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, πείσαι φασιν ἐγγράφοις νόμοις πρῶτον χρῆσθαι τὰ πλήθη Μωϋσῆν, ἄνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ ἰκανώτατον μνημονευόμενον. "Nam post antiquum qui in Aegypto fuit vitae statum . . . primus Moses populis persuasisse dicitur ut scriptis legibus uterentur, vir et magnitudine animi et utilitatibus vitae adlatis celeberrimus" (Otto).

I think, in this passage there is no mention of Moses either in Diodorus or in Pseudo-Justin. The text is heavily corrupt and should read: . . . πείσαι φασιν ἐγγράφοις νόμοις πρῶτον χρῆσθαι (καὶ)<sup>1</sup> βιοῦν (τὸν) ἄνδρα<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ καινότετον<sup>3</sup> (τῶν) μνημονευομένων.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> καὶ p<sup>c</sup>. et Diodori codd. C F : om. A et Cyrillus [c. *Iul.* 1, P.G. 76, p. 525 B] <sup>2</sup> βιοῦν (τὸν) ἄνδρα scripsi ex Diodori codd. D C : βιοῦν ἄνδρα A et Cyrillus : βιοῦν μωσῆν ἄνδρα p<sup>m</sup>. rec., agnoverunt Ed. Pr. [Parisiis 1539], Rob. Stephanus [Lutetiae 1551], alii : βιοῦν τὸν ἄνδρα Diodori codd. D C : βιοῦν τὸν μωσῆν ἄνδρα Diodori cod. F : τὸν Μνεῦην, ἄνδρα Diodori codd. ceteri, agn. Fr. Vogel <sup>3</sup> καινότετον scripsi ex Cyrillo : κοινότετον Diodori codd. : ἰκανώτατον A <sup>4</sup> τῶν μνημονευομένων scripsi ex Diodoro et Cyrillo : μνημονευόμενον A

In brief, most probably Pseudo-Justin quoted Diodorus from a manuscript similar to D. The Arethas codex A (= Paris gr. 451, A.D. 914) is reliable enough, but must be controlled by the excerpts from Pseudo-Justin in Cyrillus (died A.D. 444). The introduction of the name of Moses has no authority, since it goes back to a later corrector of p (= Parisinus gr. 174, saec. XII), itself being no more than an apograph of A. The source of inspiration was probably a manuscript of Diodorus similar to F.

(16) *Idem* 14 (p. 58 Otto). Δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, . . . ζητεῖν καὶ ἐρευνᾶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων, ὡς αὐτοὶ φατε, διδασκάλων εἰρημένα. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς θείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων προνοίας καὶ ἄκοντες ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν . . .

The apologist is not concerned with what the teachers of the Greeks—Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato—have to say in general, but only with what they were forced by divine providence to say about the Christians even



against their own will. Thus read: καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων . . . διδασκάλων (περὶ ἡμῶν) εἰρημένον, and compare ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν in the next sentence.

(17) *Idem* 21 (p. 74 Otto). “Ἐγὼ” γάρ, φησίν, “εἰμὶ ὁ ὢν” [*Exodus* 3:14], ἀντιδιαστέλλων ἑαυτὸν δηλονότι ὁ ὢν τοῖς μὴ οὖσιν, ἵνα γῶσιν οἱ πρότερον ἀπατηθέντες ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὴ οὖσι προσέσχον.

There is only one God who is ὁ ὢν. Consequently, the text should read: ἵνα γῶσιν οἱ πρότερον ἀπατηθέντες ὅτι οὐχὶ τῷ ὄντι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὴ οὖσι προσέσχον (θεοῖς), as it is witnessed by John of Damascus (died in 749), who in his *Sacra Parallela* quotes our passage as emended (cod. Coislinianus 276 fol. 223<sup>v</sup> = Fr. 105 Holl: *T.U.* 20. 2).

(18) *Idem* 24 (p. 84 Otto). Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑβραίων εἰρημένος σημαίνει χρησμός· πυθομένου γάρ τινος, τίνας πάποτε θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρας γεγενῆσθαι συνέβη, οὕτως εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν φατε·

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,  
αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν αὐτόν.

To what do the words αὐτόν φατε refer? Read instead: πυθομένου γάρ τινος (χρηστηρίου τινός), τίνας πάποτε θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρας γεγενῆσθαι συνέβη, οὕτως εἰρηκέναι αὐτό [sc. τὸ χρηστήριον] φατε . . . The same oracle recurs in chapter 11, where we read: Ἐρομένου γάρ τινος, ὡς αὐτοὶ φατε, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν χρηστήριον, τίνας συνέβη θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρας γεγενῆσθαι ποτε, οὕτω τὸ χρηστήριον εἰρηκέναι φατέ· “Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι κτλ.”

(19) *Idem* 25 (p. 84 Otto). Ἴδιον γὰρ τῶν δι' εὐχῆς καὶ θυσιῶν φιλανθρωπίας τυγχάνειν ἀξιούντων τὸ παύεσθαι καὶ μεταγινώσκειν ἐφ' οἷς ἤμαρτον, οἱ δὲ [scripsi : γὰρ A] ἀνεπιστροφὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰόμενοι εἶναι, οὐδαμῶς ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων προήρηνται, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς μετανοίας ἔξιν οἰόμενοι.

Otto translates: “Proprium enim est eorum, qui precibus et victimis misericordiam consequi volunt, finem peccandi facere et poenitentiam agere de iis quae peccaverunt; qui autem divinum numen inflexibile existimant esse, nequaquam a peccatis discedere volunt . . .” But we expect *Dei misericordiam*, not simply *misericiordiam*, as it is witnessed by τὸ θεῖον (*divinum numen*) in the context. Consequently, read: τῶν δι' εὐχῆς καὶ θυσιῶν (τῆς θείας) φιλανθρωπίας τυγχάνειν ἀξιούντων, and compare Justin Martyr *Dialogus* 47. 5: “Ἡ γὰρ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ θεοῦ” [*Tit.* 3:4] καὶ τὸ ἄμετρον τοῦ πλοῦτου αὐτοῦ [cf. *Rom.* 2:4] τὸν μετανοοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων . . . ὡς δίκαιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχει.

(20) *Idem* 32 (p. 106 Otto). Plato knew of the Holy Ghost, but he called it Virtue (cf. *Meno* 99 e 4—100 a 1) fearing the Athenians and knowing well what had happened to Socrates (cf. cc. 20; 25): . . . δεδιώς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεὰν πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὀνομάζειν . . . τὸ μὲν ἄνωθεν αὐτὸ παρὰ θεοῦ κατιέναι ὁμολογεῖ, οὐ μὴν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ ἀρετὴν ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸ ἡξίου. The form ἡξίου suggests that we should read ὁμολόγει for ὁμολογεῖ.

(21) *Idem* 33. For the same reason, what Moses calls Day (*Gen.* 1:5) Plato calls Time (*Tim.* 38 b 6): . . . ὁ Πλάτων τὴν ἡμέραν ὀνομάζει χρόνον, ἵνα μὴ δόξη, ἡμέρας μεμνημένος (καὶ addidi) ὡς πάντῃ τοῖς Μωυσεῶς ἐπόμενος ῥητοῖς, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις κατηγορεῖσθαι. “. . . ne mentionem dici faciens . . . , apud Athenienses videatur accusandus” (Otto).

But κατηγορεῖσθαι cannot yield the sense *accusandus*. Read: ἵνα μὴ δόξη . . . παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις (ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ) κατηγορεῖσθαι. Compare c. 20: Πλάτων . . . διὰ δὲ τὰ συμβεβηκότα Σωκράτει δεδιώς μήπως καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄνυτόν τινα ἢ Μέλητον καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι π α ρ α σ - κ ε υ ἄ σ η κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις . . .

(22) *Idem* 35 (p. 114 Otto). Νυνὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνατόν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε παρ’ ἐκείνων [sc. τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν] ὑμᾶς [sc. the Greeks] μανθάνειν, μήτε μὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ψ ε υ δ ὶ ν υ - μ ο ν ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἀκόλουθον ὑμῖν ἔσται λοιπὸν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν ἀπώσαμένους π λ ἄ ν η ν ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν προφητείας . . .

What is the object of μανθάνειν? Evidently, the religious *truth*. Thus read: μήτε παρ’ ἐκείνων ὑμᾶς (τάληθές) μανθάνειν, μήτε μὴν παρὰ τῶν . . . , and compare the expressions ἡ ἀληθὴς θεοσέβεια (twice) and ἡ ἀλήθεια, at the beginning of the chapter, as well as c. 36: Εἰ δὲ ἡ τάληθοῦς εὔρεσις ὄρος τις λέγεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς (τῆς) φιλοσοφίας . . .

(23) Pseudo-Justin, *De monarchia* 1 (p. 128 Otto, Jena 1879). Καὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ μείναν τὸ περισσὸν ἔθος [i.e. εἰδωλοποιία] ὡς οἰκεῖαν καὶ ἀληθῆ τὴν πλάνην τοῖς πολλοῖς παραδίδωσι. “. . . consuetudo postquam diu valuit errorem ut vernaculum et verum quidpiam multitudini tradit” (Otto).

There is no *quidpiam* in the Greek original. Read instead: ὡς οἰκεῖαν καὶ ἀληθῆ (θρησκείαν) τὴν πλάνην τοῖς πολλοῖς παραδίδωσι, and compare ἀλήθεια and θρησκεία ἢ εἰς τὸν ἕνα καὶ πάντων δεσπότην, at the opening of the treatise.

(24) *Ibidem*. Καὶ δι’ ὀλίγων νομῆν πονηρίας ἔσχον οἱ πολλοί, ἀμαυρούμενοι τῇ εἰς τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἄτρεπτον γνώσει ὀχλικῆ συνθηεῖα. “Et per paucos contagio nequitiae ad multitudinem pervenit,

cognitione, quam de eo quod certum et immutabile est obtinebat, per popularem consuetudinem obscurata" (Otto).

This is not a credible Greek. Read instead: Καὶ δι' ὀλίγων (αιτίαν) νομῆν πονηρίας ἔσχον οἱ πολλοί, ἀμαυρούμενοι τὴν εἰς τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἄτρεπτον (ὄνομα) (ἐπί)γνωσιν ὀχλικῆ συνηθεία. The word ἐπίγνωσις recurs at the beginning of the treatise, εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας. What is more important, the author refers to the Judeo-Christian God as "the true and immutable name" in the closing sentence of the treatise (c. 6, p. 156 Otto): Ἀσπάζεσθαι γὰρ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄτρεπτον ὄνομα. Compare also the expression preceding our sentence, τὸ μόνω τῷ ὄντως θεῷ πρέπον ὄνομα. In so doing, the author is probably following Philo. Compare τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα at Philo *Legat.* 366; John 17:3; 1 *Thess.* 1:9; 1 John 5:20; Clement *Paedag.* 1. 14. 5; *Strom.* 4. 90. 2; τὸ ἄτρεπτον ὄνομα: Philo *De mutat. nom.* 175; *De somniis* 1. 232; 2. 221; *De Cherubim* 19; *Leg. alleg.* 2. 33.

(25) *Idem* 2 (p. 132 Otto). Ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλήμων, τὰ ἀρχαῖα εὐπορήσας φράσαι, κοινωνεῖ τῇ περὶ τῶν ὄντων γνώσει, ὡς γράφει·

Θεὸν δὲ ποῖον, εἰπέ μοι, νομιστέον;  
Τὸν πάνθ' ὀρώντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὀρώμενον.

"Sed etiam Philemon . . . a veri cognitione alienus non est, pro eo atque scribit" (Otto). This is a Jewish *Pseudepigraphon* (Trag. Fr. Adesp. 622 Kannicht-Snell; cf. ad Fr. 617-24 and A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca* [Leiden 1970], p. 163 c). As such, the fragment does not speak of τὰ ὄντα, but about the Jewish God. Consequently, read: κοινωνεῖ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γνώσει, ὡς γράφει· "Θεὸν δὲ ποῖον . . ."

This is confirmed by Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the same two lines as deriving from Euripides (*Protr.* 68. 3), while appending the following commentary: οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἄκοντες μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν [sc. Greek poets and philosophers] ἕνα τε εἶναι θεὸν . . ., ὄντως ὄντα αἰί. Cf. also *De monarchia* c. 1 ὁ ὄντως θεός.

(26) *Idem* 3 (p. 138 Otto). The end of another Jewish *Pseudepigraphon*, attributed by our author to Philemon, and by Clement (*Strom.* 5. 121. 1) to Diphilus (Fr. 246 Kock; p. 169 g Denis), reads in the two manuscripts of *De monarchia* (Parisinus gr. 450 A.D. 1363, and Argentoratensis gr. 9, saec. XIII-XIV, perished in the fire of 1870) as follows:

Μηδὲν πλανηθῆς· ἔστι κἀν Ἄιδου κρίσις,  
ἦν περ ποιήσει θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης,  
οὗ τοῦνομα φοβερὸν οὐδ' ἂν ὀνομάσαιμ' ἐγώ.  
Καὶ Εὐριπίδης·  
Ἄφθονον βίου μῆκος δίδωσι πρὸς κρίσιν.

“Οστις δὲ θνητῶν οἶται . . .

Clement offers instead: οὐδ’ ἂν ὀνομάσαιμι ἐγώ· ἢ ὅς τοις ἀμαρτάνουσι πρὸς μῆκος βίου ἢ δίδωσιν. ἢ Εἴ τις δὲ θνητῶν οἶται . . .

Both texts are corrupt. In Pseudo-Justin, the quotation from Euripides begins with “Οστις δὲ θνητῶν (Fr. 835 N.), and the preceding text should read as follows:

οὐ τοῦνομα φοβερὸν οὐδ’ ἂν ὀνομάσαιμι ἐγώ·

(ὅς τοις ἀμαρτάνουσι) ἄφθονον βίου

μῆκος δίδωσι πρὸς κρίσιν . . .

Καὶ Εὐριπίδης·

“Οστις δὲ θνητῶν οἶται . . .

(27) *Idem* 6 (p. 154 Otto). Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώμης σύνεσιν ἀγαπώσης· ἐπαναδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς συζυγίας κοινωνίαν καὶ προσάψαι ἑαυτὸν συνέσει εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰρεῖσθαι τε τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων ἐκλογὴν (κατὰ τὸ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον αὐτεξούσιον), μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς ἡγουμένους τῶν ὄλων δεσπότας . . .

Pseudo-Justin closes his treatise with the same idea he had advanced at the very opening of *De monarchia* (a kind of *Ringcomposition*): 1 (p. 126 Otto) Τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὴν συζυγίαν συνέσεως καὶ σωτηρίας λαβούσης εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας θρησκείας τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ἕνα καὶ πάντων δεσπότην (ἄσκησιν addidi) . . . In our sentence, we hear that man is endowed with free will and can choose between the true God and the false gods of the Greeks. But such a choice is not expressed by μὴ τοὺς. Consequently, read: αἰρεῖσθαι τε τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων ἐκλογὴν . . . ἢ (ἀσπάζεσθαι) τοὺς ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς ἡγουμένους τῶν ὄλων δεσπότας, and compare the closing sentence of the treatise: Ἀσπάζεσθαι γὰρ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄτρεπτον ὄνομα (i.e., the true God).

(28) *Ibidem*. Ἀσκληπιὸς (δὲ) καὶ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Χείρωνι τῷ Κενταύρῳ ἰᾶσθαι διδάσκονται, τὸ καινότερον παρὰ ἀνθρώπῳ θεοί. “Aesculapius et Apollo apud Chironem Centaurum mederi discunt, quod maxime novum est: apud hominem dii” (Otto).

Read: διδάσκονται, (καὶ διὰ) τὸ καινότερον παρὰ ἀνθρώπῳ θεοί (ἡγοῦνται). Compare the expression, τοὺς ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς ἡγουμένους τῶν ὄλων δεσπότας, in the preceding sentence, and Athenagoras, *Legatio* 30. 1 τοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ [sc. κληθῆναι θεοῦς], ὡς Ἀσκληπιόν; Cicero *De natura deorum* 2. 62 *Suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentis viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent . . . hinc Aesculapius . . .*

(29) *Ibidem*. Εἰ γὰρ τις μὴ μαθὼν τὰς περὶ τὰ λεγόμενα θείας πράξεις μιμήσαιτο, κἂν ἐπὶ τῶν κιβδήλων ἀλλότριος βίου καὶ

ἀνθρωπότητος λογισθείη· γνοὺς δέ τις εὐλογον ἔξει τὴν τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀποφυγὴν, οὐ παρανομίαν δεικνύων τὴν τῶν θεϊκῶν τολμημάτων μίμησιν. “Si quis enim in iis de quibus dictum est deorum actiones quum [eas] non noverit imitetur, secundum ipsa facinora inhonesta ab omni more vivendi humanitateque alienus existimetur . . .” (Otto).

Evidently, Otto is sailing troubled waters. Read instead: Εἰ γὰρ τις μὴ μαθὼν τὰς περὶ τὰ λεγόμενα (ὀνόματα) θείας πράξεις μιμήσαιο, κἄν ἐπὶ τῶν (ἐλασσόνων) κιβδήλων ἀλλότριος (ἄν) βίου καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λογισθείη. “For if somebody, not knowing of the divine misdeeds linked to the (divine) names mentioned earlier, would repeat them, even at lesser transgressions (than those committed by the Greek gods) he would be deemed alien to the accepted conduct and humanity.”

“The divine names” recurs in the next sentence: Εἰ δ’ ἄρα τις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιμέμψαιο, ἀνέλη καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γνωσθέντα ὀνόματα. As for the words, τὰ κίβδηλα, their sense is most probably, “*vetita*, prohibited actions, trespasses.” Compare Theodoretus *Quaest. 27 in Lev.* (P.G. 80, 377 A) [*Lev.* 19:19; *Deut.* 22:11] “Ὅτι γὰρ οὐ τὸ ἱμάτιον κίβδηλον λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν . . .

(30) Pseudo-Justin, *Oratio ad Graecos* 1 (p. 634. 21 ed. Adolf Harnack, *SB Akademie Berlin*, 1896 [Erster Halbband], 627–46). Ταῦτα παιδεύεσθαι οὐ θέλω· οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιδικάζομαι, ἵνα τοῖς Ὁμήρου μύθοις πειθῶμαι. Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ῥαψῳδία, Ἰλιάδος τε καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, γυνή.

This is nonsensical. Helen is the cause of the events described in Homeric poems, thus read: Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ῥαψῳδία(ς αἰτία) . . . γυνή.

(31) *Idem* 3 (p. 635. 25 Harnack). Τὸν γὰρ τριέσπερον Ἄλκ(ε)ίδην, (τὸν) τῶν ἀγῶνων ἡγήτορα, τὸν δι’ ἀνδρείαν ἀδόκονον, τὸν τοῦ Διὸς υἱόν, ὃς βριαρὸν κατέπεφνε λέοντα, καὶ πολύκρανον ὤλεσεν ὕδραν, ὃν δ’ ἄγριον ὁ νεκρῶσας, ὄρνιθας δ’ ἀνδροβόρους ἵπταμένας καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς, καὶ κύνα τρικάρηνον ἐξ Ἄιδου (ὁ) ἀναγαγόν . . . — ὁ τὰ τσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα δρᾶσαι δυνηθείς, ὡς νήπιος ὑπὸ Σατύρων κατακυμβαλισθείς, καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικείου ἔρωτος ἠττηθείς ὑπὸ Λυδῆς γελώσης κατὰ γλουτῶν τυπτόμενος ἦδετο, καὶ τέλος τὸν (Ν)έσσ(ε)ιον χιτῶνα ἀποδύσασθαι μὴ δυνηθείς, πυρὰν καθ’ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ποιήσας τέλος ἔλαβε τοῦ βίου.

There are two small lacunae in this long passage. The first one is after the word ὕδραν, the second one after the word κατακυμβαλισθείς. Consequently, read: Τὸν γὰρ τριέσπερον Ἄλκ(ε)ίδην . . ., ὃς βριαρὸν κατέπεφνε λέοντα, καὶ πολύκρανον ὤλεσεν ὕδραν ( e.g. τί μοι λέγειν;) Ἐν δ’ ἄγριον ὁ νεκρῶσας . . ., while comparing the end of the chapter (Τὰ δὲ Οἰδίποδος κέντρα τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν;), and: ὡς νήπιος

ὑπὸ Σατύρων κατακυμβαλισθεῖς (e.g. κατεπλάγη), καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικείου ἔρωτος ἠττηθεῖς . . . τυπτόμενος ἦδετο, καὶ τέλος . . . πυρὰν καθ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ποιήσας τέλος ἔλαβε τοῦ βίου.

(32) *Ibidem* (p. 636. 4). . . . ταύρους δὲ καὶ ἔλαφον (ὁ) ἀνελῶν, ὧν μὲξωτῆρες ἔπνεον πῦρ . . . Heracles subdued only one Cretan bull, and the hind of Ceryneia did not breathe out fire, but the Thessalian horses of Diomedes did. Thus read: ταῦρον δὲ καὶ ἔλαφον (ὁ) ἀνελῶν (καὶ ἵππους), ὧν μὲξωτῆρες ἔπνεον πῦρ, and compare Eurip. *Alc.* 493 Εἰ μὴ γε πῦρ πνέουσι [sc. the horses of Diomedes] μυκτῆρων ἄπο; *Herc. Fur.* 380–88; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 8; Diodor. 4. 15. 3–4; Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 25; Qu. Smyrn. *Posthomer.* 6. 245–48; Io. Tzetzes *Chiliad.* 2. 302–11; Ovid *Met.* 9. 196; Hygin. *Fab.* 30. 9.

(33) *Ibidem* (p. 636. 7). Καὶ (ὁ) ὄρη πηδήσας [sc. Heracles], ἵνα λάβῃ ὕδωρ ἔναρθρον φωνῆν ἀποδιδόν, ὡς λόγος. Complementing and correcting what I had said in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, N.S. 24 (1973) 501–02, our author is dealing with Heracles' discovery of the prophesying spring of Castalia. Compare Panyassis ap. Paus. 10. 8. 9: Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεποιηκῶς ἐς Ἑρακλέα ἔπη θυγατέρα Ἀχελώφου τὴν Κασταλίαν φησὶν εἶναι· λέγει γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἑρακλέους·

Παρνησσὸν νιφόνετα θεοῖς διὰ ποσσὶ περήσας  
ἵκετο Κασταλίας Ἀχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ.

Plut. *Maxime cum principibus* 776 D: καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεινὸς ἦν περὶ ζήτησιν ὑδάτων καὶ συναγωγῆν, ὡσπερ ἱστοροῦσι τὸν Ἑρακλέα . . . ; Paus. 2. 32. 4; Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 30 . . . ἢ πηγῆς μαντικῆς, οἷα ἡ Κασταλία ἐστίν; Nonnus *Dionys.* 4. 309–10; Ovid *Amor.* 1. 15. 35–36; *Suda*, s.v. Κασταλία; RE 10 (1917) 2338.

(34) *Ibidem* (p. 636. 14). Ἐπεὶ οὖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ ὑμῶν ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἠλέγχθησαν, ἄνανδροι δὲ οἱ ἥρωες ὑμῶν, ὡς αἱ παρ' ὑμῖν δραματουργοὶ ἱστορίαι ἐδήλωσαν. \* [lacunam statuit Harnack] τὰ μὲν Ἀτρέως ἄγη θυέστου (τε) λέχη καὶ Πελοπιδῶν μύση καὶ Δαναὸν φθόνῳ φονεύοντα καὶ ἀτεκνοῦντα μεμεθυσμένον, καὶ τὰ Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, (ἄ add. H. Stephanus, 1592) Ἐρινύες ἤρτυον.

Improving upon what I said in *JTS* (1973) 502, I would now read: Ἐπεὶ οὖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἀκρασίας ἠλέγχθησαν, ἄνανδροι δὲ οἱ ἥρωες ὑμῶν, (e.g. οὐ διάφοροι δὴ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμῶν), ὡς αἱ παρ' ὑμῖν δραματουργοὶ ἱστορίαι ἐδήλωσαν. Τὰ μὲν (γὰρ) Ἀτρέως ἄγη (εἰσήγαγον, καὶ τὰ) Θυέστου λέχη καὶ Πελοπιδῶν μύση, καὶ Δαναὸν φθόνῳ φονεύοντα, καὶ (Αἴγυπτον suppl. Stephanus) ἀτεκνοῦντα μεμεθυσμένον, καὶ τὰ Θυέστεια δεῖπνα. . .

For the supplement, οἱ βασιλεῖς (after οἱ θεοὶ and οἱ ἥρωες) compare the Christian contrast, 5 (p. 637. 6): "Ἐλθετε λοιπόν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, . . . καὶ θεῖω λόγῳ παιδεύθητε, καὶ μάθετε βασιλέα ἄφθαρτον, καὶ τοὺς τούτου ἥρωας ἐπίγνωτε . . . The expression, καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτεκνοῦντα μεμεθυσμένον, most probably means, "and Aegyptus, bereft of his sons and stupefied with grief." Compare Nonnus *Dionys.* 6. 31; 28. 211; 36. 79; Oppian. *Hal.* 5. 228; *Cyneg.* 4. 204; Theocrit. 22. 98 (and Gow ad loc.); *Odyssey* 18. 240.

(35) *Idem* 4 (p. 636. 28). Τί ἀγανακτεῖς, "Ἕλλην ὦν, πρὸς τὸ τέκνον σου, εἰ τὸν Δία μιμούμενος ἐπιβουλεύει σοι; Καὶ εἴ τι(ς) σου τὸν γάμον σεσύληκε, τί τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν ἡγήῃ, τὸν δὲ ὅμοιον αὐτῷ σέβῃ;

Obviously we should read: τὸν δὲ (Δία) ὅμοιον αὐτῷ σέβῃ; as it is witnessed by the Syriac version (cod. Nitriacus Mus. Brit. Add. 14658, p. 41; ed W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London 1855, p. 66. 19: "And if somebody commits adultery with your wife, why do you regard him as an enemy, while (at the same time) you pray to and worship *the Lord of the gods*, who is like him?" (my translation).

(36) *Idem*, *Syriac Version* 3 (p. 41 N; p. 67. 1 Cureton; p. 632 D. Baethgen ap. Harnack, *SB Akademie Berlin*, 1896): "Let the Athenians set *Socrates* free! For no one like *Cronus* is close to him. Let them not put *Orestes*, who killed his own mother, to death!"

