At the Crossroads of Greco-Roman History, Culture, and Religion

Papers in Memory of Carin M. C. Green

Edited by

Sinclair W. Bell and Lora L. Holland

Copyright 2018. Archaeopress Archaeology. All rights reserved. May not be reproduced in any form without permission from the publisher, except fair uses permitted under U.S. or applicable copyright law.

EBSCO Publishing : eBook Collection (EBSCOhost) - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via
AN: 2481556 ; Sinclair W. Bell, Lora L. Holland.; At the Crossroads of Greco-Roman History, Culture, and Religion : Papers in Memory of Carin M. C. Green
Account: ns335141

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

At the Crossroads of Greco-Roman History, Culture, and Religion

Papers in Memory of Carin M. C. Green

Edited by

Sinclair W. Bell and Lora L. Holland

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78969-013-2
ISBN 978-1-78969-014-9 (e-Pdf)

© Authors and Archaeopress 2018

Cover image: 'Arc antique à Orange', Édouard Baldus, 1853, salted paper print from paper negative. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 2006.565, The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation Gift, through Joyce and Robert Menschel, 2006 (photograph in the public domain).

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Carin M. C. Green (30 March 1948–2 July 2015).
University Relations Slides, the University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa,
inv. nr. fs-2-01-2398-12-ts-2.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Contributors

Sinclair W. Bell, Northern Illinois University
Mark L. Damen, Utah State University
Lesley Dean-Jones, University of Texas–Austin
Helena Dettmer, University of Iowa
Karl Galinsky, University of Texas–Austin
Martha Habash, Creighton University
Lora L. Holland, University of North Carolina, Asheville
Samuel J. Huskey, University of Oklahoma
Jane Wilson Joyce, Emeritus, Centre College
Lynne A. Kvapil, Butler University
Brenda Longfellow, University of Iowa
John F. Miller, University of Virginia
Andrew Montgomery, Samford University
Mark Morford, University of Virginia
Christopher Nappa, University of Minnesota
Robert Holschuh Simmons, Monmouth College
Svetla Slaveva-Griffin, Florida State University
John Svarlien, Transylvania University
Mark Thorne, Luther College
Frances B. Titchener, Utah State University
Kathryn Williams, Canisius College

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Contents

Abbreviations iii

Preface vii
Sinclair W. Bell

Acknowledgments ix

Bibliography of Works by Carin M. C. Green xi

Introduction xv
Lora L. Holland and Sinclair W. Bell

Crossroads 1: Greek Philosophy, History, and Historiography

1. **Herakles' Thirteenth Labor** 1
Svetla Slaveva-Griffin

2. **Thucydides' Verdict on Nicias (7.86.5) and the Paradigm of Tragedy** 19
Frances B. Titchener and Mark L. Damen

3. **'Men, Friends': The Sociological Mechanics of Xenophontic Leaders Winning Subordinates as Friends** 31
Robert Holschuh Simmons

4. **(Pre)historiography and Periegesis: Pausanias' Description of Mycenae for a Roman Audience** 45
Lynne A. Kvapil

Crossroads 2: Latin Literature, History, and Historiography

5. **Catullus and the Personal Empire** 59
Christopher Nappa

6. ***Ex opportunitate loci*: Understanding Geographic Advantage (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 48.1–53.8)** 73
Andrew Montgomery

7. **Sallust's Allobrogian Envoys** 87
Kathryn Williams

8. **Horace, *Satires* 1.7 and the *urbanissimus iocus*** 101
John Svarlien

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

9. **Ovid among the Barbarians: *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b** 115
Helena Dettmer

10. **The Introduction of Characters in Petronius** 133
Martha Habash

11. **Playing the *Victor*: Triumphal Anxiety in Neronian Satire** 155
Mark Thorne

Crossroads 3: Greco-Roman Material Culture, Religion, and Literature

12. **Theocritus' First Idyll and Vergil's First Eclogue: Two New Translations** 175
Jane Wilson Joyce

13. **The Popularity of Hercules in Pre-Roman Central Italy** 191
Karl Galinsky

14. ***Spolia* as Strategy in the Early Roman Empire: Reused Statues in Augustan Rome** 203
Brenda Longfellow

15. **Ovid and the Legend of Capella (*Fasti* 5.111–128)** 217
John F. Miller

16. **Galen and the Culture of Dissection** 229
Lesley Dean-Jones

17. **Warts and All: The Paratexts in the Iowa Lucan** 249
Samuel J. Huskey

18. **Three Editions of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*** 261
Mark Morford

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
Aevum	Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AN	Ancient Novel
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AntCl	L'Antiquité classique
ArcheologiaWar	Archeologia: Rocznik Instytutu historii kultury materialnej Polskiej Akademii
ArtB	Art Bulletin
AW	Ancient World
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CJ	Classical Journal
ClAnt	Classical Antiquity
ClMed	Classica et mediaevalia
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CW	Classical World
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
G&R	Greece & Rome
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
IJCT	International Journal of the Classical Tradition
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MD	Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PLLS	Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar
QUCC	Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica
RevArch	Revue archéologique
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica
RSC	Rivista di studi classici
SCI	Scripta classica Israelica
SyllClass	Syllecta classica
SymbOslo	Symbolae osloenses
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
WS	Wiener Studien

Abbreviations for ancient authors and works follow the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

List of Figures

Frontispiece. Carin M. C. Green (30 March 1948–2 July 2015). University Relations Slides, the University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa, inv. nr. fs-2-01-2398-12-ts-2
Figure 9.1. Structure of Tristia 5.7a 118
Figure 9.2. Ring structure of lines 25–42 of Tristia 5.7b 123
Figure 9.3. Ring structure of lines 43–68 of Tristia 5.7b 125
Figure 9.4. Ring structure framing the central section of Tristia 5.7b 126
Figure 13.1a–c. Hercules in assault. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 144, figs. 7–9. 192
Figure 13.2. Hercules with stylized lion skin. After Colonna 1970, fig. 386. 193
Figure 13.3. Votive statuette of Hellenized Hercules. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 147, fig. 20. . 194
Figure 13.4. Lion skin and Hercules. After Colonna 1970, fig. 374. 195
Figure 13.5. Hercules in repose. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 147, fig. 14. 195
Figure 13.6. Hercules of Cafeo. After Bonacasa 2013, 69 [fig. 37]. 196
Figure 13.7. Votive statuette of Hercules Farnese type. After Moreno 1989, pl. VI. 198
Figure 13.8. Hercules with attributes of Dionysus. After Colonna 1970, fig. 476. 199
Figure 15.1. Fountain frieze, marble, second century CE. Musei Vaticani inv. 9510. Photo: Vatican Museums, published with permission. 226

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Preface

> *Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit.*
>
> Were I to deny that I feel the loss of Scipio, how far I should do so aright I must leave the wise to judge; it would certainly be a lie. For I am sore grieved at being bereft of a friend, the like of whom, as I think, there never will be again — the like of whom, as I can confidently assert, there never was before.
>
> Cicero, *De amicitia* 3.10 [Stout and Massom]

Carin M. C. Green passed away from cancer at the age of 67 on July 2, 2015. This volume honors her memory through contributions from her colleagues and former students at the University of Iowa, where she was a professor emerita of classics, as well as from colleagues in the classics community at large.

There are many ways to celebrate the memory of Carin and to recall her searching mind and intellectual bravery as a scholar; her generous and fair-minded spirit as a colleague; her nurturing yet disciplined nature as a mentor; her steadfastness and fierce loyalty as a friend and cheerleader; and her steely strength, warmth, and wicked wit as a person. All of these aspects of her, and of course still others, emerge warmly in the chapters in this volume.

While Carin was always reticent about direct acknowledgments of her own scholarly gifts or contributions, I suspect she would have approved of the delicate traces of that legacy to be found here, from the kinds of questions that she dared to ask to her willingness to try out new approaches to her surgical focus and penetrating eye for detail. Carin held the highest standards for herself—and for those around her. Every contributor to this volume spent time

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in her presence, sought her counsel, and read her work; every one of us became a better scholar as a result. Thus, in myriad ways, Carin's own scholarly method lives on through these pages.

It is her contributions as a teacher, however, that she herself appears to have held most dear. For Carin was, to the last, a dedicated and inspiring educator who relished the sheer joy and sense of purpose that came from being in the classroom. It was a joy of learning that she shared liberally, one that all of us who came into contact with her were fortunate enough to witness and experience. In an inspiring note that she sent me several months before her passing, she wrote:

> The thing is, there is the necessity of the future in being in the classroom. It is a good feeling, not having to think about it—it is inevitable. I like being part of that—it's like having a real horizon with mountains and paths and the sea on the other side. I am filled with happiness.

And so in the face of our loss of her—scholar, teacher, *amica*—we take solace in the memory of her grace, her indomitable will, and her joyful spirit.

Sinclair W. Bell

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Acknowledgments

A project of this nature never could have come together without the support of a broad range of individuals, all of whom contributed to honoring Carin in their own distinct ways. First, we would like to thank the contributors themselves: not only for their fine submissions, but also for their encouragement, commitment, and patience as this project evolved from idea to book. We also appreciate the support of many friends and colleagues who could not contribute but who made helpful suggestions and offered encouragement at various stages.

Second, we are grateful to Carin's former colleagues at the University of Iowa, especially John Finamore, chair of classics, and at the University of Virginia, especially John Miller, for their subvention of the volume. We also thank the University of North Carolina at Asheville for contributing funds that assisted us with the production costs.

Third, we are indebted to the three referees (including John Makowski) for their insightful comments and detailed feedback, which helped to improve the volume; to Denise Anderson at the University of Iowa Libraries for procuring the photograph of Carin that appears here as frontispiece; to Rachel Hendrick, Director of Operations for *Choice*, and to Stacie Beach for help with bibliography; to Jane Barry for her excellent work in copyediting the text; and to David Davison of Archaeopress for taking on this project and producing it with professionalism and dispatch.

Finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to Peter Green, who helped us steer the project at a crucial early stage and has been a pillar of strength and an inspiration throughout.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bibliography of Works by Carin M. C. Green

Barbarian and King: The Character and Historiographical Genesis of Jugurtha in Sallust's Bellum Jugurthinum. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1991.

Stimulos dedit aemula virtus: Lucan and Homer Reconsidered. *Phoenix* 45.3 (1991):230–254. Reprinted in *Lucan: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, edited by C. Tesoriero, F. Muecke, and T. Neal, 149–183. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Catalogue: The Mosberg Collection of Roman Republican Silver Coins: Introduction and Catalogue Raisonné, for the Bayley Museum, University of Virginia, and the Larrington Trust. Unpublished; held by the University of Virginia, 1992.

De Africa et eius incolis: The Function of Geography and Ethnography in Sallust's History of the Jugurthine War (BJ 17–19). *Ancient World* 24 (1993):185–197.

Review of L. Davis, The Silver Pigs, Shadows in Bronze, and Venus in Copper (London and New York, 1989, 1990, 1991). *Texas Classics in Action: Bulletin of the Texas Classical Association* (Winter 1993):12–15.

Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.444–46: A Reconsideration. *Classical Philology* 89.1 (1994):64–69.

The Necessary Murder': Myth, Ritual and Civil War in Lucan, Book 3. *Classical Antiquity* 13.2 (1994):203–233.

Review of E. Fantham, Lucan: De Bello Civili (Book II) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). *Classical Outlook* 71.3 (1994):115.

Commentaries on Lucan. *Texas Classics in Action: Bulletin of the Texas Classical Association* (Winter 1995):11–15.

Did the Romans Hunt? *Classical Antiquity* 15.2 (1996):222–260.

Terms of Venery: *Ars Amatoria* I. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126 (1996):221–263.

Free as a Bird (Varro De re rustica 3). *American Journal of Philology* 118 (1997):427–448.

Review of J. S. Richardson, *The Romans in Spain* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996). *Choice* February 1997.

Claudius, Kingship, and Incest (*Annales* 12.8). *Latomus* 57.4 (1998):765–791.

Review of F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, translated by F. Philips (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). *Choice* May 1998.

Review of M. Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). *Choice* May 1998.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Review of D. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998). *Choice* December 1998.
Review of S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy*, Books VI–X, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). *Choice* April 1998.
Review of P. Southern, *Domitian: Tragic Tyrant* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). *Choice* January 1998.
Review of J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). *Choice* July–August 1999.
Review of D. Sperber, *The City in Roman Palestine* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). *Choice* July–August 1999.
Review of C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). *Choice* July–August 1999.
The Slayer and the King: *Rex Nemorensis* and the Cult of Diana. *Arion* 3d series 7.3 (2000):24–63.
Review of B. Ankarloo and S. Clark, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, vol. 2: Ancient Greece and Rome (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). *Choice* June 2000.
Review of C. Hedrick, History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). *Choice*, October 2000.
Review of E. Hemelrijk, Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) *Choice*, March 2000.
Review of P. Freeman, Ireland and the Classical World (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001). *Choice*, September 2001.
Review of T. Harrison, Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). *Choice*, April 2001.
Varro's Three Theologies and Their Influence on the Fasti. In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at Its Bimillennium*, edited by G. Herbert-Brown, 71–100. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Review of C. Barton, Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001). *Choice*, January 2002.
Review of L. Brisson, Sexual Ambivalence: Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity, translated by J. Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). *Choice*, November 2002.
Review of B. Croke, Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). *Choice*, June 2002.
Review of D. Ogden, Greek and Roman Necromancy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). *Choice*, October 2002.
Review of B. Vivante, Events That Changed Ancient Greece (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002). *Choice*, December 2002.
Review of I. Gradel, Emperor Worship and Roman Religion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). *Choice*, June 2003.
Review of C. Morgan, Early Greek States beyond the Polis (London: Routledge, 2003). *Choice*, January 2004.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Review of M. Rose, The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). *Choice*, June 2004.
Review of J. Scheid, An Introduction to Roman Religion (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). *Choice*, April 2004.
Review of P. Wiseman, The Myths of Rome (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004). *Choice*, June 2005.
Review of J. Davies, Rome's Religious History: Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus on Their Gods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). *Classical Journal* 101.3 (2006):329–331.
Review of A. Gowing, Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). *Choice*, September 2006.
Review of K. Kagan, The Eye of Command (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). *Choice*, December 2006.
Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Recipient of 2009 CAMWS First Book Award, Classical Association of the Middle West and South.
Review of S. Bartsch, The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006). *Choice*, January 2007.
Review of Livy, The History of Rome, Books 1–5, translated, with an introduction, by V. M. Warrior (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006). Choice, April 2007.
Review of S. P. Oakley, A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X, Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). *Choice*, June 2006.
Review of R. Parker, Polytheism and Society at Athens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). *Choice*, January 2007.
Review of F. Santoro L'Hoir, Tragedy, Rhetoric, and the Historiography of Tacitus' Annales (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). *Choice*, March 2007.
Review of M. Flower, The Seer in Ancient Greece (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008). *Choice*, December 2008.
The Gods in the Circus. In *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome: In Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*, edited by S. Bell and H. Nagy, 65–78. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.
Review of M. Comber, ed., Sallust: The War against Jugurtha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). *Choice*, August 2009.
Holding the Line: Women, Ritual and the Protection of Rome. In *Women and Gender in Ancient Religions: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by S. P. Ahearne-Kroll, P. A. Holloway, and J. A. Kelhoffer, 279–295. Tübingen and Munich: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
Review of J. Rüpke, A Companion to Roman Religion (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007). *Phoenix* 64.1 (2010):196–199.
The Shepherd of the People: Varro on Herding for the Villa Publica in De re rustica 2. In *Roman Republican Villas: Architecture, Context, and Ideology,* edited by J. Becker and N. Terrenato, 32–44. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Entries s.v. Agricultural Treatises, Columella, Diana, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hunting, Roman, Hunting, Greek. In *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, edited by M. Gagarin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Review of J. Blits, Telling, Turning Moments in the Classical Political World (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010). *Choice*, October 2011.

Review of F. Cairns and M. Griffin, eds., Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar, Fourteenth Volume, 2010: Health and Sickness in Ancient Rome; Greek and Roman Poetry and Historiography, *ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs* 50 (Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2010). Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2011.03.80.

Review of D. Levene, Livy: On the Hannibalic War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). *Choice*, May 2011.

Review of E. Orlin, Foreign Cults in Rome: Creating a Roman Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). *Choice*, May 2011.

Review of A. Mehl, Roman Historiography: An Introduction to Its Basic Aspects and Development (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2011). *Choice*, February 2012.

Review of V. Pagán (ed.), A Companion to Tacitus (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012). *Choice*, August 2012.

Review of N. Rosenstein, Rome and the Mediterranean 290 to 146 BC: The Imperial Republic (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). *Choice*, December 2012.

Consus and Consualia. In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R. Bagnall et al. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah17098.

Theologia tripertita. In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R. Bagnall et al. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah17448.

Review of M. A. Flower, Xenophon's Anabasis, or The Expedition of Cyrus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). *Choice*, July 2013.

Review of E. Foster and D. Lateiner, Thucydides and Herodotus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). *Choice*, April 2013.

Review of J. North and S. Price (eds.), The Religious History of the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). *Classical Bulletin* 92.2 (2015):346–356.

Review of J. Rüpke, Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012). *Phoenix* 66.3–4 (2013): 454–456. DOI: 10.7834/phoenix.66.3-4.0454. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7834/phoenix.66.3-4.0454.

Review of M. Flower, Xenophon's Anabasis, or, The Expedition of Cyrus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). *Choice*, July 2013.

Review of C. Davenport and J. Manley, eds. Fronto: Selected Letters (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014). *Choice*, August 2014.

†Entries s.v. Diana and Varro, Marcus Terentius. In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religions*, edited by E. Orlin. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Review of J. Connolly, The Life of Roman Republicanism (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015). *Choice*, May 2015.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Introduction

Lora L. Holland and Sinclair W. Bell

Crossroads evoke certain images and associations. We might picture the Greek hero Heracles contemplating the choice between Virtue and Vice at a metaphorical crossroads, or the goddess Hecate, whose supernatural triple aspect mirrored the meeting point of three roads—places fraught with the dangers of the unknown as well as its thrills. Or perhaps we think of Robert Frost's road not taken, or crossroads imagery as it is appropriated in songs, books, and games, or even the industrialized world's four-way intersection with stop signs. All are places where one pauses, searches, decides, and proceeds down a different road.

When approaching antiquity the modern person stands, in a sense, at such a crossroads. So much of the past is unknown to us. As scholars we encounter dead ends, rough trails, and other hazards. Sometimes those encounters are a result of the ancient evidence itself; at other times they arise from our own aporia in the face of that evidence. The interconnectedness of humanity permits us to approach these ancient crossroads, but with mixed results. When we try to read, look at, or in some other way access the past, our ideas, emotions, and understanding of ancient ideas, emotions, and ways of seeing the world form virtual crossroads, where we pause, search, decide, and proceed on a new path. We interact and converse with the past—though we cannot change it—through the disciplines we have imposed on it in the modern world. In other words, our way of looking means that we cannot help but examine antiquity at intersections, whether of text, material culture, and reception, of literature, history, and philosophy, of geography, biology, and anthropology, and myriad others. And, in fact, such an approach is productive, since so little from the ancient world survives.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

This volume, with its diversity of topics and approaches to the range of genres in the ancient world, is intended both to appeal to the general scholar with varied interests and to offer students a wide scope through which to consider those genres. Chapters are arranged according to three major interconnected themes: (1) Greek philosophy, history, and historiography; (2) Latin literature, history, and historiography; and (3) Greco-Roman material culture, religion, and literature. Under these headings contributors address a wide range of concerns across the ancient Greco-Roman world, demonstrating the cross-cultural exchange of ideas around the ancient Mediterranean along with the reception of and continuing dialogues with these ideas in the medieval and modern worlds. But the chapters also form myriad other crossroads, tracing themes such as friendship and leadership and the reception of ideas in the arenas of medicine, art, and war. New interpretations of literary works and material culture enhance our knowledge of key modalities in the study of the classical world. In other words, the chapters make us pause, think, decide, and proceed down a new path.

The theme of crossroads is also a homage to our dear, departed friend, mentor, and colleague Carin Green, whose interests were intimately tied to the themes presented here. Her most important contribution to scholarship in classics was her 2007 book, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge University Press). A salient aspect of Diana was, of course, her role as Trivia, the goddess of crossroads, and Carin dedicated many years to understanding the cult of this goddess. Before her untimely death, she had also drafted a large part of a second book, on sacred boundaries in the Circus Maximus of Rome, and it is a great loss to the field that she was unable to complete it. Thus, it was perhaps inevitable that the contributions to this volume would reflect her own journey, pursued at the junctures of historiography, literature, and religion.

Overview

In the first section of this volume, 'Greek Philosophy, History, and Historiography,' four chapters address philosophers' and historians' approaches to the question of the human condition. Mythological heroes (e.g., Heracles) might be held up as role models for humanity in its struggle with mortality, while events and places (e.g., Mycenae) could serve as warnings to deter human recklessness.

The ancients encountered crossroads as well, and often we gain important insights by detecting new paths in well-trod areas of ancient discourse. A good example of this kind of discovery opens the volume. In 'Herakles' Thirteenth Labor,' Svetla Slaveva-Griffin explores the development of Heracles as a

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

philosophical hero in Neoplatonism, particularly in the works of Plotinus and Proclus, Heracles *philosophicus* is a common *topos* in the ethical discourse of all Hellenistic schools, where his labors are a symbol of mankind's endurance of mortality. Plato does not engage with Heracles as a philosophical hero, leaving Plotinus and his successors to construct their own portrait, with two outcomes. First, Heracles' dual nature exemplifies the Neoplatonic understanding of the soul as originating from and returning to the divine (in Neoplatonic terminology, the 'intelligible') realm. Second, his labors represent the ponderous earthly life of the embodied soul. The Neoplatonists appropriate the duality of Heracles' posthumous fate to illustrate the ontological distinction between the true essence of the soul, its higher self, and its lower, experiential self. Slaveva-Griffin's exploration of this new path in Neoplatonism illuminates the heterogeneity of Heracles' dual nature and locates him on the ever-growing list of healing heroes in late antiquity. Her chapter and that of Galinsky on Italian statuettes of Hercules (Chapter 13) offer the potential for a cross-fertilization of ideas from two very different paths that converge at the crossroads embodied by the liminal hero himself.

In Chapter 2, 'Thucydides' Verdict on Nicias (7.86.5) and the Paradigm of Tragedy,' Mark L. Damen and Frances B. Titchener shift from an exemplary hero whose exploits, we may recall, were often portrayed in Greek tragedy to a cautionary tale about the Greek general Nicias and the tragedy of the Sicilian expedition during the Peloponnesian War. The authors assert that Thucydides, being at what we may call his own crossroads in considering how best to present to his audience these horrific events, resorts to the conventions of tragedy. In his final verdict on Nicias' role in the Sicilian disaster (7.86.5), Thucydides departs from his tendency to be dispassionate and nonjudgmental in his history. For writing about catastrophic news from a faraway place with few or no eyewitnesses at hand, the authors propose, he adopts the protocol of the messenger speech in tragedy, in which the audience expected certain features: speeches cited in direct discourse, an escalation toward *pathos*, much gruesome detail, and at the end a moral, which often contains negatives, superlatives, and first-person pronouns. All of these are designed to aggrandize and generalize the individual case by translating it into a more comprehensive lesson on the nature of human life.

Dual themes of leadership and shared humanity, even when persons of upper and lower classes are involved, are central to Robert H. Simmons' contribution, 'Men, Friends': The Sociological Mechanics of Xenophontic Leaders Winning Subordinates as Friends' (Chapter 3). The techniques Xenophon used in his presentation of effective leaders such as Xenophon and Clearchus in the *Anabasis*, Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia*, and Crito and Archedemus in the *Memorabilia* have been

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

explored in recent years to illuminate leadership skills—a topic popular not just in classics but also in political science, management, public administration, and other fields. Simmons argues here that Xenophon's portrayals illustrate the use of the sociological concepts of propinquity, homophily, and transitivity to make subordinates feel genuine friendship toward their social superiors. These contemporary sociological principles help us to understand the dynamics that inspired that emotion in ancient Greece, even when there was no direct contact between upper- and lower-class individuals. Themes related to leadership and social class feature in several other chapters, again offering the reader opportunities for making new connections between genres and approaches.

The value of both people and places as *exempla* is the subject of Lynne A. Kvapil's Chapter 4, '(Pre)historiography and *Periegesis*: Pausanias' Description of Mycenae for a Roman Audience.' As she notes, Pausanias' account of Mycenae as it appears in his *Periegesis* is most frequently read with reference to archaeological discoveries made after Heinrich Schliemann began his investigations of the site in the late 19th century. Kvapil's recognition of the Greco-Roman crossroads at which Pausanias found himself brings a fresh perspective to his presentation. Her close examination of the *logos* of Mycenae suggests that, rather than relaying useful information on the site's prehistoric or historical past, Pausanias aimed to educate his Roman audience in the symbolic meaning of Mycenae, a place whose past was shaped by shame and destructive ambition, exemplified in the mythical heroes (e.g., Perseus) who are said to have once occupied it. The contiguity of Pausanias to the Roman world makes him an appropriate signpost pointing the reader to Rome. The theme of travel, introduced by Pausanias and very appropriate for our overarching theme, emerges in several of the following chapters.

The chapters in the second section, 'Latin Literature, History, and Historiography,' speak to the divergent experiences of Romans, especially as seen against the backdrop of the emergent, sprawling imperial project. They incorporate themes of friendship, leadership, and travel to foreign lands, further illuminating the crossroads that shaped ancient authorial decision-making. In 'Catullus and the Personal Empire' (Chapter 5), Christopher Nappa discusses three poems of Catullus (9, 31, and 46), which seem like simple poems about travel and homecoming and have been studied in the past largely for their aesthetic properties. By contrast, Nappa's chapter looks at how each poem, in subtle ways, suggests that absence from home for civil service or mercantile reasons irrevocably alters the individual and affects those closest to him. For instance, Veranius' habitual garrulousness is forever marked by the style and content of administrative discourse. Catullus' longed-for Italian home

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

will always to some extent reflect Lydia, and his experience of the Troad turns his return home into his own version of the *Odyssey*.

The discomfort of being in a foreign place also figures in the next two chapters and ties in to the earlier themes of leadership and war. In Chapter 6, '*Ex opportunitate loci*: Understanding Geographic Advantage (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 48.1–53.8),' Andrew Montgomery considers how Sallust's narrative of the battle at the river Muthul incorporates a geographic matrix developed in his earlier digression on Africa (17–19). This matrix is critical to understanding Jugurtha's command during the battle and the specific challenge facing the Roman army at this stage of the war. Montgomery's study unpacks essential elements of this geographic matrix within the digression and then reveals its application within the narrative of battle, demonstrating an important aspect of Sallust's literary craft.

War, foreigners, and geographic dislocation also feature in Kathryn Williams' 'Sallust's Allobrogian Envoys' (Chapter 7). Sallust's narrative of the Allobrogian envoys in his *Bellum Catilinae* shows Roman senators in the late 60s BCE striving for personal wealth and military glory at the expense of imperial policy. Sallust takes advantage of his readers' awareness of Caesar's later successes in Gaul to contrast the dismissive treatment of the envoys with Caesar's own political character. In this way, the envoys of the Allobroges proved a critical element in Sallust's historical analysis of the larger issues of the Roman Senate, Gaul, and Julius Caesar in the waning days of the Roman Republic.

Discussion of the fallen Julius Caesar and the late Republic continues in John Svarlien's 'Horace, *Satires* 1.7 and the *urbanissimus iocus*' (Chapter 8). As he notes, both the view that *Satires* 1.7 fails as a poem and the alternative view that it is actually about much more substantial issues than the short story it relates might initially suggest are based on the typical experience of modern readers who find the pun on *rex* lame and the poem unfunny. Its inclusion in Satires 1 is compelling evidence that this poem pleased Maecenas and his *amici*. The success of 1.7 as a poem depended upon Roman laughter at an *urbanissimus iocus*. The pun, which hinges on recalling Brutus' role in Caesar's assassination, is evidence of Octavian's much more secure political position in 36/35 BCE, when Horace published *Satires* 1.

Chapters 9 and 10 are concerned with identifying the internal structure of a work of literature and the implications for its overall meaning of understanding that structure. The first also ties into the themes of discomfort in foreign locales and longing for home mentioned above. In 'Ovid among the Barbarians: *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b,' Helena Dettmer addresses the issue of unity in *Tristia* 5.7, which

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

appears as a poem of 68 verses in all manuscripts except one: B*erolinensis lat. oct*. 67 (B2) marks the start of a new poem at line 25. Dettmer seeks to show how structural analysis can demonstrate that *Tristia* 5.7 does in fact form two distinct poems. In particular, discrete structures integrate each poem and emphasize different themes. Recognizing the relationship of these structures enables the reader to see more readily how *Tristia* 5.7b elaborates on the theme of *Tristia* 5.7a by emphasizing how Ovid has been adversely affected by cultural isolation and constant contact with the local Pontic tribesmen. Perhaps we can also infer that the crossroads Ovid was compelled to approach led him to a dead end.

We return to themes of social class and negotiating place in 'The Introduction of Characters in Petronius,' in which Martha Habash discusses an aspect of Petronius' narrative technique in the *Satyrica* that has not been properly studied in isolation from the larger work. Habash presents a set of general narrative and onomastic patterns that Petronius employs in introducing characters, both substantive to the plot and incidental, followed by a case study of one particular episode, that of Quartilla, which exemplifies many of these narrative patterns. Set against the backdrop of commentary on freedman status and the *nouveau riche* in the age of Nero, Petronius' narrative presents a dizzying array of crossroads as its main characters make their own carefree version of an Odyssean journey, in contrast to Catullus' contentment with home and an end to travel.

In this section's final chapter, Nero himself makes an appearance, but as a failed leader (in contrast to the Xenophontic leaders of part 1). In 'Playing the *Victor*: Triumphal Anxiety in Neronian Satire' (Chapter 11), Mark Thorne discusses how the legitimacy of a Roman emperor during the Julio-Claudian era was strongly linked to that ruler's valid association with military victory. As Thorne notes, Augustus set a high standard for his successors, who, apart from Tiberius, struggled to meet these expectations and claim triumphal honors. Neronian satire—represented by Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Persius' sixth satire—turns out to be an unexpected source for insight into this understudied aspect of Nero's reign. Nero in the end was seen as an imposter who only played at being the *victor*. From our modern perspective, this makes Nero's well-known affinity for Greek tragedy rather poignant: though not quite a Nicias, he was a failed leader in a time of anxiety.

The final section, 'Greco-Roman Material Culture, Religion, and Literature,' invites the reader to ponder crossroads created by the merging of divergent worlds and disparate types of evidence. Chapter 12 is Jane W. Joyce's 'Theocritus' *First Idyll* and Vergil's *First Eclogue*: Two New Translations.' Both Theocritus and Vergil 'consciously exercise an apparently artless artistry,' Joyce writes,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

but Vergil differentiates his bucolic world from that of Theocritus, infusing it 'with the poignancy of a beloved place now lost.' As fictive characters speak and sing in their idealized rustic settings, each poet invites his urban and urbane audience to notice and enjoy the naturalistic artifice he has employed in the creation of an artificially natural world. Joyce uses a combination of internal poetic techniques to aid the listener and external visual cues to aid the reader of these programmatic poems. Crossroads are often a feature of the bucolic world, whether in literature or in Roman art, so Joyce's translations are an appropriate signpost at the beginning of this final section of the book.

The rustic, Vergilian landscapes that Joyce summons up take on material form in the following chapter. In 'The Popularity of Hercules in Pre-Roman Central Italy' (Chapter 13), Karl Galinsky discusses the hero's importance as demonstrated especially by votive statuettes found in south and central Italy, dating to the period from the sixth to the second century BCE. The increasing publication of this non-élite material is employed as tangible confirmation of the phenomenon of Hercules' popularity, about which Galinsky offers some new insights. He briefly surveys some of the most recent evidence and contextualizes it, *inter alia*, with his earlier scholarship on Hercules' importance as seen in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Chapter 14 introduces the theme of the classical legacy. In '*Spolia* as Strategy in the Early Roman Empire: Reused Statues in Augustan Rome,' Brenda Longfellow treats a topic of particular interest for scholars of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Longfellow discusses how and why certain statues were singled out for reuse in imperial building projects initiated under the first emperor of Rome, Augustus. Her chapter seeks to demonstrate that long before the Arch of Constantine provided the most famous example of spoliation, emperors incorporated statues and other recycled material into their new building projects in Rome.

The discussion turns to Augustan poets in John F. Miller's 'Ovid and the Legend of Capella (*Fasti* 5.111–128).' Chapter 15 analyzes the insufficiently appreciated section of Ovid's *Fasti* on the myth of the nymph Amalthea and her goat, which nursed baby Jupiter in Crete and was placed in the heavens as a reward. Miller focuses on the manipulation of sources, the construction of the narrative, and the particular Ovidian thematics. His chapter also connects the literary tradition to a previously overlooked but important piece of evidence provided by a high imperial relief sculpture, thus leading us to a new understanding at the intersection of literature and material culture.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Chapter 16 also seeks to revise our understanding of the origins and duration of a Roman imperial practice, with an exploration that ties into previous themes of social class. In 'Galen and the Culture of Dissection,' Lesley Dean-Jones considers the prevailing belief that there was little if any systematic dissection of the human body between the third century BCE and the 13th century CE. She argues that if we give full weight to the statements made on the subject by Celsus and Galen and the culture in which they were working, this consensus needs reexamination. Indeed, Dean-Jones holds that the practice of human dissection was more prevalent in the second century CE than is generally believed, and that Galen's failure to perform it himself was a cause rather than a result of its discontinuance. Here, as we consider how we may now adjust our understanding of the ancient practice of human dissection, we have a case, as it were, of adjusting the signpost at a crossroads to point in a different direction.

Chapters 17 and 18 also take a new look at the classical legacy, this time as captured in the later manuscript tradition. At first glance these chapters seem to be out of place at our three crossroads, but in reality, the connection forged between an ancient text and the modern scholar is a central theme of this volume. Though often neglected as accessible topics for students, manuscript studies and textual analysis are critical bridges for our study of the ancient world, without which our paths of inquiry would be severely limited. In 'Warts and All: The Paratexts in the Iowa Lucan' (Chapter 17), Samuel J. Huskey discusses two previously unpublished colophons and other paratextual items in a 15th-century manuscript of Lucan at the University of Iowa. The details that he uncovers attest to the enduring interest in the poet as well as to the tradition of poetic composition in Latin. His chapter also captures well the spirit of poetic dialogue with the past that pervades the manuscript itself.

In a similar vein, Mark Morford looks at 'Three Editions of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.' Chapter 18 is a study of three editions of Lucan's *Bellum civile* in the collections of Smith College: Simon Bevilaqua's edition of 1493, the 1502 second edition of Aldus Manutius' octavo, and Richard Bentley's edition of 1760. Bentley's erudition, good judgment, and keen conjectures shed new light on the text, yet in Housman's and Shackleton-Bailey's editions, few of Bentley's conjectures have been adopted. Morford concludes that although the poet's text has attracted the best editors of their time, 'he languishes in university curricula and deserves to be restored.' Lucan himself sits at the intersection of poetry and history and merits exploration by students of the next generation—who will create their own new crossroads.

The theme of crossroads defines many qualities of this volume. The need to pause, reflect, and move forward down a new path is a vital part of learning

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

how to think critically. The chapters collected here speak to students without excessive jargon or obfuscation, making them ideal for sparking the imagination of advanced undergraduate and graduate students. For classics scholars, they make important contributions to current issues and debates. For scholars in fields afar, they offer critical new paths. For instance, Slaveva-Griffin's analysis of the dual nature of Heracles, who must suffer as a human before elevation to the divine sphere, has the potential to engage scholars of early Christianities. Dean-Jones's revision of Galen's views on the practice of human dissection will be of interest to scholars in a wide range of scientific and medical fields. We hope that all the readers of this volume find in it many a path at whose end they will pause, reflect, and proceed to a new understanding of both the ancient world and the world today.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

1

Herakles' Thirteenth Labor

Svetla Slaveva-Griffin

In memoriam C. M. C. Green, magistrae animae

Herakles is a household name in Greek mythology, literature, and the visual arts.[1] His dual ancestry, entwining immortality and mortality as the son of the 'king of gods and men' and an Argive princess of Perseid stock (Hard 2004, 246–249), makes him universally appealing. Bacchylides' Herakles pronounces, 'Best for mortals not to be born, nor to see the light of the sun' (*Olympia* 5.160–162, trans. Stafford 2012, 123), while Hesiod rejoices at Herakles' posthumous fate: 'Happy at last, his great work done, he lives / Agelessly and at ease among the Immortals' (*Theog.* 954–955, trans. Lombardo 1993).[2] The first quotation strikes

I am grateful for the warm reception of the conference version of this article at the annual meeting of the *International Society for Neoplatonic Studies* in Seattle in June 2016, attended by a number of Carin Green's students. My gratitude goes to Menahem Luz, Giannis Stamatellos, and Suzanne Stern-Gillet for their incisive comments.

[1] His manly figure, wrapped in a lion skin and holding a club, is a Panhellenic icon, found on vases and coins, on metopes and in sculpture. In his larger-than-life exploits, both comedians and tragedians found food for reflection about human nature, destiny, personal and divine duty, strength, and endurance. Herakles has long been an object of scholarly attention; recent contributions include Hard 2004, 246–286; Stafford 2005, 2012.

[2] Bacchyl. *Olympia* 5.160–162: Θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον / μηδ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν / φέγγος

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

at the heart of humans' perception of mortality; the second captures their striving for immortality.

