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EDITORIAL NOTE

Consistent with the international emphasis in past volumes of *Scholia*, this year's volume contains articles and reviews by scholars from eleven countries on four continents. The journal now is distributed to scholars, universities and libraries in thirty-eight countries and has exchange agreements with over 100 journals. Given the reputation of *Scholia* and its practice of responding promptly to submissions and keeping potential contributors informed at all stages of the refereeing and publication process, the journal is receiving an increasing number of submissions. At present the Editor endeavours to inform potential contributors regarding possible publication within two and not more than three months. Formal letters of acceptance, including the most likely date of publication, are sent to all authors whose articles are accepted for publication.

The Editor wishes to advise readers of a change to the 'In the Museum' section. This section will contain only information on exhibitions and acquisitions in Africa, while articles on artefacts will appear in the main body of *Scholia*. The B. X. de Wet Essay competition, which is open to undergraduate students every year and to Honours students in even-numbered years, is adjudicated by Jo-Marie Claassen (Stellenbosch), Sarah Ruden (Cape Town) and Mark Hermans (Western Cape).[1] The Editorial Committee expresses its thanks to the adjudicators for their support of this competition. I wish to thank especially Terrence Lockyer, Assistant Editor, for his invaluable help during the past year in editing this year's volume.

In addition to the usual articles and reviews, the Editor wishes to draw attention to Anastasi Callinicos' article on 'Classics in Zimbabwe' in the 'In the Universities' section.[2] The Editor wishes to remind potential contributors that articles on any aspect of classical antiquity and the teaching of Classics in Africa are especially welcome. Information about *Scholia* and its reviews, known as *Scholia Reviews*, is now available on the World Wide Web. The *CASA Directory of Classical Scholars and Research for Higher Degrees at Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa (1995-1996)* [3] can also be found here, together with information about the Department of Classics and the Museum of Classical Archaeology at the University of Natal, Durban.[4]

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

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[1] For further information and this year's essay, see pp. 162-72.

[2] See pp. 157-59.

[3] Hard copies of this *CASA Directory* are available from J. P. K. Kritzinger, Honorary Secretary, CASA, Department of Latin, University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, South Africa.

[4] See p. 156.

WASPS 1284-91 AND THE PORTRAIT OF KLEON IN *WASPS*

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Abstract. The encounter between Aristophanes and Kleon described at *Wasps* 1284-91 is not the well-known attack before the *boule* in 426/5 BC, but a more recent confrontation, probably *after* the first production of *Clouds* at the Dionysia of 423 BC. Thus *Wasps* is Aristophanes' first production since his 'accommodation' with Kleon, and the depiction of Kleon is subtly and carefully handled to gain maximum effect from the audience's (and Kleon's) expectations.

There are two purposes to this paper: first, to review the interpretations of a well-known 'biographical' passage (*Wasps* 1284-91), and secondly, to investigate one implication of that passage as it relates to the presentation by Aristophanes of Kleon in *Wasps*.[1] In the first part, I am not advancing any new interpretation of that passage; indeed I am content with the *opinio communis*, with one variation for the date of the events in question. I am concerned with the expectations that the spectators (and especially Kleon) must have had when they came to watch Aristophanes' new comedy at the Lenaia of 422 BC. It is how Aristophanes responds to those expectations that provides the major thrust of this paper.

1. Wasps *1284-91: Problems and Observations*

The passage is given in the text of MacDowell's edition as follows:[2]

> εἰσί τινες οἵ μ᾽ ἔλεγον ὡς καταδιηλλάγην
> ἡνίκα Κλέων μ᾽ ὑπετάραττεν ἐπικείμενος
> καί με κακίσας ἔκνισε, κᾆθ᾽, ὅτ᾽ ἀπεδειρόμην,

[1] This paper was first presented in October 1992 at research seminars at Memorial University and at Dalhousie University. I thank the audiences at both universities for their encouragement and suggestions and also the Editor, Assistant Editor and referees of *Scholia*.

[2] D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes: Wasps* (Oxford 1971). The text has only two real problems of reading: (i) the unmetrical and ungrammatical κακίσταις in 1286, where A. Briel's κακίσας (*De Callistrato et Philonide* [Berlin 1887] 45) is generally accepted, and (ii) certain variants in 1287.

οἱ 'κτὸς ἐγέλων μέγα κεκραγότα θεώμενοι,
οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ μέλον, ὅσον δὲ μόνον εἰδέναι
σκωμμάτιον εἴ ποτέ τι θλιβόμενος ἐκβαλῶ.
ταῦτα κατιδὼν ὑπό τι μικρὸν ἐπιθήκισα·
εἶτα νῦν ἐξηπάτησεν ἡ χάραξ τὴν ἄμπελον.

(*Wasps* 1284-91)

There are some who've been saying about me that I came to terms when Kleon was terrifying me with his attacks and when he ground me up with his abuse. Then when I was being flayed alive, those watching him shout so loud were having a good laugh, not that they cared for me at all, but only to know if I would produce a little joke when squeezed. Realizing this, I played a little trick, and so now, 'the stake has fooled the vine'.

Some general and particular observations will be in order. First, this is the *antepirrhema* of the second *parabasis*, responding to 1275-83, a problem in that the *epirrhema* has nine lines to the eight of our passage. Solutions are either to delete a line from the *epirrhema* (Bothe's removal of 1282 has found widespread acceptance),[3] to suppose that a line has been lost before 1284 (along with the entire antode), or to postulate a lacuna within 1284-91.[4] Secondly, the entire antode has been lost after 1283, which would correspond with the ode aimed at Amynias (1265-74). The subject of the antode and the reason for its loss must remain mysterious. It is possible that it attacked Kleon and 1284-91 is a pendant to that attack,[5] but on the parallel of the second *parabasis* of *Knights* (1264-1315) it is more likely that the antode contained a personal attack on an individual loosely parallel, but opposite, to Amynias (e.g., Kleonymos). Thirdly, the metre of the epirrhematic sections is a bit unusual, paeonic-cretic tetrameter plus one trochaic tetrameter catalectic, instead of the usual trochaic tetrameter, but *Acharnians* 978-87/990-99 (likewise a second *parabasis*) provides a good parallel for this metre, as do several instances from the comic fragments.[6] Fourthly, all three extant portions of this *parabasis* indulge in large-scale personal humour (involving Amynias, Ariphrades and Kleon). The second *parabasis* of *Knights* and the truncated third *parabasis* of *Acharnians* (1150-70) afford good parallels for

[3] F. H. Bothe, *Aristophanis Comoediae*[2] (Leipzig 1845) 107f. *ad* 1282; accepted by MacDowell [2]; A. H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* 4: *Wasps* (Warminster 1983) and G. Mastromarco, *Commedie di Aristofane* (Turin 1983).

[4] V. Coulon, *Aristophane: Les Guêpes* (Paris 1924), following J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Vespae* (Leiden 1893), assumed a lacuna after καὶ in 1286.

[5] T. Bergk *ap.* A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1839) 938.

[6] G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (London 1971) 35f.

this use of the later *parabasis*.[7]

Finally, the language is rich and metaphorical and intended to recall the presentation of Kleon in *Knights*. I call attention to: (a) καταδιηλλάγην ('I came to terms', 1284), which recalls the metaphorical figure of *Diallage* at *Acharnians* 989ff. and *Lysistrata* 1114ff. The sense is not 'to make peace', but rather to 'come to an agreement' with which each of two sides can live (cf. *Wasps* 472; *Birds* 1532, 1577, 1635); (b) ὑπετάραττεν ('was terrifying', 1285), the key word used of Kleon's behaviour in *Knights*, with overtones of 'to create confusion', 'to stir up', 'to frighten';[8] (c) ἔκνισε ('ground me up', 1286), which continues the food metaphor that underlies so much of *Knights*; (d) ἀπεδειρόμην ('I was being flayed', 1286), obviously appropriate to Kleon's occupation as a tanner, but used also at *Lysistrata* 158, 739 and 953 of sexual mistreatment of a male. Indeed van der Valk has argued that many of the verbs in this passage (κνίζω, 'grind'; ἀποδείρομαι, 'flayed'; θλίβομαι, 'squeezed'; and ὑποταράττω, 'terrify') possess the overtones of homosexual abuse.[9] In that case an important theme in *Knights* is recalled (e.g., Kleon as *erastes tou demou*, 'lover of the People', at 730ff.); (e) κεκραγότα ('shouting', 1287), the word, above all, that describes Kleon's distinctive vocal style (*Kn.* 274, 287, 863, etc.; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28.3);[10] (f) θλιβόμενος ('squeezed', 1288), not only a metaphor from the wine-press but also of embarrassing physical chafing (*Peace* 1249, *Lysist.* 314, *Frogs* 5). See also van der Valk's interpretation;[11] (g) ἐπιθήκισα ('played a trick' [literally, 'played the ape'], 1289); in Greek, the ape was a trickster, not a clown, with

[7] Although not formally parabatic, *Birds* 1470-93, 1553-64, 1694-1705 fulfil the same function, to fill the breaks in the action with songs of personal abuse. On these see T. K. Hubbard, *The Mask of Comedy: Aristophanes and the Intertextual Parabasis* (Ithaca 1991) 176-82.

[8] The Aristophanic uses of this word are well explored by L. Edmunds, *Cleon, Knights, and Aristophanes' Politics* (Lanham 1987) 1-20.

[9] M. van der Valk, 'Observations in Connection with Aristophanes', in W. J. Westendorp and R. E. H. Boerma (edd.), Κωμῳδοτραγήματα: *Studia Aristophanea W. J. W. Koster in Honorem* (Amsterdam 1967) 128-31.

[10] I disagree with those critics (e.g., C. E. Graves, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1894) 212) who take the participle κεκραγότα as referring to Aristophanes ('seeing me scream so loudly'). In any context involving Kleon κράζειν ('scream') surely will denote the demagogue. The MSS variant ἐκτὸς ἐγέλων μέγα κεκραγότα μ' οἱ θεώμενοι ('those watching me scream so loudly had a good laugh from a distance') shows that Graves' view was an ancient interpretation.

[11] Cf. above, p. 5. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*[2] (New Haven 1990) 188, 203 sees only the sense of 'squeezed' = defecation here.

generally negative overtones.[12] It is interesting that the poet is using it of his own behaviour.

Two passages have raised problems. First, in 1287, οἱ 'κτὸς ἐγέλων μέγα κεκραγότα θεώμενοι ('those outside watching him shouting had a great laugh'), who are 'those outside watching'? Merry and MacDowell prefer something like 'bystanders', those who 'merely looked on to see the game'.[13] More attractive is the explanation by Sommerstein that the setting is the magistrate's court and 'those outside' are spectators watching a legal proceeding taken by Kleon against Aristophanes.[14] Note, however, that the poet has used the word θεώμενοι, a favourite term for 'the audience'. Of the 14 uses in extant Aristophanes, apart from here and *Frogs* 132 (where it denotes the spectators at the torch-race) it always means the audience at the theatre. Thus Aristophanes is sketching the encounter between himself and Kleon as a theatrical drama (like a comic *agon* perhaps) and engaging in his frequent habit of badgering the audience for their inability to appreciate and support him.[15] This interpretation does not negate Sommerstein's suggestion of a legal context, but states only that Aristophanes is casting his depiction of that encounter in theatrical terms. It also makes it hard to accept Mastromarco's identification of the watchers as Aristophanes' fellow-poets upon whose support he counted in the crusade against Kleon and who were content to laugh at his misfortune.[16]

Secondly, there is the interpretation of the proverb in 1291 with which the passage closes. The scholia cite it as a *paroimia*, ὅταν ἐξαπατηθῇ τις πιστεύσας ('when someone trusts and then is deceived'), and for the stake to deceive the vine implies that the vine expected and counted on the support of the stake. Perhaps the English equivalent might be 'to pull the rug out from under'. But who imagined that they might count on whom? In short, who is the stake, and who the vine? The critics have offered a variety of explanations

[12] MacDowell [2] cites *Ach.* 907; *Kn.* 887; *Peace* 1065. See the excellent summary by J. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane* (Paris 1965) 228.

[13] W. W. Merry, *Aristophanes: The Wasps* (Oxford 1898) 88f., MacDowell [2] 300.

[14] Sommerstein [3] 223f.

[15] Cf. *Ach.* 626-64; *Kn.* 507-46; *Cl.* 518-62; *Wasps* 1015-59; *Peace* 729-74; and also the opening of the monologue at *Wasps* 54ff.

[16] G. Mastromarco, 'Il commediografo e il demagogo', in A. H. Sommerstein *et al.* (edd.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari 1993) 341-57. I cannot go into great detail with Mastromarco's interpretation, but it will be seen that I disagree with his identification of the τινες ('some', 1284) and the 'spectators' (1281) as other comic poets, with his interpretation of the proverb (1291, see (d) below) and with his dating of the events in question.

of this line: (a) that the people (stake) have abandoned the poet (vine) after the truce by giving *Clouds* (a non-political play) a poor reception.[17] ; (b) that 'Aristophanes is the χάραξ ('stake') and the ἄμπελος ('vine') is the Athenian Demus, which lost its support when the poet "played the ape"' . The poet will repay the audience's abandonment of him in his hour of need by withdrawing his championing of them. The people can no longer rely on him;[18] (c) that Kleon (vine) thought that he could 'count on' Aristophanes (stake) to abide by the truce that had been arranged, but the poet has fooled Kleon. Graves puts it well: 'The poet says in effect, "There was no real submission, only a hollow truce; now I am free again and ready for open war"';[19] and (d) that the χάραξ ('stake') represents Aristophanes, who has deceived his fellow comic poets (both the τινες, 'some [people]', and the ἄμπελος, the 'vine') who had expected that his attacks upon Kleon were over.[20]

It will be my argument (section 3 below) that the thrust of this passage is to cap the caricature of Kleon in this play. Kleon is the principal subject here, not the people or the audience (or certain members of it). Interpretations (a) and (b) rely on too literal a reading of the audience-poet relationship, and do not do justice to the νῦν (lit., 'now') of 1291 (see section 2 below) or to the force of ἐξηπάτησεν ('deceived'). I take the primary meaning to be (c), but as I shall show, it is quite likely that the trick was extended to cover public opinion as well.

2. The Event(s) Behind Wasps *1284-91*

We can fairly infer from this passage the following details about what transpired between Aristophanes and Kleon: (1) Kleon made a violent public attack upon Aristophanes, very possibly in a legal context; (2) Aristophanes seems to have come off the worse, with the hint that spectators enjoyed his discomfiture; (3) Aristophanes made a truce with Kleon; the obvious implication is that he agreed to leave Kleon alone in his plays; (4)

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[17] C. F. Hermann, *Disputatio de Iniuriis Quas a Cleone Aristophanes Passus Esse Traditur* (Marburg 1835) 15.

[18] W. J. M. Starkie, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London 1897) 380f., followed by B. B. Rogers, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London 1915) 203, and Merry [13] 88f., the last with some hesitation.

[19] Graves [10] 213, followed by MacDowell [2] 300 and Sommerstein [3] 234.

[20] Mastromarco [16] 347-54, following an interpretation of this passage by Edmunds [8] 57 who did, however, accept explanation (c) of these lines.

Aristophanes 'played the ape'; clearly he did not live up to (3); and (5) Now he announces 'the stake deceived the vine'.

The most immediate question is whether (1) is identical with the celebrated attack by Kleon in the *boule* after the production of *Babylonioi* in 426 BC (*Ach.* 378-92, 503f. and the scholiast *ad loc.*). Ockham's Razor might suggest that two references to an attack by Kleon on Aristophanes should be to the same event.[21] On the other hand, the νῦν ('now') of 1291 seems to suggest that *Wasps* (performed at the Lenaia of 422 BC) is the explanation of the business of the stake and the vine. The scholiast (*ad* 1285) was in some uncertainty, ἀδηλὸν δέ, εἰ μετὰ τὸ διδάξαι τοὺς Ἱππέας λέγει ('It is unclear if he means after the production of *Knights*'). Four modern interpretations may be considered.

Halliwell assumes that the two events (the attack after *Babylonioi* in 426/5 BC and that alluded to in *Wasps* 1284-91) are the same.[22] The result of Kleon's attack before the *boule* was a settlement or truce on the part of the poet, one that was maintained in *Acharnians* (425), but openly ruptured by the poet with his polemic against Kleon in *Knights*. Halliwell adduces as support the caution expressed by the poet at *Acharnians* 516, which fits well with καταδιηλλάγην ('came to terms', 1284), and the aorist tense of ἐξηπάτησεν ('deceived', 1291), which, in his opinion, must indicate a past event (i.e., *Knights*) rather than the present play, *Wasps*. He must then turn νῦν into a non-temporal expression 'after all' and accept that Aristophanes is referring to an event two years in the past.

Slater[23] is worried about the force of ἐξηπάτησεν ('deceived'), for *Knights* was hardly a deception but rather a straightforward and open attack

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[21] The details and result of this charge by Kleon have become a critics' battleground, with the following (among other) points often in dispute: (a) What was the exact charge made by Kleon? (b) Was it successful? (c) Was it launched against Aristophanes or Kallistratos, the actual producer of *Babylonioi*? More recently, E. Bowie, 'Who is Dicaeopolis?', *JHS* 108 (1988) 103-05 has argued that at *Ach.* 378ff. Dikaiopolis represents not Aristophanes, but Eupolis. On his theory, *both* Aristophanes and Eupolis produced controversial plays at the Dionysia of 426 BC, and both were assailed by Kleon. Bowie's thesis has been picked up by N. R. E. Fisher, 'Multiple Personalities and Dionysiac Festivals in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *G&R* 40 (1993) 31-47 (and will be again by K. Sidwell in a forthcoming piece in *BICS*). Against Bowie see L. P. E. Parker, 'Eupolis or Dicaeopolis', *JHS* 111 (1991) 203-08, and my own refutation, I. C. Storey, '*Notus est omnibus Eupolis?*', in Sommerstein *et al.* [16] 373-96 (esp. 388-92).

[22] F. S. Halliwell, 'Aristophanes' Apprenticeship', *CQ* 30 (1980) 33-45.

[23] N. W. Slater, 'Aristophanes' Apprenticeship Again', *GRBS* 30 (1989) 67-82, esp. 76.

on Kleon. He too prefers a past event and a non-temporal sense for νῦν and, like Halliwell, identifies the events of 1284-91 with the prosecution after *Babylonioi*. But the trick and the deception lie in *Acharnians*, where the poet insinuates himself into the character of Dikaiopolis and hides his own views (including an anti-Kleon attitude) beneath those of Dikaiopolis and Dikaiopolis/Telephos.[24] Slater calls attention to ὑπό τι μικρόν ('a little trick', 1290), which he thinks fits Aristophanes' subtle insinuation into that comedy. He notes also that Lamachos at *Acharnians* 1178 falls victim to a χάραξ (stake). Thus '*Acharnians* is the real deception of Cleon'.

But the two-year gap is now three between deception and boast, and for Slater the comedian's offence in Kleon's eyes was becoming involved in the issues of the *polis* rather than what seems more natural, a personal and political attack on Kleon. *Acharnians* is not really very much involved with Kleon, who is of course mentioned from time to time, and at 517ff., where the demagogues are blamed for the war, Kleon is noticeably absent. What we want is the resumption of an attack on Kleon, not the comedian's re-entry into political comedy.

Rosen prefers an altogether different approach, that there need be no real historical background to these lines.[25] It is all part of the conventions of the iambic genre. Archilochos had his 'victim' (Lykambes), Hipponax his Boupalos, and Kratinos his Perikles, and we need not take what the iambist says as historical fact. So too Aristophanes has his Kleon (and later Terence his *vetus poeta*, 'old poet'), and *Wasps* 1284-91 is merely the 'latest about Kleon and me'. Hence the indefinite τινες ('some') of 1284, and for Rosen the whole matter is essentially a non-issue.

But by far the strongest and most commonly held view is that the νῦν of 1291 should be taken as temporal and that 'now' means the production at the Lenaia of 422 BC (*Wasps*). Whatever the nature of the deception and the trick, they have to do with what the poet has done in *this* play. The aorist tense of ἐξηπάτησεν ('deceived') need not be as much of a problem as Halliwell makes out, although a perfect would be more to the point and would not be unmetrical.[26] The proverb may well have been most familiar in

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[24] For the most recent study of the character of Dikaiopolis and the persons behind the comic mask see Fisher [21].

[25] R. M. Rosen, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta 1988) 77-79.

[26] Coulon [4] follows the emendation of J. Richter, *Aristophanis Vespae* (Berlin 1858) *ad* 1291 and F. H. M. Blaydes, *Aristophanis Vespae* (Halle 1893) 156 in reading the perfect ἐξηπάτηκεν ('has deceived'). Edmunds [8] 57 takes the aorist as a gnomic aorist.

the aorist tense.

The events of 1284-91 must be later than *Knights* (as the scholiast wondered) since the implication of 1291 is that *Wasps* is breaking the truce that had existed. The truce can hardly be the result of the prosecution of 426/5 BC since *Knights* is an open assault on Kleon and hardly fits the notion of *diallage*. It follows that sometime between the production of *Knights* at the Lenaia of 424 BC and the production of *Wasps* the events (1)-(5) took place as outlined above.[27] The actual details remain uncertain, although several scholars have wondered whether here is where we might place the alleged *graphe xenias* ('charge of being an alien') by Kleon against Aristophanes (schol. *ad Ach.* 378; *Aristoph. Bios* 19).[28] But as Sommerstein warns us, this sort of detail in the ancient life is more likely to have been inspired by an allusion from another comic poet than from any real ancient historical source.[29]

With the encounter between Kleon and Aristophanes placed between *Knights* and *Wasps*, where does the first production of *Clouds* fit in? Hubbard, agreeing with much of this fourth interpretation, concludes that 1284, εἰσί τινες οἵ μ' ἔλεγον ὡς καταδιηλλάγην ('there are some who've been saying about me that I came to terms'), was inspired by the first production of *Clouds*, that is, a non-political play which took Sokrates as its target and not Kleon. On this interpretation, the encounter between Kleon and Aristophanes with its resultant truce belongs between *Knights* and the first performance of *Clouds*. But as Merry noted, the *epirrhema* at *Clouds* 575-94, clearly from the first production of the play at the Dionysia of 423 BC, shows no change in Aristophanes' open attacks on Kleon and goes to the point of accusing him of corruption and calling for his conviction. This is hardly a truce with Kleon. Others have noticed this problem. Müller-Strübing concluded that this *epirrhema* must have been omitted in performance, Gilbert and Weyland that it must belong to the second production.[30]

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[27] Above, pp. 7f.

[28] Cf. MacDowell [2] 299, A. H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* 1: *Acharnians* (Warminster 1980) 2f. and 24 nn. 7 & 8; Sommerstein [3] 233f., Mastromarco [16] 349f.

[29] Sommerstein [28] cites the business about Aigina at *Ach.* 652f. as well as Eupolis 392 ('foreign poets').

[30] See Hubbard [7] 137-39, Merry [13] 89; H. Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik* (Leipzig 1873) 608f.; G. Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des peloponnischen Krieges* (Leipzig 1877) 194 n. 13; P. Weyland, 'Ueber das Epirrhema in den Wolken des Aristophanes', *Philologus* 36 (1877) 82.

Sommerstein wondered if the encounter should not then be dated after the first performance of *Clouds*. Thus *Wasps* would be the very first production since the 'truce' and the audience expectation would be especially high. Mastromarco objects that, since no comedies were performed between the first production of *Clouds* and *Wasps*, there was no opportunity for the rumour to arise that Aristophanes and Kleon were in a state of truce. But the τινες ('some', 1284) are so vague that we need not assume their literal existence any more that we should wonder who are the subject of φασίν ('they say') at *Knights* 1300 (the *antepirrhema* of the second *parabasis* of that comedy); Aristophanes could have set them up in his own mind. Also if there had been a recent public encounter between poet and demagogue, the atmosphere of ancient Athens was such that people would have been bound to talk without needing any explicit evidence such as the first production of *Clouds*. Mastromarco finds a further difficulty in the usual view of *Wasps* 1284-91 as an attack on Kleon on the grounds that at *Wasps* 1029-36 the poet claims that he has without interruption turned his attack on Kleon. Such a truce does not square well with this claim. But if the encounter belongs between the first performance of *Clouds* and *Wasps*, then there was no public interruption, only popular talk and expectation.[31]

I wonder if it was *Clouds* 575-94, rather than *Knights*, that set Kleon off, with its direct accusation at 591f., by name rather than as 'Paphlagon', of financial misdealing and all but lodging a formal *graphe* (indictment). Kleon, once cleared in his formal *euthynai* (audit) at the end of the year, may have turned his attention on the comedian who, he felt, had gone too far this time in accusing him of embezzlement and bribery, and begun whatever was the action to which *Wasps* 1284-91 alludes. The modern equivalent would be a suit for slander or libel, or for defamation of character, but as far as we know the *dike kakegorias* (charge of slander) dealt only with calling a man 'a father-killer', 'a parent-beater', or 'a shield-abandoner' (Lysias 10). Kleon may well have resorted to other measures (e.g., a *graphe xenias*, a charge of being an alien, if there was anything to that story).

3. The Portrait of Kleon in Wasps

My point of departure and underlying assumption will be clear, that the *diallage* between Aristophanes and Kleon must have involved something like

[31] A. H. Sommerstein, 'Notes on Aristophanes' *Wasps*', *CQ* 27 (1977) 261-77; Mastromarco [16] 350f.

a promise on the poet's part to lay off or to ease off on Kleon, perhaps especially in the area of public affairs. Whatever the actual date of the encounter (between *Knights* and the first performance of *Clouds*, or, as I prefer, after the first production of *Clouds*), I suggest that at the Lenaia of 422 BC there would be a considerable degree of expectancy among the audience (and particularly among Kleon and his supporters) as to how (if at all) Aristophanes would handle Kleon. I propose to examine the portrait of Kleon in *Wasps* against the backdrop of this sense of anticipation and to show exactly how the comic poet exploits it and plays with his audience.[32]

(a) The Prologue (vv. 28-41, 62f., 133ff.)

The prologue is one of the most important components of an Aristophanic comedy, for here the tone is set for much of what follows, and it will be seen that the comedian treads a fine line, leaving the audience (and Kleon) wondering just how far he will go.

vv. 28-41: This is the second of the three dreams of the slaves which form a marvellous sequence, each one involving a political allegory, a public setting, and the metamorphosis of a demagogue, and each turning on a typically outrageous Aristophanic pun (in this case on δημός ('animal fat')/ δῆμος ('people'). Here the slave dreams that he is on the Pnyx watching a crowd of sheep with walking-sticks and cloaks being harangued by a monstrous sea-monster with the voice of a blazing sow. Kleon is not named, however, unlike Kleonymos, Alkibiades and Theoros in the other dreams, but is called only the φάλλαινα πανδοκεύτρια ('voracious sea-monster'), although the following mention of βύρσης σαπρᾶς ('rotten leather') makes sure that all get the point. There is, of course, good dramatic value in leaving Kleon unnamed and in letting the audience do the work with appropriate self-congratulation, but I wonder if this isn't a feint by the poet—'after all I didn't mention Kleon by name'—but still getting in the familiar jibes about Kleon's demagogic control of the assembly (sheep to his monster) and his distinctive voice. If so, it is a most clever opening to a play that will have much to do with Kleon.

vv. 62f.: Here there is a classic case of *praeteritio* ('and we won't make mincemeat of Kleon again'). Here the poet is clearly laying a false trail,

[32] Sommerstein [31] 262 has done some work along this line, but only with v. 409 and the hint that Kleon will soon appear. I am expanding this approach to include the total picture of Kleon in the entire play.

lulling the audience (and Kleon) into unsuspicion. The clever spectators, who know better than to believe much of what a comic poet says or promises,[33] will be on their guard and will not be disappointed. He cannot resist one sting, 'if Kleon did do well, thanks to luck,[34] we will not make mincemeat of him again'. The image of μυττωτεύσομεν ('make mincemeat of') takes us back significantly to the world of *Knights*.

vv. 133ff.: Here the comedian strikes. Almost as an afterthought he gives the names of his characters, 'and the old man's name is . . . Philokleon, that's right by Zeus, and his son up there is Bdelykleon'. Not in all plays are the names given so early; here they come at the end of the opening scene with devastating force. Note the use of the name again at 137 (instead of something like δεσπότης, 'master') to keep this creation well before the audience. As the play progresses, the audience will realize the affinities between Bdelykleon and Aristophanes (crystallised at 650). 'Loathe-Kleon' is in effect Aristophanes.[35]

(b) The Parodos *(197, 242, 342, 409)*

v. 197: Technically the *parodos* will not begin until v. 230, but I include this line (ὦ ξυνδικασταὶ καὶ Κλέων, ἀμύνατε, 'Fellow-jurymen, Kleon, help!') with it in that it clearly introduces the chorus and leads into Bdelykleon's description of them at 214ff. and their actual appearance at 230. Aristophanes has altered radically his dramatic approach from that in *Knights*, by giving Kleon (or here his devotee) a sympathetic chorus. It raises a larger question of where the audience's sympathies are at this point, with

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[33] M. Heath, 'Some Deceptions in Aristophanes', in F. Cairns and M. Heath (edd.), *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 6 (Leeds 1990) 229-40, takes the extreme position that *nothing* said by a comic poet would be taken seriously by the audience.

[34] The reference behind ἔλαμψε ('shone') is unclear. It can hardly be Kleon's success at Pylos (so Graves [10] 86), over two years in the past. Mastromarco [3] 36-41 suggests Kleon's actions concerning Skione; Rogers [18] 13 the preparations for the upcoming campaign in Thrace. J. J. Reiske, *Ad Euripidem et Aristophanem Animadversiones* (Leipzig 1754) thought that 'Kleon' was another name for the comedy, *Knights*, but the wording 'shone, thanks to luck', seems excessively modest for Aristophanes.

[35] On this point I disagree with K. J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* (Chapel Hill 1987) 217-81, who, in his analysis of *Wasps*, allows the rapprochement between poet and Bdelykleon, but is constantly trying to separate them, lest the comedy become a personal and political satire. I find Aristophanes as much in league with Bdelykleon as he is with Dikaiopolis in those infamous scenes from *Acharnians* (370ff., 510ff.). Note also the fine encomium given Bdelykleon at 1464-73.

Philokleon, with the son, or suspended. Choruses, of course, do not have to be sympathetic from the audience's standpoint, but we should observe the difference from the vigorous assault at *Knights* 247ff. The next year in his *Marikas* (performed at the Lenaia of 421 BC) Eupolis would split his chorus, with the *penetes* ('poor people') supporting Marikas/Hyperbolos and the *plousioi* ('rich people') opposing (and very likely supporting an antagonist). Aristophanes has given Kleon's side the support of the chorus.

vv. 242-44: Notice the description of Kleon, κηδεμών ('patron') a nice anticipation of themes in the *agon* (esp. 596ff.) and note especially the very neat anticipation of the Kleon-Laches scene in the trial of the dogs. Those who know Aristophanes well will detect his prejudice against the abuse of the legal system by demagogues (see *Ach.* 676-718), but on the whole the reference is topical rather than attacking.

v. 342: 'The wretched fellow, this Demologokleon, has dared to say this'. On one level this is a pun on Bdelykleon's name, with 'Demologo-' substituted in the first part. Several critics have seen also an insult to Kleon by applying the first element to Kleon himself.[36] This is certainly possible and fits well with my conception of the subtlety of the caricature of Kleon in this comedy, but the joke is brief and soon over, and the audience could never really be sure if this was a slap at Kleon.

vv. 409-11: Here the chorus detaches the sub-chorus of boys and sends them with the instruction, 'Run, shout, tell this to Kleon, order him to come against a traitor'. Sommerstein makes the good point that the audience, especially after the earlier invocation (197) which produced a chorus but no Kleon, will be expecting the appearance of Kleon, and again they will be disappointed.[37] This summons has an almost exact parallel at *Frogs* 569f. where the wronged bread-wife calls the shade of Kleon to her aid.

In the *parodos* the allusions to Kleon are brief and set in the context of a supportive chorus. The poet can hardly be accused of attacking Kleon and the difference from *Knights* is pronounced. The possibility that Kleon will appear is raised twice, and as we shall see, will in fact prove true, but in a most unexpected way.

(c) The Agon *(596f., 757-59)*

Kleon is remarkably absent from the *agon*, again in contrast to *Knights* where

[36] MacDowell [2] 180; Sommerstein [3] 177; Hubbard [7] 133 n. 42.

[37] See above, n. 32.

he is front and centre, and a participant in two confrontations (303-460, 756-941). Any spectator who expected from 197 and 409 that Kleon might be an active participant in the *agon* will be disappointed. It is equally intriguing that no word against Kleon is put in the mouth of Bdelykleon; yet at 650f. a close identity has been established between the comic poet and this character.

vv. 596f.: This is the only mention of Kleon in the formal agon, as the climax of the demagogues mentioned at 590ff.; note the emphatic αὐτός ('himself') at the start of 596.

> αὐτὸς δὲ Κλέων ὁ κεκραξιδάμας μόνον ἡμᾶς οὐ περιτρώγει,
> ἀλλὰ φυλάττει διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ τὰς μυίας ἀπαμύνει.
> (*Wasps* 596f.)
>
> As for Kleon himself, the Sultan of Scream, we're the only ones he doesn't take bites out of; in fact he protects us, holding us in his arms and chasing the flies away.

This is, of course, a marvellously back-handed compliment, but couched in dramatically positive terms. The excellent coinage ὁ κεκραξίδαμας ('Sultan of Scream') picks up the voice-theme that dominates the caricature of Kleon, while περιτρώγει ('nibbles about') is used of eating delicacies (the food metaphor picking up the pun on δημός ['animal fat']/δῆμος ['people'] at 40) and of eating away at something (cf. *Frogs* 367 where ἀποτρώγει is used of the demagogue 'eating away at the poets' pay'). Echoes from *Knights* are clear: the imagery of food and eating, the business of the flies (cf. *Kn.* 60), and the larger image of the demagogue fawning over the people. This is all subtle and cleverly calculated.

vv. 757-59: The *agon* ends with a puzzling passage, one that is not always well handled by the translators and commentators. The old juror concludes his mock-tragic lament with the declaration:

> μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μή νυν ἔτ' ἐγὼ 'ν τοῖσι δικασταῖς
> κλέπτοντα Κλέωνα λάβοιμι.
> (*Wasps* 757-59)
>
> By Herakles, may I never among the jurymen convict Kleon of theft.

Two ways of taking the lines are possible: (1) a negative wish based on νυν = 'given what you say' or 'if what you say about demagogues is true', meaning something like 'I don't want to find myself on a jury convicting Kleon for theft'; that is, his sympathy for Kleon remains as well as his desire for jury

duty,[38] or (2) a threat, as the scholiast assumed, again based on νυν = 'in that case', and well rendered by Rogers in his notes 'just don't let me ever convict Kleon for theft'; that is, his passion for jury duty remains but his partisanship for Kleon has vanished.[39] I prefer the former as it retains the more subtle approach by the comic poet, allowing his character to maintain his sympathy for Kleon and the audience to understand the deeper and subtler truth. The joke at 'Demagogo-Kleon' at 342[40] is a good parallel here.

(d) The Trial-Scene

We expect Kleon: we have seen him summoned as early as 197. Both the protagonists bear his name in part. Our expectation will be fulfilled, but in a most unusual fashion, in what is probably the most brilliant single scene in extant Aristophanes. The way has been prepared with the allusion to Kleon and Laches at 240 in a legal context, and the dog-metaphor at 704f., but it is worth observing how Aristophanes sets up the scene.

Out of the arrangements for the domestic court comes the news at 836-38 that 'the dog Labes has just dashed into the kitchen, seized a Sicilian cheese, and wolfed it down' and at 841 that 'the other dog says that he is ready to prosecute if someone brings an indictment'. MacDowell thinks that a good portion of the audience would have identified Laches with Labes and that 'κύων ['dog'] stands for Kleon'. The identification would be clearer if we could be certain that Kleon and dogs were associated in Athenian thought. To be sure, at *Knights* 1014ff. he is Kerberos in the mock oracle and Kerberos also at *Peace* 313; and the adjective καρχαρόδους ('jag-toothed') used at *Knights* 1017 recurs at *Wasps* 1031, and is used almost exclusively of dogs.[41] Demagogues are known to have claimed the role of 'watchdog of the People' (Plut. *Dem.* 23.5; [Dem.] 25.40; Theophr. *Char.* 29), and if Kleon did use this expression, then many in the audience could well have caught on to the Labes

[38] This is how Sommerstein [3] 75, 205 and D. Barrett, *Aristophanes: The Wasps, The Poet and the Women, The Frogs* (Harmondsworth 1964) 65 understand the passage.

[39] So Rogers [18] 119f., MacDowell [2] 235, and D. Parker in W. Arrowsmith, *Aristophanes: Three Comedies* (Ann Arbor 1969) 59. Two translators turn the threat into a positive wish (as if the μή were completely absent): M. Hadas, *The Complete Plays of Aristophanes* (New York 1962) 165, and P. Dickinson, *Aristophanes: Plays* 1 (Oxford 1970) 194.

[40] Cf. above, p. 14.

[41] MacDowell [2] 243f. On the dog-metaphor see R. A. Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1901) 141; A. H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* 2: *Knights* (Warminster 1981) 198.

of 835 and the Dog of 841.

I leave aside the issue of whether *Wasps* reflects a real legal encounter between Laches and Kleon in 423/2 BC. This has been sufficiently thrashed out by the critics.[42] The reference to a 'Sicilian' cheese clearly marks out some condemnation (if only in popular imagination) of his conduct in Sicily some years previously. However, it is most unlikely that this was still a live issue in 423/2, since any misconduct would have been dealt with in Laches' *euthynai* ('audit') after his generalship. What is more important is how the comedian has turned this piece of contemporary business into a brilliant piece of theatre and imagery.

At 894-97 all becomes clear with the indictment:

> ἀκούετ' ἤδη τῆς γραφῆς. ἐγράψατο
> Κύων Κυδαθηναιεὺς Λάβητ' Αἰξωνέα
> τὸν τυρὸν ἀδικεῖν ὅτι μόνος κατήσθιεν
> τὸν Σικελικόν. τίμημα κλῳὸς σύκινος.
>
> (*Wasps* 894-97)
>
> Hear ye now the charge: Dog of Kydathenaion has
> charged Labes of Aixone with wrongdoing in the matter
> of the Sicilian cheese, in that he devoured it all, by himself.
> Penalty: a collar of figwood.

On this reading of the charge enters with formal introduction the Dog from Kydathenaion. We can only imagine the effect of Kleon's long expected entrance. It may be too much to expect that a dog's mask carried some caricature of the real Kleon (the matter of portrait-masks in *Knights* is still a matter of debate), but Sommerstein cites evidence for the distinctive dark eyebrows of Kleon, which could be worked in even on a dog's mask.[43] In any case the actor could imitate the infamous voice (see 921, where the proverbial 'the case just shouts for itself' gains an added point if the Dog has been shouting) and reproduce gestures that would recall the Paphlagon/Kleon of *Knights*. We have no way of knowing what visual and aural details would have driven home the canine caricature of Kleon.

The humour of the scene is subtle and underplayed, rather like the joke at 596f.[44] At 909 the comedian again links Kleon with the Demos (here

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[42] See the discussions by MacDowell [2] 164; Sommerstein [3] 171f.; G. Mastromarco, *Storia di una commedia di Atene* (Florence 1974) 61-64; and A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (Oxford 1956) 430f.

[43] Sommerstein [41] 154f.

[44] Cf. above, p. 15.

included by the sailors' cry τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ, 'yo-ho-ho'), and the 'very terrible things' that Labes has done are explained at 914-16:

> κοὐ μετέδωκ' αἰτοῦντί μοι.
> καίτοι τίς ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιεῖν δυνήσεται,
> ἢν μή τι κἀμοί τις προβάλλῃ, τῷ κυνί;
>
> (*Wasps* 914-16)
>
> . . . and he didn't give me any when I asked.
> And who will be able to do you a good turn
> without tossing me, the Dog, something?

Rather than the overt and frontal accusations of theft and dishonesty that pervade *Knights*, the humour is sarcastic and subtle. The best example is perhaps *Wasps* 927-30:

> πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦτον κολάσατ' (οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε
> τρέφειν δύναιτ' ἂν μία λόχμη κλέπτα δύο),
> ἵνα μὴ κεκλάγγω διὰ κενῆς ἄλλως ἐγώ·
> ἐὰν δὲ μή, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κεκλάγξομαι.
>
> (*Wasps* 927-30)
>
> Punish him for this reason—after all, one bush cannot support two robbers [the Greek proverb had ἐριθάκους, 'robins']—so that I am not barking for no purpose. If you don't, I shall never bark again.

both for its throwaway admission ('thieves') and for its much more understated variation of *Knights* 340f.:

> Paphlagon: οἴμοι, διαρραγήσομαι
> Sausage-Seller: καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ οὐ παρήσω
> Slave: πάρες, πάρες πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ διαρραγῆναι
>
> (*Knights* 340-41)
>
> Paphlagon: I shall burst with rage.
> Sausage-Seller: But I won't let you.
> Slave: Please, please, in the name of the gods, let him burst.

With that the role of the Dog ceases as Bdelykleon takes over the defence of Labes, and the scene moves toward the judgement and the tricking of Philokleon. But in this scene Aristophanes has brought Kleon on stage (against his 'promise' at 62f., but anticipated at 197 and 409), combining all the elements familiar from his earlier plays: thieving politician, exploiter of the People, frequent and feared opponent in the law courts, his physical and vocal peculiarities, the dog-metaphor made concrete, political foe of Laches. And all this without mentioning Kleon's name once in the entire scene.

Thus in the part of the comedy before the *parabasis* Aristophanes has, I suggest, exploited the expectation about what will be done to Kleon this time. In the first 1000 lines he has been careful and subtle in his humour, employing false directions, creating a character and a chorus sympathetic to Kleon, in whose mouths comments about Kleon are to be taken both ways, and avoiding any real and developed caricature by name. The two major caricatures (the dream at 30-41, and the trial of the dogs) are done anonymously and in a realization of animal imagery. Mentions of Kleon by name are not many and are always ambiguously worded. At all times Aristophanes would have a defence against retaliation by the politician.

(e) The Parabasis *(1029-37)*

It is here that the mask is dropped, that the poet comes out in all his colours and resumes the crusade against Kleon. The image employed is that of the poet-Herakles attacking a horrible and dangerous monster.[45]

> οὐδ', ὅτε πρῶτόν γ' ἦρξε διδάσκειν, ἀνθρώποις φήσ' ἐπιθέσθαι,
> ἀλλ' Ἡρακλέους ὀργήν τιν' ἔχων τοῖσι μεγίστοις ἐπιχειρεῖν,
> θρασέως ξυστὰς εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ τῷ καρχαρόδοντι,
> οὗ δεινόταται μὲν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν Κύννης ἀκτῖνες ἔλαμπον,
> ἑκατὸν δὲ κύκλῳ κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωξομένων ἐλιχμῶντο
> περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, φωνὴν δ' εἶχεν χαράδρας ὄλεθρον τετοκυίας,
> φώκης δ' ὀσμήν, Λαμίας δ' ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους, πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου.
> (*Wasps* 1029-35)

> When he first began to put on plays [lit., 'teach'], he says that he did not attack mere mortals, but with the passion of a Herakles he went after the greatest monsters, standing boldly from the first against the very Jagtooth, from whose eyes shone the terrible rays of Kynna, and about whose head a hundred heads of accursed flatterers hissed. It had the voice of a torrent bringing destruction, the stench of a seal, the unwashed balls of Lamia, and the asshole of a camel.

Even here Kleon is not mentioned by name, but the epithet 'jagtooth' is used of him as Kerberos at *Knights* 1017 and the pun on Kynna/kyn- will make the identification clear, especially in light of the previous scene. The 'voice of a

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[45] On the importance of the Herakles-theme in early Aristophanes see the study by D. M. Welsh, '*IG* ii.2 2343, Philonides and Aristophanes' *Banqueters*', *CQ* 33 (1983) 51-55. That Aristophanes saw himself as a Herakles on the comic stage gives an added punch to 758f. See also Hubbard [7] 118 n. 8 for the comments of several commentators on ἀλεξίκακος ('defender') and καθαρτής ('cleanser') as used of Herakles.

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torrent bringing destruction' harks back to his 'voice of the Cyclobore' at *Knights* 137.

The monster seems to be a mix of Kerberos (three times elsewhere used of Kleon: *Kn.* 1017, 1030; *Peace* 313), the many-headed hydra, the Typhon from Hesiod (*Theog.* 860ff.), and certain unpleasant creatures (the seal, the camel, and the Lamia).[46] The metamorphosis of Kleon into the 'voracious sea-monster' of the prologue and into a dog in the trial-scene is neatly continued here.

(f) The First Symposium (1219-48)

The larger questions of the unity of *Wasps* and whether these final scenes have any thematic relevance to the rest of the play are still a matter for debate and outside the scope of my paper.[47] I would observe that, although the play has a strong political theme (in terms both of Kleon and of the jury system), the theme of the generations (father and son reversed in this case) is equally important. One concomitant of this is the antithesis of the *oikos* ('house') and *polis* ('city') themes which are crucial in the playing out of the drama.[48] Note the trial of the dogs in which the public sphere (jury service) is conducted at home, but also how the subject of the first case is a thinly disguised political allegory. Again we tread the same ground as in *Knights*, where the state and the household merge. In the episodes that follow the *parabasis* we enter another domestic situation, this time the symposium, and again we find another strongly political context, one that depends upon Kleon. The scene from 1122 to 1219 is almost free from political and personal allusions—the one exception being the brief hit at Androkles and Kleisthenes at 1187—but, like 760-890 before the trial of the dogs, it is a prelude to the political symposium that follows.

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[46] One of the referees for *Scholia* draws my attention to 'the bestial image of the demagogic tyrannical soul in Plato *Rep.* 588c-e'. The previous sections of Plato's dialogue contain some fascinating correspondences with *Wasps*, e.g., the analogies in terms of fathers and sons (548f., 553, 558-61, 569-75), the repeated image of the corrupt leaders as drones (552c, 554d, 564b-565c, 573a; cf. *Wasps* 1102-21, esp. 1114-16 and *Rep.* 564b), and the motif of sleep and dreams (571f.).

[47] The most recent study is that of Hubbard [7] 126-39 (cf. especially 126 n. 29 for a bibliography of the studies attacking and defending the unity of the play).

[48] One of the *Scholia* referees observes that imprisonment was normally a state prerogative.

Lines 1219-48 present the first of two imaginary symposia.[49] Of the five named *sympotai* (Theoros, Aischines, Phanos, Kleon, Akestor), Phanos and Theoros are linked with Kleon (*Kn.* 1256; *Wasps* 42, 418f., 599) as political characters of the same stripe. Aischines is a favourite target of the 420s with some known public service.[50] Whether or not they were an actual group or just indicative of high society (Kleon's father, after all, belonged to the liturgical class),[51] the comedian turns this domestic situation into one more attack on Kleon.

One must note the irony in Bdelykleon's opening words (1224) καὶ δὴ γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Κλέων ('And *I* am Kleon'), especially in light of the earlier identification between him and the poet (esp. at 651f.).[52] There is excellent fun to be had in turning the Harmodios song, honouring one who killed a 'tyrant man', into an attack on Kleon. There is further and subtle irony in the fact that Kleon had a marriage-connexion with the family of Harmodios, which he may have exploited in his political career.[53] Tyranny and accusations of treason and tyranny are an important theme in *Wasps* (see 288, 345, 417, 463-507; see also *Kn.* 448, 786, 1044), and the poet follows up this parody of the Harmodios song with a parody of Alkaios' lines (fr. 141) against the tyrant Pittakos. That this is spoken by Philokleon, his eyes now open to the reality of Kleon, neatly turns the earlier charges against Bdelykleon back on a more appropriate target.

The next *sympotes*, Theoros, is linked with Kleon elsewhere in the play, especially at 42ff. where we may note the close association of ἐδόκει δέ μοι Θέωρος αὐτῆς πλήσιον / χαμαὶ καθῆσθαι ('and Theoros seemed to me to be sitting on the ground near it [i.e., Kleon as sea-monster]') with the description here, ὅταν Θέωρος πρὸς ποδῶν κατακείμενος / ᾄδῃ Κλέωνος λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς ('when Theoros, sitting by Kleon's feet, shall take his right hand and sing'). And again at 596ff. the mention of Kleon is followed immediately by an unflattering allusion to Theoros, as if the latter follows the greater demagogue automatically in the popular mind. Three neat references

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[49] For a study of the second symposium (*not* a political group) see I. C. Storey, 'The Symposium at *Wasps* 1299ff.', *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 317-33 and the follow-up by A. H. Sommerstein, 'Phrynichos the Dancer', *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 189f.

[50] See Sommerstein [3] 185.

[51] J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 318-20.

[52] For other points of similarity between Bdelykleon and Kleon see Hubbard [7] 133, esp. n. 42.