*Socrates* is guilty of no cannibalism, but *Thyestes* is. Thus read *Thyestes* for *Socrates*, and compare the presence of the cannibal *Cronus* in the context. A little bit later, the same scribe writes *Orestes* for *Atreus*, and *Philippus* for the *Pelopids*.

(37) Prosper od Aquitaine, *De providentia Dei* [ca. A.D. 416] 7-9 (ed. M. P. McHugh, *The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies*, Vol. 98, Washington 1964):

Ac si te fracti perstringunt vulnera mundi,  
turbatumque una si rate fert pelagus,  
invictum deceat studiis servare vigorem.

What is the point of the poet being carried over a troubled sea in a *single* bark? And to take *una* for an adverb ("at the same time") would be equally weak in sense. Read *ima* dor *una*, and translate: "Even if you are stricken with the wounds of a shattered world, or the hold of a boat carries you over a troubled sea, still you should keep your strength undaunted by your studies." Compare *Vulgate Jonas* 1:5 *et Jonas descendit ad interiora navis*; *Itala Acta* 16:24 *misit eos in ima carceris*; Prudentius *Peristephanon* 5. 241 *imo ergastulo*; Verg. *Aen.* 1. 84 *e sedibus imis* = Silius 8. 197 *et saepius*.

(38) *Idem* 53–56:

Nulla sacerdotes reverentia nominis almi  
 discrevit miseri suppliciiis populi:  
 sic duris caesi flagris, sic igne perusti,  
 inclusae vinclis sic gemuere manus.

Hands cannot groan, but priests can. Read *inclusas*, and translate: “they were equally bemoaning their fettered hands.” Compare Verg. *Georg.* 3. 226–27; Silius 17. 483; Statius *Theb.* 9. 767; 12.285.

(39) *Idem* 269–71:

. . . audiat a primis distare parentibus actum  
 per delicta genus, multa et rubugine morum  
 corrupti exiguum semen superesse vigoris.

Read: *corruptum exigui semen superesse vigoris*, and translate: “. . . let me tell him that the human race today is very distant from our first parents [Adam and Eve], being driven through so many sins, and that only a seed of poor strength had survived, corrupt by the moral turpitude.” Compare Prosper *De ingratis* 485–86 *insit | semine damnato genitis in corpore mortis*.

(40) *Idem* 335–40. Read the lines in this order:

335 Cumque nefas placitum toto persisteret orbe,  
 nec nisi diluvio deleri crimina possent,  
 337 sola Noë servata domus: quae, libera cladis,  
 340 illaesa mundo pereunte superfuit arca,  
 338 conclusis paribus spirantum de genere omni,  
 339 unde forent vacuis reparanda animalia terris.

*Conclusis paribus* etc. (“in which pairs of living creatures of every kind were enclosed”) cannot come before the mention of the ark itself. (v. 340 *arca*).

(41) *Idem* 849–52:

Nec enim mala mors est  
 ulla bonis: quibus e vario longoque labore  
 quilibet in requiem patet exitus. Aspera vitam  
 dat via, nec campo capitur, sed fine corona.

The end of the passage reads, “The rough road gives life, and the crown is not taken in the field, but is the prize at the end” (McHugh). But this contradicts the poet’s point, “For there is no evil death for good men . . . any exit leading to the eternal rest is good enough to them!” Consequently,



read: *nam campo capitur, non fine corona* (“for the heavenly crown is won not by the kind of death but in the open field”), and compare v. 604–05:

. . . sed ut superas caperemus in illis,  
*hic decertato virtutis agone, coronas.*

v. 912 *et cupidus victo certamine solvi*; *Doctrina apostol.* 6. 5 Schlecht: *per haec sancta certamina pervenire ad coronam*; Cassiodor. *Instit. div.* 32: *in agone sanguinis . . . positae . . . coronae.*

(42) *Idem* 887–88:

*Iam quos peccantes Deus arguit, hos etiam nunc  
 diligit et patrio vult emendare flagello.*

Read *nam* for *iam*, and compare *etiam nunc*.

(43) *Idem* 906–07: *Hunc pecus abductum, domus ustae potaque vina |  
 afficiunt . . . —Versus claudicat.* Read: *domus usta epotaque vina.*

*University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana*



## Some Ancient Notions of Boredom

PETER TOOHEY

There is no need to apologise for a discussion of ancient concepts of boredom. Through fifteen hundred years of Western culture the notion of boredom has been a vital one. Ranging from dark age and medieval monastic *acedia*, from the "English disease" of the seventeenth, eighteenth centuries and the French Enlightenment, from the *mal de siècle* of nineteenth century Europe, to the "nausea" and alienation of twentieth century existentialists and Marxists, the concept has had a long and powerful history.<sup>1</sup> It is a history, furthermore, of literary and sociological significance. (As much felt, that is, as written about.) The topic did not have the same importance for the ancients as it does for moderns. Yet there are references to the concept in ancient literature. These provide the justification for my paper.

In spite of its ubiquity the notion of boredom—in ancient or modern literature—is very hard to pin down. The meaning seems to shift with the centuries and, even within these centuries, to shift according to the sensibility and the age of the person using it. It is, however, a notion which most eras take for granted. Definitions, therefore, must come first. The concept of boredom cannot be isolated in ancient contexts unless we are sure of that to which we are referring. Here are some of the definitions which are currently in use.<sup>2</sup> The bulk of these are, because of the obvious danger of anachronism, inapplicable to the ancient world. Thoroughness, however, demands at least a partial listing.

1. A sense of boredom or simple tedium may be the result of, say, being shut up too long. It is also the case that people can be as "boring" as situations. In people an excess of long-windedness, for example, or an unwillingness to vary a long practised routine is often described as "boring."

<sup>1</sup> See Kuhn's book cited in Note 2 and M. Bouchez, *L'ennui: de Sénèque à Moravia* (Paris 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Some of these definitions may be found in R. Kuhn's *The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature* (Princeton 1976) 3–13.

(A "bore," of course, may also be a person who is judged socially inept or socially inferior.)

2. Kuhn describes a state which he terms *horror loci*.<sup>3</sup> Typically this state of mind is seen in a rich man who hurries to his country house only to become bored with this. He then hurries quickly back to his city house where the same thing happens all over again. This state of restless dissatisfaction does not necessarily imply the more "spiritual" conditions described below. Indeed it may indicate nothing more than a low tolerance to boredom of the type described above.

3. There is another type of boredom, sometimes described as a spiritual boredom or ennui, which can infect a whole life. In some cases *horror loci* could be seen as a manifestation of this condition. This type of emotion is perhaps more familiar from the literature of the nineteenth century where it was termed the *mal de siècle*. It has had a sort of an afterlife in the conditions suffered by Roquentin in Sartre's *La Nausée* or by Mersault in Camus' *La Peste*, or by Dino, the protagonist of Moravia's *La Noia*. Such conditions are surely related to alienation in the Marxian sense—reification as it is sometimes called. This is the sort of thing which an assembly line worker may suffer.<sup>4</sup>

4. There is also depression.<sup>5</sup> In the psychological sense depression (or, as Aristotle termed it, melancholy) can resemble boredom or ennui. But they are not really the same thing. The ancients and the moderns view depression as an illness and do not confuse it with boredom. Spleen, the "English Disease" prevalent in eighteenth century England and in the French Enlightenment, is perhaps more readily identifiable with depression. So too is *acedia*, the monkish "demon of noontide," that destructive sense of depression so feared by the medieval cleric. Depression and melancholy, since they are to be distinguished from boredom, are not to be the subject of this paper.

Such a listing, as is obvious, is procrustean and exclusive. (Where, it might be queried, is Durkheim's anomie? Can simple boredom not result from depression?) Yet without some attempt at the categorisation of the emotion of boredom any attempt to discuss its ancient manifestations is

<sup>3</sup> See Kuhn, *op. cit.* in Note 2, 23. Kuhn does not state whence the term is derived. It seems to resemble such "English" Latin as *horror vacui* (on which see the entry in the *OED*) for which it could be a rough sort of antonym. The condition, at least in ancient literature, is alluded to more than once. Kuhn's term, which I will use henceforth, seems to me to be as good as any other.

<sup>4</sup> The "bored housewife" syndrome is probably irrelevant here. Kuhn (*op. cit.* in Note 2, 7) links this to a type of sense deprivation: "unconscious goals, aspirations and ideals . . . are maintained in this state of boredom, but the ability to reach them is interfered with by the repression of these goals and the rejection of substitutes that all seem inadequate."

<sup>5</sup> For histories of which see R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (London 1964), and Stanley W. Jackson, *Melancholy and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven 1986). Worth consulting in a more general sense is Bennett Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1978).

doomed. In the following pages some of the contexts in which boredom is alluded to will be discussed. The intention is to determine in what ways, if any, such contexts mirror the conceptualisations of the emotion which are reproduced above.

Perhaps at the very outset a list of the ancient terms used to describe boredom is in order. Their location in a text will help to focus the discussion. In Greek there is ἄλυσ and its verbal forms ἀλύω, ἀλυσθαίνω, ἀλύσσω, ἀλυστάζω etc., and nouns (and their verbal forms) such as ἀπάθεια, ἀκηδία,<sup>6</sup> ἀπληστία, ἄση, κόρος, πλησμονή or, in some contexts, verbal forms such as ἀνιάω, ἐνοχλέω or τρυφάω. In Latin there are words such as *taedium* and related forms, *fastidium* and related terms, *otium*, *satietas* and related forms, *vacare*, *fatigo*, *defatigo*, *defetiscor* etc., *torpor* and related forms, *languidus* and related terms, *desidia*, *inertia*, *ineptia*, *piget* and related forms, *hebes* and related forms, *obtundo*, *molestus*, *odiosus*, *odium*, *vexo* and so on. The list could be extended, but, as is probably obvious, most of these terms are mere approximations.<sup>7</sup> They do allow, however, a few conclusions to be drawn. The term used to describe "boredom" in Greek is not at all common and, with the sense of "boredom," is late. *Taedium* is the best of the Latin terms, but it lacks concision. Its lexical ambit is far wider than the English "boredom" (or, for that matter, terms in modern languages such as *l'ennui*, *la noia* or *Langweile*). Speaking lexically, therefore, the ancient notion of boredom was not a precise one. But this observation needs to be tested against the ancient descriptions.

In Greek of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, references to boredom are very hard to find. They are, furthermore, conjectural. Here is a fairly typical example. It is from Plato, *Symposium* 173c, and occurs soon after the beginning of the dialogue. After stating that he knows of nothing which gives him greater pleasure than discussing philosophy, Apollodorus continues to say: . . . τοὺς ὑμετέρους τοὺς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ χρηματιστικῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἄχθομαι ὑμᾶς τε τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐλεῶ, ὅτι οἴεσθ' ἔτι ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες.

Dover<sup>8</sup> interprets the use of the word ἄχθομαι in this context as "bored." This is doubtless correct, but it remains an interpretation: "wearyed" or even "annoyed" might have done. Notice too that Dover's imputed sense of "being bored" here is comparable only to the simple emotion described as number one above. It would be incredible to maintain that Greeks did not feel such an emotion.

<sup>6</sup> I doubt that this word can be satisfactorily included within this list, notwithstanding the famous medieval sense. The sole example which may be relevant is Cic. *ad Att.* 12. 45. For the problems associated with the word in this context see Shackleton-Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, vol. 5 (Cambridge 1966) 337-38.

<sup>7</sup> In some contexts yawning might denote boredom. One could add to the list, therefore, χάσκω in Greek, and in Latin *oscito*, *oscitatio* and *hio*.

<sup>8</sup> In his *Plato: Symposium* (Oxford 1980) 79.

In Pindar (and frequently in oratorical literature) a fear is expressed that a lengthy text may induce in the listener the emotion of κόρος. At first sight the word may seem to imply boredom. Closer examination will show that, as with Plato, such an assumption is conjectural. Here from Pindar, *Pythian* 1. 81–83, is a typical reference to this fear:<sup>9</sup>

καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξατο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις  
 ἐν βραχεῖ, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-  
 πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει  
 αἰανῆς ταχείας ἐλπίδας·

What is the state of mind referred to here? Does "satiety" entail "boredom" or "weariness?"<sup>10</sup> Or could it even entail, as Burton<sup>11</sup> maintains, "some sort of offensive action." The κόρος may be the product of excessive long-windedness, which may produce weariness. Or such fulsome praise may rouse the envy of the audience and thus bring hostility against the addressee. In other contexts the result of κόρος may be the weakening of the force of the speaker's argument (defence, accusation, request etc.).<sup>12</sup> It is not easy to decide which emotion is being appealed to. All three emotions may be referred to. The point, however, is that in Pindar (and in later contexts) the emotion is not made precise. Having only words upon which to make deductions one must conclude that the imprecise labelling meant, as far as boredom is concerned, an imprecise perception of the emotion. Pindar and the orators, therefore, offer no help.

Two other passages which may profitably be compared are *Iliad* 24. 403 and Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 804–08. Both passages are instructive in a negative way. Both describe situations which, on first reading, seem to allude to boredom. Indeed, boredom might be expected in such situations. Yet, on closer reading, neither context mentions the emotion. This may well indicate the regard in which this mental state was held. In the former Hermes, pretending to be one of Achilles' Myrmidons, is speaking to Priam. He states that the Achaeans will begin fighting the Trojans at dawn.

<sup>9</sup> Other examples may be seen at *Pythian* 8. 32, at *Nemeans* 7. 52 and 10. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Eur. *Med.* 245 offers an analogous instance but uses the word ἄση. Medea is in the midst of her great monologue on the role of women in Greek society:

ἀνὴρ δ', ὅταν τοῖς ἐνδον ἄχθηται ξυνών,  
 ἔξω μολῶν ἔπαυσε καρδίαν ἄσης.

Whether ἄση refers to "satiety," "weariness" or plain "boredom" is impossible to say. (Notice too the use of ἄχθομαι).

<sup>11</sup> See Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962) 107: "The risk of κόρος is always present in his thoughts: it is not merely a passive state of mind in an audience but a positive emotion that may issue in some sort of offensive action." On the rhetorical force of κόρος see E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica, UCPCP*, 18 (1962) 13, 40, 74 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The *topos* had a long history. Compare, from amongst the many possible examples, Isocrates, *Panegy.* 7; Ovid, *Pont.* 3. 7. 3; Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 100. 11; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 8. 6. 14; 10. 1. 31 and Rutilius Namatianus, *de red.* 2. 3. This rhetorical *topos* never clearly distinguishes between boredom, weariness and offence.

They have had enough of waiting (ἀσχαλώσι γὰρ οἶδε καθήμενοι). Their leaders can no longer restrain them. One might have expected Hermes to express some notion of boredom here—it might be expected to be implicit in καθήμενοι. Yet ἀσχαλώσι is a precise word. It demonstrates that the soldiers were not “bored,” but vexed at having to wait. We might have preferred them to be bored. In the passage from the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Achilles has just come on stage and addresses the chorus. He asks for Agamemnon and seems to complain about the delays they are enduring, bottled up at Aulis. These are his words:

οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ μένομεν Εὐρίπου πέλας.  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν ὄντες ἄζυγες γάμων  
οἴκους ἐρήμους ἐκλιπόντες ἐνθάδε  
θάσσουσ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὐνίδας  
καὶ παῖδας.

The key words are θάσσουσ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς, which are occasionally interpreted as referring to the boredom of being bottled up. Yet, on closer examination, this does not seem to be what Euripides is saying. The soldiers may be sitting by the shore; but their attitude is likely to be one of impatience to get on with the war and to get back to their deserted homes which will need their care. Boredom, in both passages, seems latent in the descriptions. Yet this is not what was really chosen for emphasis.<sup>13</sup>

Recourse to the dictionary listed occurrences of ἄλυσ or ἀλύω casts no doubt upon the suspicion that for Greeks of this period boredom was a neglected emotion. The *LSJ* offers two early uses of the word where the meaning seems to be “boredom” or “ennui.”<sup>14</sup> The first comes from the Epicurean philosopher Metrodorus.<sup>15</sup> Metrodorus links the verb ἀλύω with the words ἐπὶ τῶν συμποσίων. The context is fragmentary but Metrodorus seems to be referring to the tedium which can be induced by a bad drinking party. Lacking a context it is difficult to state anything with confidence. Yet here it seems not unreasonable to interpret the reference to boredom as being of the simple type. Zeno, as reported by Clement of Alexandria (von Arnim, *SVF* i, p. 58), uses the word in a manner which may be appropriate to simple boredom, or so suggests the *LSJ*. To judge from the following lines it may be better to gloss the word ἄλυσ as “annoyance”: ἀπέστω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν μυροπωλίων καὶ χρυσοχοεῖων καὶ ἐριοπωλίων ἄλυσ καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαστηρίων, ἔνθα ἐταιρικῶς κεκοσμημένοι, ὡσπερ (αἱ) ἐπὶ τέγουσ καθεζόμεναι, διημερεύουσι.

Taken on their own the passages and contexts discussed above can prove nothing. The knowledge, however, that the contemporary term for boredom

<sup>13</sup> Compare Plutarch, *Eumenes* 11—which is discussed below. Here Plutarch makes much of the boredom suffered not just by the cooped up soldiers, but also by the cooped up animals.

<sup>14</sup> Epicurus (fr. 496) may refer to the emotion, if not use the term ἄλυσ. See Note 34 below.

<sup>15</sup> Papyrus Herculaneensis, 831. 13, ed. A. Körte.

was rarely used, and that the mental state was rarely described or alluded to, does allow us to note a tendency to ignore the emotion. Perhaps judging it trivial, Greeks of these periods did not dignify it with frequent reference.<sup>16</sup>

For the first unequivocal description of boredom we have to wait for Lucretius. Lucretius *DRN*, 3. 1053–75<sup>17</sup> is a famous passage. Its depiction of the anxious, bored lives of the Roman rich<sup>18</sup> was imitated later by Horace and by Seneca. Lucretius' ennui-ridden individual tires of being at home, goes out, returns again dissatisfied; he hurries from his city house to his country home to escape the sense of anxiety and ennui only to find the same experience awaiting him in the country. The key lines are *DRN*, 3. 1060–67:

exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,  
esse domi quem pertaesumst, subitoque <revertit>,  
quippe foris nilo melius qui sentiat esse.  
currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter,  
auxilium tectis quasi ferre ardentibus instans;  
oscitat extemplo, tetigit cum limina villae,  
aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit,  
aut etiam properans urbem petit atque revisit.

Lucretius seems to blame the unsettled emotions of his wealthy Roman on a fear of death.<sup>19</sup> Presumably Lucretius means that the desire for a change of place of habitation reflects a hope that novelty will assuage or distract the fear of death. That *horror loci* is being described is manifest. That boredom is at issue is made obvious by the use of the words *oscitat*.

Lucretius' diagnosis of the cause of *horror loci* is doubly interesting. It may demonstrate his unwillingness to accept that such a simple emotion as boredom could cause such havoc in a life. Thus it may reinforce the suspicion that boredom was not a state taken very seriously in the ancient world. Furthermore Lucretius *DRN*, 1053–75, being such a confident portrait, suggests that the emotional state of his wealthy man was not uncommon. Bailey<sup>20</sup> remarks that "boredom and restlessness were a

<sup>16</sup> Arist., *Ach.* 30 has Dicaeopolis, as he waits for the assembly to convene, listing a series of discomforts. Amongst the words appears the perfect tense of χᾶσκω·

στένω κέχηνα σκορδινῶμαι πέρδομαι,  
ἀπορῶ γράφω παρατίλλομαι λογίζομαι.

It seems to me most probable that this is a reference to boredom (cf. ἀπορῶ).

<sup>17</sup> According to Klibansky, *op. cit.* in Note 5, 356, in the tract on melancholy of Agrippa of Nettesheim, Lucretius is said to be a melancholic (as are Hesiod, Ion, Tynnichus of Chalcis and Homer.) The assertion is unprovable. However, it makes more sense than the assertion of Kuhn, *op. cit.* in Note 2, 25 ff., that Lucretius was subject to ennui.

<sup>18</sup> Their probable wealth is stressed by Kenney, *Lucretius, De rerum natura: Book III* (Cambridge 1971) 239.

<sup>19</sup> So Bailey, *Titi Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex* (Oxford 1947) vol. 2, 1171, and Kenney, *op. cit.* in Note 18, 239.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* in Note 19, vol. 2, 1171.



characteristic of Roman life at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.” Whence he drew this information I am unsure—though doubtless his observation is correct in spite of the paucity of contemporary evidence. Yet the passage must point to its prevalence. It deserves to be noted, however, that in spite of the probable prevalence of this type of emotion, Roman literature of this and later periods makes few references to the emotion.<sup>21</sup> That in itself is surely significant. The Roman valuation matches that of the Greeks. The experience may have been another matter.

At this point attention must be directed backwards, chronologically speaking, to an important relic of one of Ennius' plays, the *otium* fragment from the *Iphigenia*. From an historical point of view this fragment ought to have been treated before Lucretius, antedating the *DRN* as it does by well over one hundred years. Its imputed purpose, a description of *horror loci*, is simpler to judge when viewed in the light of Lucretius' unequivocal description.<sup>22</sup> The sense of v. 199–202 of this fragment may point to the type of emotion whose symptoms Lucretius inveighs against in the Roman rich. The fragment (XCIX, v. 195–202 in Jocelyn) follows:

otio qui nescit uti  
 plus negoti habet quam cum est negotium in negotio.  
 nam cui quod agat institutum est †in illis† negotium,  
 id agit, <id> studet, ibi mentem atque animum delectat suum;  
 †otioso initio† animus nescit quid velit.  
 hoc idem est: em neque domi nunc nos nec militiae sumus.  
 imus huc, hinc illuc; cum illuc ventum est, ire illinc lubet.  
 incerte errat animus, praeter propter vitam vivitur.

*Otium* could conceivably be interpreted here as boredom—although the use is doubtless punning. The chorus of soldiers may be telling us that *otium* (“ease”) can quickly become “boring” or “wearying” (*otiosum*). Thus it is with them. They go here and there (like Lucretius' rich man) but cannot settle (*incerte errat animus*) nor derive satisfaction from life (*praeter propter vitam vivitur*). It needs to be observed, however, that the manuscript readings are crucial. Jocelyn's text,<sup>23</sup> reproducing the *codices*, tends to remove the sense of “boredom” by reproducing the less comprehensible reading *otioso initio* rather than Lipsius' widely accepted *otioso in otio*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> As a rhetorical demonstration of this point we could point, for example, to Cicero's letters of 59, say, *Att.* 6. 9 and 11, which do not mention or describe boredom. One might have expected them to. Similarly one might have expected Ovid in Tomis to be consumed by the emotion. Yet his *Epistulae ex Ponto* contain no such references (cf. *Ex Ponto* 1. 5. 8, 43–44; 3. 4. 57).

<sup>22</sup> Farquharson in his *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus* (Oxford 1944) vol. 2, 514, implies the link between this passage and Lucretius.

<sup>23</sup> Which is the one reproduced here: *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge 1967) 112 and 333 ff.

<sup>24</sup> On this fragment and *otium* see J. -M. André, *Recherches sur l'otium romain* (Paris 1962), and, more generally, *L'otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine* (Paris 1966). See too

As read above the fragment seems to have more to do with laziness (a "lazy beginning?") or indecisiveness than with boredom. When one makes a lazy start, the fragment could be saying, one does not know where one is. Begin indecisively then things continue that way and a task becomes laborious.<sup>25</sup> The chorus of soldiers could be referring, therefore, not to any sense of *horror loci* (which seems unlikely in their occupation) but to the indecisiveness which has overtaken them due to poor initiation and direction.<sup>26</sup> It is doubtful, therefore, that this fragment offers any assistance in pinning down Roman notions of boredom.

Horace, perhaps unlike Ennius, seems to reflect Lucretius' description of *horror loci*.<sup>27</sup> In Stoic or Epicurean contexts such as *Satires* 2. 7. 28–29, in *Epistles* 1. 8. 12; 1. 11. 27 and 1. 14 Horace inveighs against the victims (himself included) of this type of ennui. *Satire* 2. 7 reports a dialogue between Horace and one of his slaves, Davus. Taking advantage of the freedom of speech allowed slaves during the Saturnalia, Davus upbraids his master for philosophical pusillanimity. The basic notion of the poem is that only the wise man is free. Davus the slave is in fact the true free man, while free Horace is in reality a slave. One of Davus' demonstrations of Horace's lack of freedom hinges upon *horror loci*: this is expressed in v. 28–29. Like Lucretius' wealthy man, Horace is unable to find contentment in either the city or the country.

Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem  
tollis ad astra levis.

The emotion, not perhaps as acute as that described by Lucretius, is none the less of the same order. In *Epistles* 1. 14 it is Horace giving the advice, this time to his *vilicus*, who longs for the excitements of the city life which he has willingly abandoned for the farm. The dissatisfactions which Horace's slave feels are a type of *horror loci* and are comparable to those denounced by Davus in *Satires* 2. 7. Note also that the solution to the problem of the *vilicus*, according to Horace, is hard work. The implication

Jocelyn, *op. cit.* in Note 23, and O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 157–65 (a reprint of his *Rh.M.* 96 [1953] 193 ff. article.)

<sup>25</sup> The reading *otioso initio* is defended by R. J. Baker, "Well begun, half done: *otium* at Catullus 51. 13 and Ennius, *Iphigenia*," forthcoming. Baker interprets the phrase as an ablative of attendant circumstances and cites Cic. *de leg.* 3. 37 (*hoc populo* etc.) as a comparable construction. The reading does produce a scanable half line (the first two metra of this trochaic septenarius are comprised of two trochees followed by two anapaests) provided one allows hiatus between *initio* and *animus*.

<sup>26</sup> Exactly the same point could be made of the use of *otium* in the final stanza of Catullus 51. Here indecisiveness or laziness could have been the trouble rather than boredom. (See R. J. Baker, "Propertius' Monobiblos and Catullus 51," *Rh.M.* 124 [1981] 312–24.) If one accepts Lipsius' emendation, however, it is a different matter. Horace, *Odes* 2. 16, seems to refer neither to boredom, laziness nor indecisiveness. See Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 211 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See Kenney, *op. cit.* in Note 18, 241.

is that the emotion is normal and doubtless afflicts many. Horace does not suggest that it is a result of a fear of death.