The symbiotic duality of Herakles' nature, emphasized by his having a twin brother who was mortal, could not go unnoticed by sophists and rhetoricians, who, as early as the fifth century BCE, made him a *topos* for philosophizing. Prodicus' allegory of Herakles' encounter with Virtue and Vice, personified by two women of antithetic appearance and endowments,[3] was followed by Isocrates' admonition to Macedonian youth, in *To Demonikos*, to emulate the hero's virtue (Stafford 2012, 124), joined in due course by Aristotle's *Hymn to Virtue* (*PMG* 842), the Cynics, and the Stoics. Diogenes of Sinope celebrated Herakles' life of endurance with a public defecation, enacting the hero's cleaning of Augeas' stables. Seneca saw him as a paragon of Stoic virtue and praised him and Odysseus as 'unconquered by toils . . . and victors over all terrors' (*Constant.* 2.1), while Epictetus brings the parallel between the two heroes onto the cosmic stage, where Herakles is described as 'cleansing the world' (*Diss.* 3.24.13.3–6).[4] Even in Herakles' violence toward his family, Epictetus recognizes the hero's insight—reflecting upon his own divine lineage—that every man is a son of Zeus (*Diss.* 3.24). Herakles' philosophical portrait reveals a trend of shifting attention from his moral excellence to rationalizing his divine genealogy. The rising trajectory of this shift is recorded in the first century CE by Heraclitus, the Stoic, in *Homeric Problems* 33.1.1–5:

> Herakles should be thought of not as someone so trained in bodily power that he was the strongest man of his time, but as a sensible man and an initiate of heavenly wisdom who brought to light philosophy which had been plunged into the depths of fog, as it were, as the most learned Stoics agree. (Trans. Stafford 2012, 128.)
>
> Ἡρακλέα δὲ νομιστέον οὐκ ἀπὸ σωματικῆς δυνάμεως ἀναχθέντα τοσοῦτον ἰσχῦσαι τοῖς τότε χρόνοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων καὶ σοφίας οὐρανίου μύστης ὡσπερεὶ κατὰ βαθείας ἀχλύος ἐπιδεδυκυῖαν ἐφώτισε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, καθάπερ ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ Στωικῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. [Buffière]

[Irigoin]; *Theog.* 954–955: ὄλβιος, ὃς μέγα ἔργον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνύσσας / ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα [West].

[3] As reported in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.1.21–34; see Stafford 2012, 123–124.

[4] Respectively, *Constant.* 2.1: *invictos laboribus . . . victores omnium terrorum*, and *Diss.* 3.24.13.3–6: τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ περιελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην / ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντα / καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ καθαίροντα [Schenkl].

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

At the turn of the first millennium, Herakles emerged as a Prometheus-like figure. He shed his physicality to reveal his truly divine nature, dedicated to the enlightenment of mankind.[5]

In this brief survey of Herakles' illustrious career among philosophers of all persuasions, the Platonists now take center stage, and specifically Plato's successors in late antiquity. From Plotinus to Proclus, all the major Neoplatonists were attracted to the hero's philosophically empowered image. Considered synchronically, they pursued two main themes: the nature of the relationship between the deified Herakles on Olympus and his image in Hades, as depicted in the famous *Nekyia* in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11.601–603), and the long moralistic tradition, sketched above, focusing on Herakles' labors as *exempla virtutis*.

The Neoplatonists' more narrow interest in Herakles originates in a text-critical problem. At least since Aristarchus' recension of the Homeric corpus in the second century BCE, lines 601–603 in book 11 of the *Odyssey* have been athetized.[6] They introduce the appearance of Herakles' shadow amid the pageantry of the dead:

> Next I saw manifest the power of Herakles
> An image, for he himself has gone
> Feasting amid the gods, reclining soft
> With Hebe of the ravishing pale ankles.
> (Trans. Fitzgerald 1998, modified)7
>
> Τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακληείην,
> εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
> τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην . . . [Stanford]

The son of Zeus and Alcmene is the last person Odysseus encounters on his katabatic journey. Herakles' address to the 'divine son of Laertes' captures his bitter recapitulation of life. In Odysseus, he sees a fellow sufferer who will, he expects, meet—if he has not already met—a fate similar to his own.[8] In Herakles' knowing eyes, being 'a son of the gods' (διογενὲς) and 'resourceful'

[5] This intellectualized version of Herakles also fits Plato's portrait of the first philosophers, who received the divine gift of knowledge from a certain Prometheus (*Phlb.* 16c5–10). Like Prometheus, Herakles was praised by the Cynic Diogenes (6.71) for putting 'nothing before freedom.'

[6] Armstrong 1984, 4:121n2; Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 2:114; Stanford 1992, 1:403.

[7] The last two lines share the tone of Hesiod's description of Herakles' merry life on Olympus (*Theog.* 954–955).

[8] Herakles is not far from the truth concerning Odysseus' past and future. Odysseus visits the underworld on Circe's instruction, after he rejects her offer of eternal life; he is in search of his own spiritual rebirth in the physical world (Holtsmark 1966).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(πολυμήχανος) is not enough to allow Odysseus to escape his 'ill fate' (κακὸν μόρον), 'destined to grinding / labors like my own in the sunny world' (*Od.* 11.18–19). Unprompted, 'the great Herakles' (so called by Proclus, In *Cra.* 117.9–10) summarizes:

> "Son of Kroníon Zeus or not, how many
> days I sweated out, being bound in servitude
> to a man far worse than I, a rough master!
> He made me hunt this place one time
> to get the watchdog of the dead: no more
> perilous task, he thought, could be; but I
> brought back that beast, up from the underworld;
> Hermês and grey-eyed Athena showed the way." (*Od.* 11.620–626; trans. Fitzgerald 1998)
>
> Ζηνὸς μὲν πάϊς ἦα Κρονίονος, αὐτὰρ ὀϊζὺν
> εἶχον ἀπειρεσίην· μάλα γὰρ πολὺ χείρονι φωτὶ
> δεδμήμην, ὁ δέ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀέθλους.
> καί ποτέ μ' ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψε κύν' ἄξοντ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλον
> φράζετο τοῦδέ γέ μοι κρατερώτερον εἶναι ἄεθλον.
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἀνένεικα καὶ ἤγαγον ἐξ Ἀΐδαο·
> Ἑρμείας δέ μ' ἔπεμπεν ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.' [Stanford]

This is the last piece of knowledge Odysseus takes back to the world of the living. Herakles' characterization of his life as one of 'difficult labors' (χαλεποὺς . . . ἀέθλους, *Od.* 11.622) draws the *Nekyia* to an end. The image of the hero and his labors, however, lingers long after it. The idea that the road to immortality goes through the perils of mortality is as unsettling for the epic poet as for those after him.

The tension created by the narrative's suggestion that there is one Herakles in heaven and another one in the underworld did not escape the Neoplatonists' notice. Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus each visited the lines in question. In a true philological spirit, Porphyry expressed concern about the logical consistency of the lines in his *Commentary on the Odyssey*:

> But how is Herakles god if he remains here? How is it possible for him to be both in Hades and in heaven? . . . We athetize the two verses from 'image' to 'enjoys in a good company.' (*Ad Od.* 11.568.3–8, trans. mine)[9]

[9] Later, at *Ad Od.* 24.1.1–10, Porphyry testifies that line 626 is on Aristarchus' spurious list.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Πῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐνταῦθα μένων θεός; καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ; . . . τοὺς δὲ δύο στίχους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀθετοῦμεν· εἴδωλον καὶ τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς. [Schrader]

Still, Porphyry's textual skepticism should not be mistaken for lack of interest in Herakles. He refers frequently to the hero in his *Commentary on the Iliad* and even uses the etymology of his name as an example of how 'Homer philosophizes' (φιλοσοφεῖ Ὅμηρος, *Ad Il.* 15.7).[10] The passage in question demonstrates the versatility of Porphyry's exegetic style. In strictly textual matters, he wears his philological hat and does not practice philosophical hermeneutics. Proclus is less concerned with the logical flow of the passage, and yet he is aware that 'much has been said about Herakles' deification at many places' (*In R.* 1.120.17–18). Plotinus is the least explicit of the three, as we would expect. He addresses the difficulty surrounding the episode in the penultimate chapter of his treatise *What Is the Living Being, and What Is Man?* (also known to us as *Ennead* 1.1). This is the second-to-last piece he wrote (number 53 of the Enneads in chronological order), which Porphyry placed first in his thematic organization of the collection as the launching point for his master's philosophy. Plotinus had already visited the topic of Herakles in his great treatise *On Difficulties about the Soul* (*Enn.* 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5, written respectively as numbers 27, 28, and 29 and thus chronologically preceding *Enn.* 1.1; *Plot.* 5.20–24).

The problem with lines 601–603 of book 11 is how to reconcile the two outcomes of Herakles' posthumous fate.[11] An anonymous scholiast ascribes the verses to Onomacritus, an Orphic writer living in Pisistratus' Athens (Stanford 1992, 1:403). The scholiast is compelled to clarify that Odysseus meets only Herakles' 'image' (εἴδωλον) in the underworld, while Herakles himself (αὐτός) enjoys the company of the gods (*Od.* 11.601–603). As noted above, Porphyry elides the lines to sidestep the question. But what is a textual problem for Homer's ancient critics, including Porphyry, becomes a golden conceptual opportunity for Plotinus and Proclus. Plotinus seizes it at the end of *Ennead* 1.1:

> The poet seems to be separating the image with regard to Herakles when he says that his image is in Hades but he himself among the gods. He was bound to keep to both stories, that he is in Hades and that he dwells among the gods, so he divided them. (*Enn.* 1.1.12.31–35)[12]

[10] Cf. *Ad Il.* 6.488.44–49, 11.385.1–6, 19.108.1–11.

[11] Herakles' appearance in the underworld contradicts the popular belief in his apotheosis, but it is also internally supported by *Il.* 18.117–119, where the poet invokes Herakles' death as proof that even the strongest men are mortal. See also Herodotus' account of Herakles' double cult as both an immortal and a mortal (2.42.9–44.21).

[12] Here and below, the Greek text of the *Enneads* follows Henry and Schwyzer 1964, 1977, and the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Χωρίζειν δὲ ἔοικεν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτοῦ διδοὺς ἐν Ἅιδου, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λόγων κατεχόμενος, καὶ ὅτι ἐν θεοῖς καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἅιδου· ἐμέρισε δ' οὖν. [Henry and Schwyzer]

Furthermore, Plotinus is comfortable with the poet's division because he finds it conceptually consistent with the standard Platonic dualism that he outlines next:

> But perhaps this is the most plausible explanation of the story: because Herakles had his active virtue and in view of his noble character was deemed worthy to be called a god—because he was an active and not a contemplative person (in which case he would have been altogether in that intelligible world), he is above, but there is also still a part of him below. (*Enn.* 1.1.12.35–39)
>
> Τάχα δ' ἂν οὕτω πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος εἴη· ὅτι δὴ πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ καλοκἀγαθίαν θεὸς εἶναι, ὅτι πρακτικός, ἀλλ' οὐ θεωρητικὸς ἦν, ἵνα ἂν ὅλος ἦν ἐκεῖ, ἄνω τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔτι ἐστί τι αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω.

Plotinus is not the first Platonist to pay attention to the contradiction between the Odyssey and the cultural *topos* of Herakles' immortality. Plutarch, in *On the Face on the Orb of the Moon* (*De fac.* 944f–945a), has already given his Platonic take on the lines, and we can be sure that others did so before him.[13] Armstrong's intuition that Plotinus is treading in familiar territory here is spot on. It is less certain, however, that Plotinus is unaware of the text-critical problem with the lines. If he did not know that the lines were considered interpolated, he—we may suppose—would have no reason to begin his exegesis of them with the remark that 'perhaps this is the most plausible explanation of the story' (τάχα οὕτω πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος, *Enn.* 1.1.12.35). The statement implies that he is aware of other interpretations, some of which are less plausible.[14]

---

translation is that of Armstrong 1966–1988, with modifications. Notably, Armstrong translates εἴδωλον as 'shade,' whereas I translate it throughout as 'image,' which in my opinion better conveys Plotinus' view of the soul, in which Herakles' mortal nature is an image of his true divine self.

[13] Armstrong (1984, 4:121n2) assumes that there were other interpretations as early as the Old Academy. Plutarch (*De fac.* 944f–945a) distinguishes between a higher rational part, the particular self (αὐτὸς ἕκαστος), and a lower image (εἴδωλον), closely connected with the body. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vit. Hom.* 2.123; Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 16. For a fuller explanation of Plotinus' philosophical and historical sources, see Kalligas 2014, 130.

[14] Porphyry downgrades Plotinus' strong-armed use of πίθανος in *Enn.* I.1.12.35 to ἀπίθανος in *Ad Od.* 11.568.5, a line that refers to Hebe's controversial participation in Herakles' Olympian festivities in the passage from his *Commentary on the Odyssey*, cited earlier.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Although Plotinus' interest in the lines is not unique, his interpretation offers an uniquely Plotinian perspective. Herakles' 'split' ontological status is not a point of concern for him but an opportunity to embed Platonic dualism in its proper cultural context. In his organically unfolding principles of reality, the ontological distinction between true existence in the realm 'there' and its sense-perceptible expression in the world 'here' presupposes a corresponding distinction within the layers of the soul.[15] Even at the level of the individual soul, the distinction is further stratified by a scale of virtues as stepping stones for a person's return to the intelligible origin of reality.[16] In Herakles' dual status as an εἴδωλον in Hades and a reinstated Olympian, Plotinus distinguishes between 'the practical mode of life,' related to the 'civic' virtues (πολιτικαὶ ἀρεταί), and 'the contemplative mode of life,' related to the purifying virtues (καθαρτικαὶ ἀρεταί).[17] His position stands against the Stoic view of Herakles as a contemplative hero, as expressed in the quotation from Heraclitus' *Homeric Problems* (*All.* 33.1.1–5) above.

Plotinus stages the interpretation of lines 11.601–603 on his own Platonic terms. Although Plato does not engage with the Homeric textual problem, Plotinus induces the proper Platonic context in the beginning of the chapter that introduces the passage.[18] He looks into Plato's parallel at the end of the *Republic* (*Resp.* 611d7–612a5) between understanding the true nature of the soul and seeing the sea-god Glaucus. To see the true nature of the soul, Plotinus cautions, we need to 'knock off its encrustations' (περικρούσαντας τὰ προστεθέντα) and 'look at its philosophy' (εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν) and see 'with what principles it is in contact' (ὧν ἐφάπτεται καὶ τίσι συγγενὴς οὖσά ἐστιν ὅ ἐστιν, *Enn.* 1.1.12.13–17). The Herakles in the company of the Olympians is the real Herakles, the sea-god without his encrustations, who presents the true nature of the soul. Herakles' εἴδωλον in Hades then is an image of his true self, a

[15] On Plotinus' psychology, see Blumenthal 1971; Emilsson 1988, 25–35; and most recently Caluori 2015; on *Enn.* I.1.12, see Blumenthal 1971, 94n21.

[16] In *Enn.* 1.2, devoted to the subject of virtue, Plotinus lays the framework for what his successors develop as an elaborate scale of virtues. See Kalligas 2014, 134.

[17] For the conceptual distinction between the two kinds of virtues, see *Enn.* 1.1.2.2–4. In *Enn.* 1.1.12 Plotinus focuses on the difference between the 'active' mode of virtues (i.e., the practice of civic virtues in daily life) and the higher, 'contemplative' mode of the purifying virtues.

[18] Although Herakles and the Heraklidae are mentioned numerous times throughout the Platonic corpus, a closer inspection reveals that Herakles is not for Plato a serious object of philosophic pursuit. The most noteworthy references to Herakles highlight, with a light tone, Socrates' argumentative skills. At *Phd.* 89c5–12, Socrates and Phaedo playfully compare each other to Herakles and Iolaus, Herakles' faithful nephew and a 'brother-in-labor.' At *Euthyd.* 297b10–c2, Socrates admits that his method of philosophizing needs its own Iolaus to lend him a hand in finishing off all the heads of his argument.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

shadow his true self casts down in the realm of sense-perception.[19] According to Plotinus' interpretation of Glaucus, Herakles' life as a mortal hero amounts to nothing but 'encrustations' (τὰ προστεθέντα) that have attached themselves to his 'image' or his 'lower' self and covered up his true nature, his 'higher' self (*Enn.* 1.1.12.14–15).[20] The encrustations are formed by Herakles' experiences in his earthly life. In his case, these are his 'labors' (ἄθλα), 12 and counting.

Plotinus uses the ontological difference between the immortal Herakles and his image in Hades to accentuate Plato's understanding that the true nature of the soul is not what we see in the soul's physical life. But he also recast Plato's simile of Glaucus in a new light and in line with Homer's portrayal of Herakles. Although there is no explicit allusion to the underworld in Plato's treatment of Glaucus, we can note the structural proximity of the episode to the katabatic journey of Er at the end of the *Republic*. Plotinus casts his explanation of the higher and lower layers of the soul in the marked language of *katabasis* and *apokatastasis*, the two ontological stages of Herakles' life:

> The ascent and the separation is not only from this body but from all that has been added. The addition takes place in the process of coming-to-be; or rather coming-to-be belongs altogether to the other form of soul. We have explained how the process of coming-to-be takes place; it results from the descent of the soul, when something else comes to be from it which comes down in the soul's inclination. (*Enn.* 1.1.12.18–23)
>
> Ἡ δὲ ἀναχώρησις καὶ ὁ χωρισμὸς οὐ μόνον τοῦδε τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαντος τοῦ προστεθέντος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γενέσει ἡ προσθήκη· ἢ ὅλως ἡ γένεσις τοῦ ἄλλου ψυχῆς εἴδους. Τὸ δὲ πῶς ἡ γένεσις, εἴρηται, ὅτι καταβαινούσης, ἄλλου του ἀπ' αὐτῆς γινομένου τοῦ καταβαίνοντος ἐν τῇ νεύσει.

The passage prepares the ground for Plotinus' interpretation of Herakles' image, cited above. The poet's act of separating (χωρίζειν, *Enn.* 1.1.12.31) the two versions of Herakles is foreshadowed by defining the distinction between

---

[19] Plotinus' insistence on the true Herakles' detachment from the physical world is further supported by the fact that even though the hero was worshiped throughout the Greek world, no tradition marks his tomb (Ekroth 2010, 101, 110).

[20] Plato's Glaucus is doubly propitious for Plotinus' philosophic hermeneutics. In addition to the standard accounts of Glaucus as a shape-shifting sea-god, sought for his prophetic gift—which is what Plato has in mind—he was a mortal fisherman from Boeotia. One day, while collecting his fish, he noticed that the ones that had fallen on a particular patch of grass did not die. He followed their example and ate the grass, which had special properties and made him immortal. His is a story of a mortal's apotheosis, not unlike Herakles'. For the full account of his myth, see Hard 2004, 221.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the higher and lower soul as a separation (χωρισμός, *Enn.* 1.1.12.8) as well.[21] The descent of the soul (καταβαινούσης and καταβαίνοντος) in the body is a katabatic act, personalized in Herakles' descent to the underworld (once to fetch Kerberos, as a part of his 12 labors, and now as the permanent abode of his image). In his address to Odysseus, Herakles singles out his visit to the underworld as the most difficult of his labors (*Od.* 11.23–26).[22] For Plotinus, the descent of the soul to the physical world is a form of *katabasis*, and its state of embodiment, in Herakles' own words, is a form of ἄθλον.[23] The mortal Herakles' experiences, by their ontological nature, amount to a life of labor.[24]

Although the above passage does not tell us what exactly Herakles' εἴδωλον remembers, we find the answer in the chronologically earlier *Ennead* 4.3:[25]

> In any case, the image of Heracles in Hades—I think we must consider this image also to be us—remembers all the things that were done in his life, because his life belonged predominantly to the image. . . . But what Heracles himself, the one separate from the image, had to say is not mentioned. (4.3.27.7–14, trans. Dillon and Blumenthal 2015)[26]
>
> Τὸ γοῦν εἴδωλον ἐν Ἅιδου Ἡρακλέους—τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον, οἶμαι, χρὴ νομίζειν ἡμᾶς—μνημονεύειν τῶν πεπραγμένων πάντων κατὰ τὸν βίον, αὐτοῦ γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν. . . . Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνευ τοῦ εἰδώλου τί ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἴρηται.

[21] For analysis of the higher and lower soul in Plotinus, see Caluori 2015, 155–163.

[22] Visiting the underworld is often listed either last or next to last in the catalogues of his labors, as documented in the metopes on the temple of Zeus in Olympia from the fifth century BCE and in the canon of the 12 labors drawn up by Diodorus of Sicily (4.11.3–26.4) in the first century BCE (Hard 2004, 268–269; Nagy 2013, 40–42).

[23] This is a common motif in Plotinus' description of the soul's descent into the body; cf. *Enn.* 6.4.16.

[24] Plotinus' choice to use derivatives of προστίθημι to express the idea of 'encrustations' (τὰ προστεθέντα) suggestively echoes the funerary ritual of laying out the corpse of the dead person in public (πρόθεσις), as described in Plato's *Laws* 959a1–b9. The same passage contains one of Plato's textbook explanations of the relationship between soul and body: 'what gives each one of us his being is nothing else but his soul, whereas the body is no more than a shadow which keeps us company. So 'tis well said of the deceased that the corpse is but a ghost; the real man—the undying thing called the soul—departs to give account to the gods of another world' (trans. Taylor 1961; cf. *Phd.* 63b). Plotinus most likely has this passage in mind when interpreting Herakles' dual status. Plato does not use any cognates of προστίθημι in the cited passage. The use of προστεθέντα in this context is Plotinus' coinage.

[25] For the lower soul as a faculty of presentation, see Caluori 2015, 163–171.

[26] Here and below the translation follows Dillon and Blumenthal 2015. I have substituted 'image' for their translation of εἴδωλον as 'shade.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The passage reiterates Plotinus' interpretation of Herakles and his image in the *Nekyia* along the lines of his two-tier understanding of the soul as descended and undescended.[27] Later in the treatise, Plotinus returns to the Homeric original and tries to fill in the blanks, suggesting what the true Herakles may say:

> For example, the Heracles we spoke of above would talk about his past brave deeds, but the other Heracles would think these things unimportant, and when he has been transferred to a holier place, and has come to be in the intelligible realm, and to a degree surpassing the other Heracles prevails in contests in which the wise contend, . . . what will he say then? (*Enn.* 4.3.32.24–4.4.1.1)[28]
>
> Καὶ εἴποι ἂν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀνδραγαθίας ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα σμικρὰ ἡγούμενος καὶ μετατεθεὶς εἰς ἁγιώτερον τόπον καὶ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ γεγενημένος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἰσχύσας τοῖς ἄθλοις, οἷα ἀθλεύουσι σοφοί, —τί οὖν ἐρεῖ;

Drawing on Herakles' popular philosophical image and on a well-known Homeric textual issue, Plotinus gives this cultural icon a Platonic facelift. Porphyry draws further attention to Plotinus' conceptually astute reading of the two *Herakleis* by splitting in half the sentence quoted above. He places the first half, featuring Herakles' image in the underworld, as a concluding thought for what he considers the first part of Plotinus' great work on psychological *aporiae*, while he opens the second half of the treatise with the second half of the sentence, featuring Herakles' real self on Olympus.[29] As a result, Porphyry makes the mortal and immortal Herakles stand, like the Colossus at Rhodes, on both sides of Plotinus' *magnum opus* on psychology, highlighting the unity and the division of Plotinus' concept of the soul. The parallel with the closing position of Herakles' episode in the *Nekyia*, albeit coincidental, is striking and suggests that the two texts grant Herakles the same place of distinction, albeit for different reasons.

---

[27] On the passage, see Caluori 2015, 172–174; Dillon and Blumenthal 2015, 300–301; for Plotinus' interpretation of Herakles, see Pépin 1969.

[28] Discussed by Dillon and Blumenthal (2015, 318–319). For Plotinus' views on memory and imagination and the end of *Enn.* 4.3, see Blumenthal 1977, 85–91.

[29] This half asks the most Platonically pertinent question: what the real Herakles would say about his image's experiences in the physical world. As expected, the answer Plotinus works out is that the Herakles 'there' would say 'nothing' about the experiences of his lower self 'here.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Although the Homeric lines in question do not whet Porphyry's appetite for philosophizing, Proclus, like Plotinus, does not let the opportunity pass by.[30] In two places in his *Commentary on the Republic*, he cites and explicates lines 602–603. On the first occasion (*In R.* 1.119.18–120.12), he revisits Plotinus' interpretation of Herakles' εἴδωλον as an indication of the 'practical way of life' (at *Enn.* 1.1.12.35–39). He brings up the subject in relation to Socrates' discussion in *Phaedo* 81c8–e4 of souls that grow too attached to their bodies.[31] Proclus identifies them as pursuing the more practical way of life (αἱ πρακτικώτερον ζήσασαι, In R. 1.119.23–24) and gives as an example Patroclus' and Achilles' souls. Their kind of soul, he specifies, 'holds first place in regard to the life in practice' (κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐν πράξει βίον πρωτεύουσα, *In R.* 1.120.3).[32] 'Herakles, however,' Proclus continues, 'being purified by the telestic virtue and participating in the undefiled fruits, got perfect reinstatement among the gods' (*In R.* 1.120.12–14).[33] To support his understanding of the difference in the ontological statuses of Achilles and Herakles, he cites lines 602–603, celebrating Herakles' reinstatement on Olympus. His treatment of Herakles here does not clarify why he associates Herakles with 'kathartic virtue' and not with the 'practical way of life,' as Plotinus does in *Ennead* 1.1.12.[34] The answer is postponed until later:

> The wisest of all, Odysseus clarifies in the *Nekyia* lines 601–603], saying that he sees Herakles carrying his bare bow and adding 'image,' 'for [Herakles] himself delights in merriment with the immortal <gods> and has the fair-ankled Hebe.' Odysseus does not show anything other than that it is fitting to put Herakles' true essence in his soul and that the image, having fastened itself to the soul, is [the true Herakles'] instrument and

[30] For both Porphyry and Proclus, Homer is a hieratic figure of philosophical import. As mentioned earlier, Porphyry acknowledges that 'Homer philosophizes' (φιλοσοφεῖ Ὅμηρος, *Ad Il.* 15.13.7). Proclus shares Porphyry's passion for Homeric hermeneutics but pursues it further to show Plato's 'friendship' with Homer (τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος πρὸς Ὅμηρον φιλίας, *In R.* 1.170.27–171.1), despite the philosopher's disapproval of the latter's poetry (*In R.* 1.171.1–22).

[31] These are the souls Socrates characterizes as 'body-loving' (φιλοσώματος, *Phd.* 68c1).

[32] All translations from Proclus' *Commentary on the Republic* are mine. More specifically, Proclus wonders 'what is so incredible if Achilles, having practical virtue (πρακτικὴν σχὼν ἀρετήν), aims at serving a life with the body (τῆς μετὰ σώματος ζωῆς), since he is capable of performing deeds (αὐτοῦ δυναμένου ταῖς πράξεσιν)?' (*In R.* 1.120.10–12). For Achilles' soul as a soul of action that is torn between immortality and life, see Davis 2011, 6–17. In contrast to Herakles' completely deified status, which deprives him of a tomb as a token of his earthly existence, Achilles receives a tomb despite his end-of-life immortalization. Cf. *Od.* 24.36–84, discussed in Nagy 2013, 666–667.

[33] For Herakles as a model for Achilles and all Greek heroes, see Nagy 2013, 33–47.

[34] Proclus' focus here is on Achilles and his civic virtues, not on Herakles. He embeds Achilles' 'life of deeds' in the final section of Plato's myth of Er (*Resp.* 619e6–620d5), where the souls have a chance to choose a life different from the one they have already had. In his exegesis of the passage, Proclus insists that Homer distinguishes between the true soul and its image (*In R.* 1.119.22–26).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

it bears a resemblance to him, but it does not grasp [the true Herakles]. (*In R.* 1.172.12–21)[35]

Δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ σοφώτατος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν Νεκυίᾳ [λ 601–603] τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγων ἰδεῖν γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχοντα καὶ προστιθεὶς εἴδωλον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι <θεοῖσιν> τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃ καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἢ ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὐσίαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τίθεσθαι προσήκει, τὸ δὲ ἐξημμένον τῆς ψυχῆς εἴδωλον ὄργανον ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπεικασίαν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φερόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ὑπολαμβάνειν. [Kroll]

It turns out, as the passage shows, that Proclus does not differ from Plotinus in his interpretation of the lines. Earlier, in the *Commentary*, he talks about the true Herakles as the one who exemplifies the life of kathartic virtue, in contrast to Achilles' image in the underworld, which exemplifies the life of civic virtues. For this reason, he cites only lines 602–603, which do not mention Herakles' image. In his second treatment of the problematic triplet, Proclus comes back specifically to line 601, which does contain the word εἴδωλον. Instead of athetizing it, like Porphyry before him, Proclus chooses to advance his Homeric hermeneutics to a new level, from which he can ascribe his high-end knowledge of Platonic psychology to Odysseus himself, the wisest of the Homeric heroes (ὁ σοφώτατος Ὀδυσσεύς). Upon closer inspection of the text, we recognize that Proclus does this with help from Plotinus' treatment of the lines in *Ennead* 1.1.12.

Proclus explains that Odysseus first sees Herakles 'carrying his bare bow' and then 'adds image' (προστιθεὶς εἴδωλον)to what he sees of Herakles. The physicality of the bow identifies the approaching figure as the hero's image in the underworld, not as his true self on Olympus. As we have already learned from Plotinus' exegesis of the line, all of Herakles' possessions (his bow, lion skin, and club) and all of his experiences (his labors) are nothing but 'encrustations' (τὰ προστεθέντα) that belong to Herakles' image in the physical world and cover up his true self. Plotinus' conceptually innovative use of τὰ προστεθέντα is not lost on Proclus, who digs deeper into the Homeric text to assign it to Odysseus himself (προστιθείς).[36]

[35] Proclus' use of ὑπολαμβάνειν in the last sentence conveys the epistemological difference between dianoetic and noetic thought. All Herakles' image can do is be a copy of the true Herakles, and all it can describe (dianoetically) is its life as such. But it cannot do the same about the true Herakles, who, as its intelligible paradigm, remains beyond discursive thought. Herakles' image also functions as the instrument (ὄργανον), in the purely medical sense of the term, for experiencing the true Herakles' embodied life. I owe the above observations to Menahem Luz and Suzanne Stern-Gillet, respectively.

[36] This is also the passage Proclus calls upon as a testament to the 'affinity' (φιλία) between Plato and Homer (*In R.* 1.170.27–171.1).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Both Plotinus and Proclus look to Plato for a solution to the seeming inconsistency of the Homeric lines. Although Plotinus does not overtly express an opinion about their authorship, he defends the poet's choice to stick with both the true Herakles and his image (*Enn.* 1.1.12.31–34). What remains of Herakles in the underworld is the memory of his earthly life. We now understand Herakles' original speech to Odysseus (*Od.* 11.620–626) in a new light: as part of the Neoplatonists' rewiring of Herakles as a philosophical hero. His bitterness is not a complaint that his divine parentage did not give him a life of privilege and content but comes from a philosophical realization that this is all there is in the life of the 'lower' self. From this perspective, then, even if Herakles lived the life he thought he was entitled to, given his pedigree, he still would have ended up with the same sentiments about his mortal life as an εἴδωλον. It is a life of toil and suffering, a life of encrustations (τὰ προστεθέντα).

Plotinus' mapping of his concept of the soul onto this cultural icon allows Porphyry, and to a lesser extent Iamblichus, to explore the parallel between the soul's earthly life and Herakles' labors.[37] Porphyry stages his *Letter to Marcella* as an exhortation and an *emulatio* of Herakles' life of labor. In it, he introduces the motif of the suffering nature of the soul's earthly life as reflected in Philoctetes' agony from the serpent's bite (*Marc.* 5.1–8). He further compares the embodied life of our lower self to 'a contest, attended with much wrestling and labour' (πολλοῖς δή σε παλαίσμασι καὶ ἐπωδύνοις εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐμπεσοῦσαν, *Marc.* 5.8–10, trans. Zimmern 1986). Like Herakles, Porphyry knows that the return to one's divine home cannot be easy and pleasant, 'for no two things can be more entirely opposed to one another than a life of pleasure and ease, and the ascent to the gods' (*Marc.* 6.9–11). Herakles would certainly agree with him:

> Whence it has seemed to men of wisdom that labours conduce to virtue more than do pleasures. And to toil is better for man, aye, and for woman too, than to let the soul be puffed up and enervated by pleasure. For labor must lead the way to every fair possession, and he must toil who is eager to attain virtue. You know that Herakles and the Dioscuri, and Asclepius and all other children of the gods, through toil and steadfastness accomplished the blessed journey to heaven. For it is not those who live a life of pleasure that make the ascent to the gods, but rather those

[37] Iamblichus is also attracted to Herakles' labors. In *Plot.* 8 he compares children's obedience to their parents to Herakles' obedience to Zeus. In *Plot.* 32 he draws a parallel between Pythagoras and Herakles as defenders of humanity and paragons of justice and courage. In *Protrepticus* 114 he recites Pythagorean symbol number 11: 'help a man to take up a burden, but not to lay it down. This symbol the Pythagoreans called Herculean, it being confirmed as it were by his labors. For during his association with men, he often returned from great and terrible dangers, indignantly rejecting indolence' (trans. Johnson 1988).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> who have nobly learnt to endure the greatest misfortunes. (*Marc.* 7.7–16, Zimmern 1986)
>
> Ὅθεν καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς σώφροσι τὰ ἐπίπονα τῶν ἡδέων μᾶλλον συντελεῖν εἰς ἀρετήν, καὶ τὸ μοχθεῖν ἄριστον εἶναι ἀνδρί τε ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικὶ ἢ ἐξοιδαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς χαλωμένην. παντὸς γὰρ καλοῦ κτήματος πόνους δεῖ προηγεῖσθαι, καὶ πονεῖν ἀνάγκη τὸν τυχεῖν ἀρετῆς σπουδάζοντα. ἀκούεις δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τούς τε Διοσκούρους καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν τούς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι θεῶν παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὡς διὰ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς καρτερίας τὴν μακαρίαν εἰς θεοὺς ὁδὸν ἐξετέλεσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δι' ἡδονῆς βεβιωκότων ἀνθρώπων αἱ εἰς θεὸν ἀναδρομαί, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν συμβαινόντων γενναίως διενεγκεῖν μεμαθηκότων. [Pötscher]

Begotten but persecuted by the gods, Herakles' deification is itself a healing act that places him, in Porphyry's eyes, in the company of Asclepius, as illustrated by a less well known fragment of his *On the Statues*:[38]

> Helios is ill-averter for the benefit of earthly things; they call him Herakles after 'clashing with air,' traveling from sunrise to sunset. They told stories about his 12 labors, symbolizing the division of the 12 zodiac signs in the heavens. They also equipped him with a club and a lion skin. The one is indication of [the celestial] irregularity; the other is a token of the power according to the zodiac.
>
> Asclepius is the symbol of the healing power of Helios. They have given him a stick, a symbol of his restoring and rising up of the sick, around which a snake is wound, carrying a symbol of the salvation of body and soul; for this animal is the most full of life and sheds off the body's weakness; it also seems that it is most healing. He discovered a potion for sharp-sightedness, and he allegedly knows an herb for bringing back to life. (*De Statuis* 8.35.23–37, trans. mine)
>
> Καθὸ δὲ ἀπαλεξίκακός ἐστι τῶν ἐπιγείων ὁ ἥλιος, Ἡρακλέα αὐτὸν προσεῖπον ἐκ τοῦ κλᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα, ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς εἰς δύσιν ἰόντα. Δώδεκα δ' ἄθλους ἐκμοχθεῖν ἐμυθολόγησαν, τῆς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν διαιρέσεως τῶν ζῳδίων τὸ σύμβολον ἐπιφημίσαντες. Ῥόπαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ λεοντῆν περιέθεσαν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μήνυμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῴδιον ἐμφανιστικὸν ἰσχύος.

[38] Porphyry composed the treatise as a defense of the religious cults of the Greek pantheon against Christian criticism. For contextual analysis of the work, see Bidez 1964, 143–157.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Τῆς δὲ σωστικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως Ἀσκληπιὸς τὸ σύμβολον· ᾧ τὸ μὲν βάκτρον δεδώκασι, τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ὑπερείσεως καὶ ἀναστάσεως, ὁ δὲ ὄφις περισπειρᾶται, τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σωτηρίας φέρων σημεῖον, πνευματικώτατον γὰρ τὸ ζῷόν ἐστι καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος ἀποδύεται· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰατρικώτατον εἶναι. Τῆς γὰρ ὀξυδορκίας εὗρε τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μυθεύεται τῆς ἀναβιώσεως εἰδέναι τινὰ βοτάνην. [Bidez]

It is not a coincidence that Herakles finds his place of honor in Porphyry's account of the Olympians' divine powers between Apollo and Asclepius. Once men, now gods, Herakles and Asclepius, joined by the Dioscuri, yield their power to heal humanity one individual at a time.[39] The passage above documents the beginning of a long trend in post-Plotinian Neoplatonic literature. This trend seeks to fuse together ontology, psychology, and religion in pursuit of its own holistic understanding of the universe, as much as it attempts to counterbalance similar contemporary developments in other quarters of the religious map, particularly in Christianity's model of healing and salvation.[40]

The Platonic reading of Herakles is a truly Neoplatonic project. His mortal life is an untidy business involving bouts of madness, life-threatening ordeals, excessive indulgence in eating and drinking, remorse and anguish. The ancient philosophers, with the Neoplatonists in the forefront, work hard to clean him up. The epic representation of Herakles' dual status at the end of the *Nekyia* complements the Neoplatonic stratigraphy of the soul.[41] Herakles' birth, the tension in his dual nature, his labors, and his sorrowful but rewarding end make him a perfect figure to exemplify the cyclical dynamics of immortality and mortality in Neoplatonic psychology.

In his *Commentary on the Timaeus* (2.256.3–8), Proclus adds Plato himself to Herakles' line of exceptional souls. Herakles becomes a philosophical healing

[39] For the healing heroes' popularity in private cultic practices, see Ekroth 2010, 112. Herakles had a well-established hero cult after the fifth century BCE in Athens and Attica. The people of Marathon claimed to be the first to worship him as a deity because, according to their account, Herakles fought with the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon in 490 BCE. See Ekroth 2010, 105; Stafford 2012, 178–180. For the shared cultic practice of Herakles and the Dioscuri, see Ekroth 2010, 107.