[53] Davies [51] 145, 320, 476f.

to these two thus help tie the play together. Aischines is less firmly associated with Kleon, but the ironic ἀνὴρ σοφὸς καὶ μουσικός ('a sophisticated and cultivated person', 1244) reminds one of the qualifications for a would-be demagogue at *Knights* 183ff.. The contrast with the noble Harmodios and Admetos is pointed and intentional.

With this scene we return to the second *parabasis* which at 1284-91 caps the picture of Kleon. Before this we meet Amynias (an aristocrat fallen on hard times, a member of a family with horsey interests), the family of Automenes (familiar from the *epirrhema* of the second *parabasis* of *Knights*), and the missing antode which may have attacked Kleon, but which is more likely to have attacked some counterpart to Amynias (Kleonymos perhaps).[54] Finally, the comedian breaks through in his own person; there have been first person singulars at 1265 and 1268, but these are not immediately distinguished from the voice of the chorus. This intrusion of the comedian himself is a little unusual for the second *parabasis*. One might see Aristophanes as the first person behind *Knights* 1274-89 in view of the words οὐκ ἂν ἀνδρὸς ἐμνήσθην φίλου ('I would not have mentioned a friend') and the possibility that Ariphrades is a rival comic poet,[55] but the personality of the poet is far from apparent and the plural μεθ' ὑμῶν ('with you') returns at 1289.

Obviously I do not agree with those who wish to exchange 1265-91 with the lyric at 1450-73.[56] The latter, as MacDowell rightly observes, caps the play as a whole, summarizes the re-education of Philokleon, and gives Bdelykleon, who will be absent for the final scene, a proper and fitting send-off. In the same way 1284-91 cap the caricature of Kleon in the play, and after the *antepirrhema* the jokes against Kleon cease. Although I interpret the main force of 1291 as 'I have pulled the rug out from under Kleon', it is clear from the subtle and careful portrait of Kleon that he has created in the play that audience expectation was very much a factor in the comedian's dramatic creation. He has 'played a trick' not just on Kleon, but also on those members of the general public who thought that he might just abide by the truce that was made. To those he replies in the first *parabasis* ('I have never ceased to attack Kleon') and again here at the end of the second. When compared with

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[54] Cf. above, p. 4.

[55] See Sommerstein [41] 210f. and Hubbard [7] 85.

[56] T. Zielinski, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig 1885) 204. Recent critics who make this exchange include C. F. Russo, *Belfagor* 28 (1968) 317-19, and (unfortunately for many readers in translation) D. Barrett [38]. MacDowell [2] 319 summarizes the case well for the traditional order.

the open and direct hostility in *Knights* ('a bad and stupid play . . . Aristophanes has spoiled everything by losing his temper'),[57] the caricature of Kleon in *Wasps* is nothing short of brilliant because of its essential understatement and subtle directing of the audience. The stake has indeed fooled the vine, and the rug been thoroughly pulled out from under Kleon.

[57] G. Norwood, *Greek Comedy* (London 1931) 207f.

METAPHOR AND VERBAL HOMOEOPATHY

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Abstract. Metaphors play an important role in the terminology of anatomy and pathology. Homoeopathic cures based on the metaphorising object are common as well. Pure homoeopathy, based on physical similarity, cannot clearly be distinguished from verbal homoeopathy, based on homonymy or homophony.

The 'word' is the clue to the 'world'.[1] When Plato in his *Cratylus* examines a theory of 'correctness of names' to the effect that the names of things are coded descriptions from which their true nature can be extracted by the alleged science of etymology,[2] he in fact expresses a world-view which was firmly embedded in the Greek system of thought. The Greeks indeed believed that the term defining an object held the essence, the ἔτυμον, of this object, so that homonyms and homophones should be in absolute sympathy with each other.[3] This belief is particularly obvious in the field of medicine, where a disease or diseased part of the body often bears a name identical with, or closely resembling, that of the remedy. This phenomenon was first called verbal homoeopathy in the year 1927 by the American scholar E. S. McCartney, who pointed out that for the ancients an identity or similarity of name also meant an identity or similarity of function or power.[4] It is very difficult, however, to make a clear distinction between homoeopathic medicine pure and simple and so-called verbal homoeopathy. In the former the curative power would be based on a resemblance in appearance, while in the latter the name alone would be enough to exert some sort of magic influence. Obviously in many cases there will be a combination of both. The following examples will make this clear.

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[1] V. Turner, 'On G. Calame-Griaule's *Ethnologie et Langage*', in J. Kristeva, J. Rey-Debove and D. J. Umiker (edd.), *Essays in Semiotics/Essais de Sémiotique* (The Hague/Paris 1971) 388.

[2] A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*[2] 1 (Cambridge 1990) 195.

[3] Some fine examples in P. Somville, 'Jeux de Mots et Sens du Sacré dans la Religion grecque', *Kernos* 2 (1989) 199-211.

[4] E. S. McCartney, 'Verbal Homeopathy and the Etymological Story', *AJPh* 48.1 (1927) 326-43.

The well-known homoeopathic principle *similia similibus curantur* ('like things by like are cured') finds a very good illustration in the first chapter of the second book of the *Cyranides*, a medico-magical prescription book of the fourth century AD.[5] This chapter is completely devoted to the therapeutical virtues of the bear, which are said to be very high because of the complete similarity of this animal to a human being. The bones of its head are used to cure headaches, its eyes for eye-diseases, its ear-wax for earache, its teeth for toothache, and so on with all other parts of its body used as cures for corresponding diseased parts in the human body. Of course the names of these parts are identical, but the curative power lies in the organ or part of the body of the bear and not in its name. This is homoeopathic medicine pure and simple, as it is based on physiological resemblance only.

In the vegetable kingdom the best-known example of homoeopathy is the use of man-orchis. It frequently appears in recipes prescribed to increase male sexual potency because of the resemblance of its roots to the male sexual organs.[6] Its name, ὄρχις, is also the Greek word for testicle. It seems that the name has been given to the plant on the basis of this physical likeness. In other words, the name of the male organ has been transferred to the plant and not the other way around. It is safe to make this statement, since this type of transfer is typical for an anthropomorphic and anthropocentric world-view where man is trying to find a reflection of himself in the universe that surrounds him. Anthropomorphic metaphors are to be found in all languages and the transposition of the names of human organs is a universal form of metaphor.[7] In this case, the substitution of name through similarity—the root of the plant resembles the male organ—leads further towards alleged interdependence and sympathy so that the plant will be thought to affect the organ in a positive way, the man-orchis having become a symbol of sexual power.

Physical resemblance, even very superficial resemblance, is often mentioned as a cause for name transfers by the ancients themselves. For the ὄρχις the name transfer is mentioned by Paul of Aegina, who derives it from

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[5] D. Kaimakis (ed.), *Die Kyraniden* (Meisenheim am Glan 1976).

[6] E.g., *Cyranides* 1.18.45. Cf. J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck 1890 [repr. Groningen 1969]) 203; F. Carnoy, *Dictionnaire étymologique des Noms grecs des Plantes* (Louvain 1959) 253; H. Baumann, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur* (Munich 1982) 210 with several references to ancient authors.

[7] Cf. F. Skoda, *Médecine ancienne et Métaphore: Le Vocabulaire de l'Anatomie et de la Pathologie en Grec ancien, Ethnosciences* 4 (Paris 1988) 1.

a dog's organ: ὄρχις ἡ πόα, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ κυνὸς ὄρχις, βολβοειδῆ ῥίζαν ἔχουσα διπλῆν ('the plant orchis, also called dog's orchis, because it has a double bulb-shaped root', 7.3.15.65f.); and by Isidore of Seville: *quod radix eius in modo testiculorum sit* ('because its root resembles testicles', 7.9.43). Galen lists several diseases whose names were based on the similarity of their symptoms to something better known in everyday life:

> Ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρός τι τῶν ἐκτὸς ὁμοιότητος, ἐλέφας καὶ καρκῖνος καὶ πολύπους καὶ σταφυλὴ καὶ λεύκη καὶ μυρμηκία καὶ ἀθέρωμα καὶ στεάτωμα καὶ σταφύλωμα καὶ μελικηρὶς καὶ ἄνθραξ, ἀλωπεκία τε καὶ ὀφίασις καὶ σύκωσις καὶ σατυριασμὸς καὶ πριαπισμός.
>
> (*De Methodo Medendi* 10.82.12-17)
>
> Sometimes [the name is derived] from the similarity to something external, elephantiasis and cancer and polypus and [inflammation of the] uvula and white disease [leprosy] and anthill [warts] and atheroma [tumour containing gruellike matter] and steatoma [sebaceous cyst] and staphyloma [protrusion of the cornea] and honeycomb [cyst or wen resembling a honeycomb] and carbuncle, alopecia [baldness, mange on foxes] and ophiasis [a winding bald patch on the head, or a form of leprosy in which the patient sheds his skin like a snake] and sycosis [ulcer resembling a fig ripe to bursting] and satyriasis and priapism.

A superficial look at Galen's list reveals that the pathological vocabulary may refer to any field of common knowledge.[8] Medical semiotics has, indeed, much to do with the way in which patients verbalise their symptoms and communicate with the physician. This, in turn, is very much determined by their cultural background, their physical environment, their world- and self-perception, and the taboos of the society to which they belong. It is highly probable that the comparisons and metaphors they used to describe their ailments quite easily slipped into the medical terminology the physician would use afterwards, even in a more learned context, simply because they appeared to be most adequate. Metaphorisation in the vocabulary of pathology is thus the first step. Homoeopathy based on the metaphorising object will be the next. Since Greek pharmacopeia is based mainly on plants, animal parts and minerals, phytomorphic, zoomorphic and lithomorphic metaphors in pathology will be most appropriate for this kind of therapy, but other instances are not to be excluded. A more substantial study in this field would

[8] Skoda [7] 314, who studied the vocabulary of anatomy and pathology in ancient Greek, concludes that the terms used may refer to anything that was part of everyday life (kitchen utensils, clothes, jewellery), human activity (agriculture, breeding, fishing), the environment (landscape, vegetation) and nature (vegetable and animal kingdoms).

be worthwhile. Let it here suffice to give examples of the main forms so as to discover the guiding principles of homoeopathy based on metaphors.

Turning back to Galen's list we pick out the zoomorphic metaphor καρκῖνος ('ulcer' or 'cancer') and have a closer look at the homoeopathic cures proposed for this disease. Galen says that καρκῖνος got its name 'from its resemblance to the crab' (ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ζῷον ὁμοιότητος ὁ καρκῖνος, *De Methodo Medendi* 10.83.14).[9] This resemblance was interpreted in different ways by the other physicians. For some of them hardness was the main similarity between the animal and the disease. Others compared the tenacity of the disease to that of the crab's pincers. Others again saw an analogy between the radiate pattern of the dilated veins and the shape of the crab's feet.[10] It is probable that the metaphor is based on the association of the three different semeia: hardness, tenacity and radiation. The derivative καρκίνωμα, used as a more recent synonym for the name of the disease, has the same connotations.[11] Obviously crabs will then be employed in the treatment of cancer and ulcers, as is stated in Dioscorides and Pliny:

> Καρκίνων ποταμίων καέντων ἡ τέφρα κοχλιαρίων δυεῖν πλῆθος σὺν γεντιανῆς ῥίζης κοχλιαρίῳ ἐνὶ καὶ οἴνῳ ποθεῖσα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς βοηθεῖ λυσσοδήκτοις ἐνεργῶς, σὺν δὲ μέλιτι ἑφθῷ ῥαγάδας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ καὶ τὰς ἐν δακτυλίῳ καὶ χιμέτλας καὶ καρκινώματα παρηγορεῖ.
>
> (Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 2.10.1.1-5)
>
> Two spoonfuls of ash of burnt river crabs with one spoonful of gentian root and wine, drunk for three days, is effective in treating those who are bitten by a mad dog; with boiled honey it cures fistulas on the feet and anus, chilblains and cancerous sores.

> Nam carbunculos et carcinomata in muliebri parte praesentissimo remedio sanari tradunt cancro femina cum salis flore contuso post plenam lunam et ex aqua inlito.
>
> (Pliny *HN* 32.134)
>
> For it is said that carbuncles and cancerous sores on the female parts are cured very effectively with a female crab crushed up with flower of salt[12] after a full moon and applied in an aqueous solution.

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[9] This metaphor in pathology has been studied by Skoda [7] 263-66.

[10] References in Skoda [7] 265f. and F. Skoda, 'Les Métaphores zoomorphiques dans le vocabulaire médical, en grec ancien', in Ἥδιστον λογόδειπνον. *Logopédies: Mélanges de philologie et de linguistique grecques offerts à Jean Taillardat* (Paris 1988) 232f.

[11] Skoda [7] 266.

[12] Fine salt of the best quality.

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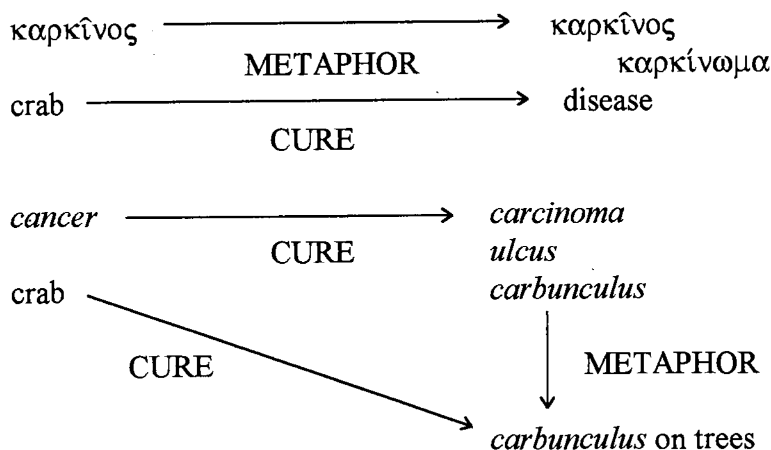
The use of a female crab for the treatment of the disease in a female is yet another instance of like affecting like.

Latin medical vocabulary has adopted the Greek name *carcinoma* for the disease, but not for the animal, which in Latin is called *cancer*. While the homoeopathic cure based on the metaphor is preserved, its verbal aspect tends to disappear. The lexical gap between cure and disease grows even larger when the word *ulcus* is used instead of *carcinoma*, as in Apuleius: *cancer ad ulcera* ('a crab against ulcers', *Apol.* 35). As for the cure of burnt crabs used against harmful excrescences on trees, and mentioned by Pliny, it is based on a further development in the metaphorisation, *carbunculus* here being a metaphor based on the physical similarity of the excrescence to a tumour in a human patient:

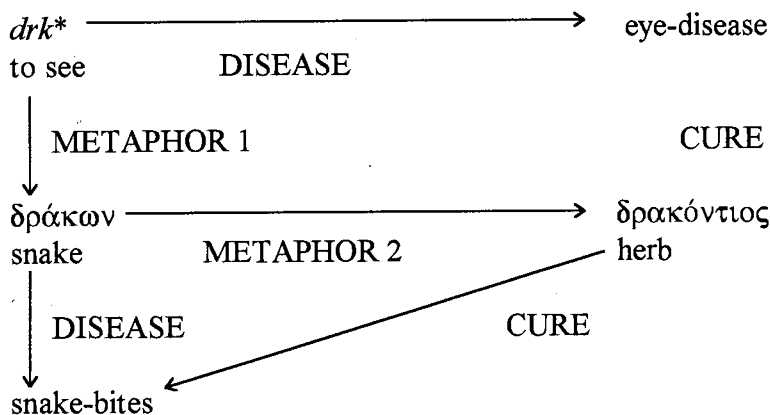
> Quidam tres cancros vivos cremari iubent in arbustis, ut carbunculus ne noceat.
> (Pliny *HN* 18.293)
>
> Some advise having three crabs burnt alive among the trees so that *carbunculus* may not harm them.[13]

The homoeopathic use of crabs for cancer and ulcers thus follows this pattern:



[13] McCartney [4] 327 states that the most potent factor in this prescription is the fact that the implied word for ashes, *carbo*, resembles *carbunculus*. This would give us another instance of verbal homoeopathy. However, since burnt crabs were well known in the Greek pharmacopoeia, where homophony is obviously not present, this statement seems rather far-fetched. McCartney follows R. Wünsch, 'Charms and Amulets (Roman)' in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 3 (Edinburgh 1910) 463 who believed that the practice of burning crabs was of Roman origin. For the use of burnt crab shells in Dioscorides see J. M. Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin 1985) 134-38.

The herb δρακόντιος ('dragon arum') is said in the *Cyranides* to have taken its name from the fact that its seeds resemble dragon or snake eyes (1.4.5f.). In Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* 2.166.1) and in Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 17.9.35), we find that it bears that name because its stalk looks like a snake, while Pliny says that it is spotted like a viper (*HN* 25.18). The phytonym is clearly a metaphor based on physical similarity to a snake, of whatever kind this resemblance may be.[14] δράκων, the Greek word for snake (or dragon), was itself thought to be built on the stem *drk**, δέρκομαι, which means 'to see'.[15] Undoubtedly an animal with this name was believed to be endowed with extraordinary eyesight. The use of the dragon arum in medicine will thus be double. Because of its physical similarity to a snake it will be regarded as a remedy against snake bites, as stated by Pliny (*HN* 25.18), or simply to frighten snakes away, as Isidore says (17.9.35). As suggested by McCartney, one is fairly safe in believing that the transfer of the name is due to the physical similarity and that the efficacy of the plant is but another instance of like affecting like.[16] On the other hand the stem *drk** on which the name is built made it a useful ingredient for collyria and a device against dim-sightedness in general, as we read in Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* 2.166.1.1) and in the *Cyranides* (1.4.24 and 1.4.64-68). Here the power of the name clearly strengthens the power of the resemblance to a sharp-sighted animal. We may therefore classify this as a case of verbal homoeopathy, although only partial.



[14] Cf. R. Strömberg, 'Griechischen Pflanzennamen', *Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift* 49 (1943) 38.

[15] McCartney [4] 340 refers to the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plut.* 733: δράκοντες δὲ λέγονται ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκω, ὅ ἐστι βλέπω· ὀχυδερκὲς γὰρ τὸ ζῷον ('snakes derive their name from δέρκω, which is 'to see'; for the animal is sharp-sighted'). See also P. Chantraine, *Histoire des Mots: Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque* (Paris 1968) 264f. and H. Frisk, *Griechisch Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960) 414.

[16] McCartney [4] 329.

The part played by the *Suidae* in Greek and Latin vocabulary is quite important and pig words are the source of a wide variety of metaphors in the most divergent fields.[17] In anatomy the use of pig words for the vulva is well developed:[18] χοῖρος, χοιρίδιον, ὕσσαξ, δελφάκιον, *porcus* ('pig'/'piglet') are all to be found as metaphors of this kind. Several plants used in gynaecology derive their names from the same pig words: *porcillaca*, *porcillago*, *porcastrum*, χοιροβοτάνη, χοιροβότανον.[19] These are metaphors on two levels. On the first the female organ is compared to the animal. The interpretation of the perceived similarity is not necessarily negative, as André points out.[20] On the second level the name of the plant is derived from the organ. This is thus a metaphor of a metaphor, based not on physical similarity to the pig or to the vulva but on the function of the plant as a cure for the organ.

Verbal homoeopathy is clearly related to etymology, whether real or false. The example of the herb δρακόντιος and the snake δράκων, where the attribution of keenness of sight to the snake (dragon) might be due to the etymology of its name,[21] illustrates this very well. Another fine example of the close relationship between homoeopathy and etymology is that of the mulberry-tree. The dark red colour of the mulberry has often been compared to that of congealed blood (e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 6.22; Col. *De Agr.* 10.401). In the beautiful story of Pyramus and Thisbe told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the white mulberry was turned dark red by the blood of Pyramus as he killed himself in mourning for his beloved Thisbe (*Met.* 4.55-166). It is therefore obvious that popular belief associated the mulberry with blood and haemorrhages of all kinds. Pliny tells us the following:

> Mira sunt praeterea quae produntur: germinatione priusquam folia exeant, sinistra decerpi futura poma. ricinos Graeci vocant. hi terram si non attigere, sanguinem sistunt adalligati, sive ex vulnere fluat sive ore sive naribus sive haemorrhoidis. ad hoc servantur repositi. idem praestare et ramus dicitur luna plena defractus incipiens fructum habere, si terram non attigerit, privatim mulieribus adalligatus lacerto contra abundantiam mensum. hoc et quocumque tempore ab ipsis decerptum ita ut terram non attingat adalligatumque existimant praestare.
>
> (Pliny *HN* 23.137f.)

[17] Cf. J. André, 'La Part des Suidés dans le Vocabulaire grec et latin', *Anthropozoologica* 14-15 (1991) 5-24.

[18] See also M. Golden, 'Male Chauvinists and Pigs', *EMC* 7 (1988) 1-12 and Skoda [7] 172.

[19] Cf. André [17] 15.

[20] André [17] 15.

[21] McCartney [4] 340. See above, n. 15.

> There are, besides, marvels related of the mulberry. When it begins to bud, but before the leaves unfold, the fruit-to-be is plucked with the left hand. The Greeks call them *ricini*. These, if they have not touched the ground, when worn as an amulet, stay a flow of blood, whether it flows from a wound, the mouth, the nose or from haemorrhoids. For this purpose they are stored away and kept. The same effect is said to be produced if there be broken off at a full moon a branch beginning to bear; it must not touch the ground, and is specially useful when tied on the upper arm of a woman to prevent excessive menstruation. It is thought that the same result is obtained if the woman herself breaks off a branch at any time, provided that it does not touch the ground before it is used as an amulet.[22]

Similar prescriptions are to be found in the work of Marcellus of Side (*Med.* 31.33) and in the *Cyranides* (1.12.20-37).[23] But all in all this would be an instance of homoeopathy pure and simple, based on the resemblance of the colour of the black mulberry to that of blood, were there not the attestation of Athenaeus and his source Demetrius Ixion, who saw an etymological relationship between the Greek name of the mulberry, μόρον or μορέα, and αἱμόροον, 'flowing with blood' (*Deipnosoph.* 2.37.10).

These are just a few examples from Greek and Roman medicine, but there are many more in these and other languages and cultures.[24] Just one example from Africa is the interesting case of the so-called *fever-tree*. The *Acacia xanthophloea* was named *fever-tree* by early pioneers to Africa because they believed that malaria was caused by it. Since it grows in swampy places where the malarial mosquito breeds, it indicates unhealthy camp sites, but the tree itself is in no way responsible.[25] In fact, the roots of the fever-tree are used in traditional medicine against malaria. This is a clear case of homoeopathy where three steps can be distinguished: in the first instance the tree is believed to cause the disease; it then derives its name from the disease; ultimately it is believed to cure the disease. Cause and cure are thus interchangeable through the intermediary of the name. The fact that the name *fever-tree* is clearly of European origin and not indigenous shows that

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[22] Translated by W. H. S. Jones (ed. and tr.), *Pliny: Natural History* 6 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1951).

[23] Cf. M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam 1987) 95-101; A. Delatte, *Herbarius: Recherches sur le Cérémonial usité chez les Anciens pour la Cueillette des Simples et des Plantes magiques* (Brussels 1961) 178, 189.

[24] Cf. McCartney [4] 335f.

[25] A. M. Kitchin, *Trees of Malawi with Some Shrubs and Climbers* (Blantyre 1982) 118.

the possibility of foreign influences should always be taken into account.

In all the examples quoted above the use of the remedy could easily be explained by a physical similarity or similarity in physical condition, while the similarity of the name could be seen as a secondary and additional factor. There are many cases, however, where no physical resemblance whatsoever can be discerned and where the name seems to be the sole influential element. Here the homoeopathy is of a purely verbal kind. Fish names appear to be particularly suitable for this type of homoeopathy. A few examples from the *Cyranides* may be quoted. What has a fish called μαινίς in common with μανία (madness) other than its name? The μαινίς is probably to be identified with a sprat. In *Cyranides* 1.24.80-88 it is stated that the μαινίς has been given that name because it affects μανία in the following way. Its eyes given in a potion to a madman will cure him, while a sane person will grow mad from the same treatment. And further on in the text we find the following:

> Ἐὰν δὲ τῆς μαινίδος τὴν γλῶσσαν νεαρᾶς οὔσης δώῃς τινὶ λειανθεῖσαν μεθ' ὕδατος, βαλὼν δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον κάτω δώῃς πιεῖν μαινομένῳ, σωθήσεται. εἰ δὲ νήφοντι, μανήσεται. τούτου λύσις· μαινίδα ὀπτὴν δὸς φαγεῖν. μανήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοῶν τὰ λεχθέντα ἅπαντα.
>
> (*Cyran.* 1.24.111-114)
>
> If you give someone the tongue of a fresh sprat finely ground with water and throw the ring[26] in it and then give it to a madman to drink, he will be cured; but if you give it to a sane person, he will go mad. The cure for this: give him a cooked sprat to eat. The man who does not know all that has been said will go mad.

Most modern etymologists indeed accept a possible relationship of the word μαινίς with μαίνομαι, 'to be mad',[27] and Strömberg suggests that it could mean 'le poisson fou qui s'agite de tous les côtés'.[28] If this were correct we would again have some kind of physical similarity between the fish and the diseased person. However, since any fish quivers and desperately agitates its body when removed from water, any fish could be called μαινίς. This is thus not an entirely satisfactory explanation. I therefore suggest that the sound of the name μαινίς was the main reason for its therapeutical use in this context.

Unmistakable cases of verbal homoeopathy are those of the fish

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[26] The ring mentioned is an amulet ring engraved with a swallow and, at its feet, a scorpion standing upon a sprat. See Waegeman [23] 187-94.

[27] Cf. Chantraine [15] 658.

[28] R. Strömberg, 'Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen', *Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift* 49 (1943) 53-55.

θρίσσα and τριχαῖος. They have not clearly been identified yet, but their descriptions point to a kind of anchovy. It is probable that the τριχαῖος and the θρίσσα are one and the same fish. In *Cyranides* each is said to have a wide range of therapeutical virtues, but each is also praised as the principal ingredient of a good hair conditioner (4.24.4f. and 4.63.5). Since no physical similarity can be detected between an anchovy and hair —unless we refer to the very thin bones of the fish—this prescription must be based on the homonymy of θρίξ, genitive τριχός, the word for 'hair', and the names of these fish.

There is also a fish named ῥίνα, which is prescribed for nose bleeding (*Cyran.* 4.56), one called χηλός, which makes a good balm for sore lips (*Cyran.* 4.71), and another called γλαῦκος, which is good for the treatment of γλαυκοφθαλμία (*Cyran.* 4.9.5f.), and many more similar examples could be quoted where the type of homoeopathy is undoubtedly verbal. Did these fish—or plants or minerals—receive their names because of their real or supposed qualities, or was their name the cause of the belief in their specific healing power? I am inclined to favour the first explanation, especially since some of these substances may also bear other names and the homonymous name seems to be used particularly in the medical context. It appears that the name implies the connotation 'cure for'. This is obvious with the seven different plants known under the name ἑλένιον, since they are used to cure wounds and received their name, etymologically related to the Latin *vulnus* ('wound') and the Greek ἕλκος ('wound') because of their curative power. However, popular etymology derived the name ἑλένιον from Helen, which gave rise to the legend that the herb grew out of Helen's tears, when Canopus was mortally wounded by a snakebite.[29] This is yet another etymological tale.

If nothing else, the foregoing examples demonstrate that the process of metaphorisation and the therapeutical exploitation of this metaphorisation are extremely complex. It appears that the way of thinking and inventing therapies for particular diseases is in the first place associative, working on physical and verbal similarities alike without making too much distinction. Furthermore, the invention of a particular form of therapy should not necessarily be ascribed to a single individual. This type of medicine is definitely folk medicine in the sense that the prescriptions derive their origin from popular association with something similar and may be altered and expanded in one way or another in the course of their transmission.

[29] Cf. S. Amigues, 'Un Conte étymologique: Hélène et les Serpents', *JS* (1990) 177-98.

AGATHODAIMONES IN DURBAN

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Abstract. In the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Durban, are two objects that represent Agathodaimon: the upper part of a bronze figurine, and a very large stone cylinder seal.

Despite the Greek name, Agathodaimon (Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, meaning literally 'the Good Genius') was a deity principally associated with Egypt, where he was often in later (Hellenistic and particularly Roman) times assimilated with Serapis, especially as a complement to Isis in her serpentine guise as Thermouthis.[1] He seems to have functioned variously as a protector or guarantor of fertility and prosperity (often with reference to the harvest), and in funerary connection as a psychopomp. Although there are some earlier Greek representations of him in aniconic or fully anthropomorphic form, most of the images of Egyptian provenience represent him as a serpent (usually a cobra), sometimes with human head.[2]

The earlier of the two representations of Agathodaimon in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Durban, is part of a bronze figurine,[3] preserving the human head and the upper part of the flattened snake-body. The figure is bearded, and wears his long hair parted in the middle and drawn back into a knot at the nape; long locks also hang from the area of the ears to the 'shoulders', two on the figure's left, one on the right. He is crowned with a basileion or Isiac emblem (the top is broken off) such as is often worn by Isis

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[1] This is the first of a series of articles on objects in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Durban with Egypt as a definite or probable provenience. Much of this material, on loan from the Durban municipal museums, was originally acquired as donations from private collections, usually without documentation. Since virtually all the items for which provenience can be identified derive from Egypt (variously from the Predynastic, Dynastic, Hellenistic, Roman and Coptic periods), it seems reasonable to infer that other items might, where possible, have the same origin.

[2] For a fuller discussion of the representation and significance of Agathodaimon, see the entry by Françoise Dunande in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (hereafter *LIMC*) 1 (Munich and Zürich 1981) 277-82 and pll. 203-07.

[3] Durban L 1989.M.58, on loan from the Durban Local History Museum; length 72 mm.: figure 1.

and occasionally by Harpokrates: shallow grooves may be discerned on the surface of the head-dress. The snake body is decorated with linear patterns that are a little reminiscent of human anatomy: two circles as though to represent the pectorals, the left one with a very small circle in the middle (the right has suffered some surface damage), and below these an enclosed shape, tapering as the outline of the body tapers, containing horizontal wavy lines set quite close together. The back of the body is without decoration.

It is difficult to suggest what purpose the figure might have served. The figure bears a strong similarity in form to the entwined bronze figures of Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathodaimon in Berlin,[4] and it is tempting to imagine that the Durban figure was likewise entwined with a serpentine Isis-Thermouthis, though without having the Serapis identification. It could thus have been part of a self-standing statuette pair—a dedication perhaps, or serving as a good-luck talisman. Alternatively, it could have been a decorative attachment rearing up from a bronze vessel, like the griffin protomes of the eighth and seventh centuries in Greece, with the body tapering off into a long tail that could have been arranged in the characteristic figure-of-eight loops usually represented in Agathodaimon figures.[5]

Stylistically the figurine should be assigned to the first century BC or AD, a date which comparison with the Berlin Isis-Agathodaimon figures could narrow to the first century AD.[6] Although the provenience is unknown, it seems likely that the figurine originated in Egypt, not only because that is the provenience of other items from the same collection, but also because a human-headed, serpentine Agathodaimon is primarily an Egyptian concept.

To a later period belongs a very large cylinder seal in marble of poor quality—perhaps an offcut.[7] As with the bronze figurine described above, in the absence of any documentation, the circumstances in which the cylinder came to the museum suggest that it probably originated in Egypt. Three clear motifs are carved around the cylinder and one more at one end, but further marks in an 'empty' area, together with the appearance of the other motifs, suggest that the carving of the seal may not have been completed. This

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[4] Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus 20428: *LIMC* 5, Isis 359 pl. 526.

[5] Cf. *LIMC* 1, pll. 205-07.

[6] See above, n. 4. The date suggested in the *LIMC* entry for the Berlin figures is first century AD.

[7] Durban L 1989.M.4, also on loan from the Durban Local History Museum; length 90.5 mm., maximum diameter 46.0 mm.: figures 2-4. The greyish-cream stone is marred by many small black discolorations.

seemingly unfinished state renders the object difficult to date stylistically, but comparison with the objects referred to below[8] would suggest the fifth century AD as a likely temporal ambience.

The reason for including the seal in this paper under the given title is a clearly recognisable cobra carved deeply into the cylinder wall, facing to right (to left, therefore, in the rolled-out impression). The horizontal stripes incised on its swelling front render it unmistakable, although the head is only blocked in with no detail. The positioning of the motif with its head close to the top of the cylinder makes it clear that the serpent was not intended to be crowned, while the space beneath it leaves open the possibility that further detail was to be added there: perhaps the figure-of-eight tail-coils characteristic of so many representations of a serpentine Agathodaimon. Certainly the more-or-less vertical line (of uncertain interpretation) incised to the right of the figure leads to a loop that could be interpreted as possibly intended to form part of the tail, particularly since it has an additional shallow curved line leading off it on the lower left side. In the context of the other motifs, it seems reasonable to interpret this image as Agathodaimon, a symbol of good luck, particularly since to the right, on the other side of a second, quite deep-cut if wavering, vertical line (a little to the right of that leading to the loop), there is an area on the cylinder wall where there appear to be preliminary roughing-out marks for the carving of a second serpent, perhaps a little more sinuous, and maybe facing to left; below it are clear cuttings of two broken circles, in the appropriate positions for looping tail-coils. Such an arrangement suggests a pair of serpents facing each other—perhaps Agathodaimon and Isis-Thermouthis—conveying a wish for good luck and prosperity (possibly in an agricultural context[9]).

Moving further to the right around the cylinder, one finds a strip of complex maeander pattern. It is so complex that the artist himself seems not to have been able to work it out correctly: at the upper end it starts out as a superimposed criss-crossing maeander, but the lines do not continue down to repeat and complete the pattern, so that by the bottom of the strip there is more the appearance of a simpler hooked-battlement maeander. Even the vertical lines that should form the borders of the pattern to either side are not continuous. The general impression, however, is clearly a maeander, or perhaps a labyrinth-motif—rather appropriate for an object which would appear to have been intended to be presented to someone about to journey far

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[8] See below, p. 37 n. 10.

[9] A suggestion made by Dunande [2] 281.

from home.

Moving again to the right, the most attractive of the motifs on the vertical wall of the cylinder is a hand with elegantly curving fingers and thumb; assuming that the back of the hand is intended, it is a left hand as carved, which means that in the rolled-out impression it would be a right hand. This image is almost certainly incomplete, since in form it is markedly similar to the motif of a hand tweaking an ear—an evocative symbol intended as an *aide-memoire*, as is made clear by the inscription accompanying such a motif on an agate cameo seal in the Ionides Collection: ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΥ ΤΗϹ ΚΑΛΗϹ ΨΥΧΗϹ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ϹΩΦΡΟΝΙ(Ε) (Remember me, your dear heart, and good luck to Sophronios).[10] With this cameo image in mind, one may discern a faint curved indentation cut into the surface of the stone above the thumb, corresponding to where an ear might be positioned if it had been included: the recognition of this as the artist's signal of intent is strengthened by the unfinished state of other motifs on the cylinder.

On the round base of the cylinder is carved a clumsy and indeed rather comic face; it is so amateurish that one might suppose it too to be incomplete, a mere sketch for what was intended: Professor Simon has suggested to me that it may have been planned as a gorgoneion. The upper end of the cylinder is unmarked.

The overall (and admittedly subjective) impression one gains on examining this object is that someone seized upon an unwanted piece of stone (it must be noted that marble, even of such low quality, was in short supply in Egypt) and began to map out a series of images to convey a rather touching message for a departing loved one: 'Do not forget me; may you experience good fortune; may you travel well on your difficult path; may Medusa frighten away those who would harm you'. One wonders why it was not completed: was the journey abandoned? Did passion fade before it was undertaken? Or did its maker or commissioner realise that it was too heavy a keepsake to be carried with ease on a journey? In fact, given the technical difficulty experienced in producing an acceptable roll-out from the cylinder (because of its large size and the depth of its motifs) it is a tempting

[10] J. Boardman, *Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection* (London 1968) cat. 79 and see also discussion on p. 43, where Boardman suggests that 'gems like this might serve as pledges, given to dear ones going on a journey, to a husband or lover away on military service'; other comparanda are listed on p.103. I acknowledge with gratitude the help of Professor Erika Simon, who drew this reference to my attention and made other helpful suggestions about both of the items published in this article. Thanks are due also to Dr Nolly Zaloumis for his help in obtaining the roll-out.

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hypothesis, supported by the object's weight and bulk, that the seal was intended not as a memento during an earthly absence, but rather to accompany a loved one on the last journey of all—into the tomb.

Figure 1: Durban L 1989.M.58

Figure 2a: Durban L 1989.M.4: a. gorgoneion on end

Figure 2b: Durban L 1989.M.4: b. cast of gorgoneion on end

3a

3b

3c

3d

Figure 3: Durban L 1989.M.4

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Figure 4: Roll-out of Durban L 1989.M.4

REWRITING EURIPIDES: OVID, *HEROIDES* 4

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Abstract. In *Heroides* 4, Ovid rewrites Euripides' *Hippolytus*, drawing upon motifs characteristic of Roman love elegy. Phaedra, however, has more in common with the elegiac lover than beloved. By means of mythological allusions, Ovid explores the origins of her passion and foreshadows its disastrous consequences.

Of the four known Greek tragedies on the subject of Phaedra and Hippolytus only Euripides' *Hippolytus Crowned* (428 BC) remains extant.[1] No other detailed treatment of the myth survives from all of classical literature until almost the beginning of our own era.[2] Just before the turn of the millennium, however, Ovid turned to the composition of a set of fifteen *Letters from Heroines* (*Epistulae Heroidum* or *Heroides*),[3] of which the fourth was a letter from Phaedra to Hippolytus.

Ovid begins at once by recalling Euripides and by distancing himself from his Greek predecessor: *quid epistula lecta nocebit?* ('What harm is there in reading a letter?', 4.3). With these words Ovid's Phaedra both asserts the non-dramatic nature of this work (we are reading a letter, not a play) and reminds us ironically of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (letters can indeed be deadly). The difference of genre is important. Firstly, drama is essentially concerned with process. In the case of the Euripidean Phaedra we see her move from silence to speech, from virtue to crime, from peril to disaster. Ovid's Phaedra is, in one sense, frozen in time. She writes at a particular moment. She can

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[1] Euripides had written an earlier play on the subject, *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* (*Hippolytus Veiled*), and Sophocles wrote a *Phaedra* (date unknown). The fourth century tragedian Lycophron is reported to have composed a play entitled *Hippolytus*. Only the title survives.

[2] The story was well known to Roman writers. See Cic. *Off.* 1.32, 3.94; Prop. 4.5.5; Virg. *Aen.* 6.445, 7.777. The very brevity of the references in Propertius and Virgil is significant in that it implies a readership familiar with the story.

[3] The exact date of the publication of the first book of *Heroides* is unknown. They were almost certainly published before 1 BC. See H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton 1974) 306f. There are fifteen letters in the first book if we accept the letter of Sappho to Phaon as genuine.

refer to past and present but the future can only be implied, foreshadowed. Ovid and Ovid's readers, being familiar with Euripides, know her future. Phaedra does not. In another sense, of course, Ovid's Phaedra is not frozen, for the very act of writing a letter can effect significant psychological change; the writer alters as the letter is written. Secondly, while a drama at least purports to be objective, a letter presents an individual's point of view and does not pretend to do otherwise. Here are events already familiar to us but presented from Phaedra's perspective.[4]

How does this letter relate to Euripides' play? One possibility is suggested by *Amores* 2.18:

> aut, quod Penelopes uerbis reddatur Vlixi,
> scribimus et lacrimas, Phylli relicta, tuas,
> quod Paris et Macareus et quod male gratus Iason
> Hippolytique parens Hippolytusque legant.
> (*Am.* 2.18.21-24)
>
> Or I write the words Penelope sends Ulysses
> And your tears, abandoned Phyllis,
> Words for Paris and Macareus and thankless Jason to read
> And Hippolytus' father and Hippolytus.

Is Ovid giving us the letter that Phaedra left for Theseus in *Hippolytus Crowned*? A love-letter, apparently addressed to Hippolytus but actually intended for Theseus' eyes, might well have served to ruin Hippolytus in that play. But this is not that letter, for not only are its contents different from the Euripidean letter (there is no accusation of rape here), but it would not fulfil one of Phaedra's primary aims, preservation of her reputation. Moreover, the very fact that Phaedra writes to Hippolytus marks a significant difference between Ovid and Euripides: in *Hippolytus Crowned* there is no direct communication between stepmother and stepson at all. In Ovid contact is direct though silent.

There are, of course, many similarities in circumstance and character between the Euripidean and Ovidian Phaedras. Both see themselves as victims of the goddess of love (Cypris/Venus). Both have responded to their circumstances with silence and speak only reluctantly. Both place a high value on their reputation (*eukleia*/*fama*) and for both shame (*aidôs*/*pudor*) is a

[4] For discussion of the generic qualities of the *Heroides* see Jacobson [3]; P. Steinmetz, 'Die Literarische Form der *Epistulae Heroidum* Ovids', *Gymnasium* 94 (1987) 128-45; M. Brownlee, *The Severed Word: Ovid's Heroides and the Novela Sentimental* (Princeton 1990).

cardinal value. Both have experienced intense moral struggle and indeed we see the Greek Phaedra continuing to engage with her predicament on the stage. For the Roman Phaedra, however, that phase has passed. Otherwise she would not be writing this letter.

> et pugnare diu nec me submittere culpae
> certa fui—certi siquid haberet amor.
> uicta precor genibusque tuis regalia tendo
> bracchia! quid deceat, non uidet ullus amans.
> depudui, profugusque pudor sua signa reliquit.
> (*Her.* 4.151-55)[5]
>
> And I was resolved to fight long and not
> to yield to my fault—if love has any resolution.
> Conquered I pray and stretch out my royal arms
> to your knees! No lover can see what is right.
> My shame is gone and, escaping, it abandoned its standards.

This Phaedra's moral crisis is over and she is now attempting to approach Hippolytus. By choosing to speak to Hippolytus, Ovid's Phaedra has already aligned herself with the more daring Phaedra of *Hippolytus Veiled*.[6]

If Ovid's Phaedra is different from the familiar Euripidean character, she is unique among the fictive writers of *Heroides*. All the other heroines have been abandoned by, or simply separated from, their lovers or husbands. In each case an established relationship exists. Penelope is already married to Ulysses, Hermione to Orestes, Deianira to Hercules, Medea to Jason, Laodamia to Protesilaus and Hypermestra to Lynceus. Briseis has been mistress to Achilles, Phyllis to Demophoon, Oenone to Paris, Hypsipyle to Jason, Dido to Aeneas, Ariadne to Theseus, Canace to her brother, Macareus, and Sappho to Phaon. What makes Phaedra's case different is the fact that she has not been separated from her lover at all. Indeed, she has no lover. This letter is her bid to begin a sexual relationship: Phaedra is attempting to seduce Hippolytus.

As an established love poet, Ovid already possessed an elaborate repertoire of concepts and images for representing an erotic relationship. Not

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[5] I have used G. Showerman and G. Goold (edd. and trr.), *Ovid: Heroides and Amores* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1977) (Loeb Classical Library) for all quotations from *Heroides*. The translations are mine.

[6] For discussion of the relationship between *Heroides* 4 and *Hippolytus Veiled*, see E. Oppel, *Ovids Heroides: Studien zu inneren Form und Motivation* (Erlangen-Nürnberg 1968) 91f.

surprisingly, we find some of the same concepts and images in *Heroides* 4. The very sending of a letter is of course a typical amatory ploy and is recommended by Ovid as an opening gambit in the *Art of Love* (*Ars Am.* 1.455f.; cf. *Am.* 1.11f., Prop. 4.3). Moreover, Phaedra employs language characteristic of Ovid's own elegies when, failing to address Hippolytus by name, she calls him *uir* ('man', but often used in the sense of 'lover')[7] and herself *puella* ('girl', but often used to mean 'girlfriend' or 'mistress').[8] Phaedra's choice of language drawn from the military (14, 66, 86,[9] 153) is also typical of Ovid's own *Amores* (cf. *Am.* 1.2, 9), as is her treatment of love as fire (19, 20, 33, 52; cf. *Am.* 1.2.9, 1.15.27) or wound (20; cf. *Am.* 1.2.29, 44). Her use of agricultural images (21f.) also has parallels in the *Amores* (e.g., *Am.* 1.2.13-16, 1.10.25-28) as do her references to the difficulties she and Hippolytus will not face, difficulties like difficult husbands and stubborn door-keepers (cf. *Am.* 1.4, 6). Phaedra also draws upon other erotic writers. Her claim that she would prefer Hippolytus to Jupiter (35f.) recalls the words of Catullus' Lesbia (poem 70), while her loss of pride (150) recalls the opening lines of Propertius' first elegy.

But the presence of elegiac motifs hardly makes Phaedra's letter exceptional among the *Heroides*. And given that Phaedra is unique among Ovid's heroines, we would expect these motifs to be employed in a distinctly different fashion. And so it is, for Phaedra is depicted in ways more reminiscent of the elegiac lover than the elegiac mistress. From the outset she adopts the masculine role, describing herself, for example, in terms reminiscent of Ovid's self-description in the *Amores*. As Cupid appeared to Ovid in *Amores* 1.1 and compelled him to write love elegy, so Love appears to Phaedra and commands her to write Hippolytus a love-letter:

> ille mihi primo dubitanti scribere dixit:
> 'Scribe! dabit uictas ferreus ille manus'.
>
> (*Her.* 4.13f.)
>
> He spoke to me first when I was hesitant to write:
> 'Write! That man of iron will surrender his conquered hands'.

---

[7] *Vir*, of course, often means 'husband' in elegy, but when combined with *puella* (as here) it frequently means 'boyfriend', e.g., *Am.* 1.7.38, 1.9.6, 1.13.9, 2.9a.15; *Ars Am.* 1.54, 275, 682; 3.31, 45, 107, 381, 433, 799.

[8] E.g., *Am.* 1.1.20; 1.3.1; 1.4.3; 1.6.63; 1.7.4, 45; 1.9.6, 9, 43; 1.13.9, 25, 26. Jacobson [3] 147 also notes the elegiac overtones of *puella* and *uir*.

[9] If *militia* ('campaign') is the right reading.

At the god's command Ovid and Phaedra become poet-lovers. But whereas for Ovid the result is inglorious captivity (*Am.* 1.2), for Phaedra, says Love, the result will be victory and acceptance of the enemy's surrender. From the outset, then, the Phaedra-Hippolytus relationship is represented as an aggressive one with Phaedra playing the active role.

Also important in this respect is the concept of the gaze, a notion linked by feminist critics with male voyeurism and violence against women.[10] Certainly one characteristic of the masculine lover in Roman elegy is his concern with gazing pleasurably at the female form and, by implication, with sharing that pleasure with his (male?) readers. Consider, for example, Ovid's description of Corinna in *Amores* 1.5 (cf. *Am.* 1.7.11-18):

> ut stetit ante oculos posito uelamine nostros,
> in toto nusquam corpore menda fuit.
> quos umeros, quales uidi tetigique lacertos!
> forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!
>
> (*Am.* 1.5.17-20)
>
> As she stood before my eyes with clothing cast aside,
> there was a fault nowhere on her whole body.
> What shoulders, what arms I saw and touched!
> The beauty of her nipples: how right for squeezing!

Delight in viewing the female form is so characteristic of the elegiac lover that we are not surprised when, in the third book of the *Art of Love*, Ovid instructs his female students to play up to this masculine propensity to the point of advising them which sexual positions to adopt so as to appear most attractive to their partners (*Ars Am.* 3.769-88). By contrast, he tells men not to be too concerned about their looks, simply to be neat and clean, for in a male excessive concern with appearances is a sign of effeminacy (*Ars Am.* 1.505-24).

What is extraordinary about Phaedra is that she behaves in a way that, for Ovid at least, is more characteristic of males than females: she embodies the gaze. What first attracted Phaedra to Hippolytus was his physical appearance:

> Tempore quo nobis inita est Cerealis Eleusin,
> Gnosia me uellem detinuisset humus!
> tunc mihi praecipue (nec non tamen ante placebas)

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[10] See, e.g., A. Richlin, 'Reading Ovid's Rapes' in A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1992) 159f.

acer in extremis ossibus haesit amor.
candida uestis erat, praecincti flore capilli,
flaua uerecundus tinxerat ora rubor,
quemque uocant aliae uultum rigidumque trucemque,
pro rigido Phaedra iudice fortis erat.
sint procul a nobis iuuenes ut femina compti!
fine coli modico forma uirilis amat.
te tuus iste rigor positique sine arte capilli
et leuis egregio puluis in ore decet.
siue ferocis equi luctantia colla recuruas,
exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes;
seu lentum ualido torques hastile lacerto,
ora ferox in se uersa lacertus habet,
siue tenes lato uenabula cornea ferro.
denique nostra iuuat lumina, quidquid agis.
(*Her.* 4.67-84)

That time I went to Ceres' Eleusis,
I wish the land of Cnossus had held me back!
Then especially (though you did not displease me before)
keen love stuck fast in my innermost bones.
Your clothes were brilliant white, your hair decked with flowers,
a modest blush stained your golden face.
The countenance other women call rough and fierce
instead of rough was strong in Phaedra's view.
Far from us be young men adorned like a woman!
male beauty loves to be tended in due measure.
Your ruggedness and artlessly placed hair
and a light sprinkling of dust on your face become you.
Whether you bend back the struggling neck of your spirited horse,
I wonder at those feet made to turn in a tiny circle;
or whether with strong arm you whirl the pliant javelin
your arm has my gaze turned towards itself,
or whether you hold the broad-bladed cornel hunting spear.
In short, all you do pleases my eyes.