*Epistles* 1. 11, addressed to a Bullatius, who was travelling abroad and, the poem seems to suggest, who was prone to the disorder described in *DRN* 3. 1053–75, again uses the image of *horror loci*. Like *Epistles* 1. 8, which will be discussed shortly, this poem presents Bullatius' problems as symptomatic of a larger problem. V. 25–30 summarise:

... nam si ratio et prudentia curas,  
non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,  
caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.  
strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque  
quadrigis petimus bene vivere. quod petis hic est,  
est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

The (*strenua*) *inertia* —a synonym for *taedium*—is certainly a form of boredom, but one whose consequences are most apparent in *horror loci*.<sup>28</sup> The solution to the problem is the exercise of *ratio* and *prudentia* and the resultant possession of an *aequus animus*. The cure is philosophical. It needs to be stressed that Horace's opinion of *horror loci* seems to differ from that of Lucretius. The incessant desire for change, which this emotion reflects, is symptomatic for Lucretius of a deeper malaise, the fear of death. Novelty distracts one from the fear, whilst sameness is inclined to encourage it. Horace does not appear to see anything so sinister in *horror loci*. For him it is a typical human emotion which can be cured by common sense and hard work.

*Epistles* 1. 8. 11–12 seems to continue the idea. Here it is Horace describing himself:

quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;  
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.

In this short poem, however, Horace's inability to be content with his lot is the result not so much of a lack of philosophical conviction as of his own psychology. In v. 9–10 he describes himself as locked into a perverse frame of mind which generates the *horror loci*:

fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,  
cur me funesto properent arcere veterno.

Whether Horace's condition is better characterised as *ennui* or depression (melancholy) is a moot point.<sup>29</sup> I believe that it is melancholy, not *ennui*.

<sup>28</sup> The notion is also picked up in *Odes* 2. 16. 18–20: *quid terras alio calentis / sole mutamus? patriae quis exsul / se quoque fugit?*

<sup>29</sup> Klibansky, *op. cit.* in Note 5, 50, reports Rufus of Ephesus, who wrote not much later than Horace, as describing a melancholic as "bloated and swarthy; plagued by all manner of desires, depressed . . . ; cowardly and misanthropic; generally sad without cause, but sometimes immoderately cheerful; given over to various eccentricities, phobias and obsessions." Is this

What is important is that the emotion (here termed metaphorically as *veternus*)<sup>30</sup> has been complicated and expanded to the point that it has become almost spiritual. The condition, alternatively, is close to that of the seventeenth century melancholy, spleen, or to that of the nineteenth century ennui. As in so many instances, however, no clear-cut reference to boredom is apparent.

In Seneca's writings the notion of boredom appears frequently. Its range of connotations is broad and seems to stretch from simple boredom to a type of boredom which reflects that described by Horace in *Epistles* 1. 8. Boredom can become so all-pervasive as to sour one's whole approach to life. Similarly broad is Seneca's use of the key term *taedium*: the word can mean anything from "disgust" or "weariness" through simple boredom to full-blown ennui. Seneca's perception of the emotion, speaking textually, represents something new.

Simple boredom is referred to, for example, at *Nat. Quaest.* 4 A. Praef. 2, and at *Ep. Mor.* 40. 3. 6 and 70. 3. 7. The latter pair may be cited as representative. Speaking of a style of speech which is too slow Seneca suggests that the "boredom" (or "weariness") caused by halting speech induces an audience to lose interest: *nam illa quoque inopia et exilitas minus intentum auditorem habet taedio interruptae tarditatis*. . . . In the second passage, *Ep. Mor.* 70. 3. 7, Seneca is using a nautical metaphor. He contrasts the reactions of sailors to slow and to speedy voyages. Sailors trapped into the first type of passage are wearied by the boredom induced by the windlessness: *alium enim, ut scis, venti segnes ludunt ac detinent et tranquillitatis lentissimae taedio lassant, alium pertinax flatus celerrime perfert*. Notice that the term used here for boredom is *taedium*.<sup>31</sup> Such a use of the word *taedium* is clearly linked to its common use meaning "weariness" or "disgust."<sup>32</sup>

Seneca repeats some of the notions of *horror loci* which are familiar from Lucretius and Horace. One could cite, above all, *Ep. Mor.* 28, which refers specifically to Horace, *Epist.* 1. 11. 27, and expands, Stoic fashion, on this notion throughout the letter. The opening couple of sentences of the letter are indicative of the theme of the whole: *hoc tibi soli putas accidisse et admiraris quasi rem novam, quod peregrinatione tam longa et tot locorum varietatibus non discussisti tristiam gravitatemque mentis?*

Horace? Ross S. Kilpatrick, *The Poetry of Friendship: Horace, Epistles I* (Edmonton 1986) 38-39 argues that Horace is the victim of melancholy.

<sup>30</sup> Kiessling-Heinze, begging the question, compare ἀκηδία in Cic. *ad Att.* 12. 45, on which see Note 6 above.

<sup>31</sup> The *OLD* (s.v. *taedium*) allows the meaning "ennui" for *taedium* only when it stands without the genitive. This seems to me to be unnecessarily prescriptive. This is especially so in the case of the second of the two citations above. A meaning "boredom" seems as apposite.

<sup>32</sup> See amongst others, *Ep. Mor.* 56. 9. 5; 59. 15. 8; 100. 11. 5; *de ira* 3. 1. 5. 6, or *de beneficiis* 2. 5. 2. 7; 2. 11. 6. 2; 6. 16. 6. 2 or 7. 2. 4. 2.

*animum debes mutare, non caelum . . .* The theme is repeated with variations in *ad Helv.* 12. 3. 4, where Seneca refers to the extremes to which the rich will go to avoid *taedium*. In this case they vary their bored lives by imitating the poor: *nec tantum condicio illos temporum aut locorum inopia pauperibus exaequat; sumunt quosdam dies, cum iam illos divitiarum taedium cepit, quibus humi cenent et remoto auro argentoque fictilibus utantur.*<sup>33</sup> Somewhat the same theme is repeated in *Ep. Mor.* 18. 7. 3, where the rich are seen to attempt to escape *taedium* through luxury. Seneca, though a professed Stoic, seems to have more in common with Lucretius than Horace. In *Ep. Mor.* 28 the cause of *horror loci* is seen to be a fear of death. Novelty can distract from this fear, but the real cure rests in the eradication of fear through philosophy.

Boredom (or *taedium* as Seneca usually terms it) can spoil a whole life. Seneca seems fully conversant with the emotions described by Horace in *Epistles* 1. 8 and with the larger problems indicated by Lucretius' *horror loci*. The invasive *taedium* which produced the *horror loci* outlined above is one example. The emotion outlined in *Ep. Mor.* 24 seems stronger again. It can be so powerful as to lead to suicide. The passage (*Ep. Mor.* 24. 26), though lengthy, requires quotation in full.

Quosdam subit eadem faciendi vivendique satietas et vitae non odium sed fastidium, in quod prolabimur ipsa inpellente philosophia, dum dicimus: "Quousque eadem? Nempe expergiscar dormiam, <edam> esuriam, algebo aestuabo. Nullius rei finis est, sed in orbem nexa sunt omnia, fugiunt ac sequuntur. Diem nox premit, dies noctem, aestas in autumnum desinit, autumnus hiemps instat, quae vere conpescitur: omnia sic transeunt ut revertantur. Nihil novi facio, nihil novi video: fit aliquando et huius rei nausia." Multi sunt qui non acerbum iudicent vivere, sed supervacuum.

(Notice that in this passage the word *taedium* does not appear. It is replaced by *satietas*, *fastidium* and, most remarkably, by *nausia*).<sup>34</sup> Seneca's portrait of boredom has taken the pervasive, souring but limited emotion of Lucretius and Horace to its logical extreme. *Horror loci* has become so severe that it influences all portions of life. The victim is left with but one alternative: *multi sunt qui non acerbum iudicent vivere, sed supervacuum*. This can only be suicide.

<sup>33</sup> Compare *Ep. Mor.* 100. 6 and Martial 3. 48.

<sup>34</sup> The term *taedium* is used earlier in the letter (24. 22): *Obiurgat Epicurus non minus eos, qui mortem concupiscunt, quam eos, qui timent, et ait: "Ridiculum est currere ad mortem taedio vitae, cum genere vitae, ut currendum ad mortem esset, effeceris."* The sense is the same. The quotation is reproduced by Usener, *Epicurea* (repr. Rome 1966) as fr. 496 of Epicurus' remains. It would be useful to know what Epicurus said and to have a context. This might alter the conclusions concerning the earlier Greek conceptions of the emotion. As it stands, Seneca may be guilty of distortion.

Before leaving Seneca perhaps some mention should be made of the fascinating dialogue *de tranquillitate animi*.<sup>35</sup> The dialogue is addressed to a young Annaeus Serenus, who complains of a condition which, at the outset of the dialogue, seems to resemble at times melancholia at times boredom. Soon afterwards (I. 4) the emphasis of the dialogue shifts from the physiological to the moral. Serenus complains that he is unable to choose between a life of luxury and a life of frugality, between a public and a private life, and so on. In spite of frequent references to *taedium vitae* and *displicentia sui*<sup>36</sup> the thrust of the dialogue is to diagnose and to correct this state of mental equivocation and to replace it with a state of philosophical tranquillity. The concern of the dialogue is only tangentially with boredom.

It is, after Seneca, Plutarch who provides the most useful set of references to the notion of boredom.<sup>37</sup> To judge from the occurrences of the word ἄλυσ, he preserves part of the range of the meanings evident in Seneca. There are in Plutarch several references to the simple form of boredom.<sup>38</sup> *Eumenes* II. 3 provides the clearest example. In this passage the effect of the close confinement of besieged forces is described and Eumenes' attempts to alleviate the feeling of ἄλυσ which was taking hold of the soldiers. The crucial clause is this: . . . οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλυν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπραξίας μαραινόμενων ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . Here boredom is the result above all of inactivity (ἀπραξία). Like *taedium* the word also may have the sense of "distress" (see *Brut.* 5) or even "depression" (see *Mar.* 78). As far as I can see, however, there are no common references in Plutarch to *horror loci*.

Perhaps the most startling reference to boredom occurs in *Pyrrhus* 13. Pyrrhus, after becoming regent of Epeirus and later of Macedonia, withdrew from the latter possession in disappointment at the disloyalty of his subjects. It was in description of this point of his life that Plutarch makes his reference to "boredom." The passage deserves quoting in full:

Τότε δ' οὖν εἰς Ἡπειρον ἐκπεσόντι τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ προεμένῳ Μακεδονίαν ἢ μὲν τύχη παρεῖχε χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπραγμόνως καὶ ζῆν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, βασιλεύοντι τῶν οἰκείων· ὁ δὲ τὸ μὴ παρέχειν ἑτέροις κακὰ μὴδ' ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἄλυν τινὰ ναυτιώδη νομίζων, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν σχολήν . .

Boredom—to the point of nausea—did not allow Pyrrhus to enjoy his retirement. He was only content, according to Plutarch, when doing or receiving mischief. To alleviate the boredom Pyrrhus launched himself on a new round of military activities at the end of which he lost his life.

<sup>35</sup> Kuhn, *op. cit.* in Note 2, 31, insists incorrectly that the concern of this dialogue is ennui. See too Griffin, *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford 1976) 322.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, 2. 6. 2; 2. 10. 2; 2. 11. 4; 3. 1. 1; 3. 6. 2 and 17. 3. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Other instances, but scattered ones, exist. See, for example, *Martial* 12. 82. 14, which refers to the boring importunities of a man seeking a dinner invitation.

<sup>38</sup> Amongst others one could cite *Eum.* 11, *Ant.* 51, *Pyrrh.* 16, *Tim.* 14 and *Rom.* 5.

Boredom, therefore, and its avoidance is seen as the motivating force in Pyrrhus' life. Whether or not Pyrrhus is telling us historical truth is irrelevant—nor do we have any means of ascertaining the state of Pyrrhus' psychology. What is vital is Plutarch's perception of the emotion. Boredom, like the *mal de siècle*, has become a spiritual malady and is seen as capable of devouring a whole life.

The century following Plutarch, as expected, provides further references to boredom. There is, for example, Diogenes of Oenoanda (fr. 25 Chilton) referring to the fickle and bored manner in which passers-by read his work. Or Aelian (*Varia Historia* 14. 12) singling out the king of Persia who, to avoid boredom when travelling, kept a knife and a piece of linden wood for whittling. Farquharson, the editor of Marcus Aurelius, argues for the presence of a reference to ennui, precisely *horror loci*, in 2. 7 of the *Meditations*.<sup>39</sup> The passage is as follows:

Περὶσπᾶι τί σε τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα; καὶ σχολὴν παρέχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσημανθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι καὶ παῦσαι ῥεμβόμενος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν περιφορὰν φυλακτέον· ληροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ πράξεων οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες σκοπόν, ἐφ' ὃν πᾶσαν ὀρμὴν καὶ καθάπαξ φαντασίαν ἀπευθύνουσιν.

The expression οἱ κεκμηκότες τῷ βίῳ may indeed be a very condensed way for describing the aimless Roman aristocrat. The expression, however, does not allow of easy interpretation. It may well refer to a spiritual ennui. That it may also refer to *horror loci* is uncertain.

As a topic worthy of serious consideration boredom must wait for the fourth century, the next period of great cultural revival. Reference in this period, however, has inexorably been altered by Christianity. The focus, through the work of men such as the Christian mystic Evagrius or of St. John Chrysostomos, is now on the deadly sin of *acedia*, the depressed condition which led anchorites to despair of god.<sup>40</sup> It has been indicated previously that *acedia* may better be considered as depression. But demonstration of this point is beyond the scope of this paper.

There are several conclusions which may be drawn from this brief survey. The first and most obvious is that the ancients were subject to boredom. But there are qualifications which need to be made to this assertion. Greek literature down to the Hellenistic period lacks reference to anything more than the simplest form of boredom. Indeed the word boredom only seems to appear in the fourth century. Serious or unequivocal consideration of boredom begins in the first century B.C. in Rome, but here it is limited to the less complex form of *horror loci*. It is in the first and second centuries A.D. that a spiritual form of boredom is first referred to. This is apparent in the works of Seneca and then Plutarch. Boredom in

<sup>39</sup> Farquharson, *op. cit.* in Note 22, vol. 2, 514.

<sup>40</sup> The most recent discussion of this topic is contained in Jackson, *op. cit.* in Note 5, 46–77.

Seneca is seen as an emotion which effects not only sporadically but can spread to influence one's every waking action. It can become a spiritual disease. Plutarch, to judge from his life of Pyrrhus, was quite familiar with the concept. In Seneca and Plutarch, therefore, there seems to be the beginnings of the modern concepts of the emotion. Why the early empire should mark the inception of such an emotion is another question.

*University of New England at Armidale,  
New South Wales, Australia*



## Eucheria's Adynata

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH AND ARISTOULA GEORGIADOU

I<sup>1</sup>*A. L.* 390 Riese = 386 Shackleton Bailey reads:

Aurea concordi quae fulgent fila metallo  
 setarum cumulis consociare volo;  
 Sericeum tegmen, gemmantia texta Laconum  
 4 pellibus hircinis aequiperanda loquor.  
 Nobilis horribili iungatur purpura burrae;  
 nectatur plumbo fulgida gemma gravi.  
 Sit captiva sui nunc margarita nitoris  
 8 et clausa obscuro fulgeat in chalybe.  
 Lingonico pariter claudatur in aere smaragdus;  
 conpar silicibus nunc hyacinthus eat.  
 Rupibus atque molis similis dicatur iaspis.  
 12 Eligat infernum iam modo luna chaos.  
 Nunc etiam urticis mandemus lilia iungi,  
 purpureamque rosam dira cicuta premat.  
 Nunc simul optemus despectis piscibus ergo  
 16 delicias magni nullificare freti:  
 auratam craxantus amet, saxatilis anguem,  
 limacem pariter nunc sibi tructa petat.  
 Altaque iungatur vili cum vulpe leaena,  
 20 perspicuam lyncem simius accipiat.  
 Iungatur nunc cerva asino, nunc tigris onagro,  
 iungatur fesso concita damma bovi.  
 Nectareum vitient nunc lasera tetra rosatum,  
 24 mellaque cum fellis sint modo mixta malis.  
 Gemmantem sociemus aquam luteumque barathrum,  
 stercoribus mixtus fons eat inriguus.

<sup>1</sup> Part I is by M. Marcovich, part II by A. Georgiadou.

28 Praepes funereo cum vulture ludat hirundo,  
cum bubone gravi nunc philomela sonet.  
Tristis perspicua sit cum perdice cavannus,  
iunctaque cum corvo pulchra columba cubet.

32 Haec monstra incertis mutant sibi tempora fatis:  
rusticus et servus sic petat Eucheriam.

3 texta *Heinsius* : tecta *codd.* | 5 burrae *codd.* : byrro *coniecit Vollmer* | 13–14 *respicit A. L. c. 729. 5–6* | 15 *despectis Monacensis 22227, Meyer* : *despectus cett.* | 16 *dilicias Parisini 8071 et 8440* : *diuitias Valencensis 387* | 17 *craxantus Parisinus 8440* : *crassantus cett.* | 21 *respicit A. L. c. 729. 7* | 23 *lasera Ducange* : *lausera codd.* | 26 *mixtus Marcovich* : *mixtis codd.* | 31 *hic versus a Iuliano Toletano citatur (Anecd. Helv. ed. Hagen: Gramm. Lat. Suppl. p. CCXXXI. 6)* | 32 *sic codd.* : *si Shackleton Bailey*

The threads of gold, shining with the glitter of the concordant metal, I want to put together with the heaps of bristles; a silken garment, a Spartan cloak wrought with gems, I want to put on the same level with goatskins. Let a noble purple tunic be attached to an awful shaggy rag. (6) Let a shining gem be affixed to a piece of heavy lead. Let now a pearl be deprived of its luster, let it shine being shut in the darkness of a box made of steel. Similarly, let a smaragd gem be hidden in a box made of Lingonic copper; let a hyacinth gem pass for a match to a pebble stone. Let a jasper stone be likened to a piece of rock, to a millstone. (12) Let the moon prefer to abide in the hellish chaos.

(13) Let us now order the lilies to join the nettle in company; let the ill-omened hemlock embrace the crimson rose. (15) In the same vein, let us now disdain the fish and engage in vilifying the precious gifts of the deep see: let a toad fall in love with a gilthead, a rock bass with a snake; and let a trout woo a snail. (19) Let now the noble lioness be united in love with the base fox; let the monkey take in marriage the pretty lynx. Also let a hind be united in love with a donkey, a tigress with a wild ass, the nimble doe with the sluggish bull.

(23) Let now the loathsome asafetida spoil the rose wine sweet as nectar; let the honey be mixed with the terrible gall. Let us pour together the crystal clear water taken from a spring and the muddy water taken from a pit; let the irriguous fountain flow down while being mixed with dung. (27) Let the swift swallow play with the ill-fated vulture; let the nightingale sing together with the grievous horned owl. Let the somber night owl join the pretty partridge in love, let the beautiful dove lie down in love with the raven.

(31) Let all these beasts exchange their way of life for an uncertain fate: then only may a countryman, and a servant to that, come to woo Eucheria.

Apparently, Eucheria's striking but playful elegy has escaped the attention of scholars. Back in 1891, Max Manitius suggested that the poetess might have been the wife of the poet Dynamius from Marseille, a friend of Venantius Fortunatus (second half of the sixth century).<sup>2</sup> In his turn, Franz Skutsch (in 1907) was unable to give a more favorable verdict about Eucheria's poem than this one: "Die Form ist teils gesucht teils plump."<sup>3</sup> The poem, however, must have been known enough in late antiquity to allow an anonymous poet from *Latin Anthology* (No. 729) to imitate it,<sup>4</sup> while Julian, the archbishop of Toledo (642–690), found line 31 of the poem worthwhile quoting in his *Grammar*.

I think the poem deserves a closer look for at least three reasons. First, apparently this is the longest extant catalogue of *adynata* in the entire Latin poetry: no less than twenty-seven *adynata* are comprised in fifteen elegiac couplets (1–30).<sup>5</sup> That leaves Licentius (end of the fourth century) as a distant second (with a list of eleven *adynata*),<sup>6</sup> and the anonymous poet of No. 440 from *Latin Anthology* as a third (with a list of nine *adynata*). Second, Eucheria's poem displays a carefully conceived design. For one thing, the reader is left in suspense about the reason for such a huge catalogue of *adynata*, and will learn the *fiat applicatio* only in the closing

<sup>2</sup>Max Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1891) 471 f.

<sup>3</sup>RE VI (1907), 882. 19, s.v. *Eucheria*.

<sup>4</sup>A. L. No. 729 Riese is a clear imitation of Eucheria's poem (sure borrowings are italicized):

#### RESPONSUM PUELLAE

	Conspicua primum specie quam fata bearunt, desine pompifero tu violare toro.	
	Absit ut albiplumem valeat calcare <i>columbam</i>	[cf. v.30]
4	inter tot niveas rustica <i>milvus</i> avis.	[cf. v.27]
	Nec rubeis <i>cardus</i> succrescat iure <i>rosotis</i> ,	[cf. v.14]
	<i>lilia</i> nec campis vana <i>cicuta</i> premat.	[cf. v.13]
	Nec miser eximiae <i>cervae</i> <i>iungatur</i> <i>asellus</i> ,	[cf. v.21]
8	quem stimulis crebris sarcina saeva domat.	

<sup>5</sup>On the figure of *adynaton* compare Ernest Dutoit, *Le thème de l'adynaton dans la poésie antique* (Thèse Fribourg, Suisse [Paris 1936] (Eucheria's catalogue is not mentioned on p. 163); H. V. Canter, "The Figure ἀδύνατον in Greek and Latin Poetry," *AJP* 51 (1930) 32–41 (Eucheria's poem is mentioned on p. 37); J. Demling, *De poetarum Latinorum ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύνατον comparationibus* (Würzburg 1898) [not available to me].

<sup>6</sup>Licentius 93–102 ap. Augustine *Epist.* XXVI (p. 92 f. ed. Goldbacher). Compare Claudian *Paneg. dictus Probino et Olybrio coss.* (l). 169–73, and Levy, in *RE* XIII (1926) 205 f., s.v. *Licentius*.

line, and the name of the poetess in the last word of the poem (32). Finally, Eucheria's lexicon seems to be of importance.

(1) *Adynata*. The richness and variety of Eucheria's *adynata* are unparalleled, as may be seen from the following synopsis.

- |       |                            |  |
|-------|----------------------------|--|
| I.    | <i>Clothing</i>            | (1) aurea fila : setarum cumuli (1-2)                          |
|       |                            | (2) Sericeum tegmen/gemmantia texta :<br>pelles hircinae (3-4) |
|       |                            | (3) purpura : burra (5)  |
| II.   | <i>Precious<br/>stones</i> | (4) gemma : plumbum (6)  |
|       |                            | (5) margarita : chalybs (7-8)                                  |
|       |                            | (6) smaragdus : aes Lingonicum (9)                             |
|       |                            | (7) hyacinthus : silex (10)                                    |
|       |                            | (8) iaspis : rupes/mola (11)                                   |
| III.  | <i>Astronomy</i>           | (9) luna : chaos (12)  |
| IV.   | <i>Flowers</i>             | (10) lilia : urticae (13)                                      |
|       |                            | (11) rosa : cicuta (14)  |
| V.    | <i>Fish</i>                | (12) aurata : craxantus (17)                                   |
|       |                            | (13) saxatilis : anguis (17)                                   |
|       |                            | (14) tructa : limax (18)                                       |
| VI.   | <i>Beasts</i>              | (15) leaena : vulpes (19)                                      |
|       |                            | (16) lynx : simius (20)  |
|       |                            | (17) cerva : asinus (21)                                       |
|       |                            | (18) tigris : onagrus (21)                                     |
|       |                            | (19) damma : bos (22)  |
| VII.  | <i>Liquids</i>             | (20) rosatum : laser (23)                                      |
|       |                            | (21) mel : fel (24)  |
|       |                            | (22) aqua gemmans : barathrum (25)                             |
|       |                            | (23) fons inriguus : stercora (26)                             |
| VIII. | <i>Birds</i>               | (24) hirundo : vultur (27)                                     |
|       |                            | (25) philomela : bubo (28)                                     |
|       |                            | (26) perdix : cavannus (29)                                    |
|       |                            | (27) columba : corvus (30)                                     |

If we now ask: What was the source of inspiration for Eucheria in composing her long catalogue of *adynata*, my answer would be: (1) most probably, the poetess did not use one single source, but rather is combining motifs deriving from many different sources. (2) While being inspired by the traditional *adynata*, she is producing new examples of her own, displaying imagination and inventiveness. This suggestion seems to be in accord both with Skutsch's remark (o.c., 882. 27), "doch kann ich ein bestimmtes Vorbild nicht angeben," and with the fact that *exact parallels* to the example of our list are not easy to find (I was able so to do only for

motifs Nos. 9 and 25). Now, I think we can see Eucheria's method at work. Here are a few examples.

Motif No. 9, "Moon residing in Hades instead of in heaven" (12, *eligat infernum iam modo luna chaos*). Most probably, it is part of this traditional *adynaton*: Eurip. Fr. 687. 2 f. N.<sup>2</sup>, πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω | γῆς εἶσιν ἄστρα; Verg. *Aen.* 12. 205, *caelumque in Tartara solvat* | ; Seneca *Octavia* 222 f., *Iungentur ante . . . | . . . Tartaro tristi polus* | , et alibi. But the point is that Eucheria seems to combine this *adynaton* with the *magic* motif of *caelo . . . deducere lunam* (Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 69), worthy of a Thessalian witch.

Motifs Nos. 10 and 11 — the combinations, lilies and nettle, roses and hemlock — may well have been inspired by such *adynata* as, e.g., Theognis 537, Οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης (squill) ῥόδα φύεται οὐδ' ὑάκινθος; Theocritus 1. 132 f.:

Νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βάτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἄκανθοι,  
ἅ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι.

Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 52 f., *Nunc et . . . | . . . narcisso floreat alnus*. Take notice that with the same ease the imitator of Eucheria, A. L. No. 729 (quoted in note 4), was able to replace the couples of our lines 12–13, *lilia-urticae* and *rosa-cicuta*, with the couples, *cardus-rosetum* and *lilia-cicuta*, respectively (729. 5–6).

Motif No. 13—the marriage between a rock bass and a snake—may have been inspired by the classical marriage between a sea-eel (murena) and a viper: Pliny *N. H.* 9. 76 and 32. 14; Achill. Tat. *Leucippe et Clitophon* 1. 18. 3; Aelian. *N. A.* 1. 50 and 9. 66; Oppian. *Hal.* 1. 554 ff.; Basil of Caesarea *Homil. in Hexaem.* 7. 5.