[40] In the later Neoplatonic tradition, this tradition culminates in the conceptualization of a type of soul which is called Asclepian and which is endowed with extraordinary healing skills and embodied in the lives of distinguished physicians. Cf. Proclus, *In R.* 2.118.4–5, 2.153.16–154.5; *In Ti.* 3.262.27; *In Alc.* 1.32; Damascius, *De Principiis* 1.237.27; *Isid.* 84e18–19; Olympiodorus, *In Phd.* 7.4.5 (Slaveva-Griffin 2016). The father of medicine also received a hero cult; see Ekroth 2010, 104.

[41] Herakles' heterogeneity is characteristic for heroes (Ekroth 2010, 109) and suitable for the Neoplatonic understanding of the soul as a hierarchical set of proliferating layers of ontological consistency.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

hero, whose perhaps most important accomplishment—his thirteenth labor—was to go through his embodied life with his divine soul unscathed. As Damascius reminds us in his *Life of Isidore* (150), 'those destined to be gods must first become human.'[42]

Works Cited

Armstrong, A. H., trans. 1966–1988. *Plotinus: Enneads.* 7 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bidez, J. 1964. *Vie de Porphyre: Le philosophe Néo-platonicien.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms.

Blumenthal, H. 1971. *Plotinus' Psychology: His Doctrines of the Embodied Soul.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Caluori, D. 2015. *Plotinus on the Soul.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, M. 2011. *The Soul of the Greeks.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dillon, J. M., and H. J. Blumenthal, trans. 2015. *Plotinus, Ennead IV.3–4.29: Problems Concerning the Soul.* Las Vegas: Parmenides Press.

Ekroth, G. 2010. Heroes and Hero-Cults. In *A Companion to Greek Religion*, edited by D. Ogden, 100–114. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Emilsson, E. K. 1988. *Plotinus on Sense-Perception: A Philosophical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fitzgerald, R., trans. 1998. *Homer: The Odyssey*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hard, R. 2004. *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology.* London: Routledge.

Henry, P., and H.-R. Schwyzer, eds. 1964, 1977. Plotini Opera. Vols. 1 and 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Heubeck, A., and Hoekstra, A. 1989. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey.* Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Holtsmark, E. B. 1966. Spiritual Rebirth of the Hero: Odyssey 5. *Classical Journal* 61 : 206–210.

Johnson, T. M., trans. 1988. *Iamblichus: The Exhortation to Philosophy.* Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press.

Kalligas, P. 2014. *The Enneads of Plotinus: A Commentary*. Vol. 1. Translated by E. K. Fowden and N. Pilavachi. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lombardo, S., trans. 1993. *Hesiod: Works and Days, Theogony*. Indianapolis: Hackett.

Nagy, G. 2013. *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Pépin, J. 1969. Hérakles et son reflet dans le Néoplatonisme. In *Le Néoplatonisme: Colloques internationaux du CNRS* (Royaumont, 9–13 Juin, 1969), edited by M. Schuhl and P. Hadot, 167–192. Paris: Éditions du CNRS.

Slaveva-Griffin, S. 2016. Socrates' Debt to Asclepius: Physicians and Philosophers with Asclepian Souls in Late Antiquity. *Numen* 63 : 167–195.

[42] *Isid.* 150: ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐσομένους θεοὺς δεῖ [Athanassiadi].

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Stafford, E. 2005. Herakles and the Art of Allegory. In *Herakles and Hercules: Exploring a Greco-Roman Divinity*, edited by L. Rawlings and H. Bowden, 71–96. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
Stafford, E. 2012. *Herakles*. London: Routledge.
Stanford, W. B. 1992. *The Odyssey of Homer*. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. Surrey: St. Martin's Press.
Taylor, A. E., trans. 1961. Plato's Laws. In *Plato: The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*, edited by E. Hamilton and H. Cairns. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Zimmern, A., trans. 1986. *Porphyry's Letter to His Wife Marcella Concerning the Life of Philosophy and the Ascent to the Gods*. Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

2

Thucydides’ Verdict on Nicias (7.86.5) and the Paradigm of Tragedy

Frances B. Titchener and Mark L. Damen

καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτίᾳ ἐτεθνήκει, ἥκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν. (Thuc. 7.86.5)

And he died for that kind of reason or very near it, though being a man the least deserving of the Greeks (at least of those in my day) to have arrived at such a point of bad luck through the habitual direction of all his energies toward excellence.

Thucydides and Nicias

As Thucydides draws book 7 to its conclusion, he provides a confusing description of the failed Athenian general Nicias, the man largely responsible for Athens’ terrible defeat in Sicily. His final summation—in particular the adjectival phrase 'least deserving'—flies in the face of nearly everything preceding it.[1] By this

---

Peter and Carin Green became our teachers, friends, and fellow symposiasts in the early 1980s. Their intelligent colloquy, intense disquisitions on a broad range of subjects (arcane and otherwise), and flexible taste in wine—they sometimes drank a retsina closely akin to turpentine—were among the most formative and informative experiences in our young lives as scholars. Peter first brought Nicias to our attention in a 1983 graduate seminar on Thucydides and the Sicilian expedition, and the conversation has never stopped since then. Because our fields of research took us in different directions—Mark into drama and Fran into ancient history—we have had relatively few opportunities to collaborate. Our contribution to this book hearkens back to Carin and Peter’s generosity and guidance, those many hours spent at Les Amis in Austin, imbibing

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

point in the narrative, Thucydides has made it abundantly clear that in no small part because of Nicias' superstitious paranoia and inept leadership, many Athenians (including the general himself) suffered needlessly and died. What is the point of this short, incongruous apology? We will argue here that these last words spoken in praise of Nicias have an analogue in classical Attic tragedy and are part of a larger construct envisioning books 6 and 7 as a lengthy messenger speech.

First, however, we must address any difficulties in our understanding of Thucydides' words at 7.86.5. Besides one relatively minor manuscript problem, there are no significant issues with the text itself.[2] Some complications surround the interpretation of Thucydides' words as they stand, particularly toward the end of the passage.[3] Outside of that, however, there is a broad and clear consensus about the general meaning of this sentence.[4]

---

and arguing, all four talking at once, and everyone emerging bloodied but with deeper insight into the world, ancient and modern. The ideas presented in our contribution to Carin's memorial volume have benefited greatly from feedback on versions that Fran presented at the University of Oxford (2006), the University of Texas at Austin (2015), and Florida State University (2016). We dedicate this piece to Carin with tears of sorrow, tears of joy, and endless love and gratitude.

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are our own. Westlake 1941, 64: 'The modern verdict that Nicias was a mediocre statesman and general called upon to play a part for which he was unsuited is derived almost exclusively from Thucydides, and it is the verdict which he intends to suggest.' Green 1970, 346: 'Throughout the *History*, Thucydides makes no bones about Nicias' ineffectuality.' Kallet (2001, 177) adds: 'Nikias continues to be, in Dover's words, obsessed with, fixated on, the financial element, and this is a fundamental part of Thucydides' criticism of the general.' Most recently Steinbock (2017) has argued against 'straightforward condemnation of Nicias,' but his intent is not 'to discuss comprehensively Thucydides' characterization of Nicias' (129), rather to suggest 'that Thucydides had yet another reason for writing this eulogy, and that is to protest implicitly and rectify—by literary means—the Athenians' decision to exclude Nicias' name from the funeral monument for the fallen at Sicily' (130). Whether or not Steinbock is correct about Thucydides' motive for praising Nicias, there is still a clear inconsistency between the closing eulogy and the presentation of the general's actions and choices elsewhere in books 6 and 7.

[2] πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν is not attested in all manuscripts.

[3] It is not entirely clear whether νενομισμένην is better taken with ἀρετὴν or ἐπιτήδευσιν. In either case, the sense of the statement is not affected.

[4] A selection of translations demonstrates the general agreement among scholars about the content and tone of this passage. 'No one of the Hellenes in my time was less deserving of so miserable an end; for he lived in the practice of every virtue' (Jowett 1881). 'A man who, of all the Hellenes in my time, least deserved to come to so miserable an end, since the whole of his life had been devoted to the study and the practice of virtue' (Warner 1954). 'The one Greek of my generation who least deserved such a hapless end after having ordered his whole life in keeping with the highest standards' (Blanco and Roberts 1998). 'Although of all the Hellenes, at least in my time, certainly the least deserving to reach this level of misfortune because of a way of life directed entirely toward virtue' (Lattimore 1998). 'A man who, of all the Hellenes in my time, least deserved such a fate, seeing that the whole course of his life had been regulated with strict attention to virtue' (Crawley and Lateiner 2006).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The main difficulty lies in Thucydides’ statement that Nicias was a man who has been dedicated to virtue (ἀρετὴν) all his life, when up to this point—and especially in the passages closest to this final judgment—he has been shown to be fearful, sick and decrepit with age, and, as Thucydides says, 'somewhat excessively devoted to superstition and that sort of thing' (7.50.4).[5] How is such a man 'least deserving' to suffer the way Nicias did? To the contrary, Thucydides’ own history builds a strong case that Nicias’ unhappy end was remarkably apt. At the very least, this disconnect is jarring and has left many scholars puzzled.[6] Moreover, why does Thucydides add the qualification 'of the Greeks in my own lifetime at least' (τῶν γε ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων)? Does he mean that he is excluding obvious challengers from earlier days—Cimon, for instance? And why the scolding tone? Who does he imagine needs to be told that Nicias did not deserve to die the way he did?[7] After reading books 6 and 7, would anyone *not* lay at Nicias’ feet some substantial portion of the causes driving the disaster in Sicily?[8] To say he was 'least deserving' of his fate runs contrary to common sense and the facts of history as Thucydides himself has reported them, and

[5] Connor (1984, 202): 'Nicias feels that his own way of life, above all his performance of all the conventional acts that express reverence for the gods and avoid ill feeling among men, gives reason to be confident about the future. He believes, we can see, that he lives in a universe in which some divine power keeps prompt and careful count of the acts of men and nations and sees that regular balances are reached. It is a *kosmos* with swift recompense and recovery.'

[6] Some have attempted to clarify Thucydides’ final statement about Nicias by simplifying it—e.g., Westlake (1941, 59): 'No defence of Nicias’ conduct of the campaign is expressed or implied: readers are left to form their verdict on this from the preceding narrative. The words merely contrast the blamelessness of his private life with his miserable death.' Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1970, 462) ties the comment only to Nicias’ death, not the mistakes and misfortunes that led to it: 'If Thucydides had said that Nikias did not deserve to fail, or even that he did not deserve to die, that would have been a surprising judgement in the absence of any comparable expression of sympathy for Demosthenes. What Thucydides actually says, however, is that Nikias did not deserve the great misfortune of being executed in cold blood by the enemy to whom he had surrendered.'

Few other scholars read 7.86.5 so narrowly. Lateiner (1985, 209), for instance, acknowledges the juxtaposition of Nicias’ death and Thucydides’ eulogy but sees a broader commentary in the historian’s judgment: 'Thucydides pitied the man, indeed admired some aspects of his character, but even the last comment on the man cogently stresses the conventionality of his life and mind. . . . His piety and superstition outweigh his intelligence (ξύνεσις). . . . The judgment does not excuse his political failure; it rather juxtaposes the inglorious dishonor of his execution in Sicily with the public honor of his life in Athens. The dissonance between his private virtues and public failings demanded remark. Thucydides’ respect for Nicias’ high sense of duty and personal heroism at the end do not incline him to be indulgent toward his incompetent leadership.'

[7] Murray (1961, 46) speculates: 'Perhaps then, . . . we may say that as Sophocles shows the dangers inherent in Periclean leadership, so Thucydides can point to the dangers inherent in leaders who adopt the Nician view of life and service in the state.'

[8] Kallet (2001, 182): 'For Thucydides, Nikias was someone who appeared to have a grasp of the role of financial resources in war and power: yet because he made bad judgments and failed as a leader, he did even more damage to the city ultimately than might otherwise have been done. In short, in Thucydides’ overall assessment of Athenian leadership, Nikias was the antithesis of Perikles.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

surely Thucydides knew that. Especially when there is no need to make any statement at all, why say *this*?

Of course, the possibility always exists that the statement is ironic, but the end of book 7 seems hardly the place to be insincere.[9] A better argument could be made that Thucydides is himself uncertain about what he means and is wrestling with the proper way to close the story of Nicias. Hornblower (1987, 186–187n100), for instance, has observed:

> It is odd that so many of Thucydides' most important authorial comments should be hard to translate. . . . Did Thucydides find these personal judgments particularly awkward or embarrassing to formulate? Or is it just that we scrutinise these interesting texts too closely?

But this passage is far from hard to translate, and close scrutiny of the text opens little space for challenging its basic sense. The problem here is not what the sentence means but why Thucydides feels the need to draw any conclusions at all about Nicias' fate.

Sentiment and superlatives run against Thucydides' usual practice, even when the moment is ripe to pronounce summary judgments about historical figures. Although his history encompasses the deaths of other notable contemporaries, none of them receives the sort of moral at the conclusion of their stories that Nicias gets—not even Pericles.[10] What is so special about Nicias? Is there something about the way Thucydides has chosen to present Nicias' story that

[9] Adkins (1975, 388–389): 'In paraphrase, what [Thucydides] wishes to convey is that Nicias was least worthy of the Greeks of the time to come to such extreme misfortune, inasmuch as he had sustainedly endeavoured to satisfy all the—primarily competitive and social—demands made upon an ἀγαθός by Athens, and possessed the characteristics of position and wealth which were necessary conditions of being considered ἀγαθός in the first place. . . . There is no irony in those passages; and there was no necessity whatsoever for the Greeks of Thucydides' day to regard the judgement that Nicias was unworthy of misfortune in virtue of the possession of traditional ἀρετή as either ironic or bizarre.' Rood (1998, 185) also sees no irony here: 'My analysis of Nikias' character as a whole will seek to show that there is no scorn or irony in Thucydides' closing words—only the same sense of pity that the reader is invited to feel for the inhabitants of Mykalessos, the town that met with 'a suffering worthy to be mourned as much as any that happened in the war.'' Rood goes on to say (198–199): 'The emphasis Thucydides gives Nikias at his death, 'the least worthy of the Greeks of the day to come to such misfortune', is understandable after so much of the preceding narrative has been interpreted through his thoughts and words. Claims that Thucydides' judgement is ironical, or that Nikias is slighted for his lack of intelligence, are unconvincing: the reader is not simply invited to judge characters by their capacity for successful and resolute action.'

[10] 'After [Pericles] died, his foresight about the war was even more recognized' (2.65.6). This can hardly be taken as Thucydides' summation of Pericles' character and fate.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

calls for a final judgment? In the long lead-up to this brief eulogy, Thucydides has described the history of Sicily and the Athenians' motives and rationalizations for attacking the island (complete with arguments pro and con), has elaborated on how the expedition set out, detailed what happened on the voyage there and after the navy's arrival in Sicily, and followed that with the various difficulties the Athenians encountered. All of this ends with an account of their disastrous defeat and Thucydides' analysis of the reasons for it. Why does this narrative call for a eulogy, even a very brief one, when others do not?

Clearly books 6 and 7 are designed as a set piece, a story arc notable for its length and coherence. It is simply unlike anything else in *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Also unlike anything else in the work, Thucydides' final assessment of Nicias' fate, brief though it is, is steeped in *pathos*. It seeks an emotional connection with the reader, something this historian avowedly and studiously shuns. What it says is perplexing and, at least on the surface, incongruous with the rest of the narrative, which leads us back once more to the larger question: why did Thucydides include this hyperbolic and atypical sentence at all?

That Thucydides' histories offer no parallel for this short passage does not mean there is none to be found. He was not operating in a cultural vacuum. Despite his claim that his work is 'a possession for all time' and that he will not pander to the crowd (1.22.4), he was in fact writing to a very specific audience of his peers, who in his day were acculturated to a number of literary genres. Arguably, the most prominent and public of those was tragedy.

Connecting Thucydides and tragedy has a long history among scholars.[11] About book 6 Rood (1999, 17) notes:

> The start of Thucydides' Sicilian narrative—where he describes the Athenians' disastrous decision to invade Sicily—calls to mind in significant ways Euripides, the tragedian who is closest to him in age and spirit. The

---

[11] Visvardi (2015, 44–45n1) surveys scholarship on the intersection of tragedy and Thucydides' history and, following Smith (2004), goes so far as to implicate tragedy itself in the decision to attack Sicily: 'Instead of using systematic observation, [the Athenians] trust in information they have accumulated from hearsay, gossip and the dramatic stage' (90). By framing his narrative of the Sicilian disaster in a tragic idiom, Thucydides highlights the role of dramatic speculation in the Athenians' ill-advised decision, connecting all the closer the worlds of history and theater. That Euripides himself wrote an epitaph eulogizing the dead Athenians (Plut. *Nic*. 17.4), from which roll Nicias was omitted because he had surrendered (Paus. 1.21.12), can only have further incited Thucydides to counter with a summary judgment of his own; cf. Smith 2004, 59n44. See also Marincola 2001, 73 and nn. 57–60; Steinbock 2017, passim.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> works of both authors are marked by debates with opposing speeches whose arguments draw on the technical study of rhetoric.

It is fair to ask, then, if a tragic paradigm of some kind is informing Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian expedition, and in particular his closing comments about Nicias.[12] If so, then what aspect of tragedy? The obvious and immediate answer is not a chorus, or a *kommos*, or a stichomythic dialogue (if anything, that would be the Melian or Mytilenian debate), or even an *agon*, although the paired speeches found throughout Thucydides provide a worthy analogue there. All in all, the most suitable parallel to books 6 and 7 is a messenger speech.

Messenger Speeches in Greek Tragedy

Messenger speeches in tragedy tend to take a specific form: long, uninterrupted reports building toward a climax. They often include snippets of dialogue, and sometimes contrasting speeches entailing counterarguments in direct discourse.[13] Typically, they serve several purposes in the play. According to de Jong (1991, 118), they allow the playwright 'to present (1) events taking place at a location other than that where the chorus happens to be, (2) crowd-scenes, (3) miracles, and (4) murders.' Frequently, tragic messengers focus on *pathos* and tend to build toward ever more horrible events, especially as their narrative approaches its conclusion.

Viewed synoptically, books 6 and 7 do much the same. There is a lengthy connected narrative, with many citations of speeches in direct discourse and a long, slow build to horror and an overwhelming catastrophe.[14] As is typical of messenger speeches, there are off-stage events (Sicily), crowd scenes (debates and battles), a miracle (the eclipse),[15] and murder after blood-soaked murder, all

---

[12] Marinatos 1980, 310: 'Because of its personal tone, [Thucydides'] epitaph has puzzled many scholars who thought that the praise was undeserved given Nicias' military failure. Some have managed to detect irony, others only pity. Yet, it is quite explicable if we accept that the historian was interested in bringing out Nicias' virtue and tragic fate. In his person, Thucydides did not only present the political man but the tragic 'warner', a well known type in fifth-century literature.'

[13] The lengthiest example is *Or*. 884–942. Very few messenger speeches lack direct quotations of speech, though they are not always pitched as opposing arguments. It is notable that the characters whom tragic messengers quote do not always provide beneficial counsel—for instance, the 'wanderer' (πλάνης) who ill-advisedly persuades the herdsmen in the first messenger speech of *Bacchae* (718–721) to attack the bacchants. This accords closely with several of the speeches in books 6 and 7 of Thucydides.

[14] Speaking about Sophoclean tragedy, de Jong (2004, 258) elucidates the significance of messenger speeches: '[The speech] is never told by way of entertainment to while away time, as stories may be in epic, but it always has a function within the plot: characters report events because these events call for action and reaction.'

[15] Thuc. 7.50.4; according to Thucydides, the eclipse was inexplicable, to some at least.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

recounted with the clear purpose of arousing *pathos* in the reader.[16] As it stands, Thucydides' culminating judgment on Nicias, coming as it does toward the end of book 7, corresponds in the historical narrative to the last verses spoken by a messenger in tragedy. Thus it all but demands comparison to the conclusion of such a speech.[17]

As a rule, messenger speeches in tragedy end with a moral encapsulating the messenger's view of the situation he has just described.[18] Typically he underscores its extraordinary or unprecedented nature[19] and employs first-person forms[20] and negators.[21] The quintessential ending might be phrased this way: 'I have never heard of anything like what I just reported. It is the most terrible thing imaginable, which just goes to show that no one can ever expect to be happy, especially you.'[22] It is notable that Thucydides' pithy final

[16] In discussing the carnage at 7.71.3, de Romilly (2012, 95–97) notes Thucydides' 'tragic' style.

[17] De Jong (2004, 257) notes: 'As a rule, when narratives are presented *en bloc*, the beginning and end are explicitly marked.'

[18] For a strong moralizing tone at the end of a messenger speech, cf. *Heracl.* 863–866: 'As to the present turn of events, the lesson to learn rings loud and clear: do not envy anyone who seems to be lucky before you see him dead. Good fortune does not live long.'

[19] For the extraordinary or unprecedented nature of the event described, cf. *Alc.* 196–198: 'There is *so much* sadness in Admetus' house. If he had died, he'd be dead, but having escaped death, there is *just as much* sorrow, and never will he be free of it.' Also Soph. *El.* 761–763: 'And that is what I have to tell you, a heartbreaking story, but for those who witnessed it like we did, it was *the greatest disaster* I have ever seen.' Comparative and superlative forms often feature here, cf. *HF* 1014–1015: 'The truth is I do not know anyone alive who's *worse* off.' Also *Med.* 1224–1230: 'Now I see, and this is not the *first* time, human life is just a shadow. I am not scared to say it either: people may look wise and say they care about reason, my judgment is they're the *biggest* idiots. No one on earth is happy, no man at least. Piles of money may make one person look *luckier* than another, but happy? No!'

[20] For first-person forms, cf. *Hipp.* 1249–1254: '*I* may be just a slave in your palace, lord, but nothing will ever make *me* believe your son's a criminal. Let every woman on earth hang herself, let them scratch their words on all the trees of Ida. *I* know he's a good man.'

[21] For negators, cf. *Or.* 953–956: 'So get out the sword or make a noose for your neck. It is time for you to say goodbye to life. *Nothing* can save you now, *not* royal birth or Phoebus Apollo riding his mighty tripod. Quite the opposite! He killed you.' Also *Hel.* 1617–1618: 'Try a healthy dose of disbelief! There is *nothing* better on earth. *Nothing!*'; and *OC* 1663–1667: 'With *not* one groan, *not* a single twinge of pain or disease, he left us, if anybody is, a marvel. And if this makes *no* sense to you, if you *do not* understand me, that is *not* my problem.' For a moral that employs all three features (negator, first-person form, superlative), cf. *Trach.* 809–812: 'And if it is just to curse you, *I* do. And it is. It is just. You gave *me* that right when you murdered the *best* person living on earth. You will *never* see another like him.'

[22] De Jong (2004, 257) notes another tendency in the final words spoken by tragic messengers in Sophocles: 'The end of a narrative may be signalled by the use of the present tense, which describes the situation to which the events of the story have led.' This characteristic of the coda of Sophoclean messenger speeches, however, does not apply here, where the messenger (Thucydides) is not concluding his history (his message) or leaving the stage. A return to the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

assessment of Nicias includes several of the typical features of the codas to messenger speeches, in particular, the superlative form of a negator (ἥκιστα) and a first-person form (ἐμοῦ).

What exactly drives these lugubrious axioms in tragedy is not always clear.[23] Sometimes the lesson is obviously tied closely to the messenger speech—for instance, 'Temperance and reverence . . . is best' (Eur. *Bacch.* 1150–1152).[24] At other times the connection between the concluding remark and the preceding narrative is harder to see. In particular, the first messenger in *Bacchae* (768–775) closes the report about his colleagues' failed attempt to capture the maenads on Cithaeron with:

> Whoever this god is, master, welcome him
> into our city. He's powerful in many ways,
> or so they say. I hear that he can also
> end our suffering. He brought us wine to drink.
> No wine, no Aphrodite! And that means
> there is nothing, nothing else for people to enjoy.

Note the characteristic features of a messenger speech coda: first-person forms, the general tone of anxious desperation, and a veritable barrage of negatives. Yet the sense of this particular moral does not grow naturally out of the preceding report, where the messenger has made it clear that he saw no drunkenness or sexual behavior. To judge from this passage alone, logic does not necessarily steer these speeches into the harbor.

Another example of a moral that does not present the most obvious lesson to be drawn from the preceding report comes in *Antigone* (1240–1243): 'They lie corpse by corpse in sorrow, a marriage made in hell, a misery, which only shows that people need to think ahead. Not doing so is by far the worst thing imaginable.' While the consequences of improvidence provide one moral that could be drawn from this report of the dismal scene at Antigone's tomb, this is certainly not the only conclusion the messenger could have articulated. We might, for instance, expect him to comment on themes prevalent elsewhere in

---

present situation is unnecessary.

[23] In discussing messenger speeches in Euripides, Lowe (2004, 277) articulates one use of agonistic narration in tragedy: 'The past exists to validate arguments in the present: to be raked over for grievances and claims on duty, so that the commonest narrative trope is a turn from Then to Now.' This would apply equally well to Thucydides' history.

[24] Buxton (1989, 232) comments on this messenger's concluding words: 'Here too the passage forms part of a chain of meanings which goes to the heart of the difficult problems raised by the action of the play.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the play—perhaps the arrogance of those in power or the right of the dead to burial.

A striking example of incongruous praise bestowed on a figure in a messenger speech occurs toward the end of *Bacchae* (1316–1322), when Cadmus lauds the protective nature of his grandson Pentheus, whom Euripides up to this point has cast in a mostly negative light. Although this eulogy comes from the lips of a character who is not explicitly called an *angelos*, it nevertheless follows the news of Pentheus' gruesome death and is spoken by someone who has just witnessed the outcome of that disaster firsthand in a location off stage, all of which makes Cadmus a reporter of sorts. In sum, a tragic messenger's assessment of the crisis and characters at hand does not always harmonize well with the preceding drama.

Euripides' *Helen* contains a messenger scene with an even more remarkable conclusion. In the middle of the play, a servant, who is as much a moralist as a messenger, wraps up his brief report about the phantom Helen with a long assessment of the ethics of what has happened, arguing mostly in defense of Helen's good character (711–757). Concluding that the Trojan War was pointlessly destructive, he leaves the stage with a dollop of political wisdom (753–757):

> Why then do we consult the gods at all? Go ahead! Sacrifice,
> ask them for their blessings, but give the prophesies a rest.
> They're a useless marketing ploy someone invented,
> and no one ever got rich off offerings without trying.
> Using your head is the best kind of prophecy, and having a plan.[25]

First produced in 412 BCE, this play most likely responds to the same historical events that Thucydides discusses in books 6 and 7. The servant's closing moral—excessive religiosity can be a bad thing—is even comparable to Thucydides' indictment of Nicias. If Euripides is commenting in this passage on contemporary events, as he does so often in his drama, clearly he joins Thucydides in seeing superstition and addiction to prophecy as culprits in certain catastrophes. Note, however, that although these two moral codas share the negative and superlative forms seen widely at the end of messenger speeches in general, their

[25] A messenger speech in Euripides' *Suppliant Women* (726–730) ends with overt political content that has an air of commentary relevant to the time of its premiere: 'You should always choose a man like this to lead your army, someone who's strong in a crisis, who does not bow to an angry mob that, when it is doing well, pushes for more and more and in its greed destroys the very wealth it could have had.' However, given the probable date of this play's composition (423 BCE), it is unlikely that Euripides is referring to the Sicilian expedition.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

content is very different: the uselessness of fortune telling versus the triumph of bad luck over the pursuit of excellence. Whatever lessons they have chosen to elicit from history, Euripides, like Thucydides, is arguably using recent events to comment on his city and times.[26] Macleod (1982, 5) notes:

> In short, Euripides' mythical and ideal Athens, in its whole dramatic context, says something about the Athens of the late fifth century, and not because Euripides was expressing a view on particular contemporary events, but because he was reflecting upon his own time and society. In that sense, the tragedian is a sort of historian.

By the same token one might ask whether the historian is also a sort of tragedian. In sum, books 6 and 7 of Thucydides have all the earmarks of a tragic messenger speech, complete with a moralizing coda in which the 'messenger'—here, Thucydides himself—delivers a final and unexpected assessment of the principal participant's *ethos* and how Nicias' fate should be understood.[27]

Conclusion

The central question of this chapter is why Thucydides, in his final verdict on Nicias' role in the Sicilian disaster (7.86.5), seems to depart from the tendency evidenced elsewhere in his work to remain dispassionate and nonjudgmental. One principal reason, we argue, is that he has adopted a narrative paradigm found often in tragedy, particularly in the works of Euripides, which predicates that a messenger should follow a certain protocol in delivering news. Reports explicating events in a faraway place for which there are few or no eyewitnesses

---

[26] Still another play dating to the same period and perhaps belonging even to the same tetralogy as *Helen*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians,* contains a messenger speech in which a native Taurian tells Iphigenia that he has captured Orestes and Pylades by trapping them in rocks and hurling down material on them (260–339). This dramatic monologue virtually recasts the last horrific stages of the Sicilian expedition (7.18.4) into a tragic mode, ending with these words (336–339):

> Pray to the goddess, maiden, to bring you more victims
> like them. Whenever you kill strangers such as these,
> it is just the Greeks paying the price for your death.
> This is just revenge for their butchery at Aulis.

Here Thucydides and Euripides share not just a common moral sentiment but content and theme as well: the vengeful enmity of natives toward unwelcome foreigners.

[27] The fact that messengers are usually of low social status, more often than not slaves, would not have affected Thucydides' decision as an aristocrat to assume such a role. All actors during the fifth century had to be able to play messengers, including the most famous and well respected; see Hall 2010, 26 and n. 17, on Nicostratus. As Hall says later in the same book (119): 'Indeed slaves, although formally powerless, can wield enormous power in the world of tragedy through their access to dangerous knowledge.' 'Dangerous knowledge' would apply just as well to Thucydides' report about the Sicilian expedition.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

among the audience are expected to contain certain features: speeches cited in direct discourse, an escalation toward *pathos*, much gruesome detail, and at the end a moral, which often contains negatives, superlatives, and first-person forms, all designed to aggrandize and generalize the individual case by translating it into a more comprehensive lesson on the nature of human life.

The power of such a paradigm should not be underestimated. It is safe to assume that Thucydides' life in Athens and his acculturation to this particular narrative scheme led him to make a final moralizing judgment about the catastrophe he was reporting, and especially about Nicias, the most immediately relevant tragic persona involved. Given this context, he would surely have felt that his account of the Sicilian expedition was incomplete without such a coda. That the content of this eulogy is perplexing and seems inconsistent also finds precedence in tragedy, where sorrow, not sense, rules. Thus, even if the content of Thucydides' final words about Nicias' character and fate continues to bemuse, tragedy at least points at the forces in Athenian culture that led to this sort of eulogy. Thucydides knew his readers expected a moral at the end of a messenger speech, and he did not disappoint.

Works Cited

Adkins, A. W. H. 1975. The *Arete* of Nicias: Thucydides 7.86. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 16:379–392.

Blanco, W. 1998. *Thucydides,* The Peloponnesian War: *A New Translation, Backgrounds, Interpretations.* New York: Norton.

Buxton, R. G. A. 1989. The Messenger and the Maenads: A Speech from Euripides' *Bacchae*. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32:225–234.

Connor, W. R. 1984. *Thucydides.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Crawley, R., and D. Lateiner. 2006. *Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War.* New York: Barnes and Noble Classics.

De Jong, I. J. F. 1991. *Narrative in Drama: The Art of the Euripidean Messenger Speech.* Leiden: Brill.

De Jong, I. J. F. 2004. Sophocles. In *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*, edited by I. J. F. de Jong, R. Nünlist, and A. M. Bowie, vol. 1:255–268. Mnemosyne Supplement 257. Leiden: Brill.

De Romilly, J. 2012. *The Mind of Thucydides*. Translated by E. T. Rawlings. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gomme, A. W., A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover. 1970. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, Volume IV, Books V.25–VII.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Green, P. 1970. *Armada from Athens*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Hall, E. 2010. *Greek Tragedy: Suffering under the Sun*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hornblower, S. 1987. *Thucydides*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Jowett, B. 1881. *Thucydides, Translated into English with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kallet, L. 2001. *Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lateiner, D. 1985. Nicias' Inadequate Encouragement (Thucydides 7.69.2). *Classical Philology* 85:201–213.

Lattimore, S. 1998. *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War.* Indianapolis: Hackett Press.

Lowe, N. J. 2004. Euripides. In *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*, edited by I. J. F. de Jong, R. Nünlist, and A. M. Bowie, vol. 1 : 269–280. Mnemosyne Supplement 257. Leiden: Brill.

Macleod, C. 1982. Thucydides and Tragedy. *Classicum* 8:1–9.

Marinatos, N. 1980. Nikias as a Wise Advisor and Tragic Warner in Thucydides. *Philologus* 124:305–310.

Marincola, J. 2001. *Greek Historians*. Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics 31. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Murray, H. A. 1961. Two Notes on the Evaluation of Nicias in Thucydides. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 8:33–46.

Rood, T. 1998. *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rood, T. 1999. Thucydides, History and Tragedy. *Omnibus* 38:16–18.

Smith, D. G. 2004. Thucydides' Ignorant Athenians and the Drama of the Sicilian Expedition. *SyllClass* 15:33–70.

Steinbock, B. 2017. The Contested Memory of Nicias after the Sicilian Expedition. In *Conflict in Communities: Forward-looking Memories in Classical Athens*, edited by E. Franchi and G. Proietti, 109–170. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento.

Visvardi, E. 2015. *Emotion in Action: Thucydides and the Tragic Chorus*. Mnemosyne Supplement 377. Leiden: Brill.

Warner, R. 1954. *Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War.* London: Penguin.

Westlake, H. D. 1941. Nicias in Thucydides. *Classical Quarterly* 35:58–65.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

3

'Men, Friends': The Sociological Mechanics of Xenophontic Leaders Winning Subordinates as Friends

Robert Holschuh Simmons

Inquiries into the skills and effectiveness of leaders described in Xenophon's works, particularly the *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*, have been popular in the past few decades, not just in classics, but also in the fields of political science, management, and public administration.[1] Some of that attention has been dedicated to the particular techniques that Xenophon's featured leaders use to win over their subordinates. One technique is their use of friendship (φιλία).[2] What it actually means for a subordinate to perceive a leader as a 'friend' (φίλος), though, and not just an advocate, well-wisher, or panderer, tends not to be thoroughly explored. Gray (2011, 291–329) provides a nuanced discussion of Xenophontic leaders' efforts to cultivate feelings of friendship with subordinates, and Buxton (2017) discusses the friend-like behaviors that

Carin Green was my professor and director of graduate studies while I was earning my Ph.D. at the University of Iowa from 1999 to 2006, and a friend during those years and after. I took a wonderful class on Xenophon with her in my first semester of graduate school, which is why I chose Xenophon as my topic here. Carin was kind but tough. She supported her students thoroughly, generously gave her time to put them on their most productive path, and helpfully let them know when their work was not what it needed to be. She and her husband, Peter Green, made my wife, Michelle Holschuh Simmons, and me regular dinner guests at their home—a kindness and a pleasure that I will never forget. The unbalanced friendship that my wife and I shared with them serves as the nicest possible contemporary example of the sorts of Xenophontic friendships that I explore here.

[1] A few of the studies of leadership techniques in Xenophon: Wood 1964; L. Strauss 1975, 135–139; Carlier 1978; Ruderman 1992; Aupperle 1996; Howland 2000; Humphreys 2002; O'Flannery 2003.

[2] Wood 1964, 52–53; Rubin 1989, 400; Reisert 2009, 24–32; Gray 2011, 291–329.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

inspire reciprocal friendly loyalty in the subordinates, but the focus in both is on classical models of friendship.[3] Here I hope to add to the work of Gray, Buxton, and others by using contemporary sociological principles to explain the dynamics that could lead to feelings of friendship from lower-status people to higher-status ones, even when there is no direct contact between them.

This chapter provides an introduction to the ways in which a classical Athenian leader might not merely aim to come off as a 'friend' to subordinates as a group, but might actually convince individual subordinates to see him as a friend, through a modification of techniques that anyone might use to win over someone as a friend.[4] Xenophon provides particularly fruitful material for such an introduction, since his *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia* provide detailed (if, at many points, fictional) biographies of effective leaders, while other works depict a range of friendships.[5] The focus here is on how the portrayals of Xenophon himself and Clearchus in the *Anabasis* and of Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia*, supported by the examples of Crito and Archedemus in the *Memorabilia*, illustrate the use of the sociological concepts propinquity, homophily, and transitivity to make subordinates feel genuine friendship toward their social superiors.

---

[3] For the main classical discussions of friendship, see Pl. *Lysis*; Xen. *Mem*. 2.4–10; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1155a1–1172a15. Several contemporary scholars have studied aspects of friendship in the ancient world (e.g., Hutter 1978; Price 1989, 1–14, 103–161; Konstan 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998), but none of their accounts explain why a subordinate might see a higher-status leader as a friend, rather than an ally or partner in a mutually beneficial endeavor; nor do they examine the specific things that leaders do to communicate to subordinates a sense of individual friendship, as opposed to general benevolence toward the group as a whole.

[4] I study the development of friendship-based leadership in Athenian politics more broadly in a larger project, tentatively titled 'The Demagogues' Innovation: Leaders as Friends in Aristophanes, Euripides, and Xenophon.' That work in progress locates a markedly expanded emphasis on friendship-centered leadership in the techniques of the prominent fifth-century demagogues Cleon, Hyperbolus, and Cleophon, apparent in their extant portrayals in historiography, comedy, and pamphleteering. It explores the prevalence of this style of leadership in tragedies produced during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, which suggests firmer rooting of the approach in broader Athenian leadership, before examining Xenophon's continued portrayal of it well after the period of the demagogues. Depictions of friendship-centered leadership typically are most apparent in genres that highlight individual behavior and interactions, such as biography and drama, rather than in works of history, which focus more on events. Thus this chapter draws mainly on Xenophon's biographies in order to capture the impact of a leader's friendly practices on his subordinates.