Phaedra exhibits, of course, the taste in masculine beauty prescribed by Ovid in the *Art of Love*. What is remarkable is the extent to which she lingers over the details of Hippolytus' bodily appearance. Whereas, for example, Virgil depicts Dido falling in love for a variety of physical and psychological reasons,[11] Phaedra's experience is represented as wholly physical. She was

[11] Dido is impressed with the hero's *uirtus* ('courage', *Aen.* 4.3), the glory of his family (4.4), his face and words (4.4f.). When she describes Aeneas to Anna (*Aen.* 4.11) the terms she chooses oscillate between the physical and the psychological (*ore* ['face'] is physical, while *pectus* ['spirit'/ 'chest'] and *armis* ['prowess'/ 'shoulders'] are ambiguous).

impressed by Hippolytus' general appearance at Eleusis (his clothes, his hair, his blush) and she admires his vigorous masculinity, his ruggedness, his artless hair, the dust on his face. She likes to watch him display his skill with horses and different kinds of spear. Indeed, she simply likes to watch him whatever activity he is engaged in. As Corinna delights Ovid's eyes, so Hippolytus' body gives pleasure to Phaedra's gaze.

That Phaedra adopts the masculine role is also reinforced by imagery. For example, she employs agricultural images to suggest her inexperience in love:

> scilicet ut teneros laedunt iuga prima iuuencos,
> frenaque uix patitur de grege captus equus,
> sic male uixque subit primos rude pectus amores,
> sarcinaque haec animo non sedet apta meo.
> (*Her.* 4.21-24)
>
> Evidently as the first yoke harms the tender calves
> and the horse captured from the herd scarcely endures the reins,
> so barely and with difficulty does my inexperienced heart undergo first love
> and this burden does not sit well upon my soul.

If we recall that Ovid's readers would have been familiar with Virgil's *Georgics*, in particular with the vivid way in which Virgil represents the force of the sexual instinct in cattle and horses, and the violent behaviour to which they are driven for the sake of their beloveds (*G.* 3.209-41, 250-54), then images drawn from the agricultural world seem particularly appropriate for Ovid's purpose. The animals to which Phaedra likens herself, the calf and the horse, are chosen for their sexual power. They are also specifically masculine: the calf is a young bull (*iuuencus*), the horse is a young stallion (*equus*).[12]

Also important, as in Euripides, is the idea of the hunt. As the Euripidean Phaedra prays to Artemis (*Hipp.* 228) and longs to join in the hunt (*Hipp.* 215-22), so this Phaedra claims Delia[13] as her primary goddess (*prima dea est*, 39) and longs to follow the hounds, throw the javelin, rest on the

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[12] Cf. *Am.* 1.2.13-16, where similar images (cattle and horses) are used of the male lover, in this case the poet himself. C. Pearson, 'Simile and Imagery in Ovid *Heroides* 4 and 5', *ICS* 5 (1980) 112 points out that these animals are particularly important in the myths concerning the families of Minos and Theseus.

[13] That is, Diana, Artemis' Roman equivalent.

ground and restrain fleeing horses (41-43).[14] In Euripides, as Knox points out,[15] Phaedra's 'yearning for the poplar and the grassy meadow, for the chase and the taming of colts on the sand, is a hysterical expression of her desire for Hippolytus'. In this poem too Phaedra acknowledges Hippolytus' association with the hunt. In following Delia Phaedra is following his choice (40). She admires his hunting skills (79-83) and draws upon her knowledge of the hunt and mythic hunters in her attempt to persuade Hippolytus to adopt a more relaxed way of life. But there is more than this, for at the end of the poem Phaedra suggests that Hippolytus resembles not so much a hunter as a savage beast:

> flecte, ferox,[16] animos! potuit corrumpere taurum
> mater; eris tauro saeuior ipse truci?
>
> (*Her.* 4.165f.)
>
> Bend, savage man, your spirit! Mother could seduce
> a bull; will you be more fierce than the brutal bull?

The image is reversed: Hippolytus is not hunter but beast. The true hunter is the sexually aggressive Phaedra herself.

But Phaedra fails and one reason for her failure is that she is self-deceived.[17] In particular she pays little or no attention to Hippolytus' true character. At the beginning of the letter she supposes that her words might actually give Hippolytus pleasure (4). It is only at the very end, and then in the briefest of parentheses, that Phaedra acknowledges Hippolytus' misogyny:

> sic tibi dent Nymphae, quamuis odisse puellas
> diceris, arentem quae leuet unda sitim.
>
> (*Her.* 4.173f.)
>
> So may the Nymphs give you, though you are said to hate
> girls, water to relieve your parching thirst.

And if Hippolytus hates all women, how is he likely to respond to sexual advances from his stepmother? His response, outright and unqualified

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[14] Each of these elements has a precise parallel in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. The Euripidean Phaedra wishes to lie in a meadow (211), follow the hounds (216f.), throw the javelin (220) and subdue Venetian colts (231).

[15] B. Knox, 'The *Hippolytus* of Euripides', *YCS* 13 (1952) 6.

[16] Some manuscripts read *feros* ('bestial'). That reading would make the point even more strongly.

[17] For Phaedra's self-deception see Oppel [6] 89, 93; Jacobson [3] 147; Pearson [12] 114.

rejection, is wholly predictable but is not foreseen by Phaedra.

But perhaps the most striking aspect of this Phaedra's character is her moral cynicism, for although she professes adherence to traditional values, she is in fact wholly indifferent to them.[18] For example, like the Euripidean Phaedra she claims to value her renown. She speaks of her 'reputation' (*fama*, 18) as blameless and offers Hippolytus first fruits of her 'long-preserved reputation' (*seruatae . . . libamina famae*, 27). She also professes to place a high value on 'shame' (*pudor*, 9, 10, 155). She speaks of her firm resolve to fight her passion (151f.), but that phase has passed as the writing of this letter attests. Despite her assertions to the contrary, this Phaedra is no longer committed to traditional moral values. She denies, for example, that it is through depravity (*nequitia*, 17) that she will break her marriage pact. Rather she will do it because of overwhelming sexual passion (19f.). That hardly frees her from guilt: lust is a cause of adultery, not an excuse. She speaks as if she were inexperienced in love (21ff.), ignoring the fact that she is actually a married woman. Moreover, this contradiction is highlighted by her choice of imagery:

> est aliquid, plenis pomaria carpere ramis,
> et tenui primam delegere ungue rosam.
> (*Her.* 4.29f.)
>
> It is something to pluck the orchard with full branches,
> and to pick the first rose with delicate nail.

Which image is appropriate for Phaedra? Is she like the mature orchard whose branches are filled with fruit? Or is she like the virginal first rose? The former is true for Phaedra who is a married woman and a mother (123), but she would have Hippolytus believe the latter. She claims to have lived a life of spotless purity (*candor*, 32) but congratulates herself on choosing a worthy lover: *peius adulterio turpis adulter obest* ('worse than adultery is a base adulterer', 34). The concept of an adulterer who is not 'base' is a novel one in a language in which the combination *turpis* ('base') and *adulter* ('adulterer') is tautological: adulterers are by definition 'base'.[19]

By the end of her letter, however, Phaedra has abandoned all pretence at commitment to conventional values. Indeed, she now rejects the very

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[18] For Phaedra's cynicism see A.-F. Sabot, *Ovide: Poète de l'amour dans ses oeuvres de jeunesse* (Paris 1976) 306.

[19] Indeed lawyers defined adultery as being 'dishonourable by nature': *adulterium natura turpe est* (Justinian, *Digest* 50, 16, 42, sect pr, 2).

concept of virtue as intolerably rustic:[20]

> ista uetus pietas, aeuo moritura futuro,
> rustica Saturno regna tenente fuit.
> (*Her.* 4.131f.)
>
> That ancient piety, doomed to die in some future age,
> was rustic in Saturn's reign.

To prove the point she cites the precedent of Jupiter's marriage to his sister Juno. The argument, of course, is plausible, for the double nature of their relationship was well known: Juno was both sister and wife to Jove (Virg. *Aen.* 1.47). But if their relationship was technically incestuous, at least it was not adulterous. But it is the conclusion to this argument that most effectively highlights Phaedra's cynicism, for she declares that the family that sleeps together stays together:

> illa coit firma generis iunctura catena,
> imposuit nodos cui Venus ipsa suos.
> (*Her.* 4.135f.)
>
> That family association is held firmly chained together
> upon which Venus herself has placed her knots.

In Phaedra's view incest does not violate but actually strengthens family ties.

Why then does Phaedra love Hippolytus? Lines 165f. suggest that Hippolytus is not just the object of Phaedra's lust, but a doublet of Pasiphaë's bull: as Pasiphaë loved the bull, so Phaedra loves Hippolytus. Here Phaedra points to an analogy between her condition and her mother's with a precision not found in Euripides. In *Hippolytus* Phaedra refers to her mother's passion for the bull (337), implying a resemblance between herself and her mother, but she does not take the further step and suggest a similarity between the bull and Hippolytus.

In fact Ovid's Phaedra is very much aware of her ancestry. In her opening address to Hippolytus she describes herself as a *Cressa puella* ('Cretan girl', 2). Indeed she suggests that her predicament may be linked to the experiences of her grandmother, Europa, of her mother, Pasiphaë, and of her sister, Ariadne:

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[20] Jacobson [3] 154 talks of a joke here. Irony seems a more appropriate term: rusticity is precisely what does appeal to Hippolytus.

forsitan hunc generis fato reddamus amorem,
  et Venus ex tota gente tributa petat.
Iuppiter Europen—prima est ea gentis origo—
  dilexit, tauro dissimulante deum.
Pasiphae mater, decepto subdita tauro,
  enixa est utero crimen onusque suo.
perfidus Aegides, ducentia fila secutus,
  curua meae fugit tecta sororis ope.
en, ego nunc, ne forte parum Minoia credar,
  in socias leges ultima gentis eo.

(*Her.* 4.53-62)

Perhaps we should attribute this love to my race's destiny,
  and perhaps Venus seeks tribute from our whole family.
Jupiter loved Europa—that is our family's first origin—
  a bull concealing the god.
My mother, Pasiphaë, placed beneath the deceived bull,
  gave birth to her crime and her burden.
Aegeus' treacherous son, following the thread which led him,
  escaped the winding house with my sister's help.
Behold, now I, lest I be thought too little one of Minos' family,
  last of all I come under my family's laws.

Phaedra could scarcely be more explicit. All the women of Phaedra's family have been subject to a passion that is in some way unhappy or perverse. Europa was lured to Crete and motherhood by Jupiter in the form of a bull, while Pasiphaë conceived a passion for a real bull. Ariadne was seduced and abandoned on Naxos by Theseus after he employed her help in slaying a half-bull, the Minotaur, and now Phaedra has fallen in love with her stepson (who will of course be killed by a bull from the sea). Phaedra draws the obvious conclusion: she is just like all the other female members of her family. It follows, then, that there must be some law of fate controlling their and her destinies. What that law's origin might be Phaedra does not speculate.

But fate or her family's heredity is perhaps not the sole cause of Phaedra's passion. As in *Hippolytus Veiled*,[21] Phaedra complains of Theseus' wrongs against herself and also against others. She refers to his preference for Pirithous' friendship over his love for her and to the fact that he slew her brother, the Minotaur, and abandoned her sister, Ariadne, to wild beasts. Indeed, Phaedra believes Theseus' misdeeds against Hippolytus, his treatment of Hippolytus' mother, and the fact that he has fathered legitimate children by

[21] A. Nauck and B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Hildesheim 1964) fr. 430; Plut. *Mor.* 27f-28a.

Phaedra, to be sufficient reason for Hippolytus to show no respect for his father's marriage bed (109-28).

We know, of course, that Phaedra will not persuade Hippolytus. There is sufficient in Phaedra's letter for us to infer that one reason for her failure will be Hippolytus' heredity. Blinded by her passion for Hippolytus, Phaedra sees an analogy between father and son: *Thesides Theseusque duas rapuere sorores* ('Theseus' son and Theseus have snatched away two sisters', 64). As Theseus won Ariadne's heart, so Hippolytus has won Phaedra's. Phaedra, of course, ignores the fact that, whereas Ariadne was a maiden in love with a stranger, she is a married woman in love with her stepson. She also ignores the true character of both son and father. In the very first couplet Phaedra addresses Hippolytus as *Amazonio . . . uiro* ('the Amazonian male', 2), a reminder that Hippolytus is the sole masculine member of a tribe of asexual females. Although aware that Hippolytus is said to hate women (173f.), Phaedra fails to make the necessary inference: Hippolytus' misogyny is the consequence of his Amazonian nature, for he has inherited his mother's sexuality, not his father's.

How does Ovid cope with the problem of foreshadowing the future? One way is to have Phaedra refer to her female relations, for the examples of Pasiphaë and Ariadne are hardly encouraging. Allusion to them presages disaster. Use of carefully chosen epithets is another. Theseus, for example, is called not only Theseus but *Aegides* ('Aegeus' son', 59) and *Neptunius heros* ('the hero, son of Neptune', 109). These patronymics point to more than Theseus' disputed birth, for 'Aegeus' son' recalls his past, while 'hero, son of Neptune' hints at the future. The phrase 'Aegeus' son', especially when used in connection with Ariadne, reminds us that when returning from that expedition to Crete Theseus became responsible for his father's suicide through failing to replace his ship's dark sails with white ones,[22] while 'the hero, son of Neptune' anticipates a similar act of culpable neglect, his appeal to his divine ancestor, Neptune, to kill his son.[23] Hippolytus' death is also foreshadowed when Phaedra refers to his skill with horses:

[22] The story would have been most familiar to Roman readers from Catullus 64.238-48.

[23] Cf. Statius' use of the same phrase for the same purpose at *Theb*. 12.588. On this see P. J. Davis, 'The Fabric of History in Statius' *Thebaid*' in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 7 (Brussels 1994) 464-83. The phrase occurs in only Ovid and Statius.

siue ferocis equi luctantia colla recuruas,
exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes.
(*Her.* 4.79f.)

Whether you bend back the struggling neck of your spirited horse,
I wonder at those feet made to turn in a tiny circle.

Hippolytus' skill with horses is a familiar part of the myth and is emphasised in the prologue of Euripides' play, where Hippolytus orders an attendant to care for his horses (110ff.), and in the messenger's speech, where both the messenger and Hippolytus himself insist upon his close relationship with his team (1219f., 1240). The Ovidian Phaedra's words are intended to remind us that in his confrontation with the bull from the sea Hippolytus' skill is insufficient to save his life. Phaedra also alludes to the place where Hippolytus will die:

aequora bina suis obpugnant fluctibus isthmon,
et tenuis tellus audit utrumque mare.
hic tecum Troezena colam, Pittheia regna;
iam nunc est patria carior illa mea.
(*Her.* 4.105-08)

Two seas attack the isthmus with their waves,
and a slender strip of land hears a twofold surf.
Here I will dwell in Troezen with you, Pittheus' realm;
already now it is dearer to me than my homeland.

Troezen, of course, is the setting for Euripides' play and Hippolytus' death takes place within sight of the Isthmus of Corinth (*Hipp.* 1209).[24] By referring to Hippolytus' skill with horses and to the Isthmus, Phaedra unwittingly looks forward to her stepson's death.

Some of Phaedra's arguments also point to the joint destinies of writer and recipient. Taking account of the fact that Hippolytus is a hunter, Phaedra argues that other hunters have yielded to love's temptations. In particular, she refers to the cases of Cephalus, Adonis and Meleager:

clarus erat siluis Cephalus, multaeque per herbas
conciderant illo percutiente ferae;
nec tamen Aurorae male se praebebat amandum.
ibat ad hunc sapiens a sene diua uiro.
saepe sub ilicibus Venerem Cinyraque creatum

[24] For discussion of the location of Hippolytus' death see W. Barrett (ed.), *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford 1964) 382-84 and his map.

sustinuit positos quaelibet herba duos.
arsit et Oenides in Maenalia Atalanta;
illa ferae spolium pignus amoris habet.

(*Her.* 4.93-100)

Cephalus was famed in the forest, and many wild beasts
fell on the grass when he struck;
and he did not do badly offering himself in love to Aurora.
Wisely the goddess went from her aged husband to him.
Often beneath the ilex trees some grassy spot supported
Venus and Cinyras' son as they lay there.
And Oeneus' son blazed for Maenalian Atalanta;
she has the wild beast's hide as pledge of love.

Each of these examples closely parallels the relationship between Phaedra and Hippolytus.

As it happens, the first of these examples is drawn from Euripides, for the Nurse, in her attempt to persuade Phaedra of love's power over the gods, alludes firstly to Zeus' love for Semele and secondly to the Dawn goddess's snatching of Cephalus to heaven for the sake of love (*Hipp.* 453-56). If Zeus and Eos submitted to love, so too should Phaedra. But the Ovidian Phaedra's point is different, for she is concerned with the effect of love not on the gods but upon mortals. Cephalus, she says, did well in allowing himself to be loved by Aurora. The story is one that is analogous to this one. Aurora left her husband, Tithonus, to sleep with the youthful Cephalus. The move was a wise one on Aurora's part because Tithonus was old and feeble and not a satisfactory sexual partner. Phaedra too prefers a young man to an older one. This preference, she implies, is wise.[25] The case of Venus and Cinyras' son, Adonis, involves the love of a goddess for a mortal. Like Hippolytus, Adonis was a hunter and, like Hippolytus, Adonis was killed by a savage beast. Phaedra hints at the danger to Hippolytus from the wild boar (104), the animal which killed Adonis, but he is in fact destined to be killed not by a boar but by the third bull to afflict Phaedra's family (cf. 56, 57, 165).[26] Oeneus' son, Meleager, loved Atalanta. The most important event in his career was his involvement in the hunt for the Calydonian boar. Meleager was successful and, as Phaedra notes, gave the spoils to Atalanta. The upshot,

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[25] Jacobson [3] 153 points to additional parallels with the Cephalus and Eos story. In particular he singles out the hunt and the death of Procris (Cephalus' wife). The parallel would be more convincing if death befell Dawn (impossible, since she is a goddess) or Cephalus. But it is Procris, Cephalus' wife, who dies and she has no parallel in the Phaedra-Hippolytus myth.

[26] Euripides had alluded to this story at *Hipp.* 1420-22.

however, was that Meleager killed his jealous uncles. To avenge her brothers, Althaea, Meleager's mother, became responsible for her son's death and then hanged herself. The parallels with Hippolytus and Phaedra are plain. Like Meleager, Hippolytus angers his stepmother. Like Althaea, Phaedra becomes responsible for her stepson's death and, as in Euripides, hangs herself. Each of these three myths, then, parallels an aspect of the situation of Phaedra and Hippolytus. In particular, the second and third stories foreshadow their deaths.

What, then, is Ovid's contribution to the development of the literary tradition concerning Phaedra and Hippolytus? Given the paucity of our knowledge concerning both Sophocles' *Phaedra* and Euripides' *Hippolytus Veiled* (let alone Lycophron's *Hippolytus*) that is a difficult question to answer. One thing we can be reasonably sure of, however, is that Ovid's influence is decisive in directing primary interest away from Hippolytus to Phaedra. The central character in the plays of Seneca, Garnier, Racine and D'Annunzio is Phaedra. For them Hippolytus is secondary. Secondly, Ovid brings about a major shift in emphasis in the telling of the story, for, whereas in Euripides Aphrodite's hostility was aimed at Hippolytus, in Ovid and subsequent writers her hatred is levelled at Phaedra. But perhaps Ovid's most important contribution was to focus on Phaedra's complex subjectivity.[27] In this poem Ovid explores in more detail than we find in Euripides the psychology of a woman passionately in love with her stepson. He suggests parallel reasons on both divine and human levels for her propensity to unfortunate love, Venus' hatred for her family and her genetic inheritance from Europa and Pasiphaë. He points to her unsatisfactory relationship with her husband. He also implies, by his emphasis on the gaze, the solid physicality of Phaedra's lust. Ovid explores the moral dimension to her character, her tendency to self-deception and her actual contempt for conventional values. To sum up, Ovid presents us with a vigorous woman who has abandoned all scruples and single-mindedly sets out to fulfil her sexual cravings. He also foreshadows the disaster to come.[28]

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[27] It will be evident that I do not agree with Jacobson's [3] 157 verdict on this poem: 'And so, the lack of complexity in Ovid's characterization . . . . The whole tale is transformed into a joke with Phaedra as the butt'.

[28] I would like to acknowledge the support of the Australian Research Council for my research.

ROMAN EMPERORS IN THE ELDER PLINY[1]

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Abstract. This essay assembles Pliny's mentions of Roman emperors, with full discussion, adding bibliographical details down to early 1994. Elements stressed include the frequent novelty of these items (being often absent from Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio Cassius), their relative neglect by modern writers, and the glimpses they may offer of what was in Pliny's own lost *Histories*. The general modern view of Pliny on Augustus is modified, while his services to Flavian propaganda make a recurring and connecting theme.

Apart from the fact that it has not previously been thus done,[2] there are four good reasons for marshalling the references to Roman emperors in Pliny's *Natural History*: 1) their intrinsic interest; 2) their frequent novelty, being items absent from the major Roman accounts of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian rulers; 3) their neglect by modern writers; and 4) the glimpse they may afford of what will have been in Pliny's own lost *Histories*.[3] As to this last, we cannot, of

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[1] 'Emperor' is strictly defined; hence no Julius Caesar here, except fleetingly. Pliny's generous, though tempered, tribute to him (*NH* 7.91-93) should be noted. Readers are directed to the bibliographical cornucopia offered by G. Serbat, 'Pline L'Ancien', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.32.4 (Berlin/New York 1986) 2069-200. Unless otherwise specified, the various articles of R. Syme cited below are reprinted in the seven volumes of his *Roman Papers* (Oxford 1979-91). At the time of writing, the most up-to-date studies on Pliny are M. Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford 1992) and J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (Odense 1991). A recent and convenient ancillary is J. F. Healy's *Pliny the Elder: Natural History—A Selection* (London/New York 1991).

[2] No such essay is registered in the bibliography of Serbat [1] 2183-95. Of the emperors, only Augustus and Tiberius have been viewed at length under Plinian light. For some earlier German material, mainly nineteenth century and not always easy to get, cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 291 n. 10. The preposterously minimalist remark, 'Digressions, historical references, and elaborate descriptions vary and enliven the work', by F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Cambridge History of Latin Literature* 2.4 (Cambridge 1982) 174 (with no relevant item in the supporting bibliography) remains all too typical of the neglect of this side of the *Natural History*.

[3] A convenient modern term for the thirty-one volumes that Pliny himself called a continuation of Aufidius Bassus (*NH praef.* 20).

course, assume that style and content of the two works were of a kind.[4] However, in his own two cross-references (*NH* 2.199, 232, both to Nero), Pliny revives anecdotes of miraculous phenomena, clearly not alien to his concept of formal historiography. He is cited along with Livy for the early history of Roman racing by the sixth century Byzantine chronicler John Malalas,[5] and it is not always remembered how long his reputation as a historian persisted, an amnesia bred of the extremely scanty remains.[6] In addition to the references mentioned, and Pliny's own advertisement (*NH praef.* 20) of the work, the only other remnants[7] are two mentions in Tacitus' *Annals* (13.20, 15.53, both to do with Nero) and one in his *Histories* (3.27, on the civil wars of AD 69).

As almost always, Syme provides the starting point and signals. In one of his last and most agreeable papers,[8] he assembles and expounds upon five Tiberian matters, observing that they are 'of unique value in estimating a

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[4] Some interests manifest in Pliny's other lost works, itemised in order of composition or publication (a disputed point) by his nephew (*Ep.* 3.5.1-6), for example, biography, education, German wars, horsemanship, and javelin throwing, are consonant with those of the *Natural History*. Aufidius Bassus likewise impressed Quintilian with his account of warfare in Germany (10.1.103). I here gladly eschew those venerable topics of *Quellenforschung*, the precise scope of the *Histories* of Bassus and Pliny and their use by Suetonius and Tacitus. It was a frequent topic with Syme in his *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) and many of the articles mentioned below; cf. Serbat [1] 2077-79 for both general and particular discussion with bibliographical repertoire. Thanks to their own friendships with the younger Pliny, one might fairly assume that the elder's works would be a natural flavour of the month for both Suetonius and Tacitus. In assembling his uncle's bibliography, the nephew gives not a single detail about the *Histories* (nor about those of Bassus). This might suggest their fame and use among his contemporaries, although his correspondent Baebius Macer is praised as being an avid student of Pliny's writings and may here simply be presumed to need no epexegesis. Suetonius, in *Vita Plinii Secundi*, mentions only the *Natural History* and the twenty volumes on the German wars.

[5] L. Dindorf (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Bonn 1831) 178. In *De Mag.* 3.63 by his contemporary John Lydus, there is an item about fish in Claudius' reign that seems owed to *NH* 9.62. Another contemporary, Cassiodorus, cites Aufidius Bassus for purely annalistic dates; cf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi* 12 (Berlin 1894) 630, 659.

[6] The failure of Aulus Gellius to cite the *Histories* can be attributed to subject matter rather than ignorance of, or contempt for, them. He adduces the *Natural History* seven times (*NA* 3.16.22, 24; 9.4.7, 13; 10.12.1, 7; 17.15.6) for items of curious information and the *Libri Studiosi* once (*NA* 9.16). Gellius thought Pliny 'the most learned man of his age' but was critical of his information or methods of argumentation (*NA* 9.16). In his remarks on Cicero's alleged avoidance of the word *novissimus* ('most recent'), Gellius either overlooked or chose to neglect its great frequency in the *Natural History* (*NA* 10.21).

[7] Expiscated by H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1906) 110-12.

[8] R. Syme, 'Diet on Capri', *Athenaeum* 77 (1989) 261-72.

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personality, yet not often adduced in the recent time', and later that 'not one of the five items here discussed found entry in recent biographies of Ti. Caesar'.[9] Incidentally, in these days of deconstructed texts and political 'correctness', Syme deserves applause for insisting that 'no genuine biography will eschew particulars about a man in his daily habits and diet, if they happen to be distinctive'.[10] It is rarely possible to improve upon a Symean disquisition, but in this case a couple of points may be taken up. First, he is sceptical about the pedigree of 'Licerian' pears (*NH* 15.54, twice), preferring to conjure up the (as he admits) hardly more knowable 'Liberian'. His problem was surely the consequence of looking to people rather than places. Apart from the fact that his denial of the very existence of the name Licerius needs qualification,[11] the adjective *Licerianus* pertains to the town Liceria in Aquitaine. This French connection is here particularly to the point. Pliny inventories many kinds of pear which indifferently owe their names to persons and places, and the same procedure obtains in modern France, as evinced by the entry in *Larousse Gastronomique*,[12] where pirian nomenclature ranges from *Saint-Jean* to *Docteur Jules Guyot* to *Beurré d'Angleterre*. Secondly, Syme does not pull in a subsequent (*NH* 23.115) Plinian sermon upon pears which both recalls the Crustumian brand, said in the previous passage to be 'the nicest', and provides a reason for Tiberian interest: it could be used for lesions and skin ailments,[13] from which the emperor notoriously suffered. This said, we will leave the old man on Capri[14] enjoying his fruits and vegetables and backtrack to our proper point of departure, Augustus.

The modern tendency is to see Pliny as the peddler of what Serbat calls a 'ligne augustéene'.[15] On this reckoning, his monograph on the German wars and

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[9] Syme [8] 262.

[10] Syme [8] 266.

[11] It may be unheard of in Pliny's day, but the name (so also the feminine Liceria) is attested in late antiquity. Examples abound in J. R. Martindale *et al.*, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 1 (Cambridge 1970) and 2 (Cambridge 1980).

[12] N. Froud and C. Turgeon (edd.), *Larousse Gastronomique* (tr. N. Froud, P. Gray, M. Murdoch and B. Macrae Taylor) (London 1961) 719f.

[13] Also for wobbly tummies, according to Pliny's medical contemporary, Scribonius Largus (*Compos.* 104). Apart from the list of Pliny and other technical writers (Cato, Celsus, Columella), pears are applauded by, for example, Lucretius (5.995), Plautus (*Mostell.* 559) and Vergil (*G.* 2.88), but they are only twice mentioned by Apicius, once in a recipe for pear patina and once in a section on preserving fruit.

[14] For whose voluptuous history, see J. Money, *Capri: Island of Pleasure* (London 1986).

[15] Cf. Serbat [1] 2078f. for synthesis and bibliography.

his *Histories* had an Augustan base. The latter will have terminated in AD 71, with Vespasian triumphant over the Jews, in order to present the first Flavian as a new Augustus, the restorer of peace and concord to Rome and the empire. Likewise, in the *Natural History*, Pliny's praise of Flavian artistic policies and humane works is not mere time-serving, but a genuine expression of his belief in the new dynasts as recreating the recreation of Republican values by the old dynast Augustus—an agreeable triad. To the same end, he infuses the *Natural History* with Augustan values where that emperor is not actually named, for example, in his eulogy of Italy (3.39-42), where he elevates Roman qualities over Greek. One could easily add *inter alia* the many cracks on 'Greek credulity' (*NH* 3.152, 5.4, 5.31, 8.82, 12.11, 19.86), his constant praise and quoting of Vergil (e.g., *NH praef.* 22, 7.114, 13.83, 14.7, 14.18, 18.321), and his harking back to Catullus (*NH praef.* 1, 28.19, 36.48, 37.81), Lucilius (*NH praef.* 7, 8.195, 36.185), and the Roman dramatists (*NH* 14.92, 14.93, 18.107, 19.50, 29.58) for illustrative points. His other abiding technique is the juxtaposition of good emperors, who usually turn out to be Augustus and Vespasian, with bad ones (Caligula and Nero, chiefly the latter; his treatment of Tiberius and Claudius is notably different), in order to make both factual and moralising points.

Now, Pliny is unsurprisingly at pains to praise and promote the new Flavian regime. And Vespasian is frequently presented in terms calculated to make a Roman audience recall Augustus. He is, for instance, usually referred to as an *imperator Augustus* (or permutations thereof), grand titles denied throughout the *Natural History* to other emperors from Tiberius on. The ultimate tribute is perhaps where Pliny rejoices 'in these glad times of peace, under an emperor who takes great delight in works of literature and science' (*NH* 2.117). Vespasian is here not named; he does not need to be: he is simply 'the emperor', the Great Man. Earlier in the same book, Pliny had let rip with this tribute: 'For mortal to help mortal—this is god; and this is the road to eternal glory: by this road went the great men of Rome, by this road there now proceeds towards heaven, escorted by his children, the greatest ruler of all time, His Majesty Vespasian, coming to save a weary world' (*NH* 2.18). The last nine words in the Latin (*maximus omnis aevi rector Vespasianus Augustus fessis rebus subveniens*, 'the greatest ruler . . . a weary world') have a distinctly Vergilian air (cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 1.1, 7.2, 8.1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.2), as does the unique[16] information that Vespasian conferred Latin rights upon a Spain *iactatum procellis rei publicae* ('buffeted by the storms of civil war', *NH* 3.30).

Other acts of Vespasian that conjure up Augustus include the restoration,

[16] According to R. Syme, 'People in Pliny', *JRS* 58 (1968) 136 n. 1.

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building, and enrichment by works of art of temples, notably the one to Peace;[17] the holding of censuses (e.g., *NH* 3.66, where Pliny takes the chance to describe and laud the size and grandeur of the city of Rome, an implied tribute to, and comparison with, the Rome of Augustus);[18] the granting of Latin rights to an African community (5.20); and the establishment of a new colony suitably named Prima Flavia (5.69). Sometimes, the technique is more allusive. At 9.167 the sole example of longevity in fish (taken explicitly from Seneca) has to do with Vedius Pollio, infamous in Augustus' time for piscinary hobbies and cruelty to slaves. In 10.93 there are items about the clever responses of fish to human training in the 'aquaria of Caesar', where the key verb's present tense (*venire*, 'to come') points to Vespasian or Titus.[19] The implication is clear: both reigns were marked by Romans besotted with fish. There is no equivalent item about Vespasian and our finny friends in Suetonius, but the biographer does (*Vesp.* 19.2) report that the Alexandrians mocked him as a salt-fish dealer.[20]

Pliny was concerned with the notion of imperial continuity, promoting it in two different ways. First, emperors are more than once grouped together under a common rubric; for example, at *Natural History* 11.143 the eyes of rulers from Julius Caesar to Nero are described in detail, whilst at 14.61 Augustus 'and almost all the subsequent emperors' have Setinum wine as their favourite tipple; also, every successor used the same image of Augustus on his signet ring (37.8). Secondly, Pliny frequently mentions the same kind of item under different emperors, two or more in sequence, such as common buildings and foundations or discoveries of particular things, for example, at *Natural History* 9.9, where living Tritons and dead Nereids are variously reported to Augustus and Tiberius.

It must be emphasised that Vespasian and Augustus are not complete paragons in the *Natural History*.[21] Neither, of course, is vilipended in the way Caligula and Nero are. But when Pliny (as he so often does) gasconades about contemporary luxury, vice, and general moral collapse, he allows Vespasian no

[17] In the year A.D. 75; cf. Dio 55.15.1. Pliny dubs it 'the most beautiful building the city ever saw', outdoing even Augustus' forum (*NH* 36.102); cf. *NH* 34.84, 35.120, 36.27, 36.58.

[18] Cf. Syme [16] 136 n. 1.

[19] In the Teubner index (L. Ian and C. Mayhoff [edd.], *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae* 6 [Stuttgart 1970] 448) it is unreservedly linked to Vespasian.

[20] Taken together, the Plinian and Suetonian details anticipate themes in the fourth satire of Juvenal.

[21] Something that weakens the dichotomy between the poor image of Augustus and the unclouded one of the Flavians proposed in more than one paper by G. Binder, and most recently in 'Auguste d'après les informations de *N.H.*', *Helmantica* 38 (1987) 145-56; cf. Serbat [1] 2089.

credit for stemming this either by law or example, unlike Tacitus, who (*Ann.* 3.55) draws a fine distinction between Julio-Claudian gluttony and Flavian frugality, with corresponding praise of the emperor for importing his provincial old-time morality into the capital. Sometimes, Pliny's linkage is flagrant: the aforementioned (*NH* 2.117) tribute to Vespasian as patron of arts and science is at once postluded by denunciation of a contemporary fall in intellectual standards—no new discoveries are being made, and attention is not even being given to the maintenance of previous knowledge.[22]

Concerning Augustus, we notice Vedius Pollio again. At 9.77 Pliny mentions his notorious feeding of slaves to anthropophagous fish in his ponds, emphasising that Pollio was one of Augustus' council of friends. What he does not mention is the emperor's suppression of Pollio's cruel practices and discreet condemnation of his memory after his death. The omission must be deliberate, designed to withhold praise from Augustus.[23] By far the longest and most striking item about Augustus in the *Natural History* is the very detailed inventory of his chequered fortunes (7.147-50), coming in a series of similar reflections about other famous men in Roman and Greek history.[24] By itself, a register of misfortunes does not constitute an attack,[25] albeit Pliny does not spare Augustus his earlier role in the triumvirate and its proscriptions. But in his finale Pliny inserts and twists the dagger: *in summa deus ille caelumque nescio adeptus magis an meritus herede hostis sui filio excessit* ('Finally, this god—whether deified more by his own initiative or by his merits I know not—departed this life leaving his enemy's son as heir').

Since Augustus is one of the two emperors whose treatment by Pliny has

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[22] Pliny goes on to develop the notion that intellectual advance in a society is better served by turmoil than by peace. He might have relished this well-known claim put into the mouth of the villain Harry Lime in the motion picture of Graham Greene's *The Third Man*: 'In Italy under the Borgias, they had warfare, terror, murder, bloodshed—but they produced Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and the Renaissance. In Switzerland, they had brotherly love, five hundred years of democracy and peace—and what did they produce? The cuckoo clock'. Cf. the Heinemann edition of Graham Greene, *The Third Man* (London 1950) 5.

[23] Dio Cassius provides the full dossier on Pollio and Augustus (54.23.1-6); cf. R. Syme, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51 (1961) 527, not adducing *NH* 9.167.

[24] R. Syme, 'Livy and Augustus', *HSPh* 64 (1959) 72, wrongly restricts this passage to the last ten years of Augustus' reign. Pliny in fact begins as far back as 46 BC.

[25] And elsewhere, in one family matter, Augustus is said to have been exceptionally fortunate (*NH* 7.58).

received some detailed modern attention,[26] I shall ruthlessly curtail the minutiae. Pliny does not usually call Augustus, let alone any other emperor, *deus* ('god'). There may be one other case, at 21.9, where, in adducing his letters for an anecdote of Julia's outrageously crowning a Marsyās statue with a chaplet during a nocturnal orgy, Pliny apparently writes *litterae illius dei gemunt* ('that god laments in his letters'). I say 'apparently' because the reading *dei* ('god') is much suspected, with editors proposing *diei* ('day') or simply *degemunt* ('deeply lament'). But *deus* suits the colourful phrase *litterae gemunt* ('letters lament'), especially in the lurid context of Julia's frolics. The detail may seem trivial to us, but Pliny can be very solemn about chaplets, elsewhere taking space to record that Vespasian was the first to dedicate ones of cinnamon in temples and that Livia put a big stalk of this plant in her temple to Augustus (12.94). Otherwise, Augustus is generally *divus* ('divine'), as we would expect. The Loeb edition twice (*NH* 7.211, 18.139)[27] offers an archaic-looking form, *divos*/*divom*. If authentic,[28] such allotropes might be employed to light-hearted ends, given the trivial subject matter (Augustus' shaving and the use of bitter vetch as medicine). On two occasions, he is called Caesar, once (*NH* 16.8) in connection with the Sicilian War of 36 BC, which Pliny, echoing Augustus' own propaganda (*RG* 25.1), dubs a campaign against pirates; and again when he enters Rome after Julius Caesar's murder 'to claim his great name' (*NH* 2.98).

A single item (*NH* 2.94), to do with a comet's epiphany, again soon after the dictator's death, reproduces Augustus' own words. The account (3.46-138) of his division of Italy claims to follow the emperor's own authority, this imperial source probably being the relevant decree. A financial edict of Augustus is elsewhere (18.114) mentioned as still extant, implying that Pliny had seen and used it. His actual letters are cited only rarely.[29] At the house of the poet Pomponius Secundus, whose biography he composed, Pliny saw documents in the writing of the Gracchi brothers (13.83). He adds that 'we often see'

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[26] I single out M. A. T. Burns, *An Historical Commentary on the Reign of Augustus Based on the Evidence of the N.H.* (diss. Pennsylvania 1960) and R. Till, 'Plinius über Augustus', *WJA* 3 (1977) 127-37.

[27] H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History* 2 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1961) 648, and 5 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1961) 276, respectively.

[28] These might just be misprints, since other editors have the regular forms, as does H. Malcovati, *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta*[5] (Turin 1969) 27.

[29] Malcovati [28] 26f. adds to the above tally *NH* 18.94, where an African official sends Augustus four hundred shoots from a single grain of wheat, with Pliny adding 'there are letters extant on this matter', but it is not quite clear whose letters these are: Augustus', the official's or both? I lean to the last.

autographs of Augustus, Cicero and Vergil. Most intriguing is the inclusion of Augustus in Pliny's lists of authorities for books three and four. What Augustan works are meant? The emperor is not actually adduced by name for any item in these volumes, although altars dedicated to him by Sestius in Spain are (4.111).

From Pliny we get the colour of Augustus' eyes (11.143), his shaving habits (7.211), his taste in wine (14.61), his health and interest in diet (12.13, 15.47, 18.139, 19.128, 21.9, 22.114, 25.4, 25.77, 29.7). This last plethora is consonant with Pliny's anecdotes of Tiberius, and lives up to Syme's previously quoted rules of biography.[30] But when all is said and done, there are relatively few pointed stories about Augustus' character and emotions. Pliny achieves such effects more allusively and indirectly. Naturally, we often see Augustus the restorer of buildings, Augustus the provider of games and exhibitor of exotic beasts—in other words, the Augustus of the *Res Gestae*, a document that Pliny presumably knew as well as Tacitus, who put it to parodic uses.[31] We have already seen an echo of it in Pliny's version of the Sicilian campaign. Acute linguistic parody on his part may elude search, but thematic mockery is possible in the tale (8.218) of the Balearic islanders petitioning Augustus for military aid against the local rabbits, almost a Monty Python situation. We are not told if the emperor acceded to this desperate plea! Pliny includes learned information on Spanish rabbits and hares which may enhance Syme's arguments[32] for his intimate knowledge of that part of the world.

There is a good deal about Augustus in Pliny that is not in Suetonius, and when their topics cohere, their details are sometimes discrepant. For example, in Pliny (7.211), Augustus is a regular shaver, in Suetonius (*Aug.* 79.2) he is less particular; Pliny (*NH* 14.61) has him keenest on Setinum wine, Suetonius (*Aug.* 77) on Raetic; and the royal fussiness over diet and obsession with medicinal vegetables and so on manifest in Pliny are hardly visible in the biographer (*Aug.* 77-82).[33]

Sometimes, a Plinian detail may be stuck in for its contemporary interest. For instance, a sequence on circumnavigation of the earth (*NH* 2.167-70) kicks off with Augustan sponsorship of a voyage around Germany to the Cimbri promontory (perhaps Cape Skagen, Jutland). Now, Pliny lived in an age of

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[30] Cf. above, pp. 58f.

[31] See F. Haverfield, 'Four Notes on Tacitus', *JRS* 2 (1912) 198.

[32] R. Syme, 'Pliny the Procurator', *HSPh* 73 (1969) 216-18.

[33] A variance that neither helps nor hinders Syme's general argument for Suetonian adherence to Pliny as his main source for the Julio-Claudians. Vergil extols Raetic wine (*G.* 2.95f.).

Roman exploration. He himself reports (5.14) the first-ever Roman crossing of the Atlas mountains by Suetonius Paulinus, and on the evidence of Tacitus (*Agr.* 10.4) it would not be long after the completion of the *Natural History* that Agricola confirmed the insular nature of Britain and discovered the Orkneys, facts and places already known to Pliny (*NH* 4.102f.), and thereby a good example of how Tacitus puffed up his hero's achievements. I cannot here inventory all the Augustan sundries in the *Natural History*. They constitute one of the longest entries in the Teubner index,[34] to which readers are referred. There is one general point to be made. Many of the items are soberly factual. But many stress the curious and the bizarre, for example (almost at random), the strong-man feats of Vinnius Valens, a centurion in Augustus' praetorian guard (*NH* 7.81),[35] dwarves and giants (7.75), the discovery of dead Nereids (9.9), cases of multiple births (7.33, 60), sacrificial and cognate omens (11.190, 12.94), a dolphin in love with a boy (9.24), and a fish portent of future greatness for Augustus (9.55). Similarly weird items are reported for other reigns. Change only the religion, and the phantasmagoric effect notably prefigures that of the often strange version of Roman history in John Malalas, who (as was earlier seen)[36] knew Pliny as an historian and named him once.

Since some modern attention has been paid to Pliny on Tiberius,[37] the smaller details may here be suppressed. This emperor was not deified, and so had to be referred to in other ways. Pliny's usual strategies are to add *princeps* to his name, and also to employ with it the phrase *in principatu* ('in the principate of'), a device used of Tiberius' successors, though not of Augustus. A few times (11.143, 14.16, 14.64, 15.83, 28.23) he is Tiberius Caesar. Once, memorably, he is Tiberius Caesar, *minime comis imperator* ('the least gracious of emperors', 35.28), when mocked for placing pictures in the temple of Augustus—the mark of a dying art, gibes Pliny. A final style of nomenclature has caused scholarly upset. Describing the horrible disease *mentagra* ('lichen'), Pliny (26.3f.) says it broke out in the middle of the principate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar. Syme

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[34] Ian and Mayhoff [19] 57f.

[35] I am writing elsewhere on the possibility of connecting this fellow with the Vinius asked by Horace (*Ep.* 1.13) to carry his poems to Augustus, with jokes made on his ability or otherwise to cope with such a burden.

[36] See above, p. 57.

[37] See above all J. E. Rhen, *A Historical Commentary on the Reign of Tiberius Based on the Evidence of the N.H. of Pliny the Elder* (diss. Pennsylvania 1967). Syme, in addition to his aforementioned treatment of Tiberius' diet on Capri (see above, n. 8), addresses the matter in 'History or Biography: The Case of Tiberius Caesar', *Historia* 33 (1974) 491.

frequently denounced editors for retaining this imperial style, expunging 'Claudius' and firmly associating Tiberius with the epidemic against those who assign it to the Claudian era, subjoining that the pitted face mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.57) was caused by this disease.[38] Syme closes his case by pointing out that Pliny says the *mentagra* was spread by kissing, whilst Tiberius himself, according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 34.2), issued an edict against general osculation. This all seems to cohere. But Pliny does write *Tiberio Claudio principi* ('to Tiberius Claudius the emperor') when describing that emperor's murder by Agrippina (*NH* 22.92), and within the space of three sections (14.143-45) Tiberius is referred to as Tiberius Claudius, Tiberius *princeps*, and plain Tiberius. The Suetonian description of Claudius' features (*Claud.* 30) betrays no sign of the ravages of lichen. But if Tiberius had suffered from it, why did Pliny not say so? After all, he goes on to describe another sickness, the intestinal *colum* ('colitis'), that first hit Italy in Tiberius' time, here specifying that the emperor himself was the first victim (*NH* 26.9). *Mentagra* was in Rome to stay: Martial itemises its symptoms and effects in gross terms (11.98). The disease broke out half-way through the reign, on the Tiberian reckoning around AD 24-25, more or less the time Pliny himself was born. He says the disease was unknown to *maiores patresque nostros* ('our forefathers and fathers'). This is somewhat loose writing, unless his father died very soon after the son's birth. Were the emperor Claudius, there would be no such problem.[39]

As with Augustus, the longest single sequence on Tiberius (*NH* 14.143-45) is not to his credit. The emperor in his old age had become 'strict, indeed savage', with excessive drinking a problem throughout his entire life and reign.[40] He is also (as in Tacitus) 'morose' (*tristissimus*, 28.23). His plottings against the elderly Augustus, along with those of Livia, disturbed that emperor's last days (7.150). On the other hand, again as in Tacitus, some grudging distinction is drawn (34.62) between the better early years of his reign and the later unbridled ones. This does not, however, prevent Pliny (2.200) from suppressing mention of Tiberius' excellent relief measures when reporting Asian cities damaged by

[38] See, e.g., 'Tacitus: Some Sources of His Information', *JRS* 72 (1982) 74 n. 55: 'Editors have failed to see that the word "Claudii" is an intrusion. Neither Tiberius nor Claudius is designated elsewhere in the work by the reading innocently accepted and perpetuated'.

[39] On the other hand again, there is no mention of *mentagra* in Scribonius Largus, on whom see B. Baldwin, 'The Career and Work of Scribonius Largus', *RhM* 135 (1992) 74-81. Intestinal *colum* ('colitis') features twice (*Comp.* 119, 263), though it is not associated with Tiberius, who is mentioned three times elsewhere in other connections (97, 120, 162).

[40] With previous discussion in mind, did Pliny here style him Tiberius Claudius to remind readers of the bibulous habits of Claudius also?

earthquake. On the other hand again, the two mentions (8.185, 11.187) of Germanicus' murder, accepted by Pliny as a fact, do not implicate the emperor. Furthermore, while his Capri retreat is a celebrated citadel (3.82),[41] there are no lurid tales of sex and sadism, not even the clinical references to *spintriae* ('perverts') admitted to the *Annals* of Tacitus (6.1). Moreover, whereas Suetonius (*Tib.* 44.2) claims he kept a picture by Parrhasius of Atalanta fellating Meleager in his bedroom, Pliny, although acknowledging that Parrhasius did paint sexual scenes, says that Tiberius' favourite work was only a portrait of a priest of Cybele (*NH* 35.70)—deliberate expurgation, or just drawn from a different source? Apart from the witticism (*NH praef.* 20) whereby he dubbed the grammarian Apion 'the cymbal of the world' (Pliny nitpickingly claims that 'drum' would have been better), and his 'quite smart' remark that Upper Germany is full of an asparagus-like weed (19.145), no anecdote features Tiberius' own words. We read of his strangely keen nightsight (11.143), and of a carriage dash in record time to see his sick brother (7.84). The majority of Pliny's anecdotes deal with his passions for various fruits, vegetables, and wines,[42] and for particular works of art (e.g., 34.62, 35.70). There are also the customary bizarre items, for example, stranded sea monsters and the sighting of a Triton (9.9, 11).