Motif No. 18—the liaison between a tigress and a wild ass—may have been inspired by such *adynata* as, e.g., Horace *Epodes* 16. 31, . . . *mirus amor, iuuet ut tigris subsidere cervis*; Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 27, *iungentur iam grypes equis*.

Motif No. 25—a singing contest between the nightingale and the owl—finds its exact parallel both in Theocritus 1. 136, κῆξ ὀρέων τοι σκῶπες ἀηδόσι δηρίσαιντο, and in Calpurnius *Ecl.* 6. 8, *vocalem superet et dirus aedona bubo*. Only that this time Vergil and Lucretius have done what our Eucheria seems to be doing throughout her poem—Vergil, by replacing the contestants *nightingale* and *owl* with the couple *swan* and *owl* (*Ecl.* 8. 55, *certent et cynnis ululae*), Lucretius, by replacing them with *swallow* and *swan* instead (3. 6 f., *quid enim contendat hirundo | cynnis?*).

Finally, motif No. 27—the marriage between a dove and a raven—may have been inspired by Horace, *Epodes* 16. 32, *adulteretur et columba milvo*.<sup>7</sup> Incidentally, the imitator of Eucheria (A. L. No. 729. 3–4) replaced *raven*

<sup>7</sup> Compare Lucretius 3. 752, . . . *accipiter fugiens veniente columba*.

with *kite* (*milvus*), as if recognizing Eucheria's source of inspiration—Horace.

In conclusion, the learned poetess Eucheria seems to have collected her *adynata* from different sources, while at the same time engaging in heavy improvisation.

(2) *Design*. It is not difficult to see why Eucheria is selecting the traditional *adynata* and creating her own ones. To suit her own purpose—to demonstrate the absurdity of a *marriage* between the noble *lioness* Eucheria (19, *altaque . . . leaena*) and a common, poor peasant (32, *rusticus et servus*).<sup>8</sup> Now, the unity of her design is reflected in the following three devices.

First, in the fact that verbs implying, "to be united in marriage," reverberate throughout the poem: *iungatur* (5, 19, 21, 22); *iungi* (13); *iuncta* (20); *nectatur* (6); *amet* (17); *petat* ("to woo, to ask in marriage," 18 and 32); *accipiat* ("to take in marriage," 20); finally, *cubet* (30).

Second, in such obvious allusions to the rustic way of life of a common countryman as are: "bristles" (2); "skingoats" (4); "a terrible shaggy rag" (*burra*, 5); "millstone" (11); "nettle" (13); "the base fox" (19); "monkey" (20); "donkey" (21); "bull" (22); "the mud of a pit" (25); "dung" (26); finally, "raven" (30). Now, from the positive opposite of each given couple it is not difficult to see how high Eucheria values herself—opening with gold, silk, purple garments and precious stones, and closing with *pulchra columba* (30). The identity of "the beautiful dove" is unmistakable.

Third, in the postponement of the very reason for the presence of such a long catalogue of *adynata* to the last line of the poem (32)—*rusticus et servus sic petat Eucheriam* (echoing *petat* of line 18). Such a device may be paralleled, for example, by Licentius (*supra*, note 6), where the *fiat applicatio* appears in the last, eleventh, line of a catalogue consisting of eleven *adynata*: (92), *Ante sub Aegeo aptabunt pia tecta palumbes* | . . . , (98), | *ante . . .*, (100), | *ante . . .*, (102), . . . *quam mihi post tergum veniant tua dona, magister* |. Or by A. L. No. 440 (*De bono quietae vitae*), where the reason for a list of nine *adynata* appears only in the last, sixth, couplet: (1), | *Ante . . .*, (3), | *ante . . .*, (5), | *ante . . .*, (7) | *ante . . .*, (11) | . . . *quam mihi displiceat vitae fortuna quietae . . .* Therefore, it is quite possible that Eucheria was following such a model from late antiquity in keeping her surprise for the closing line of the poem.

<sup>8</sup>What the expression of line 32, *rusticus et servus*, socially implies, is not clear enough to me. I have translated vaguely, "a countryman, and a servant to that." For hardly would a *colonus* and *serf* dare to come and ask the noble lioness Eucheria in marriage. I guess the suitor Eucheria has in mind is a *common and poor but free farmer*. The imitator of Eucheria (A. L. No. 729. 4) seems to allude to this rustic wooer by employing the metaphor, *rustica . . . avis*. Skutsch's suggestion (o.c., 882. 13), "Auch die Werbung des *servus rusticus* ist wohl am besten aus gallisch-germanischen Verhältnissen zu verstehen," remains enigmatic to me. Can a medievalist help us elucidate the term, *rusticus et servus*?

Still, the idea of "an impossible marriage union" is absent in our late sources to serve as a reason for the poetess to introduce such a long list of *adynata*. Consequently, I would suggest that Vergil's eighth eclogue served as the most likely source of inspiration for Eucheria's poem:

26 *Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?  
Iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti  
cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae.*

52 *Nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea durae  
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,  
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae,  
certent et cygnis ululae . . .*

Eucheria seems to share with Vergil two elements. First, Nysa weds Mopsus—what a monstrous union! What may we lovers not expect now? Just as monstrous would be the marriage between the noble Eucheria and the *rusticus et servus* (32). And second, both impossible marriages evoke a catalogue of *adynata*. In addition, two of Vergil's *adynata*—"Now griffins may as well be mated with horses" and "Now let owls compete in song with swans!"—strongly resemble Eucheria's *adynata* Nos. 18 and 25.<sup>9</sup>

(3) *Lexicon*. There are three *hapax legomena* in Eucheria's poem: 3 *Sericeus*; 5 *burra*; 17 *craxantus*. While 1 *Sericeum* (for *Sericum*) seems to be a produce of metrical necessity (just as is the irregularity of 10, *silicibus*<sup>10</sup>), the other two words are not. Being opposed to a *nobilis purpura* (5), the horribilis *burra* is best understood as "a cheap shaggy or woolen piece of rustic clothing" befitting a peasant (32 *rusticus*). Walde-Hofmann (*L.E.W.*, s.v.) bring the word in connection with *reburrus*, "with bristling hair," or "with hair brushed up," "widerhaarig,"—a word known since Augustine,—and translate *burra* as "zottiges Gewand," "Wolle." That *burra* was a cheap rustic piece of garb is attested by its metaphorical sense in Ausonius 7. 1. 4 f. (*Ausonius Drepano filio*): *At nos inlepidum, rudem libellum, 1 burras, quisquilias ineptiasque . . .* | (compare German *Flaus* : *Flausen*).

*Craxantus* (17), or *crassantus*, "toad," is being brought into connection by Walde-Hofmann with proper names *Craxantus*, *Craxa*, *Craxanius*, and translated as "Kröte" (cf. *trucantus*).

Moving to the semantic peculiarities of Eucheria's lexicon, *captiva* (7) most probably means, "being deprived of," and is being employed with a

<sup>9</sup> Skutsch (o.c., 882. 26) refers to the *adynata* at Vergil *Ecl.* 8. 27 f., but misses the point by omitting the crucial line 26, *Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?*

<sup>10</sup> There is no need to change *silicibus* into *et silici*, as Heinsius had suggested; we have to live with metrical irregularities of Late Latin poetry.

*genitivus inopiae—sui nitoris*: compare *TLL* III. 375. 59 (= *priva* ?); 376. 28. — *Eat*, in lines 10 and 26, is employed in two different senses: “to pass for” (in 10), and “to flow down” (in 26). — The postponement of *ergo* (15) to the end of the line may be paralleled by Propertius 2. 32. 1; Ovid *Met.* 12. 106; Grattius *Cyneg.* 73 (cf. *TLL* V. 761. 62–72). — In line 17, *saxatilis* is rather *rock bass* than *rockfish*; and *anguis* rather a *land snake* than an *eel* (= *anguilla*, cf. Juvenal 5. 103; Pliny *N. H.* 29. 111). — *Perspicua* (*lynx*, in 20; *perdix*, in 29) does not mean, “bunt” (as Skutsch, o.c., 882. 22 has it), but rather “pretty, handsome, goodlooking.” Compare *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* Loewe–Goetz IV. 271. 35: *Perspicuus* = *splendidus, pulcher*, εὐπερίβλεπτος. — Judging by the contrasting juxtapositions of lines 5, *nobilis horribili*; 8, *obscuro fulgeat*; 27, *praepes funereo*; 29, *tristis perspicua*, we may assume that in the antithesis of line 22, *iungatur fesso concita damma bovi*, the qualifier *fessus* means rather, “sluggish,” than “weary, tired,” as being opposed to “the nimble doe.”<sup>11</sup> — In line 22, *vinum* is to be understood with *rosatum*: compare Greek ῥόδινον, ῥοδωτόν. — Finally, in line 25, the epithet, *gemmans* = *lucidus* (*TLL* VI. 1757. 73), “crystal clear,” as applied to water, can be easily paralleled (e.g., Silius 4. 350, *gemmanti gurgite*; Martial 9. 90. 2, *gemmantibus . . . rivis*). But its opposite, *luteum barathrum*, in the sense of, “a muddy well or pit,” looks strange. The best I can do is to refer to the Glossaries, which explain *barathrum* as *cenum, puteus, fossa, fovea* (*TLL* II. 1723. 51).

Speaking of Eucheria's lexicon, two words from her poem may help us in trying to determine an approximate date for our poetess—*tructa* (18), and *cavannus* (29). *Tructa* (= τρώκτης) appears first in Ambrose (*Hexameron* 5. 3. 7, *troctas*), then in Plinius Valerianus (sixth century) 5. 43, and in Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* 12. 6. 6). And *cavannus* = *noctua* occurs in *Itala* (Lugdun.), *Deut.* 14:15; *Schol. Bern.* ad Verg. *Buc.* 8. 55; Eucherius of Lyons (died ca. 455), *Instruct.* 2. 9 (p. 155. 25 Wotke); Damigeron *De lapidibus* 28 (sixth century); cf. *TLL* III. 624. 4–19. On the other hand, a positive *terminus ante quem* for our poem is provided by Julian of Toledo (seventh century), who quotes line 31. Consequently, most probably our Eucheria lived somewhere in the fifth or sixth century. That her residence was Gaul, is strongly indicated both by the Gallic word *cavannus*<sup>12</sup> (so Skutsch, o.c., 882. 6), and by the term, *Lingonicum aes* (9), probably hinting at the famous iron mines of Langres (so Manitius, o.c., 472).

<sup>11</sup> In addition to these examples of *antithesis*, Eucheria's poem abounds in examples of *alliteration*: 1 (*f*); 1–2 (*c*); 3 (*t*); 3–4 (*l*); 5 (*pur-* : *bur-*); 6 (*g*); 7 (*s*; *n*); 17 (*a*); 19 (*v*); 24 (*m*); 30 (*c*); 31 (*m*); 32 (*s*). *Versus Leonini* are present in lines 11; 16; 24; 26 (?); 31.

<sup>12</sup> French *chouan*; compare Meyer–Lübke, *R.E.W.*, s.v.



## II

Unlike the bulk of the poems with *adynata*, where this figure plays only an auxiliary role, in Eucheria's impressive elegy *adynata*—no less than twenty-seven of them—constitute the framework of the entire poetic construction.<sup>1</sup> As Professor Marcovich has pointed out, most probably Eucheria is reshaping the available traditional *adynata* so as to conform to the key idea of her poem—*mismatching*. Eucheria's originality, and even a certain exuberance, is best reflected in the way she adapts the traditional *adynata* to her specific purpose. A closer look at the *adynata* of the poem seems to reveal a deliberate effort, on the part of the poetess, to avoid repeating the stereotyped examples by experimenting with novel ideas and combinations.

Here are a few relevant examples and close parallels of the traditional, proverbial and standard *adynata* which I think may be useful in assessing Eucheria's innovations. In lines 1–5, the contrast between fine and rustic clothing has the obvious *social connotation* of *high vs. low, noble vs. common*. The proverb (Diogenian 7. 94, et alibi), Πίθηκος ἐν πορφύρα (ὅτι οἱ φαῦλοι, κᾶν καλὰ περιβάλονται, ὅμως οὐ λανθάνουσι πονηροὶ ὄντες), comes to mind (compare also Macarius 7. 12, Πίθηκος ὁ πίθηκος κᾶν χρυσᾶ ἔχη σάνδαλα).

The gap separating the *noble* from the *vulgar* is equally clearly implied by the five *adynata* of lines 6–11, dealing with gems and precious stones. Compare, for example, Lucian *Apology* 11, . . . εὐρήσεις . . . τοσοῦτον εἰκότας ἀλλήλοις τοὺς βίους, ὅσον μόλυβδος ἀργύρω καὶ χαλκὸς χρυσῷ καὶ ἀνεμώνη ρόδω καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ πίθηκος; Diog. Laert. 6. 65, Ἰδὼν [sc. Diogenes] εὐπρεπῆ νεανίσκον ἀπρεπῶς λαλοῦντα, “Οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ” ἔφη “ἔξ ἐλεφαντίνου κολεοῦ μολυβδίνην ἔλκων μάχαιραν;”; Aristaenetus *Epist.* 1, p. 142 Hercher, “Ἄλλως τε” φησὶ “Κυδίππην Ἀκοντίῳ συνάπτειν οὐ μόλυβδον ἂν συνεπιμίξειας ἀργύρω, ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ γάμος ἔσται χρυσοῦς”;<sup>2</sup> Plato *Sympos.* 219 a 1, χρυσέα χαλκείων.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, examples for an impossible *mating* between two different species of animals abound. Compare, e.g., Aristoph. *Pax* 1077, καὶ πῶς, ὦ κατάρατε, λύκος ποτ’ ἂν οἶν ὑμεναιοῖ; Horace *Odes* 1. 33. 7 f., . . .

<sup>1</sup> For the figure of *adynaton* as a dominating idea in a poem compare A. G. 5. 19 (2 *adynata*); 9. 575 (4 *adynata*); A. L. No. 729 Riese (4 *adynata*); No. 440 (9 *adynata*); App. Verg. *Dirae* 4–8; 15–24; 67–68; 72–74; 81–101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. A. Tsirimbis, *Platon* 2 (1950) 25–85, esp. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> The contrast between the lustrous pearl and a box made of steel, of lines 7–8, may be paralleled by Arnaut Daniel (XII–XIII century), *Poems* 14. 49 f.:

Ans er plus vils aurs non es fers

C’ Arnautz desam lieis ont es femanz necs.

(“Sooner will gold become cheaper than iron than will Arnaut cease to love the woman to whom he is secretly attached.”)

*sed prius Appulis ! iungentur capreae lupis . . . ; Seneca Phaedra 572, et ora dammis blanda praebebunt lupi; Paraphrase of Oppian's Hal. 4. 7, τὴν ἐρωτικὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς κίχλαις ὁ τρισάθλιος κόσσυφος . . . ; or the Modern Greek proverb, 'Ο κολιὸς (= fish κολίας) τὴν παλαμύδα ἀπ' ἀγάπην τὴν ἐπῆρε.<sup>4</sup>*

Finally, the impossible marriage between the noble Eucheria and a *rusticus et servus*, of the closing couplet of the poem, may be paralleled by this medieval couplet:

Rustice callose, cunctis populis odiose,  
vis tu formose te sociare rose?<sup>5</sup>

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. N. G. Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Παροιμίαι, I-IV*, (Athens 1899-1902) II, p. 72; R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs*, (Götterborg 1954), p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg 1912): Basel Codex 12 (IV century), No. 79, p. 86. — I am indebted to Dr. David Larmour for some valuable suggestions.

## Corippus and Ennius

BARRY BALDWIN

"Corippus in the sixth century could not possibly have known Ennius," pronounces Otto Skutsch in his recent edition (Oxford 1985) of the *Annals*<sup>1</sup> (p. 20), there implicitly decrying the "faint similarities" amassed by I. Cazzaniga.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently (p. 592), on some linguistic concordance between the pair (see later), he remarks that "If Corippus had Ennius in mind he knew him through Macrobius or a Virgil commentator."

For all his magisterial tone, Skutsch cannot be said to have settled this matter, which is indeed part of the larger and complex issue of the transmission and survival of early Latin texts in late antiquity. Moreover, Skutsch does not take account of all that has been written on the point, whilst other commentators on Ennius and Corippus have not always been aware of their mutual work. Hence further discussion will serve to draw together the threads, provide a convenient *l'état de la question*, and encourage colleagues in both fields to join in. It seems certain that the early fourth century grammarian Nonius Marcellus had a text of at least some of Ennius' tragedies, whilst Ausonius looks to have had access to Book 1 of the *Annals*, perhaps more.<sup>3</sup> Other late scholars—Charisius, Diomedes, Macrobius, Servius, Priscian, and Isidore—often duplicate the same information and are always vulnerable to the charge of lifting their quotations from earlier compilations.<sup>4</sup>

Corippus is not the only late Latin epicist whose acquaintance with Ennius has been both postulated and questioned; Birt (p. cci in his edition) thought Claudian owed debts to both him and Lucilius, a notion questioned

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of the *Annals* will be referred to by the numberings of Skutsch, Vahlen (3rd ed., Leipzig 1928), and Warmington in vol. 1 of the Loeb *Remains of Old Latin* (2nd ed., London 1961), using the simple initials S, V, and W. Vahlen and Warmington provide fragments from Ennius' other works; the tragedies are edited with commentary by H. D. Jocelyn (Cambridge 1967).

<sup>2</sup> I. Cazzaniga, "Del nuovo Ennio nella *IOANNIDE* di Corippo?" *RIFC* 99 (1971) 276–87; cf. the same author's "Corippo ed Accio," *GIF* 22 (1970) 36–38.

<sup>3</sup> See Skutsch 38 and Jocelyn 56 for discussion and bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Skutsch 38–44 provides a detailed assessment.

by Vahlen<sup>5</sup> and more recently Alan Cameron.<sup>6</sup> But we really have not one question but two: would Corippus, a poet operating in sixth century Africa and then Constantinople, know or care anything about Ennius? If so, where could he find a text?

Whether or not he had been a *grammaticus* and small-town teacher,<sup>7</sup> Corippus was an educated man with educated tastes. His older coeval Priscian almost certainly came from Africa, whence he too had emigrated to Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> They were perhaps too far apart in age to know each other, Priscian belonging more to the age of Anastasius whilst Corippus' two extant epics came out respectively c. 548/9 and 566/7, unless we can credit Priscian with the longevity of a Cassiodorus who in his *De orthographia*, written at the age of 93, confirms (*GL* 7. 207, 13) that Priscian was a teacher at Constantinople *nostro tempore*.<sup>9</sup> But we do not need to follow Cazzaniga in postulating a connection between "Africitas" and archaic literary interests to accept that both men will have had much the same grounding in the same Roman authors.<sup>10</sup> And Corippus could obviously have known Priscian's writings, if not the man himself.

The fact that Priscian's Ennian learning seems largely borrowed from predecessors need not stand as reproach or disqualification. If there were now no complete texts to work from, what else could he do?<sup>11</sup> And if there were, the fact that he has many quotations in common with others does not have to argue automatically for scholarly indolence or dishonesty. All modern studies on Elizabethan English no doubt share many identical references to Shakespeare. The *interests* of the late grammarians were genuine.

Likewise with Corippus. Not all educated men of his day cared about Ennius. For notable instance, his name is not dropped by John Lydus when discussing Roman comedy and satire at *De mag.* 40–1, where Titinius and Lucilius are invoked as the founders of stage comedy and satire in hexameter verse. The recurring debate over the genuineness of John's claims to Latin

<sup>5</sup> *Praef.* cxix–cxxii.

<sup>6</sup> *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970) 315, reserving full discussion for his promised edition of the *De bell. Gild.*; cf. Skutsch 19–20.

<sup>7</sup> A matter gone into with amiable disagreement by myself, "The Career of Corippus," *CQ* 28 (1978) 372–76, and Averil Cameron, "The Career of Corippus Again," *CQ* 30 (1980) 534–39.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the notice of him in *PLRE* 2 (Cambridge 1980) 905.

<sup>9</sup> On Priscian, see M. Salamon, "Priscianus und sein Schülerkreis," *Philologus* 123 (1979) 91–96.

<sup>10</sup> Not that there is any sign of Ennius or other early writers in that other product of late Vandal Africa, Luxorius; cf. the edition of M. Rosenblum (New York 1961) 52–64. But the subject matter of epigrams written in imitation of Martial was hardly amenable to Ennian echoes.

<sup>11</sup> We should also remain alert to the evidence of papyri. As far as I know, Ennius has not (yet) turned up in late antiquity, but extracts from the *Andria* of Terence equipped with Greek glosses have; cf. Pack<sup>2</sup> no. 2934, also R. Cavenaile, "Papyrus littéraires latins et philologie," *L'Ant. Class.* 50 (1981) 127.

expertise need not be gone into here;<sup>12</sup> the names he chooses to drop furnish the pertinent clues to contemporary literary interests. Still, this neglect of Ennius may only mean neglect of his comedies and satires, the remains of which are in any case comparatively negligible.

*Epos latinum primus digne scripsit Ennius*, observed Diomedes (*GL* 1. 484), and throughout the imperial Roman period it was for the *Annals* rather than his tragedies (much less his other miscellanea) that he was best known and most cited.<sup>13</sup> Typical and familiar items of evidence are Suetonius, *Aug.* 67. 2; *Tib.* 21. 5; *HA, Hadr.* 16. 6. It was the *Annals* that Aulus Gellius (18. 5. 1–4) heard an “Ennianista” reciting from in the theatre at Puteoli, and the *Annals* that Gellius himself (20. 10. 1) could declaim from memory. It was the *Annalium Ennii elenchi*, a work Suetonius thought *praecipuum opusculum*, that the indigent author M. Pompilius Andronicus sold for 16,000 sesterces and that was put back into circulation by Orbilius (Suetonius, *De Gramm.* 8).

The first extant epic of the African Corippus was on an African theme, the exploits of a local hero, John Troglita, campaigning for Byzantium against the Berbers.<sup>14</sup> Prominent literary influences are Virgil and Lucan, both utterly unsurprising. The abiding power of the *Aeneid* need no comment, and Lucan retained readers until the end of antiquity; both, of course, featured African settings and action.

But there was one section of the *Annals* of Ennius to which Corippus could logically have been drawn for further inspiration: Books 8 and 9, encompassing the war with Hannibal and Scipio in Africa. Apart from the provision of pertinent *exempla*, he might have hoped to get some ideas on how to force intractable African proper names into his hexameters! In point of fact, Corippus does not do much harking back to the Punic Wars; neither Scipio nor Hannibal feature in Partsch's index of names. No doubt memories of their defeat comported residual resentment in the hearts and minds of Carthaginians (in whose city the *Johannis* was recited, before its *proceres*) even in the sixth century!

Cazzaniga's attempts at tracing Ennian influence on the language of this poem were not always very successful. For instance, à propos, *Joh.* 4. 555–63, a passage to which he devotes three rambling pages, there is not much point in glossing the phrase *ferreus campus* with the remark, “*ferreus imber* è tipicamente enniano.” Corippus, indeed, has *ferreus imber/confluit* (*Joh.* 4. 746–47)—though Cazzaniga does not adduce this!—but he

<sup>12</sup> Cf. my remarks with bibliography in “Continuity and Change: the Practical Genius of Early Byzantine Civilisation,” in R. L. Hohlfelder (ed.), *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (New York 1982) 21–22.

<sup>13</sup> Jocelyn 55 makes this point in his account of the evanescence of texts of the tragedies; cf. Skutsch 44–46 for a repertoire of pertinent passages.

<sup>14</sup> See the admirable account with bibliography to previous studies by Averil Cameron, “Corippus' *Johannis*: Epic of Byzantine Africa,” *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (Liverpool 1983) 167–80.

obviously got it not from Ennius<sup>15</sup> but Virgil, *Aen.* 12. 284, *ferreus ingruit imber*, albeit he could have noticed the Ennian original in Macrobius' note (6. 1. 52) on the *Aeneid* passage. Cazzaniga cannot avoid admitting that *Joh.* 4. 562–63, *horrescit ferreus hastis/campus resplendetque novis terroribus aer*, derives from Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 601–02, *ferreus hastis/horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent*, but seeks to pull an Ennian chestnut out of the fire by insisting that Corippus' *resplendet* is added from a knowledge of the well-known *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret*.<sup>16</sup> Now there is no reason to deny that Corippus knew this line, one of Ennius' most celebrated,<sup>17</sup> but equally no grounds for calling the present verse a conscious echo. For one thing, Corippus is fonder of the verb *resplendeo* than the lone example given in Partsch's index suggests, employing it at (e.g.) *Joh.* 8. 318 (actually adduced by Cazzaniga in another connection, p. 282) and *Laud. Just.* 2. 387. For another, Corippus' *resplendet* in the passage under discussion is governed by *aer*, not *campus*! And for yet another, there is Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 526, *horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent*, not to mention *Aen.* 12. 663–64, *stant densae strictisque seges mucronibus horret/ferrea*, and *Georg.* 2. 142, *nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis*. These last two passages show that it is needless for Cazzaniga to find archaic if not Ennian redolence in *Joh.* 3. 558–59, *Martis per latos acies densissima campos/Imurorum in morem celantur corpora densis*. This is one place where I would be glad to think Cazzaniga was right, because the very pertinent Ennian line *densantur campis horrentia tela virorum*<sup>18</sup> is adduced by Priscian (*GL* 3. 479, 4). Unfortunately, one need go no further than Lewis & Short to find an abundance of parallels, with even the prosaic Caesar yielding one in *densissimis castris* at *BG* 7. 46. 3. A further Virgilian debt passed over by Cazzaniga here is *Joh.* 4. 561, *galeae cristisque comisque micantes*, surely owed to *Aen.* 3. 468, *galeae cristasque comantis*.

Another Corippian sequence analyzed at length by Cazzaniga is *Joh.* 2. 252–54, on the first line of which, *ungula sidereos contristat pulvere campos*, we get one and one-half pages dedicated to the proposition that the novel expression *sidereos campos* is modelled on such Ennian phrases as *caerula prata*. Apart from the fact that the reading and sense of this fragment are doubtful,<sup>19</sup> Cazzaniga manages not to notice the obvious point that Corippus also has the phrase *siderei campi* at *Joh.* 3. 215, and the adjective in several other passages and meanings. Any credit for *sidereos campos*

<sup>15</sup> S 266, V 284, W 281.

<sup>16</sup> V 14 (in his *Varia* section), W 6 (under the *Scipio* rubric).