[5] On Xenophon's departures from strict historicity in the *Cyropaedia* to make it relevant to audiences in both Sparta and Athens, see Drews 1974; Cizek 1975; Higgins 1977, 44–45; Carlier 1978, 143; Hirsch 1985, 61–100; Briant 1987; Cartledge 1987, 39–59; Due 1989, 38–42, 117–146, 234–242; Tatum 1989; Stadter 1991; Nadon 2001, 16–17, 30–42; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2010.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Cultivating Feelings of Friendship

Relationships between friends (φίλοι) in ancient Greece were based on personal compatibility and mutual fondness, as well as reciprocal usefulness.[6] While people at all socioeconomic and status levels could be fond of one another, mismatches in ability, resources, or quality between people generally would preclude friendship, unless each party was able to contribute something that the other did not have (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1158b1–3, 11–22). Not all reciprocal exchanges of benefits made people friends, though. Those who were perceived as taking advantage of someone's talents or resources and calling that person a φίλος without actually regarding the person as such were maligned as flatterers (κόλακες).[7] What someone must actually do to come off as a friend to someone else, and to encourage friendly behavior in return from that person, is made clearer in contemporary sociology, which in some cases elaborates on Aristotle. One of the techniques that most effectively leads to feelings of friendship is simply for people to be physically close to one another. Numerous studies of friendship development in contemporary sociology show that physical proximity, by chance or design, is a critical component of people's likelihood of developing feelings of friendship. Even limited contact can greatly promote such feelings.[8] This concept is called the 'propinquity effect.'

Another general rule in friendship development, recognized by Aristotle and underscored by numerous contemporary studies, is that people tend to become friends with others whom they perceive as being like them, a concept called 'homophily.'[9] The requisite similarity can be recognized on any number of levels, and differences are often glossed over in favor of what the friends perceive to be overriding commonalities. Generally, significant disparities in wealth or status interfere with conceptions of genuine friendship between people on opposite sides of a class divide (Arist. *Eth. Nic*. 1158b31–1159a2). According to the concept of 'essentialism,' however, people perceive certain qualities of others as a part of their essence, independent of other personal factors, and can thus envision friendly connections that would not be predictable based

[6] On good feelings and well-wishes between friends: Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1155b33–34, 1156b7–17, 1159a33–b1, 1166b33–34; *Rh.* 1361b36–37; Hutter 1978, 34; Konstan 1996; Konstan 1997, 53, 73. On the necessity of mutual benefit between the parties: *Eth. Nic.* 1156a10–b6, 1157b36; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1236a30–b1; Fisher 1976, 5; B. S. Strauss 1987, 21; Blundell 1989, 26–59, with the citations in 32n36; Konstan 1997, 56–59; Konstan 1998.

[7] See Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1233b30–1234a32 for the relation of κολακεία ('flattery, fawning') to φιλία ('friendship').

[8] E.g., Festinger, Schachter, and Back 1950; Homans 1950; Schutte and Light 1978, 263; Smith and Zipp 1983, 973; Bradley and Karney 2010, 232–233; Preciado *et al.* 2012.

[9] E.g., Marsden 1988; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001; Schwartz 2007; Amichai-Hamburger, Kingsbury, and Schneider 2013. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic*. 1158b29–1159a12.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

on external or demographic features.[10] Some of the unbalanced friendships Xenophon depicts can be explained by the operations of these concepts, and Xenophon's apparently tacit sense of their efficacy.

Propinquity and Homophily in an Unbalanced Friendship

Though this first example does not involve a leader and a subordinate, Xenophon's portrayal of the superficially unbalanced friendship between the wealthy Crito and Archedemus, who was poor but a skilled speaker, shows the author's awareness of the roles that propinquity and homophily play in higher-status figures' successful efforts to inspire feelings of friendship in people of lower status. As Aristotle specifies (*Eth. Nic.* 1155b33–56a5; *Eth. Eud.* 1236a14–15), friendship (φιλία) is based not on pronouncements of friendship, but rather on *acting* like a friend. Crito's behavior toward Archedemus convinces the latter that their unconventional friendship is, indeed, a friendship, and not an instance of flattery.

One of Crito's techniques is to employ propinquity. When Crito wishes to have the benefit of Archedemus' skill as an orator on his own behalf, but would like to gain that benefit through winning Archedemus' friendship, he does not stop with just giving Archedemus gifts of produce from his farm (Xen. *Mem.* 2.9.4); he also invites Archedemus to join him for sacrifices, then encourages Archedemus' use of Crito's home as a refuge (2.9.4–5). Gift-giving alone could be seen as an effort to flatter, but personal contact (propinquity) signals the sort of human interest, and propels the good feelings, that can stimulate a sense of friendship. Using this technique of allowing Archedemus near him, even into his home, Crito makes him feel like his φίλος, and he calls Archedemus as much (2.9.8).

Their inequality in wealth could, in another situation, have interfered with their homophily connection, but Crito's treatment of Archedemus leads the latter to see himself as Crito's equal, and thus his friend. Crito treats Archedemus' excellence as a speaker as something that equals his own wealth, persuading Archedemus that their friendship is one of peers, and that his oratorical assistance to Crito and others of Crito's friends (2.9.7) is more of a friendly favor than assistance for hire. Archedemus himself specifies that, despite grumblings from others to the contrary, his relationship with Crito is not based on flattery (κολακεύοι): each considers the other a friend, and Archedemus speaks of their arrangement as one of giving and receiving friendly favors (εὐεργετούμενον . . . καὶ ἀντευεργετοῦντα, 2.9.8). Crito's higher social status likely intensifies

[10] E.g., Rothbart and Taylor 1992; Haslam *et al.* 2006; Hamilton 2007, 1081–1085.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Archedemus' feelings of friendship toward him; several contemporary studies have confirmed that such feelings tend to be stronger in the lower-status individual in a pairing.[11]

Promoting a Sense of Friendship between Leaders and Those They Lead

Friendship promotes loyalty, and the most celebrated military leaders whom Xenophon portrays strive to cultivate that loyalty from their soldiers through friendship. Their methods are similar to Crito's but practiced on a larger scale. Xenophon's portrayal of himself and Clearchus as friendship-focused leaders in the *Anabasis* shows them employing propinquity, homophily, and numerous references to the value each places on their soldiers' friendship to help them earn and maintain the soldiers' loyalty. The account of Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia* shows the leader studiously and convincingly cultivating friendship with his soldiers before he ever refers to them as friends. It also shows his mastery of another sociological principle for extending a feeling of friendship even to those with whom he has not come into direct contact.

Friendship-Based Leadership in the Anabasis

The *Anabasis* shows leaders emphasizing their accessibility to their soldiers, and unity and equality with them, as means of promoting feelings of friendship through propinquity and homophily. Xenophon is reputed to be always open to a visit from his soldiers to talk about a war-related matter, no matter what the time is or what else he is doing (4.3.10).[12] He personally tends to those who are weak or ill in the midst of their long march (4.5.7–9, 12–18). When there is a need for a fire, but entering the bitter cold from the warmth of the army's snow cover is an unpleasant prospect, he gets up and starts cutting wood, inspiring others to do the same (4.4.12–13).[13] He gets down from his horse to walk with the infantry to show them that he is not above the hard work that they do, inspiring them to persevere (3.4.46–48, 7.3.45–46).[14] And he specifically praises and honors those who take extraordinary action in favor of the cause

[11] Jones 1964, 118–160; Boissevain 1974, 85; Schutte and Light 1978, 263–264; Moskowitz 2004, 339.
[12] This accessibility is also noted by Humphreys 2002, 141. The text of the *Anabasis* I cite is Brownson's, revised by Dillery 1998; translations are my own. Other Xenophontic leaders similarly renowned for their willingness to speak to whoever approached them: the Syracusan general Hermocrates (*Hell.* 1.1.30), the Spartan admiral Teleutias (*Hell.* 5.1.14), and the Spartan king Agesilaus (*Ages.* 9.2). On the value of leaders' accessibility in Xenophon's works, see Flower 2012, 134.
[13] On his consideration for all soldiers, regardless of rank or background, in those circumstances, see Flower 2012, 136.
[14] This behavior is cited also by Humphreys 2002, 141. On these last two instances of leadership by personal example, see Nussbaum 1967, 115; Flower 2012, 132–133.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(5.7.25). Through all of these actions, he puts himself in physical proximity to his soldiers and, by intentionally shouldering their burdens, signals that he sees himself as like them.

When Clearchus and Xenophon, separately, are in danger of losing their troops (Clearchus' to mutiny, Xenophon's to the Spartans), each leader's defense of himself to the group reveals a philosophy of leadership based on principles of friendship in general, with a specific emphasis on propinquity and homophily in their rhetoric. Clearchus assumes the model of a friendship of equals with his soldiers when he speaks of the army's accomplishments and his continuing relationship with it, emphasizing his physical accompaniment of his soldiers on joint endeavors. He speaks of punishing the Thracians '*along with* you' (μεθ' ὑμῶν, 1.3.4), but adds that the current circumstances have made the soldiers no longer willing to 'journey *with*' (συμπορεύεσθαι) him (1.3.5). Since they will no longer obey or follow him, he will follow '*with* [them]' (σὺν ὑμῖν, 1.3.6), and if he is '*with* [them]' (σὺν ὑμῖν), he will be honored by the people they meet.

Xenophon, too, addresses his troops in terms of friendly fellowship and reminds them of the services he has done for them that are like a friend's favors. Like Clearchus, he refers to his actions with them in terms of the work of companions: he has endured toils and dangers *with* them (σὺν ὑμῖν), and *with* them (σὺν ὑμῖν) has set up many trophies against the barbarians (7.6.36). Furthermore, in addition to pointing out the actions he has taken 'on behalf/account of' (ὑπέρ, 7.6.35) and 'in defense of' (πρό, 7.6.36) them, as someone who cares for someone else would do, he reminds the soldiers that they recognized him as a 'benefactor' (εὐεργέτης) during hard times (7.6.38); his terminology reflects Archedemus' terms for favors friends do for one another (εὐεργετούμενον . . . καὶ ἀντευεργετοῦντα, *Mem.* 2.9.8). Xenophon, like Clearchus, defines himself as someone who does well by his soldiers, as a friend does for his friends, and who does things not at the head of his soldiers but in concert with them.

Furthermore, the language that others use to describe Xenophon and his actions, and that he and Clearchus use to express their motivations and relationships with the soldiers, suggests that the leaders' actions toward their soldiers have been recognized as efforts at friendship. When the Thracian Seuthes criticizes Xenophon to the Spartan delegation that is deciding what to do with him, he calls Xenophon φιλοστρατιώτης ('friendly to the soldiers,' 7.6.4).[15] What it means to Xenophon himself to act in that way is made explicit in his explanation to Seuthes of why, unlike Heracleides, he aspires to exhibit merit, justice, and generosity toward his soldiers, rather than make the accumulation of wealth

[15] On the validity of portraying Xenophon in this way, see Buzzetti 2014, 259–294.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

his highest priority (7.7.41). Someone who possesses these qualities, Xenophon says, prospers 'because he has many friends' (ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν), and 'because others want to become' his friends (ἄλλων βουλομένων γενέσθαι, 7.7.42).[16] Seuthes' subjects, in contrast, did not live under his rule because of friendship (φιλία), Xenophon says, but rather necessity (7.7.29). And while the narrator makes a similar comment about Clearchus, whose severity meant that soldiers did not follow him out of friendship (φιλία) (2.6.13), Clearchus knows how to grab their allegiance when he needs it most: when he is about to be abandoned. After laying out all that he has done together with his troops, he concludes by saying that he thinks of them as his 'fatherland and *friends* and allies' (πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, 1.3.6).

Extending a Leader's Friendship Ties through Transitivity in the Cyropaedia

Cyrus too uses propinquity and homophily to win soldiers' loyalty through friendship. But what the *Cyropaedia* further highlights is how a leader can benefit from feelings of friendship even from subordinates who have not had direct contact with him. Xenophon portrays Cyrus as showing clear awareness of the value of coming off as a friend toward lower-status people who could potentially harbor genuine feelings of friendship toward him. The friendly loyalty of those with whom he directly interacts serves his purposes, *and* his apparent friendship with these subordinates establishes his legitimacy and desirability as a *potential* friend to the many other lower-status people who can know him only from a distance but are likely to identify with those whom he has 'befriended.'

This falls in line with a concept in contemporary sociology called 'transitivity': people who are not themselves friends, but who are aware of one another through a friend they have in common, tend to feel drawn to friendship with one another as well. That common friend tends to encourage friendship between the nonfriends to whom she or he is linked.[17] The contemporary research along these lines focuses on conventional balanced friendships, while the situation here extends the idea of friendship to include unbalanced relations such as those under study, in which lower-status people likely feel a stronger bond with

---

[16] Flower (2012, 166) notes the similar approaches to leadership of Xenophon and Cyrus the Great in the *Cyropaedia*.

[17] Holland and Leinhardt 1971; Manhart 2000, 178–181; Kilduff and Tsai 2003, 42. On homophily as a key factor in the growth of perceptions of friendship through transitivity, see Louch 2000; Flynn, Reagans, and Guillory 2010. This sense of friendship at one remove, and personal kindness and favors shared between the not-quite-friends that simulate those of actual friends, are evidenced in classical sources as well, though they are not applied in those sources to friendship dynamics between leaders and subordinates. See B. S. Strauss 1987, 29; Blundell 1989, 47–48, with sources (especially *Arist. Rh.* 1381a7–9, 13–17; *Eth. Nic.* 1171a4–6).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

higher-status ones than the latter feel with subordinates. The current study treats the transitive impulse to friendship as something that occurs not just toward friends of friends, but even toward a friend of acquaintances or peers, if that 'friend' is of high status (such as a military leader), yet is perceived as accessible enough that friendship is conceivable.[18]

Xenophon depicts Cyrus as showing keen awareness of what connotes authentic 'friendship' to others through his attention to what others would perceive as friendly behavior. Cyrus clearly expresses his sense of what it takes to make subordinates feel that overtures of friendship are sincere, so that they will return the friendship: being 'evident in doing good' for them (εὖ . . . ποιοῦντα φανερὸν, *Cyr.* 1.6.24) through 'good words and good deeds' (ἀγαθοῖς . . . λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, 2.4.10).[19] He also shows sensitivity to the value of intermediaries in winning over people to whom he cannot make a direct connection. Instead of speaking directly to the troops of newly acquired allies to explain his plans, he asks the troops' established leaders to do so, since, as he says, 'You are near to them' (πλησιάζετε αὐτοῖς, 3.3.39).[20]

Furthermore, Cyrus uses the word φίλοι to refer only to people toward whom he has behaved in a way that would make them feel as though his use of this term with them is sincere. A key expression that Cyrus uses to address those who would reasonably think of themselves as personal friends of his is ἄνδρες φίλοι ('men, friends'). While he sees an enormous benefit to his military and political cause in acquiring friends, the situations in which he uses (or omits) that expression communicate a sense of when he thinks the audience to whom he addresses it would judge it as genuinely meaningful, not insincere flattery.

When a sense of friendship, whether direct or transitive, between himself and certain others would not realistically derive from the connections they have made or similarities they share, he makes no attempt to gloss over a lack of friendship. In Xenophon's account of Cyrus' adult life, Cyrus normally addresses people as ἄνδρες φίλοι only if they are personal friends—long-time comrades, high-ranking officers, or leaders of other nations with whom he has interacted enough to make friendship seem likely[21]—and the two exceptions to this rule are

---

[18] For a contemporary example of otherwise-unconnected peers finding commonality in a distant connection to a powerful figure that they treat as 'friendship' with that figure, see Erikson 2008.
[19] The text of the *Cyropaedia* I cite is Marchant 1910. All direct translations of passages from the *Cyropaedia* are those of Ambler 2001.
[20] Reisert (2009, 24–32), too, explores Cyrus' shrewd and deliberate employment of friendship to win from his followers the dedication he needs to achieve his aims.
[21] *Cyr.* 1.5.7, 1.11.2, 2.2.27, 2.4.22, 3.2.4, 4.2.38, 4.22.1, 4.3.4, 5.2.23, 5.3.2, 5.5.44, 6.3.15, 7.5.20, 7.5.39, 8.4.32, 8.6.3.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

noteworthy. If he addresses a group that, in addition to friends, includes people from other nations with whom he does not have close personal connections, he always adds καὶ σύμμαχοι ('and allies') to ἄνδρες φίλοι (4.5.37, 6.4.13, 7.5.42). And he distinguishes both friends and prominent allies from those who are not of the elite (unless they clearly serve his purposes, as I will specify shortly). To make it abundantly clear that common subjects of his empire in Babylon are not entitled to the same favors as his friends, despite their expectations to the contrary (7.5.45), he deploys a group of lancers to encircle him and his close companions so that the masses cannot get close to them (7.5.41).

Yet when Cyrus needs great numbers of people of this same class to fight for him, he begins acting much more like a friend toward them, and his language follows suit.[22] When he first encourages common Persians to join Persian Peers as hand-to-hand fighters and acknowledges that he does not know them personally, despite their common nationality, he calls them ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ('Persian men,' 2.1.15). But as the campaign goes on, he adopts a friendlier approach to non-elite Persians. At 2.1.30, Xenophon notes that, in addition to the officers whom Cyrus had made a habit of inviting to dine with him, he begins to invite rank-and-file soldiers, sometimes squads of five or 10, sometimes a whole platoon or company.[23] Here he is invoking propinquity, in inviting these people to be close to him in his private space. These invitations are based on performance, not status or connections, and the idea that he wants these guests to see themselves as equals rather than subordinates is underscored by Cyrus' insistence that all diners, regardless of status, be fed as he is (2.1.30). These emphases invoke homophily - he encourages the soldiers to see themselves as being like him, all working successfully toward the same project, of fighting effectively for their mutual benefit. Having people dine with him, as opposed to meeting him in some other way, is also significant. Xenophon elsewhere (7.1.30) distinguishes friends (φίλων) from other allies (συμμάχων) in that the former are 'companions and tablemates' (ἑταῖροί τε . . . καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι), and the others are not.[24]

Shortly after the anecdote about the full range of countrymen whom Cyrus invites to dinner, his term of address to the full army takes on a specifically friendly tone. He no longer calls the group ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ('Persian men') but switches to ἄνδρες φίλοι ('men, friends,' 2.3.2).[25] Though the soldiers

[22] For Cyrus' conscious efforts to win over 'the multitude' (τὸ . . . πλῆθος) so that they would fight and risk their lives on his behalf, see *Cyr.* 7.5.55.
[23] Due (1989, 196n60) notes this practice as a way to be accessible, also shown at 7.5.37–40 (Due 1989, 204).
[24] On the impact of these invitations on people's sense of loyalty and attachment to Cyrus later in the work, see Reisert 2009, 30.
[25] See also 3.3.7, where Cyrus refers to a group of officers and 'all the others he was honoring'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

would clearly not *all* fall under that heading, even defined loosely, transitive understandings of friendship make this new referent for the individuals who made up the full army one that many of the soldiers might see as valid. Some of them spent time with Cyrus in the way that friends spend time together, and those who did, did so because of behavior of which *any* of them was capable. All soldiers could then see themselves as part of an attractive 'ingroup,' on the same level as those who hobnob with the top ranks of the military, with each one's individual status raised as a result of his connection to those close to the top.[26]

A soldier named Pheraulas justifies this feeling of transitive connection to Cyrus from a soldier's perspective. Described as 'one of the Persian commoners' (Πέρσης τῶν δημοτῶν), he has become 'well acquainted with Cyrus . . . and . . . agreeable to him' (Κύρῳ . . . συνήθης καὶ ἀρεστὸς, 2.3.7). He is so positively disposed toward Cyrus that he speaks up before the fully assembled army on behalf of the general's plan to base soldiers' compensation on achievement, with Cyrus the determiner of each soldier's wages, rather than on equal distribution of resources (2.3.7). Pheraulas emphasizes the common expectations for every Persian, which he claims put each of them 'on an equal footing' (ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου) in pursuing virtue (2.3.8). More significantly, he states that 'whoever clearly does so, without hesitation, obtains honor from Cyrus' (ὃς ἂν φανῇ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τοῦτον ὁρῶ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα).[27] This is obviously an exaggeration; Cyrus could not possibly take personal notice of every soldier in his army. But the logic individual soldiers might use in believing such a statement is the same as the logic of believing that it is valid for Cyrus to call people φίλοι when he has never met them. Cyrus honors, or acts as a friend toward, people like them; he does things to make himself seem an equal of people like them; and their equality with those who are honored or treated as friends means that they too can see themselves as worthy of honor or friendship. As in the case of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*, earning feelings of friendship serves a leader well. The Persian soldiers vote to put the determination of their wages in the hands of Cyrus (2.3.16), whom most have at least *observed* being amicable and accessible to people like themselves.

(πάντων ὅσους ἐτίμα) as ἄνδρες φίλοι.

[26] On the psychological effects of one's level of satisfaction with the 'ingroups' of which one is a part, see, e.g., Tajfel and Turner 1986; Mischenko and Day 2015; van Veelen, Eisenbeiss, and Otten 2016.

[27] Due (1989, 183) and Nadon (2001, 75) note the confidence that Cyrus instills in Pheraulas through their interactions.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Conclusion

While leaders are often referred to as 'friends' to their subordinates, the designation tends to be figurative. They may be seen to have some things in common with many of those they lead, and perhaps to operate in a way that seems to show regard for their subordinates. Contemporary sociology, however, brings to light circumstances in which leaders can provoke feelings of genuine friendship from those who admire them, and to benefit from the loyalty that accompanies the friendship. Xenophon's close depictions of superiors' interactions with inferiors, and the amicable results that often followed from them, reflect his apparent awareness of the efficacy of these sociological concepts millennia before they entered learned discourse.

Works Cited

Ambler, W., trans. 2001. *Xenophon:* The Education of Cyrus. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Amichai-Hamburger, Y., M. Kingsbury, and B. H. Schneider. 2013. Friendship: An Old Concept with a New Meaning? *Computers in Human Behavior* 29:33–39.

Aupperle, K. E. 1996. Spontaneous Organizational Reconfiguration: A Historical Example Based on Xenophon's *Anabasis*. *Organizational Science* 7:445–460.

Blundell, M. W. 1989. *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boissevain, J. 1974. *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*. New York: St. Martin's.

Bradley, T. N., and B. R. Karney. 2010. *Intimate Relationships*. New York: Norton.

Briant, P. 1987. Institutions perses et histoire comparatiste dans l'historiographie grecque. In *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources*, edited by H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, 1–10. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Brownson, C. L., trans. 1998. *Xenophon:* Anabasis. Revised by J. Dillery. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Buxton, R. F. 2017. Xenophon on Leadership: Commanders as Friends. In *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, edited by M. A. Flower, 323–337. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buzzetti, E. 2014. *Xenophon the Socratic Prince: The Argument of the* Anabasis of Cyrus. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carlier, P. 1978. L'idée de monarchie imperial dans la Cyropédie de Xénophon. *Ktema* 3:133–163.

Cartledge, P. 1987. *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cizek, A. 1975. From the Historical Truth to the Literary Convention: The Life of Cyrus the Great Viewed by Herodotus, Ctesias and Xenophon. *L'Antiquité Classique* 44:531–552.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Drews, R. 1974. Sargon, Cyrus, and Mesopotamian Folk History. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33:387–393.
Due, B. 1989. *The* Cyropaedia*: Xenophon's Aims and Methods.* Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
Erikson, E. 2008. 'Hillary Is My Friend': MySpace and Political Fandom. *Rocky Mountain Communication Review* 4.2:3–16.
Festinger, L., S. Schachter, and K. Back. 1950. The Spatial Ecology of Group Formation. In *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of Human Factors in Housing*, edited by L. Festinger, S. Schachter, and K. Back, 141–161. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
Fisher, N. R. E. 1976. Introduction. In *Social Values in Classical Athens*, edited by N. R. E. Fisher, 1–45. London: Dent.
Flower, M. A. 2012. *Xenophon's* Anabasis*, or* The Expedition of Cyrus. New York: Oxford University Press.
Flynn, F. J., R. E. Reagans, and L. Guillory. 2010. Do You Two Know Each Other? Transitivity, Homophily, and the Need for (Network) Closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 99:855–869.
Gray, V. J. 2011. *Xenophon's Mirror of Princes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hamilton, D. L. 2007. Understanding the Complexities of Group Perception: Broadening the Domain. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37:1077–1101.
Haslam, N., B. Bastian, P. Bain, and Y. Kashima. 2006. Psychological Essentialism, Implicit Theories, and Intergroup Relations. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 9:63–76.
Higgins, W. E. 1977. *Xenophon the Athenian: The Problem of the Individual and the Society of the* Polis. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Hirsch, S. W. 1985. *The Friendship of the Barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian Empire*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
Holland, P. W., and S. Leinhardt. 1971. Transitivity in Structural Models of Small Groups. *Comparative Group Studies* 2:107–124.
Homans, G. C. 1950. *The Human Group*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Howland, J. 2000. Xenophon's Philosophic Odyssey: On the *Anabasis* and Plato's *Republic*. *American Political Science Review* 94:875–889.
Humphreys, J. J. 2002. The *Anabasis* and Lessons in Leadership: Xenophon as a Prototypical Transformational Leader. *Journal of Research Management* 2:136–146.
Hutter, H. 1978. *Politics as Friendship: The Origins of Classical Notions of Politics in the Theory and Practice of Friendship.* Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
Jones, E. E. 1964. *Ingratiation: A Social Psychological Analysis*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Kilduff, M., and W. Tsai. 2003. S*ocial Networks and Organizations.* London: Sage.
Konstan, D. 1993. Friends and Lovers in Ancient Greece. *SyllClass* 4:1–12.
Konstan, D. 1996. Greek Friendship. *American Journal of Philology* 117:71–94.
Konstan, D. 1997. *Friendship in the Classical World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Konstan, D. 1998. Reciprocity and Friendship. In *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, edited by C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, and R. Seaford, 279–301. Oxford: Clarendon.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Louch, H. 2000. Personal Network Integration: Transitivity and Homophily in Strong-Tie Relations. *Social Networks* 22:45–64.

Manhart, K. 2000. Balance Theories: Two Reconstructions and the Problem of Intended Applications. In *Structuralist Knowledge Representation: Paradigmatic Examples*, edited by W. Balzer, J. D. Sneed, and C. U. Moulines, 171–187. Poznan Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities 75. Atlanta: Rodopi.

Marchant, E. C., ed. 1910. *Cyropaedia*. In *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Marsden, P. 1988. Homogeneity in Confiding Relations. *Social Networks* 9:100–125.

McPherson, M., L. Smith-Lovin, and J. M. Cook. 2001. Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:415–444.

Mischenko, D., and D. V. Day. 2015. Identity and Identification at Work. *Organizational Psychology Review* 6:215–247.

Moskowitz, G. B. 2004. *Social Cognition*. New York: Guilford.

Nadon, C. 2001. *Xenophon's Prince: Republic and Empire in the* Cyropaedia. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nussbaum, G. B. 1967. *The Ten Thousand: A Study in Social Organization and Action in Xenophon's* Anabasis. Leiden: Brill.

O'Flannery, J. 2003. Xenophon's (The Education of Cyrus) and Ideal Leadership Lessons for Modern Public Administration. *Public Administration Quarterly* 27:41–64.

Preciado, P., *et al.* 2012. Does Proximity Matter? Distance Dependence of Adolescent Friendships. *Social Networks* 34:18–31.

Price, A. W. 1989. *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Reisert, J. 2009. Xenophon on Gentlemanliness and Friendship. In *The Arts of Rule: Essays in Honor of Harvey C. Mansfield*, edited by S. R. Krause and M. A. McGrail, 23–41. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Rothbart, M., and M. Taylor. 1992. Category Labels and Social Reality: Do We View Social Categories as Natural Kinds? In *Language, Interaction, and Social Cognition*, edited by G. R. Semin and K. Fiedler, 11–36. London: Sage.

Rubin, L. 1989. Love and Politics in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. *Interpretation* 16:391–413.

Ruderman, R. 1992. The Rule of a Philosopher-King: Xenophon's *Anabasis*. In *Politikos II: Selected Papers of the North American Chapter of the Society for Greek Thought*, edited by L. G. Rubin, 127–143. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 2010. The Death of Cyrus: Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* as a Source for Iranian History. In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Xenophon*, edited by V. J. Gray, 439–453. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schutte, J. G., and J. M. Light. 1978. The Relative Importance of Proximity and Status for Friendship Choices in Social Hierarchies. *Social Psychology* 41:260–264.

Schwartz, D. 2007. Friendship as a Reason for Equality. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10:167–180.

Smith, J., and J. F. Zipp. 1983. The Party Official Next Door: Some Consequences of Friendship for Political Involvement. *Journal of Politics* 45:958–978.

Stadter, P. A. 1991. Fictional Narrative in the *Cyropaedeia*. *American Journal of Philology* 112:461–491.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Strauss, B. S. 1987. *Athens after the Peloponnesian War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Strauss, L. 1975. Xenophon's *Anabasis*. *Interpretation* 4:117–147.
Tajfel, H., and J. C. Turner. 1986. The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by S. Worchel and W. G. Austin, 7–24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
Tatum, J. 1989. *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction: On* The Education of Cyrus. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
van Veelen, K. R., K. Eisenbeiss, and S. Otten. 2016. Newcomers to Social Categories: Longitudinal Predictors and Consequences of Ingroup Identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 42:811–825.
Wood, N. 1964. Xenophon's Theory of Leadership. *Classica et mediaevalia* 25: 33–66.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

4

(Pre)historiography and *Periegesis*: Pausanias' Description of Mycenae for a Roman Audience

Lynne A. Kvapil

The drive to Mycenae from Corinth is not much different today from the journey described by Pausanias in his *Periegesis*, commonly referred to as his *Description of Greece*. The route out of Corinth skirts the Nemea Valley, passes through the narrow Dervenaki Pass, and opens up onto the head of the Argive plain. Here, the twisting road straightens out, and drivers can speed along on their way to Argos or Nauplion. Just when the plain begins to be filled with citrus groves and a line of tall cottonwoods appears on the horizon, a glance to the left will reveal the archaeological site of Mycenae, appearing like a rather unassuming rocky lump between two tall mountains. Anyone who does not know where to look can easily miss it. Because he perhaps understood the danger of overlooking the site, Pausanias urged those emerging from the Tretos pass on their way to Argos to be sure to look to the left, for there they would see the ruins of Mycenae: ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τρητὸν καὶ αὖθις τὴν ἐς Ἄργος ἰοῦσίν ἐστι Μυκηνῶν ἐρείπια ἐν ἀριστερᾷ (2.15.4). Like multitudes of tourists in the century and a half since Heinrich Schliemann began archaeological investigations there, Pausanias departed from the road that runs south toward the Argolic Gulf to tour the remains.

Contemplating the description of Mycenae without invoking images of Schliemann and his wondrous finds is a challenge.[1] Yet, although the section

Tim McDonnell, Callie Leone, and Jennifer Poorman, my students of ancient Greek at Butler University, read this section of the Periegesis with me and inspired me to reconsider Pausanias' description of Mycenae. I am indebted also to the editors of this volume for the invitation to

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

addressing Mycenae is lengthy, Pausanias' description of what he saw on the ground is sparse and foreshadows very little of the archaeological significance Mycenae would acquire after nearly a century and a half of excavation.[2] Pausanias would have known nothing about the Mycenaean prehistory of the site, despite being well versed in the myth-historical traditions of Greece that inspired him to tarry there. He does, in his account of Mycenae, dwell at length on the site's myth-history. But, knowing the rich archaeological history of the place, I found myself wondering why the description of the actual remains at such a famous site was so spare—an observation shared by students reading his *Periegesis* with me, all of whom chocked it up at first to his capricious style.

The more I thought about Pausanias' description, the less satisfying I found caprice as an explanation. My understanding of the narrative was based, in part, on the notion that Pausanias wrote as a tour guide who meant to walk his audience through the noteworthy monuments (θεορήματα) of important sites, and that his sometimes-confusing descriptions of now well-trodden and deeply studied archaeological sites were sometimes confusing and sometimes inexplicable. As an occasional guide for tourists at Mycenae, I could understand why someone might highlight certain features of the site over other, less spectacular aspects, but Pausanias' style of guiding is not merely selective. Hutton has suggested that Pausanias also 'was *not* at such pains to present everything to his readers in its exact location' (2005, 25). If that is the case, it raises several questions regarding Pausanias' description of Mycenae, especially the extent to which his sparing account of the ruins is, or ever has been, in any way archaeologically informative. If he was not intent on guiding his readers through the site step-by-step, why did he choose to describe it as he did? Why did he choose to visit Mycenae at all?

In answering these questions, it is useful to begin by reviewing what Pausanias has to say about Mycenae. His description of the site begins in book 2 and spans chapters 15 and 16. He starts in the typical fashion of a guide, noting for those traveling through the Tretos and going on to Argos that ruins (ἐρείπια) of Mycenae are on the left. The use of the word ἐρείπια would have signaled to the reader that Mycenae was a desolate, vacant place. Already in the first century

---

participate in this endeavor and for their thoughtful comments on drafts of this chapter. Finally, I dedicate this chapter with profound gratitude to Carin Green, who was my mentor and guide while I was a classics major at the University of Iowa.

[1] Frazer (1913, 94–165), in his commentary on this section of the text, focuses primarily on archaeological finds at Mycenae. Even Habicht (1985, 29–31) fails to address a Mycenae that had not yet been explored by Schliemann.

[2] Numerous sources review the history of archaeological work at *Mycenae. Mycenae, Agamemnon's Capital* (French 2002) is a good starting point.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

BCE, it had a reputation as a deserted city. Diodorus describes Mycenae as uninhabited (ἀοίκητος, 11.65.5) as the result of a devastating clash with Argos in 468 BCE. To Strabo, the result of this conflict was that no trace (μηδ'ἴχνος, 8.6.10) of the once powerful city could be found.

The assessment of Strabo and Diodorus was, however, partly incorrect. Although Mycenae ceased to be an independent *polis* after 468 BCE, there is no indication that the settlement was entirely abandoned. An inscription from a stele found in the ruins of the citadel notes that Mycenae was reestablished by Argos as a type of village referred to as a *koma* (κώμα) sometime in the third century BCE. The *koma* appears to have functioned as an independent city with an assembly (ἁλιαία) and a council (δαμιοργοί) (Boethius 1921/1922–1922/1923). Since Mycenae was located along a fluctuating political line dividing Argos and Achaean Corinthia, it served as a kind of territorial stronghold for the Argives and seems to have been inhabited until around the time of the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE.

Although Mycenae was not, in fact, deserted in the fifth century BCE, Strabo and Diodorus were not wholly mistaken. Archaeological work at Mycenae has confirmed that while the settlement surely continued to be inhabited, occupation was limited and left no significant archaeological footprint (French 2002).[3] It is safe to presume, in light of this, that the seat of the ruler Agamemnon, leader of the Greek forces at Troy, had deteriorated in reality as well as in reputation into the sort of place that we today would consider ruined and abandoned—in effect, an archaeological site.

Pausanias follows the trope established by Diodorus and Strabo by introducing Mycenae as ἐρείπια, but his physical description of the site stops short there and does not resume for five sections, discussed below. Pausanias prefaces his segue with the statement that the Greeks know that Perseus founded Mycenae:

> καὶ ὅτι μὲν Περσεὺς ἐγένετο Μυκηνῶν οἰκιστής, ἴσασιν Ἕλληνες. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰτίαν τε γράφω τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ καὶ δι'ἥντινα πρόφασιν Ἀργεῖοι Μυκηναίους ὕστερον ἀνέστησαν. (Paus. 2.15.4)
>
> And that Perseus was the founder of Mycenae, Greeks are aware. So I will write both the reason for its foundation and what motivation later caused the Argives to uproot the Mycenaeans.[4]

---

[3] Very little Roman-era material has been found even in the wider area surrounding Mycenae. Finds include a lamp, a coin of Julia Domna, and a few graves (French 2002).

[4] My translation.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

This short but meaningful statement sets Pausanias apart from his narrative (Elsner 2001). He does not identify himself as a member of the audience for which he writes. Nor is he the same kind of Greek as those who would consider the history of this site familiar. His positioning of himself outside both groups is apparent in the deliberate contrapositioning of Ἕλληνες and ἐγὼ. He therefore becomes a guide who functions in the liminal zone between the knowledgeable Greeks and those with whom knowledge was to be shared, his intended audience, a diverse group of mid-second-century CE Romans (Habicht 1985, 24–27; Hutton 2005, 34).

Even if non-Greek readers might know the story of Perseus' founding of Mycenae, Pausanias assumes that they do not know why he founded it. Nor does Pausanias assume that they know the place's deeper history. He therefore sets out the twin goals of explaining the αἰτία for the foundation of the city and the πρόφασις behind the Argive destruction, after which he relays the background of the region and ignores Mycenae altogether. Elsner observes that within the text of the *Periegesis*, descriptions of 'monuments themselves are interspliced with myth-history in different ways in the different books' (2001, 7). The description of Mycenae is an excellent illustration of this technique. Instead of following his introduction with a detailed depiction, he splices in a history of the Argolid plain, beginning with an aetiological myth explaining the arid landscape around it as the product of Poseidon's wrath and following this with the genealogy of Perseus (2.15.5).

At the end of this story, we learn that Perseus was fated to kill his grandfather, Acrisius, ruler of Argos. Pausanias avoids telling the tale of the exile of Danae and Perseus, perhaps because it would require too great a cognitive departure from this locale. Instead he fixates on the unavoidable murder of Acrisius by Perseus, who, out of shame for the accidental homicide, negotiates an exchange of power with Megapenthes, who is the son of Proetus and ruler of the land where Mycenae would be founded (2.16.1–2).