Two final topics deserve special attention. First, a fascinating disquisition (13.68-89) on the history and manufacture of paper, recently defended[43] against modern criticism of its content, ends with the remark that there was a paper shortage under Tiberius. No doubt there was under Vespasian as well, after the massive literary output (102 volumes in all plus the 160 notebooks of extracts which he left to his nephew) of Pliny himself! Secondly, the story of the emperor and the inventor of unbreakable glass, familiar to readers of Petronius, is told by Pliny (36.195) of Tiberius as it is by Dio (67.21.5-7), albeit in a more sceptical way. This indicates that the story was current in Nero's time, thereby perhaps adding a widow's mite to the case for the conventional dating of Petronius. The subject would be of especial interest to Vespasian, who also, albeit in a kindlier way, suppressed a scientific invention for social and economic reasons.[44]

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[41] In Suetonius' day, tourists were still shown the scene of Tiberius' cruelty (*Tib.* 62.2).

[42] Dealt with at length by Syme [8].

[43] By W. A. Johnson, 'Pliny the Elder and Standardised Roll Heights in the Manufacture of Papyrus', *CPh* 88 (1993) 46-49.

[44] According to Suet. *Vesp.* 18. Older cinema fans will recall the theme in the Alec Guinness film *The Man in the White Suit*. It was also exploited in the popular British television series *The Avengers*.

There will have been more about Tiberius in Pliny's biography of Pomponius Secundus, given his misfortunes under that emperor.[45] These are nowhere alluded to in the *Natural History*. Nor are his offices and successes under Claudius. Why not? If this is odd, odder still is the one cross-reference (apart from the harmless statement at 7.80 that Pomponius never belched) in 14.56, where he puts on a lavish banquet for Caligula with choice vintages. Pliny groans over the cost of the wines. Such criticism must logically touch the host, not the guest. Is this a good guide to the way he composed the biography? If so, its loss becomes even more regrettable. As Syme remarks, 'Pliny on Pomponius Secundus no doubt disclosed curious sidelights upon literary and social life at Rome under Caligula'.[46] The vinous anecdote just given is explicitly one such. In it, the emperor is styled (uniquely in the *Natural History*) 'Gaius Caesar, son of Germanicus' (*NH* 14.56), a perhaps comically formal designation in context.[47] Otherwise, not being deified, he is indifferently Gaius Caesar or Gaius *princeps* (e.g., *NH* 7.39, 9.67, 11.144, 12.10, 13.22, 16.201, 33.33).

Pliny, who was around thirteen when Caligula came to the throne, is unremittingly hostile to this emperor. Along with Nero, he is one of the two *faces generis humani* ('firebrands of the human race', 7.46). This figurative sense of *fax* ('firebrand') is common, but for Pliny it must have been agreeably close to *faex/faeces* ('excrement'). His addressee Titus was not yet, but would become, the 'darling of the human race' (Suet. *Tit.* 1). Caligula also shares with Nero (36.111, 113) a mania (*insania*) for squandering huge sums on huge palaces. As we shall see, Pliny on Nero is particularly obsessed with the Golden House, a clear sign of Flavian propaganda.[48] Caligula and Nero are further linked by a common passion for adorning everything with pearls, in Caligula's case his slippers, an item of footwear favoured by Nero also and condemned by Suetonius (*Ner.* 51). Caligula was also inordinately greedy after gold (*NH* 33.79), a lover of scented baths (13.22, an item enclosed by references to a slave of Nero with the same taste and to that emperor's scented feet), and so wanton as to lust after

[45] Also perhaps covered, depending upon their extent, in the *Histories* of Pliny and Aufidius Bassus.

[46] Syme [2] 297.

[47] Cf. *NH* 30.13: *namque Tiberii Caesaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicorumque* ('For the principate of Tiberius Caesar put an end to their Druids and this tribe of seers and medicine men').

[48] His phraseology here and at *NH* 33.54 about palaces swallowing up the entire city recalls *Roma domus fiet* ('Rome is becoming one house'), the opening of a hostile roundelay circulated against Nero, quoted by Suetonius (*Ner.* 39.2).

nude pictures of Atalanta and Helen at Lanuvium (35.18). On occasion, Pliny is clearly struggling to find bad things to say about him, for example, in imputing to his 'savagery' the conversion of Mauretania into two provinces (5.2), and also the sacrilege involved in trying to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, an 'impiety' (Pliny reminds us) he shared with Julius Caesar and Nero (4.10). As the Loeb editor Rackham nicely observes, 'The project was renewed in 1889 and completed in 1893, without disastrous results except to the finances of the original promoters'.[49] Pliny is also notably malicious in converting Caligula's creation of an extra jury panel into a social evil (33.33) and in emphasising the cost and unfinished nature of his intended aqueduct (36.122).

One physical detail given singles out his 'staring eyes' (11.144). Another, describing the emperor's dining in a gigantic treehouse at Velletri, sardonically says that 'he himself was part of the shade' (12.10). Elsewhere Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero all feature in a sequence dealing with rulers and huge trees or slabs of wood (16.200-02). The treehouse picnic has attracted the attention of one of Caligula's most recent and able biographers,[50] though he failed to note that the emperor was equalled, if not surpassed, in this regard by Licinius Mucianus (12.9), an author very often cited by Pliny, and he has been quite outdone in modern times.[51] In a long and indignant set piece on extravagance (9.117-22), Pliny recalls seeing the petite (*mulierculam*) consort of Caligula, Lollia Paulina, glittering with pearls and emeralds about her hair, head, ears, neck, and fingers, to the value of forty million sesterces. Here again, modern opulence has probably outdone Roman.[52] Syme rather goes off the rails on this: 'For good or ill, Pliny seems out of touch during the last Neronian years. At least,

[49] Rackham [27] 126 n. a. Suetonius includes the project on the favourable side of his ledgers for Caligula (*Cal.* 21) and Nero (*Ner.* 19, 37). A report from Athens in the *Guardian Weekly* (July 4, 1993) 10 now reports the imminent closure of the canal because of corroded breakwalls and long neglect of basic maintenance.

[50] A. A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power* (New Haven/London 1989) 43. When surveying the sources contemporary with Caligula (pp. xx-xxi), this author marshalls only Philo and Seneca, leaving Pliny out of account.

[51] A report in my local newspaper, the *Calgary Herald* (August 19, 1991) B 6, describes a treehouse in Wisconsin as spanning seven maple trees and fully furnished, with electricity and telephone!

[52] An article in the London *Sunday Times Business Section* (August 11, 1991) 10 mentions, apart from the famous stone given by Richard Burton to Elizabeth Taylor, now worth one million pounds, individual diamonds sold for more than six million pounds. A survey of women over thirty-five by *British Jeweller* (quoted in the *Sunday Times* article referred to above) revealed the opinion that these extravagances were 'decadent'.

the *Natural History* discloses no anecdotes about high society to compare with the days of his youth under Caligula'.[53] Pliny has items about Poppaea to match if not outdo Lollia (11.238, her 500 asses; 33.140, her golden-shod mules). Anecdotes about high society do not prove their purveyor's closeness to the imperial family. Gossip about the Roman royals spread as easily amongst all segments of the Roman populace as do the high jinks of Charles, Diana, and Fergie among the British.[54] It is true that Pliny says 'I saw', but the occasion was (he stresses furiously) not a royal function but an ordinary betrothal feast—in British terms, not a state banquet but a Buckingham Palace garden party to which all ranks of society receive invitations. Moreover, Pliny is equally concerned with autopsy (*vidimus*, 'we saw', 37.118) over such a relatively trifling item as a miniature figure of Nero.

One thing not in the *Natural History*'s repertoire of Caligulan stories is the appearance of weird phenomena such as sea monsters and living Tritons. Perhaps Pliny thought Caligula himself supplied enough weirdness, just as he is the only emperor Suetonius dubbed a *monstrum* ('monster', *Calig.* 22.1). His death, however, is presaged by two signs, one conventional (*NH* 11.189: a missing liver from a sacrificial animal, something also recorded here for Claudius), the other more strange (32.4: a little fish impeded Caligula's boat not long before he was killed).[55]

Claudius was the first emperor since Augustus whom Pliny was at liberty to style *divus* ('divine'; e.g., *NH* 2.99, 3.141, 7.74). As Levick puts it: 'The designation of "Divus" was not obligatory, however, in private use, even for loyal writers such as the elder Pliny. He refers to an event as taking place "during Claudius' principate" (*Claudio principe*); occasionally the late Emperor is "Divus Claudius", usually "Claudius Caesar", once merely "Claudius". Even an officer decorated by Claudius was able to neglect the title'.[56] This is more or less right, though it is not mere pedantry to subjoin that the plain name Claudius is frequently eked out with the defining *in principatu* ('in the principate of'; e.g., *NH* 6.84, 8.54, 33.23, 33.134), and also that on occasion we get the combination *divo Claudio principe* ('in the principate of the divine Claudius', e.g., 2.99, 7.74,

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[53] Syme [32] 209.

[54] A popular joke reported by Suetonius, for example, on the castration of Sporus (*Nero* 28.1), shows the effectiveness of *Fama* ('Rumour'), who may have been abetted by items in the *Acta Diurna* gazette.

[55] And especially suitable for an emperor whose reign had seen great extravagance in piscine prices (*NH* 9.67): another prefiguring of Juvenal's fourth satire (cf. above, n. 20).

[56] B. Levick, *Claudius* (New Haven/London 1990) 191f., her only invocation of Pliny.

8.37, 29.54). Three of these four cases concern supernatural phenomena; the fourth relates an exotic human item. There seems to be a pattern here.

Levick is also right to understand Pliny's view of Claudius as conditioned by Flavian propaganda. Vespasian, who owed much of his career to that emperor, constructed a temple in his honour, and Titus had been brought up at court in close intimacy with Britannicus. Domitian might be thought to snub Claudius' memory by ignoring his Secular Games calculation, but this was well after Pliny's death. When reporting the Claudian games, Pliny does not joke about their timing as does Suetonius (*Claud.* 21.2). There is no set piece of praise or blame for Claudius in the *Natural History.* In order to serve another side of Flavian propaganda, the denigration of Nero, Pliny three times mentions the poisoning of Claudius as a fact (*NH* 2.92, 11.189, 22.92), on the third occasion directly blaming Agrippina and using highly colourful language; for example, her son Nero is thereby inflicted upon the world as 'another poison' (22.92).

There is quite a lot about Agrippina in the *Natural History.* She is listed among the sources for book seven, in which her memoirs are duly cited for Nero's having been born feet first (7.46). An item about Agrippina and the significance of her dogteeth (7.71) may also come from the same quarter.[57] She is the only person named in this section. Her influence over Claudius in promoting freedmen to the rank of praetor is vigorously deplored (35.201). The general theme is a time-honoured one with Roman memorialists of the reign, but one may still wonder if this reflects a Plinian disappointment. If so, it tempers his nephew's remarks on the avuncular low profile under Nero (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.8).[58] On another interpretation, Pliny may be issuing a veiled rebuke to Vespasian for the comparable trafficking in offices on the part of his mistress Caenis (Dio 55.14.3) or alternatively protecting his emperor's reputation by blaming her for what others imputed to him (Suet. *Vesp.* 16). Agrippina's appearance alongside Claudius at a mock sea battle wearing a military cloak of gold stirs Pliny to disapproving autopsy (*nos vidimus*, 'we saw', *NH* 33.63). Agrippina as bird fancier is not the standard modern impression of this Roman iron lady, but from Pliny we learn that she had a trained singing white nightingale and (a thing without parallel) a thrush that could imitate human speech (10.84, 120). Britannicus and Nero even had pet birds that were fluent in Greek and Latin (*NH* 10.120)! Finally, Agrippina's wedding to Passienus Crispus (making him Nero's

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[57] Although not included by Peter [7] 94.

[58] Pliny 'saw' the opulent dining room of the notorious freedman of Claudius, Callistus (36.60): another 'high society' item?

stepfather) is alluded to in reference to his erotic passion for a giant beech tree (16.242),[59] an item not (at least as we have it) in the *Vita Passieni Crispi* of Suetonius, who ends with his murder by her treachery, something correspondingly absent from Pliny.

The other notorious woman in Claudius' life, Messalina, is obtruded into the *Natural History* with the clear intention of vilifying her memory. At 10.172, postluding a respectably scientific discourse on the mating of animals, Pliny bursts out with the lament that man is the only creature whose appetitite for intercourse is insatiable. He illustrates this with just one dossier, Messalina's competition with Rome's leading prostitute to see who could take on more men, a tale familiar to readers of Juvenal's *Satires* and Robert Graves' *I, Claudius* and *Claudius the God.* [60] Pliny also takes care (his phraseology rules out careless repetition) to mention twice the adultery between her and the medical man Vettius Valens (29.8, 21), on the second occasion dubbing her 'queen' (*regina*, 29.21).

Given the wealth of opportunities both poor Claudius and the subject matter of the *Natural History* provided, it is noteworthy that only one physical detail is mentioned, the usual ocular one, *ab angulis candore carnoso sanguineis venis subinde suffusi* ('frequently bloodshot with a fleshy gleam at the corners', 11.144), a memorable description, and one not in Suetonius. When writing about stomach ailments and their remedies, there was tailor-made scope for Claudian reference, for example, at 20.17 where the mention of colocynth could have prefaced a joke on his stupidity, or at 26.9 where Tiberius is brought in; Pliny takes no advantage of such openings.

Claudius is listed as one of the authorities for books 5 and 6, in which he is three times cited (5.63, 6.27, 6.31) for not always accurate information on geographical dimensions and distances. This monotone subject is notable. The emperor's writings are also adduced for the birth and death of a Thessalian hippocentaur (7.35), for the Parthian use of the bratus wood and for its scent (12.78f.). From which works? The last reference is specified by Pliny as taken from the *Histories*; the others vaguely say 'Claudius writes', and so on. We know from Suetonius that the emperor wrote a Roman history, though the biographer refers to it in the singular, reserving the plural for his Carthaginian and Etruscan narratives (*Claud.* 41.1f.). Claudius is explicitly praised for his water channel to

[59] The (to say the least) unusual theme of dendromixy was actually treated some years ago by the British comic writer John Fortune in his novel *A Melon for Ecstasy* (London 1971).

[60] Cf. Juv. *Sat.* 6.116-32. Messalina scored twenty-five in twenty-four hours (perfect symmetry is perhaps surprisingly avoided). We are not told her opponent's tally.

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drain the Fucine Lake ('one of his most memorable deeds', 36.124), in contrast with Nero, who is blasted for neglecting it, and he is lauded for his attention to census details (7.159). Also, it seems, he is praised for sinking a giant ship of Caligula for his harbour works (16.202, 36.70), a suggestive iteration, though Pliny is inconsistent in that he mocks the vessel in which Claudius set sail to Britain for his triumph as being 'more like a giant palace than a boat' (3.119). The frequent and opulent discussions of ships, including *inter alia* their construction and size, may typify an interest and expertise that earned Pliny his future and fatal command of the fleet at Misenum. Given its context, the joke about Claudius' gigantic vessel seems to be consonant with Suetonian mockery of his British campaign (*Claud.* 17). But Pliny's detailed and generous treatment (*NH* 5.11-14) of the Mauretanian one is preferable to the biographer's complete omission of it. Here, Pliny contrasts Claudius favourably to Caligula, as he did *vis-à-vis* Nero on the Fucine Lake project.

Claudius frequently appears in neutral passages in various Augustan modes: receiver of foreign embassies, founder of colonies, builder and rebuilder at Rome and elsewhere, provider of games, exhibitor of strange animals, and so on (e.g., *NH* 3.141, 5.2, 5.75, 6.8, 8.22, 8.65, 8.160, 35.94, 36.122, 36.124). Such items are clearly meant to redound to his credit. There were strange and supernatural happenings in Claudius' reign, including the triple suns of AD 51 (2.99), not a unique portent but one not surpassed down to Pliny's own time. Likewise, an inundation of the Nile (5.58) remained the biggest on record. Pliny's credulity had its limits, though. Despite its being *actis testatum* ('on official record', 10.5), he did not believe that the phoenix had come to Rome in Claudius' censorial year of 47.[61] Finally, an ideal scene with which to conclude, especially for those who like Hollywood films about monsters versus men, and one not in Suetonius, is Pliny's vivid account of an *orca*, a killer whale or some such creature, which attacked the harbour under construction at Ostia (*NH* 9.14f.).[62] To the mob's delight, the emperor sailed out in person with the praetorians to combat it, the soldiers hurling lances, the beast reacting with a snort potent enough to sink one of the boats (9.15).

In terms of villainy and condemnation, Nero is *sans pareil* in the *Natural*

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[61] Tacitus omits it from his excursus on the fabulous bird, noting that an epiphany under Tiberius was also doubtful (*Ann.* 6.28).

[62] Shades of *Jaws* and the like! It is delicious to relate that there was actually a sea-monster film entitled *Orca*. Pliny claims autopsy (*vidimus*, 'we saw') for the episode.

History,[63] a role he doubtless had in Pliny's own *Histories*. We again note that both cross references in the former to the latter relate to Nero, as do both incidences in Tacitus' *Annals*.[64] Apart from being one of the two 'firebrands of the human race' (*NH* 7.46), he was unleashed upon the world as a 'poison' (*NH* 22.92). An elaborate sequence in which Pliny gets the best of both worlds by also blasting the malevolent Magi, a favourite target, specifies a craze for magic and the black arts as central to the emperor's folly and evil (*NH* 30.14-17). His lust for this was as great as it was for music and song. He gave himself over 'to brothels and prostitutes', became crueller than Hell itself, and 'filled Rome with ghosts' (*NH* 30.15). Pliny also believed wholeheartedly that Nero burnt Rome. Incendiarism had the added advantage of heightening the description of him as a firebrand of the human race (17.5). Particular crimes and extravagances are the point of many of the specific stories told. Apart from his arson and his part in the murder of Claudius, he poisoned Silanus (7.58), executed Africa's six leading landholders (18.35), spent four million sesterces on Babylonian coverlets (8.196) and a million on a single bowl (37.20), perfumed the soles of his feet (13.22), and had a mania for pearls (37.17).

Strange portents of his doom are obtruded and repeated with especial relish. Thus, we are twice (2.199, 17.245, with insignificant variations of detail) told that crops and trees actually moved across a main road—shades of Birnam Wood in *Macbeth*! The fall of a giant cypress tree (16.236) is an agreeable reverse of a story told by Suetonius as an intimation of Vespasian's great destiny (*Vesp.* 5.1-7), a similarity not likely to be coincidental. At 20.160 there is a plainer manifestation of Flavian propaganda when Julius Vindex is billed as *adsertor libertatis* ('standard-bearer of freedom'), a Vespasianic slogan.[65] This tendency is equally clear in Pliny's unsparing condemnations of the Golden House: for example, works of art dedicated in the Temple of Peace and other public buildings by Vespasian had previously been looted 'by the violence of Nero' for this private Xanadu (34.84), described later (35.120) as the 'prison' of the painter Famulus' creations. Mention of Nero's colossal statue (34.45f.)

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[63] Pliny would think little of the modern attempt at rehabilitation by Massimo Fini, *Nero: 2000 Years of Lies* (Rome 1993), nor of the more sober reassessments offered by J. Elsner and J. Masters (edd.), *Reflections of Nero* (London 1994). For Pliny as the mouthpiece of Flavian propaganda in connection with Nero and buildings, see P. Gros, 'Vie et mort de l'art hellenistique selon Vitruve et Pline', *REL* 56 (1979) 289-313, esp. 303.

[64] Cf. above, p. 57.

[65] See A. Watson, 'Vespasian: *Adsertor Libertatis Publicae*', *CR* (1973) 127f. and B. Baldwin, 'Vespasian and Freedom', *RFIC* 103 (1975) 306-08.

evokes a formal condemnation of his crimes, while his plan to have an equally large portrait of himself done upon linen is branded as 'something hitherto unheard of, a lunacy of our age' (35.51f.). Pliny takes particular care to recall Nero in terms of his own times, constantly saying things like 'our age saw' (*nostra aetas vidit*, e.g., *NH* 2.92), 'I saw' (*vidimus*, e.g., *NH* 2.101), 'recently' (*nuper*, e.g., *NH* 6.181), and so on. This suits both his Flavian boosting (that Neronian age of ours is replaced by the glorious new one, spelled out in his preface to Titus) and his penchant for moralising (Nero's age was our age, *your* age).

In a style by now too familiar to need much exemplifying, Nero is variously referred to as plain Nero (e.g., *NH* 14.61, 33.47), Nero *princeps* (e.g., *NH* 6.40, 7.58, 8.21), or through the formulaic 'in the principate of' (e.g., *NH* 16.133). More than once, Pliny will employ plain Nero and Nero *princeps* in the same or succeeding sentences. He reserves for Nero some sarcasms used of no other emperor. Thus, describing his use of lead weights to strengthen his chest and voice (an item familiar from Suet. *Nero* 20.1), Pliny says Nero was 'emperor, since that was pleasing to the gods' (34.166). When he outbid everybody for a single bowl, it was 'appropriate for an emperor' (37.20). A huge theatre was 'big enough even for Nero' (37.19). When he smashed two crystal cups on hearing that all was lost in AD 68, Pliny gibes that 'this was the vengeance of one who oppressed his own age (*saeculum suum punientis*), to make it impossible for anyone else to drink from these cups' (37.29). Finally, it is notable that occasions on which he is styled Domitius Nero, a designation intended to recall his abominable father, tend to be to his direct or indirect discredit (4.10, 7.45, 7.71, 11.238).

As was Agrippina in the Claudian sequences, so the infamous Poppaea is singled out more than once for extravagance, for example, her five hundred asses to produce milk for her baths (11.238) and her gold-shod mules (33.140). These same two items are conjoined by Dio (62.28.1) to exemplify 'her extreme luxury'. Her death, for which Nero is not blamed, itself inspired the emperor (12.83) to perfumed prodigalities at the funeral. We can be glad that Pliny preserves a word (*sucinos*, 'amber', 37.50) from one of Nero's poems, in celebration of Poppaea's hair colour. But he does so in no spirit of praise, here also dubbing the emperor Domitius Nero and putting the verbal conceit among 'the portentous things in his life', an obvious sarcasm. Pliny, we may be sure, would have approved the flippancy of Alexander Pope on such things:

> Pretty! in amber to observe the forms
> Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grubs, or worms!

> The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.
> (*Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* 169-72)

Speaking of Nero's verses, there is (to modern taste, at least) irony in the phenomenon of the retrofluent rivers that presaged his death (2.232, explicitly repeated from Pliny's own *Histories*), since the longest undisputed fragment of the emperor's poetry is on the curious subterranean course of the Tigris.[66]

In describing Nero's eyes as 'dull' (*NH* 11.144), Pliny is in accord with Suetonius (*Ner.* 51).[67] More intriguing is the casual observation (apropos of his interest in the black arts) that *nihil membris defuit* (*NH* 30.16). The Loeb translation is 'his body was without blemish',[68] quite at odds with Suetonius, who says he had a spotty body, very thin legs, a thick neck, and a paunch (Suet. *Ner.* 51). Pliny's account of Nero 'booming out his songs' (*cantica exclamans*, *NH* 34.166) suggests that the royal voice was stronger than the weak thing the biographer makes it out to be (Suet. *Nero* 20.1). On other select matters, Pliny can be unpredictable as well. Thus, he does not believe that Nero's intended Caspian campaign (dubbed 'a threat', *comminatio*) was meant to extend to the Caspian Gates (6.40), unlike Suetonius, but he does record the projected campaign and actual survey in Ethiopia, which the latter ignores (6.181, 184; 12.19).

Except for the aforementioned presagings of his doom, Pliny, as in the case of Nero's fellow-firebrand, Caligula, registers no supernatural phenomenon for the reign, no doubt for the same reason. Perhaps Pliny would approve a remark recently made about his mammoth joint biography of Hitler and Stalin[69] by Sir Alan Bullock as to why he calls neither of his subjects a monster: 'They were human, and that's the horror of it'. Not much, certainly not much that is good, was to be expected from Pliny on the three failed candidates for power of AD 69. A work honouring the Flavian victors would not want to dwell on the civil wars. Thus, Galba and Otho each receive a single mention, the former in a long and tedious list of Gallic tribes for incorporating two new ones (3.37), the latter in a contemptuous notice of his bringing Nero into the fashion of scenting

[66] See M. Dewar, 'Nero on the Disappearing Tigris', *CQ* 41 (1991) 269-72.

[67] Whether Nero actually used the green monocle invariably given to him in Hollywood films is doubtful, thanks to the uncertain text at *NH* 37.64; cf. D. E. Eichholz, *Pliny: Natural History* 10 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1962) 214 n. b.

[68] Tr. W. H. S. Jones, *Pliny: Natural History* 8 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1963) 289.

[69] A. Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* (London 1991).

the soles of one's feet (13.22).[70] Like the dog that did not bark in the night in the Sherlock Holmes story, Galba's absence from Pliny's account of elephants and their use in Roman shows is notable (8.1-35), since he (while praetor) is credited by Suetonius for being the first to exhibit funambular pachyderms (*Gal.* 6.1).

Vitellius gets more of a look-in. As the rival squashed by Vespasian, his memory needed the most blackening. His notorious gluttony and wastefulness are stigmatised by indignant (*at, Hercules*!, 'Oh, my god!', *NH* 35.163; a favourite Plinian ejaculation) mention of a giant dish costing more than a million sesterces commissioned by that emperor, provoking a joke by Mucianus about 'swamps of dishes' (*patinarum paludes*, 35.163). It is a non-Suetonian item. Recollections (15.83, 91) of the importation into Italy of exotic fruits and nuts by an earlier Vitellius in Tiberius' time help to keep the gourmandising image before the reader's eyes. Most blatant is Pliny's colourful lament over the burning of the Capitol 'by the Vitellians' in AD 69 (34.38), an event that evoked atrabilious outbursts from Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.2, 3.69-72). In a favourite formula of his for heightened passion, Pliny appends the detail that 'our age saw' the destruction of a bronze figure of a dog licking its wound (*NH* 34.38).

Vespasian was treated earlier.[71] As living emperor (it may be added), he is variously styled *princeps* (*NH* 2.117), Caesar (9.167), Augustus (3.30), and *imperator* (2.57), the last two titles sometimes combined (3.30). When Pliny offered the *Natural History* in dedication, Titus was not yet ruler but (barring accidents) everyone knew he was going to be. There is political point to the occasions where Pliny stresses the joint actions of father and son, usually their joint consulship and holding of censuses (2.57, 3.66, 7.162), also a dedication of balsams (12.111) and the placing of a Delphic bronze in the palace (7.210, where the two are linked without names as *principum*). The most glittering non-military tribute to Vespasian is that paid to his public accessibility in favourable comparison to the days of Claudius (*NH* 33.41). The same praise, including the same term, *occupationibus* ('claims upon one's time'), is accorded (*praef.* 33) to Titus.[72] In the preface to the *Natural History*, Titus is saluted as *Vespasiano* and *imperator* (*praef.* 1). He comports the latter title in mentions of the Polycleitus statue in his atrium (34.55) and a Laocoon in his residence (36.37). The distinction between these two locations is worth remarking. And did the group of

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[70] This item might have been exploited by R. Syme, 'Princesses and Others in Tacitus', *G&R* 28 (1981) 42.

[71] See above, pp. 59ff.

[72] This matter of imperial availability is the starting point for F. Millar's study *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977).

Laocoon and his sons in any way reflect the royal family? It is here worth recalling that the group in the Vatican that provided Lessing's celebrated work[73] with its title has been dated to the Flavian period. Since Vespasian is favourably compared to Claudius, there may be no surprise in Pliny's failure (unless they came after his time) to mention Titus' ostentatious erection of statues to Britannicus (Suet. *Tit.* 2). Titus shines bright throughout Pliny's preface. While the title *Maximus* ('greatest') 'grows old' (*praef.* 1) with his father, he is addressed as *iucundissime* ('most agreeable', *praef.* 1).[74] His various great offices and titles are enumerated with much rhetorical adornment (*praef.* 3-5). Later, Titus is perched 'on the loftiest pinnacle (*fastigio*, an Augustan and Tacitean term) of all mankind' (*praef.* 11). For obvious reasons, Pliny is at pains to recall their own friendship (*contubernalium*), nicely underlining this by nudging Titus over their joint mastery of military slang: 'I know that you too are familiar with this camp vernacular' (*praef.* 1).

There is also prefatory praise of Titus as orator and poet (*praef.* 5). Later, Pliny draws attention to his listing of authorities for the *Natural History*, an agreeable and appropriate debt to discharge (*praef.* 21). Perhaps no surprise, then, that Titus Caesar Imperator should himself be in the bibliography for book two, being duly cited with the same titles for his 'famous poem' on the comet that had latterly appeared in AD 76, Titus' fifth consulship (*NH* 2.89). Although Suetonius generally mentions his Greek and Latin verses for their facility, both prepared and impromptu (*Titus* 3.2), this is the sole specific source for Titus the poet. Also cited as an authority, for book 33 on metals, is Domitianus Caesar. Unlike Titus, the relevant volume never invokes him by name. But his presence as an author is interesting, and the context plausible, for Suetonius, who mentions only his ghost-written letters, speeches, and edicts, and a monograph on hair care (*Dom.* 20), attests (13.2) to his concern for metallic weights of statues. Domitian is nowhere else mentioned by name, but in poetry (said by Suetonius to have been an early affectation of his) he was imitated by Titus and in Pliny's own *Histories* he featured on a par with his father and brother (*NH praef.* 20). There is no sign of the Tacitean belittlings of Domitian even at this early stage. Just ordinary tact on Pliny's part? Or hedging his bets in case Titus should suddenly depart the scene? If Pliny had lived but two more years than he did, he would have seen this come to pass.

Another example of Pliny's talent for tact and prudence may be divined in

[73] G. E. Lessing, *Laokoon* (Berlin 1766).

[74] A modern cynic may here think of the distinction between the titles 'Great Leader' and 'Dear Leader' enjoyed by the late dictator Kim Il Sung and his son in North Korea.

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his treatment of Licinius Mucianus, partisan of Vespasian and king maker (Tac. *Hist.* 1.10). As Syme puts it, Mucianus played Agrippa to Vespasian's Augustus.[75] Apart from editing old documents, he compiled volumes full of *mirabilia* ('curiosities', *Dial.* 37.2). Pliny is the sole source for the thirty-two extant fragments. This literary advertisement is in itself a political gesture, and in his citations Pliny repeats with tedious frequency that Mucianus had been three times consul (e.g., *NH* 2.231, 12.10, 16.214, 34.36). On the other hand, he does not always follow him on particular details and is sometimes politely sceptical or roughly incredulous (e.g., 9.182, 13.88, 16.213, 31.19, 32.62). Apart from being the mark of an honest and selective scholar, these animadversions may not have been unwelcome to Titus, who looks to have been at some odds with Mucianus.[76] The prince can scarcely have liked Mucianus' frequent bragging (Tac. *Hist.* 4.4) about how he had made Vespasian emperor. Mucianus is thought to have died between AD 75 and 77, and Pliny's mention (*NH* 32.62) of him in the past tense appears to certify this.[77] Such a recent decease would make the year 77 a propitious moment for Pliny to complete and dedicate to Titus a work that not only honoured and complemented that of Mucianus but also improved upon it. One should emphasise (few have done so) that Pliny addresses the *Natural History* to Titus, not Vespasian as such. Why? Because of their old contubernalian intimacy? Or, despite the compliment to Vespasian as patron of arts and science (2.117), because Titus had (or was presumed to have) a greater interest in its subject matter? Or was it simply that Pliny was hitching his wagon to the rising sun?[78]

Thus Pliny on the first eleven emperors (excluding Julius Caesar and including Domitian), under nine of whom (including Titus) he himself had lived. According to his nephew, he maintained that 'no book was so bad that some good could not be got out of it' (*Ep.* 3.5.10). I hope this perhaps optimistic view may extend to modern articles.

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[75] R. Syme [2] 231.

[76] See J. A. Crook, 'Titus and Berenice', *AJPh* 72 (1951) 165, where Titus is regarded as being 'dismayed at the lordly position of Mucianus'. For some new and pertinent remarks about Titus and his depiction, see G. M. Paul, 'The Presentation of Titus in the *Jewish War* of Josephus: Two Aspects', *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 56-66.

[77] See R. Syme, 'The March of Mucianus', *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 90.

[78] When mentioning his uncle's pre-dawn visits to Vespasian, seemingly for meetings of the emperor's council of friends, the younger Pliny (*Ep.* 3.5.7-9) stresses that he was on equally close terms with both father and son.

QUINTILIAN AND HORACE

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Abstract. The purpose of this paper is to consider Quintilian's quotations of Horace in order to evaluate his opinion of Horace's poetry, and examine the ways in which he uses it. While Quintilian does use Horace as a source of examples, he is more important as a source of critical opinions. Quintilian not only liked Horace's poetry, but also had a very high opinion of his criticism and taste in poetry.

Quintilian's admiration of Horace and his frequent use of Horace's poems is entirely consistent with his general opinion of Horace, which he expresses three times in the *Institutio Oratoria*:

> Utiles tragoediae, alunt et lyrici, si tamen in his non auctores modo, sed etiam partes operis elegeris; nam et Graeci licenter multa *et Horatium nolim in quibusdam interpretari*.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.6)
>
> The reading of tragedy also is useful, and lyric poets will provide nourishment for the mind, provided not merely the authors be carefully selected, but also the passages from their works which are to be read. For the Greek lyric poets are often licentious *and even in Horace there are passages which I should be unwilling to explain to a class.*[1]

> Ego quantum ab illis tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium 'fluere lutulentum' et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat. Nam et eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Multum et tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, *nisi labor eius amore*, praecipuus.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.94)
>
> I disagree with them [i.e., with those who praise Lucilius] as much as I do with Horace, who holds that Lucilius' verse has a 'muddy flow, and that there is always something in him that might well be dispensed with'. For his learning is as remarkable as his freedom of speech, and it is this quality that gives so sharp

[1] Quotations from Quintilian are from the text of M. Winterbottom, *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim* 1, 2 (Oxford 1970). Translations are those of H. E. Butler (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian* 1-4 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1963). Translations from Horace are by C. E. Bennett (ed. and tr.), *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1964) and H. Rushton Fairclough (ed. and tr.), *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1966). All italics are the author's own.

an edge and such an abundance of wit to his satire. Horace is far terser and purer in style, and must be awarded first place, *unless my judgement is led astray by my affection for his work.*

Iambus non sane a Romanis celebratus est ut proprium opus, †quibusdam interpositus†: *cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio* (quamquam illi epodos intervenit) *reperiatur.* At *lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus*: nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax.

(Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.96)

The iambic has not been popular with Roman poets as a separate form of composition, †but is found mixed up with other forms of verse†.[2] *It may be found in all its bitterness in Catullus, Bibaculus and Horace*, although in the last-named the iambic is interrupted by the epode. *Of our lyric writers Horace is almost the sole poet worth reading*: for he rises at times to a lofty grandeur and is full of sprightliness and charm, while there is great variety in his figures, and his boldness in the choice of words is only equalled by his felicity.

We may summarise this judgement, and the attitude of Quintilian towards Horace, in the following four points: (1) Quintilian not only agrees with Horace's poetry but loves it and is sure that Horace is superior to Lucilius, although he doesn't deny the danger of bias due to his love of Horace's poetry (*nisi labor eius amore*, 'unless my judgement is led astray by my affection for his work', 10.1.94). (2) Quintilian is not particularly interested in lyric poetry (*lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus*, 'of our lyric writers Horace is almost the sole poet worth reading', 10.1.96) because of the licentiousness of such poetry, which rendered it unsuitable for the education of young people and for use in schools,[3] and it was, of course, school which was the *raison d'être* of a man like Quintilian, who had lost his wife and sons and

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[2] H. E. Butler, *Quintilian* 4 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1963) 54f., reads and translates *sed aliis quibusdam interpositus* here. The text given is that of Winterbottom [1].

[3] To confirm this it is enough to quote the words of Quintilian himself, following the passage just quoted from *Inst.* 1.8.6: *Elegia vero, utique qua amat, et hendecasyllabi, qui sunt commata sotadeorum (nam de sotadeis ne praecipiendum quidem est), amoveantur, si fieri potest, si minus, certe ad firmius aetatis robur reserventur* ('Elegiacs, however, more especially erotic elegy, and hendecasyllabics, which are merely sections of Sotadean verse (concerning which latter I need give no admonitions), should be entirely banished, if possible; if not absolutely banished, they should be reserved for pupils of a less impressionable age'); cf. J. Cousin, *Quintilien: Institution Oratoire* 1 (Paris 1975) 175. Pliny the Younger, who was a pupil of Quintilian, excuses himself for producing and enjoying such poetry (*Ep.* 4.14.3, cf. A. N. Sherwin-White *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966) 290; *Ep.* 5.3.2; 7.4.1).

therefore focussed his attention on education.[4] Moreover, not even Horace completely escapes criticism on this count (*et Horatium nolim in quibusdam interpretari*, 'and even in Horace there are passages which I should be unwilling to explain to a class', 1.8.6).[5] (3) While Quintilian quotes Horace much less frequently than he quotes Cicero or Vergil (Horace is quoted thirty times, Vergil 172 and Cicero more than 700 times),[6] Horace is still quoted more frequently than Homer, whose name appears only twenty-one times in Quintilian's work. On the other hand, Cicero and Vergil are the authors most quoted by Quintilian.[7] Of the thirty quotations from Horace, twelve occur in books 8 and 9 of the *Institutio Oratoria*, which are devoted to tropes and figures, six on tropes and six on figures. In these books reference to Vergil is also more frequent.[8] (4) Finally, the literary opinions which Quintilian takes mainly, but not entirely, from Horace's *Ars Poetica* are very revealing. Sometimes Quintilian disagrees with these opinions, as for example the one about Lucilius (10.1.94). Quintilian uses Horace for the same purposes as he does Cicero, albeit with less frequency, drawing upon him as a source of ideas as well as of examples.

We may now consider these quotations in order to evaluate what Quintilian thinks about Horace's ideas, which frequently influence him deeply. Thus we find an opinion about Alcaeus which is influenced by ethical considerations:

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[4] Cf. G. Kennedy, *Quintilian* (New York 1969) 29f.; Quint. *Inst.* 6 *pr.*

[5] We must not forget that, according to Seneca, Cicero, the ideal orator in Quintilian's opinion, also disliked lyric poetry, although not explicitly for moral reasons: *Negat Cicero, si duplicetur sibi aetas, habiturum se tempus, quo legat lyricos* ('Cicero declared that if the number of his days were doubled, he should not have time to read the lyric poets', Sen. *Ep.* 49.5, tr. R. M. Gummere, *Seneca: Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* [Cambridge, Mass./London 1977] 325).

[6] Cf. the Index to M. Winterbottom [1] 757, 766-72, 773-75. A different accounting of quotations is given in G. Hettegger, *Qua Ratione M. Fabius Quintilianus in Institutione Oratoria laudaverit Scriptores* (Salzburg 1905) 16, who, by missing Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.6, 8.6.17 (Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.12) and 1.5.57 (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.192), gives only twenty-eight quotations. Winterbottom, on the other hand, doesn't mention Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.41 (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.17: *Iuppiter hibernas cana niue conspuit Alpes*, 'Jove with white snow the wintry Alps bespewed') because this is a line of Furius Bibaculus (see below, p. 89) and is therefore rightly quoted by Winterbottom [1] 751 only under Furius's name. Hettegger's work is the most important collection of quotations by Quintilian accompanied by discussion; see also the review by J. Woehrer, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien* 59 (1908) 93f.

[7] Cf. M. M. Odgers, 'Quintilian's Use of Early Literature', *CPh* 28 (1933) 186f.

[8] Cf. G. Calboli, 'Figure Retoriche', in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 2 (Rome 1985) 515-20.

> Alcaeus in parte operis *aureo plectro*[9] merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.63)
>
> Alcaeus has deserved the compliment of being said to make music with *quill of gold* in that portion of his works in which he attacks the tyrants of his day and shows himself a real moral force.

It seems that Quintilian holds some reservations about the lyric poet Alcaeus, but that the *rhetor* nevertheless appreciates the ethical aspect of Alcaeus' fight against the tyrants, and to praise this he employs Horace's expression *aureo plectro* ('with quill of gold', *Carm.* 2.13.26f.) in order to indicate very great merit.[10] As Alcaeus is quoted by Quintilian only here, his opinion of Alcaeus seems entirely derived from Horace.

Quintilian's knowledge of Pindar is better, but here also he accepts Horace's opinion, which is, however, expressed in the strange context of the well-known *recusatio* in *Carmen* 4.2,[11] which is consistent neither with the use of Pindar by Horace nor with the high esteem in which he holds Pindar. For, whilst Horace writes in *Carmen* 4.2 that nobody can imitate Pindar, he nevertheless imitates and emulates him frequently.[12]

> Novem vero lyricorum [the canon of nine lyric poets also referred to by other authors] longe *Pindarus* princeps spiritu, magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine: propter quae Horatius eum merito credit inimitabilem.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.61)

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[9] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.26-32: *et te sonantem plenius* aureo, / Alcaee, plectro *dura navis, / dura fugae mala, dura belli. / Utrumque [i.e., Sappho and Alcaeus] sacro digna silentio / mirantur umbrae dicere, sed magis / pugnas et exactos tyrannos / densum umeris bibit aure volgus.* ('And thee, *Alcaeus*, rehearsing in fuller strain *with golden plectrum* the woes of seamen's life, the cruel woes of exile, and the woes of war. The shades marvel at both [Sappho and Alcaeus] as they utter words worthy of reverent silence; but the dense throng, shoulder to shoulder packed, drinks in more eagerly with listening ear stories of battles and of tyrants banished).

[10] 'Horace's adjective [*aureo*] is . . . highly eulogistic', write R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes* 2 (Oxford 1978) 217, recalling that the plectrum of Apollo was traditionally golden (*Hymn. Ap.* 185, Pind. *Nem.* 5.24, Eur. *Her.* 351) and that a golden plectrum was dedicated at Delphi by the Megarians (Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 402a).

[11] On the topic of this *recusatio* cf. W. Wimmel, '*Recusatio*: Form und Pindarode', *Philologus* 109 (1965) 83-103.

[12] For bibliographies on Horace and Pindar, see W. Kissel, 'Horaz 1939-1975, Eine Gesamtbibliographie', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.31.3 (Berlin/New York 1981) 1449-51; D. E. Gerber, 'Pindar and Bacchylides 1934-1987', *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 155f.

> Of the nine lyric poets *Pindar* is by far the greatest, in virtue of his inspired magnificence, the beauty of his thoughts and figures, the rich exuberance of his language and matter, and his rolling flood of eloquence, characteristics which, as Horace rightly held, make him inimitable.

Quintilian quotes Pindar twice more:

> Exquisitam vero figuram huius rei deprendisse *apud principem lyricorum Pindarum* videor in libro quem inscripsit Hymnus [= Ὕμνους[13]]. Is namque Herculis impetum adversus Meropas, qui in insula Coo dicuntur habitasse, non igni nec ventis nec mari, sed fulmini dicit similem fuisse, ut illa minora, hoc par esset.[14]
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.71)
>
> I think, too, that I am right in saying that I noted a brilliant example of the same kind in the Hymns of *Pindar, the prince of lyric poets*. For when he describes the onslaught made by Hercules upon the Meropes, the legendary inhabitants of the island of Cos, he speaks of the hero as like not to fire, winds or sea, but to the thunderbolt, making the latter the only true equivalent of his speed and power, the former being treated as quite inadequate.
>
> Marcus Tullius . . . . Non enim pluvias, *ut ait Pindarus*, aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiae genitus in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.109)
>
> Marcus Tullius . . . . For he does not, *as Pindar says*, 'collect the rain from heaven, but wells forth with living water', since Providence at his birth conferred this special privilege upon him, that eloquence should make trial of all her powers in him.

The Roman milieu was interested enough in Pindar's poetry,[15] but in this context it is Horace's authority which seems particularly to influence Quintilian.

Lucilius is the third writer to be taken into consideration. However, in

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[13] Cf. J. Cousin, *Quintilien: Institution Oratoire* 5 (Paris 1978) 303.

[14] Here Quintilian is speaking about hyperbole and quotes also Cic. *Phil.* 2.67: *Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdin dico? Quae si fuit, fuit animal unum. Oceanus, medius fidius*, . . . ('What Charybdis was so voracious? Charybdis do I say? If it ever existed, it was a single animal! an Ocean, so help me Heaven! . . .', tr. W. C. A. Ker, *Cicero: Philippics* [Cambridge, Mass./London 1964] 129).

[15] M. Brozek, 'De Scriptoribus Latinis antiquis Pindari Laudatoribus et Aemulis', *Eos* 59 (1971) 105 n. 2 reminds us that Pindar had already been quoted by Petronius in association with the nine lyric poets in the *Satyricon* (2.4) and by Seneca (*Nat.* 6.26.2); cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 27.6.

his case Quintilian declares explicitly that he doesn't agree with Horace's highly negative judgement of the poet, who, in Horace's opinion, was guilty of *fluere lutulentum* ('[having] a muddy flow'):[16]

> *Satura quidem tota nostra est*, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum *ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat.*[17] Nam et eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Multum et tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, nisi labor eius amore, praecipuus.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93f.)
>
> *Satire, on the other hand, is all our own.* The first of our poets to win renown in this connexion was Lucilius, some of whose devotees are so enthusiastic that they do not hesitate to prefer him not merely to all other satirists, but even to all other poets. I disagree with them as much as *I do with Horace, who holds that Lucilius' verse has 'a muddy flow, and that there is always something in him that might well be dispensed with'.* For his learning is as remarkable as his freedom of speech, and it is this latter quality that gives so sharp an edge and such abundance of wit to his satire. Horace is far terser and purer in style, and must be awarded the first place, unless my judgement is led astray by my affection for his work.

Thus Quintilian accepts neither the opinion of those who praised Lucilius too much nor that of Horace, who believed that Lucilius was *lutulentus* ('muddy') and who employed in this judgement a Callimachean image, as has been pointed out by Kiessling and Heinze[18] and especially Cody.[19] In his turn Rudd[20] offers as a good example of the 'muddy and prolix' style of Lucilius his longest fragment about *virtus* ('virtue'), which is quoted by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 6.5.2): *virtus, Albine, est pretium persolvere verum / quis in versamur quis vivimus rebus potesse* . . . ('Manliness or virtue, my dear

[16] P. V. Cova also ('La Critica letteraria nell'*Institutio*', in P. V. Cova, R. Gazich, G. E. Manzoni and G. Melzani, *Aspetti della* paideia *di Quintiliano* [Milano 1990] 52) points out that Quintilian is not deflected by Horace's criticism of Lucilius and recognises, in this attitude, the critical freedom of Quintilian. On the quotation technique used in this passage cf. also G. Carlozzo, 'La Tecnica della Citazione in Quintiliano', *Pan* 7 (1979) 49.

[17] At Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.11: *cum flueret lutulentus* (sc. *Lucilius*) *erat quod tollere velles* ('In his muddy stream there was much that you would like to remove').

[18] A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Satiren*[7] (Berlin 1959) 71.

[19] J. V. Cody, *Horace and Callimachean Aesthetics* (Brussels 1976) 25-27.

[20] N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 98-100.

Albinus, is being able to pay in full a fair price in our business dealings and in the affairs which life brings us . . .', Lucilius 1196f.).[21] In this passage Lucilius offers a definition of *virtus* which was probably known to Quintilian because of the importance of this poet, which is evident from the passage (*Inst.* 10.1.93f.) quoted above.[22] At any rate, Quintilian quotes the shorter definition of *virtus* given by Horace (*virtus est vitium fugere*, 'Virtue is the avoidance of vice', *Ep.* 1.1.41)[23] and employs it when defining the virtue of a good oration, as rightly pointed out by Kiessling and Heinze:[24]

> Interim etiam dubitari potest cui vitio simile sit schema, ut hoc: *virtus est vitium fugere* aut enim partis orationis mutat ex illo 'virtus est fuga vitiorum' aut casus ex illo 'virtutis est vitium fugere', multo tamen hoc utroque excitatius.
> (Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.10)
>
> At times, again, there may be some doubt as to the precise error which a figure resembles. Take for example the phrase: *virtus est vitium fugere*, where the writer has either changed the parts of speech (making his phrase a variant for *virtus est fuga vitiorum*), or the cases (in which case it will be a variant for *virtutis est vitium fugere*); but whichever be the case, the *figure* is far more vigorous than either.

> . . . dicturus quibus ornetur oratio, prius ea quae sunt huic laudi contraria attingam: nam prima virtus est vitio carere.
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.41)
>
> . . . before I discuss ornament, I must first touch upon its opposite, since the first of all virtues is the avoidance of faults.

Quintilian shows even more clearly that he preferred Horace to the prolix Lucilius in one particularly important point:

> Et Horatius ne in poemate quidem humilem generis huius usum putavit in illis versibus: *quod dixit vulpes aegroto cauta leoni* [Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.73].[25]
> (Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.20)

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[21] Translations from Lucilius are by E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* 3 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1957) 391. The line numbers are those of F. Marx, *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquae* (Leipzig 1905).

[22] Cf. F. Marx, *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquae* 2 (Leipzig 1905) 425-27.

[23] On the topic of *virtus* ('virtue') and the value Horace set on the concept, and the relationship between the Greek and the Roman traditions noted by Horace in his evaluation of *virtus*, cf. K. Büchner, 'Altrömische und Horazische *Virtus*', in H. Oppermann (ed.), *Römische Wertbegriffe* (Darmstadt 1967) 386-401.