<sup>17</sup> Thanks in part to Lucilius' ridicule of it, as reported by Servius on *Aen.* 11. 601.

<sup>18</sup> S 167, V 285, W 280.

<sup>19</sup> S 127. V 143, W 149. *caerula prata* is cited by Festus as an Ennian joke. The first word is variously expanded by editors to read *caeli*, *ponti*, *Neptuni*, or *campi*.

should go to Corippus himself,<sup>20</sup> helped though he may have been to it by the Greek parallels assembled by Cazzaniga.

In all of this, I am not saying that Corippus never goes in for archaisms (quite the contrary), merely that one has to be more careful with the overall evidence than Cazzaniga and much less precipitate in jumping to Ennian conclusions. Two more examples will do. At *Joh.* 1. 538, if the text is right, Corippus has the unparalleled verb *subitans*, a frequentative form of *subeo* so rare that it eluded Lewis & Short altogether. Cazzaniga sees this as inspired by the archaic *aditare* of Ennius and Plautus, though he might have added the possible example of Columella 8. 3. 4 and should certainly have noticed the parallel from Cyprian, *Ep.* 60. 2, in Partsch's index! At *Joh.* 4. 45, Corippus has the archaic active *tutamur* instead of *tutatur*, not noticing that the poet also uses it at *Laud. Just.* 2. 256. There is certainly no need to specify Ennian influence here, above all since *tutatur* in a passive sense occurs in Fronto, *Laudes neglegentiae* (204, 10 Van Den Hout = 1. 46 Haines); the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* exemplifies<sup>21</sup> the active forms from such disparate quarters as Hyginus, *Fab.* 100. 1, and *CIL* 4456. Cazzaniga should also have acknowledged *veneramur* for *veneramur* at *Laud. Just.* 2. 258, a form needlessly emended to *veneramur* by Ruiz since the active form has both Apuleian and Virgilian (*Aen.* 3. 460, not 466 as Stache) pedigree; Averil Cameron<sup>22</sup> emends the deponent form *veneramur* at *Laud. Just.* 4. 174 on the basis of 2. 258, but Corippus perhaps deliberately allows the two forms to co-exist in his poem, as did Virgil.

Anyone looking for Ennian echoes in the *Johannis* with special reference to the African context might do better to consider such items as 1. 563–66, *et quanti ex ipsis palmam sumpsere periculis! ut decet esse duces . . . sit labor ille animis*, possibly tinged with awareness of Ennius' *qualis consiliis quantumque potasset in armis*.<sup>23</sup> I only wonder about a connection because Ennius' line is in a marginal gloss on Hamilcar Rhodanus at Orosius 4. 6. 21 (there is another at 4. 14. 3, concerning Hannibal), suggesting that it was a popular tag in late antiquity and beyond, one that Corippus could have had in his literary consciousness.<sup>24</sup> It is also just conceivable that when Corippus wrote *placata Charybdis* at *Joh.* 1. 218, he was thinking of *Juno coepit placata favere*,<sup>25</sup> adduced by Servius in exegesis of *Aen.* 1. 281 where there is no direct linguistic concordance. There is also *pecudum per prata balatus* at *Joh.* 2. 174, possibly conditioned by Ennius'

<sup>20</sup> Ennius never used the adjective *sidereus*, according to the word indexes of Skutsch and Vahlen.

<sup>21</sup> Its evidence is equally ignored in the note on 2. 256 by U. J. Stache in his edition (Berlin 1976) of the *Laud. Just.*

<sup>22</sup> In her admirable edition (London 1976) of the *Laud. Just.*

<sup>23</sup> S 213, V 222, W 271.

<sup>24</sup> On these Ennian glosses in Orosius and cognate matters, see Skutsch 379–80 and Jocelyn 56.

<sup>25</sup> S 288, V 291, W 293.

*balantum pecudes*,<sup>26</sup> though both Lucretius 2. 369 and Juvenal 13. 233 are close enough to be the model.

One or two Ennian moments have been detected in the *In Laudem Justini* by modern editors, albeit there is no consensus over what and where. Stache, avowedly basing himself on a parallel cited by the *TLL*, thinks that 1. 200–01, *alarumque dedere/plausibus adsiduis et acuta voce favorem* might derive from the Ennian *favent faucibus russis/cantu plausuque premunt alas*;<sup>27</sup> Cameron adduces neither Ennius nor any other author as possible model. But Ennius can be dismissed in terms of a complete text of this play.<sup>28</sup> Corippus is describing how the cocks crowed (*gallorum cantu*) in greeting Justin to the palace. Now the source of these Ennian verses is Cicero, *De div.* 2. 26. 57, adduced by him to illustrate Democritus' explanation of *cur ante lucem galli canant*. Need we look further than this?<sup>29</sup>

At *Laud. Just.* 3. 292–93, Corippus writes *fremituque sonoro/cornipedum liquidos cava terruit ungula campos*, advanced by Stache as a possible redolence of Ennius' *it eques et cava concutit ungula terram*,<sup>30</sup> cited by Macrobius 6. 1. 22 in illustration of *Aen.* 8. 596, *quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*. As we have seen, Skutsch insists that Corippus knew this Ennian line (if at all) through Macrobius or a Virgil commentator. A perfectly reasonable conclusion. Yet Ennius had a particular affection for this effect, also writing *totam quatit ungula terram*<sup>31</sup> and *consequitur; summo sonitu quatit ungula campum*,<sup>32</sup> both elsewhere adduced by Macrobius to illustrate the same line of Virgil. Corippus may well have noticed this predilection from the ancient commentaries. But his line also smacks of *Aen.* 6. 591, *aere et cornipedum pulsus simularet equorum*, whilst not to be overlooked are *Joh.* 7. 442–45, *duro sonat ungula cornu/et latet aspersis campus coopertus harenis/cornipedum fodiens densis calcaribus armos/hostis uterque volat*. Indeed, if we could ask Corippus which author he was consciously imitating in which passage, he might find it hard to answer at once.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that *cava* is Petschenig's emendation of the manuscripts' *cave* or *ceu*, a detail minimised by Stache; Patsch indeed retained *ceu* in his *MGHAA* edition, which is why this particular example of *cavus* is absent from his index. I certainly prefer *cava*

<sup>26</sup> S 169, V 186, W 180.

<sup>27</sup> V 219–21, W 226–28, Jocelyn 344.

<sup>28</sup> Vahlen and Warrington assign this fragment to the *Iphigenia*, whereas Jocelyn prints it amongst the *Incerta* with no discussion.

<sup>29</sup> Stache furthermore takes no account of the relative frequency of *faveo/favor* connoting applause, clearly a favourite idiom of Corippus; cf. *Laud. Just.* 2. 390; 4. 63, 70, 210; *Joh.* 1. 580; 8. 232. It is also common in classical authors, as the dictionaries show.

<sup>30</sup> S 431, V 439, W 429.

<sup>31</sup> S 242, V 224, W 204.

<sup>32</sup> S 263, V 277, W 283.



myself, but it has to be admitted that this putative Ennian echo has come out of a modern conjecture. Furthermore, Skutsch's eagle eye also fell on Ovid, *Ex Pont.* 4. 8. 80, *ungula Gorgonei quam cava fecit equi*, which might have to be reckoned with as a contributory source.

There remains the phrase *vivumque per ora fatentur* at *Laud. Just.* 3. 129, likened by Cameron and Stache both to Ennius, *volito vivos per ora virum*,<sup>33</sup> and Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 9, *virum volitare per ora*. Neither scholar mentions *Aen.* 12. 235, *vivusque per ora feretur*, or 12. 328, *virum volitans*. This relative plethora of Virgilianisms probably swings the balance that way, though Corippus could have seen the Ennian tag (on the poet's own fame) in Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* 1. 15. 34.

One passage not considered by any other commentator in connection with Ennius is *Laud. Just.* 4. 35–49, a description of the felling of various trees:

protinus omnigeni caeduntur robora ligni,  
 quaeque suis aptanda locis: durissima costas,  
 mollia dant tabulas. quadrata caesa bipenni  
 fraxinus, et crebris cadit ictibus ardua pinus,  
 tunc fagi dulces et suco taxus amaro,  
 iliceaeque trabes fortes et pallida buxus,  
 pulchra magis pallore suo. cecidere securi  
 antiquae quercus et amictae vitibus ulmi,  
 cedrus olens, solidum numquamque natale robur,  
 aesculus, alnus, acer, terebinthus, populus, ornus.  
 in tenues tabulas abies montana secatur,  
 iuniperi tiliaeque leves et odora cupressus.  
 mille secant in frusta trabes: tonat aethera pulsans  
 malleus, et tractae strident scabredine serrae,  
 curvaque percusso longe sonat ascia ligno.

To be sure, Corippus' debts both to Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 179–82; 11. 135–38; *Georg.* 2. 437–53) and other authors are many and palpable, duly registered by Cameron and Stache. The poet also adds some distinctive touches of his own, notably the very rare words *natabilis* and *scabredo*. But we should also adduce, as did Macrobius 6. 2. 27, these lines of Ennius:<sup>34</sup>

incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt,  
 percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,  
 fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,  
 pinus proceras pervortunt: omne sonabat  
 arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai.

At first glance, the two passages may not seem to have much in common. They do, however, share the noun *abies*, not in any of the Virgil

<sup>33</sup> *Ep.* 18 V, *Ep.* 10 W.

<sup>34</sup> S 175–79, V 187–91, W 181–85.

passages. The proximity of *taxus amaro . . . buxus* is somewhat reminiscent of the Ennian *amaro corpore buxum*<sup>35</sup> and *buxus icta taxus tonsa*.<sup>36</sup> Other Ennian features in this sequence include repetitions of the same word<sup>37</sup> (*caeduntur/caesi, lignilligno, trabes/trabes*) and alliterations such as *strident scabredine serrae*. Given that the sequence is blatantly a collage from different authors, it is at least possible that Corippus includes some deliberate Ennian effects, his knowledge of Ennius probably coming from Macrobius and other ancient commentators.

Returning by way of finale to the introductory dogma of Skutsch, it can fairly be said that the question of Ennian influence on Corippus remains one open to further study, also that the question needs to be refined and bifurcated, as has here been done. For in this particular connection, it does not vitally matter whether complete texts of Ennius existed in the sixth century or not. If Corippus consciously shaped a phrase in Ennian style on the basis of finding one in Priscian, Servius, Macrobius, or wherever, then that constitutes a literary decision and taste prompted and nourished by Ennian influence.

*University of Calgary*

<sup>35</sup> S 224, V 263, W 240.

<sup>36</sup> V 13 (*Incerta*), W 29 (*Varia*).

<sup>37</sup> See Skutsch 343 (on the Ennian tree fragment in question) for repetition of a word as a common feature.

## Subtractive Versus Additive Composite Numerals in Antiquity

PIETER W. VAN DER HORST

GERARD MUSSIES

### 1. Introduction

The numeral systems all over the world have the common characteristic that the lowest numbers are referred to by a basic set of (different) words which bear no formal likeness to one another, but which can be grouped in a series in such a way that the minimal difference in meaning between the successive members is "one." This basic set may run to "ten" or "five," even to "two" or "three" only, but once it is exhausted the universal method to make further numerals is to combine the members of the basic series or to form derivatives of them.

In the Indo-European languages this procedure starts with numbers higher than "ten," or can be shown to have started there in former times, because phonetic change may have blurred the original coherence: "eleven," "twelve" were once derivatives of "one" and "two," but these pairs have phonetically drifted apart. The connection, however, between e.g. "six," "sixteen," "sixty" and "seven," "seventeen," "seventy" is clear: compounds like "sixteen" have a meaning in which the numerical values of the components "six" and "-teen" (a variant form of "ten") have been added together and are therefore termed *additive* numerals, while in the *multiplicative* numeral "sixty" the value of "six" is multiplied by "ten" ("-ty" being originally a variant form of "ten").

On the other hand, there are languages in which the basic set of numerals is much earlier exhausted. In Wolof, a language spoken in modern Senegal, "six" is "five-one," "seven" is "five-two," etc., "ten" being a totally different word; and the same holds good of ancient Sumerian.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Falkenstein, *Das Sumerische* (Leiden 1959) 40-41. The notable instance of languages not having numerals other than the basic set are those of the natives of the Australian Continent. They either count "one, two, many" or "one, two, three, many." Cf. R.M.W.

*Addition* and *multiplication*, however, are not the only arithmetical procedures used in forming further numerals from the basic set. A third method is *subtraction*. In Yoruba, one of the languages of modern Nigeria, "eleven" up to "fourteen" are referred to by compounds meaning "one over ten," "two over ten," etc., "twenty" by a new word which bears no likeness to any member of the basic set of numerals, while "fifteen" up to "nineteen" are compounds meaning literally "five short of twenty," "four short of twenty," etc. These latter five are then *subtractive* numerals. This subtractive procedure is followed not only in 25 to 29, 35 to 39, etc., but also for the uneven decads 50, 70, 90 up to 170, which can be analyzed as 10 short of three times 20, 10 short of four times 20, etc.<sup>2</sup> Just as the additional method, subtraction is in some languages operative already between "five" and "ten." In modern Finnish the numerals for eight and nine are derivatives for the words for "two" and "one" respectively, and are therefore subtractive from the numerical value of ten.

In the modern Germanic, Romance, and Slavic languages subtraction is not employed, but the English way of indicating the time combines both addition and subtraction: "A quarter past nine" and "half past nine" are additive, but "a quarter to ten" is subtractive.

In the following survey of the most important and best known ancient languages around the Mediterranean Sea we shall also introduce a further distinction between systematical and incidental subtractives, for it is clear that the additive "twenty nine" is part of the numeral system of the English language, while subtractive expressions like "thirty less one" and "one short of thirty" are not.

## 2. Latin

The numeral system of the Romans contained both additives and subtractives: *undecim*, *duodecim* up to *septendecim* on the one hand, *duodeviginti*, *undeviginti* on the other; *viginti-unus* up to *viginti-septem*, then *duodetriginta*, *undetriginta*, and so on in the further decads, the highest subtractive actually recorded being *undecentum* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7. 214).

The Roman figures used to indicate these subtractive numerals do not normally correspond with the linguistic peculiarity of the latter. *Duodeviginti* is written as XVIII or XIIX (so *CIL* V 2499) which are additions of X and VIII or IIX. *Undeviginti* is XVIII or XIX (Dessau nos. 1999 and 2000), likewise additions of X and VIII or IX. An example of a Roman subtractive figure actually reflecting the subtractive value of the numeral for which it stands is IIL for *duodequingenta* in *CIL* X 3427.

Dixon, *The Languages of Australia* (Cambridge 1980) 107-08, 120.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Rowlands, *Yoruba* (London 1969) 106-07. The word for "200" is a new word and not 20 x 10. Consequently "190" is "10 short of 200."

Note that the basic numerals *quattuor*, and *sex* up to *novem* are likewise incongruously represented by the subtractive and/or additive figures IV, VI, VII, VIII/IX, VIII/IX.<sup>3</sup>

This rather striking characteristic of Latin, which distinguishes it from most of the other Indo-European languages, is not commented on by Leumann in his historical grammar,<sup>4</sup> although Sanskrit offers a close parallel. For by the side of the additive *navadaśa*, 19, there also occurred the subtractive *ūnavimsātiḥ*, "twenty less," in which *ūna-* is short for *ekona*, "less one." This alternative method could be used for all the decads plus nine up to 99, and has survived, apparently as the only method, in a number of modern Indian languages.<sup>5</sup>

Incidentally Latin authors used instead of the additive *undecim* up to *septendecim* and the subtractive *duodeviginti* and *undeviginti* numerals formed in a different way. As the series 11 – 19 was in itself heterogeneous, there were attempts to replace the two subtractives (18 and 19) by numerals formed on the analogy of *undecim - septendecim*; and so Livy uses *octodecim* in 39. 5. 14 *tetrachma Attica centum octodecim milia*, and Scaevola in *Digesta* 33. 2. 37 *usque dum filia mea annos impleat octodecim*.

The dictionary of Lewis and Short also contained a lemma *novendecim* with references to Livy 3. 24 and Livy, *Epitome* 18 *cum annos novendecim haberet*. However, at 3. 24 the editions have *undeviginti*, while the 18th periocha does not contain the passage quoted. It is found in the 119th, in which it is said that Octavian was appointed consul *cum XVIII annos haberet*. The lemma is no longer present in the new *OLD*.<sup>6</sup>

More often the whole series 11 – 19 was replaced by numerals of the types *decem (et) . . . or . . . (et) decem*, both being used, for instance, by Cicero in his *Pro Roscio Amerino* 7. 20 *fundos decem et tris* and 35. 99 *tribus et decem fundis*. Most probably these numerals were formed in imitation of the compounds with *viginti*, *triginta*, etc., such as *viginti et septem . . . tabulas* (Cicero *Verr.* 4. 123), *septem et viginti* (Plautus *Merc.* 430), *tres et viginti pondo* (Varro *De re rustica* 2. 4. 11). Further instances up to 19 are:

<sup>3</sup> This shows by the way the danger of making inferences about the linguistic nature of a numeral system from its graphic representation by numerical symbols. In the same way the Maya figures for 6, 7, 8, 9 are combinations of a horizontal stroke and one dot, two dots, etc. The corresponding numerals, however, are four mutually different *prefixes* which in their turn bear no formal likeness to those for "five" and "one," "two," etc. either; see A. M. Tozzer, *A Maya Grammar* (New York 1977) 98–99.

<sup>4</sup> M. Leumann–J. B. Hofmann–A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik I* (München 1963) 293.

<sup>5</sup> M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit – English Dictionary* (Oxford 1964<sup>4</sup> repr.) 221a. Cf. J. Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages, to wit, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bengali* (Delhi 1966, repr.) II 136.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. T. Lewis–Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1966, repr.) 1219b; cf. P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1982) 1194c, 2092a s.v. *undeviginti* (Liv. 3. 24. 10).

- 13: *decem tres/tria* in Livy 29. 2. 17; 37. 30. 8; 37. 46. 3; 45. 43. 5 (he uses *tredecim*, however, at 36. 45. 3)
- 17: *decem septemque* in Nepos *Cato* I 2; Vulg. 2 Chron. 12:13; *decem et septem* in Vulg. 3 Reg. 14:21; 4 Reg. 13:1; etc.; *decem septem* in a bilingual Latin-Greek inscription at Ephesus A.D. 103–104: *sestertia decem septem milia nummum*; the amount is expressed otherwise in the Greek part: *δηνάρια τετρακισχίλια διακόσια πενήκοντα* (Dessau no. 7193); *septem decem* in Aulus Gellius 10. 28, perhaps quoted from Tubero *Hist.* I.
- 18: *decem et octo* in Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 4. 19. 4 (but *duodeviginti* at 2. 5); Eutropius I 1; Vulg. *Judices* 3:14; 10:8; 20:25; etc.; Luke 13:4, 11, 16.
- 19: *decem et novem* in Livy 40. 40. 13; 45. 43. 5 (he uses, however, *undeviginti* at 3. 24. 10; 23. 46. 4; 34. 10. 4); Vulg. *Jos.* 19:38; 2 Sam. 2:30; etc. *decem novem* in Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 1. 8; Tacitus *Hist.* 2. 58 (but *undeviginti* in *Ann.* 12. 56).

It is difficult to say to what extent the mss. represent in this respect the original wording of the authors. During the manuscript tradition fully written numeral words may have been copied as figures or vice versa, but if the mss. were reliable here, our instances seem to indicate that some authors used different types side by side. The reason for doing so may have been their desire of stylistic variation. One passage, however, points rather to the opposite inclination: in 45. 43. 5 Livy combines within one passage *decem tria*, *decem et novem* and *viginti et septem*, probably for uniformity's sake, instead of the rather dissimilar *tredecim*, *undeviginti* and *viginti et septem*.

The new formations did not succeed in supplanting the series *undecim* up to *quindecim*, which have survived, be it in a modified form, in Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, *sedecim* also in Italian and French. Only *septendecim* and both the subtractives *duodeviginti* and *undeviginti* are no longer extant in the Romance languages and were definitely replaced by the newer compounds. The Vulgate version of the Bible has *undecim* up to *sedecim*, then *decem et septem*, *decem et octo*, *decem et novem*,<sup>7</sup> and in old French likewise *dis e set*, *dis e uit*, *dis e nuef* (ca. 1190 A.D.) occur. Apparently these new formations were not popular for 11 to 15/16; they may have sounded somewhat learned because of their likeness to Greek *τρεῖςκαίδεκα* (classical Attic) or *δέκα καὶ τρεῖς* and *δεκατρεῖς* (both

<sup>7</sup> *duodeviginti* at 2 Sam. 8:13 is present only in the edition of the Abbey of St. Jerome (*Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem cura et studio monachorum Pont. Abbatiae S. Hieronymi in urbe* (Rome 1926–1972); the Sixto-Clementina had *decem et octo*, see B. Fischer, *Novae Concordantiae* . . . (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt 1977) 1669.

Hellenistic).<sup>8</sup> It is, however, difficult to say why then exactly *septendecim*, which is no longer present in the Vulgate, was the exception. Only in Rumanian the complete series 11 – 19 has been given up and replaced by compounds meaning “one above ten,” “two above ten,” etc., which are, moreover, usually shortened to “one above,” “two above,” etc.

The replacement of the subtractives for 28, 38, . . . , 98, and 29, 39, . . . , 99 is certainly to be explained from the analogy of the numerically preceding *viginti-unus . . . viginti-septem*, etc. An instance outside of the Vulgate is present in Seneca *Ep. ad Luc. 77. 20 (Sattia) quae inscribi monumento suo iussit annis se nonaginta novem vixisse*, whereas *undecentum* is used once by his contemporary Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist. 7. 214*). The Vulgate version does not contain any subtractives between 20 and 100.<sup>9</sup>

Another kind of subtractives could be used when one wanted to express that a specific number, usually a “round number,” that is a multiple of decads, was almost but not wholly involved. These were no compounds but word groups, as appears from the varying order of the constituent elements, and consisted of a) the numeral not attained; b) the word *minus*; and c) a second numeral expressing the shortage.

A well-known instance is found in Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians 11:24: *A Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi*, “Five times I have received at the hands of the Jews the forty lashes less one” (RSV). As this instance goes back via the Greek to a Hebrew—Aramaic expression ensuing from a rather specific motive, it will be discussed in 5. 2. Ovid, however, offers a less complex example in *Met. 12. 553–55*, where Nestor, the son of Neleus, relates that his eleven brothers had all been killed by Hercules, but does so as follows:

*bis sex Nelidae fuimus, conspecta iuventus!*  
*bis sex Herculeis ceciderunt me minus uno*  
*viribus.*

This is a poetical way of saying what Apollodorus elsewhere phrased in prose as: “He killed Neleus and his sons, except Nestor” (*Bibl. 2. 7. 3*). The phenomenon can be paralleled by many modern instances. But why is it done? Because psychologically it is not the same to say “ninety-nine” or “a hundred less one.” The former is certainly less impressive, as shopkeepers know by instinct that an article sells more easily at the price of 99 cents than for one dollar.<sup>10</sup> For that reason alone it is less correct to translate the passage from Paul quoted above as the New English Bible does:

<sup>8</sup> E. Schwyzer–A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik I* (München 1968<sup>4</sup>) 594; F. Blass–A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1965<sup>12</sup>) par. 63.

<sup>9</sup> See Fischer, *Novae Concordantiae* 1669, 5293.

<sup>10</sup> See the remarks by J. Gonda, “Varia over indonesische telwoorden,” *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 109 (1953) 25–27.

"Five times the Jews have given me the *thirty-nine* strokes"; but see 5. 2.

### 3. Greek

About the numerals in the oldest Greek that we have—Mycenaean—nothing can be said, because in the Linear B script all numbers (and there are many of them) are written in figures. As soon as numbers were written as words, that is in Homer, it appears that there are additives for numbers between decads, not only for the lower up to "seven and . . ." (ένδεκα *Il.* 2. 713, δώδεκα *Il.* 1. 25, δωδέκα *Il.* 2. 637, δυοκαίδεκα *Il.* 2. 557, έκκαιδεκάδωρος *Il.* 4. 109, έπτά δέ και δέκα *Od.* 5. 278, έν και είκοσι *Il.* 13. 260, δύο και είκοσι *Il.* 2. 748, πίσυρές τε και είκοσι *Od.* 16. 249, etc.), but also for those that contain "eight and . . .," "nine and . . .": όκτωκαιδεκάτη (*Od.* 5. 279), έννεακαίδεκα (*Il.* 24. 496) or perhaps έννέα και δέκα. One may indeed ask the question whether composite cardinals are in Homer compound words already or word groups yet. Passages like *Od.* 5. 278–79 έπτά δέ και δέκα μέν πλέεν ήματα ποντοφορεύων· όκτωκαιδεκάτη δ' έφάνη όρεα σκίοέντα rather seem to indicate the latter (cf. *Od.* 16. 249).

Subtractives are, on the other hand, wholly lacking in Homer, and so likewise in Hesiod, Pindar, the Tragedians, and Aristophanes. This does not, however, imply that they did not exist, because poets abandon sometimes the current ways of expressing numbers by using circumscriptions. Hesiod, for instance, uses τρισεινάδα, "27th day," instead of έπτακαιεικοστήν (*Op.* 814, cf. τρισκαιδεκάτην *Op.* 780); Aeschylus paraphrases τριακόσiai by τριακάδας δέκα and διακόσiai και έπτά by έκατόν δις . . . έπτά θ' (*Pers.* 339; 343). So when Pindar uses τεσσαράκοντα και όκτώ (*Pyth.* 9. 113), this may be the numeral which he used in his spoken language, but it is also possible that he has rephrased here a subtractive numeral, and the same may be said for Homer's έννεακαίδεκα (*Il.* 24. 496), for as soon as we turn to prose writers it appears that subtractive numerals existed as well.

If we leave aside subtractive expressions which contain indefinite elements, such as Isaeus 11. 43 "1000 drachmae but for a trifle," Herodotus 1. 202 "all but one," Plutarch *Caesar* 30. 3 "all but a few," we may discern within the exact subtractions three types which differ a little in meaning:

A) *pure* subtractives: "forty ships less one"; the things subtracted and those from which they are subtracted belong to the *same* kind.

B) *impure* subtractives: "three drachmae less two obols," the things subtracted are of a *different* kind.