Pausanias goes on to explain the origins of the name Mycenae, which could be derived from μύκης, the cap of a scabbard dropped by Perseus; or a water-loving mushroom discovered by him; or characters mentioned in the *Odyssey* or the *Eoeae* (2.16.3–4). Pausanias seems to have been least convinced by the latter explanations. Of the stories relating to Perseus, the scabbard cap seems the most straightforward. The story of the mushroom harks back to the lack of water in the Argolid plain, already addressed in Pausanias' narrative. This trope is revisited perhaps as a way of emphasizing his own experiences with this place, where water was generally scarce but nonetheless available to careful observers of the natural landscape. At least the importance of founding a city in

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

proximity to water sources and the challenges of an arid landscape must have seemed relatable to a Roman audience, which surely contained some members with experience managing and maintaining systems of aqueducts across the empire.

Pausanias then fulfills his promise of skipping the better-known history of Mycenae to shed light on its destruction by Argos, which has been dated historically to 468 BCE (French 2002, 145). Pausanias believed that Argos targeted Mycenae for its support of Lacedaemonian efforts against the Persians at the battle of Thermopylae (2.16.4). Positioning Mycenae between Argos and Sparta in some ways reflects the situation in the eastern Peloponnese in the Hellenistic period, when Argos and Sparta were tussling over this region (French 2002, 146–149) better than it describes the late archaic and early classical periods, when Argos was systematically consolidating control of the Argolid by overtaking smaller *poleis* (Hall 1995).

It is also worth noting that Pausanias cites the φιλοτίμημα of the Mycenaeans as the motivation for sending troops to fight while Argos remained quiet. Although it may seem odd that the somewhat meager *polis* of Mycenae was so threatening that the Argives sought to destroy its fortification wall, the event was significant enough that Pausanias used it to frame his discussion of Mycenae's history. His explanation for the destruction of Mycenae by Argos thus serves a dual purpose: it concludes this section while also advancing the narrative toward a description of the actual ruins (2.16.5). Pausanias accomplishes this transition by focusing on one of the most famous monuments at Mycenae, the πύλη and the relief sculpture of leonine animals set upon it, known today as the Lion Gate. He notes that 'they say' (λέγουσιν) that the wals and gateway were built by the same Cyclopes who built the wall at Tiryns for Proetus. The use of the third person suggests that Pausanias himself had a guide at the site; it also simultaneously returns him to his role as guide and his audience to their role as literary tourists.

At the beginning of the following section, Pausanias redirects readers to the site with the words 'among the ruins of Mycenae' (Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις), and in this way he officially begins his tour (2.16.6). The first landmark is the Perseia Fountain House and the underground structures (ὑπόγαια οἰκοδήματα) that served as treasuries (θησαυροί) for Atreus and his children. He moves on to the mortuary landscape, beginning with the graves of Atreus and those who returned from Troy with Agamemnon and were killed by Aegisthus. Agamemnon, Eurymedon, the children of Cassandra, and Electra were buried there, he says, while Cassandra's grave was not at Mycenae but in Lacedaemonia. Pausanias wraps up his description of the site by stating that Aegisthus and Clytemnestra

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

were deemed unworthy and therefore were buried a little away from the wall (ὀλίγον ἀποτέρω τοῦ τείχους, 2.16.7), even though Agamemnon and those whom Aegisthus murdered were interred inside the wall. That concludes Pausanias' tour of Mycenae, and he moves abruptly on to the Argive Heraion.

Given what Pausanias tells us about the site of Mycenae, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the ruins he saw when he visited the site—and I believe he did—were in fact ruins and thus difficult for him to decipher. The acropolis of Mycenae had been occupied to some extent from the Middle Helladic period until the Hellenistic period, after all (French 2002), and as enlightening as his description of Mycenae is in some ways, the information that can be assembled about it from his words is slim. He mentions only the Cyclopean wall and the Lion Gate, the Perseia Fountain House, underground treasuries, and a handful of graves, some assigned to known mythical characters and others to unnamed persons. Although he tells us something specific about the gate (it has lions on it), the wall (it is said to have been built by Cyclopes in the time of Proetus), and the fountain house (it is named Perseia), details about the underground treasuries and tombs are mostly lacking, especially when compared with the level of detail in his other excurses. City walls, gates, and fountain houses might bring some kind of picture to mind, but although we are informed that the treasuries are underground, we are given no visual clues that might help a visitor identify these structures. Contrast Pausanias' description of another prehistoric treasury, that of Minyas at Orchomenos

> θησαυρὸς δὲ ὁ Μινύου, θαῦμα ὂν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἑτέρωθι οὐδενός ὕστερον, πεποίηται τρόπον τοιόνδε. λίθου μὲν εἴργασται, σχῆμα δὴ περιφερές ἐστιν αὐτῷ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη. τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμοίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι. (9.38.2)
>
> The treasury of Minyas, a wonder second to none either in Greece itself or elsewhere, has been built in the following way. It is made of stone; its shape is round, rising to a rather blunt apex; they say that the highest stone is the keystone of the whole building.[5]

For the treasury of Minyas, we learn the material, the shape, and even something about its construction. The graves at Mycenae are described in hardly any detail beyond attribution and general location. Those of Agamemnon and the honorable dead were located within the wall, while those of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were away from the wall. Pausanias tells us nothing about their appearance.

[5] Translation is that of Jones and Ormerod (1918).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

In determining whether Pausanias might have seen anything of note at Mycenae, it is a useful exercise to try to recreate his path as he toured the site. Even though it is unlikely that he intended his written account to reflect his actual visit (or visits), through the act of reconstructing the route he composed with readers in mind, we can assess the extent to which he described monuments that have been identified archaeologically or determine whether there is a greater significance to the type of landmarks he describes in detail.

Pausanias approached the site from the north after exiting the Tretos Pass with Mycenae appearing on his left. He neglects to tell us how he got from the pass to the site, which is somewhat removed from the main road. The next landmarks he describes are the Lion Gate and the Cyclopean wall, which he could have observed as he approached, although the Lion Gate, because it is set back into the fortification wall, is difficult to see from far away. At this point in the description, we can at least assume that Pausanias is on the west side of the acropolis, looking east toward the Cyclopean wall and the Lion Gate. The following section begins with Pausanias among the ruins of Mycenae (ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις).

At this point he could have seen the Perseia Fountain House, whose location has been identified east of the Lion Gate and outside the Cyclopean wall (French 2002, 147). Key features like the basins documented by British archaeologists (Holland, Hood, and Woodhead 1953) would have been visible as he stood outside the Mycenaean fortification wall.The next landmarks mentioned are the *thesauroi*, the underground treasuries, of Atreus and the Atreidae. There are several different structures to which Pausanias may have referred. The first is the tholos tomb we today call the Treasury of Atreus. This tholos resembles the treasury of Minyas that Pausanias describes in 9.38.2, but in order to see it, he would have had to leave the vicinity of the fortification wall and backtrack, walking several hundred meters downhill to the southeast. In order to then see the graves of the Homeric heroes, he would have had to retrace his steps and return to the western slope of the acropolis. As capricious as Pausanias is, it is difficult to imagine that he would suggest such a laborious and confusing itinerary.

Could the underground treasuries to which Pausanias refers be the tholos tombs discovered in the immediate vicinity of the site: the Lion Tomb and the so-called Tombs of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus? There are three, which fits the designation of one each for Atreus, Agamemnon, and Menelaus. One of the tholoi, the Lion Tomb, is also set apart from the other two, which are adjacent to each other. Their location suggests that if Pausanias saw them, he might have thought that the Lion Tomb belonged to Atreus and the others to his sons.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Moreover, all these tombs lie outside the fortification wall and thus could have been pointed out by a guide and observed before Pausanias entered the fortified part of the acropolis and before he saw anything that he might consider a burial. The problem with this tidy solution is that these tombs may not have been visible at the time of Pausanias' visit. The slope of the hill over the chamber and dromos of the Tomb of Clytemnestra had been incorporated into a theater cavea for the *koma*, and none of these tholoi were archaeologically explored until the 19th and 20th centuries CE. So, although they had been almost entirely robbed out long before (e.g., Wace 1921/1922–1922/1923), they may not have been visible in the landscape. The rich burial goods deposited in the chambers of the tholos tombs, however, may have inspired local rumors, possibly reported to Pausanias by his guide, about Atreid *thesauroi*.

Envisioning Pausanias as remaining on the western slope of the acropolis, rather than walking down the hill and away from it, also makes sense when we read about the burials he describes as being within and outside the wall. Moore, Rowlands, and Karadimas (2014, 28–29) suggest that the Cyclopean wall Pausanias mentions may have been the city wall from another period of the settlement, and a significant Hellenistic circuit wall still stands in a few places in the landscape beyond the Mycenaean fortifications. Yet I find it unlikely that he is referring to something other than the massive Cyclopean fortification wall. Not only is Pausanias reluctant to address the Hellenistic ruins, but the surviving segments of the Hellenistic wall would have appeared insignificant compared with the large-stone masonry of the citadel. Pausanias' identification of the Fountain House also suggests that he was looking at underground structures on the west slope of the acropolis, just outside the fortifications. Here, he would have been perfectly positioned to enter through the Lion gate, where he could view the graves of Atreus, Electra, and Agamemnon, and then exit through the same gate to see the tombs of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra as he departed from the site.

Of the graves themselves, we are left with little certain knowledge, even if we can tentatively propose a location for them. It is possible that Pausanias set eyes upon Grave Circle A and the peribolos wall that encircled it, especially if this space and the grave stelai marking the shaft grave burials were visible and venerated by later occupants of the acropolis as a memorial to their myth-historical past (Schliemann [1880] 1976, 341). Less can be said with certainty about the graves of the shameful murderers. These extramural burials could have been identified by Pausanias as their now eponymous tholos tombs, which lie just outside the Cyclopean wall on the lower west slope of the acropolis. Given the above arguments, however, the burials of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus could just as easily have been mistaken for any of the numerous, poorly appointed

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Middle Helladic burials scattered over this slope (French 2002, 29–31). These cist burials, which would have included few if any burial goods, could have been discovered any time foundations for buildings of the later settlements were excavated. It would not be surprising if there were rumors about the existence of poor burials that seemed atypical in comparison with the riches of underground treasuries and venerated intramural tombs. Such reports might have caused the meager graves to be associated with the scandalous Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.

Even a speculative reconstruction of his itinerary through the site cannot completely clarify what Pausanias may or may not have experienced at Mycenae. We are still left with an author who says little, and what he does say is so vague that we must return to the supposition that Pausanias is reticent and uninformative about Mycenae because there was little to see at that derelict site. Mycenae does not seem to have been a tourist destination, per se, before he visited it. Pausanias himself tells us that both Nero and Hadrian made dedications at the nearby Heraion (2.17.6) but that neither toured the ruins of the seat of Agamemnon. Years later, even some travelers on the Grand Tour, such as Richard Chandler, found the passage on Mycenae from the *Periegesis* so unreliable that they missed the site entirely during their own excursions to the Argolid (Moore, Rowlands, and Karadimas 2014, 45–46).

Anyone who arrived at the acropolis in the second century CE would have found the remains of much of the Mycenaean settlement that Pausanias associated with the Homeric world built up, with not only the remains of an Archaic and Classical *polis* but also the Hellenistic *koma*. Boethius, who was part of the British team that excavated the site in the 1920s, described it in this way: 'The remains of Hellenistic Mycenae are scattered not only over the Acropolis, but also along the slopes of the ridges immediately adjoining it to the southwest' (1921/1922–1922/1923, 415). So even after more than four decades of investigation, archaeologists found the Mycenaean levels to be utterly covered by layers of Hellenistic occupational debris.

It was this palimpsest of history that Pausanias encountered on his visit, and it is no wonder we have some difficulty making heads or tails of his account. What is more astonishing is that Pausanias ignores the existence of the Hellenistic settlement even though he must have encountered its remains. This is, again, consistent with his reconstruction of the history of Mycenae, in which he overlays the Hellenistic political landscape onto his own rendition of the destruction of Mycenae by Argos in the fifth century BCE. In doing so, he not only erases Mycenae's Hellenistic history; he also eradicates the physical

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

remains of the Hellenistic settlement in the process of crafting his own image of the ruins of Mycenae.

What might Pausanias have wanted to communicate through his reconstructed version of Mycenae? Reconsiderations of Pausanias, inspired in part by Habicht (1985, 117–140), have given him much more credit as an author who at least attempted a form of sophisticated, even sophistic, writing (e.g., Hutton 2005). The idea that Pausanias composed his description of Mycenae with a desire to impart some deeper meaning to his Roman audience might help explain seeming irregularities and inconsistencies in his text.

In order to explore this notion at greater length, it is important to return to the idea that Pausanias sets himself apart, as emphasized by the use of the first-person pronoun ἐγὼ at the beginning of his *logos* for Mycenae (2.15.4), to be a guide positioned between the Hellenes, who were aware of their past, and the Roman audience, who required education not only in the landmarks and landscape but also about the stories contained within each place. By setting his work in Greece and organizing it geographically, he leads his audience to believe that he is a guide to what can be seen at the places he visits and what can be known about those places. It is not unlikely that the intended readers of the *Periegesis* were poorly informed about the myth-historical past of Greece. When Pausanias composed his guide, the Roman world had never been more expansive. Tourism was eased by roads, safe sailing routes, standard currency, and common languages (Casson 1994, 128–137), and travel was considered essential to a thorough education for the empire's élite (Pretzler 2007, 33–34). Pausanias, by writing his guide in Greek, was certainly aiming at an educated audience, who, steeped in Second Sophistic culture, would likely have been familiar with the Greek literary tradition (Habicht 1985, 117–118; Pretzler 2005). Even though Pausanias acknowledges his readers' erudition—he glosses over the familiar mythology of the House of Atreus after all—he also recognizes that they likely had little in-depth knowledge of more obscure aspects of myth-history expounded outside the Homeric corpus.

Pausanias, through telling the story of Mycenae, was able to refashion the history of the site and even its appearance for his audience, but to what end? What did he wish to communicate with his cognitive version of Mycenae? If we return to his introduction of the site, a possible answer becomes apparent. Mycenae for Pausanias is a site in ruins. His narrative unfolds a motif of downfall and destruction due to personal fallibility, suggesting that he is presenting Mycenae as a metaphor for the disastrous effects of the moral deficiencies of its mythical and historical residents, deficiencies that are both deeply ingrained in the built landscape and in some ways contrary to the natural landscape. Perseus arrives

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in Mycenae under a cloud of shame for the murder of his grandfather, Acrisius. By trading kingdoms with Megapenthes, he physically transfers his shame to Mycenae. Megapenthes, who does not bear the same burden, gains control over Argos, a city that eventually overthrows Mycenae. When Argos destroys Mycenae, it is because of envy (ζηλοτυπία), brought on by the φιλοτίμημα of Mycenae in sending soldiers to fight with the Lacedaimonians at Thermopylae. Mycenae's desire for honor resulted in ruin (ὄλεθρος, 2.16.5).

Pausanias has chosen to frame his history of Mycenae with the above episodes, which highlight character flaws—shame and ambition—that are directly associated with the site itself. He extends this metaphor to the ruins he chooses to include in his account. He specifies that at least a portion of the prehistoric peribolos wall remains standing despite the envy of Argos, but he describes the once-glorious wall, constructed by the Cyclopes, as if it were in a state of ruin at the moment he saw it (2.16.5). In reality, the wall had been repaired with polygonal masonry during the occupation of the *koma* in the third century BCE. The condition of the site that Pausanias actually saw did not align with the story he wished to tell, so he created his own vision. To this mental construct we can add the other landmarks Pausanias chose to include. There are the underground treasuries that hoarded the wealth of Atreus and his sons, as well as the tombs of the family and other members of the House of Atreus, most of whom had flawed reputations regardless of where they were buried. His fascination with the subterranean suggests that he considered the promise of Mycenae, denoted by its magnificent but now crumbling walls, to have been buried alongside its wealth and its illustrious heroes. Pausanias is not interested in rehashing the life stories of these characters. He focuses on their resting places as prehistoric precursors to the destruction that would continue to plague the site until its final collapse, and as a visible reminder of their fallibility.

Understanding these choices as part of a broader narrative also conveniently explains the exclusion of any mention of the Hellenistic settlement, except for the Perseia Fountain House, a monument directly associated with Perseus in Pausanias' text. Throughout his *logos*, Pausanias emphasizes the lack of water in the Argolid plain. Mycenae, however, he presents as having an abundance of natural water. He relates the story of the hero's arrival at the head of the thirsty Argolid plain and of him drinking water that flowed liberally from a mushroom (μύκης) discovered at the future site of Mycenae. This seems an odd story to relay, but it highlights the natural resources that distinguished Mycenae as an ideal place to found a city. The inclusion of the Perseia Fountain House reiterates the beneficial aspect of having a water source while at the same time conveying that this resource was squandered by human hands: the fountain was, in Pausanias' time, in ruins. The Perseus who rejoiced at the water flowing

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

from the mushroom is also the Perseus who instilled in Mycenae his shame, which was enshrined for Pausanias in the remains of the Fountain House.

If readers were meant to read the Greek landscape as presented in the *Periegesis* as a didactic text, the *logos* for Mycenae stands as a subtle lesson on the mechanisms of fortune. Pausanias viewed fortune as a force that determined the fate of cities and individuals, an opinion clearly outlined in his digression on the rise and fall of famous cities, which replaced a description of the city of Megalopolis (8.33.1–4). In this digression, he writes that fortune changes everything, whether it be weak or strong, growing in power or demolished alike (τὰ πάντα τὰ τε ἐχυρὰ καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ τὰ γινόμενά τε καὶ ὁπόσα ἀπόλλυνται μεταβάλλουσαν τὴν τύχην). Mycenae, one of many cities named as examples, is included alongside Nineveh and Thebes, all of which are described as thoroughly destroyed and abandoned (ἠρήμονται πανώλεθροι). But to Pausanias Mycenae was more than just another city that rose in prominence and then fell. The human malefactions of Mycenae's past began with Perseus, continued through Atreid rule, and were not put to rest until the Argives tore down the Cyclopean wall. It was a grueling cycle of failure that could be stopped only by the physical destruction of the wall, a symbol for the most ancient seed of Mycenae's strength. Fortune will topple all humankind (τὰ ἀνθρώπινα) at some point (8.33.4), but the example of Mycenae demonstrates that the signs of downfall will be physically manifest in cases of repeated offense.

The physical manifestation of fortune's punishment is what Pausanias urges his readers to see at Mycenae. Readers' ability to visualize even ruined places is a critical part of the experience of the text (Elsner 2001, 18). To fully comprehend anything, it must be seen. This was as true for the uninitiated at Eleusis (1.38.7) as it was for Pausanias' readers. At the beginning of the description, readers are explicitly told where to look for Mycenae. Travelers must turn their eyes deliberately to the left or miss seeing, and thereby knowing, the lessons embodied in the place. When Pausanias narrates the physical remains of the city, he asks his readers to imagine Mycenae in its glorious past as they gaze upon its fragmented present (Porter 2001, 66–67). This paradoxical conceptualization can be understood as having both a disturbing and a titillating effect, but this mode of visualization, which Porter calls a 'violence to the imaginary viewing' (67), is a key component of Pausanias' rhetoric, his method of persuasion.

Seeing any Mycenae that differs from the one where archaeological and architectural monuments have now been under investigation for 140 years is challenging. It is even more difficult after experiencing the wonders of the palace, the monumental wall, or the tombs as they exist now, try as we might to imagine them away. We can never experience the Mycenae that Pausanias

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

saw when he emerged from the Tretos pass. But that, in any event, is not the Mycenae Pausanias wanted his audience to experience. At least in the case of this site, Pausanias saw himself as a purveyor of a deeper knowledge than the sort a typical tourist might gain from a site visit. In his narrative, we read the story of his Mycenae, the flawed and ruined place that was the result of shame and ambition that had seeped into the very landscape. If we read the Mycenae logos only as a learned tourist or archaeologist, we risk missing the story told by Pausanias the author, who wrote for his Roman audience not what Mycenae was in actuality but what Mycenae, in myth and history, in splendor and ruins, could mean.

Works Cited

Boethius, A. C. 1921/1922–1922/1923. The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae, 1921–1923, XI: Hellenistic Mycenae. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 25:408–428.
Casson, L. 1994. *Travel in the Ancient World.* Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press
Elsner, J. 2001. Structuring 'Greece': Periegesis as a Literary Construct. In *Pausanias and Memory in Roman Greece*, edited by S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, 3–20. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Frazer, J. G. 1913. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 2. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
French, E. 2002. *Mycenae, Agamemnon's Capital: The Site in Its Setting.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus.
Habicht, C. 1985. *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Hall, J. M. 1995. How Argive Was the 'Argive Heraion'? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900–400 BC. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99:577–613.
Holland, M., M. S. F. Hood, and A. G. Woodhead. 1953. Mycenae, 1939–1952, Part II: The Perseia Fountain House. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 48:19–29.
Hutton, W. 2005. *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Jones, W. H. S., and Ormerod, M. A., trans. 1918. *Pausanias: Description of Greece with an English Translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Moore, D., E. Rowlands, and N. Karadimas. 2014. *In Search of Agamemnon: Early Travellers to Mycenae*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
Porter, J. I. 2001. Ideals and Ruins: Pausanias, Longinus, and the Second Sophistic. In *Pausanias and Memory in Roman Greece*, edited by S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, 63–92. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pretzler, M. 2007. *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*. London: Duckworth.
Pretzler, M. 2005. Pausanias and Oral Tradition. *Classical Quarterly* 55.1:235–249.
Schliemann, H. (1880) 1976. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. Reprint. New York: Arno Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Wace, A. J. B. 1921/1922–1922/1923. The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae, 1921–1923, IX: The Tholos Tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 25:283–396.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

5

Catullus and the Personal Empire

Christopher Nappa

The political dimension of Catullan poetry is a topic of perpetual interest, especially since a number of poems target such powerful generals and statesmen as Caesar and Pompey, while other poems are addressed to or mention Romans who were most prominent for their role in government, like Cicero.[1] The political does not, however, underlie only poems that mention the great. In this chapter I look at the way in which three apparently apolitical and innocuous poems (9, 31, and 46) show the effects of Rome's imperial bureaucracy on members of the Roman élite as individuals.[2]

Versions of this chapter were delivered at Macalester College, the University of Utah, and the University of Minnesota; I am grateful for the questions and comments from those audiences. I would also like to thank Stephen C. Smith for endless efforts to improve it. This chapter is in no way a sufficient mark of gratitude for the friendship of Carin M. C. Green.

[1] All citations of Catullus are from Mynors 1958; all translations are my own. This is a topic, obviously, that could legitimately take in numerous other poems and themes; reasons of space prompt me to confine myself here to the most suggestive aspects of these three texts. Much of the secondary literature on poems 9, 31, and 46, although helpful on language and aesthetics, is not directly relevant to the point at hand. See the bibliographies collected in Thomson 1997, 231, 286–287, 320. Travel against the backdrop of the Roman imperial and mercantile project is also important to poems 4 and 11; in both cases, the dominant themes of the poem may obscure, for modern readers, the significance of the landscape of empire.

[2] The three poems are sometimes, but not always, read together, and not always for the reasons they are grouped together here. For the ways in which poems 9 and 46 make use of and manipulate technical aspects of the minor genres of Greek and Roman poetry, see Cairns 1972, 21–22, 122, on poem 9; 44–45 on poem 46; and throughout on both. On poem 31 see Cairns 1974. Holzberg (2002, 73), however, does see the sequence 9–13 as linked specifically to the west and east 'des Reiches.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Romans (and residents of Rome's empire) traveled for numerous reasons, including pleasure and education.[3] We also know of many whose travel abroad was for what we might call official purposes, such as business, military duty, or administrative work as some kind of civil servant, especially on the staff (*cohors*) of a governor.[4] This kind of travel concerns us most here. Any of these occupations might have been intrinsically dangerous, depending on the location and exact nature of one's duties, and a familiar theme in ancient poetry is the danger inherent in mercantile travel.[5] Moreover, Catullus' own lifetime was a period of transition in which some areas that would soon be familiar and accessible parts of the Roman world were, or had recently been, sites of great potential danger to Romans, including parts of Spain and the rebellious province of Asia, which as recently as 88 BCE had seen the astonishing murder of an enormous number of Roman citizens by supporters of the Pontic king Mithridates VI.[6] Poem 11, in which we are told that Furius and Aurelius have declared their willingness to go to the ends of the earth for Catullus, in fact concentrates on Roman frontiers—real or aspirational—and the *Caesaris . . . monimenta magni* ('monuments of great Caesar,' 11.10).

We turn first to poem 9, in which Catullus welcomes Veranius home from Spain.[7] It describes Catullus delightedly listening to his friend speak about the Spaniards, embracing him in greeting, and finally exclaiming that Veranius' return has made Catullus the happiest man in the world. The poem begins as a surprised and excited question:

> *Verani, omnibus e meis amicis*
> *antistans mihi milibus trecentis,*
> *uenistine domum ad tuos penates*
> *fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?* (9.1–4)
>
> Veranius, in my eyes chief of all of my friends, all three hundred thousand, have you come home—to your household gods, and your dear brothers, and your aged mother?

---

[3] Casson 1994, though quite broad, is the best general guide to the possibilities for travel in the ancient world.

[4] Armstrong 2013, 52. On those who accompanied governors abroad, see Richardson 1992, 580–584, especially 582–583; and see Braund 1998, especially on what could go wrong.

[5] The classic example is Horace, *Odes* 1.1.11–18; Juvenal, *Satire* 12, though written long after Catullus, goes on at length about the topic. It is perhaps telling that Catullus, probably scion of a family that made its fortune through overseas mercantile operations, does not employ the *topos.*

[6] See Hind 1992 on Rome's war with Mithridates in the 80s. On the general state of the provinces, see Richardson 1992; on Spain in particular, see Lintott 1992, 20–23.

[7] On Veranius and some possibilities for his life and career, see Fordyce 1961, 113; Wiseman 1985, 266–269.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Lines 1 and 2 define Veranius' importance to Catullus.[8] Lines 3 and 4 ask if he has really come home, but they do so in a decidedly emphatic way: 'Have you come home—to your household gods, and your dear brothers, and your aged mother?' In one sense, *domum*, *penates*, *fratres*, and *matrem* simply reinforce the concept of 'home,' but they also remind us that home is above all a set of personal, even religious, relationships, a point to which we shall return.[9]

In line 5 Catullus answers his own question and reinforces his initial statement that Veranius is his best or one of his best friends: *Venisti. o mihi nuntii beati!* In doing so, he also brings our attention back to himself—Veranius' homecoming may be described in terms of a return to household, brothers, and mother, but it is above all a return to Catullus. So far this poem could apply to Veranius' return from anywhere, but what follows adds specificity and raises more serious themes.

> *uisam te incolumem audiamque Hiberum*
> *narrantem loca, facta, nationes,*
> *ut mos est tuus, applicansque collum*
> *iucundum os oculosque suauiabor.* (9.6–9)
>
> I shall look upon you safe, and I shall listen to you relate the places, accomplishments, and ethnic divisions of the Hiberi, as is your wont; and embracing your neck, I shall kiss your pleasing mouth and eyes.

These four lines present a remarkably dense network of associations. In terms of a dramatic scenario, we are given a picture of Veranius describing affairs abroad. Yet *uisam te incolumem* suggests that Catullus is not only happy to be reunited with a long-absent friend but also relieved that his friend is safe. His time away could well have resulted in his loss, and the distance that his narrative now bridges—the distance that is now negated by the embrace of lines 8 and 9—becomes a way of describing the potential for a human relationship to be destroyed. The relationship envisioned is foremost that between Veranius and Catullus, but also that evoked by the redundant expansion of home into 'home, and your household gods, and your dear brothers and your aged mother.'

Moreover, the content of Veranius' narration is striking: it is not just Quinn's 'neat summary of the contents of travellers' tales' (1973, 120).[10] Veranius does

[8] Commentators debate the exact idiom behind Catullus' *milibus trecentis* (9.2), but the general meaning is clear: Veranius is an extremely close friend.

[9] Cf. poem 31.9 *larem*, with the note in Thomson 1997, 285.

[10] See also Armstrong 2013, 54: 'The dryness of line 7 (*narrantem loca, facta, nationes*) implies that his traveller's tales will have a scholarly quality: this will be a geographer or ethnographer's view,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

not tell of his own adventures abroad so much as he delivers an ethnographic treatise, for 'the places, accomplishments, ethnic divisions of the Hiberi' (*Hiberum . . . loca, facta, nationes*, 6–7) hint not only at the contents of ancient historical writing and its component subgenres, but more precisely at the kind of ethnographic material that the Augustan poets would turn into a *topos*.[11] This subgenre of historical writing deals with facts about and the cultural background of a foreign people, but although it is primarily associated with historical writing, it makes its mark on poetry as well, and it is clearly a type of writing that the Roman élite audience knows and recognizes. While Catullus embraces and kisses his friend in joy at his return and relief at his safety, Veranius is delivering what would have been a familiar part of such documents as *commentarii* and military histories, like the famous ethnographic excursuses on the Gauls and Germans in Julius Caesar's own *commentarii*. Veranius' homecoming discourse is impersonal.

This raises the question of what Catullus means by *ut mos est tuus* (8). Has Veranius always gone on at length about ethnography? It seems rather odd that it was Veranius' habit to lecture on Spain or even to go on at length about *loca*, *facta*, and *nationes* at all. I suggest that *ut mos est tuus* indicates that Veranius has always been somewhat garrulous, but that very garrulousness has been conditioned by his involvement with provincial administration.[12]

The contrast between Veranius' prosaic 'officialese' and Catullus' overwhelming emotion is significant. The image in which the two men are united—Catullus' emotional and relieved embrace attempting to erase the distance that had separated them—is also an image in which two aspects of life are contrasted. Veranius is, in this poem at least, Catullus' very best friend. In Catullus' view, his arrival is not so much a return to the imperial capital as a homecoming to

---

not an exciting Odyssean narrative.'

[11] On the basic characteristics of literary ethnography, see Thomas 1982, 1–7; Catullus' line corresponds most closely to Thomas' list in *loca* and *nationes*. It should be noted, however, that before the ethnographic passages in Augustan poetry and works like Tacitus' *Germania*, literary ethnographic writing was primarily a feature of historiography and thus would have included *facta*. See also Kroll 1989, 19: 'Veranius soll ihm über Geographie, Geschichte und Ethnographie der Hiberer berichten,' with his comments on the similar content of works intended to cover similar categories by Posidonius (for Spain) and Cicero (for Gaul). Such writing presumably played a role in official life, such as dispatches to the senate and *commentarii* as well. The ethnographic element essential to Thomas' taxonomy but apparently absent in poem 9—agricultural and other produce—is on display elsewhere in Catullus, notably for us in poem 46; see Wiseman 1985, 99–100.

[12] Commenting on *ut mos est tuus*, Godwin (1999, 125) takes it to suggest 'that the poet has often heard Veranius speaking at some length and also a faint sense that Veranius might dilate at some length.' Wiseman (1985, 268–269) takes Veranius' *mos* and the historiography implied by *facta* in 9.7 as hints that the family had become a literary one.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

house, family, and friends. Yet Veranius' response to the situation is to excerpt, as it were, passages from the kind of report that an élite Roman might have written or commissioned to describe a military, diplomatic, or commercial enterprise. The poem shows us that Catullus' best friend—someone's dear brother and an old woman's son—has come back safe, but also that, even at home, he speaks very much as a member of the Roman civil service or its private business equivalent; that mode of expression has been internalized. The contrast between Catullus' emotional exclamations and Veranius' report about the Hiberi forcibly reminds us that the physical distance that has divided the two men may now have an interior analogue in divergent ways of seeing the world. We might see in Catullus' somewhat exaggerated embrace of his friend an attempt to recover the personal relationship that Veranius' words do little to restore. The poem uses the fairly simple idea of a homecoming to highlight the ways in which an élite Roman male's experience of the administrative side of empire—the regular means of advancement for young men—presents personal dangers, different from but perhaps coordinate with those of travel itself. In other words, to some extent one comes back from these experiences a changed person. The changes wrought may not themselves be bad, but they are real and irrevocable.

The poem ends with another excited question:

> *o quantum est hominum beatiorum,*
> *quid me laetius est beatiusue?* (9.10–11)

> Oh, however many men are blessed, which is happier or more blessed than I?

The interrogative form of this final exclamation echoes the poem's opening address to Veranius but also recalls line 5 (*o mihi nuntii beati!*) and its emphasis on Catullus. Furthermore, it elevates Catullus just as the opening lines had done for Veranius. There Veranius is the best of 300,000 friends; here Catullus is the most *beatus* and *laetus* of human beings. This strong emphasis on Catullus himself has been noted;[13] to my mind it suggests not so much a self-centered speaker as one whose awareness of his friend's potential peril highlights the personal stake that all members of the élite shared in empire.[14] It is not

[13] Syndikus 1984, 1:114–115; Godwin 1999, 125.

[14] Veranius' time in Spain is important to other poems as well; of these, I single out poem 12, which also raises the possibility that his absence from Rome puts his emotional relationship with Catullus at risk (for this reading of poem 12, see Nappa 2001, 107–120). Asinius Marrucinus has stolen Catullus' napkin at a dinner party; we are told that Catullus values it not so much for its monetary worth as for the fact that it reminds him of his absent friends Veranius and Fabullus,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

impossible to read a bit of irony into Catullus' exclamation, hinting perhaps that our speaker is somewhat frustrated at Veranius' mode of speech in the face of his own enthusiasm.

We turn now from Veranius' return from Spain to Catullus' own return from Bithynia. Poem 31 too uses the idea of a homecoming to comment on the effects of a long-term absence from home.[15] Here Catullus himself has returned to Sirmio, which the opening of the poem praises in superlative tones similar to those found at the beginning of poem 9.[16]

> *Paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque*
> *ocelle, quascumque in liquentibus stagnis*
> *marique uasto fert uterque Neptunus,*
> *quam te libenter quamque laetus inuiso . . .* (31.1–4)
>
> Sirmio, darling among peninsulas and islands, all the ones that either Neptune carries on clear pools or the vast sea, how gladly and how happily do I look upon you . . .

These lines are grandiose—Sirmio is the jewel of all the islands and peninsulas in Neptune's domain—and this grandiosity not only emphasizes Catullus' joy at seeing his home again but also elevates both home and homecoming to an almost epic stature.[17] Throughout the poem Sirmio will be personified, and in particular personified as a much-missed lover, as the vocative *ocelle* suggests.[18] The image is reinforced in line 4 with the phrase 'how gladly and how happily do I look upon you,' and it will be developed further in what follows.

Lines 5 and 6 complete the opening by explaining where Catullus has come from. Here too there are resemblances to poem 9:

> *uix mi ipse credens Thunia atque Bithunos*
> *liquisse campos et uidere te in tuto.* (31.5–6)

---

who sent it from Spain. Poem 12, like 9, highlights the ways in which participation in the Roman provincial civil service has implications for the personal and emotional lives of the élite.

[15] Syndikus (1984, 1:185–186) helpfully discusses similarities and differences between 31 and the most famous of all literary homecomings, that of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*.

[16] On the links between poems 31 and 9, see Putnam 1962, 12–13; and Baker 1970, 36–38, with references there.

[17] There need be no debate, as there long was, on the meaning of *uterque Neptunus*, well established as an Italian god of lakes as well as a divinity of the (saltwater) sea. See Delatte 1935; Kroll 1989, 58.

[18] See, e.g., Putnam 1962, 12–13; Baker 1970, clarified in Baker 1983; Witke 1972. Not everyone agrees: see, e.g., Cairns 1974, 135; Vessey 1985, 106.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> . . . scarcely believing that I have left Thynia and the Bithynian plains and that I see you in safety.

Just as poem 9 reminds us that Veranius' sojourn in Spain might well have become permanent, poem 31 lets us see that Catullus' absence from Italy was a matter of anxiety for him. No one who embarks on a trip can know with certainty that there will be a return, safe or otherwise, and so Catullus' expression of happiness and relief at seeing Sirmio again is perhaps not unexpected. Yet Catullus also expresses surprise that he has left Bithynia and made it home safely. I suggest that this expression of surprise highlights not only a traveler's relief at finishing a journey but also, as we shall soon see, a civil servant's relief at being free of a burdensome commission. Thus these lines emphasize that Catullus' absence from home has not been a matter of pleasure or even a duty that he is happy to have undertaken. Here again, separation is the salient point.

As we have seen, this separation of a man from his home is figured as the separation of two lovers. Again the personal loss, or the potential for it, brought about by one's participation in the élite system of provincial administration is highlighted. This is reinforced by the next five lines:

> *o quid solutis est beatius curis,*
> *cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino*
> *labore fessi uenimus larem ad nostrum,*
> *desideratoque acquiescimus lecto?*
> *hoc est quod unum est pro laboribus tantis.* (31.7–11)
>
> Oh, what is more blessed than anxieties relieved, when the mind sheds a burden and we come home exhausted by a traveler's toil and rest in our longed-for bed? This is the one recompense for such great toils.

In these lines, Catullus makes it explicit that he has not merely been homesick but that he has been laboring under a burden. Nothing is better than to sleep in the bed one has missed (*desiderato lecto*), an idea that picks up and reinforces the erotic personification of Sirmio present in the earlier lines. It is the idea of being reunited with home and loved ones that compensates one for *tanti labores*, and again home and loved ones are identified with one another. In poem 9 Veranius returns to a home envisioned simultaneously as place, household gods, brothers, mother, and Catullus; here Catullus greets his home as though it is a lover from whom he has been separated. In fact, Catullus' exclamation over his bed here (*o quid solutis est beatius curis . . . ?*) recalls his final exclamation at 9.10 (*quid me laetius est beatiusue?*). The similar language marks similar themes: the happy reunion of traveler with his home is *beatus*. We might recall also that

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the emotion Catullus names when he gazes upon his beloved Sirmio is *laetitia* (31.4), another similarity to the end of poem 9.

And what are these *labores* that Catullus has escaped from in poem 31? The reference to Bithynia makes it clear that they are Catullus' stint on the *cohors* of Memmius, so memorably described by poems such as 10 and 47. What is important here is that, just as Veranius' duties as a civil servant took him far from home and perhaps even left an indelible trace in the way he speaks to friends and family, Catullus' duties also separated him from home. Just as he worried that Veranius would not return safely, so has he been worrying about himself. And just as his reunion with Veranius is very physical—he envisions himself embracing Veranius and kissing him—so does he think of his return to Sirmio in terms of a physical reunion with a loved one. He returns to gaze happily at a place described as *ocelle*, 'darling,' and referred to in line 12 as *uenusta Sirmio*. His reward for his sufferings abroad is to sleep in the bed he has missed. Just as he was *laetus* and *beatus* at the homecoming of his friend, now Catullus is *laetus* and beatus at returning home himself.