[24] A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Briefe*[6] (Berlin 1959) 10.

[25] The *rhetor* is presenting the *fabellae* ('tales') which were employed firstly by Aesop and also, in Rome, by Menenius Agrippa.

> Horace also did not regard the employment of fables as beneath the dignity even of poetry; witness his lines that narrate: 'What the shrewd fox to the sick lion told'.

This passage is important because in it Quintilian is referring to Horace's authority and the quotation from Horace is arranged by Quintilian in hexametric form. Horace writes: *olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni / respondit* ('as once upon a time the prudent fox made answer to the sick lion', *Ep.* 1.1.73f.). It seems to me most improbable that Quintilian adapted this quotation to the *Institutio Oratoria*, which was composed over a period of a little over two years, as Quintilian himself attests,[26] but, in my opinion, it demonstrates that he usually employed Horace's lines after a little modification. Cole[27] observes that 'here, for the first time, the substituted word is not a metrical equivalent of the one it replaces'. The same *fabella* ('tale') had been presented by Lucilius (*quid sibi vult, quare fit, ut introversus et ad te / spectent atque ferant vestigia se omnia prosus?*, 'What does it mean, why does it happen that the tracks look inwards and betake themselves all straight on up to you', 988f.; cf. Porphyrion *ad* Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.74). Here also Quintilian rightly prefers Horace to the prolix Lucilius.

In another case Quintilian, while having at his disposal both Lucilius and Horace, again prefers Horace. At *Ars Poetica* 358f., we read *et idem / indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* ('and yet I also feel aggrieved, whenever good Homer "nods"'). These words show that even so very good a poet as Homer, as opposed to a very bad poet like Choerilus, made mistakes, albeit rare and quite exceptional. Brink[28] notes that the idea that Homer made rare mistakes had already been raised by Lucilius:

> quapropter dico—nemo qui culpat Homerum
> perpetuo culpat, neque quod dixi ante poesin;
> versum unum culpat, verbum, enthymema, locumve.
> (Lucilius 345-47)

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[26] Quint. *Ep. Tryph.* 1, and Odgers [7] 182. The date of composition of the *Institutio Oratoria* is put between AD 86 and 96 and perhaps cannot be determined more precisely (cf. J. Adamietz, 'Quintilians *Institutio Oratoria*', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.34.4 [Berlin/New York 1986] 2245-49), but I do not want to tackle this matter here.

[27] C. N. Cole, 'Quintilian's Quotations from the Latin Poets', *CR* 20 (1906) 48f.

[28] C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The* Ars Poetica (Cambridge 1971) 368.

> Wherefore I say: no one who blames Homer blames him all through, nor that which I mentioned before—his 'poesy'; he blames a line, a word, a thought, or a passage.

Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.24) uses the verb *dormitare*[29] in referring to Horace:

> Cum Ciceroni[30] *dormitare* interim Demosthenes, *Horatio* vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.24)
>
> Cicero thinks that Demosthenes sometimes *nods*, and *Horace* says the same of Homer himself.

It is true that the idea which Quintilian wanted to express, namely that even the best authors such as Demosthenes and Homer sometimes make mistakes, had been more precisely expressed by Horace than by Lucilius, but Lucilius had also expressed the opinion that there were some errors in Homer. Nevertheless Quintilian employs Horace and not Lucilius, who is not even quoted.

Another very important literary judgement appears in Quintilian's discussion of the exact meaning of the term *facetus*:

> *Facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula* opinor consistere; neque enim diceret Horatius facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. *Decoris hoc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem* puto. Ideoque in epistulis [*Ep.* fr. 17.2] Cicero haec Bruti refert verba: 'ne illi sunt pedes faceti ac †deliciis ingredienti *mollius*'†. Quod convenit cum illo Horatiano: *molle atque facetum Vergilio* [Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.44f.].
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.20)
>
> Again, I do not regard the epithet *'facetus' as applicable solely to that which raises a laugh*. If that were so Horace would never have said that nature had granted Vergil the gift of being *facetus* in song. I think that *the term is rather applied to a certain grace and polished eloquence*. This is the meaning which it bears in Cicero's letters, where he quotes the words of Brutus, †'In truth her

[29] In this sense the use of the verb *dormitare* is very restricted, cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 5.1 (Leipzig 1909-1934) 2035.83-2036.9. It occurs here (Horace, Quintilian), in Donatus *ad* Ter. *Eun. praef.* 1.5, and only in other later writers (Hieronymus, Rufinus, Eucherius, Gregorius Magnus).

[30] Cf. Plut. *Cic.* 24: ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη ('in some parts of his speeches Demosthenes nods', tr. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* 7 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1967) 141f.

> feet are graceful and soft as she goes *delicately* on her way'.†[31] This meaning suits the passage in Horace, to which I have already made reference, *'To Vergil gave a soft and graceful wit'*.

Quintilian believes that *facetum* (usually translated as 'witty' or 'elegant') is superior to *ridiculum* ('funny') on the basis that Horace ascribes *facetum* to Vergil and he derives from this a definition of *facetum*: *Decoris hoc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto* ('I think that the term is rather applied to a certain grace and polished eloquence', 6.3.20). Moreover, by observing that Vergil was given *facetum carminis genus* ('the gift of being *facetus* in song', 6.3.20) by nature, Quintilian offers a correct interpretation of Horace's word *Camenae*: *molle atque facetum / Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae* ('To Vergil the Muses rejoicing in rural life have granted simplicity and charm', *Sat.* 1.10.44f.). This matter has been discussed by many scholars. C. N. Jackson[32] maintains that the expression *molle atque facetum* ('soft and graceful') means the Atticist style of Pollio's circle. However, Ogle[33] disagrees with this explanation and observes, moreover, that *molle* ('soft') is nearer to Asianism than Atticism because of the softness of that style, and that in Vergil it should rather be taken to mean '"womanly tenderness", or simply "womanliness" in the best sense, . . . that Horace refers to this most characteristic trait of the *candidus animus* he so greatly loved'. In the opinion of Cupaiuolo,[34] the best commentary on Horace's passage is provided by Quintilian, especially in his concluding definition. Also notable is the remark of Cousin,[35] that, in the words of Brutus which precede the passage we are dealing with, the term *molle* ('soft') 'concerne plutôt la grâce et *facetum* l'élégance de bon goût'. In particular the word *mollis* ('soft') is employed many times by Vergil, especially in the *Eclogues* (2.50, 3.45, 4.28, 5.31, 5.38, 7.45, 8.64, 10.42). And so we can see that Quintilian takes from Horace a very important idea in order to demonstrate that *facetum* involves more than just laughter. For my part I want only to point out the significance of this literary judgement made by Horace about Vergil, the poet Quintilian esteemed most. We have here another example of an important and

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[31] H. E. Butler, *Quintilian* 2 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1963) 448f. reads and translates *ne illi sunt pedes faceti ac delicatius ingredienti molles.*

[32] C. N. Jackson, '*Molle atque facetum*, Horace *Sat.* 1.10.44', *HSPh* 25 (1914) 117f.

[33] M. B. Ogle, '*Molle atque facetum*', *AJPh* 37 (1916) 327-32.

[34] F. Cupaiuolo, *Tra Poesia e Poetica* (Naples 1966) 67 n. 38.

[35] J. Cousin, *Quintilien: Institution Oratoire* 4 (Paris 1977) 197.

ponderous quotation from Horace, and this one concerns Vergil, the Roman Homer. That Vergil was, in Quintilian's opinion, the Latin equivalent to Homer is incontrovertibly demonstrated by the words of the *rhetor*:

> Itaque ut apud illos [sc. Graecos] Homerus, sic apud nos Vergilius auspicatissimum dederit exordium, omnium eius generis poetarum Graecorum nostrorumque haud dubie proximus.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.85)
>
> As among Greek authors Homer provided us with the most auspicious opening, so will Vergil among our own. For of all the epic poets, Greek or Roman, he, without doubt, most nearly approaches to Homer.

On the other hand, Quintilian considered Homer the best poet of all: *post Homerum tamen, quem ut Achillem semper excipi par est* ('Homer, who, like Achilles among warriors, is beyond all comparison', Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.65).[36]

Another interesting reference, if not actually a judgement, is to be found at *Institutio Oratoria* 8.6.17, where one of Horace's metaphors is criticised as being too harsh in that it is founded on too slight a reference:

> Sunt et durae, id est a longinqua similitudine ductae, ut *capitis nives* [Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.12].
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.17)
>
> Metaphors may be harsh, that is, far-fetched, as in phrases like 'the snows of the head'.

Soon after this Quintilian presents another example of this faulty metaphor in a verse of Furius Bibaculus which was criticised by Horace himself with a parody in *Satires* 2.5.39-41. That the author of this passage was Furius Bibaculus was pointed out by Pseudo-Acron and Porphyrion in commenting on these lines of Horace:

> . . . 'capitis nives' et 'Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes' [fr.15 Morel[37]].
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.17)

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[36] Cf. J. Cousin, *Quintilien: Institution Oratoire* 6 (Paris 1979) 305. Achilles had already been excepted by Homer, *Il.*2.673f.: Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε / τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα ('Nireus, the comeliest man that came beneath Ilion of all the Danaans after the peerless son of Peleus', tr. A. T. Murray, *Homer: The Iliad* 1 [Cambridge, Mass./London 1965] 101).

[37] W. Morel (ed.), *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum* (Leipzig 1927).

. . . 'the snows of the head' or 'Jove with white snow the wintry Alps bespewed'.

persta atque obdura, seu rubra canicula findet
infantis statuas, seu *pingui tentus omaso*
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.

(Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.39-41)

Carry on, and stick at it, whether 'the Dog-star red
Dumb statues split,' or *Furius, stuffed with rich tripe,*
'With hoary snow bespew the wintry Alps'.

Furius Vivaculus in pragmatia belli Gallici: 'Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes'. *Furius poeta immanis ventris,* qui nivem spumas Iovis dicit. ideo hoc eius personae dedit [sc. Horatius], tamquam ipse spuat.

(Ps.-Acron *ad* Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.39-41)

Furius Vivaculus in his work on the Gallic War: 'Jupiter spewed the wintry Alps with white snow'. *Furius* was *a poet with a large belly* who called snow the foam of Jupiter. Therefore [Horace] gave this expression to his character, as if [Furius] himself is foaming.

Hic versus *Furii Bibaculi* est. ille enim cum vellet Alpes nivibus plenas describere, ait: 'Iuppiter hibernas eqs'. Ergo tumidum est et κακόζιλον (=κακόζηλον).

(Porphyrion *ad* Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.39-41)

This is a line of Furius Bibaculus. For when he wished to describe the Alps full of snow he said: 'Jupiter, etc.' Therefore [Horace means that] he is fat and a bad poet.

Lieberg[38] has recently turned his attention to this point by recalling that, as already observed by other scholars, the expression *pingui tentus omaso* ('stuffed with rich tripe') demonstrates the stylistic fulsomeness of Furius Bibaculus. Quintilian mentions Furius only once by name:

Iambus non sane a Romanis celebratus est ut proprium opus†, quibusdam interpositus: cuius acerbitas in Catullo, *Bibaculo*, Horatio, quamquam illi epodos intervenit, reperiatur. At lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus.

(Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.96)

The iambic has not been popular with Roman poets as a separate form of composition, but is found mixed up with other forms of verse. It may be found in all its bitterness in Catullus, *Bibaculus* and Horace, although in the last-named the iambic is interrupted by the epode. Of our lyric writers Horace is almost the sole poet worth reading.

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[38] G. Lieberg, *Poeta Creator: Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung* (Amsterdam 1982) 63f.

It is clear that Quintilian is prejudiced against such a lyric poet as Bibaculus. Even Catullus, who is quoted anonymously at *Institutio Oratoria* 9.4.141, by name at 9.3.16, and as *aliquis poetarum* ('one of the poets') at 11.1.38, seems not to be particularly favoured by Quintilian. Moreover, Quintilian gives an unfavourable judgement of Catullus' condemnation of Caesar:

> Negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum utrum Caesar ater an albus homo sit [Catull. 93]: insania.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.38)
>
> One of the poets says he does not care whether Caesar be white or black. That is madness.

Tacitus repeats Quintilian's judgement (*carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur*, 'the poems of Bibaculus and Catullus, though full of insults against the Caesars, are still read', Tac. *Ann.* 4.34) and Tacitus is believed to have been a pupil of Quintilian.[39] As for Quintilian's attitude to Catullus, Gagliardi[40] asserts that Quintilian felt a strong dislike for Catullus and I believe that this is correct. McDermott[41] and Gagliardi consider that this is a consequence of the dislike between Catullus and Cicero themselves, which appears from Catullus' attack on Cicero in *Carmen* 49. However, I do not accept the ascription of Quintilian's dislike of Catullus to *Carmen* 49 alone, as Gagliardi proposes. I think, for my part, that here we have to do with a mutual antipathy between Catullus and Cicero, reinforced by Cicero's dislike for lyric poetry, and, in my opinion, this, combined with the mistrust of lyric poetry Quintilian shared with Cicero, and Catullus' attack on Cicero, Quintilian's ideal orator, could nourish a distaste for Catullus in Quintilian's mind.[42] On the other hand, Quintilian, in criticising

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[39] E.g., by O. Seel, *Quintilian* (Stuttgart 1977) 19f.

[40] D. Gagliardi, 'Il Giudizio di Quintiliano su Catullo', *RFIC* 115 (1987) 35-39.

[41] W. C. McDermott, 'Quintilian and Catullus', *Athenaeum* ns 60 (1982) 338.

[42] According to Gagliardi [40], Catullus' attack against Cicero in *Carmen* 49 is confirmed by the irony which the critics and Gagliardi himself recognise in expressions like *disertissime Romuli nepotum, . . . Catullus . . . tanto pessimus omnium poeta, quanto tu optimus omnium patronus* ('Most eloquent of the descendants of Romulus . . . Catullus . . . as much the worst poet of all as you are the best advocate of all'). Here Gagliardi [40] 39 n. 1 even maintains that the word *patronus* is used dismissively, but I disagree with him because the *turba patronorum* ('mob of advocates', Cic. *Brut.* 332) which Gagliardi quotes to confirm the depreciation of the word *patronus* by Cicero not only is just a single moment in the oratorical conception of Cicero and contrasts with other Ciceronian appreciations of this word, as has been pointed out by W. Neuhauser, *Patronus und Orator* (Innsbruck 1958) 190, and as appears in passages

Horace, *Carmen* 4.13.12, ignores the fact that Horace also mocks in Bibaculus the same harsh metaphor decried by Quintilian himself. Sometimes Quintilian has other reasons for criticising Horace, as in *Carmen* 4.13, where the poet, in describing Lyce's premature aging, insists on presenting her *luridi dentes* ('yellow teeth') filthy *rugae* ('wrinkles'), *capitis nives* ('snowy hair') and creates an altogether disagreeable impression, to which Quintilian was opposed because of the pedagogical aims I believe he pursued. Quintilian's moral prejudice against lyric poetry and its iambic and aggressive aspect outweighs his love of Horace. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Quintilian's opinion of Furius Bibaculus (fr.15 Morel)[43] is in fact the same as Horace's. Now we need to consider those of Horace's precepts that are accepted by Quintilian, and by so doing we shall soon see them to be very important precepts.

The first is that it is necessary to avoid combining opposite elements. Quintilian is dealing with the trope of σαρδισμός, if we accept the reconstruction of this term which we find in modern editions,[44] and, in order to describe the sort of ugly combination of different things which should be avoided, he quotes the beginning of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (which is the name Quintilian gives to this work in *Ep. Tryph.* 2):

> Σαρδισμός quoque appellatur quaedam mixta ex varia ratione linguarum oratio, ut si Atticis Dorica et Aeolica et Iadica confundas. Cui simile vitium est apud nos si quis sublimia humilibus, vetera novis, poetica vulgaribus misceat— id enim *tale monstrum quale Horatius in prima parte libri de arte poetica fingit*: *Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam / iungere si velit* [Hor. *Ars* 1f.] et cetera ex diversis naturis subiciat.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.59f.)
>
> There is also a fault known as σαρδισμός, which consists in the indiscriminate use of several different dialects, as, for instance, would result from mixing Doric, Ionic, and even Aeolic words with Attic. A similar fault is found amongst ourselves, consisting in the indiscriminate mixture of grand words with mean, old with new, and poetic with colloquial, the result being *a monstrous medley like that described by Horace in the opening portion of his*

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such as Cic. *Brut.* 319: *cum igitur essem in plurimis causis et in principibus patronis quinquennium fere versatus* ('When, therefore, I had been involved in a great many cases and with the leading advocates for about five years'), but simply indicates the many speakers presented in the *Brutus* and who were active before the arrival on the scene of such a cultivated and refined orator as Cicero. For the interpretation of Catullus' *Carmen* 49, see the bibliography by F. Della Corte, *Catullo: Le Poesie* (Verona 1977) 276.

[43] Morel [37].

[44] Cf. J. Cousin [13] 285f.

> Ars Poetica, *'If a painter choose to place a man's head on a horse's neck'*, and, he proceeds to say, should add other limbs from different animals.

Brink[45] points out that such ugly combinations were common in the classical arts, and that in any case Quintilian condemns them.

Much more important is Quintilian's quotation of the well-known lines *brevis esse laboro, / obscurus fio* ('Striving to be brief, I become obscure', *Ars* 25f.), even though he only quotes this passage as an example of *transitus ad diversa ut similia* ('pass[ing] . . . from one thing to something different, as though from like to like', *Inst.* 9.3.65):

> Huic diversam volunt esse distinctionem, cui dant nomen παραδιαστολήν, qua similia discernuntur: 'cum te pro astuto sapientem appelles . . .'. Quod totum pendet ex finitione, ideoque an figura sit dubito. Cui contraria est ea qua fit ex vicino transitus ad diversa ut similia: *brevis esse laboro, / obscurus fio* [Hor. *Ars* 25f.] et quae sequuntur.[46]
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.65)
>
> To this figure is opposed *distinctio*, which they call παραδιαστολή, by which we distinguish between similar things, as in this sentence: 'When you call yourself wise instead of astute . . .'. But this is entirely dependent on definition, and therefore I have my doubts whether it can be called a figure. Its opposite occurs when we pass at a bound from one thing to something different, as though from like to like; for example: *'I labour to be brief, I turn obscure'*.

This is neither a common nor an unimportant quotation because the Ciceronianism of Quintilian and his pupil Pliny[47] suggests a reaction against the *brevitas* ('briefness') and the *acutum dicendi genus* ('sharp style of speaking'), which is closer to the Atticists than to Cicero.[48] Therefore Horace's authority confirms Quintilian's stylistic position. On the other hand, Horace's passage has a precedent, as noted by Moretti,[49] in Cicero: *hoc video, dum breviter voluerim dicere, dictum a me esse paulo obscurius* ('I see

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[45] Brink [28] 85.

[46] Cf. Cousin [13] 220 and G. Kowalski, 'Ad Figurae παραδιαστολῆς Historiam', *Eos* 31 (1928) 169-80.

[47] That Pliny was a pupil of Quintilian is confirmed by Pliny himself: *ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo* [here Pliny is speaking] *audisse memini* (' . . . I remember that I heard from my teacher Quintilian', *Ep.* 2.14.9). Furthermore, Pliny is the only author we know of who declared outright that he was Quintilian's pupil.

[48] As correctly pointed out by G. Moretti, *Acutum Dicendi Genus* (Trento 1990) 52-59, 103-12.

[49] Moretti [48] 108.

that, in my desire to be brief, I have spoken a little obscurely', *De Orat.* 1.187).[50] From *Ars Poetica* 63f. comes the μετωνυμία ('metonymy') of Neptunus to indicate the sea:

> . . . receptus / terra Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet [Hor. *Ars* 63f.].
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.23)
> . . . Neptune admitted to the land protects the fleets from blasts of Aquilo.

The very frequent occurrence of this metonymy has been noted by Brink.[51] More interesting is another quotation from Horace:

> Ut autem in oratione nitida notabile humilius verbum et velut macula, ita a sermone tenui sublime nitidumque discordat fitque corruptum, quia in plano tumet . . . . At Vergili miramur illud *saepe exiguus mus* [Verg. *Georg.* 1.181]. Nam epitheton *exiguus* aptum <et> proprium *effecit ne plus expectaremus*, et casus singularis magis decuit, et *clausula ipsa unius syllabae non usitata addidit gratiam*. Imitatus est itaque utrumque Horatius: *nascetur ridiculus mus* [Hor. *Ars* 139].[52]
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.18-20)
> And just as a mean word embedded in a brilliant passage attracts special attention, like a spot on a bright surface, so if our style be of a plain character, sublime and brilliant words will seem incongruous and tasteless excrescences on a flat surface . . . . On the other hand, we admire Vergil when he says: *'Oft hath the tiny mouse'*, etc. For here the epithet is appropriate and *prevents our expecting too much*, while the use of the singular instead of the plural, and *the unusual monosyllabic conclusion of the line, both add to the pleasing effect.* Horace accordingly imitated Vergil in both these points, when he wrote, *'The fruit shall be a paltry mouse'*.

Brink[53] discusses the origin of this proverb, which occurs in the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*[54] 1.378.4, 2.733.4: ὤδινεν ὄρος, εἶτα μῦν ἀπέτεκεν ('a mountain was in labour, but gave birth to a mouse'). A similar meaning can be found in Lucian (*Conscr. Hist.* 23). This parallel has already

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[50] Tr. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, *Cicero: De Oratore* 1 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1967) 131.

[51] Brink [28] 152.

[52] Quintilian is asserting that a situation and the sound and meaning of words used to describe it should correspond.

[53] Brink [28] 215.

[54] *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen 1839-1851/Hildesheim 1965).

been noted by O. Immisch[55] and I do not accept the unjustified quibbles presented by Brink against what Immisch says about it. In Quintilian's opinion Horace imitates Vergil both by applying the shortness of the word (*mus*, 'mouse') to the small creature he is speaking of, and by using a monosyllable at the end of the verse.[56] Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.83 (*conspicitur sus*, 'there was seen a sow'), doesn't fail to note that it is a mistake *monosyllabo finiri versum* ('for a line to be concluded with a monosyllable'), except in such a case as the discussion of small animals in Horace, *Ars Poetica* 139. Perhaps Horace is quoted in this case in order to establish a metrical rule, but there is doubt as to whether he was applying any such rule. Even more interesting is Quintilian's quotation of another passage from the *Ars Poetica*:

> Emendate loquendi regulam, quae grammatices prior pars est, examinet. Haec exigitur verbis aut singulis aut pluribus. Verba nunc generaliter accipi volo: nam duplex eorum intellectus est, alter qui omnia per quae sermo nectitur significat, ut apud Horatium: *verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur* [Hor. *Ars* 311].
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.2)
>
> The teacher of literature therefore must study the rules for correctness of speech, these constituting the first part of his art. The observance of these rules is concerned with either one or more words. I must now be understood to use *verbum* ['word'] in its most general sense. It has of course two meanings; the one covers all the parts of which language is composed, as in the line of Horace: *'Once supply the thought, / And words will follow swift as soon as sought'*.

What is quite clear in Horace is the reference to Cato's motto *Rem tene, verba sequentur* ('When you have the subject, words will follow', fr. 15 Jordan).[57] Brink[58] presents the hypothesis that this is a kind of Greek proverb, because we find a similar idea in a passage from Dionysius of

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[55] O. Immisch, 'Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst', *Philologus Supplement* 24.3 (1932) 25. Immisch writes that both Horace and Lucian may derive the proverb from a Greek grammarian such as Neoptolemos.

[56] In this respect cf. J. Hellegouarc'h, 'Le Monosyllabe dans l'Hexametre latin', in *Essai de Métrique verbale* (Paris 1964) 64, even though he presents an imprecise interpretation of Quintilian's passage.

[57] H. Jordan, *M. Catonis Praeter Librum De Re Rustica Duae Exstantes* (Stuttgart 1967) 80.

[58] Brink [28] 339f.

Halicarnassus: τούτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι οὐ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δουλεύει τὰ πράγματα παρ' αὐτῷ, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα ('The reason . . . is that he does not make his subject the slave of his words, but makes the words conform to the subject', Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1).[59] However, I have expressed the opinion that Dionysius could have come across this motto of Cato's in Rome, and particularly in the Ciceronian environment of the Aelii Tuberones.[60] As for the argument of this paper, we must ask why Horace, and not Cato, is more quoted by Quintilian. Quintilian quotes Cato twenty times but considers the censor a hard, archaic writer from the stylistic point of view. For example, he writes:

> Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: unum, *ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit; fient enim horridi atque ieiuni*: nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequentur et elocutione, quae tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena est, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis viris videbuntur.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 2.5.21; cf. 12.10.45)
>
> There are two faults of taste against which boys should be guarded with utmost care. Firstly *no teacher suffering from an excessive admiration of antiquity, should be allowed to cramp their minds by the study of Cato and the Gracchi and other similar orators. For such reading will give them a harsh and bloodless style*, since they will as yet be unable to understand the force and vigour of these authors, and contenting themselves with a style which doubtless was admirable in its day, but is quite unsuitable to ours, will come to think (and nothing could be more fatal) that they really resemble great men.

Nor does Quintilian forget the epigram about Sallust being branded as Cato's imitator or even as Cato's robber:

> Nec minus noto *Sallustius* epigrammate incessitur: Et verba *antiqui* multum *furate Catonis*, / *Crispe*, Iugurthinae conditor historiae.[61]
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.29f.)
>
> The epigram against *Sallust* is scarcely less well known: '*Crispus*, you, too, Jugurtha'*s* fall who told, / And *filched* such store of words from *Cato old*'.

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[59] Tr. S. Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Critical Essays* 1 (Cambridge, Mass./London 1974) 29.

[60] Cf. G. Calboli, *M. Porci Catonis Oratio pro Rhodiensibus* (Bologna 1978) 25.

[61] In fact, Quintilian's criticism is concerned with the use of archaic words, as Cousin [13] 68 has rightly pointed out: 'parce que celui qui est passionné pour les archaïsmes n'adaptera pas les mots aux idées'.

In spite of the confused observations of Seel[62] about Quintilian's attitude towards archaism and, in particular, Sallust, it is beyond doubt that Quintilian utterly dislikes archaism and, certainly, Cato's archaic style, which explains why he prefers Horace to Cato. In this respect Seel is right in saying[63] that Quintilian is 'mehr fast noch als "Ciceronianer", zugleich überzeugter Horatianer'. Moreover, Cato is not only, in Quintilian's view, the author most loved by the archaists, but even by those archaists who dislike and attack his ideal, Cicero. This standpoint is expressed quite clearly by Quintilian: *Quo modo potest probare Ciceronem, qui nihil putet ex Catone Gracchisque mutandum?* ('How can we give our approval to Cicero, if we think no change should be made from the methods of Cato and the Gracchi?', *Inst.* 8.5.33). A kind of confirmation of this may be found in the peculiar fact that Cato is not included in Quintilian's list of Roman orators (*Inst.* 10.1.105-22). Nevertheless, this doesn't mean that Quintilian disregards the political, human and rhetorical significance of Cato. It is enough to consider:

> Sit ergo nobis orator quem constituimus is qui a *M. Catone finitur vir bonus dicendi peritus.*[64]
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 12.1.1)
>
> The orator, then, whom I am concerned to form, shall be the orator *as defined by Marcus Cato, 'a good man, skilled in speaking'.*
>
> Verum et M. Cato cum in dicendo praestantissimus, tum iuris fuit peritissimus.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 12.3.9)
>
> But Marcus Cato was at once a great orator and an expert lawyer.
>
> Non Scipio, Laelius, Cato in loquendo velut Attici Romanorum fuerunt?
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.39)
>
> Were not Scipio, Laelius and Cato the Attic orators of Rome?
>
> M. igitur Cato, idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem *orator*, idem *historiae conditor*, idem iuris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 12.11.23)
>
> Marcus Cato was at once a great general, a philosopher, *orator*, *historian*, and an expert both in law and agriculture.

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[62] Seel [39] 96-113.

[63] Seel [39] 108.

[64] On Cato's and Quintilian's *vir bonus* ('good man') cf. C. J. Classen, 'Der Aufbau des zwölften Buches der *Institutio Oratoria* Quintilians', *MH* 22 (1965) 181-90; Calboli [60] 15-22; and Cousin, *Quintilien: Institution Oratoire* 7 (Paris 1980) 7-10, 148-51.

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Moreover, this is the opinion of Cicero himself.[65] It seems rather that in his last book Quintilian tries to tone down the stylistic polemic against Cato but, long before the twelfth book—in book one, in fact—he already prefers Horace to Cato. At this point we should ask why Quintilian, who dislikes the archaists and archaic authors as he does, expresses some reservations about Horace's censure of Lucilius. The answer may be simple: after saying *satura tota nostra est* ('Satire is all our own', 10.1.93) it would be strange completely to denigrate its founder, Lucilius.

I haven't space to discuss all the other quotations of Horace by Quintilian[66] and I wish only to recall the allegory of the ship (Hor. *Carm.* 1.14):

> *Allegoria*, quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit aut etiam interim contrarium. Prius fit genus plerumque continuatis translationibus, ut: *O* navis, *referent in mare te novi / fluctus; o quid agis? / fortiter occupa / portum*, totusque ille Horatii locus, *quo navem pro republica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia* dicit.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.44)
>
> *Allegory*, which is translated in Latin by *inversio*, either presents one thing in words and another in meaning, or else something absolutely opposed to the meaning of the words. The first type is generally produced by a series of metaphors. Take as an example: 'O *ship*, new waves will bear thee back to sea. / What dost thou? Make the haven, come what may,' and the rest of the ode, in which Horace represents *the state under the semblance of a ship, the civil wars as floods and tempests, and peace and good will as the haven.*

All data about this ode are reported by Nisbet and Hubbard,[67] who have proposed the possibility 'that Maecenas mentioned the Ship in some pamphlet which has influenced both Horace and Dio'.[68] Quintilian tells us that by his time an allegorical interpretation of this ship was commonplace

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[65] Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 65f. as well as Calboli [60] 40-98.

[66] I would cite at least the following passages in order to complete the list of Horace's passages quoted by Quintilian (cf. the Index to Winterbottom [1] 757): Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13 (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.27); *Carm.* 1.12.1f. (8.2.9); *Carm.* 1.12.40f. (9.3.18); *Carm.* 1.15.24f. (9.3.10); *Carm.* 3.6.36 (8.2.9); *Carm.* 4.2.11f. (9.4.54); *Sat.* 1.1.100 (9.4.65); *Sat.* 1.6.104 (1.5.57); *Sat.* 2.6.83f. (9.3.17); *Ep.* 1.5.23 (11.3.80); *Ep.* 2.1.192 (1.5.57); *Ars* 388 (*Ep. Tryph.* 2); *Ars* 402 (10.1.56).

[67] R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes* 1^2 (Oxford 1975) 178-88.

[68] Nisbet and Hubbard [67] 181.

(*navem pro republica*, 'the state under the semblance of a ship').[69] However, this is an allegory which appears in poetry from Alcaeus (326) and Theognis (671ff.) to Dante ('Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello, / nave sanza nocchiere in gran tempesta', *Purg.* 6.76f.), and Quintilian makes his own contribution to the circulation of this splendid allegory of 'government'. We can find a basis for the familiarity with Horace demonstrated by Quintilian if we accept the hypothesis of E. Fraenkel[70] that Quintilian learned 'as a schoolboy or a young man' what he is pointing out about this ode 'from the lips of his teacher or from a commentary': Quintilian's love for Horace (*nisi labor eius amore*, 'unless my judgement is led astray by my affection for his work', Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.94) is an old love based on childhood memory.

There are other quotations of Horace by Quintilian at *Institutio Oratoria* 9.3.10 (Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.24f.), and at *Institutio Oratoria* 9.4.54 (Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.11f.), where Quintilian combines the authorities of Cicero, Vergil (*Ecl.* 9.45) and Horace to demonstrate the importance of the *numeri* ('metres') and the ῥυθμοί ('rhythms').

In conclusion: what is Quintilian's attitude towards Horace on the whole? And what is the importance of the poet for the *rhetor* and of the *rhetor* for the *Fortleben* of the poet? It seems to me that the significance of Horace as a source of material and examples, although of some account, is negligible in comparison with the importance Quintilian attributes to Horace's judgement and critical opinion. Quintilian is influenced by the poet many times and feels him very close to his stylistic taste. This view is confirmed by the fact that sometimes Horace's opinion is quoted alongside Cicero's and Vergil's very similar or even identical opinions (*Inst.* 1.5.57, 8.3.20, 9.4.54, 10.1.24). It is true that Quintilian sometimes criticises Horace, but on very important matters he follows the poet even though Horace said explicitly enough[71] that he didn't want to go into the schools like Vergil.

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[69] Therefore it seems useless to attempt to single out this ship, as Kukula does in one of a few articles dedicated to Quintilian's quotations of Horace (R. C. Kukula, 'Quintilians Interpretation von Horaz' *Carm.* 1.14', *WS* 34 [1912] 237-45). He tries to identify the Ship of State as the flagship of Octavian in the *Bellum Actiacum*.

[70] E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 154.

[71] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.74f.: *an tua demens / vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?* ('What, would you be so foolish as to want your poems dictated in common schools?'); *Epist.* 1.20.17f.: *hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem / occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus* ('This fate, too, awaits you, that stammering age will come upon you as you teach boys their ABC in the city's outskirts'), and the commentary on *Sat.* 1.10.74f. by

Therefore we can say that Quintilian, by going to the poet for critical and stylistic guidance, employs Horace's poetry in a way which Horace would have liked. As for the *Fortleben* of Horace, Quintilian uses an epigrammatic approach which depends on the technique of quotation itself, even though he doesn't admire the *sententiae* like Pliny the Younger and, later, Marcus Aurelius and Fronto.[72]

Fraenkel [70] 359: 'The prophecy concludes with the announcement of this ultimate humiliation: *hoc quoque te manet* . . .'.

[72] Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.2, 5.11.20, 8.3.20, 9.3.10, 9.3.65, 10.1.63, 10.1.94. As for Pliny and Fronto cf. G. Calboli, 'Nota di Aggiornamento', in E. Norden, *La Prosa d'Arte Antica* (Rome 1986) 1145-49.

CLAUDIUS' RECOGNITION OF THE MEDICINAL PROPERTIES OF THE YEW TREE

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Abstract. Claudius was much maligned and ridiculed by some ancient authors, among them Suetonius, for what they deemed to be his pedantry and his gratuitous and tiresome advice on various, seemingly trivial, subjects. Modern science has now vindicated at least one of the pronouncements issued by him—that concerning the medicinal value of the yew tree.

Since the dawn of civilisation the yew has been feared, venerated and prized as a tree whose various attributes contributed to its reputation for usefulness, besides surrounding it with a mysterious aura. It was regarded as highly noxious, but also sacred, as well as functional. Known to be harmful because of its poisonous quality (Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 3.10.2), it was nonetheless deemed valuable on account of the durability of its wood, which was widely used for making votive objects, tools and weapons (Paus. 8.17.2, Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.7.6, Verg. *G.* 2.448).

To the ancient Greeks and Romans the yew was a tree of ominous portent, the symbol of death, mourning and the gods of the underworld. Pliny the Elder describes its appearance as gloomy and terrifying (*HN* 16.50), while, according to Ovid, dismal yew trees mark the entrance to the nether regions (*Met.* 4.432; cf. Lucan 6.642). The foliage of the yew seems to have been generally associated with mourning the dead, and at Rome, when black bulls were sacrificed to Hecate, the goddess linked to the world of Shades, yew wreaths were placed on the animals' foreheads (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.777).[1]

That the early Christians perpetuated the myth of the yew as the 'tree of death' can be deduced from the fact that, in Britain and parts of continental Europe, yew trees are still associated with churchyards and cemeteries,[2] many being significantly older than the original church building on the site.[3]

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[1] See also R. Graves, *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth* (London 1961) 193.

[2] P. Flobert, 'Lugdunum: Une Étymologie gauloise de l'empereur Claude (Sénèque *Apoc.* 7.2.9f.)', *REL* 46 (1968) 266.

[3] J. H. Wilks, *Trees of the British Isles in History and Legend* (London 1972) 96.

One example is the ancient and world-famous Fortingall yew tree in Perthshire, said to be over 3 000 years old.[4] The yew's dismal funereal image was further perpetuated in literature, for example, Shakespeare refers to it in *Romeo and Juliet* (5.3), as well as in *Twelfth Night* (2.4).

The lethal reputation of the tree was augmented by the fact that the flexibility of its branches made it eminently suitable for making bows (Verg. *G.* 2.448), while the poison contained in its berries was used for smearing the tips of arrows.[5] It is likely, therefore, that the Latin word for yew, *taxus*, is linked to *toxon*, the Greek word for bow,[6] as well as to *toxin*, the internationally used modern term for poison. As Pliny pointed out:

> Sunt qui et taxica hinc appellata dicant venena quae nunc toxica dicimus, quibus sagittae tinguantur.
>
> (*HN* 16.51)
>
> Some people also say that this is why poisons were called 'taxic', which we now pronounce 'toxic', because arrows are smeared with them (*taxica* from *taxus*, a yew; *toxica* from *toxon*, a bow).

Although there is general agreement on the harmful nature of the yew, ancient sources differ regarding details. Theophrastus claims that if beasts of burden eat of its leaves they die, while ruminants do not, and that its fruit is harmless to man (*Hist. Pl.* 3.10.2). Pliny, on the other hand, insists that the berries of the yew hold a deadly poison which is so active that people who go to sleep beneath a yew-tree are in danger of losing their lives (*HN* 16.51; cf. Diosc. 4.79). Its flowers are dangerous to bees (Verg. *G.* 4.47), and even wine-flasks for travellers made of its wood in Gaul are known to have caused death (Pliny *HN* 16.51). Indeed, the very smoke of yew-wood was said to be fatal to mice (Pliny *HN* 24.116). We know today that all parts of the plant, except the aril, the bright red fleshy layer surrounding the seed, are highly poisonous and, in fact, even the powder produced when handling yew wood can be harmful to craftsmen.[7] Some modern authorities suggest, therefore,

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[4] Wilks [3] 101f.

[5] Wilks [3] 194.

[6] The name *Taxus Baccata* for the European yew is derived from the Latin word *taxus* ('yew') and related to the Greek word *toxon* (meaning 'bow' from the Indo-European root **teks*—artificial derivation); cf. G. Hegi, *Illustrierte Flora von Mitteleuropa* (Munich 1953) 112-15 and *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. *taxus*.

[7] B. Voliotis, 'Historical and Environmental Significance of the Yew (*Taxus Baccata L.*)', *Israel Journal of Botany* 35 (1986) 47.

that, whatever other reasons there may have been for siting yews in graveyards, there is a utilitarian one, namely that such places are unlikely to be frequented by browsing cattle or unaccompanied children, who might otherwise fall victim to the yew's poisonous properties.[8]

Used as an arrow poison by the Celts, its speedy effect and low lethal dose made the yew an inconspicuous poison for murder.[9] Furthermore, in Celtic lore the yew had a prominent place among the magical trees of the culture, and Druid religious rites were frequently performed in yew groves. Being one of the seven Chieftain trees, highly prized for its timber (used for household vessels, breastplates, and so on), under Brehon Law its unlawful felling carried severe penalties.[10] A whole succession of Celtic tribal and place-names is connected with this totem tree, the yew or *eburo(s)*.[11] Thus the suicide by yew poison of Catuvolcus, king of the Eburones, recounted by Caesar (*Gal.* 6.31.5), takes on a decidedly ritualistic aspect.

We know of Claudius' interest in a wide variety of topics, including the flora and fauna of different countries. Pliny quotes him (*HN* 12.78) in connection with a rare tree, the *bratus*, that resembles a cypress. Claudius is said to have praised it in his *Histories* as having marvellous properties. The Parthians added its leaves to their drinks, its scent resembled that of the cedar, and its smoke was an antidote against the effects of other woods. Judging by this passage, it is likely that, although not specifically cited, Claudius serves as a source for that part of Book 13 which concerns various species of exotic trees.[12] His interest in the distinctive features of trees is also attested by Suetonius in *Claudius* 16.4, where the biographer refers rather scoffingly to a seemingly bizarre edict published by the *princeps* during the time of his censorship, which states that 'yew-juice is sovereign against snake-bite'. This appears to be the very first ancient reference to the homoeopathic quality of the well-known poison, hitherto described only as

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[8] Bayard Hora (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Trees of the World* (Oxford University Press 1981) 108 col. 2.

[9] M. Hamburger, A. Marston and K. Hostettmann, 'Search for New Drugs of Plant Origin', *Advances in Drug Research* 20 (1991) 181.

[10] Hamburger, Marston and Hostettmann [9] 203.

[11] Flobert [2] 266.

[12] H. Bardon, *Les Empereurs et les Lettres latines, d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris 1968) 132-34.

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harmful.[13]

Claudius' eclectic erudition has certainly been amply validated in recent scholarship. Tradition may or may not have guided scientists to the valuable properties of the yew, but the fact remains that the first attempts to characterise its toxic principles were undertaken in the nineteenth century. As early as 1856, an alkaloid mixture named *taxine* was isolated from the *Taxus Baccata* or European yew.[14] While there was only limited interest in it from the time of its discovery until the late 1970s, there has since been an explosion of studies on the subject, and in the mid-1980s an Investigational New Drug Application was filed with the United States Food and Drug Administration, and intensive clinical trials were commenced.[15] On 1 January 1993[16] it was announced that *Taxol*, an alkaloid extracted from the bark of the *Taxus Brevifolia* or Pacific yew, had finally gained United States government approval as an anti-cancer drug.

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[13] Flobert [2] 266 conjectures that the edict may have had its origin in a recipe of Druidic medicine. I am grateful to Associate Professor Keith Cairncross of Macquarrie University, who drew my attention to the significant clue according to which certain types of snake venom interfere with blood coagulation as does *Taxol* (on which see below). He suggested that this would need to be tested.

[14] Hamburger, Marston and Hostettmann [9] 181.

[15] Arnold Brossi (ed.), *The Alkaloids: Chemistry and Pharmacology* (National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland) 25 (1985) 10, 18.

[16] *The Australian* (1 January 1993) 8 col. 8.

JUVENAL, *SATIRE* 12.81: *UBI EST 'IBI'*?

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Abstract. Juvenal's twelfth satire concerns the arrival of a storm-tossed ship at Ostia. One passenger, a Roman named Catullus, is given a lavish but traditional welcome. The foreign sailors, however, *gaudent ibi vertice raso*. Since they act like followers of Isis, *ibi* is perhaps the settlement at the Claudian port.

> ... gaudent ibi vertice raso
>
> Juvenal, *Sat.* 12.81
>
> ... they rejoice there, after shaving their heads

Several decades ago Ludwig Friedlaender charted the course that most of those who have commented upon *vertice raso* have taken by saying concisely, 'die aus Seegefahr Geretteten schoren das Haar'. In support of his conclusion Friedlaender cited 'Lucian. *Merc. Cond.* 1, Petron. 103, Nonius p. 528, Artemidor. 1.22'.[1] Some years later in regard to this line J. D. Duff wrote that the shaving of hair was the 'performance of a vow which was often made by those in peril at sea', and advised the reader to consult Petronius 103.[2] This passage describes passengers who decide to have their heads shaved while yet on board ship in order to conceal their identity. When a fellow-passenger notices their depilation, he shouts out a curse *quod imitaretur naufragorum ultimum votum* ('because it [depilation] seemed to be the last vow of shipwrecked persons'). To this John Ferguson added comments on Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.22, which describes the superstition among sailors that dreams involving shaved heads were forecasts of shipwreck.[3] In the most recent commentary on Juvenal, Edward Courtney suggested that the reader remember

[1] L. Friedlaender (ed.), *D. Junii Juvenalis Saturarum Libri V* (Leipzig 1895 [repr. Amsterdam 1962]) 518. For an analysis of the structure of *Satire* 12, see M. V. Ronnick, 'The Form and Purpose of Juvenal's Twelfth Satire', *Maia* 45 (1993) 7-10.

[2] J. D. Duff (ed.), *D. Junii Juvenalis Saturae XIV* (Cambridge 1925) 387. The text here used is that established by W. V. Clausen, *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1959). At 12.81 Clausen reads *ubi* ('where') and not *ibi* ('there') seen in the manuscripts PAFZ.

[3] J. Ferguson (ed.), *Juvenal: The Satires* (London 1979) 291f.

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the joy described by several ancient authors when a prolonged period of suffering comes to an end. He then fortified his comment that 'those saved from shipwreck shaved their heads as a vow of gratitude' by citing some sources on the role of hair in religion.[4]

What militates, however, against a greater level of specificity? For the clues Juvenal has left us about the probable religion of these surviving sailors go far to explain the sailors' actual behavior. Fifty-three lines earlier in this satire his narrator cries out *pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci* ('Who doesn't know that painters are fed by Isis', 28) before embarking upon an account of his friend Catullus' disaster at sea. Once the storm abates, the crippled ship with its frightened passengers floats into safe harbor passing *Tyrrhenamque pharon* ('the Tyrrhenian lighthouse', 76), whose name comes from the grandest of lights, the Pharos at Alexandria.

The city of Alexandria was home not only to sailors but also to Isis, called by Statius *regina Phari* ('queen of Pharos', *Silv.* 3.2.102). Because Juvenal's allusions to Isis and his knowledge of Egypt in general are not limited to this poem,[5] and because Juvenal has taken pains in this satire to juxtapose pious Roman religious practice (1-16, 83-92) with its contrary (93-130), I here suggest that *ibi* ('there', 81) in this satire is a temple of Isis at Ostia.

Juvenal's mention of Isis, as Ferguson notes, conveys 'strong sarcasm'.[6] The three Flavian emperors were well acquainted with the rituals of Isis.[7] Immoderately influenced, however, was Domitian, who 'thought of himself as the incarnation of Isis' consort'.[8] What better way for Juvenal to distinguish solid Roman citizens, like his friend Catullus, from foreign-born seafarers and a paranoid emperor than to draw attention to their strange religious rites? And one rite peculiar to the votaries and priests of Isis was the removal of their hair (cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 3f.). Furthermore, a special type of square-rigged cargo carrier known as the *Isis Giminiana* could well have been the poem's ill-fated vessel.[9]

While no temple of Isis has actually been excavated in Ostia proper, inscriptions indicate that she had a temple located on or near the river west of the

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[4] E. Courtney (ed.), *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980) 526f.

[5] For Juvenal's references to Isis, see 6.489, 6.529-34, 8.29, 9.22. For his treatment of Egypt, see 1.26, 1.130, 6.83, 11.125, 15 *passim*.

[6] Ferguson [3] 289 n. 28.

[7] R. E. Witt, *Isis In the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, New York 1971) 23, 51, 191, 196, 247.

[8] Witt [7] 86, 233f.

[9] R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1973) 294f.

town's center.[10] Nevertheless, it is not there, but at a little settlement some two miles away at the Claudian port that our sailors would actually have disembarked, a place where the most influential cults were, in the words of Russell Meiggs, 'those of Egypt'.[11]

Inscriptions, as well as a statue of Isis Pharia, found at the site bear silent witness today to what must have been scenes of clamorous jubilation. There sailors like those in this poem paid immediate homage at the temple of Isis ad Portum, the savior of seafarers, and then *garrula securi narrare pericula [nautae]* ('safely chattered away about their recent peril', 82).[12] Citizen Catullus, however, with his hair unshorn, was treated by Juvenal's narrator to a pious Roman thanksgiving with rites first performed in public for the members of the Capitoline triad, and then in private for the household divinities (1-16, 83-92).

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[10] Meiggs [9] 368-70, 388, 590.

[11] Meiggs [9] 161, 387.

[12] For information on the archaeological finds at the Claudian Harbor, consult Meiggs [9] 388, 590f.

WHY CLASSICS TODAY—AND TOMORROW?

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Abstract. The author, a Classicist from Japan resident in England, considers how Classics can be promoted and the teaching of Classics justified in the modern world.

Why Classics? When people find out that I am from Japan and am teaching Classics in London, I tend to be asked questions like these: 'How did you get interested in Classics?' and 'Why don't you teach Japanese instead?' The underlying message seems to be 'Classics has nothing to do with the Japanese', and 'Classics is a declining subject of little use, whereas Japanese is a useful business language which many people want to learn'. Such reactions are understandable, and in fact quite common, even among Classical colleagues themselves.

My reasons for doing Classics are primarily personal: I find the culture of ancient Greece fascinating, and Greek and Latin more challenging than my mother tongue. But as I have encountered the same questions and the same attitudes so many times, I have come to think more seriously about the subject and about more universal justifications for Classical education in today's world. It is all right for me to say that I do it because I like it, but how can I justify introducing young people into the subject when the majority of Westerners no longer seem to acknowledge its value? Even if we do acknowledge its old-fashioned value for Westerners, what about for people outside the West?