C) *combinations* of A and B: Herodotus 9. 30 ένδεκα μυριάδες ήσαν, μιης χιλιάδος προς δέ όκτακοσίων άνδρών δέουσαι, all together "there were eleven myriads of men less one thousand and eight hundred";



this subtraction is *pure* because ultimately men are subtracted from men, *impure* because formally a chiliad is subtracted from myriads which are different things, although the whole is semantically equivalent to "110,000 less (1,000 + 800)." In the majority of the cases, except those of class B, the subtracted numeral (e.g. 2) is smaller than the one that otherwise would have had to be added (8 in this case). Only once, in "300 less 8" (Thuc. 4. 38. 5) is the subtracted number larger, and in "120 less 5" (Diod. Sic. 13. 14. 4) the numbers would be equal. In all cases, however, the speaker/author takes care to mention provisionally a round number which is higher than the one he would have mentioned otherwise, according to the additive method that is. But this does not imply that in the sentence the round number always precedes the subtracted number. Both orders occur; in Aristotle *Rhet.* 2. 14. 4 *περὶ τὰ ἐνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα (sc. ἔτη)* the round number follows the small subtracted one.

Formally, that is according to the terminology which is used, the subtractives show the following diversity:

1. Verbs (*ἀπο-*, *κατα-*)*δεῖν*, almost always a participle with the shortage in the genitive case, e.g. Plutarch *Pomp.* 79. 4 *ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντα βεβιωκῶς ἔτη*. Aristotle *Rhet.* 2. 14. 4 quoted above is the only instance of an infinitive construction.

2. Verb *δεύειν*: Apoll. Rhod. 2. 974–75 *τετράκις εἰς ἑκατὸν δεύοιτό κεν εἴ τις ἕκαστα πεμπάζοι (sc. ῥέεθρα)*, "four times would one miss in a hundred if one would count each of the streams."

3. Verbs (*ἀπο-*)*λείπειν*, participles, but in different constructions. With genitive in Diodorus Sic. 13. 14. 4 *τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρωσαν πέντε λειπούσας τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι*, "they manned triremes five missing of the 120" (the same in Isocrates 12. 270 *γεγονῶς μὲν ἔτη τρία μόνον ἀπολείποντα τῶν ἑκατόν*). With dative Josephus *Ant.* 4. 238 *πληγὰς μιᾶ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα*, litt. "40 stripes falling short by one" (the same *Ant.* 4. 248).

4. Preposition *πλήν*: Hdt. 1. 202 *τὰ πάντα πλήν ἐνός*.

5. Preposition *παρά* with accusative: Paul, 2 *Cor.* 11:24 *ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα (sc. πληγὰς) παρά μίαν ἔλαβον*, "five times I have received at the hands of the Jews the forty lashes less one" (RSV). Although this passage will be dealt with in a special paragraph (5. 2) because of its Jewish background—together with Josephus *Ant.* 4. 238; 248 quoted above—some remarks are to be made here as to the way it is treated in Bauer's lexicon to the New Testament.<sup>11</sup> The parallel material

<sup>11</sup> W. Bauer, *Griechisch - Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1958<sup>5</sup>), s. v. *παρά*.

there adduced consists of quotations from classical authors which are *impure* examples because "days" are subtracted from "years," etc. (Hdt. 9. 33; Jos. Ant. 4. 176; P. Oxy. 264. 4 (see below)), or there are no definite cardinal numerals involved (Plut. *Caes.* 30. 5 see above). Of course, they do illustrate the use of παρά in subtractive constructions, but there is a better parallel which matches Paul's wording in every respect: Dio Cassius 58. 20. 5 τῶ γοῦν ἐπιόντι ἔτει, . . . , πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὶ ἐγένοντο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη, ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἑκκαίδεκα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρ' ἑνα ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι, "next year there were 15 praetors, . . . , and for many years the following also happened, (namely) that at one time 16 praetors but at another time one or even two fewer were chosen." A comparable remark is made by Dio at 59. 20. 5 but there it runs: ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐνὶ πλείους ἢ καὶ ἐλάττους.

With regard to the motivation of the subtraction the different kinds that we distinguished above (indefinite, pure, impure, combined) are not alike. The cases in which either the round number or the subtracted number or both are rendered by an indefinite numeral or adjective are always clearly motivated: "all but a few" (Plut. *Caes.* 30. 3), "one thousand drachmae but for a trifle" (Isaeus 11. 43), "fifteen talents but for a trifle" (Lysias 19. 43), "not much short of ninety years" (Polybius 12. 16. 13). In these latter three the shortage is considered to be so insignificant that it is not deemed worth to be specified.

Likewise when dissimilar things are subtracted (class B) these things are always in themselves relatively small fractions of the units from which they are subtracted, so that the motivation of the subtraction is self-evident. Hdt. 2. 134 "He (the pharaoh Mycerinus) left a pyramid as well but one much smaller than that of his father (Cheops); each of its sides falls 20 feet short of three plethra (*i.e.* 300 feet)"; Jos. Ant. 4. 176 "When forty years but for thirty days had passed, . . . "; especially in Greco-Egyptian accounts and contracts on papyrus these subtractions—usually by παρά with accusative—are very frequent: "I agree that I have sold to you the weaver's loom belonging to me measuring three weaver's cubits less two palms" (P. Oxy. II 264. 2-4; A.D. 54). This cubit, γερδιακὸς πήχυς, probably equalled five palms.<sup>12</sup> The method is almost normal in the Byzantine period in prices expressed in (x) νομίσματα (χρυσοῦ) παρὰ (y) κεράτια, or "(x) golden solidi less (y) siliquae" (*i.e.* 1/24 solidus), of which Preisigke listed selection-wise over a hundred instances.<sup>13</sup> The *keration* was both a coin and a weight, and at least in a number of these cases the subtraction is not so much motivated by the wish to mention an amount in round numbers as by the fact that nominally the number of solidi was correct indeed but that these golden coins through abrasion had no longer their correct weight. This

<sup>12</sup> That is, if it was the same as the linen weaver's cubit (λινουφικὸς πήχυς). See F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915) 118.

<sup>13</sup> F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* . . . III (Berlin 1931) 348a-b.

appears from P. Cairo Masp. 70. 2 which contains the line, "the solidi were found to be seven keratia less" (VIth cent. A.D.).

A very special instance of dissimilar subtraction—also quoted by Bauer—is Hdt. 9. 33 ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἔν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα. At first sight this seems to suggest that he won in four events (jumping, running, throwing the discus and the javelin) but lost in the wrestling and hence was no Olympic victor. The parallel version in Pausanias 3. 11. 6–8 states clearly, however, that he (Teisamenos) had won in two events (running and jumping), which implies that his opponent (Hieronymus) had won in the other two. On the other hand, it is known that in the final event, the wrestling, one had to be floored thrice to be the loser, and since *palaisma* also means "wrestling bout," the meaning of the whole is not so much that he won in two events, like his opponent, but lost in the final one, but rather that he won in two events and two wrestling bouts, like his opponent, but lost only the third decisive wrestling bout.

The passages in which numerical substantives are subtracted from numerical substantives or from numerals (class C) are formally not different from the kind which we have just discussed, but as, for instance, μία χιλιάς and χίλιοι are semantically hardly different, we shall discuss these cases together with the pure subtractions (class A).

The motivation of the following subtractions of small numbers from large numbers in classes A and C seems evident, also to our modern mind: 110,000 but for 1,800 (Hdt. 9. 30), 20,000 less 2,000 (Dion. Hal. 7. 3. 2), 10,000 less 300 (Thuc. 2. 13. 3), 1500 less 15 (Hdt. 2. 7), 300 less 8 (Thuc. 4. 38. 5), 160 less 2 (Aristotle in Diog. Laert. 5. 27), 130 less 2 (Hdt. 1. 130), 120 less 5 (Diod. Sic. 13. 14. 4), 100 less 4 (Apoll. Rhod. 2. 974–5), 100 less 3 (Isocr. 12. 270).

The most natural motivation is, of course, always that one which is provided by the context itself, as in Hdt. 9. 70 "the Greeks were in a position to kill in such a way that of the 300,000 men of the (Persian) army—less the 40,000 with whom Artabazus had fled—not even 3,000 of the remaining soldiers survived." The above quoted instance of "130 less 2" (Hdt. 1. 130), although its motivation seems clear, may nevertheless belong rather to the category with which we shall deal now, that of "decads less two/one." For although the total number of occurrences is rather small, Herodotus—in compound numerals above 20—appears to have a slight predilection for using subtractives with "less two/one," of which he has nine instances,<sup>14</sup> instead of additives with "and eight/nine" which he uses five times. If we assume the subtractives to be here the rule, we can offer reasonable explanations for at least four out of these five "additive exceptions."

<sup>14</sup> 1. 14. 16. 130. 214; 2. 157; 4. 1. 90; 5. 52; 6. 57.

Two of the occurrences of ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα (1. 106; 4. 1) happen to refer to the same span of time in history, to wit the number of years that the Scythians were ruling the Near East. In 1. 106 where he mentions these 28 years for the first time, he expresses them by an additive numeral because their mention happens consciously in anticipation of 4. 1—the first paragraph of his “Logos Skythikos”—where the 28 years will get a very specific illustration. He mentions these years twice there, first by using the subtractive ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα, with the reference ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται back to 1. 106, next by using again the additive ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, and telling us what was so curious about these years, namely that their Scythian wives, who had stayed at home, had meanwhile had intercourse with their slaves and given birth to a new generation of men, and when the Scythians returned from Asia they were met by an army consisting of these young men. The alternating use of “additive” and “subtractive” here is no coincidence; note also the shift in the position of the substantive ἔτεα in these three phrases. A comparable situation is present in 6. 27 where he tells that the inhabitants of Chios had sent a company of a hundred young men to Delphi of whom only two returned. Next he goes on to explain what had happened to the ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ: an additive construction because the subtractive is already implied in the foregoing. These cases then betray a reluctance to repeat identical expressions, which is certainly also responsible for the varying order of τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἔτεα versus μυριοῖσι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ πρὸς τριηκοῖσισι τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα in 2. 142, and of ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι versus τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα in 3. 90. In short, it seems that in the context of these subtractives it is stylistic variation that was responsible for the use of the additives.

In 7. 186, however, this explanation does not work. We read there that the total number of the Persian army resulting from the foregoing addition amounted to πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν οἱ 5,283,220 men. Although it would have been possible to use here καὶ δυῶν δεούσας τριάκοντα, this subtraction is probably avoided because the result would not be a round number—as in 9. 30—since there are still three additions to be made here. No explanation at all can be given for 8. 48 ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πενηκοντέρων, τριηκόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. The exception introduced by πάρεξ did certainly not prevent the subtraction here, because πάρεξ and subtraction are found together elsewhere (1. 130); this passage must remain an exception.<sup>15</sup>

With “18,” however, the usage seems to be the opposite of the

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 3. 89: 70 + <8> μνέας has been left out because it is due to a conjecture; it rather had to be <8> + 70, cf. J. Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Hildesheim 1960 repr.) 100 s.v. εἴκοσι.

foregoing: he uses six times ὀκτώκαιδέκα,<sup>16</sup> while δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι is found only once (1. 94). Neither the additives nor the subtractives seem to be used for a special reason, except perhaps ὀκτώκαιδέκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι in 1. 126, where variation may have been the reason for suppressing another εἴκοσι (δυῶν δέοντας).

In the work of his younger contemporary Thucydides, the use of subtractives is still more pronounced. Additives with eight or nine are not found at all, and instead subtractives with "two" or "one" are used eleven times, six of which are "20(th) less two/one";<sup>17</sup> "300 less 1" (4. 102. 3) is of course an instance which is very clearly motivated.

Further instances from prose are: Hippocrates *Aff.* 9 and *Loc. hom.* 6, both "20 less 2"; *IG* I 374. 405-17 (= *CIA* I 325) "20 less 1," "30 less 1," although the figures added have an additive structure; Xenophon *Hell.* 1. 1. 5 "20 less 2," but on the basis of Thuc. 8. 108. 1-2 one would expect here "22" instead, so there may be an error here; Xenophon has ὀκτώκαιδέκα in *Anab.* 3. 4. 5; 7. 4. 16; Plato *Leg.* 5, 738a has "60 less 1" but ὀκτώκαιδέκα in *Leg.* 2, 666a and 8, 833d (the latter, however, in the close context of εἴκοσι, cf. Hdt. 1. 126 above); Aristotle *Rhet.* 2. 14. 4 (1390b10-11) "50 less 1"; *Hist. anim.* 3. 20 (522a30-31) "20 less 1"; *Polit.* 5. 9. 23 (1315b36) δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι (sc. ἔτη) is preceded in the same paragraph by ὀκτώκαιδέκα, cf. Hdt. 4. 1 above; Plutarch *Pomp.* 79. 4 "60 less 1."

As compared to the language of the poets, in which as far as "18" and "19" are concerned, additive constructions occur right from the start and subtractives are absent, it is a remarkable fact that so many of the latter are to be found in prose, and that some of the additive competitors can be shown to occur there in stylistic opposition to subtractives.

This raises, of course, the question of which of the two is to be considered to represent the more original situation. In view of the rather low frequency of additives for "18," "19," etc., one wonders at least why so many grammars in their survey tables of the numerals suggest that addition was the norm here and subtraction the exception. Only Jannaris presents both as equivalent possibilities for older Greek,<sup>18</sup> but adds that subtraction formed no part of the spoken language.<sup>19</sup>

Especially with regard to subtractions from lower decads as "20" and "30," of which the motivation is no longer apparent in contexts where much higher numbers play a role, we may also reckon with the possibility that in prose some of them were replaced in the course of the long manuscript

<sup>16</sup> 1.126; 2. 100. 111. 175; 3. 50; 8. 1; the numeral for 19 does not occur.

<sup>17</sup> 5. 16. 3; 7. 31. 4; 7. 53. 3; 8. 6. 5; 8. 17. 3; 8. 102. 1; the remaining are found at 2. 2. 1; 5. 68. 3; 8. 7; 8. 25. 1.

<sup>18</sup> A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect* (Hildesheim 1968, repr.), par. 645 and 642-43 (pp. 172-73).

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* par. 643.

tradition, first by figures which were later "reworded" as additives, or immediately by the latter. This assumption seems quite plausible in view of the variation of numeral versus figure which occurs, for instance, in the New Testament manuscripts.

An intermediate stage is to be seen in *IG I* no. 374 in which the subtractions "20 less 1" and "30 less 1" are accompanied by figures which in Greek always have an additive structure. We believe therefore that some cases of ὀκτώκαίδεκα and ἐννεακαίδεκα in earlier prose are not original but due to the replacement process just sketched, either immediately or indirectly via the stage of figure notation. Only when a subtractive was motivated, as in *2 Cor.* 11:24, could it resist such a rewording, and at best the higher numeral was written as a figure, here in mss. F and G: ἡκάρα μίαν. In other cases, however, replacements are not exceptional in the New Testament. At *John* 5:5 the readings of the numeral vary between τριακοντα και οκτω, τριακοντα οκτω, and λη', and instead of the frequent δωδεκα some mss. have δεκαδυο at *Luke* 9:17; *Acts* 19:7; *24:11*; etc.<sup>20</sup>

Although this cannot be proved by textual variants, it seems not farfetched to assume that in early prose these lower subtractives were slightly more frequent than it appears from the present state of the mss., also because the uncial (stage of the) tradition of these works must have been twice as long as that of the New Testament writings.

With regard to the subtractives in Classical Attic Jannaris remarks: "This clumsy circumlocution was hardly proper to popular speech even in *A* (*i.e.* Classical Attic) times. As a matter of course it is unknown to *N* (*i.e.* Neohellenic)" (see n. 19). This conclusion does not seem to follow with necessity from the facts as described above and is therefore not very convincing. For it is equally well possible that the use of subtractives for "18," "19," etc., was the original situation which was kept up in the everyday spoken language and in prose up to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., parallel to the situation in Latin up to the Principate.

The motivation for these subtractions from "20" may originally have been the same as that illustrated above for other numerals. In a very simple rural society "20" may have been at first a relatively high number. Not many persons owned that much sheep or cattle, but "20" lost this connotation of course, as soon as situations arose in which higher numbers were involved. The subtractives once formed may have persisted for a very long time, as Latin shows.

The spoken language as well as prose writing was probably much more conservative in this respect than the poets, who can be shown to have been innovative in specific areas of style and language. They increased, for

<sup>20</sup> Xenophon has the Koine-form δέκα-πέντε only in *Anab.* 7. 8. 26, elsewhere he uses πεντεκαίδεκα (*Anab.* 4. 7. 16, etc.). *Anab.* 7. 8. 25-26, however, are generally considered to be an appendix added by a later editor.

instance, their means of varying their usage by admitting elements from other dialects, such as Aeolic πίσυρες by the side of Ionic τέσσαρες, and were also responsible for the birth of many new compounds, like those beginning with ποικιλο-, etc. They may have been the first to replace the "clumsy" subtractives, and then it is no coincidence that, for all we know, the first additives with "8" and "9" occur in poetry: τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ in Pindar *Pyth.* 9. 113 (474 B.C.) and ἔννεα καὶ δέκα in Homer, *Il.* 24. 496.

The gradual substitution of the subtractives, which is halfway in Herodotus, would then be comparable to what happened to the ordinal numerals. In the Attic inscriptions up to the time of Augustus<sup>21</sup> the compound ordinals consisted of two ordinals with intervening καί: τρίτος καὶ δέκατος, "thirteenth." This too is a rather "clumsy" way of formulating which again had its exact parallel in Latin *tertius decimus* etc., and was henceforward substituted by the type τρεῖσκαιδέκατος. This latter type, however, was already used by Homer, *Od.* 5. 279 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη. Herodotus made use of both types, at least according to the mss. tradition: in 3. 93–94 he has in a series the ordinals from τρίτος καὶ δέκατος up to εἴνατος καὶ δέκατος, but elsewhere τεσσερεσκαιδέκατος (1. 84) and ἑκκαιδέκατος (2. 143 twice). Thucydides likewise has the double ordinals, nine times,<sup>22</sup> and ἑπτακαιδέκατος only twice, at 4. 101. 1 and 7. 28. 3; but here several editions, such as Hude's and Forster Smith's, nevertheless read ἑβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη and ἑβδόμῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ, just as elsewhere, following Krüger's conjecture; these two exceptions may indeed be due to later copyists. So if we assume that the "clumsy" double ordinal type was the original construction which was kept up in the spoken language, in prose writings and in inscriptions, it again seems likely that the type τρεῖσκαιδέκατος was introduced by poets; Pindar's ἑβδόμῃ σὺν καὶ δεκάτῃ. (*Pyth.* 4. 10) shows, however, that they could use the older type as well. Herodotus' use of both types of ordinals, like his use of both subtractives and additives, either reflects a transitory stage in the spoken language, or it is a conscious enlargement of his stylistic repertoire.

#### 4. Coptic

During the greater part of its literary existence the Egyptian language was written in various consonant scripts. First in the picture-like hieroglyphs, later also in hieratic, the cursive form of the hieroglyphs, still later also in demotic, which in its turn was a more cursive form of hieratic. These three writing systems were used side by side as late as the Roman period. Only when by the side of these a fourth system, the Greek alphabet, also began to

<sup>21</sup> At least according to K. Meisterhans–E. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1900<sup>3</sup>) 163. We are, of course, waiting for Thraette's volume on morphology to appear.

<sup>22</sup> 1. 87. 6; 2. 2. 1; 5. 56. 5; 5. 81. 2; 5. 83. 4; 6. 7. 4; 6. 93. 4; 7. 18. 4; 8. 58.1.

be used for writing Egyptian, which probably was the case already in the second century A.D., this language showed for the first time its vowels. It is therefore only from Coptic, as Egyptian in Greek letters is called, that one can get a clear vision of the structure of the numeral system.

The basic set of numerals ran from "one" to "ten," and included also the decads for "twenty," "thirty," and "forty" as they bear no likeness at all to "two," "three," and "four;" the decads for "fifty" to "ninety," it is true, bear some likeness to the numerals from "five" up to "nine" but not systematically, and it is best, therefore, to consider them as basic numerals, too, just as the words for "100," "1,000," and "10,000." Alternatively, "80" was sometimes expressed or circumscribed as "4(x)20" (cf. quatre-vingts) or "50(+ )30" (cf. soixante-dix) and "100" as "5(x)20."<sup>23</sup>

The numbers between the decads were formed in two different ways. First, there were compounds consisting of decad (10–90) and basic numeral (1–9); in these formations the decads 10, 20, 30, 80, 90 and the basic numerals 1–8 had special variant forms. For instance, "ten" was *mēt*, and "seven" was *sašf*, but "seventeen" was *mānt-sašfe*. Second, it was also possible to make word groups consisting of decad + "and" + unit, such as *maabe mñ psite*, "39" (Pach. 99b, 15 ff.) by the side of the compound *mabpsite* (Pach. 96. 9).<sup>24</sup> In these word groups the constituent numerals had no special variant forms. A third, alternative method was to juxtapose a decad and a compound. In this way are formed "50(+ )22" for "72," and "50(+ )29" for "79"; compare "50(+ )30" for "80" above.<sup>25</sup>

Of the Old Egyptian numerals only the basic units as well as those for "100," "1,000," "10,000," and "100,000" were sometimes spelled in full, and are therefore known to us, that is to say of course, only their consonantal skeleton. All other numbers were indicated by figures, "93" for instance by repeating 9 times the sign for "10" followed by three vertical strokes for "3." The historical grammar of Coptic makes it clear, however, that the Old-Egyptian words to be postulated for "50" up to "90" were derivations of some kind from the basic numerals for 5 up to 9, possibly plurals from the formal point of view, as in the Semitic languages.<sup>26</sup>

The numeral system of the Coptic language did not contain any subtractive formations; of Old Egyptian nothing is known in this respect. Incidentally, however, there occur in Coptic subtractive expressions, one of them being, as might be expected, 2 *Cor.* 11:24, which is present in both the major Coptic versions of the New Testament (in the Sahidic and

<sup>23</sup> W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1955) 84 (par. 167).

<sup>24</sup> Till, *o.c.*, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Till, *o.c.*, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford 1957<sup>3</sup>), par. 260; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (Rome 1955–1964), par. 395; C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, (Wiesbaden 1963), par. 219.



Bohairic dialects). We refer again to par. 5. 2 for the treatment of this passage.

In the Greek papyri found in Egypt, prices, weights, and other measures are often expressed as a whole with a shortage, especially prices in the Vth–VIIIth centuries. Lists and accounts drawn up in Coptic show this phenomenon, too. Two instances are found on ostraca unearthed at Wadi Sarga and dating from about the same period, the VIth–VIIIth centuries.<sup>27</sup>

The first is a shipment account of wine and runs: “+The list of the wines. We shipped from Tuho ten “hands” and six “simpula” which make seven hundred and seventy less one.”<sup>28</sup> Apparently the “hands” and “simpula” were larger wine measures, adding up to almost the round number of 770 of a much smaller measure, which number was then preferred to the less surveyable 769, or else “770 less one” might indicate the price, and in that case “one” probably rather represents a smaller unit of currency subtracted from an amount expressed in larger units, comparable to what happens in our second ostrakon.

This is likewise an account of a shipment, this time of fodder and barley: “+ Lo, nineteen ‘artabae’ of fodder less one ‘oipe,’ and nineteen ‘artabae’ of wheat less two ‘oipe’ have I sent southward. + Written 10th of Mesore, 6th Indiction.”<sup>29</sup> Of the same kind are two more instances: “fifteen years less three months” (RNC 40) and “seven holokottina (*i.e.* solidi) less one ‘trimesion’ (*i.e.* 1/3 solidus)” (P. Jkōw).<sup>30</sup> These four instances all betray the same preference for mentioning rather a higher number less something than a lower number plus something.

### 5. Hebrew and Aramaic

The numeral systems of the West-Semitic languages (Hebrew and the various Aramaic dialects, including Syriac) were all of the same structure. The basic set of numerals ran up to “ten”; the words for “eleven” to “nineteen” were additive compounds of the basic numerals and “ten”; “twenty” was formally the masculine plural of “ten,” which is supposed to have replaced an earlier dual of “ten”;<sup>31</sup> the further decads were formally masculine plurals of the basic numerals from “three” to “nine”; the numerals in between were additive wordgroups consisting of decad + “and” + basic, in which the “higher” usually preceded the “lower” element. Apparently the

<sup>27</sup> F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* . . . II (Berlin 1927) 232b–233a s.v.  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ .

<sup>28</sup> W. E. Crum–H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga. Coptic and Greek Texts (Coptica consilio et impensis Instituti Rask - Oerstediani edita III)* (Copenhagen 1922) 118 (no. 133); for *simpulum* cf. p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Crum–Bell *o.c.* 150 (no. 191).

<sup>30</sup> Both instances taken over from W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939) 593a–b.

<sup>31</sup> H. Bauer–P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Hildesheim 1965 repr.), I 626.

system did not contain subtractive formations. Nevertheless, in post-biblical Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic literature one does find a number of instances of subtractive numerals, be it only with the formula "less one."

These instances can be divided into two categories: 1. Cases in which there is a deviation, in the sense of a diminution, from a round number given in the Bible or from an otherwise normative count. 2. Cases based upon the principle of the "fence around the Law" (*s<sup>e</sup>yag la-Torah*), developed in post-biblical Judaism.

5.1. Clear instances of deviations from a biblical number: In Exod. 16:35, Num. 14:33-34; Deut. 8:2; 29:5; and Joshua 5:6, it is stated that after the exodus the people of Israel wandered for forty years in the desert. In the Babylonian Talmud (= Bavli), *Zevaḥim* 118b, the rabbis say: "The duration of the Tent of meeting (*i.e.* the Tabernacle) in the wilderness was forty years less one. How do we know that? Because a master said: In the first year (*sc.* of the exodus) Moses made the Tabernacle; in the second the Tabernacle was set up" (cf. a similar passage *ibid.* 119a).<sup>32</sup> A comparable case is Talmud, *Arakhin* 13a: "Whence do we know that it took seven years to conquer (*sc.* the Land)? Caleb said: "Forty years old was I when Moses the servant of the Lord sent me from Kadesh-Barnea to spy out the land (Joshua 14:7) . . . and now lo, I am this day four-score and five years old (Joshua 14:10)." And a master said: "The first year Moses built the Tabernacle, in the second the Tabernacle was put up, then he sent out the spies. When Caleb passed over the Jordan, how old therefore was he? He was two years less than eighty years old."<sup>33</sup> When he distributed the inheritances, he said: "Now lo, I am this day four-score and five years old" (Joshua 14:10). Whence it follows that it took seven years for them to conquer the land."