There is another similarity to Veranius' homecoming as well, and this is perhaps the most important. We have already seen that Veranius' speech in poem 9 appears to be ethnographic discourse of the sort found in *commentarii* and similar kinds of writing; his manner of speech there contrasts with Catullus' emotional embrace and exuberant joy. Thus Veranius' stint in the civil service—his contact with empire—has become internalized, and ethnographic lecturing is now his *mos* after all. The next three verses of poem 31 make it clear that Catullus too bears the stamp of his own time away from home.

> *salue, o uenusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude*
> *gaudente, uosque, o Lydiae lacus undae,*
> *ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum.* (31.12–14)
>
> Hail, O charming Sirmio, and rejoice when your master rejoices. And you, O Lydian waves of the lake, laugh with all the mirth there is at home!

Catullus greets his 'charming Sirmio' and bids it rejoice with its master, who is overjoyed to see it. He mentions in particular *lacus Lydiae undae*. As commentators explain, this refers to the Lago di Garda, which can be described as Lydian because of presumed Etruscan presence in the area, since the Etruscans themselves were thought to have come from Lydia.[19] Catullus has just said that he was relieved and even surprised to get out of Asia. His time there

[19] See further Briquel 2013.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

was an onus, a *peregrinus labor*. Yet upon arriving home in his beloved Sirmio, he sees in it not only an Italian lover but an Asian lake. He has brought Asia with him, and his return to Sirmio is simultaneously a return to Asia.[20]

Vessey, too, has noticed the possibly discordant note that the sudden reference to Lydia brings.[21] For him, this, along with the ambiguities of *cachinnorum*, 'laughter,' suggests for the poem a potentially negative instead of wholly positive reading.[22] In service of this reading, Vessey denies any validity to the idea that there is a metaphorical association of home and lover.[23] Vessey's project, at heart, seems to be to show that Fordyce and others who accept Bergk's emendation *gaudente* at 31.13 do so in part to bolster an existing view of the poem and the emotions it must express. I find Vessey's cautions valid and his ambiguities interesting, but not necessarily persuasive or well-developed.

Amid various other aesthetic observations, critics have noticed, and sometimes been troubled by, the presence of pairs and antitheses in poem 31.[24] The pairs include peninsulas/islands, 'either Neptune,' clear pools/the vast sea, Thynia/Bithynian plains, blessed/anxieties, traveler's toil/longed for bed, one/such great, Sirmio/Lydian lake, Lydian lake/at home. I argue that these pairs, representing both divisions (foreign versus familiar, work versus rest) and unities (*Thunia atque / Bithunos . . . campos* really representing just one place),

---

[20] Modern scholars often doubt a Lydian origin for the Etruscans, but it was a conventional idea in antiquity. The argument of this paragraph will obviously have less force if we accept one of the many conjectures for *Lydiae*—for example B. Guarinus' *lucidae* or Avantius' *limpidae*. Of recent editors, Thomson (1997, 286) accepts the former and Goold (1983, 70) the latter. Still, I find no reason to reject the reading *Lydiae* (based on V's presumed *lidie*). Too many of the objections to *Lydiae* are based on presumptions about sincerity and style (e.g., that both the allusion and the hypallage in *Lydiae lacus undae* are out of place in a poem that is otherwise straightforward and sincere). It is worth noting, too, that one of Thomson's reasons for rejecting *Lydiae* is that it makes no sense for Catullus to use an adjective suggestive of Asia when he has already expressed relief at having gotten out of that part of the world. The reading of the poem that I am proposing here obviates that objection. See Fordyce 1961, 169–70, for a sensible defense of *Lydiae*.

[21] Vessey 1985, 104: 'The intratextual implication might well be, therefore, that even though he is supposed to be at home at last the poet is still in an environment that has connections with and is perhaps not totally dissimilar to the country he has just abandoned; that there are, in short, if you care to look, Lydian/Bithynian elements even here. The lake reminds him that his escape is not absolute.'

[22] Vessey 1985, 103–104.

[23] Vessey 1985, 105–106.

[24] See, for example, McCaughey (1970), whose impressionistic reading is partly an attempt at understanding their effect; e.g., 363: 'The antitheses are not real ones and the wit is mere whimsy.' Less troubled, if still perhaps puzzled, is Godwin (1999, 147): 'and the text constantly brings out pairs of things (either complementary or contrasting) *even when they are not really needed*' (emphasis mine).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

echo and reinforce the sense in poem 9 that the real unity of homecoming forever now includes the experience of the foreign.

Poem 46 picks up the same themes of homecoming and the emotional toll taken by participation in Rome's system of provincial administration that are found in poems 9, 12, and 31, but also brings to the fore a set of associations with Troy, for poem 46 is a poem about a *nostos*, a homecoming, from Troy.[25] Catullus, like his brother, was probably in the Troad as a member of a governor's *cohors*. There may have been many reasons for this, but it seems likely that the historical brothers were looking after the family's commercial interests in the area.[26]

The poem can be divided into three parts. The first is the opening announcement that spring has returned. The second is Catullus' self-address and exhortation to leave Phrygia and visit the famous cities of Asia; this exhortation is accompanied by a comment on his desire to travel. The third segment of the poem is his address to the companions from whom he will part as they all make their various ways home.

> *Iam uer egelidos refert tepores,*
> *iam caeli furor aequinoctialis*
> *iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis.* (46.1–3)

> Now spring brings back unchilly warmth, now the frenzy of the equinoctial sky grows calm with the pleasant breezes of Zephyr.

Winter has departed and spring is returning; moreover, a storm has ended. The imagery here is descriptive of spring's return, but it has a further significance that will become apparent later on. For Catullus now puts himself into the picture:

> *linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi*
> *Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae:*
> *ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes.* (46.4–6)

> Let the Phrygian plains be left behind, Catullus, and the rich territory of sweltering Nicaea: let's fly off to the famous cities of Asia.

---

25 The close connection is not always recognized. For an exception, see Fordyce 1961, 208: 'These gay lines have their complement in poem 31.'

26 For what appears to be the family business of the Valerii Catulli of Verona, see Cairns 2003, 165–167; for the family itself, the most up-to-date entry point is Wiseman 2007.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Catullus will leave Bithynia behind and tour the great cities of Asia Minor. That Bithynia is specifically meant is made clear by the reference to Nicaea, modern Iznik, but the territory is first introduced here by the more general, and more suggestive, phrase *Phrygii campi*. This is the first suggestion in the poem of Troy and the Trojan War. Line 4 suggests that Catullus will now leave the plain of Troy for home.

But Catullus' homecoming from Troy will not be uncomplicated, for he will first see the sights of Asia Minor. It is easy enough for a reader, ancient or modern, to understand this—for someone who does not want to remain in Bithynia, it is best to take this opportunity to play the tourist rather than contemplate an eventual return to that particular city. Still, Catullus explains his emotional state:

> *iam mens praetrepidans auet uagari,*
> *iam laeti studio pedes uigescunt.* (46.7–8)
>
> Now, in nervous anticipation, the mind yearns to wander; now happy feet thrive in their eagerness.

He has been overtaken by an uneasy wanderlust, and here we are reminded of the poem's opening—both by the anaphora of *iam* at the beginning of each line and by the sense of awakening implied by the onset of spring. Catullus' mind becomes restless and his feet become *laeti* ('happy'), and they 'thrive' (*uigescunt*), when the earth itself stirs at the beginning of spring. It is perhaps useful to remember the agricultural use of the word *laetus* here, since it suggests the earth's fertility in springtime. The annual renewal of the year is also Catullus' reawakening.

But the last three lines of the poem introduce something new. For all Catullus' pleasure in leaving Bithynia for his sightseeing tour, he must also say farewell to companions of whom he has grown fond:

> *o dulces comitum ualete coetus,*
> *longe quos simul a domo profectos*
> *diuersae uarie uiae reportant.* (46.9–11)
>
> Farewell, sweet gatherings of my companions, whom, though they had left home together, different routes carry back in different ways.

The Trojan War makes itself felt here, too, for just as Catullus and his companions in Bithynia must now separate—their *coetus* breaking apart just as ice thaws

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in spring—so too did the Greeks who famously came to Troy en masse return home, or attempt to do so, by separate paths.

These closing lines indicate that something is being lost by Catullus' departure from Bithynia, as well as something gained. Just as his administrative and commercial duties have removed him from Italy and disrupted his personal life there, as poem 31 makes clear (and likewise poem 12), so, too, have they introduced new relationships. Catullus has been part of a group of companions, *dulces comites*, who are now being separated. Moreover, their journeys back home will be diverse and may well have diverse ends. It is perhaps this as much as anything that motivates the reference to Troy in this poem. The homecomings, *nostoi*, of the Greeks after the Trojan War were generally disastrous, either resulting in death on the way or bringing the men home to a variety of afflictions, usually revolving around the family.[27] Catullus will stay in Asia for a while, to see the famous cities there. He does eventually make it back to Italy and even all the way back to Sirmio, which he is somewhat surprised to see again, since long trips in antiquity carried such a risk of ending without a homecoming. As we have seen, his return to Sirmio is like a return to a lover. In his case, unlike that of the Greeks, that lover is likely to be happy at his return.[28] Poem 46, however, reminds us that not everyone who sets out for home makes it back; moreover, those who do may find treachery from wives and family members, or they may find that their loved ones are gone or have been made to suffer. By making Catullus' time in Bithynia an analogue of the Trojan War, poem 46 reminds us that the hope of Catullus' springtime may yet come to nothing and that, however fond he has grown of his *comites*, his parting from them may be final.[29] His sojourn abroad has produced new obligations and new affections, and the same system that removes men like Veranius and Catullus from Italy also forces them to abandon these new commitments to an uncertain future.[30]

What is significant in all this, I suggest, is that Catullan poetry highlights the uncertainty intrinsic to official travel as it affects personal relationships. In particular, this uncertainty is linked in our poems to locations that suggest

[27] Dettmer (1997, 99–100) links poem 46 to 58, another poem that attacks Lesbia for her unbridled and voracious lust in an imperialist context, connecting it to readings of poem 11 like that of Konstan (2007, 77–78).

[28] It is possible to see in *cachinnorum* at 31.14 a hint that the lake, and thus Sirmio itself, mocks Catullus, however gently, for his belief that he is returning to the same home he left. Still, poem 46 suggests that, for some who go abroad, there will be either no homecoming or a disastrous one.

[29] Some see the *nostos* theme less pessimistically; see Armstrong 2013, 45: 'He and his companions, like (but, one hopes, not *too* like) the Greeks at Troy, set out for the east together, and soon will return home by a series of different ways.'

[30] Bithynia is linked to Troy and the *nostoi* that followed the Trojan War again in poem 101 ('*Aue atque uale*,' Catullus' farewell to his brother), which represents a permanent separation.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Rome's provincial administration. Even poems that seem to be only about friends cannot avoid the behemoth of Roman politics, because friendship, like all personal relationships, must respond to the geography of empire.

Works Cited

Armstrong, R. 2013. Journeys and Nostalgia in Catullus. *Classical Journal* 109.1:43–71.
Baker, R. J. 1970. Catullus and Friend in Carm. XXXI. *Mnemosyne* 23:33–41.
Baker, R. 1983. Catullus and Sirmio. *Mnemosyne* 36:316–323.
Braund, D. 1998. Cohors: The Governor and His Entourage in the Self-Image of the Roman Republic. In *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, edited by R. Laurence and J. Berry, 10–24. London: Routledge.
Briquel, D. 2013. Etruscan Origins and the Ancient Authors. In *The Etruscan World*, edited by J. Turfa, 36–55. London: Routledge.
Cairns, F. 1972. *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Cairns, F. 1974. Venusta Sirmio: Catullus 31. In *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, edited by T. Woodman and D. West, 1–17 and 135–136. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cairns, F. 2003. Catullus in and about Bithynia: Poems 68, 10, 28, and 47. In *Myth, History, and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman*, edited by D. Braund and C. Gill, 165–190. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
Casson, L. 1994. *Travel in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Delatte, L. 1935. Uterque Neptunus (Catullus XXXI, 3). *L'Antiquité classique* 4:45–47.
Dettmer, H. 1997. *Love by the Numbers: Form and Meaning in the Poetry of Catullus*. New York: Peter Lang.
Fordyce, C. J. 1961. *Catullus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Godwin, J. 1999. *Catullus: The Shorter Poems*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
Goold, G. P., ed. 1983. *Catullus*. London: Duckworth.
Hind, J. G. F. 1992. Mithridates. *Cambridge Ancient History*[2] 9:129–164.
Holzberg, N. 2002. *Catull: Der Dichter und sein erotisches Werk*. Munich: C. H. Beck.
Konstan, D. 2007. The Contemporary Political Context. In *A Companion to Catullus*, edited by M. B. Skinner, 72–91. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Kroll, W. 1989. *Catull*. 7th ed. Stuttgart: Teubner.
Lintott, A. 1992. The Roman Empire and Its Problems in the Late Second Century. *Cambridge Ancient History*[2] 9:16–39.
McCaughey, J. 1970. The Mind Lays by Its Troubles: Catullus 31. *Arion* 9: 362–365.
Mynors, R. A. B., ed. 1958. *C. Valerii Catulli carmina*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Nappa, C. 2001. *Aspects of Catullus' Social Fiction*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
Putnam, M. C. J. 1962. Catullus' Journey (Carm. 4). *Classical Philology* 57.1:10–19.
Quinn, K. 1973. *Catullus: The Poems*. London: St. Martin's Press.
Richardson, J. 1992. The Administration of the Empire. *Cambridge Ancient History*[2] 9:564–598.
Syndikus, H. P. 1984. *Catull: Eine Interpretation*. 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Thomas, R. F. 1982. *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.

Thomson, D. F. S. 1997. *Catullus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Vessey, D. W. T. C. 1985. Some Thoughts Inspired by Bergk's Emendation gaudente in Catullus 31.13. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 32:101–108.

Wiseman, T. P. 1985. *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiseman, T. P. 2007. The Valerii Catulli of Verona. In *A Companion to Catullus*, edited by M. B. Skinner, 57–71. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Witke, C. 1972. Verbal Art in Catullus 31. *American Journal of Philology* 93:239–251.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

6

Ex opportunitate loci: Understanding Geographic Advantage (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 48.1–53.8)

Andrew Montgomery

In the early summer of 109 BCE, the Roman army marched out of the province of Africa into Numidia (Sall. *Iug.* 46.5). Progress in the war against Jugurtha, then in its third year, had been hampered by a combination of self-serving and incompetent commands; but the new commander, Q. Caecilius Metellus, possessed a character imbued with integrity and severity, reminiscent of the glorified earlier days of Rome, when men such as Fabius Maximus and Scipio Africanus led Rome's armies against Hannibal.[1] Though the sting of defeat under Aulus' command was still fresh in the collective Roman memory, Metellus had begun to restore hope to the demoralized city because of his integrity (43.5) and the discipline he imparted to a lax army through a rigorous training program (44.1–45.3). Reports of the new commander's reputation had also reached Jugurtha, who soon discovered firsthand that, instead of being vulnerable to bribery, Metellus had turned the tables on him and was actively corrupting his own most trusted men (46.4). Furthermore, the presence in Numidian territory of the Roman army, now described as *intentus* and *infestus* ('alert' and 'hostile,'

I cannot overstate my debt to Carin Green's indefatigable encouragement, support, and direction, first as a director of my dissertation at the University of Iowa and then as a scholar. Truly no one has given more selflessly than she. She was always willing to read and critique writing projects, always ready with a kind word of encouragement. Her analysis of Sallust's geographic digression on Africa (1993), though occasionally challenged by others (e.g., Morstein-Marx 2001), remains the best available; without it my argument here would not have been possible.

[1] On Sallust's positive treatment of Metellus' character, see Vretska 1955a, 105; 1955b, 100; Earl 1961, 81; Kraus 1999, 221. On the connection between Metellus and the ideal of earlier generations, see Montgomery 2013, 37–38.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

46.5) instead of *iners* and *inbellis* ('incompetent' and 'unwarlike,' 44.1), as they had been when Metellus first took over the command, effected the surrender of many Numidian towns without battle (46.5), including Jugurtha's most important city, Vaga, where Metellus installed a garrison (47.1–4).[2]

Sallust's masterful presentation of the interplay between Metellus' actions and Jugurtha's reactions introduces an important comparison between the monograph's two leading characters and builds suspense as the narrative moves toward an inevitable open conflict between them on the battlefield. A new dynamic is clearly at work both in the narrative and in the progress of the war, and, with it, a new way of exploring the relationships between Numidians and Romans, Jugurtha and the Roman commander:

> *[Jugurtha] coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus* ex opportunitate loci*, quam maximas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit.* (48.1–2)
>
> Jugurtha, now compelled by the necessity of the situation, decided to match strength in battle. Therefore, after he had reconnoitered the march of the army, he became convinced of victory *because of his geographic advantage*. He made ready as many troops of all sorts as possible and got ahead of Metellus' army through hidden pathways.

To replace his former strategy, which had depended on his extraordinary innate ability to perceive and manipulate character to his own advantage,[3] Jugurtha began to look for an equally formidable advantage over the foreign army in the geography of his territory. Embedded within the phrase *ex opportunitate loci* are significant presuppositions about the relationship between the natural world and human character, between geography and identity, which Sallust will use to shape the narrative and build a matrix for comparing two well-matched foes.

Jugurtha and Sallust's Geographic Hermeneutic

Sallust begins to develop this matrix linking geography to character in connection with a textual crux the reader encounters early in the narrative explicating the events leading up to Rome's conflict with Jugurtha. After civil war had erupted in Numidia between the primary heirs to the throne following King

[2] I am following the text of Reynold's 1991 OCT edition of Sallust's *Iugurtha*, unless otherwise noted. English translations are my own.

[3] Sallust introduces Jugurtha as a man *multo maxume ingenio validus* (6.1). See Montgomery 2013, 25–27, for the advantages this brought him in his early relationships with Romans.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Micipsa's death, Rome intervened as patron and partitioned Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Sallust's account of this episode is characteristically selective and constructed according to a particular scheme. He is not interested in exploring the significant political issues at Rome that shaped its foreign policy decisions,[4] precedents for Roman actions,[5] or other intriguing historical issues that are pushed into the background of his account.[6] In contrast to such weighty matters, Sallust teases the reader with an enigmatic statement to direct the interpretation of events in a different direction altogether:

> *in divisione, quae pars Numidiae Mauretaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur; illam alteram specie quam usu potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit*. (16.5)
>
> In the division, the part that borders Mauretania, being richer in territory and men, was handed over to Jugurtha. Adherbal possessed the other part, better in appearance than in reality: it was richer in harbors and furnished more with buildings.

Sallust's judgment here has been called into question, and his intentions are not well understood,[7] but the provocative nature of the statement is designed to create a demand for explanation (*res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere*: 'The matter seems to demand that I briefly expound upon the geography of Africa,' 17.1). The explanation, contained in a digression on African geography, is complex,[8] and the main points can only be treated in outline form here:

---

[4] On Rome's relationships with its Numidian client kingdom, see Allen 1938; Badian 1958, 125–140. On Rome's diverse relationships with client kingdoms, including the political complexities and potential dangers of the individual relationships, see Braund 1984.

[5] See Paul 1984, 264–265, for the evolution of Rome's involvement in shaping the political and social structure of Numidia from the time of Masinissa.

[6] For example, a quick diplomatic solution in Numidia was certainly more expedient for Rome in light of far more serious threats from the Cimbri in the north and the Scordisci in the east. Additionally, Kurita (1988) argues that the events intimately connected to the earlier Gracchan crisis and Jugurtha's alliance is specifically with those who oppose the Gracchan party.

[7] Parker (2004), noting the verifiability of this claim that Jugurtha received the better part, accuses Sallust of 'a blatant untruth' (411), designed as part of an overall deceptive web to hide the truth about the war. Paul (1984) more charitably observes that Sallust 'was perhaps misled' (71) in these details by the various sources he may have consulted. Syme (1964, 153) merely passes it off as a 'peculiar opinion.'

[8] For other approaches to the digression, see Büchner 1960, 143–146; Koestermann 1971, 87; and Scanlon 1988, 38; all consider Sallust's structural designs. But Paul (1984, 72) suggests that the digression is a way to indicate the passage of time within the narrative rather than a way to divide episodes. Syme (1964, 68) notes that in addition to the standard use of digressions as dividers or to bring relief to the reader by adding variety, Sallust uses his 'to develop themes close to his heart.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> *Mare saevum, importuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; ac plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere, nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia*. (17.5–6)
>
> The wild sea is without harbors. The land is fertile for grains, good for cattle, unable to sustain trees. There is a lack of water from both the sky and the land. The people have healthy bodies, are swift and endure work. Old age ends the life of most, unless they have been killed in war or by wild beasts. Disease very rarely overcomes anyone. The majority of the animals are of a dangerous sort.

As he begins, the terse description of essential details eschews elaboration and helpful syntactic connectors to show the relationship between ideas.[9] The juxtaposition of *situs* to *homines* is stark. In what senses do the wild seacoast, the fertile land, the lack of rainfall, and predominance of wild animals relate to the healthy, swift, sturdy, and, perhaps, warlike people that inhabits it? The evocative description points generally to a land largely untouched by the advances of civilization. Seafaring and agriculture, in particular, are connected in the ancient mind to the advance of civilization.

But Africa is not just uncivilized; its geography actively resists civilization. The surrounding sea aggressively (*saevum*) resists the ports that would support the economic and social developments associated with commerce. Though the soil is fertile, the arid climate inhibits many types of agriculture and makes the land more suitable for pasturage, a rustic activity often set in opposition to the more civilized activity of farming. The physical health, strength, and ability to endure the rigors of labor of the indigenous population are important indicators that they are also untouched by the moral weaknesses that civilization engenders. His subsequent descriptions of these indigenous peoples incorporate standard features of Golden Age ethnographies:[10] they subsist on raw meats, live without laws, and wander without permanent dwellings (18.1–2).

One attribute stands apart from the rest. Why are the inhabitants *swift* (*velox*) as well as healthy and strong? And how is this attribute important to the portrayal of Jugurtha and the Numidians? A land that is more suitable for cattle

[9] On Sallust's *brevitas*, parallelism, and asyndeton, see Oniga 1995, 39.

[10] On the Roman interest in Golden Age literary themes, see Thomas 1982. See also Johnson 1980, especially 15–40, on the development of these themes, originating in the Homeric and Hesiodic literature, but creating special interest in first-century BCE Roman writers, who generally imbue the theme with pessimistic overtones.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and pasturage than for agriculture is more likely to favor a nomadic rather than sedentary lifestyle as groups move about in search of pasture. Speed is a product of their necessary mobility. This same mobility and speed are frequently cited as qualities of the Numidians outside the excursus. Jugurtha's army will successfully rely on speed and mobility in battle (52.4, 56.5), while, at the same time, these physical attributes point toward a moral tendency to change or discard commitments, in stark contrast to the Roman value of *fides* (46.3, 66.2, 88.6, 91.7).

Claiming to follow an African source (17.7),[11] Sallust notes that the evolution of African peoples is complex, with layers of people overlaid on one another. The indigenous and uncivilized Gaetulians and Libyans are followed first by immigrants from the civilized east—Medes, Persians, and Armenians—associated with the mythological invasions of the multiethnic army of Hercules (18.3), and, later, other groups, such as the Phoenicians, seeking to establish colonies and an empire (19.1). Upon the arrival of the earliest immigrants, the land itself began to exert its influence on them. Although all of the immigrant Medes, Persians, and Armenians initially settled the coastal regions of Africa, Sallust specifically tells us that the Persians' bearings were more westward, toward Oceanus, rather than along the Mediterranean (18.5).[12] This east-west distinction is important in terms of the types of influences geography will exert on each group. In accordance with the thesis that the digression intends to support, Sallust is largely preoccupied with the development of the Persians who settled in the western regions of Africa.

Although the mythology associated with the invasions of Hercules' army is generally supportive of their civilizing influences, the geography of western African not only resisted the Persians' civilizing influence but even began to isolate them from civilization and assimilate them. They were compelled to use the ships that brought them to Africa as makeshift dwelling places because the land itself did not provide adequate building materials (18.5). The sea, rather than providing shipping lanes to bring civilization to uncultured lands, isolated them from trade from abroad, while their own ignorance of the native languages hindered commerce locally (18.5–6). In contrast, the Medes and Armenians in the east quickly built cities, thanks to the commerce they established with Spain (18.9). Sallust wants to make it very clear that there is a causal connection between trade and the establishment of cities in the east, which stand in striking contrast to the condition of the Persians who settled in

[11] On the so-called *Libri Punici* and problems of identification and interpretation, see Matthews 1972; Green 1993, 192–193; Kurita 1995; Oniga 1995, 51–67; Morstein-Marx 2001, 195–196.

[12] Koestermann 1971, 92; Paul 1984, 76.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the west. Civilization is thriving in the east, with its trade and cities, while the geography of the west not only stymies the advance of civilization but actually begins to reshape the very character of the Persians.

The Persians' assimilation into a new African identity is further indicated by their gradual intermarriage with one of the native African groups, the Gaetulians (18.7), and adoption of their nomadic lifestyle, searching for pasturage for cattle. Even one of the most certain signs of a civilized people—the use of ships in conquest and trade—underwent a process of assimilation: first, as previously indicated, their conversion into houses because of a lack of building materials, and then, finally, their use as *mapalia*, the characteristic mobile dwellings of nomads, which vaguely resemble ships in their oblong shape and curved sides (18.8). By contrast, there is no mention of intermarriage of Medes and Armenians with the neighboring Libyans. And although both the Persians and the Medes undergo name changes, the Persians rename themselves *Nomadas*[13] to reflect their own understanding of their transformed identity, whereas the *Medi* become *Mauri* simply by the process of gradual linguistic corruption in the mouths of Libyan speakers (18.10).[14]

Thus, the process of enculturation is one-sided in Sallust's scheme. In the west, the Persians failed to reshape African culture because the land itself resisted by imposing barriers against foreign trade and limiting agriculture; then it assimilated them. By becoming nomads in the manner of the Gaetulians with whom they intermarried, we can suppose that they, too, under the influence of geographic forces, acquired the physical and moral characteristics associated with the Gaetulians.[15] Indeed, Sallust tells us, as a sure sign of their strength

---

[13] The textual tradition is divided between *Nomadas* and *Numidas* here; the Teubner text of Kurfess prints *Numidas*, and Koestermann (1972, 94) sums up and favors the arguments supporting the minority reading of *Numidas* by noting the unlikelihood of a Greek name being assumed here. But the *Nomadas* of the majority tradition (the reading that Reynolds prints) is more consistent with the flow of Sallust's argument. He is building a case for the nomadic lifestyle of the western Africans and specifically notes that it is a subsequent generation of Numidians who call themselves *Numidiae*, after they have begun to flourish and move eastward because of an increase in their numbers (18.11).

[14] Kurita (1995, 40), misunderstanding that the overall passage indicates the phrase *barbara lingua* (18.10) means the eastern peoples had become uncivilized, while the Persians had retained their civilization. But this interpretation turns the clear meaning of the whole passage upside down. The point is that the phrase *barbara lingua* is an indication that the name change came externally, from a people who remained linguistically distinct from them and could not accurately pronounce their name.

[15] There may be a sense, too, in which Sallust wishes us to see that the Persians were predisposed to these geographic conditions. Green (1993, 192–193) cites the tradition of Cyrus, who, at the conclusion of Herodotus' *Histories*, advised the Persians to avoid settling in pleasant lands of abundant agricultural production because such lands produce poor soldiers (9.121.3). Green (193)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and health, that the Persians flourished (18.11) to such an extent that their populations increased and, now calling themselves *Numidae*, they began to move eastward to take possession of those territories nearest Carthage through conquest.

This east-west dichotomy provides the key to understanding Sallust's first application of his geographic hermeneutic in the text. Immediately following the digression, Sallust compares the characters of the two rival Numidian princes, Adherbal and Jugurtha. Adherbal, Sallust avers, had a peace-loving disposition, fearful and vulnerable to attack, while Jugurtha was fierce and warlike (20.2). Within this context we clearly see that the two young men are products more of geographic shaping than genetic programming. Jugurtha's power base in the west is connected to nomadic tribes. He has been nurtured by the African geography to be strong, mobile, warlike. Adherbal's Numidia, with its agricultural and commercial features, is more civilized and sedentary and, as a consequence, less warlike. Sallust's judgment that Jugurtha possesses the superior land, even if it has the appearance of an inferior portion from a civilized perspective, refers to the land's ability to produce a stronger people, more populous and with greater capabilities for conquest and domination. Sallust has neither lied nor been deceived in his description of the division of Africa between the brothers. He uses this provocative statement about Jugurtha's territory to make an important point about Jugurtha as an adversary of Rome. Jugurtha's symbiotic relationship with very particular aspects of the African geography makes him a formidable foe with distinct advantages on the battlefield against Rome's best generals.

Ex opportunitate loci

The contest between Jugurtha and Adherbal establishes a particular geographic hermeneutic that encourages us to interpret Jugurtha's character and actions in a way that is geographically determined and nurtured. The entrance of Metellus into the narrative as a character who successfully thwarts Jugurtha's formerly successful strategy of bribery and diplomatic guile affords Sallust the opportunity to develop the geographic reading and lend an atmosphere of cosmic consequences to the conflict between Jugurtha and Rome. Returning now to the narrative of the battle at the Muthul, we will clearly see how carefully Sallust reintegrates geographic themes to shape the comparison between the two commanders.

also sees Jugurtha as a Cyrus figure whose marriage to Bocchus' daughter reunites the Medes (*Mauri*) and the Persians in marriage, just as Cyrus had as the son of a Persian father and Median mother.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

As we noted earlier, every aspect of Sallust's opening description of the terrain where Jugurtha positions himself for an ambush ahead of the advancing Roman army is carefully selected to establish a direct link between this episode and the earlier geographic digression. Thus he begins with a direct reference to the geographic partitioning and natural qualities of the land:

> *Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu. Sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca; ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur*. (48.3–4)
>
> There was in that part of Numidia that Adherbal possessed in the division a river originating from the south by the name of Muthul. A mountain, which was barren and untouched by human cultivation, ran parallel to the river at a distance of about 20 miles.[16] From about the middle of this mountain a hill broke off and extended for a great distance. It was covered with wild olive bushes and myrtle and other types of trees that grow in the dry and sandy soil. A desert plain lay in the middle, lacking water except for the area near the river. It was overgrown with shrubs and frequented by cattle and vine tenders.

The warlike, aggressive Jugurtha is operating in territory in which he has already been successful in conquest of the inferior Adherbal. Other themes from the digression also emerge here. There is the emphasis on the lack of water and a terrain that is most suitable for cattle and limited types of cultivation. This inland environment closely resembles the territory that shaped the nomadic, strong, and warlike western Numidians of Persian and native stock, whereas the European Romans, like the docile Adherbal, are more closely connected to a geography of civilizing influences.

As the narrative advances toward the battle itself, Sallust juxtaposes the actions of each commander in geographic terms. First, Jugurtha takes up a position on a hill and harangues his troops (49.2).[17] His argument hinges upon the idea that geography gives the Numidians an advantage over men better trained in

---

[16] Paul (1984, 147–148) discusses possible solutions to a well-known textual problem regarding the distance. Reynold's *apparatus criticus* indicates the emendations attempted.

[17] While Jugurtha has a central role throughout the text, he is largely mute; Miller (1975, 47) notes that Sallust gives him only 9 percent of the dramatic speech in the text, and he never speaks in direct discourse. This speech is his longest utterance.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

warfare because the Numidians are knowledgeable (*prudentes*) about how to interact with the terrain, based on experience, in contrast to the geographic inexperience (*imperitis*) of the Romans. Even if the Romans possess superior numbers and military training (*belli melioribus*)—a claim that has already been called into question by Aulus' defeat[18]—in contrast to their own lack of skill derived from training (*rudes*), the geographic advantage (*locum superiorem*) neutralizes the Roman's advantages (49.2). The matter hangs in the balance. The battle before them, he concludes, will determine whether or not he is right (49.3).

Opposite the hilltop on which Jugurtha lies in wait, Metellus is making his way through the mountain pass (49.4–5). Jugurtha's harangue has merely asserted his geographic advantage; now, as the focus shifts to Metellus' actions, we begin to see it enacted. Up to this point in the text, Metellus has been portrayed as fierce (*acer*, 43.1), while also possessing self-control (*tanta temperantia moderatum,* 45.1), expertly planning and training the troops. But now the inexperience of the Romans is emphasized by the initial befuddlement of the commander himself, who is 'unaware' (*ignarus*) and 'in doubt' (*dubius*). In contrast, the Numidian army, shaped by the environment and sharing a kinship with it, blend in with the terrain to create an 'unaccustomed condition' (*insolita facies*) to the Roman eyes.[19] They are virtually indistinguishable from the landscape in which they are poised for action.

In a counterpoint woven into the structure of the scene, as Metellus begins to perceive what is before him, he becomes deliberate and intentional, marshaling his troops effectively. Sallust meticulously describes a complex military movement designed to reposition the marching column into a formation from which they could easily pivot into a battle line while on the march (49.6).[20] As the initial confusion quickly begins to resolve into order, we are again reminded of the way in which Metellus has already transformed a demoralized and undisciplined army into one reflecting the traditional mores of the Roman legion. The potential *virtus* of the Roman soldiers resides, for the moment, in the commander's ability to unleash that potentiality into action.

[18] Cf. 38.9. The specific point about the Numidians' employing the yoke is dubious except as an imitation of Roman practice. See Paul 1984, 114, for an outline of the practice and the argument against Sallust's accuracy on this point.

[19] Kraus (1999, 236) references this passage as part of her argument that Sallust has made disorder Jugurtha's defining characteristic. Here and throughout the extended narrative of the battle, this disorder is seen in the visual illusions that he creates based on a dynamic 'synergism between the terrain and Jugurtha's trickery.'

[20] Watkiss 1971, 216.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The opening juxtaposition of the two commanders in the moments leading up to the coming battle has foreshadowed the important strengths and weaknesses of each. The ensuing battle on the plain becomes the moment of decision for both armies and both commanders. Jugurtha believes he has a significant advantage over his Roman counterpart because of the deterministic synergy between geographic and human forces that has brought him success in prior conflicts, and he is poised to unleash those forces against the Romans. For the Romans to be successful, they must overcome the matrix supporting their antagonists by relying on the character and skills that have brought them success against foes in many and varied territories throughout the known world. The difficulties they face are evident from the beginning of the battle.

When the Numidians attack, Sallust directly links their mode of fighting with the way he established their character in the earlier excursus on African geography. Just as the Numidians in the digression had formed no centralized political centers but preferred a nomadic lifestyle, living in smaller, more mobile social bands, so on the battlefield they do not operate as a unit, from a centralized battle line, but fight in smaller groups, or even as individuals, causing havoc in the Roman ranks:

> *Dein repente signo dato hostis invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriendi aut conserendi manum copia erat*. (50.4)
>
> Then suddenly, when the signal was given, the Numidians attacked. Some cut the rear to pieces; others made attempts from the right and left. The enemy, present and threatening on all sides, were throwing the Roman ranks into confusion. Even those Romans who were opposing the attack with more resolute spirits were being made to look bad by the uncertain battle and were being wounded from afar. There was no opportunity for them to strike back or join in hand-to-hand combat.

Sallust repeatedly emphasizes the Numidians' decentralized mode of fighting and attack throughout the episode. The Numidian cavalry never retreats as a unit but horsemen flee individually and in different directions when pursued (50.5). Furthermore, the Numidians, whose experience enabled them to make use of the terrain, easily escape threats. By contrast, the same geographic features that aid the Numidians hinder the Romans (50.6). The legion, baffled and at its wits end because of its own inexperience with the terrain and the Numidians' manner of fighting, loses its cohesion. Disaster is imminent:

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> *Ceterum facies totius negoti varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare; arma tela, equi viri, hostes atque cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat.* (51.1–2)
>
> But on the surface the whole matter was changeable, uncertain, loathsome, and deplorable. Having been scattered from their own units, some retreated, others attacked; they did not observe their standards or ranks. Where danger had caught each man, there he made his stand and launched counterattacks. Arms, missiles, horses and men, enemies and citizens were all mixed together. Nothing was done by plan or command. Chance ruled everything. And thus much of the day had advanced, and even then the outcome was uncertain.

Though individual Roman soldiers are here portrayed as fighting valiantly, taking their individual stands in the face of danger and the bewildering attack, the Roman army itself has come apart at its seams. There are no ranks, no strategy, no operating command structure. There are merely isolated, individual Roman soldiers mixed indistinguishably with weapons, horses, and enemies. The opening string of adjectives (*varia, incerta, foeda, miserabilis, dispersi*), used to describe the battle from the Roman perspective, portends defeat and a disaster on a scale similar to that of Aulus.[21] Thus far, Jugurtha has proven a formidable and indomitable foe, thanks to the Numidian relationship to the land and his ability to use it strategically against a superior force.

Late in the day, during an ebb in the Numidian attack, Metellus manages to rally his army and stave off defeat (51.2). Once reassembled into ranks, the Romans' objective is to secure safe ground, which they obtain by dislodging the Numidians from the higher ground. This can hardly be deemed a resounding victory. Although they have won the field and found safety with nightfall impending, Sallust again reminds us of the essential traits of the Numidians: most have escaped the final assault by employing speed (velocitas) and their knowledge of the terrain as they scattered in flight (52.4). In other words, the Romans are unable to follow up their assault with a wholesale slaughter of the fleeing enemy in order to put an end to Jugurtha once and for all. Again, the speed that geographic factors have instilled in the Numidians, together with their knowledge and the Romans' ignorance of the geography, prevents a true victory for the Romans. On the plain before the river Muthul, the Romans have merely avoided defeat, not secured victory.