The answer seems obvious to me, and I will be surprised if it is not regarded as common sense. Classics is the basis of Western ways of thinking in which we *all* take part today. Whether we are born into a 'Western' culture, or into a 'non-Western' culture which has just begun to introduce Western science, technology and political systems (e.g., democracy and socialism), we are now all 'Westerners' in one way or another. For those who grow up outside the traditional sphere of the 'West', it is an urgent task to learn about this Trojan horse called Western civilization. We have let it into our culture by breaching our defence of isolation, without fully understanding the dangers and potentials it contains. Beware of Greeks bearing gifts!

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[1] Dr Yamagata is the author of *Homeric Morality* (Leiden 1994).

This warning, of course, applies also to the 'Westerners'. By adopting ancient Greece and Rome as its spiritual ancestors, the Western civilization has inherited their limitations and problems as well as their blessings. In order for the Westerners to know themselves, and for us outsiders to know our Western neighbours and rivals, and for us all to know what sort of tools we are borrowing from the Greeks and Romans, we all must study Classics. Precisely because of the acuteness of global problems brought about by Western thinking, we ought to be studying Classics more vigorously than ever. In particular, those who educate the citizens of tomorrow's world, parents and teachers alike, need to have a clear, objective view of the origins of Western thinking, which dominates the world today in the forms of science, technology, politics, history, philosophy, religion, arts, literature and many other things. To study Classics, in other words, is to understand why we think the way we do.

Of course, the case for Classical education will be further strengthened by giving traditional and more positive reasons for studying Classics—the richness and variety of human activities captured in literature, artefacts and architecture, the joy of encountering many fine minds (just as in any other of the world's 'classics'), the educational advantage of learning languages which are radically different from one's own, and so on. This, however, I trust is being done everywhere by Classical colleagues, and I merely wish to add my non-Western perspective to an already strong case.

REVIEW ARTICLES

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SEXUALITY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK ROMANCES

David Konstan, *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pp. xiii + 270. ISBN 0-691-03341-2. US$35.00.

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Later Greek literature is enjoying a great revival of interest these days. Particular attention is being paid to the Greek novels, the long prose fiction texts with romantic plots that were written in the early centuries of our era. Five of these survive intact (Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Story*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Story*). In Photius' *Library* there are lengthy summaries of two more novels by Antonius Diogenes and Iamblichus. Additionally, there are numerous papyrological remains.

The five survivors are remarkably homogeneous in their basic storyline. In these 'ideal' novels a young couple from an élite background fall madly in love and undergo adventures leading to or in the context of marriage. The setting is at some definite or vague time in the past but before Roman control of the Greek world. Although most of the novelistic fragments are very short, the majority do not obviously depart from the 'ideal' formula. The summaries also contain the standard features, though with important differences. Nevertheless, while other types of long prose fiction texts were written at this time (the bawdy *Ass* story, which survives as an epitome and in the version of Apuleius, being a prime example), the dominant popularity of the 'ideal' type cannot be questioned on present evidence. The novels show considerable differences in the skill with which their plots are developed; but their shared features permit and encourage us to study them together. The most interesting of these is one previously unknown in literature: the portrayal of a reciprocal love which is mutually satisfying to male and female.

Konstan's contribution to the study of these texts is an important one. His thesis is that the portrayal of love (ἔρως) in the surviving novels (he discounts—or

neglects—the fragments and summaries; cf. p. 76 n. 39) is radically different from what we find in other literary genres. This is not new; but the thoroughness of the investigation and the (usually) judicious choice of examples, from the novels and from other types of literature, make his work an advance. Despite the odd noise to the contrary, he is not interested in *why* love is different in these stories, but is content simply to demonstrate that it is so.

This demonstration is admirably carried out in the first two chapters. In chapter one Konstan makes important observations about the consequences of the heroes' mutual devotion. This explains what is often held to be their inability to act decisively. Since it is a spiritual rather than a physical matter, it even allows them—under particular circumstances—to have sex with others (though female heroes must remain virgin till marriage, and in Heliodorus at least the male hero's virginity is as important as the female's). It also differentiates the heroes from secondary characters, for, though ἔρως motivates others as well, only the protagonists know it as part of a deep, enduring relationship. In chapter two Konstan analyses how Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Heliodorus, and Longus preserve this reciprocal feeling during the heroes' many trials.

In the remainder of the book Konstan explores the asymmetrical erotic relationships of the so-called Roman novels (chapter three: Petronius, Apuleius, and the fairy-tale *Apollonius King of Tyre*), examines earlier (Greek) literary genres to the same end (chapter four), makes comparisons with a somewhat odd selection of medieval and modern tales of love (chapter five), and finally offers as a 'Conclusion' an appendix of thoughts on the novel and society. The bibliography is full and useful (though note *inter alia* the mysterious 'sherman-White' [cf. p. 112 n. 23] and the absence of Carter 1978 [p. 4 n. 8] and Cancik 1985 [p. 80 n. 46]).

To assess his weaknesses and strengths, Konstan must be situated within scholarly trends, especially with regard to the crucial question of the origin of the Greek novel. There have been two main approaches here. Many scholars in the past (Rohde, Schwartz and Lavagnini being the most prominent)[1] have been interested in the novel's literary pedigree, that is, in determining what genres of earlier literature the novel subsumed and how it reproduced them. Scobie's researches on folklore and Anderson's imaginings on Near Eastern literature are really part of the same school.[2] Even an excellent modern literary study such as Fusillo's is heavily concerned with mimetic input.[3] Alternatively, enquiries have been made into the *appeal* of the new literature. In the earlier part of this century scholars such as

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[1] E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*[3] (Darmstadt 1914); E. Schwartz, *Fünf Vorträge über die griechischen Roman*[2] (Berlin 1943); B. Lavagnini, 'Alle origini del romanzo greco', *Annali della Scuola Norm. sup. di Pisa* 28 (1922) 9-104.

[2] A. Scobie, Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its Heritage (Meisenheim-am-Glan 1969); G. Anderson, Ancient Fiction: The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World (London 1984).

[3] M. Fusillo, *Il romanzo greco: Polifonia ed Eros* (Venice 1989).

Cumont and Festugière suggested that traditional religion was breaking down in the period of the early Empire, that people were no longer sure where they stood in society, and that cults arose to satisfy a feeling of rootlessness which was eventually assuaged by Christianity.[4] Dodds' *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge 1965) is a later development of the same logic. In this intellectual climate Kerényi put forward the idea in 1927 that the Greek novels represented versions of the myth of Isis and Osiris, an idea expanded by Merkelbach.[5] Complementary to the religious interpretation is the thesis advanced principally by Perry and Reardon that the novels' audience consisted of isolated individuals in a great Hellenistic conurbation like Alexandria.[6] These people read the novels as latter-day epics in prose, identifying with the heroes' woes and joys.

On one level Konstan reprises the question of literary form; but at the same time he excludes its significance by concentrating on how love is portrayed. He points out in chapter four that, unlike the novel, the genres of comedy, elegy, lyric/epigram, mime, pastoral, epic, and tragedy only show love as a relation of power, of inequality and asymmetry, of the hunter and the hunted. This picture accords with Foucault's analysis of sexual and connubial ethics in classical Greece in volume two of *The History of Sexuality*. Foucault is also Konstan's initial guide for the reciprocal passion of the novels. For in the third volume of *The History of Sexuality* is traced the change from the classical economy of marriage to the later, Stoic-led conception of marriage as a locus of mutual respect and harmony between man and wife, an idea that was fostered by male moralists and thinkers in the High Empire, and which was exemplified in what Foucault dubbed the 'new erotics' of the male novelists.[7] Here, however, Konstan then ignores most of Foucault's work or fails to understand its implications (cf. pp. 119f. on Dio Chrysostom's *Euboicus*, p. 219 on Plutarch's *Amatorius*).

Foucault's ideas have been very influential among classicists in recent years, especially in America. His focus in the 1970s on the workings of power at 'capillary' level explored techniques and styles of control; it made no difference if this was in the Gulag or the office (though male-female relations were never of interest). But Foucault always liked to pose as an historian and was perfectly aware

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[4] F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York 1956); A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (Berkeley 1954).

[5] K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religions-geschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen 1927); R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium* (Munich and Berlin 1962).

[6] B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-historical Account of their Origins* (Berkeley and London 1967); B. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des IIe et IIIe siècles après J.-C.* (Paris 1971).

[7] M. Foucault (tr. R. Hurley), *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An Introduction*, vol. 2: *The History of Pleasure*, vol. 3: *The Care of the Self* (London 1979-88).

of the effect of different social and political systems. This is certainly the case in *The History of Sexuality*, a project which sought to remedy the remarked absence of the self from Foucault's power-knowledge complex, and which began by sketching the invention of 'sexuality' and its deployment in the nineteenth century as a weapon of mass control. Volumes two and three of this work owe their life to the realisation that Western sexual ethics could not be discussed aside from Christianity and that Christian ethics grew out of the pre-Christian world. Power-knowledge was now pushed into the background. But as in other works, thought and the texts that contain it were not closed off from society, and the novel itself was firmly anchored to its period of production in the High Empire.

It is this aspect of Foucault's research that is unfortunately missing from Konstan, who ultimately remains curiously literary. When he does do some history in his 'Conclusion', he returns to the Perry-Reardon axis of the isolated individual, assisted by interesting (but unconvincing) modern work from the School of Anxiety on the history of the affections by Toohey. Bourgeois individuals find a place in Foucault's studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; but Foucault the student of the second century specifically warns against introducing them then (pp. 41-43 in Hurley's translation of volume three).

One of the reasons why Konstan is led into this error is that he makes no enquiry into the *readership* of the novels (cf. p. 5), which is to be located without doubt among the élite (as work by Bowie, Reeve, Stephens, and Wesseling demonstrates;[8] the problem of female readers is unresolved). Apart from invalidating his comparisons with 'Mills and Boone' (*sic*) and Harlequin romances (p. 211), reflection on ancient readers might have led him to wonder whether the close network of kinship and patronage that characterises the reign of the notables in the ancient city at this time really permits analogies with the 'transnational' individual of modern times (p. 227). For, good as this book is on its own ground, it ultimately fails to tell us why the Greek élite found it so rewarding to reinvent in the novel the age-old polarities of man and woman, town and country, Greek and non-Greek, in a universe so deliberately ignorant of the present.

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[8] E. Bowie, 'The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World', in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore and London 1994) 435-59; S. Stephens, 'Who Read Ancient Novels', in Tatum [8] 405-18; B. Wesseling, 'The Audience of the Ancient Novels', in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* 1 (Groningen 1988) 67-79; M. D. Reeve, 'Hiatus in the Greek Novelists', *CQ* 21 (1971) 514-39.

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A THEOLOGIAN IN POLITICS

T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1993. Pp. xviii + 343. ISBN 0-674-05067-3. US$59.95.

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Athanasius was one of the great survivors of the early Christian Church. Elected Bishop of Alexandria in 328, at an age young enough to provoke controversy over the legitimacy of his election, he died in office almost forty-five years later. In the interim he had suffered repeated exiles from his see, under no fewer than four emperors. This roller-coaster career was closely bound up with the ecclesiastical politics of the period, in which the secular authorities themselves were thoroughly entwined. It was a time of bitter dispute over a doctrinal matter which to non-Christians then as now must have seemed nit-picking, but which dominated the theological arena in the first decades of the Christian Empire. How was the relation between the three personal subjects in God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and particularly the first two of these, to be conceived and expressed? Some Christians—'Arians', to use the blanket term common to the fourth and the twentieth century, though recent scholarship has rightly emphasised its inadequacy—opted for formulations which implied the subordination of the Son to the Father. Others rejected this view, holding fast to the position taken at the Council of Nicaea in 325, which asserted the consubstantiality—in effect, the ontological equality—of Father and Son. In the vanguard of this group stood Athanasius, and it was above all on his firm defence of Nicene 'orthodoxy' in his life and writings that his lasting reputation was built.

In this book T. D. Barnes subjects Athanasius to the most rigorous scrutiny. His main aim is 'to use modern techniques of historical research to probe behind Athanasius' misrepresentations . . . in order to discover the true nature of the ecclesiastical history and the ecclesiastical politics of the fourth century' (p. ix). Gibbon's view of the Bishop of Alexandria as 'a high-minded and prudent leader of genius constantly assailed by the false accusations and ignoble machinations of dishonest and mean-spirited adversaries' (p. 2) is put to the test. By a close examination of key texts by Athanasius himself, and with regard to other evidence, Barnes re-draws this picture. In an earlier work the author represented Athanasius as a gangster, the leader of an ecclesiastical mafia in Alexandria, a depiction which

at least one scholar found hard to take.[1] To this image he now adds that of a man capable of extreme economy with the truth, suppressing and distorting facts as they suit his purpose. The general validity of this view must be assessed by others more intimately familiar than this reviewer with the primary material, and particularly the Athanasian documents themselves; but on the basis of Barnes' analysis it is hard to dispute that certain texts, above all the *History of the Arians*, give the matters with which they deal a slant which would win the admiration of any tabloid editor.

The volume possesses a thoroughly Barnesian character. Twenty chapters of densely packed text are supported by eleven appendices and eighty-four pages of endnotes. In addition to a good general index, there are indices of Athanasian texts, episcopal councils, and modern scholars referred to in the work; the last of these might more usefully have been omitted in favour of a proper bibliography, even one restricted to works specifically on Athanasius. Of the appendices, especially valuable is that which lists the attested movements of the emperors between 337 and 361, information essential if events of the period are to be plotted accurately. Another appendix sets out the date and place of each episcopal council at which a creed was promulgated or adopted between the same years. While this is of some assistance in guiding the reader through the welter of creeds and councils that are a feature of the period, a chronological list of the most important councils, with a summary of the key decisions reached in each case, would have spared this reader at any rate from repeatedly having to rummage through earlier pages in order to maintain a firm grasp of the sequence and development of events.

After an introductory first chapter, which sets the book in the context of the history of scholarship on Athanasius, and discusses the principal sources for the reconstruction of his career, the bulk of the main text follows a general chronological line from the beginning of Athanasius' life to its end. Barnes supplies a continuous narrative thread, but the focus of his attention is on individual documents, and in a sense the book has the character of a historical commentary on specific writings. It is in the detailed attention paid to these texts, and in the author's powers of deductive reasoning, that the book's strength is most apparent. Two examples will illustrate the point. Explicit indications fix Athanasius' three *Orations against the Arians* in the reign of the Emperor Constantius. But that spanned almost a quarter of a century. Can the date of composition be determined more precisely? Barnes observes (p. 54) that in this text the term ὁμοούσιος ('of the same substance', referring to the relationship between the Father and the Son) occurs only once, and that in a quasi-credal context. He deduces that this makes it unlikely in the extreme that the work was written—as some scholars have maintained—later than the early 350s, when ὁμοούσιος became the 'theological watchword' of the Nicene party and Athanasius can certainly be expected to have

[1] T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 1981) 230, on which see the review of R. van den Broek, *Mnemosyne* 39 (1986) 218-21 at 220f.

defended its use. A second skilful piece of deduction is employed to argue convincingly that Paul of Constantinople, like Athanasius and other orthodox exiles, was restored to his see by the western bishops at the Council of Serdica in 343, despite the absence of Paul's name from their synodical letter (p. 77). The fifth-century historian Socrates states explicitly that the council restored Paul. Is Socrates in error? No: the western bishops are maintaining a prudent and diplomatic silence. Paul, who had been deposed in 337 following a disputed election, had returned uncanonically to Constantinople after the death of Eusebius of Nicomedia in 341, provoking riots and the lynching of the general Hermogenes, before being expelled again. The eastern, 'Arian', bishops at Serdica denounced him. Paul's name is suppressed in the western synodical letter because his actions were incapable of being effectively defended even by his supporters. While not all Barnes' deductions carry this degree of conviction (his attempt to date the *Orations against the Arians* more precisely still, to 339 or 340, for example, seems to press the evidence to fit in with a preconceived idea[2]), the book leaves one in no doubt of its author's enviable gift for drawing inferences from unpromising material, and for connecting up disparate pieces of information in a constructive and imaginative way.

The combination of close attention to detail, commendable in itself, and the relatively narrow focus which the author has chosen, makes the book a hard read. At times Barnes seems unable to distinguish between the essential and the tangential, discussing to no useful purpose in the context the notion of Athanasius as a Copt (p. 13), or the textual transmission of the Greek Bible (p. 40). He displays, too, a wearying tendency to pile on the names of bit players in the drama. On p. 123, in the course of one paragraph, he lists by name no fewer than forty-five bishops mentioned by Athanasius in his *Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya*— fourteen of whom appear nowhere else in the book, while a further five crop up again only once. All this does is to clog the text and blur its contours.

The narrow focus, in turn, gives the book a degree of tunnel vision somewhat at variance with the impression created by the attractive dustjacket and a title that promises a wider angle on events. The author indeed seems a little out of touch with the response his work is likely to evoke in its readers. If his study has 'a certain logical affinity' with A. J. A. Symons' *The Quest for Corvo* (p. 2), the parallel is nonetheless misleading: *Athanasius and Constantius* is neither as readable as Symons' 'experiment in biography', nor, I fear, as intriguing. Even more remarkable is Barnes' concern that some readers may 'feel that too much of what I have written resembles a detective story more than a work of history' (p. ix). If any reader does pick up the book confusing T. D. Barnes with P. D. James, one

[2] It also escapes Barnes that 339 is in fact excluded by his argument in the second paragraph of p. 55 if Marcellus of Ancyra did not reach Rome until the spring of 340, as he maintains on p. 57.

may safely anticipate a rapid realisation of error.

Nevertheless, a broader perspective is not entirely lacking. Amid the subtleties of the theological arguments and formulas and the misrepresentations of Athanasius one gets glimpses of a real world of flesh and blood and human conflict. Our attention is drawn especially to the violence of the society in which the Bishop of Alexandria lived, which was all too often associated with religious differences. We read that the return of Marcellus of Ancyra to his see in 337 provoked fighting in the streets, the burning of houses, and assaults on clergy of the opposing faction (p. 56). In 344 or 345, when the praetorian prefect Philippus expelled Paul of Constantinople from his see and reinstated the 'Arian' Macedonius, riots ensued in which over three thousand people were killed (p. 86). In 360, a virgin in Alexandria who had concealed Athanasius was tortured by the secular authorities, anxious to capture him (pp. 121f.). Accusations of violence were hurled to and fro between Athanasius' party and his opponents throughout the period. If the truth, or the degree of truth, inherent in these accusations cannot always be accurately established, it is beyond question that thuggery was endemic on both sides.

The other, more important, theme of wider significance which stands out in the book is the intertwining of imperial and ecclesiastical politics. The most striking feature of Barnes' depiction of this relationship is his representation of the sons of Constantine, particularly Constantius, as being deeply interested and involved not just in the affairs of the Church, but in specifically theological matters. Yet the reasons for this involvement are left unexplored. Why was it that the emperors showed such concern for matters of Christian doctrine? Why did they not adopt the same policy as Valentinian I, who disclaimed any right to interfere in doctrinal issues? And why did they take the positions they did? There is no *prima facie* reason for thinking that they were motivated by a magnificent obsession with true belief, though an innocent reader might well suppose that that was the case. Again, was Constantius' involvement in ecclesiastical affairs actually as persistent and absorbing as Barnes would have it? Was the emperor, confronted with the usurpation of Magnentius, really 'determined to turn his attention back to ecclesiastical politics as soon as the impending civil war permitted' (p. 105)? As Barnes himself indicates (pp. 166f.), the fifth-century Church historians, and Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived through the period, give a very different impression. While Barnes draws attention to what seem to be serious omissions in Ammianus' record, he does not adequately explain them, and the apparent failure of the later historians to do justice to the relations between Constantius and the Church is not discussed at all. The discrepancies demand investigation.

Whatever criticisms can be levelled against this book, and for all its self-confessed idiosyncracy (p. x), it is a learned and important contribution to the study of the fourth century, certain to stimulate debate. Its assumptions and conclusions are unlikely to find favour with all historians of the period, but scholars will be forced to re-evaluate their views of Athanasius and of the relations between Church

and State in the Constantinian empire. It should be stressed, however, that this is very much a book for the specialist; those who are versed neither in the history of the fourth century nor in the doctrinal issues of the years after Nicaea will not find much to their use or liking here, save perhaps for the broader topics discussed briefly in cc. 18 and 19 (the discussion on pp. 168-73 of the boundaries between the Church and the emperor in ecclesiastical matters is particularly good). The book is splendidly produced by Harvard University Press; I found only a handful of typographical errors, most of them trivial. On p. 166 'eastern bishops' is surely an error for 'western bishops' (cf. pp. 115-17), and on p. 180 'forty-four years earlier' should read 'thirty-four years earlier'.

CICERO AS A LEGAL PHILOSOPHER

D. H. Van Zyl, *Cicero's Legal Philosophy.* Roodepoort: Deigma Publications, 1986. Pp. x + 116. ISBN 0-86984-645-0. R24 / *Justice and Equity in Cicero.* Pretoria and Cape Town: Academica Press, 1991. Pp. xi + 317. ISBN 0-86874-399-2. R88 / *Justice and Equity in Greek and Roman Legal Thought.* Pretoria and Cape Town: Academica Press, 1991. Pp. ix + 177. ISBN 0-86874-423-9. R66.

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D. H. Van Zyl is a Supreme Court justice and a prolific academic writer with interests ranging from modern South African law to Roman legal history. These works stem from his interest in legal philosophy in general and his admiration for Cicero in particular. As Van Zyl notes in his preface to *Cicero's Legal Philosophy,* there have been many studies devoted to 'Cicero the lawyer' and 'Cicero the philosopher', but there has also been a dearth of comprehensive studies devoted solely to Cicero's legal philosophy (i.e., studies which embrace all of Cicero's works, as opposed, e.g., to commentaries on *De Legibus*). Each of the works under consideration attempts to fill this void, with varying degrees of success and overlap.

Cicero's Legal Philosophy represents the author's first foray into this (perhaps surprisingly) untrodden ground. Van Zyl begins by acknowledging the two points which make up the current scholarly consensus about 'Cicero the philosopher': first, that he was eclectic and drew upon the teachings of many schools, and second, that he was not an original thinker. Van Zyl does not dispute these views but hopes to demonstrate that Cicero did make an important contribution to legal philosophy (p. 2). Unfortunately, in this work the author is not in control of his material and commits numerous 'sins' which are out of place in an academic monograph. The most glaring is Van Zyl's gushing admiration for Cicero which at

times is startlingly distracting. In the second chapter, for example, practically everyone who contributed, however fleetingly, to Cicero's development is designated as 'great' or 'famous', as if to suggest that Cicero's own 'greatness' and 'fame' were inevitable by association. Such admiration also leads to unsupported assumptions and favourable glossing over of events in Cicero's life, such as the suggestion that Cicero's so-called *peregrinatio academica* (79-77 BC) was not occasioned by the political implications of his defense of Sextus Roscius in 80 BC, but rather by a simple desire to further his own education (p. 5). Numerous other problems of this sort could be cited as well as numerous other problems in *Cicero's Legal Philosophy* in general, but they need not detain us here. The remaining chapters of the book are revisited, with much greater effect, in Van Zyl's second work.

Justice and Equity in Cicero is a revised version of Van Zyl's D.Litt. (Latin) thesis and represents a more scholarly approach to Cicero's legal philosophy. As with *Cicero's Legal Philosophy*, *Justice and Equity in Cicero* begins with a chapter devoted to Cicero's biography but the blatant admiration for Cicero and the concomitant unwarranted speculations are gone. Also as with the first book, Van Zyl tends towards a philological approach, but here the accompanying analysis is rather more satisfying. Five years of refinement have done much to clarify the subject in Van Zyl's mind. For example, the second chapter considers 'Cicero's Moral, Political, and Legal Philosophy as a Framework for his Thought on Justice and Equity' and represents a substantial reorganisation and rethinking of the initial sections of 'The Evolution of Cicero's Legal Philosophy' in *Cicero's Legal Philosophy*. The result of these and other changes is a generally good treatment of all aspects of 'Ciceronian' philosophy. Van Zyl goes on to give a thorough overview of Cicero's moral, political, and legal philosophy. A section devoted to the *Summum Bonum* demonstrates how and why Cicero rejected both the Epicurean and the Stoic definitions of this concept and instead opted for that of the New Academy. Cicero's eclectic nature is also seen in sections devoted to '*Honestum* and *Virtus*: the Cardinal Virtues', '*Humanitas*', 'Morality' and 'Religion'. Van Zyl argues that Cicero's moral philosophy was inextricably linked to his political philosophy and notions of an ideal state, primarily through the application of *virtus*. Similarly, Cicero's legal philosophy is shown to lean heavily upon his moral philosophy and Van Zyl deals with such important concepts as *ratio recta*, *lex*, and *ius* (including *ius gentium*, *ius civile*, *ius publicum*, and *ius privatum*) and how they relate to the notion of *natura*. In this analysis, Van Zyl is to be commended for not confining himself to the obvious works, such as remains of the *De Re Publica* and *De Legibus*, but including others such as *De Finibus*, *De Officiis*, and assorted letters and orations. Two chapters follow centering on what are likely the most important concepts in any discussion of legal philosophy: justice and equity. Van Zyl relates the term *iustitia* to numerous other philosophical terms, but suggests that Ciceronian *iustitia* simply embodied the phrase *suum cuique tribuere*, which

itself is traced back to Plato. Ciceronian *aequitas* is somewhat more difficult to summarise and it (and related phrases such as *aequum et bonum*) often seems synonymous with *iustitia* in theory, but in practical application is directed at mitigating the harsh aspects of the *strictum ius* (as seen, e.g., in the *Pro Caecina*). The work ends by briefly considering the various influences on Cicero's concepts of justice and equity, and Cicero's own influence on later thinkers.

Justice and Equity in Greek and Roman Legal Thought is intended to act as a supplement to, while at the same time being itself supplemented by, *Justice and Equity in Cicero*. As such, it cannot stand on its own, but does provide much background material to *Justice and Equity in Cicero*. There is nothing deep here: an introduction provides brief overviews of 'Greek Law and Legal Thought' (3 pages), 'Roman Law and Legal Thought' (6 pages), and a rather good overview of 'The Philosophical Foundations of Greek and Roman Legal Thought' (26 pages). This latter section examines notions of justice in the Presocratics, the Sophists and Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics, and 'Eclectics'. This is followed by a chapter devoted to 'Justice in Greek Legal Thought' which begins by considering the relationship between *Themis* and *Dike* in Hesiod, and subsequent discussions focus on *logos* and *nomos* in Anaximander, Pythagoras, and Heraclitus (which largely repeat sections of the introduction) and of *nomos* and *physis* in Protagoras and Socrates (which also add little). The nature of Platonic and Aristotelian justice is given fuller treatment. A chapter devoted to 'Justice in Roman Legal Thought' is little more than a summary of the third chapter of *Justice and Equity in Cicero*. The ensuing chapter attempts to find a legal-philosophical definition of equity in Plato's *Statesman* and *Laws* and concludes by making equity a companion of justice. A more clear presentation with the same conclusion comes from a brief look at Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Rhetoric*. The final chapter, devoted to 'Equity in Roman Thought' is, once again, little more than a summary of the fourth chapter of *Justice and Equity in Cicero*. A brief conclusion closes the work.

Of the three, *Justice and Equity in Cicero* comes closest to the author's original intent of giving Cicero's legal philosophy a full monographic treatment. It is an important contribution which expands and improves greatly upon Van Zyl's initial, often confusing effort, *Cicero's Legal Philosophy*. *Justice and Equity in Greek and Roman Legal Thought* is one more trip to a rapidly drying well, but does offer some useful background material to *Justice and Equity in Cicero*. Taken together, the two works do present a more than adequate overview of ancient legal philosophy in general.

THE POETICS OF DESIRE

Micaela Janan, '*When the Lamp is Shattered*': *Desire and Narrative in Catullus*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994. Pp. xviii + 204. ISBN 0-8093-1765-6. US$34.95.

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Catullus' erotic verse provides the earliest near-complete body of extant Western lyric poetry, a fascinating document of late Roman Republican life, and of the life, love(s) and hates of its author, Gaius Valerius Catullus. But it is difficult to read Catullus without a rising sense of frustration. A satisfactory linear reading of the text is nigh-impossible: a fragmented manuscript and an apparently jumbled sequence of poems make it hard for the reader to determine the dominant order of reading, or indeed at times to make even the most basic textual decisions, such as which poems are complete and which are fragments, or where one poem ends and another begins.[1] It is also difficult to achieve interpretative closure with respect to the person(a) of Catullus, whose ranging emotions and sexual identities strain an idealised view of him as a stable, unified individual.

In her preface Janan outlines her theoretical orientation. She announces her intention to construct a 'poetics of desire' out of ancient and modern theoretical discourses, those of Plato, Freud, and Lacan. All three saw the connection between ἔρως and the creative arts, and furthermore they share a theory of the divided and fragmentary nature of human consciousness. Building on this, Janan replaces the notion of reified author-persona with the more flexible model of 'subject', 'conceived not as a substance (like a stone), but as a site through which social, cultural, institutional and unconscious forces move' (p. x). She indicates that hers is to be a feminist critique by announcing her intention to valorise irrational elements and gaps in the text ('feminine' knowledge) over epistemological, 'masculine' certainty and by declaring that she will read Catullus' gender reversals and his fluctuating attitude to Lesbia as a deliberate challenge of his culture's fictional institutions of Man and Woman, an interrogation of the validity of a patriarchal

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[1] A. L. Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1934) represents the orthodox view that the present collection is the work of a posthumous editor, while more recent scholarship tends to favour a theory of Catullan editorship, as for instance that found in the works of T. P. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (Leicester 1969) and *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985). Either view can be substantiated with cogent arguments based on both internal and external evidence.

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value system during the breakdown of societal values and political institutions that was taking place towards the end of the first century BC.

In chapter 1, entitled 'From Plato to Freud to Lacan: A History of the Subject', Janan expounds her critical methodology in greater detail and poses a set of questions that she aims to answer in the rest of the book about the temporal and logical sequence of the Catullan text and the construction of the subjects that 'speak, act and love' therein. This introductory chapter needs a careful reading by those who are not already familiar with the tenets of Lacanian theory. But it is an effort that must be made in order to understand and appreciate fully the application of Janan's theoretical model that follows: unlike the text of Catullus, the text of Janan requires a strictly linear construction of meaning! Moving from Callimachean notions of the setting and crossing of aesthetic boundaries to Freudian-Lacanian theories of the constructing and transgressing of psychic boundaries, Janan proposes to plot a similar procedure in Catullus both in his poetics (in the wilful building and demolishing of sexual identities) and his subject-matter (in the making and breaking of limits on love and hate with regard to his mistress, Lesbia). For reasons of expediency, Janan applies her 'poetics of desire' to the Lesbia-cycle alone as the most complete account of a love affair in the Catullan corpus.

To construct such a poetics of desire, Janan has first to explain her own understanding of the terms 'desire', 'subject' and 'object', 'man' and 'woman' as applied to language and consciousness. In discussing her concept of the divided and desiring subject, Janan equates Plato's tripartite schema Reason-Spirit-Appetite, with Freud's Ego-Superego-Id, then with Lacan's Imaginary-Symbolic-Real. In Lacanian terms, the Symbolic realm of consciousness is that which perceives differences (like Male/Female, Self/Other) in order to define individual (fictional) identity. Language belongs to the Symbolic order, where one may resolve the paradox in Emile Benveniste's famous statement 'I am lying' by acknowledging the distinction between the speaking subject and the subject of the speech.[2] What is the object of every subject's desire? As a feminist, Janan has to replace Freud's key concept of the penis as the universal object of desire, (thus 'penis-envy' as the foundation of feminine subjectivity), with Lacan's notion of the 'phallus', the empty signifier of the actual object of desire, which, according to Lacan, is the impossible, unsatisfiable Desire of the Other—desire both to possess and to be desired by the Other, to be Absolute Subject, and thereby to achieve the fictive 'wholeness' of being ('we two are as one').[3]

Along with Lacan, Janan emphasises that temporal ordering of subjectivity is

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[2] E. Benveniste, 'Relationships of Person in the Verb' and 'The Nature of Pronouns', in *Problems in General Linguistics* (Coral Gables 1971) 195-204 and 217-22, respectively.

[3] The concept of the 'phallus' is a refinement of Freudian theory that many feminists do not, of course, find satisfactory, since the use of the phallus as primary signifier, even as a notional zero, inevitably involves a subordination of female sexuality.

performed by the subject retrospectively, so that gain/presence is preceded by loss/absence (or vice versa) only in logical sequence. Since desire is never completely satisfied, this process of gain and loss is endlessly repeated by the subject, in a desire to place something unified (a narrative chain of lesser signifiers, which Lacan calls *points de capiton*) between the Real void in being (called the Unary Signifier) and one's knowledge of the void.[4] And since the phallus (as non-object) can never be attained, the subject seeks to replace it with actual, substantial objects (*autres* in Lacanian terms), which serve to fulfil a temporary fantasy of wholeness. Finally, Janan addresses the relationship between Woman and epistemology. For Lacan the 'feminine' is an attitude towards knowledge rather than a biological category, a *position hors-sens*, outside clear epistemological, 'masculine' certainty, which subjects of either gender can assume at will. But as the anatomically female Other, Woman is also the guarantor of Man's identity, who, according to patriarchal myth, makes up conceptual wholeness for him, in the crude Imaginary confusion of penis with phallus.[5] And since, as negative Non-man, Woman is found to be lacking (because her desire is an enigma which exceeds signification in the Symbolic), this attempt to find unity in difference is doomed to failure, and thus to repetition: Woman is in fact a 'symptom' of man's fragmentary nature.[6] To this failure Lacan attributes the antagonism between the sexes. Woman is blamed for this lack of compatibility, this sexual nonrelation with man: thus she is perceived as either too bad for him (misogyny) or too good (idolatry). Yet this so-called 'hole in the Other', where erotic pleasure fails, is also the site of a bizarre, feminine *jouissance*,[7] a mania of divine possession, an ecstatic, irrational drive 'beyond the pleasure principle' into the dissolution of self in pain and death. What implications does this 'mass of critical theory' (p. 9) have for Janan's interpretation

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[4] Lacan calls this process of trying to construct wholeness *capitonnage* ('quilting'), because the subject, under pressure from the Unary Signifier, tries to 'button down' his / her desire in a legible whole, using 'charged' signifiers called *points de capiton* ('upholstery buttons'). This process is analogous to and includes connecting and punctuating words to make sentences. Janan uses Lacan's terminology throughout her book, when referring to this process of pinning desire onto various objects. Cf. Alan Sheridan (ed.), *Lacan: Écrits: A Selection* (New York 1977) 154.

[5] In this respect, Janan concurs with a Foucauldian Classicist such as David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York 1990), who insists that gender positions in ancient Greece and Rome should be seen in terms of the roles of penetrator and penetrated rather than those of the anatomically male and female.

[6] Freud's question 'Was will das Weib?' alludes to the failure of the phallus to signify Woman's desire. Cf. S. Freud, 'Analysis Terminable and Interminable' in J. Strachey (ed.), *S. Freud: Collected Works*, vol. 23 (London 1953-75) 250-53.

[7] This is Lacan's pun on the French word, with its dual senses of 'enjoyment' and 'orgasm'. Cf. Sheridan above [4] 315-24.

of the Catullan corpus? Mainly, she is concerned that her reader should adopt certain shifts in perspective. Firstly, there should be a shift away from regarding Catullus as a unitary person/persona to recognising him as a radically divided subject capable of presenting both 'feminine' and 'masculine' knowledge in his hermeneutic suspicion of the contemporary patriarchal discourse. Secondly, Janan advocates a shift away from examining wholeness in the text to analysing its basic discontinuity, since the very essence of desire is to disrupt order, both in the subject's consciousness and in his narrative. Thirdly, Janan proposes a move away from the attempt to construct a single narrative order to reading the Lesbia-affair, (as a progressive decline from love at the 'beginning' of the affair to hate at its 'end') to the acceptance of multiple, even contradictory, readings of the text, whereby Lesbia is simultaneously and continually portrayed as both Whore and Goddess, representative to Catullus (still after all a male of his time) of the unattainable female Object of desire. Since Janan believes that there is no definite plot sequence, she urges recombinatory (re)reading, so that each reader can find a subject and an order for his/her own reading. Far from arrogant in her approach, Janan does not reject previous critical readings of Catullus; indeed, she embraces them as 'unifying icons' (p. 43) vital to a plausible construction of semantic and temporal sequence while at the same time stressing their essentially provisional nature.

In chapter 2, entitled 'Poems One Through Eleven: A Fragmentary History of the Affair', Janan applies her methodology thus outlined to some of the first Lesbia poems in the corpus. Here she uses Todorov's narrative tropes of metaphor and metonymy as analogous to the Freudian functions of condensation and displacement, in order to show how the text simultaneously invites and frustrates the desire of the reader to make unified 'wholes' (metaphor/condensation) out of fragmentary and conflicting data (metonymy/displacement). The jokes and the irony (as fictive controls over desire) and the gender variations (such as the Atalanta-simile in poem 2 and the flower-simile in poem 11), at once conceal and reveal the ruptures in the fiction of a unified Catullus.

After briefly discussing poem 1 as programmatic in its Callimachean construction and transgression of aesthetic boundaries, Janan moves to an examination of poems 2-11 as a narrative laid out in a linear progression through stages of desire, from incipient interest through disappointment to revulsion. She provides a detailed analysis of poems 2 and 3, where a female *passer* is mockingly equated with the phallus (pure signifier of desire) and the binary opposition *dolor* / *iocari* illustrates the circular movement of desire (both in love and in poetry), which inevitably and repetitively returns to the impossibility of its own fulfilment. Janan then proceeds to show how the kiss-poems 5 and 7 display, in their proliferation of numbers, a fearful recognition of death (another Real) as the only way to achieve the number one, number of the Absolute Subject, a number possible only when all desire has been removed. Finally, she analyses poem 11 in terms of

its portrayal of the rapacious 'masculine' desire for conquest, both in the imperialist greed of Caesar and in the sexual greed of the adulterous Lesbia, both of whom are deluded by the Imaginary equation penis-phallus.

In chapter 3, entitled 'Poems Eleven and Fifty-one: Repetition and *Jouissance*', Janan reads these significant and connected poems (putative end and beginning of the affair) as two 'suspended moments in time' (p. 78), expressive of the repetitive oscillation between the two extremes of Man's conjectures of Woman (Whore/Goddess), a circularity that results from the continual failure to achieve unity between the sexes. Janan also points out the undeniable effect of feminine *jouissance* in poem 51, when Lesbia, in communion with the gods, is perceived as a mystified Other who defies the phallic certainty of the observer, Catullus. *Jouissance*, 'that terrifying, tantalising possibility of self-annihilation in the Other' (p. 67) opens a gap in the text before the end of the poem (where Catullus reverts to the safe enclave of male knowledge), and this troubles a 'logical' reading of the poem, breaking the endless repetition Man/Woman, and threatening with dissolution the boundary between Subject and Object.

In chapter 4, called 'The Epigrams: "I am Lying"', Janan analyses the epigrams concerning Lesbia in a combination of the reading strategies of the two previous chapters. Here metaphor returns as Lacanian *capitonnage*, as the divided subject, the 'agent-of-knowing', Catullus, makes vain repeated attempts to pin down the 'truth' of Lesbia's statements (she who is the 'object-of-knowing') in order that he may thereby construct his own identity. But the paradox 'I am lying' (as explicitly treated by Catullus in poems 70, 83, 85 and 92) reminds us that language divides the speaking subject from the subject of the speech, while the desire to know the enigmatic desire of Woman is bound to end in frustration.

When his desperate conjectures about Lesbia's desire fail to satisfy, Catullus lays the blame for the failure on Woman's 'lies' (see for example poem 75). He assumes Lesbia's desire to be limitless, while using the language of politics (with signifiers such as *foedus* and *amicitia*) to interpret and escape from his defeat (as in poems 76 and 109). Janan feels that the reader of the Catullan text faces the same problems as those of Catullus himself, who is the 'reader' of Lesbia-as-text: the desire for interpretative closure is always frustrated by the elusive nature of the Real.

In the fifth chapter, 'The *Carmina Maiora*: Hercules and the Engineering of Desire', Janan applies all the preceding reading patterns to that section of the Catullan corpus where recombinatory reading is not strictly speaking required, since here the received text dictates the order of reading. In this context, Janan examines the role of fantasy as a means of (fictively) exceeding the limits imposed on desire by the Symbolic, without the loss of subjectivity that inevitably follows.

First, she aligns Attis in poem 63 with the Catullus of poems 11 and 51, a subject who displays a similarly disturbed gender and the '*jouissance*-like disintegration of self in approaching what is divine' (p. 105). Then the disastrous

union between mortal Peleus and goddess Thetis of poem 64 is shown to parallel that of Catullus and Lesbia. Finally, Janan makes an extensive rereading of poem 68 (viewed from both unitarian and separatist perspectives) as the poet's most determined effort to use mythology (the story of Laodamia's love for Protesilaus) in order to reconstruct from memory a self-satisfying narrative of his love and loss of Lesbia, that is, to replace the human object with poetry in the endless 'circuit of desire'.

With poem 68, Janan demonstrates most cogently how the poetic imagination is fuelled by desire: the conflicting portraits of the faithful/faithless Lesbia can never be reconciled, or desire and the subject would both be erased, and along with them the need for writing (and reading) poetry. But Janan also shows how, on the plane of fantasy, this poem simultaneously realises the impossible dream of difference abolished without the obliteration of self: in the linked central similes, the figure of the cross-dressing semi-divine Hercules is Catullus' image of a god-like subject who does not depend on an object to construct his 'wholeness'. This is Catullus' brief culminating vision of creative and sexual autonomy, a subject 'super-male and feminine'.[8]

Janan ends her book on this firm note of sustained contradiction between masculine certainty (as the knowledge of irresolvable difference) and feminine *jouissance* (the fatal dream of a unified subjectivity). She insists that just like the desire of Catullus himself, the reader's desire, by evading satisfaction, invites repetition, so that the final message of Catullus' text—and Janan's own—is 'keep reading' (p. 142).

This is not a book for new readers of Catullus. Janan's selective, recombinatory approach is best appreciated by those who have grappled before with the difficulties of interpreting Catullus, and who have some prior knowledge of the critical tradition attached to poems such as poem 68. In addition, the relatively complex theoretical framework which Janan employs might keep her book off the undergraduate reading list. But for seasoned re-readers of Catullus, this book is a 'must': it provides an excellent example of the judicious use of contemporary literary theory applied to classical literature. Theory should illuminate a text and not obscure it: with theoretical tools fashioned out of psychoanalysis, narratology and postmodernism, Janan has built on the best of traditional and modern Catullan scholarship to produce an original interpretation that is both provocative and persuasive, a pleasure to (re)read.

[8] Janan takes this epithet from the title of Nicole Loraux's essay 'Herakles: The Super-male and the Feminine', in D. Halperin, John J. Winkler and Froma Zeitlin (edd.) *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in Ancient Greece* (Princeton 1990) 21-52.

REVIEWS

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

Jaś Elsner and Jamie Masters (edd.), *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History and Representation.* London: Duckworth, 1994. Pp. iv + 239, incl. 8 plates and 12 black and white illustrations. ISBN 0-7156-2479-2. UK£35.

The emperor Nero can be portrayed in various ways—as an anti-senatorial tyrant, artist-criminal, imperial populist, and the list could be extended indefinitely, but the negative assessments carry the day. Nero is the archetypal emperor who upset the apple cart of senatorial ethics by replacing glory on the battlefields or in rhetoric (Nero was the first emperor to use borrowed speech, as it were) with the glory of the stage. It is claimed by Suetonius that Nero's friendships and hatreds were based on the extent to which people showed appreciation for his singing (*Ner.* 25.3). In short, Nero is accused of mixing the public and the private. He was found behaving in front of an audience as Augustus had done behind closed doors during his lighter moments. Whereas this makes Augustus more human, it turns Nero into a démasqué of imperial behaviour.

The study of Nero is basically a source problem. The extant historical accounts are predominantly negative, whereas the literature of the period can best be dscribed as ambivalent. The book under review contains thirteen contributions on various aspects of Nero and his reign. One deals with Nero in Hollywood (Wyke), six with historical topics (Rubiés, Barton, Goddard, Edwards, Alcock, Elsner) and Neronian literature is the concern of the remainder (Gowers, Masters, Williams, Schiesaro, Yun Lee Too, Connors). In spite of differences in approach, the contributors share a certain predilection for concerning themselves with the image (or reflections) of Nero, and make very little effort to come closer to historical reality. Instead they repeatedly express their pessimism about ever getting to the 'real' Nero. In this respect it would have been salubrious to have had more contributions from historians in the field; they might have been able to salvage some of Nero's historical features. Still, the book has much to commend it. It takes the various strands of Nero's reign seriously, even though the authors do not lose sight of problems in evaluation. As the editors stress in their introduction (p. 7): '. . . in a world where the topsy-turvy is the normative mode of literary expression, we must beware of taking any text at face value'.

Looming in the background of Neronian politics is always the majestic figure of Augustus, the standard against whom every emperor was judged. Compared to

the first *princeps*, who seized power at the right time and established a 'mature' government, Nero can easily be accused of having arrived too soon and withering away too fast (Gowers, p. 133). Likewise, Neronian literati were always looking back to the Golden Age of literature under Augustus. Satirists like Persius and epicists like Lucan can be said to have shared their emperor's fate: showing promise, but burning themselves out before reaching maturity.

Without wishing to detract from the virtues of the other contributions I would like to single out three here for closer scrutiny: Goddard on Nero's gluttony and feasting, Alcock on his 'concert-tour' of Greece, and Edwards on the emperor's acting. Goddard is correct to emphasise that eating and drinking are the means through which Nero is accused of expressing his contempt for the upper orders, 'those men whom a good emperor would treat as his peers' (p. 75). Nero did not invite the upper classes to dine with him, and if he did, it was to poison them. At night he beat up senators returning from parties (parties that he, as a good emperor, should have been attending in person). It is, however, more questionable to argue that Nero's nocturnal passion for 'going to the other side of town' to frequent the taverns was a bid for plebeian popularity. The author's opinion is here influenced by stories of popular kings from other historical periods, who preferred to fraternise with their more humble subjects. Instead of being a distortion of Nero's good intentions, the stories of his behaviour are more consistent with that of young men disturbing the social order at night, as described by Apuleius (*Met.* 2. 18).

Alcock's reassessment of Nero's tour of Greece in AD 66-67 puts his behaviour in the context of the activities of his predecessors (Tiberius, Germanicus) and successor (Hadrian). In this way the accusations of eccentricity lose most of their sting. It cannot be denied that, because Nero's reign was conceived of as being generally bad, his trip to Greece was also described in the worst possible light. The emperor's avoidance of the two most important cities of Classical Greece has been unsatisfactorily explained by the sources. Alcock rejects matricidal guilt in connection with introduction into the Eleusinian Mysteries and Nero's alleged uneasiness about Sparta's Lycurgan régimes. By basing himself in part at the Roman colony at Corinth, 'the emperor encouraged a new conception of Greece: not as a land of the past, but as part of the imperial present' (p. 105). Needless to say, the project failed, just like the canal that Nero had wanted to dig across the isthmus.

Edwards lucidly discusses Roman prejudices against actors, and how performing on stage affected Nero's image as emperor. Nero's love for theatricality provided an obvious opportunity to cast his reign in terms of illusion and unreality. It is to be noted that in the accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio, Nero's acting is not confined to the stage: he is 'always playing a role—but never the right one' (that of emperor; p. 92). Furthermore, an emperor who managed to encourage the upper orders' latent love for amateur dramatics (in spite of the prejudices) undoubtedly upset the more traditional senators. Hence the condemnation in the

sources.

Altogether, this book deserves to be read by classicists and historians alike, whether their interest lies in Nero or in Neronian literature. The volume stimulates the rethinking of Neronian parameters and will form a solid basis for further research on the period in question. Finally, the book deserves praise for the way in which it has been produced: attractive presentation and cover, bibliography at the end of each chapter and few mistakes in reference (the reference at p. 116 to the temple of Didymaean Apollo at 'Ephesus' is a minor blemish).

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David A. Traill, *Excavating Schliemann: Collected Papers on Schliemann*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xiv + 278, incl. 25 illustrations. ISBN 1-55540-891-5. US$54.95.

Excavating Schliemann is a collection of twenty-one articles written over the last two decades by David A. Traill. All but two focus on the writings and personality of Heinrich Schliemann. They represent Traill's contribution to what he calls the 'current re-evaluation of Schliemann' (p. xiv).

The result of publishing, under one cover, articles written over a period of time for different audiences who might have to be informed about ongoing arguments—and about points already scored in the debate—is that the reader of *Excavating Schliemann* is faced with an irritating amount of repetition. The case for Schliemann's untruthfulness in his writings depends upon cumulative evidence assembled by Traill (and others). Only occasionally is an outright lie proved beyond all doubt. Hence the importance of one established fact that when Schliemann claimed his wife Sophia was present with him at Hisarlik in late May 1873 he was lying. In *Excavating Schliemann* this incident is mentioned in no fewer than ten chapters (1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21). Repetition of language used with reference to Schliemann is rife, and annoying. Examples include such expressions as 'mendacity', 'penchant for fraud and deceit', 'illicit intentions' and 'fraudulent reporting'. Also, in view of the costs of publication, it is surprising that footnotes with the very same information are repeated so often.