An instance of deviation from a round number within Scripture itself is mentioned by the rabbis in Talmud, *Bava Bathra* 123a: "Why do you find the number seventy in their total (*sc.* of Jacob's sons and grandsons in Genesis 46:27) and only seventy less one in their detailed enumeration (in Gen. 46:8 ff.)?" This problem was solved by later rabbis in the following way. *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer* 39 reads: "When they (*sc.* Jacob and his descendants) came to the border of Egypt, all the males were enrolled (*sc.* in genealogical tables, to the number of) sixty-six; Joseph and his two sons in Egypt (made a total of) sixty-nine.<sup>34</sup> But it is written, "With seventy persons your fathers went down into Egypt" (Deut. 10:22). What did the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 4. 176 τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συμπληρωμένων Μωϋσῆς . . . λέγει τοιάδε· κτλ.

<sup>33</sup> Allowing forty years for the sojourn of Israel in the wilderness. It should be noted here that the same passage recurs in *Zevaḥim* 118b where the printed editions have "78," but codex Munich reads "eighty less two."

<sup>34</sup> So the extant mss.; the early editions, however, read "seventy less one" probably on the basis of mss. now lost.

Holy One, blessed be He, do? He entered into the number with them, and the total became seventy, to fulfil that which is said, "I will go down with thee into Egypt" (Gen. 46:4). When Israel came up from Egypt, all the mighty men were enrolled (amounting to) six hundred thousand less one. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He entered into the number with them, and their total amounted to six hundred thousand, to fulfil that which is said, "I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again (Gen. 46:4)."<sup>35</sup>

Instances with deviations from round numbers not from Scripture but from tradition: Talmud, *Jevamoth* 64a, states: "The divine presence does not rest on less than two thousand and two myriads of Israelites. Should the number of Israelites happen to be two thousand and two myriads less one, and any particular person has not engaged in the propagation of the race, does he not thereby cause the divine presence to depart from Israel?" (cf. a very similar passage in *Bava Qamma* 83a). Talmud, *Sotah* 36b: "(It was stated above that on the stones of the ephod) there were fifty letters, but there were fifty less one! Rabbi Isaac said: One letter was added to the name of Joseph, as it is said, 'He appointed it in Joseph for a testimony, when he went out over the land of Egypt' (Psalm 81:6, where Joseph's name is spelt with five letters instead of the usual four, *yhwsp* instead of *ywsp*)." Talmud, *Nedarim* 38a: "Fifty gates of understanding were created in the world, all but one were given to Moses." Very curious is Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 95b: "The length of his (*sc.* Sanherib's) army was four hundred parasangs, the horses standing neck to neck formed a line forty parasangs long, and the grand total of his army was two million six hundred thousand less one. Abaye inquired: Less one *ribbo* (ten thousand), one thousand, one hundred, or one? The question stands over." Not in every case it is clear how a tradition of these round numbers (22,000; 50; 2,600,000) has come into being,<sup>36</sup> but for our purposes that is not important.

It should be added here that in some isolated instances in the Aramaic dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud the Greek loan-word *παρά* is used in its subtractive meaning: *Eruvin* 20b *shov'in min shov'in ha' hamishah 'alafin para' me'at*:  $70 \times 70 = 5000 - 100$ . *Demai* 24c *hada' para' shivhad*: one minus a little bit. Cf. *Kethuvot* 30d.<sup>37</sup>

In general the principle is clear: a given round number, mostly either biblical or traditional, is the point of departure, and deviations from it to below are indicated by a subtractive way of counting.

<sup>35</sup> G. Friedlander's translation *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer* (London 1916) 304, slightly revised.

<sup>36</sup> For other instances see *Niddah* 30a (sixty less one) and *Eruvin* 83a (seventy less one).

<sup>37</sup> See G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig 1905 repr. Darmstadt 1960) 134 (par. 23).

5.2 The same holds for the category to be discussed now, but nevertheless it is dealt with separately because the relevant material is concerned with the principle of "a fence around the Torah." This principle (formulated in Mishna *Avoth* I 1) can be described as follows: In order to avoid that a commandment in the Torah be transgressed, rules are developed that create a margin of safety (a "fence") around the commandment.<sup>38</sup> This can best be illustrated by presenting the material under discussion. In the Torah, in Deuteronomy 25:3, it is said: "They may give him forty strokes, but not more; otherwise, if they go further and exceed this number, your fellow-countryman will have been publicly degraded." The explicit injunction "not more" made people be aware that it would constitute a serious transgression if the person concerned would receive more than 40 strokes. Hence, as a "fence" it was ordained in post-biblical Judaism that, for safety's sake, the punishment would consist of "forty less one" strokes, so that, even if the executor would make a mistake in counting and inflict a stroke too much, the man or woman would not get more than 40. Hence the Mishna, *Makkoth* 3. 10, states: "How many stripes do they inflict on a man? Forty less one (*'arba'im haser 'ahat*), for it is written, "by number forty," (that is) a number near to forty".<sup>39</sup> For the same reason the apostle Paul writes in 2 Cor. 11:24 ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον,<sup>40</sup> which shows that the principle is older than the Mishna, as can also be inferred from Josephus *Ant.* 4. 238 ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας πληγὰς μὴ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ σκύτει λαβὼν κτλ. Cf. *ibid.* 248 πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα μὴ λειπούσας λαμβάνων κτλ. (but note that in *Ant.* 10. 77 and *Bell.* 6. 270 Josephus uses τριακονταεννέα). Two Targums (*sc.* Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, Aramaic paraphrastic translations of the Old Testament) render Deut. 25:3 as follows: "Forty (stripes) may be laid upon him, but with one less shall he be beaten, (the full number) shall not be completed, lest he

<sup>38</sup> G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* I (Cambridge, Mass. 1927) 259: "Avoth I 1 'Make a fence for the Law', that is, protect it by surrounding it with cautionary rules to halt a man like a danger signal before he gets within breaking distance of the divine statute itself."

<sup>39</sup> This "by number forty" is arrived at by the rabbis by linking up the final word of Deut. 25:2 *be'mispar*, "by number," with the first word of Deut. 25:3 *'arba'im*, "forty." Thus they tried to give a biblical basis to their deviation from the biblical number. See S. Krauss, *Sanhedrin - Makkot* (Die Mischna IV 4-5) (Giessen 1933) 369-70. Cf. the Talmudic discussion of this Mishna in *Makkoth* 22b: "if it were written 'forty in number,' I should have said it means forty in number, but as the wording is 'by number forty,' it means a number coming up to the forty" (Soncino translation).

<sup>40</sup> On the question of how Paul could have incurred this maximum penalty see A. E. Harvey, "Forty Strokes Save One," in A. E. Harvey (ed.), *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study* (London 1985) 79-96.

should add to smite him beyond those thirty-nine and he be in danger."<sup>41</sup>

There is another instance in the Mishnah that is sometimes referred to in this context,<sup>42</sup> wrongly in our opinion. In *Shabbath* 7. 2 the context is a discussion of the types of work forbidden on sabbath. The text runs: "The main classes of work are forty less one ('*arba'im haser 'ahat*')." The same tradition is found in the Midrash, *Numbers Rabbah* 18. 21: "The principal categories of work (forbidden on sabbath) are forty less one." At first sight one would expect that there is a fixed number 40 in Scripture or tradition relating to this issue. But there is no such number, and if it were there, the Mishnah would make no sense, for the principle of "a fence around the Torah" would demand in that case *more*, not *less* than 40 kinds of forbidden labour. So this principle cannot be at work here, and it is very hard to say what is the reason for this specific way of counting here. Sidney Hoenig's suggestion, "The 40 mentioned biblically in the case of *malkot* (punishment by lashes) was utilized for application in a parallel manner for the sabbatical prohibitions,"<sup>43</sup> is not and cannot be proved. Even if that would apply to the use of the number 40, it definitely does not apply to the formula "40 less 1," since the "fence-principle" is operative in only one of the two cases, not in both. One might, however, suggest that the use of "40 less 1" instead of "thirty-nine" in the case of forbidden kinds of work may have been a rather mechanical transfer of terminology which existed already longer (for the 39 strokes), to a different situation in which the same number (39) played a role, albeit without the same background. It is, therefore, interesting to see that in the Midrash *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, *Shabbata* 2 (III p. 206 Lauterbach) it is stated in connection with Exod. 35:1 ("And He said unto them: These are the words etc."): "Rabbi says: This includes the laws about the thirty-nine (*sheloshim we-tesha'*) categories of work prohibited on the Sabbath which Moses gave them orally." The fact that in this passage the usual additive numeral is used makes clear that "forty less

<sup>41</sup> See also H. L. Strack - P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* III (München 1926) 527-28. J. le Moyné, *Les Sadducéens* (Paris 1972) 239. G. F. Moore, *Judaism* II-III (Cambridge, Mass. 1927-1930) II 27-28, III 171. Characteristically, the later Syriac version of 2 *Cor.* 11:24 uses about the same words as the Mishnah: '*arba'in' arba'in hasir hada'*, "each time forty less one" (Peshitta *ad loc.*; cf. Vulgate *quadragenas* instead of *quadraginta*). It is uncertain whether the terminology in *Acta Pilati* (*Evang. Nicodemi*) 4:3 (λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν περιέχει ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἕαν ἁμαρτήσῃ, ἀξιός ἐστιν λαμβάνειν τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν, ὃ δὲ εἰς θεὸν βλασφημῶν λιθοβολία λιθοβολεῖσθαι αὐτόν) depends upon 2 *Cor.* 11:24 or shows independent knowledge of Jewish usage.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. W. H. Roscher, *Die Zahl 40 im Glauben, Brauch und Schrifttum der Semiten*, *Abh. der phil.-hist. Klasse der kön. sächs. Akad. der Wiss.* 27:4 (Leipzig 1909) 25. This study by Roscher is a supplement to his *Die Tessarakontaden und Tessarakontadenlehren der Griechen und anderer Völker*, *Berichte über die Verhandl. der kön. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse* 61 (Leipzig 1909).

<sup>43</sup> See S. B. Hoenig, "The Designated Number of Kinds of Labor Prohibited on the Sabbath," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 68 (1978) 205.

one" had not become a fixed expression in relation to types of work forbidden on Sabbath, unlike the forty less one strokes. Also clear is the fact that the forty less one types of work are later than the forty less one strokes (Paul precedes the Mishna by one and a half century). One might suggest that the number of types of work prohibited on Sabbath—performance of which made one liable to beating<sup>44</sup>—was worked out to match the number of blows in the beating and therefore the same form of numeral was used.<sup>45</sup> But this is no more than an educated guess. It seems to be impossible to state with certainty what was the background in this case.

## 6. Conclusions

It may have become clear that the principles operative behind the use of subtractive numerals are definitely not the same in all languages discussed in this article. For Latin it was already known that subtractives were very old elements that remained in use for a long time (till the first centuries of our era) but then gradually disappeared and hence are no longer part of the Romance languages. As to Greek, however, subtractives have either been totally neglected by modern scholars or considered to be a rare and clumsy irregularity in the otherwise additive system. Now it turns out to have been a usage of much wider currency than has always been thought. Most probably it was, as in Latin, an element of the early spoken language that has persisted in prose writings till the end of the Classical period. Contrary to the classical languages, in Semito-Hamitic languages (Egyptian, Coptic, Hebrew, Aramaic) subtractives have never been part of the numeral system. Hence there are considerably fewer instances, but, as far as Hebrew and Aramaic are concerned, in almost all these cases it could be demonstrated that the use of subtractives was caused by the existence of a normative round number from which there is a deviation to below. To this category, and only to this, belongs the only passage in the Bible where a subtractive numeral occurs, 2 *Cor.* 11:24.

*University of Utrecht*

<sup>44</sup> Flogging is the punishment for all kinds of violations, by overt act, of negative biblical injunctions (Mishna, *Makkoth* 3:1–9); see H. H. Cohn, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 6 (1972) 1349; Z. W. Falk, *Introduction to the Jewish Law of the Second Commonwealth* II (Leiden 1978) 160.

<sup>45</sup> We owe this suggestion to Prof. Morton Smith of New York (letter of 25 September 1985).

## Eva Sachs on Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

WILLIAM M. CALDER, III

## I. Introduction

Theodor Klauser in his exemplary life of Henri Leclercq (1869–1945) remarks at its beginning the rapidity with which the details of a scholar's life are scattered and forgotten soon after his decease:<sup>1</sup>

Schon wenige Jahre nach dem Tode eines prominenten Mannes von heute sind seine Lebensumstände nur dann noch feststellbar, wenn sie in irgendwelchen wohlbehüteten Personalakten nachzulesen sind. Wer keinem Verband angehört hat, der solche Personalakten führt, ist bald nach seinem Tode nur noch ein blasser Schatten; es fehlen alle deutlichen Konturen.

Only three women of great age are alive today who knew Eva Sachs (1882–1936). The one who could say most will say nothing. Eva Sachs' name has been forgotten by all except the most specialized of Platonists and historians of ancient mathematics. Even for them, it is but a name on a title-page. She wrote her dissertation with the greatest Hellenist of modern times. Her work was praised by the highest authority and its contribution to knowledge is agreed to be a permanent one. Her unselfish aid eased the publication of one of the three or four most influential books on Plato of this century. Of classical philologists of the golden age who were women she has only one rival—the editor of Suidas, the Danish Jewess, Ada Adler.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of two new documents that cast light on the brief and unhappy life of this brilliant woman, one of which reveals much about her great teacher, have caused me to gather what can be known still and seek to restore contours to the pale shadow.

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Klauser, "Henri Leclercq 1869–1945: vom Autodidakten zum Kompilator grossen Stils," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 5* (Münster 1977) 10.

<sup>2</sup> For Ada Adler (1878–1946) see Per Krarup and Hans Raeder, *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon 1* (Copenhagen 1979) 55, a reference I owe Dr. J. Mejer (Copenhagen). Her letters to Wilamowitz survive.

## II. A Forgotten Life

Two published documents survive concerning the life of Eva Sachs (1882–1936). The first is a brief Latin autobiography that ends her dissertation. Because of its importance, brevity, and the difficulty in obtaining it,<sup>3</sup> I republish it here rather than paraphrasing it.<sup>4</sup>

Nata sum Eva Henrica Sachs Id. Apr. a. 1882, Berolini patre Emanuelo, matre Minna e gente Lachmann, quos praematura morte mihi abreptos esse doleo. Fidei addicta sum iudaicae. Inde ab anno 1889 usque ad annum 1898 ludum puellarum frequentavi, cui nomen est "Charlottenschule" et qui tum regente Carolo Goldbeck+ florebat. Litterarum elementis imbutam Carolus Goldbeck, vir humanissimus, summo antiquorum litterarum amore inflammatus, a recentiorum temporum studio ad antiquorum revocavit. Qui vir summus non solum magister venerandus sed etiam amicus carus mihi meisque extitit.

Proximis annis in instituto, quod dicebatur "Victoria Lyceum" historicis studiis me dedi. Inde ab anno 1902 privatis curis instructa gymnasium puellarum, cui praefuit J. Wychgramm, frequentavi, ubi mihi contigit, ut scholis Guilelmi Moeller interesssem, viri vere philologi.

Vere 1904 maturitatis testimonium adepta universitatem Berolinensem adii, ut studiis historicis et philologis, imprimisque Platonicis me darem.

Docuerunt me viri doctissimi: Cassirer, Diels, Harnack, Helm, Hirschfeld, Imelmann, Lehmann-Haupt, Mewald, Eduardus Meyer, Münch+, Norden, Paulsen+, Riehl, Simmel, M.P.C. Schmidt, Guilelmus Schulze, Stumpf, Wentzel, de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Winnefeld, Woelfflin.

Sodalis fui proseminarii philologici per tria, seminarii per tria, seminarii historici regente Ottone Hirschfeld per unum, moderante Eduardo Meyer per sex semestria.

Ad exercitationes historicas me admisit C. Lehmann-Haupt, ad epigraphicas Winnefeld, ad philosophicas Cassirer.

Quibus omnibus viris gratiam habeo quam maximam, praeter ceteros Hermanno Diels, Eduardo Meyer, Eduardo Norden, e quibus Dielesius etiam in hac dissertatione perpolianda liberalissime me adiuvit.

Udalrico de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff gratias non ago: eorum quae ab eo dona accepi, —τούτων θεοῖσι χρῆ πολύμνηστον χάριν τίειν.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> I cite the copy in the Classical Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I am grateful to Professor David Sansone, who aided me in tracking it down.

<sup>4</sup> Eva Sachs, *De Theaeteto Atheniensi Mathematico: Dissertatio inauguralis quam ad summos in philosophia honores rite capessendos consensu et auctoritate amplissimi philosophorum ordinis in alma litterarum universitate Friderica Guilelma Berolinensi* (Diss. Berlin 1914) 71.

<sup>5</sup> A. Ag. 821–22, long a favorite play of Wilamowitz, who had edited it with translation in 1885 and published a famous revised translation in 1900. He translates these verses:



She was early orphaned and avoided the easy way of Protestant baptism, taken by so many assimilated Jews of the period. 1898–1902 she attended the famous Victoria-Lyzeum, the leading girls-school in Berlin. There she may have met Adelheid Mommsen, who with her father's permission was studying to become a school-teacher.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps she would have heard Wilamowitz, who had lectured there regularly since his appointment to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in 1897.<sup>7</sup> In 1904, already determined to study Plato, she matriculated at that university. She received the finest classical education available in the history of the discipline. One should note that she did not confine herself to philology in the narrow sense. The breadth of her interests was extraordinary; and she took her time. She defended her dissertation 29th April 1914. During ten years at the university she heard besides the great classical scholars: the young philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945);<sup>8</sup> the church historian Adolf Harnack (1851–1930); the Roman historian Otto Hirschfeld (1843–1922);<sup>9</sup> the universal historian Eduard Meyer (1855–1930); the historian of higher education Friedrich Paulsen (1846–1908); the neo-Kantian Georg Simmel; the linguist Wilhelm Schulze (1863–1935); the psychologist and musicologist Carl Stumpf (1848–1936) and the art-historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945).<sup>10</sup>

The great mentor was always Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931). The courses he offered during her time at Berlin are known.<sup>11</sup> He was particularly interested in Plato at this period. His *Platon* would have appeared sooner had it not been for the war. Between 1904 and 1914

Des Dankes für der Götter Beistand dürfen wir niemals vergessen.

See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Tragödien*, 2 (Berlin 1900) 78–79.

<sup>6</sup> Adelheid Mommsen, *Theodor Mommsen im Kreise der Seinen* (Berlin 1936) 63.

<sup>7</sup> See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen 1848–1914*, ed. 2 (Leipzig 1929) 247 and for the foolishness of some of the girls *ib.*, 226. He had already begun to lecture there in autumn 1897. *Daphnis* was delivered at the opening of the winter semester 1897 at the Victoria-Lyzeum in the presence of the Empress of Prussia: see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden und Vorträge*, I ed. 4 (Berlin 1925) 259, n. 1. For Friedrich Paulsen's (1846–1908) unfortunate experience at the school see Friedrich Paulsen, *An Autobiography*, translated by Theodor Lorenz (New York 1938) 278–80. He was discontinued because of his unwise criticism of the Prussian aristocracy. As a student Eva Sachs attended his university lectures.

<sup>8</sup> See David R. Lipton, *Ernst Cassirer: the Dilemma of a Liberal Intellectual in Germany 1914–1933* (Toronto 1978).

<sup>9</sup> For Otto Hirschfeld see Ernst Komemann, *BiogJahr* 202 (1924) 104–116. He was victim of the violent antisemitism of Karl Julius Beloch (1854–1929): see Karl Christ, *Von Gibbon zu Rostovzeff: Leben und Werk führender Althistoriker der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt 1972; repr. 1979) 265, n. 65.

<sup>10</sup> For the lectures he delivered at Berlin 1901–1912 see Meinhold Lurz, "Heinrich Wölfflin: Biographie einer Kunsttheorie," *Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen* NF 17 (Worms 1981) 381–82.

<sup>11</sup> F. Frhr. Hiller v. Gaetringen and Günther Klaffenbach, *Wilamowitz-Bibliographie 1868 bis 1929* (Berlin 1919) 79–81.

he offered the following lectures and seminars on Plato: *Cursory Readings in Plato's Laws* (WS 1905/06); *Plato, Critias* (SS 1906); *Plato, Euthydemus* (WS 1908/09); *Plato and Plato Laws VI* (SS 1909); *Plato, Symposium* (WS 1911/12); *Plato, Republic* (SS 1913).<sup>12</sup> He inspired her to write her dissertation under his direction with Hermann Diels as second reader. The dissertation proved that Theaetetus the son of Euphronius from Sounion was both the mathematician and the friend and student of Plato, one of whose dialogues bears his name. That the *Souda*, whom Bentley called "a sheep with golden fleece," makes the one man into two (Θ 93, 94 Adler) is an error. She further cogently argued that the battle of Corinth (*Th.* 142a) after which Theaetetus died was that of 369 B.C. and not 394 B.C. These conclusions have been accepted by the highest authorities.<sup>13</sup> Her first book was dedicated "to the memory of her dearest parents."

The expanded German version of the dissertation, "The Five Platonic Solids: On the History of Mathematics and the Theory of Elements in Plato and the Pythagoreans," has remained authoritative in its field.<sup>14</sup> The book was already finished in summer 1913 and was submitted along with her Latin dissertation. In summer 1914 several details were added and Chapter II. 2 ("Das Werk des Theaetet"), translated into German from the Latin. The book had been accepted by the press (Weidmann) to appear in the series *Philologische Untersuchungen*, edited by Wilamowitz. The outbreak of war in August 1914 delayed publication. In fall 1915 in spite of wartime difficulties the press agreed to publish her manuscript. The volume appeared in 1917.<sup>15</sup> Werner Jaeger was quick to greet in a letter to Wilamowitz of 24 July 1917 the "ungewöhnlich selbstständige u. kluge Buch." He has some questions: "Aber die Tendenz, die Einwirkung der

<sup>12</sup> For an informed view of Wilamowitz' views on Plato see Jaap Mansfeld, *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, edd. William M. Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken (Darmstadt 1985) 217-20.

<sup>13</sup> See for example Paul Friedländer, *Plato 3, The Dialogues: Second and Third Periods* (London 1969) 486, n. 3; Kurt von Fritz, *RE* 5A (1934) 1351. 30-41; W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* 3 (Cambridge 1969) 499 with n. 2; Vol. 4 (Cambridge 1975) 52 with n. 2; Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said* (Chicago 1933) 572. The most welcome praise Eva Sachs lived to read: see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon* I (ed. 2) (Berlin 1920) v: "Fräulein Eva Sachs, die durch die endgültige Feststellung der Abfassungszeit des Theaetet einen Angelpunkt der platonischen Chronologie jedem Zweifel entrückt hatte, ist mir eine Treiberin gewesen, und ihre eigene philosophische Forschung hat die meine befruchtet."

<sup>14</sup> See the scholar most able to judge: Kurt von Fritz, *RE* 5A (1934) 1363. 17-24. Her dissertation is cited with approval at R. S. Brombaugh, "Plato's Mathematical Imagination," *Indiana University Publications: Humanities Series* 29 (Bloomington 1954; reprinted: Millwood 1977) 275, n. 30 (for the development of the irrationals [=incommensurables]). Her book is cited for the elucidation of *Ti* 53-54 and *Rep* VII at 296, n. 36. As no page numbers are provided the citations may well be second-hand.

<sup>15</sup> For the *Entstehungsgeschichte* see Eva Sachs, "Die fünf Platonischen Körper: Zur Geschichte der Mathematik und der Elementenlehre Platons und der Pythagoreer," *Philologische Untersuchungen* 24 (Berlin 1917) v. She remarks: "So muß ich den Leser bitten, zu berücksichtigen, daß er ein vor vier Jahren geschriebenes Buch vor sich hat."

Mathematik auf Platon zu erkennen, ist jedenfalls sehr fruchtbar."<sup>16</sup> The book is dedicated to no one. At the end of the preface there is a mysterious sentence (viii): "Zu eigen ist dieses Buch, auch ohne Widmung, meinem Lehrer Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff."

This mystery was solved when about 1974 I was able to interview at the home of Margarete Bieber the cousin of Eva Sachs. Professor Vera Regina Lachmann (1904–1985) then professor of classics at Brooklyn College. I published the substance of this interview in 1978.<sup>17</sup> I reprint it here:

A brilliant Jewess, Assistentin to Wilamowitz, she helped much for *Platon* (see *Platon* I. v). She was in love with Wilamowitz. Forbidden by Marie Mommsen to enter the house, she dared not even dedicate her book to him, as male students did . . . She was ugly and went mad, ending her days in an insane asylum, speaking ancient Greek and believing "she could save Socrates if she got there in time."

That Marie Mommsen imposed *Hausverbot* on Eva Sachs struck me as improbable, a typical embellishment that years of retelling often add. A similar case, however, may confirm Vera Lachmann's statement. One other woman wrote a dissertation under Wilamowitz' direction. Luise Reinhard, *Observationes criticae in Platonem* (Diss. Berlin 1916), later expanded to "Die Anakoluthe bei Platon," *Philologische Untersuchungen* 25 (Berlin 1926), was directed by Wilamowitz.<sup>18</sup> Wilamowitz writes to Eduard Norden on 27 August 1927 (unpublished): "Frl. Reinhard hat definitiv mit mir und meinem Hause gebrochen. Die ist also erledigt—mag sie ihren Unsinn drucken, um unsere Rückständigkeit zu erweisen. Da hat man wieder viel zu viel Wohlwollen verschwendet, Sie auch." Luise Reinhard will not visit Wilamowitz' house again. No reason is stated, though foolish ideas and stubbornness are implied. In any case the initiative was hers; certainly not Marie Mommsen's.<sup>19</sup> The death of Eva Sachs in an asylum will be confirmed below.

<sup>16</sup> Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Selected Correspondence 1869–1931," edited by William M. Calder III, *Antiqua* 23 (Naples 1983) 179. After Wilamowitz' forced retirement in 1921, his successor Werner Jaeger's (1888–1961) opinion on Eva Sachs' habilitation would have been decisive. His intolerance of talented contemporaries (e.g., Karl Reinhardt) is known; and I should not be surprised if he discouraged her.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 182, n. 92.

<sup>18</sup> See Wilamowitz' tribute to her remarkable knowledge of Platonic Greek at *Platon* I (ed. 1) v. At KS 3. 460 he accepts her emendation of Pl. Ep. 7. 344b7.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Luise Reinhard wrote to me on 9 June 1979:

Ich besaß viele Briefe von Ulrich von Wilamowitz, die ich Ihnen gern zur Verfügung gestellt hätte. Bei einem Luftangriff 1944 wurde meine Wohnung in Berlin völlig zerstört, ich verlor meine gesamte Bibliothek und alles, was mir an Briefen und Erinnerungen teuer war. Daß ich den Angriff überlebte, verdanke ich dem Umstand, daß ich damals mit der Augusta-Schule in Cottbus war.