[21] Cf. 38.7; 43.1.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Nevertheless, comparing commander with commander, Sallust demonstrates the equality of the two foes:

> *Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus, Iugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna.* (52.1–2)
>
> In this way the two commanders were contending among themselves. They were very great men but had differing resources. Metellus had the courage of his soldiers, but the geography was against him.[22] Jugurtha possessed all other advantages except soldiers.

Metellus, who had restored discipline to the broken army, has once again brought cohesion and order to the ranks at its darkest moment in battle; he is able to actualize his greatest potential resource, the *virtus* of his soldiers. On the other hand, Jugurtha's strategies are guided by his understanding of his own strengths against those of the Romans. His geographic advantage is an extension of his own *ingenium,* enabling him to understand and use geography to gain an advantage on the battlefield, to elude an enemy, and to prolong a war. Sallust intends us to understand that the two parts of this syncrisis are responsive (*virtus militum* and *locus advorsus*), indicating that the strength of the one is the weakness of the other in this contest of wits between the commanders.[23]

A second juxtaposition in the narrative supports my argument. While the battle between Jugurtha and Metellus is taking place on the plain, a second engagement is unfolding nearby, at the river Muthul, between the Roman forces under Rutulius and the Numidians under Bomilcar. Sallust does not indicate what Jugurtha's specific commands to Bomilcar were before the main battle, but surely what transpires is not what Jugurtha intended. Bomilicar watches Rutilius' forces pass by on the way to the river. He waits while Rutilius establishes camp and then acts only when he fears that Rutilius may rejoin the main battle. Up to this point Rutilius, like Metellus earlier, is unaware of Bomilcar's advance, but he is alerted by clouds of dust kicked up by the army on the march toward them (53.1). The clash between the armies is very brief. The Numidians' lines begin to break apart when their war-elephants get tangled up in the brush (53.3). The Romans capture or kill all the elephants, but the onset of night enables the majority of the Numidian soldiers to escape. The synergy that Jugurtha has created between landscape and army cannot be duplicated by Bomilcar. In fact, the landscape becomes as much an impediment to Bomilcar

[22] Or, taking *adversus* substantively, 'geography was his enemy.'

[23] See Battstone 1988, 1–3, on the responsiveness of literary syncrisis in his analysis of the comparison between Cato the Younger and Caesar in Sall. *Cat.* 54.1–6.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

at the river as it was for the Romans on the plain. On the plain, the landscape camouflages the Numidians; man and nature coalesce into an indistinguishable front. By the river, the clouds of dust caused by Bomilcar's interaction with the landscape serve as an early warning to the Romans. On the plain, low-growing trees facilitate the Numidians' retreat while hindering the Romans' pursuit. At the river, the shrubbery entangles the elephants, impeding their maneuvers and enabling the Romans to rout their attackers easily.

Conclusion

Thus, the landscape itself proves to be quite neutral. The geographic advantage actually depends on a person's ability to utilize knowledge and experience of a landscape. At this stage of the war, the advantage is in Jugurtha's court, and yet in Rome reactions to the engagement are positive. There Metellus is prematurely proclaimed the victor for overcoming the hostile geography with his *virtus* and gaining possession of enemy territory (*in advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur*, 55.1). Given the demoralized state of the Roman populace and army prior to this, such exaggerations are understandable. But exaggeration it certainly is. Metellus' victory over Jugurtha's successful manipulation of political outcomes in Rome has shifted the conflict to a new theater of operations. Ultimate victory is still three campaign seasons away. It will take trial and error, Roman manpower and military discipline, and ultimately a more innovative commander, who can create some of that synergy between landscape and human effort and use it to undermine and defeat Jugurtha's geographic advantage.

Works Cited

Allen, W. 1938. The Source of Jugurtha's Influence in the Senate. *Classical Philology* 33:90–92.

Badian, E. 1958. *Foreign Clientelae (247–70 B.C.)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Batstone, W.W. 1988. The Antithesis of Virtue: Sallusts's Synkrisis and the Crisis of the Late Republic. *Classical Antiquity* 7.1:1–29.

Braund, D.C. 1984. *Rome and the Friendly Kings: The Character of the Client Kingship*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Büchner, K. 1960. *Sallust*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Earl, D. C. 1961. *Political Thought of Sallust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Green, C. M. C. 1993. *De Africa et eius incolis*: The Function of Geography and Ethnography in Sallust's History of the Jugurthine War (BJ 17–19). *Ancient World* 24:185–197.

Johnson, P. 1980. *Vergil's Agricultural Golden Age: A Study of the* Georgics. Leiden: Brill.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Koestermann, E. 1971. Bellum Jugurthinum. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Kraus, C. S. 1999. Jugurthine Disorder. In *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, edited by C. S. Kraus, 217–247. Leiden: Brill.

Kurita, N. 1988. Who Supported Jugurtha? The Jugurthine War as a Social Revolution. In *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity*, edited by Y. Tory and D. Masaoki, 164–168. Leiden: Brill.

Kurita, N. 1995. The '*Libri Punici*', King Hiempsal and the Numidians. *Kodai: Journal of Ancient History* 5:37–46.

Matthews, V. J. 1972. The Libri Punici of King Hiempsal. *American Journal of Philology* 93:330–335.

Miller, N. P. 1975. Dramatic Speech in the Roman Historians. *Greece & Rome* 22.1:45–57.

Montgomery, P. 2013. Sallust's Scipio: A Preview of Aristocratic *Superbia* (Sal. *Jug.* 7.2–9.2). *Classical Journal* 109:21–40.

Morstein-Marx, R. 2001. The Myth of Numidian Origins in Sallust's African Excursus (*Iugurtha* 17.7–18.12). *American Journal of Philology* 122:179–200.

Oniga, R. 1995. *Sallustio e l'etnografia*. Pisa: Giardini.

Parker, V. 2004. *Romae omnia venalia esse*: Sallust's Development of a Thesis and the Pre-History of the Jugurthine War. *Historia* 53:408–423.

Paul, G. M. 1984. *A Historical Commentary on Sallust's* Bellum Jugurthinum. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.

Scanlon, T. F. 1988. Textual Geography in Sallust's *The War with Jugurtha*. *Ramus* 17:138–175.

Syme, R. 1964. *Sallust*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Thomas, R. F. 1982. *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition*. Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary vol. 7. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Philological Society.

Vretska, K. 1955a. Bemerkungen zum Bau der Characteristik bei Sallust. *SymbOslo* 31:105–118.

Vretska, K. 1955b. *Studien zu Sallusts* Bellum Jugurthinum. Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer.

Watkiss, L. 1971. Bellum Iugurthinum *(The Jugurtha)*. London: University Tutorial Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

7

Sallust's Allobrogian Envoys

Kathryn Williams

A striking feature of the Catilinarian conspiracy is the role played by the envoys of the Allobroges. Sallust reports in his *Bellum Catilinae* that these foreign representatives were urged by conspirators in Rome to join their revolutionary cause, but after learning details of the plot, they betrayed the conspirators by revealing the plans to Roman authorities. They then got the conspirators to sign documents on the pretense that the envoys would take them back to their tribe as proof of an agreement. The envoys were 'ambushed' on the Milvian Bridge as they were leaving Rome, and the documents were seized and brought under seal to the Senate. The envoys then appeared before the Senate and divulged all they knew. Consequently, the Senate gave each envoy a reward. There is no evidence of their subsequent activity. From a number of sources it is clear that these Allobrogian envoys provided critical evidence that implicated Roman aristocrats in a conspiracy,[1] yet their function as diplomatic representatives is rarely acknowledged beyond their title of *legati*.

The function of Sallust's envoys was a frequent topic of conversation between Carin and me, both in and after graduate school. In her inimitable way, Carin gently probed and encouraged and helped me to clarify and sharpen my arguments on the subject. I am grateful to have had the good fortune of being challenged by her wit and inspired by her kindness.

[1] Vretska ([1937] 1970, 85) writes: 'Der Verrat der Allobroger ermöglicht allein die Aufdeckung der Verschwörung.' Cicero (*Cat.* 3.4) declares that from the evidence of the Allobroges and Volturcius, the assemblymen 'could see the crime with their own eyes' (*cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis*). In addition to Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, the most important source for the involvement of the Allobroges in the conspiracy is Cicero's *In Catilinam* 3, but see also his other speeches against Catiline and his *Pro Murena, De domo sua* and *De provinciii consularibus.* Appian (*Civil Wars* 2.4), Plutarch (*Cicero* 18.4–7), and Cassius Dio (37.34) also link the Allobroges with the conspiracy.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Sallust's portrayal of the Romans' handling of these envoys as private individuals rather than men on a public assignment for their *civitas* bleakly illustrates the irresponsible striving of Roman senators for personal wealth and military glory without regard for imperial policy. The *Bellum Catilinae* is about the conspiracy of Catiline, thwarted in 63, but in it Sallust also exposes, among other matters, the reprehensible behavior of self-serving senators, a power vacuum in Transalpine Gaul, and weak patronage, all factors that led in part to Julius Caesar's subsequent success in Gaul and Rome. Taking advantage of hindsight, Sallust uses Rome's dealings with the envoys of the Allobroges during the conspiracy as a springboard to broader analysis of late Republican politics.

The Allobroges of Transalpine Gaul

The Allobroges were a tribe that lived in northeastern Transalpine Gaul. Roman intervention in the region began in the 120s with the defeat of tribes including the Arverni and Allobroges. The consul of 121, Q. Fabius Maximus, won the cognomen Allobrogicus after he 'was offered, and accepted, the surrender of the Allobroges' (Ebel 1976, 73; Livy, *Per.* 61). Allobrogicus celebrated a triumph for his military success, and his family, the Fabii, became patrons to these new clients.[2] Much remains speculative about the relationship between Rome and the Allobroges during the decades following the initial defeat, but the evidence is stronger for the 70s.[3] We know, for example, that during that decade Pompey marched through the province on his way to Spain to fight Sertorius and 'recaptured Gaul' along the way (Sall. *Hist.* 2.98.5). Even if his victory was not quite so convincing as claimed, Pompey was nonetheless a dominant figure in the region, which he reorganized at the same time that he reorganized the two Spains (Ebel 1976, 98–100). In the same decade Fonteius, the governor of the *civitas* from 74 to 72, raised funds from his province, most likely through oppressive taxation, to pay Pompey's troops fighting Sertorius (Ebel 1976, 97).[4] This same Fonteius was sued by the Allobroges for extortion in 69. The

[2] Domitius, who helped to defeat the Allobroges and was instrumental in constructing the Via Domitia, a thoroughfare from Italy to Spain, also triumphed and served as a patron for some in the region. Traditional dates for conquests in the area are 125–121 (Ebel 1976, 64–74). The lack of recorded evidence for governors in Gallia Transalpina until the 90s (Brennan 2000, 2.360–363; Badian 1966, 901–908) lends support to the thesis that the area may not have been officially a province until 20 or more years after Fabius' military success.

[3] Marius' defeat of the Cimbri-Teutones was extremely important for the region and Rome's perception of Gaul as the enemy, but later events in the area are known in more detail and are more germane to my argument.

[4] For Pompey's desperate need for money in Spain, see Sall. *Hist.* 2.98.9. For the history of Rome's involvement in Transalpine Gaul during the first half of the first century BCE, see Badian 1966, 911–17; Ebel 1976, 75–102.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

apparently guilty governor won acquittal with the help of his advocate, Cicero, and the reputedly weak representation of the Allobroges by their Roman patron, M. Fabius, a descendant of Allobrogicus.[5]

In 66 the Allobroges revolted, but they were soon defeated by another governor, Calpurnius Piso, who in 63 was prosecuted by Caesar in the extortion courts for mistreatment of a Transpadene during his governorship of the provinces. Crawford (1984, 77) claims that 'Caesar used this opportunity to show his sympathy to the Gauls by becoming the prosecutor of Piso.' At the very least one can assume that Caesar's prosecution of Piso would have been received favorably by many Allobroges; the action serves as a harbinger of the bond Caesar ultimately developed with the Allobroges in the early 50s and maintained throughout his life. L. Licinius Murena governed Transalpine Gaul from 64 to early 63, when he returned to Rome to run for the consulship for 62 and left his brother, Gaius, in charge. Cicero, in his defense of Murena at his trial for election bribery in November 63, praised the consul-elect's actions as governor (*Mur.* 42): 'He himself in Gaul with fairness and diligence took care that our men exacted money already considered lost.'[6] From the Allobroges' perspective, Murena's exacting demands likely seemed a ruinous path to crushing debt. That Cicero, the consul, was aware of the potential for unlawful activities by Romans in the province is clear from his comment in 57 about P. Clodius, who, while in Gaul with Murena, 'composed wills for dead people, killed wards, and forged criminal deals and alliances of wickedness with many' (Cic. *Har. resp.* 42). Even if there is only a modicum of truth in his claim,[7] it hints at illegal Roman behavior there. Wiseman concludes (1994, 347) that L. Murena 'was strict in enforcing repayments to Roman moneylenders, but turned a blind eye to the illegal profits of his own staff. The result was to drive to desperation the Allobroges of Transalpine Gaul.'[8] Clearly in 64 and 63 the Allobroges were suffering from injustices at Roman hands. It is not surprising, then, that they sought relief in Rome.

Sallust's Envoys

Sallust does not tell us a great deal about the Allobrogrian envoys, but what he does write supports other evidence of dire economic hardship and manipulative provincial governors. He first mentions them about two-thirds of the way through his monograph (*Cat.* 40–41), and it is in the first of these chapters that we learn all that the historian presents of their complaints. The envoys have

[5] For details of the case against Fonteius, see Crawford 1984, 55.
[6] The translations throughout are my own.
[7] See Lintott 2008 on the need for wariness in using Cicero's writings as historical evidence.
[8] Badian 1966, 909, offers additional information on debts imposed on the Allobroges by the Romans.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

come to Rome essentially to free their community from debt (40.4). Their full introduction repays close study (40.1–4):[9]

> *Igitur [Lentulus] P. Vmbreno quoidam negotium dat uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice priuatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Vmbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus ciuitatium notus erat atque eos nouerat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu ciuitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos uidet queri de auaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxili nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare, 'At ego,' inquit, 'uobis, si modo uiri esse uoltis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.' Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Vmbrenum orare ut sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse quod non cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res ciuitatem aere alieno liberaret.*
>
> Therefore, he [Lentulus] directed a certain P. Umbrenus to seek out the envoys of the Allobroges and, if possible, to drive them into an alliance of war, thinking that they could easily be drawn into such a plan, since they were overwhelmed by debt publicly and privately, besides the fact that the Gallic peoples were naturally warlike. Umbrenus, because he had done business in Gaul, was known to many leaders of the tribes, and he knew them. And so without delay, as soon as he caught sight of the envoys in the Forum, having asked a few things about the tribe's condition and as if grieving over its misfortune, he undertook to ask what way out they hoped for from their great troubles. After he realized they were complaining about the greed of the magistrates, that the Senate had been of no help at all, and that they were awaiting death as the remedy for their troubles, he said, 'But I will reveal to you a means by which you may escape those great troubles of yours, if only you are willing to be men.' When he said this, the Allobroges, drawn toward the greatest hope, begged Umbrenus to take pity on them: there was nothing so harsh or so difficult they would not do most eagerly, provided that the action might free their state from debt.

The envoys' complaints are mentioned at two different points in the paragraph, both in *oratio obliqua.* The envoys themselves complain to Umbrenus, an otherwise unknown businessman,[10] about the greed of magistrates and the

[9] The text is that of L. D. Reynolds, OCT 1991.

[10] Cicero describes him as a freedman: *P. Vmbrenum, libertinum hominem* (*Cat.* 3.14).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Roman Senate's unwillingness to provide any aid. These grievances, combined with their later claim that they would do anything provided that their tribe would be freed of debt (*dum ea res ciuitatem aere alieno liberaret*), highlight their role as representatives whose sole concern is their community. The initial reference to their debt at the beginning of the passage, on the other hand, is presented as the thoughts of Lentulus (*existumans publice priuatimque aere alieno oppressos*), as he reflects on the likelihood of the envoys' joining the conspiracy. Lentulus considers debts both public and private, the latter a subject inappropriate for diplomatic discussion, but one that all evidence suggests was historically valid. The Allobroges, individually and as a community, were overwhelmed by debt. Increasing trade between Romans and Gauls would have added personal debt. As Cicero himself observed in his defense of Fonteius after his quaestorship in Gaul in the 70s, 'Gaul is crammed with traders, full of Roman citizens. No Gaul does any business without a Roman citizen; not a single coin in Gaul is spent without the account-books of Roman citizens' (Cic. *Font.* 11). Sallust's mention of Umbrenus as a businessman familiar to the tribal chieftains provides further evidence of active trading between Gauls and Romans. His disingenuous nature (*quasi dolens eius casum*) and his fatuous direct quotation highlight Romans' self-serving and politically inept treatment of provincials.

The language and concerns of these Gauls recall the similar plight described by the envoys of C. Manlius, Catiline's co-conspirator in Faesulae, to the Roman general Marcius Rex, seven chapters earlier (33): the injustice of cruel moneylenders had rendered them wretched and in need (*miseri, egentes,* 33.1), and the praetor's lack of fairness (*iniquitas praetoris,* 33.5) had denied them proper legal protection. In response to those complaints, the Roman general urged them to lay down their arms and approach the Senate, saying that 'the Senate of the Roman people had always been of such clemency and pity that no one ever sought its help in vain' (*ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiuerit,* 34.1).[11] The Allobroges' lament (40.3) over their need for help for their wretchedness (*miseriis suis remedium*) on account of abusive magistrates (*auaritia magistratuum*) is so similar to that of Manlius' envoys that it is reasonable to infer that the latter would have fared no better than the Allobroges (*senatum quod in eo auxili nihil esset*) if they had gone to Rome 'as suppliants' (*supplices,* 34.1), as Marcius Rex urged them to do. The corresponding situations magnify Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*'s themes of debt and the injustice of magistrates and serve as an indictment of senatorial policy and behavior. Yet despite evidence that leading

[11] Cato uses the same terms, *mansuetudo* and *misericordia*, as examples of the corruption of language in Rome in his speech at Sall. *Cat.* 52.11.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Romans were in no mood to conciliate debtors,[12] it still seems reasonable that Rome might have granted some concessions to a tribe who not only opted not to take up arms against them, but whose envoys actually helped to 'catch red-handed' (*manufestis,* 52.36) leading conspirators. As Sallust emphasizes early in the monograph, such respect for allies and friends had been a hallmark of early Roman foreign policy: '[Romans] brought aid to their allies and friends and were gathering friendships more by granting than receiving kindnesses' (6.5); 'in times of peace . . . they were exercising their authority by kindness more than fear' (9.5). In contrast to the early days of Rome, when the city thrived, individual Romans in 63 were manipulating allies for their own financial and political gains rather than pursuing sound provincial policy. One casualty of such activity was respect for the envoys from Transalpine Gaul as official representatives of their tribe.

Sallust illustrates this lack of regard for the envoys' official role by linking them closely with a certain Croton, Volturcius, in his monograph. Volturcius enters the narrative after the documents incriminating the Roman conspirators have been signed. He becomes involved in order to solidify the alliance between the Allobroges and Catiline (44.3–6). At first, Sallust distinguishes between Volturcius and the envoys. At the bridge, it is the Gauls who comprehend what is happening and hand themselves over at once to the Roman magistrates. The Allobroges act 'without delay' as they place themselves in the hands of the praetors (*sine mora praetoribus se tradunt,* 45.3). In contrast, Volturcius fights and then tries to win over the magistrate Pomptinus on the basis of their prior acquaintance. When Volturcius finally gives himself up to the praetors, it is as though he is a defeated enemy (*ueluti hostibus sese praetoribus dedit,* 45.4). The contrast with the Allobroges is obvious, and the discrepancy continues when the envoys and Volturcius testify before the senators. When Volturcius is asked about the details of the conspiracy, he initially fabricates a story and feigns ignorance of any conspiracy (*primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione,* 47.1). It is only when he is promised immunity that he reveals what he knows. The Gauls, on the other hand, not only confirm Volturcius' account but provide a full picture of Lentulus' expectations for domination. Once the letters are read and the Senate charges the conspirators, however, the envoys and Volturcius are treated essentially as one and the same in Sallust's narrative: the historian recounts how Catulus and Piso circulated lies about Caesar's complicity in the conspiracy, claiming that they had obtained information 'from Volturcius or the Allobroges' (*ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus,* 49.4); rewards were decreed by the Senate 'to the envoys of the Allobroges and T. Volturcius' (*legatis Allobrogum et*

[12] A bill proposed in the Senate to alleviate debt, for example, was quashed by Cicero on his first day of office. See *Off.* 2.84 for Cicero's explanation of the importance of debt repayment.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

T. Volturcio, 50.1); and Cato ends his Senate speech with the declaration that the conspirators were proven guilty 'by the information of T. Volturcius and the envoys of the Allobroges' (*indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum,* 52.36). After Cato's comment we hear no more about these Allobroges in the monograph. The lasting impression is that Romans regarded the envoys much as they did Volturcius—as private individuals rather than as public servants. Any prospect that the Roman Senate 'might free their state from debt' (40.4) had been quashed.

Roman Patronage and Provincial Policy

Given the earlier treatment of these envoys by the Roman Senate and the overall political environment in Rome, why did the Allobroges decide to remain loyal to the city?[13] Sallust suggests their likely calculations. On one side was the weight of their debt, exciting war, and a possible great payoff; on the other, greater wealth, a safe plan, surer rewards (41.2). To be sure, Rome had greater wealth and was more likely to be victorious, and so there was greater certainty of reward on that side. Additional reasons for their decision are likely as well. Stephen Dyson, for example, has argued (1975, 153): 'The tie of patronage and the fear of the power of Rome overcame their sense of grievance and they held loyal to Rome.' Evidence that patronage was an important element is certainly provided by Sallust when he relates, in the chapter following his introduction of the envoys, that they divulged all to Q. Fabius Sanga, 'whose patronage their community made use of most of all' (*quoius patrocinio ciuitas plurumum utebatur,* 41.4). Immediately afterward we read that Cicero learned through Sanga about the plan and instructed the Allobroges to entrap the conspirators (*Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecepit,* 41.5). Sallust is the only contemporary source for Sanga's involvement with the envoys, and the notice is decidedly different from Cicero's accounts. Cicero tells the people of Rome on 3 December 63 only that he learned that Lentulus had tried to rouse the envoys of the Allobroges to Transalpine war and Gallic rebellion (*comperi legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, Cat.* 3.4). There is no mention of Sanga.[14] In fact, Cicero gives no indication that

[13] In his speech to the assembly, Cicero attributed their decision to Jupiter (*Cat.* 3.22): 'That men from Gaul, a state poorly pacified and the one remaining *gens* that seems both able and not unwilling to wage war on the Roman people, would neglect their hope of sovereignty and the greatest profits, offered to them by patricians of their own accord, and would value your safety above their own wealth—do you think this has happened without divine influence?' Cicero's question is one that many in Rome might have asked.

[14] This omission could also be explained by Rosillo-López's argument (2015) that Roman plebeians were not impressed by the foreign *clientelae* of Roman aristocrats, and consequently references to such relationships were minimized in speeches before them.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

he dealt with the Allobroges at all. On the other hand, in his *De domo sua*, a speech delivered in 57, the orator recounts how Murena, along with the Allobroges, brought him the information (134):[15] *Viderat ille Murenam, uitricum suum, consulem designatum, ad me consulem cum Allobrogibus communis exiti indicia adferre* ('That one [L. Pinarius Natta] had seen that his father-in-law, Murena, consul-designate, brought to me, the consul, together with the Allobroges, the evidence of our common destruction'). There is still no mention of Sanga, but the reference to the envoys in company with Murena is noteworthy. Not only were Murena's actions as governor in 64/early 63 a major reason the Allobroges sent envoys to Rome, but the man was also consul-elect. For Sallust to exclude this information and instead feature Sanga's patronage effectively promotes the role of Sanga and his patronage to a position of extraordinary prominence in his monograph.

Sanga was a member of the Fabian gens. Broughton lists him as a member of the Senate in 63 (1952, 2:563–564), but he is generally considered a 'minor senator' (Woolf 2012, 85) from a family that had gone 'into a decline' (Badian 1958, 263) after the careers of Allobrogicus and his cousin.[16] On the basis of *In Pisonem* 77, Ryan (1996, 210–211) proposes a possible rank of praetor by 59.[17] Whatever his rank, in 63 Sanga was of no help in securing aid before the envoys were approached by Umbrenus. There is no evidence of his obtaining an audience with the Senate for his clients or even of arranging private discussions with individual senators. It is indeed likely that the envoys never actually addressed the Senate, although it certainly would not have been unprecedented for them to do so. Envoys from Transalpine Gaul addressed the Senate in 183 (Livy 39.54.5–12), for example. All Sallust reports is that the envoys were in the Forum when they were seen by Umbrenus (*Cat.* 40.2).[18] Even after Sanga learned about the conspiracy from the envoys, working with the consul did not lead to help for his clients. Sanga seems to have been no more helpful to the Allobroges than M. Fabius was when the Allobroges brought charges of extortion against Fonteius a few years earlier (Crawford 1984, 55). Clearly the family were patrons of the Allobroges, but they were weak patrons. The *legati* could be no more effective for their people than their patron was influential in Rome. His ineptitude actually

[15] For a different interpretation of the passage, see Dyck 2008, 172.

[16] Although the Fabii between Allobrogicus and Sanga were not especially prominent, the name appeared in Gaul in the context of patronage at least fifty times (Badian 1958, 309, 314). Cf. Fernández 2015, 107–110, for questions about Badian's methodology and conclusions.

[17] Ryan (1996, 210–211) also offers good arguments for not equating Sanga with Q. Fabius Maximus, consul suffectus of 45.

[18] Comparison with the formal, if constantly manipulated, diplomatic activity in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* further illustrates how Sallust minimizes Rome's appreciation of the envoys as diplomatic representatives.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

allowed others to keep the province in a state of turmoil because such instability benefited individual senators and magistrates far more than having a settled province benefited Rome. 'It was a handy place for ambitious late-Republican politicians caught up in the ruthless and expensive political game of the day, to build up fortunes and retinues of dependants' (Drinkwater 1983, 7). In an era where 'each one who stirred up the state under an honorable pretext, . . . while feigning public good was vying for his own power' (*Cat.* 38.3), Transalpine Gaul had proven a reliable source of wealth and military glory, and the prospect of more of the same in the future discouraged the Senate from offering anything other than a personal reward to the envoys. There was no attempt to appease all the Allobroges or acknowledge their envoys' aid to Rome as the action of official representatives.[19] To gain the cooperation of a traditional foreign foe and then choose to ignore their contribution, apart from a personal reward, exposes an imperial policy born of self-interested politics.

Sallust provides context for his analysis of the Roman senators' behavior in his historical digressions (6–13, 36.4–39.5): after great wars had opened up all the lands and seas to Rome, 'the desire first for money, then for empire, grew; these were the tinder, as it were, for all the evildoing' (10.3). More to the immediate point, just prior to his introduction of the Allobroges in chapter 40, the historian sums up political conditions in Rome. Once Pompey was sent to defeat the pirates and Mithridates, the senators gained the advantage over the tribunes in Rome: *Ii magistratus, prouincias aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere* ('These magistrates controlled the provinces and everything else; they themselves lived safely, flourishing, without fear,' 39.2). It is upon this stage that the envoys are introduced. Sallust's observation about Pompey's absence was relevant not only to politics in Rome, but also to the Senate's dealings with Transalpine Gaul. Pompey was a strong patron in the Spains, and he also had influence in Transalpine Gaul (Dyson 1985, 166–168), but Transalpine Gaul was far less developed as a Roman province and still held great potential for other ambitious Romans. Fonteius, Calpurnius Piso, and L. Murena had already shown Rome the rewards—financial, political, and military—that the province could offer. In the years immediately following the conspiracy, C. Pomptinus, the praetor who had stopped the envoys and Volturcius at the Milvian Bridge, was its governor. It was during his tenure that the disgruntled Allobroges once again rebelled against Rome (Dio 37.47–48).[20] This major uprising was

[19] This may help explain why Catiline continued to move toward Transalpine Gaul (*Cat.* 57.1). McGushin 1977, 279: 'In spite of betrayal by their legates he could still expect a welcome from a people whose discontent had not been satisfied.'

[20] Drinkwater 1983, 8: 'The last straw must surely have been that the Allobrogian ambassadors sent to Rome to seek redress for the grievances of their people served the City well by providing Cicero with his first real evidence of Catiline's conspiracy, but then received no reward for their pains.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

ultimately crushed at Solonium, and Pomptinus was able to celebrate a triumph for his military victory, albeit one allowed only grudgingly and held years later. During the latter part of Pomptinus' governorship, the Helvetii began moving westward into the province, and there was conflict between the Aedui and Sequani. The threats caused such anxiety at Rome that the two consuls for 60, Q. Metellus Celer and L. Afranius, were ordered by senatorial decree to take control, respectively, of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul. Before Metellus arrived in Transalpina, however, Pomptinus had resolved matters, at least for the moment. A letter from Cicero to Atticus reveals Metellus' resulting lack of enthusiasm for his provincial assignment: 'I have only one complaint, that he is not thoroughly pleased with the news from Gaul of peace. He desires, I suppose, a triumph' (Cic. *Att.* 1.20.5). Metellus never left Rome, where he died (possibly poisoned by his wife, Clodia) in April 59. It was then that Caesar assumed the governorship of Transalpine Gaul, after he had already won his extraordinary five-year assignments for Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum through the *Lex Vatinia.* Caesar was governor of all three provinces for almost nine years (Brennan 2000, 579) and took full advantage of his assignment.

In 63, however, with Pompey away and the Fabii weak, no leader in Rome was strong enough to address the province's complaints constructively. The one senator who might have seen the potential benefits to Rome from conciliatory treatment of the Allobroges and their envoys was Julius Caesar. Showing strong support for the Allobroges or their envoys, however, was not an option for him in December 63. After all, Sallust tells us that supporters of Q. Catulus and C. Piso were waiting outside the Senate house in arms for Caesar to appear, and his proposal in the Senate to spare the lives of the arrested conspirators was rejected in favor of Cato's. Upon Pompey's return to Rome, however, and the establishment of the First Triumvirate, Caesar managed to garner enough political and military strength to make his move into Gaul.

Conclusion

What, then, was the role of these envoys, both historically and in Sallust's narrative? By delineating the Allobroges' concerns through their envoys and emphasizing their loyalty, Sallust conveys the underlying message that these Gauls were Rome's allies. They helped preserve the state. Their virtual dismissal, through an essentially private reward to their representatives, was symptomatic of an unsound imperial policy that was due in part to the power vacuum caused by poor provincial management and weak patronage. This void, as all Rome knew well in the late 40s, was filled by Caesar. In a general assessment of his rule, Gruen (2009, 35) declares that Caesar 'had taken up causes that could remedy some of the ills of the Sullan years, speak to social

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and economic needs in the city and the countryside, protect the civil liberties of Rome's citizenry, expand privileges to Italians, and enforce proper governance of the provinces.' Sallust's account of the envoys is not only a testament to poor imperial management in 63, but a reminder of the leader who so recently had shown a far more effective policy toward the provincials.

In his speech before the Senate (*Cat.* 51), Caesar had argued for clemency and rational, lawful behavior. That it was his common tactic to favor certain citizens of a province and enable them to rise to power is well known. As Rosenstein (2009, 90) notes:

> Gallic troops, especially aristocratic cavalry, constituted a crucial component of Caesar's strike force. To secure their cooperation therefore Caesar supported friendly tribes like the Aedui, placing others under their jurisdiction and increasing their honor (*BG* 4.13). Equally important, Caesar built up particular aristocrats within these tribes to ensure their loyalty and thus increase his ability to conquer and hold Gaul.

A famous example is Caesar's treatment of two brothers, Roucillus and Egus, sons of Adbucillus, former chieftain of the Allobroges. In book 3 of his *Bellum Civile* he writes (3.59) that because of the brothers' military assistance to him, Caesar 'had allotted them the most honorable offices and taken care to have them selected extraordinarily for the Senate, and he had allotted them lands in Gaul captured from the enemy and large monetary rewards, and from poor men had made them rich' (but see also *BCiv.* 3.63, 3.79). Caesar defended the Allobroges against the Helvetians in 58, and they stayed loyal to him even after Vercingetorix offered them control of Transalpine Gaul (*BGall.* 7.64–65) in his attempt to gather all Gaul together against the Romans in 52. During Caesar's governorship of Transalpine Gaul, his 'policy of rewards for cooperation, especially the grant of citizenship, built up an enthusiastic block of pro-Roman supporters in the province' (Ebel 1976, 101). Caesar was proving to be an exceptional patron.

Even after the Ides of March in 44, the Allobroges were able to win concessions from the Roman Senate. Latin colonists whom they had driven out of Vienne would have their own new city, Lugdunum, founded in 43, but the Allobroges would retain Vienne for themselves (Dio 46.50.4–5). This conflict between the Allobroges and the Romans over well-situated Vienne and its resolution reveal the more conciliatory relationship established through Caesar's authority. Because of the personal relationships he had already nurtured, 'the Gallic provinces, or rather their elites, remained faithful to the descendants of Caesar, who in turn kept faith with the Gauls' (Goudineau 1996, 470). Relations between

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the city and the province were generally peaceful by the time Sallust wrote. Not long afterward (in 22), Augustus actually handed Gallia Transalpina (now Gallia Narbonensis) over to the Senate to administer, on the grounds that it no longer required Roman soldiers in place (Dio 54.4.1). In the concluding chapter of his *Bellum Iugurthinum,* Sallust wrote (114.2): 'The Romans, then [in 105 BCE] and within our own memory, considered that all other things did not hinder their prowess, but that with the Gauls they vied for personal safety, not for glory.' In that work Sallust emphasizes the continued threat of the Gauls during his own early days (presumably the 60s). His assessment of the Gauls is strikingly different in his *Bellum Catilinae*, where his own analysis offers no indication of them as a threat to Rome's 'personal safety.' In fact, he refrains from using the term *hostes* for the Gauls as a people or the *legati* anywhere in the monograph. As far as Sallust is concerned, Rome's *hostes* in 63 were domestic.[21] He writes about the province of Transalpine Gaul in 63 with the hindsight of a historian who has witnessed Gaul's complete subjugation and pacification. He wrote his *Bellum Catilinae* in the late 40s (Ramsey 2007, 6), subsequent to the deaths of Caesar and Cicero and Rome's agreement with the Allobroges over Vienne. At that time, after years of conflict with Rome, these Gauls had finally settled into a state of acceptance of Roman rule and Roman life. It was Caesar, as he moved into the province and protected the provincials from invaders, who exhibited the sort of behavior Sallust admired in Roman leaders from long ago.[22]

Sallust's portrayal of the envoys of the Gallic Allobroges tells us much about Roman policy in Transalpine Gaul in the late 60s. Instead of embracing the Allobroges for their aid against the conspirators, the senators essentially dismissed them and thus helped incite the uprising that soon followed. Out of that conflict Pomptinus gained his triumph, but it was Julius Caesar's quadruple triumph, with Vercingetorix on parade before all Rome, that was lasting and memorable. In the years subsequent to the Catilinarian conspiracy, all Rome witnessed Caesar's advance into Gaul, where he fought a war that benefited both Rome and himself. Gallia Transalpina was 'the province on which Caesar was to build his remarkable military reputation' (Gruen 2009, 34). Sallust famously stated that Caesar 'desired a great command, an army, and a new war where his excellence could shine' (*Cat.* 54.4). As the historian's first readers knew, Caesar achieved all that, and it was Transalpine Gaul and the Allobroges that offered him his opportunity. Consequently, the envoys of the Allobroges who came to Rome in 63 and became entangled in the conspiracy proved a critical element

[21] Williams 2001, 178: 'Gauls behave like noble Romans, noble Romans behave like Gauls: a complete moral inversion.' See Melchior 2010, 416–418, for a complete list of Sallust's use of *hostes*.
[22] See again *Cat.* 6.5, 9.5. Caesar's speech conveys many of these same attitudes. See Kapust 2011, 65–74, on Sallust's favorable presentation of Caesar.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

in Sallust's historical analysis of larger issues involving the Roman Senate, Gaul, and Julius Caesar in the waning days of the Roman Republic.

Works Cited

Badian, E. 1958. *Foreign Clientelae (264–70 B.C.).* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Badian, E. 1966. Notes on *Provincia Gallia* in the Late Republic. In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol,* edited by R. Chevallier, 901–918. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N.

Brennan, T. C. 2000. *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic,* vol. 2: *122 to 49 BC.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Broughton, T. R. S. 1952. *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 2. New York: American Philological Association.

Crawford, J. W. 1984. *M. Tullius Cicero: The Lost and Unpublished Orations.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Drinkwater, J. F. 1983. *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC–AD 260.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Dyck, A. R., ed. 2008. *Cicero: Catilinarians.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dyson, S. L. 1975. Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire. In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. 2.3: 138–175. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Dyson, S. L. 1985. *The Creation of the Roman Frontier.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ebel, C. 1976. *Transalpine Gaul: The Emergence of a Roman Province.* Leiden: Brill.

Fernández, E. G. 2015. Client Relationships and the Diffusion of Roman Names in Hispania: A Critical Review. In *Foreign* Clientelae *in the Roman Empire: A Reconsideration,* edited by M. Jehne and F. P. Polo, 107–118. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Goudineau, C. 1996. Gaul: I. Gallia Narbonensis. In *Cambridge Ancient History* 2 10:464–502.

Gruen, E. S. 2009. Caesar as a Politician. In *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, edited by M. Griffin, 23–36. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kapust, D. J. 2011. *Republicanism, Rhetoric, and Roman Political Thought: Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lintott, A. 2008. *Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGushin, P. 1977. *C. Sallustius Crispus,* Bellum Catilinae: *A Commentary.* Leiden: Brill.

Melchior, A. 2010. Citizen as Enemy in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*. In *Valuing Others in Classical Antiquity,* edited by R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter, 391–418. Leiden: Brill.