Traill's 'excavation' of the pre-archaeological stage of Schliemann's career is concerned with his stays in America (1850-52, 1865, 1868, 1869). Traill here had the opportunity to find local sources of information which he makes good use of in his discussion of Schliemann's divorce and the obtaining of his American citizenship. He is less successful where, for lack of information other than that given by Schliemann himself, he reconstructs a scenario. Although not the only one possible, it will inevitably be one unfavourable to Schliemann. This is well illustrated in the case of Schliemann's sudden departure from California in 1852

(chapter 4).

Traill's 'excavation' of Schliemann's archaeological writing centres mostly on the find at Hisarlik known as 'Priam's Treasure'. Again his most valuable work is where he has discovered previously unknown documents that allow him to trace the removal of objects from Turkey to Greece in June 1873 (chapter 12). Traill and Donald Easton, who has been one of Schliemann's supporters, after much argument in print, have by now reached something of a consensus regarding this 'Treasure'. But even if they are right that the 'Treasure' may have contained some pieces found before and after May 1873, Traill's latest attempt at identifying additions (chapter 16) fails to convince because it relies on poor descriptions and poor photographs of the relevant items. Further advances in this matter may have to await the production for inspection and, hopefully, testing, of gold jewellery, purportedly part of the 'Treasure' and now stored in Moscow.

What kind of a person Schliemann was is addressed briefly in chapter 9. Traill concludes that his character was 'tinged with psychopathy'. Yet the evidence he cites is slight and inconclusive. More information, especially regarding the emotional side of Schliemann's nature, can be gained from letters to his family and friends in Russia written in the 1860's, and from those sent to him by his brother Ernst during 1867.

Traill announces in chapter 20 that he is writing a biography of Schliemann. Now that he has established himself as a relentless critic of Schliemann, can we expect from him a biography that is fair? An historical Schliemann is wanted, warts and all, but a comprehensive biography has to contain more than a grudging admission of Schliemann's good qualities and achievements.

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Graham Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. Pp. xiii + 303. ISBN 0-415-09988-9. UK£37.50.

Radical denial of the past seems a less convincing stance today than it seemed in the 1950s and 60s. Then, decolonisation and the aftermath of two world wars brought an atmosphere of determination that things must never again be as they were. To look back was to invite the fate of Lot's wife. They were the years of the pop music charts—no trivial part of life, and the more definitive a feature because generated by the young. Allan Bloom in *The Closing of the American Mind* argued that music made more difference than television. Perhaps he was right. Presley, Dylan, the Beatles, Woodstock: these distilled their short era, its strengths and its weaknesses. Successful oldies format radio now plays that music to a huge audience. We have created a classical age.

Those same 1950s and 60s are pointed out in *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* as a low ebb in the evaluation of the work of the Imperial sophists. Graham Anderson (p. 241) quotes B.A. van Groningen: 'No effort was demanded of the audience; neither originality of thought nor sincerity of feeling was pursued or expected . . . There was no longer a link with life as it is; people let themselves be roused up into a state of insincere pathos, in which the roar of strong words had to drown the deficiencies and falsehoods of the contests.'[1] Directness and authenticity of the kind those post-war days responded to are almost never in evidence in the literature of the Second Sophistic. Few then read much of it; many of those who did found its conceits annoying.

Anderson in his book challenges the habits of thought which shaped these negative responses. The sophistic repertoire, he argues, represented a vital link with the past (p. 242); he asks for modification of the view of the Greeks of the early empire looking back 'with nostalgic self-awareness to the classical era' (p. 101) as a reaction against the political impotence of the present. So he insists early on (p. 8) that politics represented a real concern, whether or not *we* take local politics in Roman Greece seriously, the long economic boom of the second century combining with 'a resurgent sense of the past' (p. 4) to give Greekness a sheen which could fairly be thought impressive, even if its finer points would not all have seemed quite authentic to a visitor brought in from half a millennium before. A good, though brief, section in chapter 3 ('Communing with the Classics') defines the imaginary fifth-century location of the sophistic imagination, a fifth century 'relocated somewhere in the vicinity of the Trojan War' (p. 83): 'If we look at the broad peripheries of this world, we still find Herodotus' Scythians on one side and his Egyptians on the other; Alexander's Babylon and some sort of Indian wonderland enclose it to the east, the Pillars of Heracles to the west. The Homeric Olympus is above, the Homeric Underworld below; but the *Phaedrus* charioteer can take the soul at will from one to the other.'

Sympathetic response to texts combines with determination to keep the world in view; Anderson's manifesto (p. 11) is integrative: a *via media* between G.W. Bowersock,[2] who emphasised 'the tracing of career connexions in the widest sense', and B.P. Reardon,[3] who cast the Second Sophistic as 'primarily a literary phenomenon.' Hence a thematic progression, moving chapter by chapter from training and rhetorical exercises via Attic correctness, sophistic history, philosophy and description to the novel, paradoxography, humour, piety. A chapter of summary treats Dio Chrysostom's *Borystheniticus*, Lucian's *Navigium*, Apuleius'

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[1] B. A. van Groningen, 'General Literary Tendencies in the Second Century A.D.', *Mnemosyne* 4.18 (1965) 47.

[2] G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969).

[3] B. P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des IIe et IIIe siècles après J.-C.* (Paris 1971).

Apologia and Libanius' *First Oration*, drawing out contrasts and parallels: 'We do not have to look far for characteristic self-display, rhetorical over-indulgence and a measure of sheer conceit; but there is also conviction, real skill and not a little wit as well' (p. 233).

Anderson's *Second Sophistic* represents a step forward. A few emphases are open to question: the novel gets a slice of the attention which seems more in proportion to modern interests than to ancient priorities, and some readers will pause over the statement (p. 238) that 'it is perhaps on fiction that the Sophistic could be said to have left its most permanent mark'. Yet the book's achievement is its effective reassertion, *contra* van Groningen and the spirit of the postwar generation, of the link between rhetoric and real life in the Roman Empire. Fronto's letter to Marcus Aurelius on the Parthian War, to take one of Anderson's examples, is (contrary to first impression) about real life. 'Within the cultural parameters available, there is no need to assume that Marcus would have found such advice useless . . . Marcus might have been as reassured by this specious farrago as we should be depressed' (p. 119). People who spoke in those terms were the people who were listened to. The Roman Empire lived actively with a selection from its past and drew vigour from it over several centuries.

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Stephen M. Oberhelman, Van Kelly, Richard J. Golsan (edd.), *Epic and Epoch. Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre.* Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 1994. Pp. iii + 313. ISBN 0-89672-332-1. US$30.00.

Is it still possible to read and appreciate—let alone write—epic in the 20th century? Or is epic a 'fascist' genre, hopelessly compromised by its close association with monarchs and ruling élites? If epic is still to be read, how are we to do so? What are its connections with other genres such as history and the novel? These are the sorts of questions addressed by *Epic and Epoch*, a collection of essays by 16 scholars of Comparative Literature and of Classical, French, English, Hispanic, and Russian languages. The volume is the latest in a series of 'Studies in Comparative Literature' published by Texas Tech University Press.

For a book entitled *Epic and Epoch* the contents are strangely unbalanced. (It seems that the volume originated as proceedings of a symposium, and that the editors were constrained by the range of papers that was offered.) We have no fewer than four essays on the *Odyssey*, but none devoted to the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, which are touched on only in passing, in essays dealing with other subjects. And although the scope of the book is generous enough to include discussion of French and Spanish novels of the 19th century, no account is taken of Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Part One: The Ancient (Greek and Roman) Epic opens with a

conversational, rather slight piece by W. R. Johnson, in which he tries to dismantle 'what has come to seem a no longer very helpful literary bipolarity, that of oral epic/ written epic' (p. 25). Johnson argues for the literariness of Homer and the orality of Statius (in his *Achilleid*). I would certainly agree with his main thesis, but the matter needs a more detailed treatment than it can be given in a short essay.

The other four essays in *Part One* all deal with the *Odyssey*. Far the best of them is Sheila Murnaghan's 'Reading Penelope', a thought-provoking examination of the nature of a major female character in a text composed by a man for men. Finding indeterminacy of identity to be a major issue in the *Odyssey*, Murnaghan argues that it is dealt with in a gendered way. For male characters such as Odysseus and Telemachus the issue has to do with establishing an heroic role, while for the female characters (above all Penelope) 'indeterminacy . . . is cast in terms of what they are thinking, of their possible double-mindedness, and conceived of in terms that bear on male goals and male anxieties' (p. 84). A carefully written, nuanced piece, well worth reading.

Jenny Strauss Clay contributes a six-page discussion of the notion of *thelxis* ('enchantment') in the *Odyssey*, maintaining that the epic insists on the superiority of the *thelxis* of poetry over that of sex and drugs, as manipulated by figures such as Circe. Victoria Pedrick, in 'Eurycleia and Eurynome as Penelope's confidantes', tries to establish, on the basis of the Nurse scene in the *Hippolytus*, and the Dido-Anna episodes in the *Aeneid*, a typical scene in which a female confidante gives a noble woman bad advice. This sort of scene would have been known to Homer, and would help to explain aspects of the much-discussed passage in *Od.* 18 where Eurynome advises Penelope to beautify herself and appear before the suitors.

The thesis of Marylin A. Katz's essay, dealing with the recognition scenes in the *Odyssey*, is that a common pattern underlies most of them 'and that this pattern derives from the convergence of the paradigms of *nostos* ("homecoming") and *xenia* ("hospitality") . . .' (p. 50). I must confess to having lost confidence in the author's control over what she was writing when I read not once but twice in this essay the phrase 'precipitate(s) to the surface of the poem' (pp. 61 and 71).

Part Two: Post-Classical Epic through the Renaissance contains a diverse group of essays ranging from Dante to Milton. Of these, Mercedes Vaquero's essay on the 'Spanish Epic of Revolt' is a solid piece of specialised research (perhaps too specialised for a collection of this nature) on the social, geographical and historical context of the *Cantar de Fernán González* and the *Cantár de Bernardo del Carpio*. For a classicist almost entirely ignorant of this field it is fascinating to see that questions very similar to those encountered in early Greek epic arise here. Is the manner of composition oral or literate? And in a tradition where we have one great epic (*Cantar de Mio Cid*) and a number of lesser ones, are these latter simply derivative from the great one, or do all go back to an earlier (lost) tradition?

I enjoyed Ullrich Langer's essay, engagingly entitled 'Boring Epic in Early Modern France'. The genre had an enormous vogue (35 historical epics in the 16th

and 17th centuries alone), 'yet the French epics from this period are profoundly boring. Not only are they boring to us, but they were also boring to many contemporaries, and I have the suspicion that the most successful epic poets did not really believe in what they were doing, either' (p. 210). Langer's explanation of this phenomenon (p. 213): 'The epic was primarily a social gesture, intricately connected to the career of a famous poet, that is, a way of assuring patronage and of performing theoretical maneuvers' (like the Ph.D. in the 20th century?). The essay makes one think about the social role of many of the epics produced in antiquity.

In the final section of the book, *Epic in Post-Renaissance Literature*, the first essay is Allan H. Pasco's 'Toppling from Mount Olympus: The Romantic Hero'. This rather reactionary piece surveys the Romantic and realistic French novel of the 19th century, and declares that 'as God and gods were denied and ridiculed, as noble poetic forms and rhythms were mocked, all standards were called into question. Without the noble vehicles that had served to bear the ideal, the epic as previously understood had become impossible' (p. 245).

This is followed by one of the best essays of the collection, Reed Way Dassenbrock's 'Constructing a Larger *Iliad*: Ezra Pound and the Vicissitudes of Epic'. As Dassenbrock points out, 'In the history of the epic from Homer to Vergil to [the] Renaissance apologists of conquest, we can see the flattening out of ethical complexity in an increasing subordination to ideology' (p. 253). As the 20th century no longer glorifies war or colonisation, epic as a genre has come in for heavy criticism. Dassenbrock examines the paradox of Ezra Pound: admirer of Homer, tireless critic of an 'imperialist' Vergil, who eventually produces an 'epic', the *Cantos*, that resembles no classical model but rather the Renaissance ideal of epic as a storehouse of *exempla*. But 'Pound's epic is not a textbook for princes, it is a textbook for Fascists' (p. 261).

It is a great pity that Derek Walcott's magnificent poem, *Omeros*, (New York and London 1990) appeared too recently for Dassenbrock to be able to notice it. As the first epic to look at war and colonisation from the point of view of the subjugated, *Omeros* will surely force critics to reassess what the genre can mean in the late 20th century.

In 'Stalin and the Death of Epic: Mikhail Bakhtin, Nadezhda Mandelstam, Boris Pasternak', Frederick T. Griffiths and Stanley J. Rabinowitz pursue a related theme: the way in which the three authors of their title reacted to Stalinist authoritarianism. Bakhtin set up 'epic'—authoritarian, monolithic, élitist—as the antithesis of the 'novelistic'; but Griffiths and Rabinowitz argue that for 'epic' we should read 'socialist realism'. Pasternak, in *Doctor Zhivago*, 'recalls and revives another tradition wherein epic springs from the resistance to princes and tyrants' (p. 280). Mrs. Mandelstam opposes a 'discourse of truth' to Stalinist lies.

There is a scattering of trivial misprints through the volume; the worst are 'Penelop' in the running head to Pedrick's essay, and the ghost phrase (a by-

product of word-processing) 'Hence, we can see how Zárate in the novels of Sir Walter Scott' on pp. 300f. But the standard of the editing and of the essays themselves in *Epic and Epoch* is generally high—higher than is often the case with volumes of *Proceedings*. At the reasonable price of $30 the book is certainly worth acquiring for institutional libraries.

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William Thomas Wehrle, *The Satiric Voice: Program, Form and Meaning in Persius and Juvenal.* Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien 23. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992. Pp. 155. ISBN 3-487- 09613-7. DM32.80.

This book is full of many good things. Whether or not, however, the sum of these good things adds up to a totally satisfactory piece of work is another matter. It is an indication of this problem with the book that it took several attempts satisfactorily to engage with the work and, finally, the demands of an overdue deadline before the reviewer was able to complete an initial reading. The overwhelming impression was of something deriving from a splendid course of lectures on Persius and Juvenal to a far better than average university class.

The first question to ask is whether or not the treatment accorded the two authors in the one volume is either desirable or necessary. Wehrle himself is aware of this problem and in his introduction, where he deals honestly and sympathetically with his own problems with the more extreme forms of modern theory, he disavows any conscious effort at comparativism except where convenient and unavoidable (p. 1). Whereas, however, the comparisons which do inevitably arise are more than useful in the treatment of program and voice (although insufficient attention is paid to Persius' debt to Horace in these key areas) very little of significance is achieved through the parallel treatments in the nevertheless thoroughly researched sections on language and imagery.

Wehrle's treatment of the philosophical platforms of the two authors also seems inadequate, especially when he demonstrates, and has as his methodological base, a detailed reading and understanding of the texts. One is led to wonder whether the author is afflicted by the all too common tendency to underestimate the importance of the word-play possible between the everyday and philosophically technical use of language in the work of the Roman satirists.

The review is beginning to sound ungracious and excessively harsh, which is a great pity because this reviewer found many aspects of the book to be extraordinarily persuasive and was thereby required in particular to reassess many of his axiomatic assumptions regarding two of his favourite classical authors. Especially his understanding of two critically important poems, Persius *Satires* 5 and Juvenal *Satires* 3 was radically enhanced by Wehrle's explication of the satiric

voices utilised by the two authors in these poems. To identify Cornutus as the interlocutor of Persius in *Satire* 5 gives a far greater resonance to the work and, indeed, a greater immediacy and intimacy to the encomium in honour of Persius' mentor. Why, however, Wehrle is apparently unwilling to take the next and perhaps obvious step and draw a parallel between the relationship between Persius and Cornutus and Socrates and Alcibiades in *Satire* 4 is something of a mystery, given the tendency of Roman authors and their literary executors to ensure that one poem in a collection feeds off and adds to others juxtaposed with it.

Regarding Juvenal *Satires* 3, Wehrle's arguments about the presentation of Umbricius as a less than totally favourable spokesperson for the very morality that he and his ilk had allowed to degenerate, it must be confessed that this reviewer was moved from downright scepticism to a grudging acceptance. Wehrle's discussion of the meaning of Umbricius' name as indicating a character less than totally real, a 'shadow', as it were, was most convincing, especially for someone who has himself argued that Ofellus ('Tit-Bit') is a less than complimentary name for the spokesperson of traditional Italian morality in Horace *Satires* 2.2.[1] Having said that, however, Wehrle is not generous in attributing to Horace all or even some of the pervasive influence on the satires of Persius which is clearly evidenced by the text. The implicit debt to Horace goes far beyond Persius' explicit placing of himself in the satirical tradition of Horace and Lucilius. Surely it would have been useful to discuss or, at least, to mention the formative influence of the start of Horace *Satires* 2.3 on the start of Persius *Satires* 3? Also, the influence of the concept of the Stoic conscience and the possibility of the didactic *comes* ('comrade') being none other than one of Persius' own overhung voices should perhaps have been mentioned in rather more than a footnote referring to the brief but relevant discussion in Barr and Lee.[2]

Once more there seems to have been a reluctance on the part of the literary critic to come to terms with the philosophical influence on a poem written in a genre with necessary links to the ethical discussions of influential current philosophical schools, especially given Persius' acknowledged debt to Stoicism in general and to Cornutus in particular. To even suggest, as Wehrle does, that Persius could be sarcastic in his references to the Stoa is remarkable. Even the critical centurion of *Satire* 3.77 *aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum* ('one from the goatish tribe of centurions') directs his attack against recognisably Epicurean rather than Stoic doctrine.

A more profitable approach might well have been to ask whether the satirical discourse of Persius made use of *acris iunctura* ('sharp juxtaposition/connection',

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[1] R. P.Bond, 'The Characterisation of Ofellus in Horace *Satires* 2.2', *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 112-16.

[2] Guy Lee and William Barr, *The Satires of Persius* (Liverpool 1987) 2.

Sat. 5.14) as a result of the unconscious and inner struggle between a desired Stoic idealism and a passionate young man's repressed appetites, 'natural' and 'unnatural', rather than to suggest simply that such disjunctions as occur in the text were the result of a desire to shock and to demand that an audience look with new eyes at familiar material.

However, having said that—and it is not appropriate to suggest a new and different book in a review, where the reviewer is clearly less productive than the reviewed—it is certainly true that this book on Persius and Juvenal, despite some faults, already cited, and some shortcomings of style (the excessive use of the [explanatory] parenthesis, for example), and the sometimes unwarranted use of the tendentious 'of course' and 'naturally' and a tendency to obfuscate meaning by some unnecessarily convoluted forms of expression and an occasional excess of quotation over analysis, has prompted this reviewer both to review attitudes long held and even to change some. The book is well worth serious attention.

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A. P. Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-Cosmic Theology in Aristotle's Lost Dialogues.* Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 16. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989. Pp. xx + 242, incl. indices of ancient texts and of modern authors. ISBN 90-04-09155-6. Gld 120/US$68.57.

The problem of Aristotle's 'Lost Dialogues' and their relationship to the extant Aristotelian writings is one of the most fascinating philological questions relating to ancient philosophy. These lost dialogues were, ironically, the only works Aristotle prepared for publication, while the presently extant corpus of Aristotelian works mainly comprises 'notes' or 'lectures' aimed at Aristotle's students within the Lyceum and not meant for general consumption. The question thus arises, why have the published and stylistically polished works been lost, while only the rough and ready 'lecture notes' remain? What intrinsic factors distinguish these two sets of writings, leading to the disappearance of the former group and the preservation of the latter? In the book under review the author re-examines critically existing hypotheses concerning the relationship between Aristotle's extant, unpublished works (the *Corpus Aristotelicum*) and his lost dialogues, and he proposes a new theory to account for the latter's disappearance.

Werner Jaeger argued that the lost dialogues belonged to the early, 'metaphysical' stages of Aristotle's development during which he was still very much influenced by Plato, and that only his extant lectures, the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, represent his own, mature philosophy. The early, lost dialogues were thus

superseded by Aristotle's later works.[1] Jean Pépin, on the other hand, considers Aristotle's lost work to have been more independent of Plato and an expression of Aristotle's own thought, but he also argues that Aristotle's extant works represent a later and significantly different development of Aristotle's philosophy.[2]

Bos offers an alternative solution to the problem. According to him, the lost writings already reflected an ongoing debate with Plato, and they contained all the important Aristotelian doctrines we know from the *Corpus Aristotelicum*: 'These doctrines are the double theology of a transcendent Prime Unmoved Mover and divine cosmic beings; the theory of the fifth element as the substance of the celestial beings and the pure rational souls; the sharp distinction of the mind from the functions of the *psyche*; and the emphasis on the distinction between contemplation and action or production' (p. xiv). The difference between the extant works and the lost writings lies in the way these doctrines were presented. As is the case in Plato's dialogues, the lost dialogues contained both discussions based on common human experience, and argumentation based on mythical narratives in which human experience is discussed from a transcendent perspective. In the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, on the other hand, Aristotle consistently argues from a 'common human', 'natural' perspective only. Bos suggests that the double perspective of the lost writings is presupposed in the *Corpus* and that in his extant writings Aristotle frequently referred to his published works for additional discussion of certain matters. He concludes that far from being replaced by the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, the lost works were presupposed in the *Corpus*. The reason why the lost works disappeared was that, from the time of Epicurus on, the use of philosophical myths was no longer considered acceptable because they could not be verified on the basis of common human experience.

In the first eleven chapters of the book, the author attempts to demonstrate his position by extensively analysing three ancient texts in which reference is made to a 'dreaming Kronos': Tertullian's *De anima* 45f., Plutarch's *De facie in orbe lunae* and the *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.5. In Tertullian the mytheme of a 'dreaming Kronos' is explicitly ascribed to Aristotle, and Waszink has already attempted to apply this statement in reconstructing doctrines of the lost dialogues. Bos proposes that it comes from Aristotle's lost dialogue *Eudemus or On the Soul*. Most of these first chapters are devoted to Plutarch's *De facie in orbe lunae* which in Bos' view is heavily dependent on Aristotle's lost work. His conclusions are set out in chapter 9: the notion of a dreaming and captive Kronos must have formed part of a 'double theology' comprising 'a purely contemplative, transcendent supreme deity

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[1] Werner Jaeger, *Aristoteles: Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*[2] (Berlin 1955) translated into English by R. Robinson (tr.), *Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of his Development*[2], (Oxford 1948) *passim*.

[2] Jean Pépin, *Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne* (Ambroise, *Exam.* 1.1.1-4) (Paris 1964) *passim*.

represented by Zeus, and a subordinate, cosmic and world-organising god Kronos'. This 'Kronology' is related to Aristotle's doctrine of the fifth element and his doctrine of the soul, both of which are developed as part of his ongoing debate with Plato.

In chapter 11 Bos discusses the references to ἐξωτερικοὶ and ἐγκύκλιοι λόγοι that we encounter in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* and he suggests that the former refers to the writings concerning τὰ ἔξω, that is, metaphysics, and the latter to writings restricted to the realm of phenomena enclosed 'within the circle of the furthest celestial sphere' (pp. 134-36). In the final four chapters of the book, the author interprets various Aristotelian fragments in the light of the preceding analysis, namely, *De caelo* 2.1, Cicero *ND* 2.37.95-97, Aristotle fr. 26 (Ross) and *Eudemus* fr. 11.

Bos' hypothesis is attractive, because it accounts for many logical discrepancies in earlier proposals—why there had to be such dramatic differences between the two types of Aristotelian writings, for example, and why Aristotle himself would have changed to such an extent in his own philosophical thinking. On the other hand, the hypothesis is based on very tenuous evidence, namely, the interpretation and reconstruction of fragments and allusions where it is often impossible to distinguish the formulation of the later author from that of Aristotle. In some cases Bos has to allow for significant reworking of the original Aristotelian material (e.g., Plutarch), or even for complete misunderstanding by the later author (as is the case according to Bos in Simplicius' *In Phys.* 83.26f.). Bos' proposal will therefore not meet with unqualified acceptance. His well-written and carefully structured book nevertheless remains innovative and thought-provoking and one that cannot be ignored by Aristotelian scholars. However, this is definitely a book for the specialist and not for the uninitiated.

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Donna W. Hurley, *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius'* Life of Caligula. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xviii + 230. ISBN 1-55540-881-8. US$19.95.

The main surprise, as I read Hurley's commentary, was to discover that she had not consulted David Wardle's thesis.[1] Wardle's much fuller commentary focuses on literary, historical and historiographical matters, such as the place of the *Caligula* in Suetonius' series on the Caesars, the structure of this *Life*, its relationship to a range of other sources on the period, the sources which might have

[1] David Wardle, *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caligula* (diss. Oxford 1989). This commentary was published by *Latomus* at the end of 1994.

been available to Suetonius, his possible dependence on them and his originality, which according to Wardle is to be found in the choice of biographical form and the application of categories associated with imperial panegyric. Although it is possible that Hurley's original text had to be reduced for the purposes of publication, one might still have expected her to treat these kinds of issues more fully than she has: the title is not quite borne out by the text of the commentary.

On some individual points Hurley's judgements seem unsatisfactory. For example, what did Caligula mean when he ordered his troops assembled at the English Channel to pick up sea shells (*Cal.* 46)? Hurley thinks the order was to do with pearls (pp. 168f.). Although there is some ingenuity in the explanation, it seems far-fetched and probably relies too much on a connection she sees between Caligula and Julius Caesar (see below). More convincing is the explanation of Balsdon that Caligula wished to insult mutinous soldiers.[2] But that is a difficult problem, which may never be satisfactorily resolved. Suetonius, according to Hurley, takes a positive view of another bizarre action—the construction of a bridge of boats in the manner of Xerxes (Hdt. 7.33-37) across the Bay of Baiae (*Cal.* 19)—and emphasises Caligula's 'ingenuity' (p. 74) rather than his 'irresponsible excess' (p. 73), which is reserved for a later chapter (*Cal.* 32.1). While it may be significant that Suetonius uses the same verb (*excogitare* 'think up', 'devise') three times in connection with the same event, there is no reason to suppose that there is anything positive about his view of it: several other uses of this verb by Suetonius refer to obviously reprehensible behaviour (e.g., *Tib.* 43.1, *Ner.* 29); also the phrase *novum et inauditum* ('new and unheard of'), used of the Baiae *spectaculum* ('spectacle'), can safely be assumed to be pejorative, whether in Suetonius (cf. *Cal.* 40) or elsewhere (e.g., Cicero *Pis.* 48, *Sest.* 30, *Caec.* 36).[3] Perhaps Hurley sees the section on apparently commendable actions (*Cal.* 19) as more self-contained than it really is. Elsewhere, however, she does refer to the inclusion of non-commendable behaviour before the 'division' in *Cal.* 22.1 (*Cal.* 10.2, see below).

Hurley emphasises parallels between Caligula and Julius Caesar. In the final chapter she writes (p. 216): 'Suetonius makes the comparison between the two Gaius Julius Caesars his emphatic point. The biography that began with Germanicus . . . ends fittingly with Julius Caesar. The early promise had been reduced to a second rate dictatorship.' Although the point may have some validity, Hurley seems to make too much of it. If anything, the ending of the *Caligula* is anticlimactic, and Suetonius' equivocal attitude to Julius Caesar tends to reduce a contrast between these two figures. It would be more fruitful to explore parallels

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[2] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius.* (Oxford 1934) 92, supported by Wardle *ad loc.*

[3] Cf. Wardle [1] 38, 200.

with Domitian and particularly Nero: indeed the structure of the *Nero*, with its morally based 'division' (*Ner.* 19.3), like that in the *Caligula*, does much to invite such a comparison. (Hurley hints at parallels between Caligula and Nero, but could have given them more emphasis.)

The lack of reference to Suetonius' other *Caesars* is a weakness of this book. One might argue that this is not strictly relevant to the title, but an understanding of which rubrics were important to Suetonius does have some bearing on how each Caesar is presented. Hurley covers Suetonian treatment of *saevitia* ('savagery'; p. 111) and physical appearance (p. 178) fairly well, but her references to public office (p. 62) and education (p. 189) are sketchy. On matters of vocabulary too, Hurley is not specific enough about Suetonian usage: generalisations such as 'Suetonius seems fond of adjectives . . .' (p. 25) are regrettable. However, her references to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* are informative. Yet it is odd that Howard and Jackson's index does not appear to have been used.[4]

But there are many good features about Hurley's book. Hurley's research into the period has been thorough and her reconstruction of the events in Caligula's life, neatly summarised in the introduction (pp. xi-xii), is convincing. Too numerous to discuss in detail are Hurley's excellent notes on a variety of subjects: law, politics, the army, social custom and religion. What of issues relating specifically to Caligula? In her commentary (pp. 19-28) on Suetonius' discussion of Caligula's birthplace (*Cal.* 8), she is not browbeaten (as some modern scholars are) by Suetonius' display of learning,[5] but points out significant flaws in his argument: Suetonius' discussion of *puerperium* ('childbirth'; *Cal.* 8.3) is 'pedantic' and 'does nothing further to refute Pliny's argument' (p. 23); the background to Augustus' letter to Agrippina (*Cal.* 8.4)—upon which Suetonius bases much of his argument—is far from clear; and Suetonius fails to make the point that the journey made by Gaius from Rome (*Cal.* 8.5) was his first. Similar criticisms are made by Baldwin,[6] who also points out (p. 160) Suetonius' inconsistency in rejecting some verses because of their anonymity but in using such material elsewhere. (It is a little disappointing that the only reference to Baldwin is found in the bibliography.) An interesting theory offered is that people who had benefited under Caligula claimed after his assassination that he had wanted to kill them: 'All Rome wanted to be thought among his enemies once it was safe' (p. xvii). One of Hurley's best contributions is on the subject of Caligula's physical and mental health. She has some fascinating insights, with a conclusion that is sensible and balanced: 'There is no need to choose between the schizophrenic and the inexperienced innocent. . . . It

[4] A. Howard and C. Jackson, *Index Verborum C. Suetoni Tranquilli* (Cambridge, Mass. 1927).

[5] E.g., A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius* (London 1983) 89.

[6] B. Baldwin, *Suetonius* (Amsterdam 1983) 158-61.

is possible to provide context and rationale for most of his erratic actions and still leave room for a seriously flawed individual at their center' (p. xiv).

On Suetonius' structure and literary technique in the *Caligula*, Hurley makes several useful comments, especially on the rubrics used in this *Life*, the transitions between them, and the 'division' (*Cal.* 22.1) between the apparently commendable actions of the *princeps* and his deplorable actions as a *monstrum*. (Perhaps a schematic outline of the *Life* should have been included.) Unlike some translators of Suetonius (e.g., Robert Graves in the Penguin translation), she does not ignore *quasi* before *de principe*, but notes that this word 'implies that the *monstrum* was always waiting to emerge (*Cal.* 10.2)' (p. 83). In several places (e.g., pp. 12, 100) Hurley gives examples of the kinds of problems (mainly inconsistency) that can arise when Suetonius deals with different aspects of the same event under separate rubrics. Stylistic features—often ignored by commentators on Suetonius—are noted by Hurley, for example, various rhetorical techniques, *variatio* and the occasional awkwardness of sentence structure. However, she is too often inclined to explain the latter problem as due to compression of material from other writers (e.g., pp. viii, 22), and in so doing she may exaggerate Suetonius' dependence on his sources. Hurley spots several instances of irony (e.g., pp. 125, 193). It is possible that she uses this term rather indiscriminately, to cover a range of situations from mere hypocrisy to something more complex. But 'irony' is an elusive concept, and her observations on the use of this device imply (refreshingly) a greater subtlety in Suetonius' writing than is usually perceived by his critics.

A nit-picking critic might be troubled by the fairly large number of printer's gremlins (more than 20, e.g., 'peson' for 'person' p. 24, 'horde' for 'hoard' p. 77), and very occasionally there is some clumsiness of expression (e.g., 'Gemellus here between Claudius (above) and Gaius' sisters [*Cal.* 25.2] . . . shows that Suetonius . . .' [p. 50]). But on the whole Hurley deserves praise for her lively and succinct style. This book offers much that is useful to specialists in imperial biography and even more to students of the early principate.

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Harold C. Gotoff, *Cicero's Caesarian Speeches: A Stylistic Commentary*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Pp. 260. ISBN 0-8078-2075-1. US$15.35.

Harold Gotoff's latest contribution is a new text and commentary on the somewhat neglected *Caesarianae* and a valuable addition to every Latinist's shelves. His strict philological focus will especially benefit those whom he calls 'emerging Latinists.' Gotoff's approach will be familiar to readers of his earlier and equally useful work, *Cicero's Elegant Style: An Analysis of the Pro Archia* (1979).

Professor Gotoff argues for the value of close philological reading in an age of less text-based literary criticism, noting that Cicero's art cannot be understood without a solid grasp of both Latin syntax and the conventions of classical rhetoric. He addresses the components of style and their effects in a readable and straightforward manner, clearly explaining his methodology and its aims. As his introduction, notes, and bibliography reveal, this is a strongly didactic commentary primarily concerned with the formal foundations of grammar, syntax, figures of speech, and figures of thought; readers will find no recommendations of the theoretical approaches prevalent elsewhere, since, to paraphrase the author, the only true literary critics are the grammarians and the commentators.

Gotoff's discussion of the complex and slowly developing relationship between Caesar and Cicero in each of the *Caesarianae* serves to provide students with and remind scholars of the contexts of these remarkable speeches. The text of each speech, with partial *apparatus criticus*, is followed by a line-by-line and highly detailed analysis of Ciceronian style, by which Gotoff hopes to illuminate the psychology of the relationship between 'Rome's master [and] Rome's master orator' (p. xi). A glossary of over one hundred technical terms ensures that the less experienced reader will not be lost in the explanations themselves. The first index lists all passages cited for comparison; and the second includes proper names, some Latin words, and major points of grammar, syntax, and style.

Gotoff indicates that he purposefully distributed discussion of rhetorical and stylistic issues throughout the three commentaries, lest that of the *Pro Marcello* be disproportionately long and lists of cross references stupefy those 'emerging Latinists.' As a result, this is not a book into which one can wholly satisfactorily dip and taste at will; rather the book is rigorously constructed to direct the reader working through the speeches as a set. This text would work well in an advanced seminar, where as students progress they would be faced with some necessary repetition as well as with an influx of new points of linguistics, stylistics, and Roman rhetorical and legal convention.

Constraints of space preclude full consideration of the text and notes here, although a few examples will suffice. Analyzing *Pro Marcello* 10, Gotoff explains the inadequacy of a suggested emendation: editors bothered by the lack of an antecedent to the question accept the emendation *eos* with the *ut* clause characterising. But *os* has special prominence because *-que* links the first two (hendiadys for 'bent-of-mind' vs. the visible *os*). And of all the objects of scrutiny made possible by Caesar's presence, it is most readable (pp. 37f.). Likewise, he retains the manuscript reading *oppugnari . . . tollere* at *Pro Ligario* 14, noting: 'Editors cannot abide the inconcinnity. I have not found a parallel in Cicero; but that does not mean one does not exist or that Cicero could not have written it as it appears. Concinnity is not an overriding principle of Ciceronian style' (p. 139).

The notes, although predominantly concerned with syntax, also discuss legal terms such as *aditus* ('a going to law') and *postulatio* ('an application for redress';

p. 143) and provide sound if sketchy treatment of such quintessentially Roman notions as *amicitia* ('friendship'; p. 266), *clementia* ('clemency'; p. 15), *animus* ('rational soul') and *ingenium* ('nature'; p. 178), all of which will be helpful to students. At their best, the notes combine syntactic analysis with some explanation of the construction's significance to Cicero's arguments, as in one explanation of the use of the subjunctive in a discussion on *clementia*: 'The present tense of the subjunctive in the *cum* clauses makes it clear that the potential for such pressure [for vengeance rather than *clementia*] still exists. But Cicero suggests that because of Caesar's policy the potential will not be realized. . . . Quintilian (8.3.85) cites this passage as an example of *vox suppressa*[1] because Cicero does not explicitly acknowledge that proponents of vengeance in fact exist among Caesar's men' (p. 140).

Some notes dealing with rather obvious matters, for example, the ablative of description (p. 147), the definition of *denique* ('at last', 'finally'; p. 125), the aspect of the imperfect (p. 156), will be glossed over by all but the most inexperienced readers. At times, abstract questions, about which the author is unwilling to speculate, are raised: 'The reader may ask why Cicero chose this moment for the further revelation of his intimacy' (p. 151). A tantalizing question, but clearly outside the range of syntactic explanation. Gotoff's diagramming of the movement of the Ciceronian period seems redundant, given his thorough narrative analyses of complex parallels and chiasms although, again, less experienced readers may welcome it.

Cicero's Caesarian Speeches is a handsomely produced and affordable edition that will be especially welcomed by students and teachers of Latin for the clear ways in which it guides those who, experienced or not, are interested in learning to look on a very close level at the technical components of Ciceronian aesthetics. Yet Gotoff's acknowledged aim of focusing on 'the psychological relationship between the orator of the *Caesarianae* and their singular audience' as well as his desire 'to look past the traditional subjects of Ciceronian studies and examine the orations as dramatic performances' (p. xi) would have been better served by more developed discussions of each speech as a whole and by the mention, at least in the bibliography, of some of the more innovative approaches critics have recently taken to Cicero and Latin prose. This book admirably does what it sets out to do: direct a close, philological reading of three important texts.

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[1] 'The suppression of a word.'

Christopher P. Craig, *Form as Argument in Cicero's Speeches. A Study of Dilemma.* American Philological Association: American Classical Studies No. 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 254. ISBN 1-55540-878-8. US$19.95.

> And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.
>
> Mt. 21.24-26; cf. Mk. 11.27-33, Lk. 20.1-8)

This is probably one of the more famous instances of the dilemma argument—a formalised presentational argument codified in Greek and Roman rhetorical theory—and the subject of Craig's study. Craig defines dilemma as ' . . . the offering to the opponent (not necessarily in direct address) of two choices such that he must choose one or the other, and either choice hurts him' (p. 25). It is discussed by Cicero and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in several places, and goes by a variety of names: *complexio* (*de Inv.* 1.44f.), *comprehensio* (*de Inv.* 1.79, 83f.), *duplex conclusio* (*Rh. Her.* 2.38), and *divisio* (*Rh. Her.* 4.52). Craig refers to it by the term 'dilemma' for convenience.

The present work grew out of Craig's earlier briefer examinations of the dilemma strategy in selected Ciceronian speeches. The target audience for his book is deliberately broad: it will obviously be of great interest to students of Cicero and Latin oratory, and Craig ' . . . envision[s] a primary audience of classicists' (p. x); but it should also attract scholars of the history of rhetoric in general. In fact, Craig seems to locate himself within the latter group when he states that 'the real interest for us *as students of persuasion* is the way in which the orator uses these elements (sc. the *loci* of ancient rhetorical theory) creatively to attain a specific goal' (p. 5; my italics). The fact that an English translation accompanies all Latin passages quoted by Craig and that a glossary of rhetorical and legal terms (predominantly Latin ones) is appended (pp. 235-38) is evidence for the more universal intention of this book. In addition, Craig provides detailed commentary on the social, historical, and judicial context and issues of each Ciceronian speech he analyses, so that even a reader with a hazy apprehension of the circumstances surrounding the occasion of each speech or of Roman judicial practice (and let's be honest, even some Classicists are not very secure in their knowledge of the latter) need not be prevented from comprehending Craig's examination.

Craig is at pains to be as transparent as possible regarding his aims and methodologies, and says a good deal about both in his preface (pp. ix-xii) and introduction (= chapter 1, pp. 1-26). Craig sees his work as a logical extension of current trends in the study of Ciceronian persuasion (p. 8), as exemplified by

scholars like Classen, Neumeister, Stroh, and May, who have concentrated on the argumentative strategy of a speech in terms of the unique situation of each speech (p. 3). Craig has elected to study dilemma, as opposed to some other argumentative form, for example, *inductio*, because it is easy to identify, unambiguous, relatively common, and would have been recognised by educated Romans (p. 8). Craig proceeds to examine the employment of dilemma arguments in seven Ciceronian speeches, each speech receiving a separate chapter: *Pro Roscio Amerino* (chapter 2, pp. 27-45), *Divinatio in Caecilium* (chapter 3, pp. 47-66), *Pro Roscio Comoedo* (chapter 4, pp. 67-88), *Pro Sulla* (chapter 5, pp. 89-103), *Pro Caelio* (chapter 6, pp. 104-23), *Pro Plancio* (chapter 7, pp. 124-45), and the *Second Philippic* (chapter 8, pp. 146-68). Craig justifies his choice of these particular orations by asserting that they offer a wealth of argumentative forms, are intrinsically interesting, and reflect different periods from Cicero's oratorical career (p. 5). Some chapters are expansions of work that Craig has published elsewhere.[1]

In each chapter, Craig identifies the argumentative strategy that is peculiar to the speech and examines the role played by dilemma forms within that argument. The work is designed in such a way that a reader could peruse the chapter and chapter 9 'Some Generalisations' (pp. 169-79) and still quite easily gain an overview of Cicero's employment of dilemma forms. Having done this, the reader could confine his reading to the chapter(s) on the specific oration(s) that interest him. As Craig demonstrates, a complete grasp of Cicero's method in using dilemma is only possible by a close analysis of the dilemmas as they function within the text since each example is only meaningful in its individual context; therefore it would not be possible, or necessary, to repeat that degree of detail in a review of this kind. Accordingly I shall restrict myself to a few salient points.

In chapter 2, Craig asserts that in *Pro Roscio Amerino* we see Cicero at the beginning of his career capitalising upon the presentational aspect of the dilemma form as a symbol of memorable and irrefutable argument. By means of the dilemma form, weak argument acquires a semblance of irrefutability, a recurrent feature of Cicero's use of this form (p. 41). There follows an Appendix (pp. 44f.) which offers a brief critique (based on Kinsey) of the view of Heinze and Stroh that the prosecution actually wanted an acquittal.[2]

Craig argues in chapter 3 that dilemma is particularly prominent in the *Divinatio in Caecilium*. In this speech, Cicero presents himself in a dilemma: he

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[1] Chapter 3 was preceded by 'Dilemma in Cicero's *Divinatio in Caecilium*', *AJPh* 106 (1985) 442-46, chapter 6 by 'Reason, resonance, and dilemma in Cicero's speech for Caelius', *Rhetorica* 7 (1989) 313-28, and chapter 7 by 'Cicero's strategy of embarrassment in the speech for Plancius', *AJPh* 111 (1990) 75-81.

[2] R. Heinze, 'Ciceros politische Anfänge', in E. Burck (ed.), *Vom Geist des Römertums*[3] (Darmstadt, 1960) 87-140 at 99f.; W. Stroh, *Taxis und Taktik* (Stuttgart, 1975) 61-66; T. E. Kinsey, 'A problem in *Pro Roscio Amerino*', *Eranos* 79 (1981) 149f.

does not want to disappoint the Sicilians but, at the same time, is unwilling to prosecute, since he regards himself as a defence orator (*Div. in Caecil.* 4). This argument enables Cicero to give the impression that he is not an eager accuser but rather a victim of his own sense of duty (p. 53). Simultaneously, it prepares the way for his strategy of insinuating that his rival cannot prosecute without self-incrimination, a strategy that is underscored by a dilemma (pp. 58f.): *Si obicies, idne alteri crimini dabis quod eodem tempore in eadem provincia tu ipse fecisti? . . . Sin praetermittes, qualis erit tua ista accusatio . . . ?* ('If you bring it up, are you prepared to charge another man with the guilt of doing what you have done yourself at the same time and place? . . . If on the other hand you pass this charge over, what can be your value as a prosecutor?', *Div. in Caecil.* 31). In section 45 Cicero actually states that Hortensius will use the dilemma form against Caecilius. Craig suggests that Cicero's own manipulation of dilemma in this speech is designed to show the praetor and his *consilium* that Cicero will be competent to cope with Hortensius' tactics, while Caecilius will be inept (p. 60). Hence dilemma is of fundamental importance in this speech.

Pro Roscio Comoedo (chapter 4) is difficult to assess because it is incomplete. On the issue of the *pactio* between Fannius and Roscius in *Pro Roscio Comoedo* 26, Craig devises his own ingenious (and admittedly speculative) compromise (pp. 70f.) between the traditional interpretation and that which Stroh proposed.[3] Craig suggests that the aforementioned *pactio* refers to an agreement that Fannius will not pursue Roscius with an action that could disgrace him but that this is an informal agreement; in return, Fannius will receive HS 100 000 in the arbitral settlement. Craig believes that Stroh is correct in observing that Cicero is denying the existence of a formal *pactio* in sections 1-13 and 26, but that Cicero's trick lies in the fact that the formal *pactio* denied is itself the orator's own invention. Regarding the question as to why Cicero is so fond of forced dilemma in this speech, Craig suggests that it might be to give the impression of rigour in order to counteract the comic tone of the entire oration (p. 88).

Chapter 5 shows that dilemma forms, while plentiful in *Pro Sulla*, are not integral to that speech's persuasive strategy in a unitary sense, but serve to defend Cicero against ethical attacks upon him which are intended to undermine his reliability as a witness for his client (p. 103). In discussing the *Pro Caelio* (chapter 6) Craig offers another compromise, this time between the interpretation of Stroh, who argues that the love affair between Caelius and Clodia is a fiction, and Heinze, who believes that it did actually occur.[4] In Craig's view, the affair between Caelius

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[3] Stroh [2] 112-27.

[4] Stroh [2] 269-73; R. Heinze, 'Ciceros Rede *Pro Caelio*', *Hermes* 60 (1925) 193-258 at 228, 245-48. Austin's view of *Pro Caelio* 30, line 9 in R. G. Austin, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro M. Caelio Oratio*[3] (Oxford 1960) 86, is termed 'apparently sensible', but dismissed in a footnote (p. 109, n. 10).

and Clodia did indeed take place, but the jury can be divided into two basic groups: those who were fairly well-informed about the affair, and those who either had heard a different version of it or had no knowledge of it at all. Cicero's entire argument hinges on the jury's acceptance of his version of Caelius' relationship with Clodia (pp. 109f.). Most of the dilemmas employed in this speech serve to undermine the reliability of a witness, and are thus ethical in their assumptions or conclusions (p. 120). As in *Pro Roscio Comoedo*, the dilemmas also function as an antidote to the comic nature of the oration as a whole (p. 121).

In *Pro Plancio* (chapter 7), we observe Cicero employing dilemmas that contribute to individual lines of argument, and others that are essential for the broader argumentative strategy of the oration. Hence the mechanical uses are as diverse as the parts of the argument are disparate, while others enable the orator to focus ethical argument upon himself (pp. 143-45). Chapter 8 deals with the *Second Philippic*, which boasts nine dilemma forms as opposed to the mere six found in all the other *Orationes Philippicae* combined. Craig can find no unitary solution for the prevalence of dilemma in this speech, but discovers that every use of the device either asserts or amplifies at least one of the invective *loci* of Antony's stupidity, drunkenness, thievery cowardice, or impiety (p. 167). Craig suggests that Cicero's use of dilemma is deliberately ostentatious, a strategy that leaves the 'audience' in no doubt that they are listening to a highly trained and competent speaker (p. 168).

In chapter 9 Craig offers a convenient typology of Ciceronian use of dilemma. In individual arguments it is employed most often to lend an illusion of rigour and to distract the audience from the weak assumptions of the argument. It may also dismiss valid assumptions, establish convenient yet insubstantial assumptions, lend variety to a barrage of refutation, and help to integrate ethical argument into the larger argumentative structure. Dilemma may also serve to demarcate sections of an argument within a speech, to create resonances derived from repetition, to direct an ethical attack on an opponent, or, when aimed at Cicero himself, to give the orator licence for behaviour his audience would normally find unacceptable.

Craig has succeeded in producing a work which will appeal to students of ancient oratory and of rhetoric in general. It has the advantage of clarity and accessibility and may be used as a source of reference or enjoyed for its discursive properties. The book includes an appendix on dilemma forms in Cicero's orations (pp. 181-209), an index of citations of dilemma forms in Cicero's orations (pp. 211f.), a second appendix on the syntax and function of these forms (pp. 213-17), a full bibliography (pp. 219-34), and an index of names (pp. 239-43) and passages cited (pp. 245-54). After reading the book, I derived great enjoyment from identifying dilemma forms in the questions put to ministers during televised 'question and answer sessions'.

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Ian Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Pp. xxvi + 401. ISBN 0-19-814928-X. UK£45.00.

Nicholas Hammond is, as they say, a legend in his time, and this *Festschrift* is richly deserved. It is a little bizarre that the title has not been extended to make it explicit that this is a *Festschrift*; presumably Oxford University Press has its reasons. The star-studded list of contributors is testimony to the range of his influence. The focus of the contributions has been concentrated on Graeco-Macedonian history and archaeology of the fourth century BC, to reflect the field in which Hammond is most renowned.