An unpublished letter of Wilamowitz to Eduard Norden dated 15 April 1919 casts considerable light on Eva Sachs' later career. He writes:<sup>20</sup>

Die [sic] gute Fr. Sachs quält sich und andere mit ihrer Zukunft. Zunächst will sie wie sonst Übungen halten, schickt den anliegenden Anschlag, der wie sonst an unser schwarzes Brett des Institutes kommen soll. Ich unterbreite ihn Ihnen; sie meinte, ich sollte Ihnen nur schreiben, den Zettel Friedländer geben. Aber so ist es correct. Ich denke, das kann ihr ohne weiteres gestattet werden. Sie macht es ja sehr gut. Uns schiert die Summe der Dozenten nicht. Regenbogen<sup>21</sup> kommt noch nicht in Betracht.

Aber sie denkt auch an Habilitation. Auch da sage ich mir, das Geschlecht kann nicht mehr hindern.<sup>22</sup> Fr. Bieber ist in Gießen angenommen.<sup>23</sup> Leistungen sind genügend; über eine besondere Habilitationsschrift einigen wir uns vorher. Daß wir so viele Dozenten haben, alle Juden beinahe, ist nicht angenehm, aber wie ich den Pr. Doz. ansehe, ist nur die moralische und wissenschaftliche Qualität maßgebend. Ich würde am liebsten Maas<sup>24</sup> als Byzantinisten zum a.o.Prof. hier oder sonst wo befördern. Als Philologe<sup>25</sup> hat er keine Aussicht, ist auch bei

Friedrich Solmsen, *Kleine Schriften* III (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1982) 432 must refer to this incident when he writes that Luise Reinhard participated in Wilamowitz' *Graeca* "from 1921 to 1928." He adds unhelpfully: "Miss Reinhard left for personal reasons."

<sup>20</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Klaus Hänel for permission to quote both these letters. The transcriptions of both were made by the late Dr. Wolfgang Buchwald.

<sup>21</sup> For Wilamowitz' skeptical view of Otto Regenbogen (1891–1966) at this time see Solmsen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19) 442. For Regenbogen see H. Gundert, *Gnomon* 39 (1967) 219–21; *Id.*, *Gymnasium* 74 (1967) 105–07; Viktor Pöschl, "Literatur und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit: Abhandlungen und Aufsätze zur Römischen Prosa und zur Klassischen Philologie, Kleine Schriften II," ed. Wolf-Lüder Liebermann, *Bibliothek der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften* NS 2, 74 (1983) 277–79. For Regenbogen's dismissal under National-socialism because he did not reveal the Jewish ancestry of his wife see: Comelia Wegeler, *Die Selbstbeschränkung der Wissenschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie seit dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert, untersucht am Beispiel des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität Göttingen (1921–1962)* (Diss. Wien 1985) 119, n. 4 [=n. 3].

<sup>22</sup> For Wilamowitz' view in 1897 on higher education for females see his remarks at *Die akademische Frau. Gutachten hervorragender Universitätsprofessoren, Frauenlehrer und Schriftsteller über die Befähigung der Frau zum wissenschaftlichen Studium und Berufe*, ed. Arthur Kirchhoff (Berlin 1897) 222–25. Thirty years later he was more tolerant: see Solmsen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19) 449: "In the University he was generally friendly to students and remarkably polite to the women; for although at heart he did not believe in women's study, they were 'Damen,' and with a kind of old-time courtesy he kept his hat in his hands as long as he talked to them."

<sup>23</sup> For the art historian Margarete Bieber (1879–1978) see Larissa Bonfante, "Margarete Bieber (1879–1978): An Archaeologist in Two Worlds," *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820–1979*, ed. Claire Richter Sherman with Adele M. Holcomb (Westport/London 1981) 239–74.

<sup>24</sup> For Paul Maas (1880–1964) see Eckart Mensching, *Über einen verfolgten deutschen Altphilologen: Paul Maas (1880–1964)* (Berlin 1987).

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Buchwald observes that Wilamowitz means "Als <Klassischer> Philologe."

allem Scharfsinn zu enger Emendator. Friedländer wäre Verpflanzung sehr zuträglich.<sup>26</sup> Aber wer kann da jetzt hoffen und wirken?

Clearly he does not think that Frl. Sachs should be encouraged. She has made a sensible suggestion for her teaching. Wilamowitz approves but asks Norden's opinion. As far as habilitation goes, although not enthusiastic, he is ready to accept the inevitable. Antisemitism plays no role in his decision. Morality and scholarly ability must rule in every case. Wilamowitz and Norden are to agree on its subject beforehand. She is qualified to habilitate. She never did. Already she is victim to self-torture. This may have been indicative of her later illness and a reason why she never completed the habilitation.

### III. The Two New Documents

Vera Regina Lachmann described the mental illness and death of her cousin some 40 years after the event. A contemporary source has recently been discovered. Otto Kern (1863–1942), an admirer of Wilamowitz, who did not return the admiration,<sup>27</sup> sought in the last years of his life to write a biography of his teacher. The manuscript is unfinished and in the opinion of Freifrau Hiller did not deserve publication. It survives today in the Göttingen *Nachlaß* in 455 handwritten pages.<sup>28</sup> The manuscript is often valuable for facts otherwise unattested. Kern had interviewed people now deceased and even made an effort to gather documents. Furthermore, the full corpus of Wilamowitz' letters, so far as Freifrau Hiller had assembled them, was available to him. Because he was unable to discover the date of death for Eva Sachs, he enquired in 1940 of Hiller von Gaertringen, Wilamowitz' son-in-law, who passed the enquiry on to Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich's grandniece, then at Kobelnik, the *Schloß* of her grandfather Hugo, Ulrich's eldest brother and inheritor of the estates. The first document is her reply to Kern.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For Wilamowitz' evaluation of Paul Friedländer (1882–1968) in 1914 see William M. Calder III and Christhard Hoffmann, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on the Basel Greek Chair," *Museum Helveticum* 43 (1986) 260–61.

<sup>27</sup> For Otto Kern see Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 124–25 and Werner Peek, *NDB* 11 (Berlin 1977) 522–23. For Wilamowitz' disdainful view of his work see *Antiqua* 23 (1983) 5–6 with n. 31; 110 with n. 101; and William M. Calder III and Robert L. Fowler, "The Preserved Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Eduard Schwartz edited with Introduction and Commentary," *SBAW philos.-hist. Klasse* Heft 1 (1986) 59–60; 63. There exists at the Winkelmann-Institut, Humboldt Universität, Berlin-DDR, the manuscript of *Meine Lehrer: Erinnerungen von Otto Kern Weihnachten 1939*. I owe my copy of them to the kindness of Professor Dr. Wolfgang Schindler.

<sup>28</sup> There are copies at the Villa Mowitz and the Library of the Freie Universität West Berlin.

<sup>29</sup> The original letter is preserved at Otto Kern, *Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: Leben und Werke* 394–95.

## 1. Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Otto Kern:

Kobelnik b. Kruschwitz  
 Wartheland 13. 8. 40.

Sehr verehrter Herr Geheimrat,

mein Onkel Hiller schreibt mir eben, dass Sie für Ihre Wilamowitz-biographie gern das Todesdatum von Fräulein Dr. Eva Sachs wissen möchten. Ganz genau kann ich es Ihnen leider nicht mitteilen. Ich weiss nur, dass sie im Herbst 1936 in einer Nervenheilstalt bei Wien gestorben ist.

Ich lernte sie im September—ausgerechnet dem 25., Onkel Ulrichs Todestag—1933 in einem Salzburgerischen Gebirgsort kennen, und dort hat sie mir tagelang begeistert von Onkel Ulrich erzählt. Sie lebte damals schon in Wien und ich lege Ihnen einen Teil aus einem Brief vom 18. Dezember 1933 bei, in dem sie von Onkel Ulrich spricht—aber wahrscheinlich ist Ihnen das alles bekannt.

In Januar 1935 hat man die Unglückliche in eine Heilstalt bringen müssen. Ihr Zustand liess keine Besuche mehr zu, und im Herbst, ich glaube 5 September 1936 ist sie in völliger Umnachtung gestorben.

Eine Schwester von Eva Sachs war damals noch in Wien, ist aber bald darauf nach Amerika ausgewandert.<sup>30</sup> Ich habe nicht feststellen können wohin, sodass ich auch über die Verstorbene nichts weiter erfahren habe.

Vielleicht sind Ihnen diese wenigen Mitteilungen von Nutzen. Den Brief von Eva Sachs, deren ich mich gern und voll erinnere, bitte ich mir bei Gelegenheit zurückzuschicken.

Mit den besten Grüßen

Ihre sehr ergebene  
 Josefine Wilamowitz

2. Eva Sachs to Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff:<sup>31</sup>

Aus einem Brief vom 18 Dezember 1933 an Josefine v. Wilamowitz von Eva Sachs:

<sup>30</sup> Nothing else is known of a sister of Eva Sachs. Possibly Vera Regina Lachmann, her maternal cousin, is meant.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that the introductory sentence is in the same copper-plate hand as the text of Eva Sach's letter proves that Kern had the original copied by an amanuensis and presumably then returned it as requested to Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Presumably only a bit from the beginning of the letter was withheld. The text is found at Kern, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29) 391–93. The paragraphs, "Was sich nicht . . . das Wilamowitz eigen ist" were copied in error out of place at p. 391. A second version is inserted at 392–93 in its correct place. I have followed the correct arrangement.

Vielleicht habe ich in oder nach den Feiertagen noch ein bisschen Ruhe um Ihnen noch einmal zu schreiben, denn dieser Brief muss gleich fort, um noch schnell da zu sein.

An diesem Tage als Gruss ein Wort von Wilamowitz, das erste, das ich als Schülerin, heimlich in die Universität eingeschlichen, im Auditorium Maximum von ihm hörte:<sup>32</sup>

"Denn der Mensch, wenn er was taugt, ist immer mehr wert, als alle Werke, die er geschaffen, und alle Bücher, die er geschrieben hat" (über Clemens von Alexandria).

Ein anderes: "Ein ordentlicher König und ein ordentlicher Gott brauchen sich nicht vor Majestätsbeleidigung zu fürchten."

Am Schluss einer Vorlesung über Aphrodite (1905 Winter): So wird sie ewig in unseren Herzen leben, "denn das Leben ist schön, und das Leben will gelebt werden."<sup>33</sup>

Über Platon: "nur<sup>34</sup> solche Menschen haben dann, wie man zu sagen pflegt, kein Glück."

Nach der Niederlage von 1918 schrieb er mir: "Jetzt heisst es, im Moment und in der Ewigkeit leben."<sup>35</sup>

1919: "Jetzt müssen wir die Klaglieder des Jeremias lesen!"<sup>36</sup>

Er hätte wie Äschylos auf sein Grab<sup>37</sup> schreiben lassen, dass er einer von denen gewesen sei, die bei Marathon gegen die Perser gekämpft habe<n>, nichts von seinem Dichten.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Probably spring 1901, during the public lectures on "Greek Literature of the Empire from Nero on." For Wilamowitz' positive opinion of Clemens Alexandrinus see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Die griechische Literatur des Altertums," *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* I. VIII (ed. 3), ed. Paul Hinneberg (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) 267-68. Note especially (267): "Man gewinnt ihn lieb, je mehr man mit ihm verkehrt, mag auch die Achtung vor seinem Wissen und vor seinem Urteil sinken."

<sup>33</sup> In Winter Semester 1904/05 Wilamowitz' public lectures were on "Die Götter der Griechen." The best commentary on this sentiment is Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Tragödien* I (Berlin 1899) 120-21, where the Aphrodite of Euripides in *Hippolytus* is an anthropomorphic incarnation of the sexual drive. This, says Wilamowitz (120), is a divinity in which both Euripides and he believe.

<sup>34</sup> "nur" in the sense "however." One thinks of the death of Dion and the failure of the Sicilian venture: see my remarks at *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, 101-07.

<sup>35</sup> The best commentary is the *Nachwort zu Band II* at Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon* I (ed. 2) (Berlin 1920) vi, where he takes refuge in "das Reich der ewigen Formen." As far as the world goes there is no future, only the moment. He has but to "die out."

<sup>36</sup> To Eva Sachs he cites the Old Testament. For this mood of utter despair compare his letter of 26 November 1918 to Werner Jaeger at *Antiqua* 23 (1983) 187-89. Rather than the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* he cites to Jaeger A. Ag. 139, 159, a text cited on other occasions: see *ibid.*, 190, n. 126.

<sup>37</sup> *TrGF* 3 T 162. For Wilamowitz on this epitaph which he considered contemporary and composed in Athens see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aischylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 233-34, esp. (234): "... es redet nur von dem Ruhme des Kriegers, nicht von dem des Dichters." See further *id.*, *KS* IV. 204-05.

<sup>38</sup> Eva Sachs' instinct was correct. The custom at Schulpforte was that alumni write their own obituaries. Wilamowitz' is published at *Ecce* (Naumburg 1931) 8-11. He states in this (9)

Nach dem Friedensschluss schrieb er mir: "Ich preise Tycho glücklich, er ist noch im Glauben und in der Liebe gestorben."<sup>39</sup>

Was sich nicht wiedergeben lässt und auch Sie vielleicht nie von ihm ganz erlebt haben, war die gesammelte Kraft und Leidenschaft, die ausstrahlte, wenn er in Auditorium Maximum eine öffentliche Vorlesung hielt, wirklich die Radiumkraft seiner Seele auf die versammelte Menge der Hörer,<sup>40</sup> und dann das andere, wenn er in seinem stillen Zimmer ganz schlicht und still über Platon sprach, "den Menschen, den ich vor allen auf der Welt am meisten liebe."<sup>41</sup> Er sprach von ihm so schlicht und herb, wie von einem nahen Verwandten. Wenn Sie den Staat gelesen haben, werden Sie verstehen, was ich meine, wenn ich sage, er war Platons jüngerer Bruder Glaukon.<sup>42</sup>

Jetzt, wo ich dies alles in Hast und Eile niederschreibe, bin ich ganz traurig, dass ich Ihnen nicht mehr geben kann, und sehe, wie eben die künstlerische Kraft nicht da ist, dies Bild so zu formen, dass er Ihnen nahe

that the highest point of his life was when on 16 June 1871, returning victorious from the French campaign, he marched before his king. The next highest was when he performed Egmont at Pforte on Shrove Tuesday 1867. He was in his own estimation first a soldier, second an actor, and then teacher and scholar.

<sup>39</sup> Wilamowitz refers to the heroic death of his son, Tycho (1885–1914), in battle against the Russians before Iwngorod in the early morning of 16 October 1914. An eyewitness of his death, Steinecke, Leutnant der Reserve, reported to Wilamowitz: "Tycho eilte der Artillerie zu Hilfe gegen eine Übermacht und machte die Geschütze frei. Er erhielt bei seinem Siegeslauf einen Kopfschuss. Gelitten hat er nicht. Ohne jeden Laut ist er zu Boden gesunken. Sein Gesicht war vollkommen ruhig, nicht schmerzverzerrt. Von seinem Tode hat er nichts geahnt. Er selbst wünschte sich einen solchen Tod." Wilamowitz' *Glaube* means faith in the justice of his cause; *Liebe* means love for his fatherland and comrades. His formulation recalls the famous mot attributed to Solon at Hdt I. 32. 7 never to call a man happy before he is dead.

<sup>40</sup> The closest parallel is Eduard Schwartz' description, written October 1938 to Otto Kern, of the young Wilamowitz lecturing at Greifswald: see *Quaderni di storia* 7 (1978) 211–12 with an English translation at Calder-Fowler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27) 7.

<sup>41</sup> The adoration of Plato was early. Wilamowitz himself dates his conversion to autumn 1866: see *Antiqua* 27 (1984) 155 with notes 38–41. As a man, he remarked to Norden (*KS* 668): "Fidem profiteor Platoniam." A close parallel to the sentiment recalled by Eva Sachs is found in an unpublished letter to Max Fränkel in my possession (13 August 1875):

Stutzig gemacht hat mich Ihr zweifel, ob Platon ein großer dichter oder sonst was sei. freilich der größte dichter der Hellenen ist er, überhaupt die incorporation alles deßen was groß schön wahr in der alten welt ist; ich kenne auf diesem planeten nur zwei solche menschen noch, gegen die der größte gott, den sich die menschen erfanden, ein ganz armseliger schulknabe ist, der eine heißt Raffael und der andere heißt Göthe.

I preserve the orthography and punctuation of the original.

<sup>42</sup> For the ancient testimonia for Glaukon son of Ariston, brother of Adeimantos and Plato, see Paul Natorp, *RE* 7 (1910) 1402. 50–1403. 25. Eva Sachs errs when she calls Glaukon Plato's younger brother. Plato was the youngest in a family of four children: see Wilamowitz, *Platon* I. 35–36. Wilamowitz describes Glaukon (*ib.*, 37) as "äußerst lebhaft, vorwitzig, leidenschaftlich."



sein könnte. Denn der Mann als Ganzes war von einer Herrlichkeit, gegen die alle Feinheit und Klugheit der Stefan Georgeleute verblasst; aber dazu gehörte eben einer, der dies eigentlich heldische Wesen mit festem Griffel festhalten könnte. Auch er war eine "ins Geistige verirrte Tüternatur,"<sup>43</sup> viel mehr als Stefan George,<sup>44</sup> der freilich auch die Macht des "Führers" über die Seelen besass, aber nicht das Wickingergewesen, das Wilamowitz eigen war.

Nun leben Sie wohl. Ich wünsche Ihnen ein frohes Fest im verschneiten Hause. Haben Sie Tannenwald in der Nähe? Das ist das einzige, was ich in der schönen, der Stadt so nahen Natur hier vermisse; denn die Schneefülle würde herrlich sein auf Tannenwald; von den Nadelbäumen, ausser wenn Rauheif ist, gleitet sie ab.

Grüssen Sie, bitte, die Ihren und sagen Sie auch ihnen meine besten Wünsche. Und verzeihen Sie mein langes Schweigen und diesen unfestlichen Brief.

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Ihre

Eva Sachs

#### Translation<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps I shall have a bit of leisure during the holidays or after to write you once again: for this letter must be posted immediately in order to be there quickly.

On this day as greeting a word from Wilamowitz, the first that I heard from him in the Auditorium Maximum, as a schoolgirl, secretly smuggled into the University:

"For a human being, when he is any good, is always of greater value than all the work that he has done and all the books which he has written" (about Clement of Alexandria).

Another: "A decent king and a decent God need not fear *lèsé-majesté*."

<sup>43</sup> I cannot identify the source of this quotation. No matter. She provides a profound insight into Wilamowitz' nature; for she has discerned the quintessence of his attraction to the Herakles figure and the reason for his emphasis on an otherwise obscure text, Aristotle, *Problemata Physica* XXX.1, which describes Herakles along with Plato and Socrates as the type of the "melancholic man," that is a sort of unstable genius. In Wilamowitz' words Aristotle sets Herakles "in die Reihe der Heroen des Geistes" (*Herakles* II. 93): see my discussion, *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, 97. Aristotle's Herakles is precisely the man of action who has gone astray into the intellectual.

<sup>44</sup> For an expert discussion of the complicated relations between Wilamowitz and the George Circle see Ulrich K. Goldsmith, "Wilamowitz and the *Georgekreis*: New Documents," *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, edd. William M. Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken (Darmstadt 1985) 583-612, and for his parodies of George *Id.*, "Wilamowitz as Parodist of Stefan George," *Monatshefte* 77 (1985) 79-87.

<sup>45</sup> The translation is intended only to make an important and beautiful document available to those without German and in no way replaces the original.

At the end of a lecture about Aphrodite (Winter 1905): so she shall live ever in our hearts, "for life is beautiful and life wants to be lived."

About Plato: "However, such men, as one is used to say, have no good luck."

After the defeat of 1918 he wrote me: "Now we must live day by day and in eternity."

1919: "Now we must read the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*."

Like Aeschylus, he would have allowed to be written on his grave that he was one of those who had fought against the Persians at Marathon, — nothing of his poetry.

After the armistice he wrote me: "I count Tycho happy. He was still able to die in faith and love."

What cannot be communicated and what, furthermore, you perhaps never experienced from him, was the concentrated strength and passion, which radiated forth onto the assembled crowd of listeners when he held a public lecture in the Auditorium Maximum, truly the emanation of his soul. And then the other side, when, in his quiet room, very simply and quietly, he spoke of Plato, "the human being whom I love more than any in the world." He spoke of him so easily and candidly, as though of a close relative. If you have read the *Republic*, you will understand what I mean when I say he was Plato's younger brother Glaukon.

I regret now, when I write all this hurriedly, that I can't give you more; and see that the artistic power is simply not there to form this picture, so that he could be close to you. For the man as a whole was of a magnificence in comparison with which all the elegance and cleverness of the Stefan George people pale. But for that task someone would be needed who would be able to capture with a firm brush this truly heroic being. He too was "a man of action who went astray into the intellectual," far more so than Stefan George, who of course also possessed the power of the "leader" over minds; but not the Viking nature that was Wilamowitz'.

Farewell. I wish you a happy holiday in a house covered with snow. Have you a fir-wood in the neighborhood? That is the only thing I miss here in the beautiful countryside near the city. The snowfall would be lovely in a forest of firtrees. From conifers, except when there is hoar-frost, it slides off.

Greet your family, please, and convey to them also my best wishes. And excuse my long silence and this non-festive letter.

Sincerely yours,

Eva Sachs

## IV. What have we learned?

This fragment of a letter brings Eva Sachs nearer than her two books and all else that we know of her short and tragic life. Like Plato, she was a philosopher and a poet. Of the four descriptions of Wilamowitz that have survived by women, one is by his mother, two by his daughters; but only this by a woman, not a relative, but a disciple and a brilliant classical scholar. She was a student of great intelligence, capable of acute observation, and she adored him. In the mountains near Salzburg on the second anniversary of Wilamowitz' death she met his grandniece and for days spoke inspired only of her master. The first part of her letter consists of *sententiae* of Wilamowitz, which over thirty years she had never forgotten. She had read Plutarch and Diogenes and knew how sentiments reveal character.

The rest of the letter is her attempt, which she considers inadequate, to communicate to a younger woman, who, although not a scholar, had known Wilamowitz all her life, what the man was. Her comparison with George is revealing. Hers is the only contemporary comparison written by one not a Georgeaner. She is the only one who noticed their similarity. She was a Platonist as was he. No other contemporary describes so well the profound, personal, almost familial, closeness that he felt toward Plato. Perhaps he thought that he could reveal to her an attachment too personal to admit to a man. His irony in the letter to Norden is meant to conceal how intimately he had spoken to her about himself. Did the Platonic specialist *err* in thinking that Glaukon was the younger brother? More easily she purposely neglected a fact to strengthen the analogy.

She detected, as Eduard Schwartz had, the *charisma* in Wilamowitz' nature, the irrational attraction he was able to exert upon his hearers. Wilamowitz himself knew this and described it once in a letter to Ernst Kriek of 12 August 1921.<sup>46</sup>

Die stärksten charakterbildenden Wirkungen hängen an den irrationalen Ausstrahlungen des Wesens.<sup>47</sup> Dafür wird es dann also keinerlei Methode geben; das lernt sich überhaupt nicht, sondern ist ein Charisma.<sup>48</sup> Da wird es doch zweifelhaft, ob man Erzieher bilden kann. Daß die Erziehung die Hauptaufgabe der Gesellschaft ist, von deren Lösung alles abhängt, weiß ich von Platon; da dürfte zu lernen sein.

<sup>46</sup> The full text of this important letter is edited in honor of the tenth anniversary of Wilamowitz' death by Ernst Kriek, "Erinnerungen an Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf," *Volk im Werden* 9 (1941) 19-20. For Kriek and Wilamowitz see Gerhard Müller, *Ernst Kriek und die nationalsozialistische Wissenschaftsreform: Motive und Tendenzen einer Wissenschaftslehre und Hochschulreform im Dritten Reich* (Weinheim/Basel 1978) 371, 373-74. I owe both these references to Bernhard vom Brocke.

<sup>47</sup> Kriek (*ibid.*, 19) edits "Wesens <des Lehrers>."

<sup>48</sup> I should argue that the source for Wilamowitz' use of *charisma* is Plato and not Max Weber. The next sentence shows that Plato is in his mind.

She detected also the strain of brutality. She called it his Viking Nature. Schadewaldt recalled it.<sup>49</sup> Jaeger called it “the archaic element in Wilamowitz’ genius.”<sup>50</sup> Eva Sachs also detected another characteristic of Wilamowitz, his unpredictability, which she called “his ‘Heraclitean’ quality: νέος ἐφ’ ἡμέρηι.”<sup>51</sup> This could be documented both in his personal life and in scholarship. She died three years after her letter to Josefine, who knew only that she had died in September 1936. I wonder if it was the 25th, the fifth anniversary of his death.<sup>52</sup>

*The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

<sup>49</sup> For Schadewaldt’s view of Wilamowitz see *Antiqua* 23 (Naples 1983) 257–63. I did not there include that on 10 June 1974 Schadewaldt also stressed the brutality of which Wilamowitz was capable. He recalled an incident when Wilamowitz, irritated by something a young man said, wheeled about, turned his back on him, and said nothing until he had left the room. Such behavior could be devastating.

<sup>50</sup> See Solmsen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19) 444.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 453, where the spelling of the Heraclitan citation needs to be corrected. The fragment Eva Sachs cites is now frag. 58 Marcovich. It is revealing that in Heraclitus the epithet is used of Helios who is new every day.

<sup>52</sup> I am grateful for various details to Dr. Bernhard vom Brocke (Marburg/Lahn); Professor Dr. Richard Kannicht (Tübingen); Dr. Paul Keyser (Colorado); Professor Dr. Christoph Konrad (Colorado); Dr. Jørgen Mejer (Copenhagen); Professor Dr. Wolfgang Schindler (Berlin-DDR); Professor Dr. Wilt Aden Schröder (Hamburg); and Professor John van Sickle (Brooklyn). I thank Dr. K. Hänel (Göttingen) and Frau Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Bibrach) for permission to publish the new texts. I am most grateful, however, to my colleague and friend, Professor Emeritus Dr. Ulrich K. Goldsmith (Colorado) for invaluable aid on transcription and interpretation. He has read the whole manuscript and improved it considerably.

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