J. R. Ellis (pp. 3-14) argues that the references to Athens' Long Walls in Thuc. 1.105-08 are given special meaning by being cleverly positioned in the text. Ellis builds on an idea of Hammond (1952) that Thucydides used 'ring composition'.[1] But unhappily, while a Horace ode, or an early Christian hymn may lend itself to structural analysis, continuous prose is less tractable. The geometric symmetry of Ellis' diagrams is eye-catching, and he spares the reader statistical formulae and word counts but confidence ebbs when one considers the text: does 105.5f. really balance 107.4-108.3, or 105.3f. balance 108.4 (Diagram 3)? Why does the reference to the walls in 107.4 not pick up 107.1? 108.4 appears to balance 105.3 in Diagram 3, though walls are missing from 105.3.

A. B. Bosworth (pp. 15-27), as ever brilliantly imaginative, carefully elucidates Heracleides of Pontus F 58 (Wehrli = *Ath.* 12.536f-537c) and argues that it supports the theory that in 499 the naval force engaged in the siege of Naxos split up and a squadron went to attack Eretria. This means that Bosworth takes seriously the advice which Aristagoras is supposed to have given in secret to Artaphernes (Hdt. 5.31.3), though others would see this as a tale fabricated to discredit Aristagoras. It is not clear why the Eretrians should have been singled out for attack, though Bosworth suggests that Hdt. 5.99.1 may provide a clue. It seems improbable that, if ships employed by the Persians were operational in the Euboean Gulf in 499, this should have otherwise passed unnoticed in extant Greek literature.

E.A. Fredericksmeyer (pp. 135-58) revives the debate on the origins of the *kausia* and shows from an analysis of the literary testimonia that it is more probable that it was a traditional Macedonian cap than that it was a Macedonian adaptation of the *chitrali*, which the Macedonians first met in north-western India in 327/6. His refutation of B.M. Kingsley's case is convincing, and is reinforced by the article of C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, which reviews the archaeological evidence and adduces the evidence of the word *kausia* on a vase from Berezen datable to about

[1] N.G.L. Hammond, 'The Arrangement of the Thought in the Proem and in other Parts of Thuc. 1', *CQ* 46 (1952) 127-41.

500 BC.[2]

T. T. B. Ryder offers a lengthy study of 'The diplomatic skills of Philip II' (pp. 228-57). Diplomacy is here in part a euphemism for bribery. Ryder thinks of bribery as intended to buy a friendly voice, but it could also be used to secure the harmless ritualisation of the rhetoric of resistance.[3] Ryder concentrates on Philip's relations with the Greek states: his study could be usefully extended to include Philip's links with eminent Persians (e.g., Curtius 5.9.1; 6.4.25 and 5.2; D.S. 16.42), which would introduce a third dimension into the story.

My guess is that E. Badian's article on Agis III will be the most often cited piece in the volume (pp. 258-92). Its significance goes beyond what is suggested by its modest title. Thus he deals first with Macedon's manpower resources, and argues that Bosworth (1975 and 1986) has underestimated the numbers and the regeneration rate.[4] Alexander drew 3 000 infantry reinforcements from Macedonia in 333 and 6 000 in 331, which Badian takes as an indicator of the annual levy set for the war in Asia—3 000 per annum, rather than of the upper limit of the manpower available. The carrying capacity of Macedonia justifies the assumption that Alexander did not drain Macedonia of manpower. In this Badian usefully develops points made by Hans Droysen in 1885.[5] In the short term Macedonia probably was not badly affected by the numbers drawn off for the war: 21 000 are firmly recorded as going to Asia in the period 334 to 331, and, as Badian notes, between 331 and 323 at least 21 000 men would have become available for service in the infantry. But in the longer term the permanent removal of so many young men must have had a negative effect on population growth. The rate of reconstitution is a highly controversial subject. Nevertheless the point of immediate relevance is that Antipater had 'an almost unlimited reservoir of manpower to draw upon' when Agis led the revolt of the Greeks.

Badian then reviews the debate since Cawkwell's article of 1969 on the chronology of Agis' war.[6] He sets out the issues with great clarity, and concludes that the war ended with the death of Agis early in the campaigning season of 330. Thus he revises his case presented in 1967.[7] Badian draws on an astronomical diary

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[2] C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 'Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume', *JHS* 113 (1993) 122-47.

[3] Cf. J. E. Atkinson, 'Macedon and Athenian Politics in the Period 338 to 323 B.C.', *Acta Classica* 24 (1981) 37-48.

[4] A. B. Bosworth, 'The Mission of Amphoterus', *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 27-43; A.B. Bosworth, 'Alexander the Great and the Decline of Macedon', *JHS* 106 (1986) 1-12.

[5] H. Droysen, *Untersuchungen über Alexanders des Grossen Heerenwesen* (Freiburg 1885).

[6] G. L. Cawkwell, 'The Crowning of Demosthenes', *CQ* 19 (1969) 163-80.

[7] E. A. Badian, 'Agis III', *Hermes* 95 (1967) 170-92

from Babylon to fix the dates of Gaugamela and Alexander's entry into Babylonia, and so to relate events in the occupation of Persepolis to Agis' war.[8] This leads to the final conclusion that when Alexander destroyed Persepolis he was unaware that Agis had been defeated, and the destruction of Persepolis marked a revival of the 'Hellenic Crusade'. Alexander may have been delayed in Babylon while the slower units caught up with him, but that does not materially affect the case for thinking that Alexander sacked Persepolis while waiting for news of the war in Greece.

The volume includes a consolidated bibliography at the end, a brief general index, and a list of Hammond's major publications (books and periodical articles, but not reviews and contributions to encyclopaedias and the *Cambridge Ancient History* volumes). The book has been well edited by Ian Worthington and carefully produced, except that the quality of the plates is disappointing. The maps are particularly poor; in this age of Geographical Information Systems and means of enhancing hazy images it should be possible for a press to produce maps that are clear and legible.

This is a splendid collection of meaty articles on important topics, with a good measure of new ideas. All in all a fitting tribute to Nicholas Hammond.

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Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. New York : Atheneum, 1994. Pp. xxiii + 246. ISBN 0-689-12182-2. US$20.00.

Every so often a book on a Classical subject but written by a non-Classicist appears that throws a remarkable amount of light on what is often overworked ground. Some examples which spring to mind are Brian Vicker's *Towards Greek Tragedy* (1973), Ian Johnson's *The Ironies of War : An Introduction to Homer's Iliad* (1988) and (more controversially) Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987). Now, in 1994, we have Shay's *Achilles in Vietnam*, a ground-breaking piece of work with much of intense interest to say about the oldest masterpiece of Western literature.

Achilles in Vietnam is a study of Combat Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as exhibited and described by (on the one hand) Vietnam veterans undergoing psychotherapy and (on the other) Homer's Achilles. The author is a

[8] A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylon* 1: *Diaries from 652 to 262 B.C.* (Vienna 1988).

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psychiatrist for the Boston Department of Veterans' Affairs Outpatient Clinic who has also acquired, by way of good modern translations and some important secondary sources, an impressive acquaintance with the *Iliad.* He has been heavily involved in treating Vietnam combat-veterans for severe, chronic PTSD; and he observes early in the introduction how he was 'struck by the similarity of their war experiences to Homer's account of Achilles in the *Iliad.*' (p. xiii). This simple starting-point has led Shay to produce something unique about (or mostly about) the *Iliad*—and that is a work which looks at Homer's poem not only from a practising psychotherapist's point of view but also through the eyes of battle-shattered soldiers who have survived an appalling modern war.

This perspective has led Shay to conclude that Achilles' behaviour in the *Iliad* can most successfully be explained not in terms of supposed heroic codes prevailing in early Greece but in terms of the more or less common experiences of soldiers who have been through the physical, emotional and moral hell of combat. From this perspective, most of Achilles' startling, often horrifying behaviour suddenly makes total sense: his fury at Agamemnon's 'betrayal' of what was clearly regarded as the right and proper way to behave, his terrible grief and guilt over Patroclus' death, and his monstrous orgy of berserk blood-shedding culminating in the mutilation and abuse of Hector's corpse. Many of Shay's chapter headings are eloquent: 'Betrayal of "What's Right"', 'Shrinkage of the Social and Moral Horizon', 'Grief at the Death of a Special Comrade', 'Guilt and Wrongful Substitution', 'Berserk' and 'Dishonouring the Enemy'.

This book is not 'about' the *Iliad*; it is about Combat PTSD. However, the *Iliad* provides a large number of its 'case-studies'. The remainder consists of transcripts of statements and other utterances made by severely traumatised Vietnam veterans during therapy sessions. Both sets of case-studies constitute what can only be called an extended shout of pain ringing across some twenty-eight centuries, so piercing as to be one of the most passionate anti-war protests ever encountered by this reviewer. The intensity of the protest is, if anything, enhanced by Shay's lucid, systematic, highly-controlled deployment of his material. In fact, from almost any viewpoint, this is a very impressive book: it has been painstakingly researched, carefully planned, superbly structured and presented, and it concentrates on matters of immense human importance. A measure of Shay's respect for completeness and his scrupulous avoidance of merely superficial similarities can be seen in the title of chapter 7: 'What Homer Left Out'.

Achilles in Vietnam is essential reading for any serious scholar of the *Iliad* and for almost anyone concerned with the horrors of war, with its desperate and often misunderstood aftermath in later years, and with both the toughness and the fragility of the human psyche.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, ***Scholia.***

Peter J. Aicher, *Guide to the Aqueducts of Ancient Rome.* Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1995. Pp. xiii + 183. ISBN 0-86516-282-4. US$25.00.

Martha Ann and Dorothy Myers Imel, *Goddesses in World Mythology: A Biographical Dictionary.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. xx + 645. ISBN 0-19-509199-X. US$16.95.

Shadi Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian.* Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1994. Pp. vi + 309. ISBN 0-674-00357-8. US$44.95/UK£29.95.

Bouquet, J. (ed. and tr.), *Dracontius: Oeuvres Tome III.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995. Pp. 278. ISBN 2-251-01382-2. F325.

A. J. Boyle (ed.), *Roman Literature and Ideology: Ramus Essays for J. P. Sullivan.* Bendigo: Aureal Publications, 1995. Pp. 269. ISBN 0-949916-12-9. A$49.50.

Lorenzo Braccesi, *Poesia e memoria: Nuove proiezioni dell' antico.* Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1995. Pp. ix + 197. ISBN 88-7062-884-1. L45 000.

M. De Spagnolis Conticello, *Il Pons Sarni Di Scafati e la Via Nuceria-Pompeios.* Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1994. Pp. 111, incl. 4 maps. ISBN 88-7062-878-7. L170 000.

C. Fayer, *La Familia Romana.* Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1994. Pp. 728. ISBN 88-7062-875-2. L450 000.

Epifanio Furnari (ed.), *Neapolis: La valorizzazione dei beni culturali e ambientali.* Vol. 1: *Neapolis, Temi progettuali*; Vol. 2: *Neapolis, Planimetria della città antica di Pompei*; Vol. 3: *Ministerio per i beni culturali e ambientali soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei.* Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1994. Vol. 1: pp. xvi + 166, incl. 8 tables and 6 figures; Vol. 2: pp. 291, incl. 13 figures (Pt. 1), 17 tables and 12 figures (Pt. 2), 2 tables and 19 figures (Pt.

3), 16 figures (Pt. 4); Vol. 3: 24 charts, a tabulation of the charts and an aerophotogrammetric plan of ancient Pompeii. ISBN 88-7062-865-5. L1 000 000.

Eugene Garver, *Aristotle's Rhetoric: An Art of Character*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. Pp. xii + 325. ISBN 0-226-28425-5. UK£15.25.

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IN THE UNIVERSITIES

*Information about programmes in Classics at the university level in Africa is welcome and should reach the In the Universities Editor, **Scholia** by 30 June.*

CLASSICS IN ZIMBABWE

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For South African Classicists anxious about the future of Classics in a country where Latin as a law requirement has been dropped and there are urgent needs for practical, technical education, the situation of Classics in Zimbabwe, which made the transition from minority to majority rule somewhat earlier, can offer some hope.

Soon after independence in the early 1980s, the University of Zimbabwe was still relatively small and the Classics Department was enrolling fewer and fewer students in the Classical languages, as a result of a number of factors. Latin was being gradually phased out of the schools, until only three schools in the Harare area were teaching Latin up to A-level. Furthermore, for political and social reasons, white pupils at these schools, interested in continuing with Latin or any other discipline, seemed to prefer an education outside Zimbabwe to that offered locally.

In order to save the Classics Department at the University of Zimbabwe, it was absorbed into a tripartite department made up of Religious Studies, Philosophy and Classics, where the Classics section has grown from two posts to four. The most important reason for the survival of Classics in Zimbabwe is the vast growth in student numbers. Since 1980, the Zimbabwean government has committed itself to mass education. Schools have multiplied and, consequently, so has the number of school-leavers qualified to enter the University. During the second half of the 1980s, student enrolment at the University rose from about 2 000 to 10 000; it is now about 8 000. Because science subjects up to A-level are more difficult for poorly funded government schools to offer, most applicants to the University have no science qualifications, and so the greater part of the undergraduate population is accommodated in the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences.

The BA degree at the University of Zimbabwe is made up of three subjects, two of which are majors that are studied progressively through the three years of the programme. Classical Studies, which students have generally chosen as a minor, since it is not a school subject, has set its enrolment ceiling in the first year at forty students; most of these students take the subject again in the second year; but only about ten

students in third year do so. At the beginning of the academic year there is constant pressure on us, however, to accommodate more students, a pressure that we have resisted until recently, because the Classics section was understaffed.

As BA subjects, the Classics section offers Classical Studies, Latin, Greek and Classics. Very few students enrol in Latin with A-level qualifications, which means that most of our language students are beginners.. However, our beginners' course was traditionally designed to provide students, with O-level Latin, with a bridging course to enable them to enter the advanced course in the second year. Since our students do not have O-level Latin, they find the gap between beginners' Latin and the advanced course too wide and therefore drop the subject. For this reason, we are in the process of restructuring the languages so that a beginners' course in Latin or Greek can be followed for three years, or a good student can cross over to advanced Latin in the final year.

The Classical Studies course begins in the first year with two series of lectures, one an introduction to Greek and Latin literature, the other an introduction to ancient history and political philosophy. The literature course is divided into Homer and Greek tragedy in the first half of the year, and Cicero and Vergil in the second. The history course is divided into Greek history from its origins to the death of Alexander, and Roman history from its beginning to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Since this is a wide-ranging survey, it is difficult to find the right balance between a general overview and the necessity of communicating all the important facts. One always has to bear in mind that this subject has been outside the world-view of the students and therefore the lecturer cannot make any assumptions as to casual knowledge absorbed in the course of growing up, as one might with a Western student.

In the second and third years the courses are subdivided into four major fields of interest: literature, philosophy, history and art. Two sets of topics in each of these fields are alternated in a two-year cycle, with second- and third-year students attending the same lectures. The first year of the cycle consists of topics on comedy, satire, didactic poetry, the pre-Socratics and Plato, Athens in the fifth century BC, the late Republic, sculpture and numismatics; the second year treats lyric poetry, the novel, the Roman contribution to philosophy, early Christian philosophy, Athens in the early fourth century BC, the Roman empire, pictorial art and public architecture.

If a student attains an upper second or higher in any subject in the first year, he or she can enrol in a four-year honours programme. Unfortunately, the Classical Studies honours programme has, as a compulsory element, the beginners' course in Latin and Greek, which is too demanding, even for the very best students, in the time allocated. For this reason, most good students very sensibly shy away from the honours programme. One of the problems we are facing is how to transform Classical Studies students into Classicists.

Like the University of Zimbabwe, South African universities will probably experience huge increases in student numbers. There will be a need for a wide range of subjects to accommodate them all; after all, they cannot all be doctors, lawyers or civil

engineers. Most of them will return to the schools as teachers to raise the standard of education in areas hitherto neglected.

My experience has been that the best advertisement for Classical Studies is the students themselves. Most black students I have taught warm to the subject and find in it a useful source of reference material for other subjects such as English and History, and a way of filling the huge gap in their knowledge of Western culture. The Classical languages in South Africa will probably suffer a decline as they have here, but Classicists in South Africa have to find creative ways of keeping the subject alive.

IN THE MUSEUM

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

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

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The Museum of Classical Archaeology has in recent years come to be recognised as the specialist antiquities collection in Natal; this has resulted in loans of ancient material from individuals and more particularly from the municipal museums, substantially enhancing the permanent collection of painted pottery with a very wide range of small artefacts. Until 1995, however, there were no examples of larger-scale ancient sculpture.

In June 1995, the Museum was singled out to receive a generous donation from the Greek Government—the first such presentation to a country in Southern Africa: this included video tapes and booklets on archaeological sites, and most notably three plaster casts of ancient sculptures of the first rank archaeologically and aesthetically. The selection was well chosen to exemplify different periods (the Archaic as well as the Classical) and different functions of sculpture in ancient Athens, from sacred dedications to architectural enhancement. The earliest piece represented is the Archaic 'Peplos Kore', a standing figure of a maiden, the marble original of which was set up on the Akropolis at Athens in about 530 BC as a dedication to the goddess Athene. She stands 1.17 m. high, and the original in the Akropolis Museum (Acr.679) has substantial traces of ancient paint on the hair, facial features and garments:[1] on the cast the hair is tinted a pinkish colour in accurate imitation of the original. Her name derives from the observation that unusually among Archaic korai she wears a Doric peplos over her chiton.

A smaller Archaic relief sculpture (height 0.32 m., length 0.81 m.) from

[1] It is often a source of surprise to people that all ancient sculpture was originally painted in what would in our time be regarded as probably quite garish colours; free-standing figures had colour applied to hair, facial and other anatomical features and garments, and relief sculpture had additionally a brightly coloured background—usually either red or blue.

about 510 BC also preserves some of the ancient paint, and the plaster cast represents the once bright red background with a salmon pink, tinted to match the faded colour remaining on the ancient marble. This piece is known as the 'Ball Players Relief', one of a set of three which adorned the front and sides of a large marble base for a kouros (male standing statue); the original is in the Athens National Museum (Athens 3476). The front and one side of the base depict respectively athletes (a jumper, a pair of wrestlers and a javelin-thrower) and a cat-and-dog fight with onlookers; the other side, which is represented by the cast, depicts two teams of three youths facing each other: one youth is preparing to throw a ball, and the impression is of a game like volley-ball, although the ball is smaller and there is no net.

The third cast is of a relief from the Classical Period: the 'Victory Untying her Sandal' from the Akropolis Museum in Athens (Acr.12, height 1.06 m.). She was one of a number of winged victory-goddesses represented as attendant on Athene on the three sides of the marble balustrade (erected probably a little after 410 BC) around the tiny temple of Athene of Victory on the high bastion on the south-west 'corner' of the Akropolis, which protected its approach and entranceway at the west end. The Victories were shown constructing victory-trophies and leading animals to be sacrificed in celebration of victory: in the panel reproduced by the cast, the Victory is in the process of shedding her sandals so as to bring her offering barefoot. Her stance is unusual, as is the arrangement of her clothing, and the deeply-cut folds of her drapery create a rich, even baroque effect similar to that of the famous figures from the Parthenon pediments. This cast is in clear contrast to the simpler lines and surfaces of the two Archaic pieces.

The Museum of Classical Archaeology is indeed grateful both to the Greek Government and more particularly to Mr Ilias Fotopoulos, who was the Greek Consul in Durban at the time of the donation and who took a personal interest in arranging for the presentation. The acquisition of casts made directly from the original sculptures, and finished with expertise and care, allows students of the University of Natal and members of the wider community served by the University to appreciate at first hand the majestic beauty and aesthetic effect of ancient sculptures of the first rank, of a quality that no university museum could hope to emulate with original examples. This is an excellent way of allowing widespread access to such pieces while the originals remain where they belong as part of the Greek heritage—in the museums of Greece.

B. X. DE WET ESSAY

The paper judged to be the best student essay submitted to ***Scholia*** *by 30 June for the preceding year is published annually as the B. X. de Wet Essay. The competition is open to undergraduate students every year and to Honours students in even-numbered years. Classics Departments in Africa are encouraged to send their submissions to Professor Jo-Marie Claassen, Department of Latin, University of Stellenbosch, Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602, South Africa. Papers should not ordinarily exceed 3 000 words in length. The essays are judged anonymously by Professor Jo-Marie Claassen, Dr Sarah Ruden (Cape Town) and Mr Mark Hermans (Western Cape). There is a cash prize of R150. The author of the essay chosen for publication should be prepared to edit it if so requested. The final editing and preparation of the essay for publication are done by the Editors.*

This essay is named in honour of Emeritus Professor B. X. de Wet, who was Head of the Department of Classics at the University of Natal, Durban from 1975 to 1989.

THE *ATTIS* OF CATULLUS

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In 204 BC, as the long, but ultimately unsuccessful, invasion of Italy by Hannibal was nearing its end, another foreign force was entering Rome, the ecstatic cult of the Near Eastern mother-goddess Cybele, or Magna Mater, as the Romans called her.[1] She seems to have been regarded particularly as the patroness of Rome, and her worship was introduced probably to boost the spirits of a city beleaguered by a long and bitter war (although at this date Roman citizens were forbidden to officiate in the cult). With the consent of the Attalid king of Pergamon, a sacred black stone believed to be inhabited by the goddess was brought to Rome and set in a temple on the Palatine. With the stone and the cult came the usual attendant mythology, including the story of Attis (Agdistis), son of Nana, daughter of the Phrygian river-god Sangarius. Attis was conceived when his mother picked the blossoms of the almond tree, which had sprung from the severed male organs of Agdistis/Cybele, whom the gods had castrated. He died after castrating himself in a fit of madness caused by Cybele in revenge for his loving a mortal woman.[2]

[1] I wish to thank Dr. S. B. Jackson, Mrs A. P. Bevis and Professor W. J. Dominik for their assistance in editing this essay for publication.

[2] For the introduction of the cult, see M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome*[3] (London 1975) 198. For the myth, see N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (edd.), *The*

Roughly 150 years after the cult came to Rome, Catullus chose Attis as the central figure of what has been called 'perhaps the most remarkable poem in Latin',[3] poem 63 of the Catullan corpus. He was not the first poet to write on the cult of Cybele, or on Attis himself; indeed, it has even been supposed (though the view seems now to be little regarded)[4] that Catullus' *Attis* is merely a translation or adaptation from a Greek original. In the absence of evidence, this can be no more than idle speculation. What is certain is that Catullus has left us a poem on Attis and Cybele, a poem, moreover, of great artistry and power. The purpose of this essay is to examine the story Catullus tells, and how he tells it, and then to attempt to explain why he tells it as he does. Catullus' Attis is not the Attis of myth and cult ritual. He is Greek (59-67), not Phrygian; mortal, not half immortal.[5] He castrates himself not in a frenzy resulting from love, but out of hatred for it (17). He does not die, but lives, the slave of Cybele. However, many of these details become apparent only relatively late in the poem, and their significance will be seen more clearly in the context of an analysis of the *Attis* as a whole.

The poem opens with a flurry of (literally) frenzied activity, plunging the reader into a story which has already begun. By the end of the sentence which occupies the first five lines, Attis has come to Phrygia, has set off, immediately upon landing, for the grove of Cybele, and has committed the mad act of self-mutilation which will bind him to the goddess forever. These events are related at a breathless pace in lines full of words of speed, motion and action. Attis' ship is *celeri rate* ('a swift vessel', 1).[6] His eagerness on reaching the shore is encapsulated in the clattering *nemus citato cupide pede tetigit* ('the grove he eagerly reached on rapid feet', 2), and he rushes off (*adiitque*, 3) to Cybele's domain. He is evidently under the power of a force greater than his own mind (*stimulatus . . . furenti rabie, uagus animis*, 'urged on by a burning frenzy, his mind awhirl', 4), and under its influence, *deuolsit ilei acuto sibi pondera silice* ('he tore off with a sharpened flint the weight of his groin', 5). The emphatic positioning of the verb, and of *silice* ('flint'), tells of the violence of the act, and the fact that the instrument of Attis' mutilation is a sharpened flint emphasises the primitive force behind the deed. The elision early in lines 2, 3 and 5 adds to the sense of relentless speed, as does the metre. The *Attis* is the only complete extant poem in Latin using

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Oxford Classical Dictionary[2] (Oxford 1970) *s.v.* 'Attis', together with Paus. 7.17.5. Attis' divine status at this date has been challenged; see C. A. Rubino, 'Myth and Mediation in the Attis Poem of Catullus', *Ramus* 3.2 (1974) 153; K. Quinn (ed.), *Catullus: The Poems*[2] (London 1973) 283. For variants of the myth, see Hdt. 1.34f., Paus. 7.17.5.

[3] Quinn [2] 282.

[4] Cf. Quinn [2] 283; J. P. Elder, 'Catullus' *Attis*', in K. Quinn (ed.), *Approaches to Catullus* (Cambridge 1972) 394. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) 262 supports the idea.

[5] Though see above, n.2.

[6] I use the text of Quinn [2] throughout. All translations are my own.

galliambics,[7] the rhythm of hymns and music composed for Cybele,[8] and an extremely demanding one for a Latin poet, for in its pure form the galliambic line requires strings of short syllables which are very hard to come by in Latin. The dominance of short syllables gives the rhythm great rapidity, and the wide variation of the syllabic composition of the first half of the line gives it a sense of wildness and abandon appropriate to ecstatic cult worship.

The opening lines also hint at what is to emerge later: Attis has come by sea (1), which suggests that Phrygia is not his home; and Catullus' use of *opaca* ('shadowy', 3) to describe the darkness of Cybele's world anticipates the use of darkness and light to symbolise madness and sanity later in the poem. Line 6 begins a new sentence, and signals a slight slackening in pace, but no relief from the frenzy of the opening lines. There is strong alliteration, with 25 *t*s in the six lines down to 11, but the explanation for it is delayed until Attis picks up the *typanum* ('tambourine', 8) and begins to beat out a rhythm on its surface. Once again metre enhances meaning, for this was the very rhythm to which worshippers of Cybele beat their *tympana*,[9] instruments associated particularly with the cult; hence their description as *initia* ('initiation rites', 9): Attis' picking up the tambourine symbolises his entering the service of the goddess. This is also the *initium* of his first speech, one of praise to Cybele and encouragement to the other devotees. At this point there is a subtle change in Attis' grammatical gender, signalled by the feminines *citata* ('swift', 8), *adorta* and *tremebunda* ('began' and 'trembling', 11), marking Attis' total immersion in the unity with the goddess that her worship provides. This initiates a swing back and forth between the genders which pervades the rest of the poem.

Nothing has yet been said of anyone but Attis, but suddenly she[10] addresses her *comites* ('companions', 11). Her speech (12-26) opens with a remarkable pair of elisions, and a brief continuation of the alliteration which began in line 6, representing in sound Attis' urgent exhortation to her companions[11] to hasten, and indicating that she is speaking to the sound of the *tympanum* she beats. She acknowledges the power of Cybele, and it is clear that the goddess is now in control: the *Gallae* are addressed as *Dindymenae dominae uaga pecora* ('wandering beasts of the mistress of Dindymus [a mountain sacred to Cybele]', 13). At the same time, in one of the few similes in the poem, they are compared to

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[7] On which see Fordyce [4] 262f.; Quinn [2] 284f.; T. Frank, *Catullus and Horace: Two Poets in their Environment* (New York 1928) 74-76.

[8] Its name is related to that of the *Galli*, male devotees of the goddess.

[9] This is the more usual Latin form, which Catullus uses in line 29.

[10] I use the gender of the words in the poem.

[11] Addressed as *Gallae* (12), a rare feminine form of the more usual *Gallus*, supposed in ancient times to have been derived from the name of the River Gallus in Phrygia.

aliena . . . petentes . . . exules loca ('exiles seeking foreign lands', 14). Catullus has already suggested that Attis is foreign to Phrygia, and this simile reinforces that suggestion, especially by the emphatic initial position of *aliena* ('foreign') in this semi-chiastic line. The use of *exules* ('exiles') may also suggest the irrevocable nature of Attis' journey to Phrygia. He has left his homeland and now, because of his act of self-mutilation, may no longer return. Attis urges the *Gallae* to follow her: *sectam meam exsecutae duce me mihi comites* ('following my lead as my companions', 15), and Catullus may well have chosen to express the idea this way because of the obvious similarity of *secta* ('[my] lead') to the perfect participle of *secare* ('to cut'). Lines 16f. emphasise the abnormality of the situation, that the worshippers have come to a strange land across the wild sea (*truculentaque pelagi*, 16) and are emasculated.

Attis cries *hilarate erae citatis erroribus animum* ('cheer the soul of your mistress with your rapid wanderings', 18), emphasising that Cybele is in control, for she has now been called both *domina* (13) and *era* (18), both meaning 'mistress'. The wildness of the goddess and of her cult is prominent in Attis' speech, and the six clauses introduced by *ubi* ('where', 21-25) present every aspect of the worship of such a cult: music, ecstatic dancing and wild cries. Catullus' use of *Maenades* (23) is interesting, as the term usuually refers specifically to female devotees of Bacchus (Dionysos). It seems that the poet wishes simply to convey a lack of restraint and the orgiastic character of Cybele's rites, and is not too concerned to provide a technically accurate account of her worship. The speech is neatly concluded with a final exhortation to the revellers to ascend Mount Ida. Attis' instructions to hasten are, like the events of the opening lines of the poem, expressed in words of speed and motion. *Ite* ('go!') appears three times (12, 13, 19), *citatis* ('swift') occurs twice (18, 26), and *petentes* ('seeking', 14) and *celerare* ('hurry', 26) compound the effect. As the *Gallae* go on their way, the confusion of the cults of Cybele and Bacchus continues, for *thiasus* (28) is another word referring specifically to devotees of Bacchus. The cacophony accompanying Attis' speech and the subsequent procession is effectively conveyed by the onomatopoeic *ululat* ('ululates', 28), and by line 29, in which the caesura falls neatly between the two clauses, and the rhythm of the line therefore gives the impression of instruments answering each other. The pace remains relentless (the diction of 30 again indicates speed), and Attis' breathlessness comes across well in the long line 31, with the elision of *animam agens* ('gasping for breath') echoing her gulping breaths as she leads the *Gallae* to the grove of Cybele, which is once more called *opaca* ('dark', 32). Once more too are the revellers compared to beasts which have slipped free of their master's control (33); ironically so, for it is precisely because they are under the sway of Cybele that they behave as they do. The procession moves on apace, until it comes to the sacred grove (35-38). There, tired from long exertion (note the wonderfully languid *lassulae*, 'weary', 35), and lacking the nourishment of food (the use of Ceres to symbolise her produce is a neat archaic touch), the

revellers finally succumb to sleep, and the extended expression of the chiastic lines 37f., together with the soft sounds of these lines (particularly the *l*s and *n*s of *labante languore*, 'a languor falling'), suggests their slipping into slumber. This couplet clearly marks the end of the frenzied motion of the first part of the poem.

The second movement, as it were, opens with a beautiful description of dawn (39-43), and one can almost feel the warmth of the sun as it creeps through sky, land and sea. *Lustrauit* (40) is a particularly rich word, with connotations of observing (reinforced by *oris*, 'face', and *oculis*, 'eyes', in 39), of illuminating, and of purifying. The significance of the earlier emphasis on Cybele's grove as *opaca* ('shadowy', 3 and 32) now emerges: darkness suited the orgiastic revels, but day brings light and purification. There is a strong suggestion that a change will occur in the atmosphere of the poem, and this change becomes evident in part when Attis' gender reverts to the masculine (42),[12] indicating a slight return to normality. The personification of sleep in *Somnus* ('Sleep', 42) and the mention of *Pasithea* (43) signal the return of a saner world of clearly defined Greek and Roman gods as opposed to the Oriental frenzy of Cybele, and *trepidante . . . sinu* ('with trembling embrace') seems to enfold line 43 just as Pasithea welcomes her husband with open arms. As he[13] awakes, Attis slowly realises what has happened. The diction suggests the reawakening of reason with *pectore* ('breast', 45), *recoluit* ('recalled', 45), and *liquidaque mente uidit* ('saw with a clear mind', 46), but, as Quinn[14] suggests, the awakening is not without confusion, and the prominent position of *animo aestuante* ('his spirit seething', 47), coupled with a double elision, indicates Attis' sudden horror upon seeing what has happened, and his stumbling rush back to the sea, which seems now to represent the barrier between the land from which he has come and that in which he now is. It is interesting to note that, while Attis went to sleep with a group of companions, they have not appeared since the coming of dawn in line 39, and the speech Attis now makes on the shore stresses his sudden isolation. In line 49, Attis is again feminine, as if to remind the reader of his situation and that day has opened his eyes but cannot change what he has done.

The opening line of Attis' second speech (50-73) marks it as a formal lament as he addresses his now lost homeland. He compares himself to a runaway slave (51f.), recalling the earlier simile of the fugitive heifer (33), but again the comparison is ironically inappropriate, for Attis has left the freedom of his homeland to become the thrall of Cybele. No longer does he speak with joy of the orgiastic revels which once drew him to Ida (cf. 21-26): he sees only the snow and the cold of Cybele's mountain groves (52f.). The wildness of the goddess' home is

[12] *Excitam* ('aroused') is printed in many modern editions, but the MSS have the masculine, which seems more in the spirit of the passage.

[13] *Ipsa* ('she', 45) is another example of a modern emendation where the *ipse* ('he') of the MSS would seem adequate.

[14] Quinn [2] 292 *ad* 44-49.

no longer attractive but repulsive. Attis is no longer willing to compare himself to animals (as in 13) or to live among them. Line 55 expresses the loss he feels: he no longer knows where his homeland is; that is, he cannot return to it, and yet he longs to see it (56). *Pupula* ('little eyes') is a pathetic diminutive, and the double elision might represent a sob. He longs, that is, *rabie fera carens dum breue tempus animus est* ('while [his] mind is free for a short while from wild frenzy', 57), for he knows that his respite from the frenzy which has possessed him cannot last forever. There is a sense of the inevitability of Attis' recapture, but at least he can see that he was driven by a *rabies fera* ('wild frenzy'). The same sense of inevitability is evident in the three questions which occupy lines 58-60, questions that are pathetic in their simplicity, significant in their content:

> egone a mea remota haec ferar in nemora domo?
> patria, bonis, amicis, genitoribus abero?
> abero foro, palaestra, stadio et gyminasiis?
> (58-60)
> Am I to rush into these groves far from my home?
> Am I to live apart from homeland, property, friends and parents?
> Am I to live apart from forum, palaestra, stadium and gymnasia?

The emphatic *egone a mea remota* ('Am I . . . far from my', 58) underlines Attis' isolation, and the first person singular verbs standing last in 59 and first in 60 reinforce the impression. The juxtaposition of *nemora* ('groves') and *domo* ('home') in 58 is also significant. *Nemus* ('grove') has already occurred in various forms five times in the poem (2, 12, 20, 32, 52), once in apposition to *domus Cybebes* ('home of Cybele', 20), which is also repeated (35). Apart from these two instances, Catullus has not used *domus* ('home') before Attis' second speech, and *patria* ('homeland') also made its appearance only just before that speech (49), but has occurred four times since (49, twice in 50, 55), and appears again in 59. It seems that Catullus wishes to identify *nemus* as referring not just to any grove but specifically to that of Cybele which has become Attis' new home, whereas *domus* ('home') and *patria* ('homeland') are identified with Attis' old home. The juxtaposition in line 58, therefore, brings into sharp focus the struggle in Attis between the old home and the new: he longs to see again his *domus* ('home'), his *patria* ('homeland'), but he knows that he must inevitably return to the *nemus* ('grove') he has now accepted as his home by his irreversible dedication of himself to Cybele. Lines 59f. emphasise what that dedication has cost him: he can no more see his homeland, his possessions, his friends and family. He can no more go to the *forum*, *palaestra*, *stadium*, or *gymnasium*; and this provides the first indication of the origin of Catullus' Attis; for these (with the exception of the *forum*, which must stand for the *agora*) are the traditional social institutions of Greece, so much so that, during the Hellenistic period, they became the instruments of Hellenisation

wherever Greek culture spread. Attis is, then, a Greek, but a Greek now lost to Greece, who has given himself up to the savagery of Phrygia for ever. The realisation of all this is expressed in a single line of great emotion: *miser a miser, querendum est etiam atque etiam, anime* ('Poor, poor heart, you must grieve for ever and ever', 61), which, with its quadruple elision and mournful sequence of vowel sounds, as well as its pathetic repetitions, shows that the *lacrimantibus oculis* ('tearful eyes', 48) with which Attis saw the sea are now even more so. He goes on, in a further, more extended series of questions (62-72), to elaborate the theme of lines 58-60. First, he enumerates the many forms he has gone through (62f.), but reverses the order since it is as a [*notha*] *mulier* ('[false] woman'; cf. 27) that he now speaks. *Ephebus* (63), the term for a Greek boy undergoing military training, emphasises Attis' origins. He then elaborates further: he was a fine youth who had many admirers:

> ego gymnasi fui flos; ego eram decus olei;
> mihi ianuae frequentes, mihi limina tepida,
> mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erat,
> linquendum ubi esset orto mihi sole cubiculum.
> (64-67)
> I was the flower of the gymnasium; I used to be the glory of the oil;
> for me were doorways thronged, for me thresholds warmed,
> for me was the house garlanded with floral wreaths,
> when, at sunrise, it was time for me to leave my bedroom.

Once again there is a clear contrast between Attis as a member of civilised Greek society and Attis as the devotee of Cybele. No longer may he enjoy the attentions of the men who used to throng his doorstep hoping for his love. A striking feature of these lines, and indeed of lines 62-72 as a whole, is the frequency of the first personal pronoun. Of those eleven lines, eight begin with either *ego* ('I') or *mihi* ('for me'), and the pronoun appears in various forms in eight further places. It has been observed how Catullus presents Attis as isolated from line 39 onward, but this concentration of pronouns leaves no room for doubt: Attis is standing alone, having left his home for the shores of Phrygia and having now become disillusioned with the cult he has come to serve. In 68f., he plays bitterly with the genders, but the answer to his questions is clear: he *will* be *deum ministra et Cybeles famula* ('the slave-girl of the gods and handmaid of Cybele', 68) and all the other things he now detests to be. *Maenas* is once again used as a generic term for a devotee of a cult, but it has an added sting in Attis' case: it refers specifically to a woman. Attis' final question reveals once again the now strong contrast between the civilised city he has left and the wild wastes to which he has come: he must live among the beasts, live even as the servant of their mistress. Once again a series of questions is asked to which the answers are all too clear; once again Attis follows them with a line of sorrowful intensity: *iam iam dolet quod egi, iam iamque paenitet* ('Now, now I

regret what I've done. Now, now I'm sorry for it', 73). The recurring long syllables in this, metrically the shortest line of the poem, together with the drawn-out, sorrowful *m*s and the mournful repetition of *iam* ('now'), betray Attis' emotions: he sobs no longer (there is no elision here), but accepts the horror of the inevitable with pathetic, but futile, penitence. Catullus has constructed for Attis a masterful soliloquy of mourning and repentance consisting of two structurally equivalent units of equal length (50-61, 62-73), each conveying Attis' feelings in a series of rhetorical questions and statements of longing, concluding in a line of, in the first case, intense sorrow, in the second, sad resignation.

Catullus moves now into the third, and final, movement of the drama, for drama—tragedy, in fact—the *Attis* certainly is. There is a very brief passage of transition; only two lines, in fact (74f.), in which Attis' words fly up to the gods. Clearly, his *noua nuntia* ('new prayers', 75) are not to their liking, for there follows at once a passage of rapid and violent action recalling the first section of the poem, as Cybele sweeps onto the stage, drawn by lions, one of whom she sets upon Attis to bring him back under her power. Her introduction is suitably brief, and the action begins immediately as she looses the lion (76). *Laeuumque* (77) means literally that it is the lion on the left which is set upon Attis, but at the same time contains all the connotations of malice appropriate to the scene. The goddess briefly addresses her minister, and I think Lee is right to print *ferox* ('fierce', 78, 83) with an initial capital,[15] for it emphasises the violence inherent in the beast. It is a servant of Cybele, just as Attis is, but dreads to be: his fear of being the fellow of wild beasts has been realised. Cybele's instructions are full of words of action and of violence. The lion is goaded on with terse imperatives (78f.), his task to drive Attis back into the grove, *nemus*, the apparent symbolism of which is now confirmed. Cybele describes her power as *imperia* (80), a word the Roman understood to mean complete power, such as was occasionally given to a military commander in times of crisis. The violence of both goddess and lion is evident as Cybele orders her beast to beat its own back in the frenzy of the hunt (81), and then to fill the place with its roars (82). Her words occupy only six lines (78-83), but they are full of power. Four of those lines open with terse imperatives, and there is a harsh, grating alliteration of *r* throughout the speech, which also abounds in *f*s and *t*s, producing a distinctly martial sound. As the goddess releases the lion (84), it works itself into a rage (85), and then springs, its rapid, frenzied and destructive motion described in three brief clauses (86), two of which have no more than a verb. The effect is enhanced by a clattering alliteration of *t* (84-87). Finally, in three lines (87-89), the beast finds Attis, now called *teneram* (or *tenerum* if one follows the MSS)—'delicate' indeed before the lion's vicious charge—and the description of the whiteness of the sea and its shore (*albicantis*, 'white', in 87, and *marmora*, 'foam', in 88) throws into even higher relief the metaphorical darkness of the beast. As the

[15] G. Lee (ed. and tr.), *The Poems of Catullus* (Oxford 1991) 78, 80.

lion attacks, Attis, now certainly feminine, rushes off into the *nemora fera* ('wild groves', 89) to be forever a slave. The Phrygian *nemus* ('grove') has triumphed over the Greek *domus* ('home') once and for all. It is significant that in extant Greek poetry, it is usually the priest of Cybele who dominates the lion, not, as here, the other way round.[16] Lines 90-93 are the poet's final plea to the goddess—a plea clearly acknowledging her power—that she will keep her madness from him and his home (*domo*, 92). Catullus thus concludes a masterfully constructed poem telling the story of a Greek Attis, at first eagerly joining in the frenzy of Cybele's cult, then deeply disillusioned with his new life, but finally forced by power greater than his own to accept it, not from his initial love, but from fear.

That Catullus 63 is a remarkable and skilful poem which presents a new version of the myth of Attis is clear, and it is this very uniqueness which compels one to ask why Catullus wrote the *Attis*, and why he chose to write it as he did. On one level, the *Attis* is simply a finely-crafted mythological tragedy. Attis is a handsome youth from a civilised Greek city who enjoys the attentions of many, but who has no taste for love, and chooses instead the wild life of a priest of Cybele. Caught up in the ecstasy of cult worship, he comes to Phrygia, to the grove of Cybele, the very heart of her cult and her power, and, in a frenzy of devotion, he dedicates himself to the goddess by castrating himself and so casts off forever the role of an ordinary man. This first frenzy passes, however, and only then can Attis see the emptiness of the life he has chosen, and the magnitude of his loss. His earlier enthusiasm is matched by his despair at this, but he has made his choice and it is too late for regrets. His self-mutilation has ensured that he can no more return to Greece and his former place in society, and Cybele soon forces him to give up all thoughts of home and return to her grove and to her service. The tragedy is concluded when, in the manner of a chorus, the poet adds his prayer that he may be free of the madness which drove Attis to his ruin.

Given this reading, one may agree, at least in part, with Elder's interpretation of the poem as 'a study of fanatic devotion and subsequent disillusionment':[17] Attis certainly experiences both, as analysis of his speeches has shown. Nor does such an interpretation force one to see lines 74-90 as 'a sort of coda to a sonata which has already been played . . . a mere external depiction of what has already happened within Attis' psyche', as Rubino argues against Elder.[18] Rather, one may see this section of the poem as a graphic description of the power of the religious fanaticism which brought Attis to Phrygia and which will not let him leave, and so as an emphatic warning of the danger of succumbing to the enticements of Cybele, that is, of falling prey to the 'fanatic devotion' of which Elder speaks; for from such

[16] J. K. Newman, *Roman Catullus and the Modification of the Alexandrian Sensibility* (Hildesheim 1990) 215.

[17] Elder [4] 213.

[18] Rubino [2] 154.

devotion there is no escape. The *Attis*, then, may be seen as 'a study of fanatic devotion' which describes the initial ecstasy it brings and the bitter disillusionment which often follows, and which warns of the trap such devotion may prove to be.

This conclusion is both interesting in itself and useful for another, broader interpretation of the poem. In the Catullan corpus, the *Attis* falls within a group of four long poems (61-64) in which there is a recurrent theme of love and of marriage, which the members of a civilised society see as the natural consequence of love. Catullus' Attis is from Greece (or at least from a Greek city), whose society in ancient times both Greeks and Romans considered the epitome of civilisation. Attis describes (59-67) how he attended all the social institutions of the Greek city—the *agora*, the *palaestra*, and so on—and how he grew from child (*puer*) to youth (the distinctly Greek *ephebus*) to young man (*adolescens*), a young man much admired, and, in the Greek fashion, much pursued by his (male) admirers. But youth is not eternal, and soon Attis must take the next step expected of him by society, that of marriage, his duty to conventional love. The *Attis* contains only one reference to love, but it is a telling one: in his first speech Attis says that he and his companions have come to Phrygia and emasculated themselves 'out of excessive hatred of Venus' (*Veneris nimio odio*, 17). Attis has shirked his duty to love, has refused to take the step society demands of him, has chosen to devote himself not to the Greek (and Roman, since the word used is *Venus*) goddess of love, but rather to the Phrygian goddess of nature, Cybele. Implicit in this act is the rejection of society (represented by the *domus*, 'home', and the *patria*, 'homeland') for savagery (represented by the *nemus*, 'grove'). Moreover, the decision is irreversible, as is symbolised by Attis' castration: once he has rejected society, it can receive him back no more. Instead of observance of the ways of Venus, he has chosen 'fanatic devotion' to Cybele, and his punishment is disillusionment and lifelong servitude. Quinn[19] observes how Attis is described as having hands as white as snow (*niueis manibus*, 8), delicate fingers (*teneris . . . digitis*, 10) and rose-coloured lips (*roseis labellis*, 74). He takes this to indicate that Attis is somewhat effeminate, rather than 'to suggest some miraculous change in Attis' appearance following his self-emasculation'. The two interpretations are not really all that different: Attis' self-emasculation is the result of the dominance of the feminine element in him. It is his inability to control this element that brings him to Phrygia and drives him to dedicate himself to Cybele, that inability which makes him, in the words of Rubino, 'come under the power of the divine woman and accept her dangerous offer',[20] that inability which is rewarded only with slavery. The poet's prayer at the end of the *Attis* is his plea to himself and to men at large to heed the poem's warning, to accept their part in society and so be free of the destructive madness of Attis. On this interpretation, the poem becomes a

[19] K. Quinn, *Catullus: An Interpretation* (London 1972) 250.

[20] Rubino [2] 168.

mythological tale with a social moral.

Finally, a possible biographical interpretation of poem 63 may be considered, for, while it is always dangerous to try to fit a work of art to what is known of the life of the artist (in Catullus' case not very much, nor very certainly), the highly personal quality of much of Catullus' work should not be forgotten even when he turns to a mythological subject. Catullus may well have read earlier poems on the subjects of Attis and of Cybele, and poem 35 would suggest that one of his friends wrote on Cybele, but his own *Attis* was almost certainly also inspired by the impression made upon him by what he saw of the worship of Cybele at Rome, and also during his sojourn in Bithynia on the staff of a Roman praetor.[21] If poem 63 does indeed post-date Catullus' trip to Asia Minor,[22] then it was written fairly late in his life, and one may suppose that it represents, at least in part, Catullus' feelings about his affair with Lesbia. It is not very likely that Catullus would have chosen to go to Bithynia if the affair were still going well, for during so long an absence, Lesbia might well tire of waiting for him. It may justifiably be supposed, then, that the relationship had ended, or was at least in trouble, by 57, and that Catullus' journey to Bithynia was motivated in part by a desire to leave Rome for a while and rid his mind of the disastrous affair. Against this can be quoted poem 11, generally taken as a final farewell to Lesbia, and datable to at least 55 BC, since it refers to Caesar's campaigns of that year (11.9f.). However, it must be remembered that poem 11 as we have it is a literary expression of the bitterness of a lover scorned, and may well have been composed, or at least put into its final form, some time after the end of the actual relationship to which it probably refers. If Catullus' trip to Bithynia was subsequent to the end of his affair with Lesbia, or coincident with a rough patch in it, it is possible that he wrote of Attis' flight to Phrygia with his own escape to Bithynia in mind, that Attis' initial frenzy and subsequent disillusionment correspond to his own initial passion and subsequent despair, Attis' bondage to Cybele to his own inability to break with Lesbia once and for all, and that his final prayer is a plea to his own sanity to prevail over his infatuation. Such a biographical interpretation is, however, at best highly speculative, and must be subordinate to more artistic and literary readings of the poem.

Whatever fruit Catullus' *Attis* may bear for the historian or biographer, its sheer artistry and power cannot fail to recommend it to the reader as a literary *tour de force* sprung from the mind and pen of a highly talented poet at the very peak of his creative powers.

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[21] Cf. Cat. 10. The date of his trip was probably 57/6 BC.

[22] On Catullus' life and the problems of dating both poems and events, see Lee [15] xviii-xxiv, Quinn [2] xii-xx, Fordyce [4] ix-xiv.

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