Ramsey, J. T., ed. 2007. *Sallust's* Bellum Catilinae. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reynolds, L. D. 1991. *C. Sallusti Crispi, Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosenstein, N. 2009. General and Imperialist. In *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, edited by M. Griffin, 85–99. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rosillo-López, C. 2015. Reconsidering Foreign *Clientelae* as a Source of Status in the City of Rome during the Late Roman Republic. In *Foreign* Clientelae *in the*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Roman Empire: A Reconsideration, edited by M. Jehne and F. P. Polo, 263–280. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Ryan, F. X. 1996. Four Republican Senators. *Classica et mediaevalia* 47:207–216.

Vretska, K. (1937) 1970. Der Aufbau des *Bellum Catilinae.* In *Sallust,* edited by V. Pöschl, 74–101. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Williams, J. H. C. 2001. *Beyond the Rubicon: Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wiseman, T. P. 1994. The Senate and the *Populares*, 69–60 B.C. In *Cambridge Ancient History*[2] 9:327–367.

Woolf, G. 2012. *Rome: An Empire's Story.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

8

Horace, *Satires* 1.7 and the *urbanissimus iocus*

John Svarlien

Satires 1.7, the shortest poem in Horace's first book, is perhaps the most puzzling. Anyone reading it for the first time might well wonder why it takes Horace so long to get to what appears to be the point of the poem, the pun delivered in the last lines. This pun on the surname Rex was already shopworn by the time Horace used it. Cicero had proudly recalled the point he scored against Clodius with this wordplay (*Att.* 1.16.10);[1] Julius Caesar had used the same pun to extricate himself from an awkward public situation in 44 BCE (*Caesarem se, non regem esse responderit*, Suet. *Iul.* 79.2; Dio 44.10; App. *BCiv.* 2.108).[2] The story itself, about a trial in Clazomenae between two insignificant litigants over some undisclosed issue, was also secondhand; according to Horace, it was already well known in Rome (*omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse*, 3). The incident it recounts, if it actually took place, was of no apparent significance in Horace's own life story or in the big story of the civil wars; who would care about a trial involving the likes of Rupilius Rex and Persius?

Yet in spite of the minor space 1.7 is allotted in *Satires* 1, or perhaps because of the fact that it was included at all, the poem can get under your skin through the combination of its insouciance and the nagging questions it raises. Witness

---

I like to picture Carin in the magical woods around Lake Nemi. A remarkable presence.

[1] Also see Matthews 1973.

[2] See Carin Green's remarks (2007, 27–29) on the *rex nemorensis*, the 'king of the woods,' at Diana's shrine at Lake Nemi, and her explanation for why Julius Caesar had his recently constructed villa near this shrine razed: 'After his defeat of Pompey had given the title *rex* new and terrible significance for Rome, Caesar destroyed (so he hoped, no doubt) every connection that might be made between himself and that ghastly priest.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Henderson's convoluted meditations on the poem.[3] Why did Horace choose to look back to 43/42 BCE at this point in *Satires* 1? Why begin what seems meant to be a funny poem with a word—*proscripti*—that Cicero called one of the most painful in the Latin language (*proscriptionis miserrimum nomen illud*, *Dom.* 43). Why summon Brutus back from the grave? Why make a joke of the assassination of Octavian's father? Why write this squib in the first place? Why publish it in 36/35 BCE? What was Horace thinking?

The poem has had more detractors than admirers. Dryden called the punning and badmouthing in *Satires* 1.7 'garbage.' He put his finger on the problem when he noted that 'Horace, for aught I know, might have tickled the people of his age; but amongst the moderns he is not so successful.'[4] Here, we must admit, is a problem we cannot solve. No one today laughs at the last lines of this poem. A joke that doesn't work is a poor thing. For 1.7, the failure of the capping joke to appear tasteful and to amuse and entertain the modern reader is serious: take away the joke and there is not a great deal left. Attempts to make the poem work on more potentially interesting and complex levels must stretch and strain the text; this short piece simply lacks the armature to support substantial interpretative weight.[5] We can, however, address a few interesting questions. How does this poem work? How can its inclusion in the collection be explained? How did Horace get away with publishing a poem that names Brutus four times and spotlights a pun that makes a joke of the murder of Octavian's father?

Persius, a (seedy) businessman of mixed parentage (*hybrida*, 2), is given the last word and the only direct speech in 1.7: *per magnos, Brute, deos te / oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non / hunc Regem iugulas? operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est*. He bids Brutus, in other words, to cut the throat (*iugulas*) of a Roman citizen from Praeneste (28), who fled to join Brutus in Asia after both had been proscribed by the triumvirs. This, of course, is not a real appeal but is said in jest, the witticism suggested by Rupilius Rex's name: Brutus, because he stabbed Caesar, who was acting like a *rex*, is the right person to dispatch a guy who happens to have the surname Rex. It seems an improbably bold rhetorical move in the courtroom,

[3] Henderson 1994 = 1998, 73–107.
[4] Dryden 1961, 95.
[5] A number of scholars argue that the important issue in 1.7 is Horace's own literary criticism. See Schröter 1967; Buchheit 1968; Van Rooy 1971; and Anderson 1972 (= 1982, 74–83) on his linking of 1.7 and 1.8. Schlegel (2005) sees Horace laying out in 1.7 his criticism of Lucilian satire with its penchant for invective and elaborating his own satire program. Gowers (2002) gives a psychological reading of 1.7, which she sees as 'an indirect specimen of autobiography' (146). Zetzel (1980) suggests that *Satires* 1.7 and 1.8, in their tactlessness, cast 'doubt on the intellectual and social progress that the preceding poems seem to imply' (71). Henderson (1994 = 1998, 73–107), in an essay not easy to summarize, finds in these 35 lines a welter of complicated and troubling issues.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for with his pun Persius, a rich nobody from Clazomenae, publicly makes a joke of Brutus' role in the recent assassination of Julius Caesar. Yet the poem makes it clear that it was this pun that delivered the coup de grâce: here is how (*quo pacto*, 2) Persius won the case, the only possible meaning of *Persius ultus* (2). It is an even bolder move by Horace, for it makes a joke of the murder of Octavian's father and also runs the risk of implying that what happened to King Julius could happen to a King Octavian as well. We are left to imagine, at the poem's abrupt conclusion, either uncomfortable silence in the courtroom or raucous laughter. Is the poem an *agent provocateur* waiting to implicate anyone who laughs out loud?

The opening of the poem would appear to be no less reckless. If the first two words (*proscripti Regis*) recall Rome's last king, Tarquinius Superbus, driven from power by another Brutus of the distant past, the words would have unavoidably reminded the Roman reader of the more recent proscriptions of Sulla and, even more chillingly recent, the proscription lists drawn up by Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian in the fall of 43. Why dredge this up? And what is Horace doing with the mock-heroic periphrasis (*Regis Rupili pus atque venenum*) beginning a 'long-winded preamble imitating an epic protasis [that] sets out the genealogies of the two contestants in a seedy courtroom *aristeia*'?[6] A humorous literary touch, but what's funny about the proscriptions, a lawless period of murder, with cash paid out for the heads of the proscribed? The ominous signs in these opening lines seem to be further made light of by what Fraenkel called 'a whimsical piece of Horatian εἰρωνεία: *opinor omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse*.'[7] But the *notum*, given the context, is perhaps not so whimsical. From Velleius Paterculus (2.66–67) and from the fulsome collections of proscription stories preserved by Appian (*BCiv.* 4.5–51) and Cassius Dio (47.3–17), it is clear that stories about this period of terror were in circulation and well known (*notum*) immediately following and long after the events they describe.

In the second line, the plot of the poem is neatly stated in a single word, *ultus*: Persius avenged himself on Rex. This is funny enough, thanks to the invective pyrotechnics in the satire, but there was much serious avenging going on in the years between Caesar's murder and the publication of *Satires* 1. Why dredge this up with the word *ultus*? The most prominent *ultor* was Octavian. His own account at *Res Gestae* 2 makes him out to be the pious son avenging his father (*qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie*). The anti-Octavian accounts are less flattering: the gruesome stories of merciless executions after

[6] Gowers 2012, 252.
[7] Fraenkel 1957, 119.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the battle of Philippi, and the especially macabre story of Octavian sacrificing 300 senators and knights at the altar of the deified Caesar after the fall of Perusia (Suet. *Aug.* 13–15), clearly show the bad press Octavian had to manage.

Where to begin in dealing with this poem? White suggests that in spite of the fact that 'Horace had had to make his peace with Caesar's partisans, the trouble he takes to resuscitate this crude joke [the pun on *Rex*] makes it hard to believe that he acquired any real enthusiasm for Caesar himself.'[8] It is reasonable to suppose that Horace's opinion of Julius Caesar did not radically change in the years following Philippi. But what mattered was his opinion of the living, as well as their opinion of him. One thing that we know for certain is quite important: *Satires* 1.7 was published in 36/35 after being performed by Horace for Maecenas and *amici* and vetted in *recitationes* sometime between 38 and late 36. We can therefore conclude with some confidence that the poem offended neither Maecenas nor Octavian; nor did it seem to them to pose any threat to the success of their public relations campaign.[9] There were compelling reasons for Maecenas and Octavian to be quite sensitive and careful in managing public opinion in the early 30s. There was much at stake; it was no time to take chances. The single reference to Octavian in *Satires* 1 alludes to his power to force (*qui cogere posset*, 1.3.4) an entertainer like Tigellius to do his bidding. More to the point, there were compelling reasons for Horace to take the *amicitia* of Maecenas seriously. Whether or not Horace had been proscribed,[10] he benefited from the amnesty following Philippi and returned to Rome, where fairly quickly he put his life back together. In 39/38 he was introduced to Maecenas by his fellow poets Vergil and Varius. This was a turning point in Horace's life. He dedicates his first work, *Satires* 1, to Maecenas and says at *Satires* 1.10.88–90 that his hope for the book is that the poems will amuse and please his *amici* (*quibus haec, sint qualiacumque, / arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe / deterius nostra*). It is highly improbable that Horace at the start of his literary career would have set out to offend Maecenas. In any case, the poem was published, and that fact alone shows that it did not pose problems for Maecenas. Why was no umbrage taken at what most modern readers consider a bad joke, in poor taste, involving two controversial figures from the recent past?

Satires 1, published in one of the most critical decades of Roman history, appears to be on the whole apolitical. *Satires* 1.7 is one of only two satires to take a recent event as their subject. In *Satires* 1.5, Horace recounts a journey he made as a member of Maecenas' entourage to Brundisium. If, as is likely, this poem

[8] White 1988, 351.
[9] See Scott 1933 for an account of the fierce propaganda wars of the 30s.
[10] Hinard 1985, 473–475.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

recalls the diplomatic mission that resulted in the Treaty of Tarentum in the late spring or summer of 37, the dramatic date of the poem is set in especially stressful times. The triumvirs were unpopular in Rome for many reasons. The city experienced famine and riots. The confiscations continued and kept hostility to Octavian alive. There was grumbling about taxes and the costs of the ongoing civil wars. In 38 Octavian endured embarrassing defeats in his naval confrontations with Sextus Pompey, and his fleet suffered severe losses in stormy weather. As Syme succinctly puts it, 'The young Caesar was now in sore need of the generalship of Agrippa and the diplomacy of Maecenas. Lacking either of them he might have been lost.'[11] *Satires* 1.5 shows no hint of anxiety or urgency; in fact, Horace seems deliberately to play down the tension that must have marked the mission. The poem as a whole shows no knowledge of or interest in politics or current events.

Satires 1.7 shows a similar lack of interest in the politics of civil war; it focuses instead on a minor trial at Clazomenae. The entire poem is a brief story capped with a punchline or pointed message, like the story Horace tells at *Satires* 1.2.31–35 about Cato talking to a young man entering a brothel.[12] The point of Horace's telling that story is clear enough: brothels are there to save young men from the perils of adultery. Unlike the story in *Satires* 1.2, the courtroom story in *Satires* 1.7 has no frame to give a rationale for telling the story; the poem begins without setting a dramatic context for its telling and abruptly ends with the pun on *Rex*. Like 1.5, our poem purports to describe a (fairly) recent event. It also names an important political figure (Brutus) and, with the final pun, alludes to the controversial issue of kings in Roman history and to the recent murder of Julius Caesar. What is most important to keep in mind is that the whole point of telling the story in 1.7 is to deliver a joke. What potentially might be the most political poem in *Satires* 1 works in every way possible to depoliticize itself. Brutus is silent. Caesar is dead. Persius *Graecus* steals the show.

Horatian satire embraces *mediocritas*; the objective is to cut away the superfluous and to provide what is sufficient. *Satires* 1.7, the shortest of the ten poems, is a case in point. Hooley, commenting on the several appearances of the word *satis* in *Satires* 1, notes: 'If satire in its root sense is all about overstuffing poems, or books of poems, with this and that, Horace would innovate by reading the pun [on *satis*] negatively: (new) satire is about defining limits, finding satisfaction with *satis*, enough.'[13] I am concerned here with what is *satis* in reading 1.7—what

[11] Syme 1939, 231.
[12] Fraenkel (1957, 119–120) and Courtney (2013, 112) label the story in 1.7 an αἶνος; Fiske (1920, 324–325), a χρεία or, more specifically, an ἀπομνημόνευμα. See Fiske 1920, 156–167, for a discussion of these terms.
[13] Hooley 2007, 34.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

is enough to make it work as a poem? It is going beyond this sense of *satis*, for example, if we focus on taking this satire as a manifestation of Horace's stylistic principles or, more broadly, a statement of his satiric program. While this approach can make the piece appear to punch above its weight, such a reading runs the risk of taking our attention too far away from the poem's story, its raison d'être. Similarly, it may be reading too much into the poem to treat it as an important piece of Horace's personal story. Horace is all but absent from 1.7, discreetly represented only in two first-person verbs (*opinor*, 2; *redeo*, 9), which hardly suggest personal involvement or even identify this as an eyewitness account. If this poem is 'a memorial to Philippi, the proscriptions, and the Roman Revolution, in so far as they were part of the experience of Horatius Flaccus,'[14] it is a strange memorial. This reading, moreover, does not explain why Horace chose to recount this particular episode from his days with Brutus or why the ostensible point of the poem is to tell a story and deliver a joke.

Politicized readings of 1.7 also present problems. DuQuesnay has made the most thorough reading of *Satires* 1 in its historical context. It is not clear, however, how 1.7 'gives a direct and detailed picture of the Republican side.' All we know about the *cohortem* (23) of Brutus is that they laugh at Persius' presentation of his case; all we know about Rex is that he is proscribed and that he can match (*par*, 19) Persius in badmouthing an opponent. Nor is it easy to follow DuQuesnay when he argues that Brutus is 'at the centre of all this activity' in 1.7.[15] The poem recounts how Persius avenged himself on Rex by means of a pun on Rex's name. Brutus is given an utterly passive and silent role. Perhaps the most important event in Brutus' life—the assassination of Caesar—occasions laughter, thanks to a pun. But Caesar takes a hit as well. The pun hinges on Caesar's being a *rex*—enough in the Roman mind to legitimize assassination. Again thanks to the pun, Caesar's murder is reduced to a gag line in a joke. No one comes off looking particularly good. This is a story, after all, popular in the barbershops of Rome. Is this how the *populus* tells history?

The two poems that refer to contemporary politics, 1.5 and 1.7, have several important similarities. Both begin and continue with mock epic language. The opening line of 1.5 recalls the beginning of Odysseus' account of his travels to the Phaeacians (*Od*. 9.39–40). Later in the poem Horace deploys a mock invocation of the Muse (53–54) as a preamble to the contest of wits between the *scurrae* Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus (56–69). *Satires* 1.7 has a similar pattern: mock-epic language at the opening and then the evoking of the Iliadic heroes Achilles, Hector, Glaucus, and Diomedes (12–18) as a preamble to the

[14] Gowers 2002, 146.
[15] DuQuesnay 1984, 36, 37.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

description of the badmouthing contest between the two litigants at the trial.[16] In both poems the mock-epic language introduces and then sustains a comedic cast to the storytelling. So while we are told at 1.5.27–29 that Maecenas and Cocceius are on an important diplomatic mission, the story line in this poem takes place off-stage—the stage, that is, of high political drama—and concerns itself with the most trivial details facing travelers. This deflecting of attention from the lofty to the lowly has the effect of deflating the importance of issues (e.g., peace treaties) that are obviously of some moment. This storytelling strategy is in itself funny. Similarly in 1.7, we do not see Brutus laying siege to cities in Asia and marshaling troops and supplies as he and Cassius prepare for the last great battle of the Republic; instead we see him presiding over a circuit court case involving two litigants who behave like vitriolic clowns and who, for all their bluster, signify nothing. The contests of wits in 1.5 and 1.7 are treated as comic performances that amuse and entertain. Each of these comic 'acts' produces laughter (*ridemus*, 1.5.57; *ridetur*, 1.7.22). The mock-epic frame, very self-consciously provided by the poet, adds a humorous touch of sophistication to what otherwise is pretty lowbrow fare. By placing Brutus on what amounts to a comic (and tiny) stage in 1.7, Horace quite deftly (and gently) deflates the senator's *dignitas* and casts him in the comic role of the literally and figuratively dumb *pater* figure who is manipulated by the clever slave of comedy, here played by the *Graecus* (32) Persius. The laughter at the clever pun (some jokes never get old) is the sleight of hand that gets Horace off the hook of political allusion.[17]

To clear Horace of any suspicion, it helps that the character 'Horace' in the world of *Satires* 1 is resolutely nonpolitical and somewhat comic in his self-presentation.[18] Part of his self-characterization in 1.5 is that he is blear-eyed (*lippus*, 30); in 1.7 the sketchiness of the story is implied by the fact that it is known to all blear-eyed folks and barbers (*omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse*, 3). Yet even if the story really was commonly known, the manner in which Horace retells it in 1.7 is idiosyncratically his own. We have already noted the mock-epic language that he brings into play. The most remarkable feature of his retelling is his extended musing on four characters from the *Iliad* (10–18). This digression seems disproportionately lengthy, and the point of the reference is not entirely clear. Are Rex and Persius being compared to Hector and Achilles or

---

[16] Courtney (2013, 112) notes a parallel in 1.7 to the opening of the *Iliad*: 'μῆνις οὐλομένη (deadly wrath) is reduced to fusty *ira capitalis* as befits the legal setting, and *discordia* (15) is ἔρις.' For more on Horace's Homeric parody, see Schröter 1967; Buchheit 1968.

[17] Gowers (2012, 263) compares '*Satires* 2.1.84–6: *iudice . . . Caesare . . . tu missus abibis,*' but leaves out what I would argue is the key word, 'laughter' (*risu*): *solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*.

[18] Putnam (1995–1996, 308) notes 1.5's 'pervasive element of comedy with Horace assuming for himself the *persona* of buffoon and parasite, brought along on the trip for the entertainment of Maecenas, incapable of a philosophical thought and certainly not to be entrusted with secrets of state.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

to Glaucus and Diomedes, or to both Homeric pairs? One thing is clear: Horace misrepresents the famous exchange-of-armor scene from *Iliad* 6.119–236 by describing Diomedes and Glaucus each as lazy, unwilling warriors (*pigrior*, 17) and so introduces the nonheroic into the *Iliad* itself by giving 'a satirist's version of the story.'[19] Comically, this epic digression is sandwiched between a comparison of Persius and Rex to two legendary loudmouths (8), Sisennus and Barrus ('Elephant'), and to two redoubtable gladiators (20), Bithus and Bacchius. The impression left is that Horace, the storyteller here, may not be entirely reliable, a suspicion also suggested earlier in the book by his dropping the punchline from his retelling of the Cato-at-the-brothel story at *Satires* 1.2.31–35.[20] This impression is reinforced with *ad Regem redeo* at line 9, where Horace seems to catch himself wandering off the story line. But, as commentators note, Horace does not in fact return to Rex or give any information about him; instead, he launches into the account of the trial, only to get distracted from the story with his lengthy Iliadic digression. We are meant to be amused not only by the story, but also by the storyteller and the way he tells the tale.

Much depends on how you take the poem's abrupt ending. For Gowers, 'Brutus condemns himself by ineffectual silence,' and, she adds, 'The silence hardly signals that the tension has been defused.'[21] But it seems more likely that it is laughter that we should imagine bringing down the curtain on this little scene in Clazomenae. The whole *conventus* finds Persius' presentation of his case funny (*Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni / conventu*, 22–23) because of his fawning, hyperbolic praise of the Romans (23–24) and his puns on *rex* and *tollere* at line 34 (cf. Cicero's famous pun in his remark about Octavian: *laudandum adulescentulum, ornandum, tollendum*, *Fam*. 11.20.1). Horace in telling the story adds more puns: *ius* ('court' and 'sauce') at line 20 and *regerit* (a play on *rex*) at line 29. We gather that both Rex and Persius present their respective cases before Brutus largely by badmouthing one another (28–32). And we can be sure that Brutus and Company found this hilarious. We have already seen how a similar invective-slinging match at *Satires* 1.5.50–69 was a big hit with Maecenas and Company (*prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam*, 1.5.70). Clearly the Romans relished this sort of thing as entertainment. With a zinger of a pun to cap all the badmouthing fun in 1.7, it hardly needs to be spelled out by

[19] Gowers 2012, 257.
[20] Ps.-Acro informs us that Horace leaves off the last line of the Cato anecdote. In doing so, Horace changes the whole meaning of the story. Cato commends the young man for coming to a brothel instead of committing adultery, but the point of the story, delivered in the line Horace omits, is to chide the boy for making the brothel his second home: '*adulescens, ego te laudavi, tamquam huc intervenires, non tamquam hic habitares*.'
[21] Gowers 2012, 263.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Horace that laughter filled the courtroom; to give the last word to Brutus would have slit the poem's throat.

Our problem, of course, is that the insult-slinging, whether in 1.5 or 1.7, is not that entertaining, while the pun at the end of 1.7 isn't funny. The laughter in the poem is Roman laughter, and it does defuse the tension,[22] just as the laughter Maecenas and *amici* shared at the performance of Sarmentus and Messius helped to defuse the tension of their diplomatic mission, and just as the laughter at the end of *Satires* 1.8 reduces the frightening and potentially dangerous dark magic of the witches to harmless, slapstick comedy (*cum magno risuque iocoque videres*, 50). In recognizing the laughter, even if we cannot laugh ourselves, we find what is enough (*satis*) to make 1.7 work. It really is all about the joke and the pleasure of humor. As he closes his book, Horace expresses what he wishes his poems to achieve: to delight and give pleasure to his friends (*quibus haec, sint qualiacumque, / arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe / deterius nostra*, 88–90). *Satires* 1.7, then, nicely illustrates the role Horace gives laughter in his satires.[23] At *Satires* 1.1.24, he likens himself to a laughing man telling it like it is (*ridentem dicere verum*). Even more straightforwardly, he points to the power of humor at *Satires* 1.10.14–15: *ridiculum acri / fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res*.

It is quite likely that Horace decided to include in his first book a satire describing a trial for the simple reason that Lucilius had treated this theme. There were Lucilian antecedents for Horace's *Satires* 1.5 and 1.9. Lucilius' second book contains a satirical treatment of a trial in which Q. Mucius Scaevola is charged by T. Albucius with extortion in the province of Asia. There are some parallels between the fragments of Lucilius' second book and Horace's *Satires* 1.7, including invective-slinging and the similar lines: *Fandem atque auditam iterabimus famam* (53W = 55M) and *omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse* (1.7.3).[24] But this is not enough to explain Horace's bringing Brutus into the poem. Here we need to follow DuQuesnay and consider the historical context of the publication of *Satires* 1.

To understand the mood in Rome in 35 BCE, we need to look back to the dark preceding decade. A profound political uncertainty followed Caesar's murder in 44. Legions shifted their loyalty unpredictably; Roman armies marched on

---

[22] Anderson 1972, 10 = 1982, 80.

[23] Van Rooy's (1971, 81) has been a lone voice in stressing the importance of recognizing the humor of the pun and not judging it by our own tastes. He perhaps overstates his view that the 'specific stylistic importance of the poem lies in identifying it as a disguised formulation of, as well as an exercise in, the literary precepts' (82) outlined at *Satires* 1.10.14–15.

[24] See Fiske 1920, 324–30, for the parallels between Lucilius' satire and 1.7.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Rome; there was the terror of the proscriptions; the air in Rome was electric with bitter accusations, vitriolic oratory, and conspiracy theories. Continuous recruitment of private armies and requisitioning of resources to support war efforts drained the economy and imposed unrelieved hardships on the population of Italy. Confiscations of private property created tension between the citizen body and the legionary veterans, as well as personal and regional disruptions. There was civil war in Italy, culminating in the fall of Perusia. Famine in Rome sparked riots. General confusion encouraged brigands and pirates; there were bizarre and frightening portents; thousands of slaves ran away and ended up at the oars of Sextus Pompey's fleet. Peace agreements were broken, and the triumvirate was pulled apart by mutual suspicions and personal ambitions. Then, in the year 36, things changed. Pompey's fleet was defeated; his legions in Sicily went over to Octavian, who neatly outmaneuvered Lepidus. Rome welcomed back the victorious Octavian, and the Senate set up a golden statue of him in the Forum and granted him the sacrosanctity enjoyed by the tribunes. 'Craft and diplomacy, high courage and a sense of destiny had triumphed over incalculable odds.'[25] Good fortune called for level-headed thinking. As Eder notes, Octavian's 'endeavor to rid himself of the accusation of being an autocrat became even clearer after his victory in 36 B.C.'[26] According to Appian (*BCiv.* 5.132), Octavian now ordered writings associated with the civil conflicts of the preceding years to be burned. Whatever his actual intentions were, Octavian talked publicly about giving up the special powers of the triumvirate and restoring the Republic. Affairs finally seemed settled in Italy after years of internal strife. Antony had departed on his Parthian campaign. Octavian was more secure. There were good reasons to feel hopeful for Rome's future.

In 36/35, when Horace published *Satires* 1, even if some harbored bitter memories and had no love for Octavian, more people simply welcomed the relief from the hardships that constant civil conflict had brought upon them. There was food in Rome, and order was being restored in the city and the countryside. There was reconciliation. Several stories relate how Octavian praised the loyalty of individuals who kept busts of Brutus (App. *BCiv.* 4.51; Plut. *Brut.* 58). L. Calpurnius Bibulus, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, and Messalla's half-brother, L. Gellius Publicola (cos. 36), once partisans of Brutus and Cassius, are named by Horace at *Satires* 10.85–86 as friends of Maecenas, the friends he wants his poems to please. For the public, the memory of Brutus will have faded; even the memory of Julius Caesar the dictator will have been dimmed by the glare of Caesar's divine presence in the city. Dio (47.18) notes that earlier, during the

[25] Syme 1939, 234.
[26] Eder 2005, 20.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

proscriptions, the triumvirs had worked to magnify the glory of Caesar. After listing all the honors they granted him as the deified Caesar, Dio adds (47.19) that they made the day of his murder *nefas*; they also closed off the room where he had been killed and later turned that space into a public latrine. It was decreed that no *imago* of Caesar would be carried in the funerals of his relatives.

These conditions have some bearing on how we read the *rex* pun in *Satires* 1.7. 'The deification of Caesar rendered it easy to depersonalise him, to dissociate *Divus Julius* from *Dictator Caesar.*'[27] With the vengeance taken at Philippi on Caesar's assassins, there was no reason to dwell on the past or to memorialize the death of a man who now was a god. The perfect model for this reimagining of a Roman *dux-rex-deus* had been set with the accounts of Romulus' death and apotheosis. Whether or not Romulus had been killed by senators was a question lost in the fog of legend; what mattered was his divine manifestation as Quirinus. So in 36/35 Brutus' name was less of a political threat to Maecenas and Octavian, and Julius Caesar's murder less of a political issue. It served Octavian's own political agenda in the mid-30s to play up the divine Julius and lay to rest the mortal Caesar. With pardons and the general amnesty of 40 BCE, even the terrible days of the proscriptions were less of a hot issue; some accounts even minimized Octavian's culpability (e.g., Vell. Pat. 2.66; Plut. *Ant.* 21; Dio 47.8).

The publication of Horace's *Satires* 1.7 is evidence of a more relaxed atmosphere in Rome. Octavian could afford to be more confident; the *amici* of Maecenas and Horace, who are named in *Satires* 1.10, show that reconciliation was well underway. Horace's poem, with its naming of Brutus and its pun recalling Caesar's murder, did not offend Maecenas and Octavian, nor could it have been deemed by them a serious threat to their well-managed public relations campaign. Horace's clever and careful touch was to make the pun effectively, yet quite gently, diminish the *dignitas* of Brutus and to sheath the violence of Caesar's murder in the laughter at a play on words. There was a long and reputable tradition of bringing puns into the courtroom and into public speeches on serious issues. For its Roman audience, the pun on *rex* was funny and entertaining: an *urbanissimus iocus*, according to Porphyrio.

When it comes to appreciating humor, it is sensible to trust the ancient commentators rather than our own judgment. Horace, in what seems a programmatic point about his satires, asks to be granted leave to speak *liberius* and *forte iocosius* (*Sat.* 1.4.103–104). Humor was in some ways like the wine of the god Liber; it freed one from inhibitions and created an atmosphere in which rules of decorum could be merrily, if briefly, ignored. Stand-up comedians can

[27] Syme 1959, 58.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

be irreverent about the most controversial and sensitive of contemporary issues and be rewarded with laughter. Clearly Horace got away with making a joke out of Caesar's murder. Humor allowed him to distance himself from Brutus without attacking his memory or renouncing his former association with the noble hero of the Republic. Yet even a good laugh might not have rendered the pun innocuous if Horace had published *Satires* 1 in the dark years of the late 40s and early 30s.

Works Cited

Anderson, W. S. 1972. The Form, Purpose, and Position of Horace's *Satire* 1, 8. *American Journal of Philology* 93:4–13.
Anderson, W. S. 1982. *Essays on Roman Satire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Buchheit, V. 1968. Homerparodie und Literaturkritik in Horazens Satiren I 7 und I 9. *Gymnasium* 85:519–555.
Courtney, E. 2013. The Two Books of Satires. In *Brill's Companion to Horace*, edited by H.-C. Günther, 63–168. Leiden: Brill.
Dryden, J. (1693) 1961. A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire. In *Essays of John Dryden*, edited by W. P. Ker, vol. 2: 15–114. New York: Russell & Russell.
DuQuesnay, I. M. Le M. 1984. Horace and Maecenas: The Propaganda Value of *Sermones* I. In *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, edited by T. Woodman and D. West, 19–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Eder, W. 2005. Augustus and the Power of Tradition. Translated by K. Galinksy. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, edited by K. Galinsky, 13–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fiske, G. C. 1920. *Lucilius and Horace*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Fraenkel, E. 1957. *Horace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Gowers, E. 2002. Blind Eyes and Cut Throats: Amnesia and Silence in Horace 'Satires' 1.7. *Classical Philology* 97:145–161.
Gowers, E. 2012. *Horace:* Satires *I*. With introduction and commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Green, C. M. C. 2007. *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Henderson, J. 1994. On Getting Rid of Kings: Horace, *Satires* 1.7. *Classical Quarterly* 44:146–170.
Henderson, J. 1998. *Fighting for Rome: Poets and Caesars, History and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hinard, F. 1985. *Les proscriptions de la Rome républicaine*. Publications de l'École française de Rome 83. Rome: École française de Rome.
Hooley, D. 2007. *Roman Satire*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Matthews, V. J. 1973. Some Puns on Roman *cognomina*. *Greece & Rome* 20:19–24.
Putnam, M. C. J. 1995–1996. Pastoral Satire. Review of K. Freudenburg, *The Walking Muse* (1993). *Arion* 3: 303–316.
Schlegel, C. 2005. *Satire and the Power of Speech*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Schröter, R. 1967. Horazens Satire 1.7 und die antike Eposparodie. *Poetica* I: 8–23.
Scott, K. 1933. The Political Propaganda of 44–30 B.C. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11:7–49.
Syme, R. 1939. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Syme, R. 1959. Livy and Augustus. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64:27–87.
Van Rooy, C. A. 1971. Arrangement and Structure of Satires in Horace, *Sermones*, Book I: Satire 7 as Related to Satires 10 and 8. *Acta Classica* 14:67–90.
White, P. 1988. Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome. *Phoenix* 42:334–356.
Zetzel, J. E. G. 1980. Horace's *Liber Sermones*: The Structure of Ambiguity. *Arethusa* 13:59–77.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

9

Ovid among the Barbarians: *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b

Helena Dettmer

'The textual tradition of the *Tristia* is not good,' as Wheeler aptly observed nearly a hundred years ago.[1] The earliest surviving witnesses, dating from the 10th and 11th centuries, are incomplete, and the remaining manuscripts are late, dating from the 12th to the 15th centuries.[2] The manuscript tradition is complex and very corrupt. Hall observes that 'the text was thoroughly interpolated already in antiquity' because of the great popularity of the poems, and that 'there is no reading [in the text] of the *Tristia*, whether genuine or corrupt, that could not change as a result of contamination.'[3] The sorry state of the manuscripts has implications not only for readings in the text but for identifying the start and finish of several individual poems. Books 1, 3, 4, and 5 of the *Tristia* each contain at least one poem whose integrity has been contested.[4] This chapter addresses the issue of unity in *Tristia* 5.7, which concerns Ovid's life in Tomis.

I wish to thank Jonathan Burke for illustrating the artistry of Ovid's poems in Figures 9.1–9.4 and Adam Jaschen for fine-tuning the illustrations. Many thanks, too, to John Finamore and Samuel Huskey for reading an earlier draft of this chapter.

[1] Wheeler 1924, xxxix.

[2] On the manuscript tradition, see Luck 1967, 11–20; Tarrant 1983, 282–284; Hall 1995, xii–xv; Richmond 2002, 475–477.

[3] Hall 1995, xii.

[4] Book 1: *Tristia* 1.5 and 1.9; book 3: *Tristia* 3.4; book 4: *Tristia* 4.4; book 5: *Tristia* 5.2 and 5.7. Hall (1995, 148–153) is the only editor to separate (rightly, I believe) *Tristia* 4.4 into two poems, 1–54, 55–88, accepting the division found in several manuscripts. In a forthcoming monograph I plan to show how these six poems are actually 12 poems that all exhibit distinct structures. In contrast to the other books, book 2 of *Tristia* constitutes a single poem of 578 lines in which Ovid defends himself and his *Ars amatoria.*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Tristia 5.7 appears as a poem of 68 verses in all manuscripts with one exception: *Berolinensis lat. oct.* 67 (B2) indicates the start of a new poem at line 25. Heinsius was the first editor to follow this manuscript in dividing *Tristia* 5.7 into two poems (1–24, 25–68). Heinsius' division was later accepted by Luck and Hall.[5] The separation of *Tristia* 5.7 into 5.7a and 5.7b, however, has met with resistance from most scholars, presumably because the two parts appear to be directed to the same individual (referred to as *carissime* in line 5 and *amice* in lines 22 and 26) and to be concerned with the same theme of Ovid's life among the bellicose barbarians of Tomis. For example, Green comments that 'the tradition (fostered by Heinsius on the basis of one MS) of starting a second elegy, 7B, at line 25 can confidently be rejected,' while Williams opines that 'division [after line 24] is misguided.'[6] Evans acknowledges that 'there is a distinct break [in the poem] at line 25,' but does not consider 'the transition' between lines 24 and 25 to be problematical: 'Ovid answers the friend's questions about Tomis (lines 11–24) before turning to news from Rome [lines 25–30].'[7] The following discussion will show how structural analysis demonstrates that *Tristia* 5.7 forms two distinct poems and how the individuality of *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b informs the interpretation of each.[8]

Tristia 5.7a.1–24

Quam legis, ex illa tibi venit epistula terra,
latus ubi aequoreis additur Hister aquis.
si tibi contingit cum dulci vita salute,
candida fortunae pars manet una meae.
scilicet, ut semper, quid agam, carissime, quaeris, 05
quamvis hoc vel me scire tacente potes.
sum miser; haec brevis est nostrorum summa malorum,
quisquis et offenso Caesare vivit, erit.
turba Tomitanae quae sit regionis et inter
quos habitem mores, discere cura tibi est? 10
mixta sit haec quamvis inter Graecosque Getasque,
a male pacatis plus trahit ora Getis.
Sarmaticae maior Geticaeque frequentia gentis
per medias in equis itque reditque vias.
in quibus est nemo, qui non coryton et arcum 15

[5] Luck 1977, 305; Hall 1995, 192–196.
[6] Green 1994, 283; Williams 1994, 21.
[7] Evans 1983, 188n5.
[8] The Latin text is that of Luck 1967. For *Tristia* 5.7a, I depart from Luck's text in adopting Housman's emendation of *trita* for *nulla* in line 17 and Heinsius' *eheu tenerorum* for *heu nunc lusorum* in line 21. The translations are mine and are intended to be literal.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat.
vox fera, trux vultus, verissima Martis imago,
non coma, non trita barba resecta manu,
dextera non segnis fixo dare vulnera cultro,
quem iunctum lateri barbarus omnis habet. 20
vivit in his eheu, tenerorum oblitus amorum!
hos videt, hos vates audit, amice, tuus:
atque utinam vivat non et moriatur in illis,
absit ab invisis ut tamen umbra locis.

The letter that you are reading has come from that land where the broad Danube joins its waters to the sea. If you happen to have life along with sweet health, one part of my fate remains joyous. Of course, you ask as always, dearest friend, how I am doing, although you are able to know this even if I am silent. I am wretched; this is the brief summary of our woes, and so will anyone [be wretched] who also lives after offending Caesar. Do you care to learn about the inhabitants of the region of Tomis and the customs among which I reside? Although this coast is a mixture of both Greeks and Getae, it draws more from the warlike Getae. Greater hordes of Sarmatae and Getae come and go on horseback in the middle of the roads. Among these peoples there is no one who does not carry a quiver and bow and weapons yellow with viper's venom. Harsh voices, savage faces, the veritable image of war, neither hair nor beard trimmed by practiced hand, hands not slow to stab and wound with the knife that every barbarian carries, secured to his side. Among these men, alas, your bard lives, dear friend, forgetful of his love poetry, these men he sees, these men he hears: if only he would live and not die among them so that his shade might yet be free from this hated place.

In *Tristia* 5.7a Ovid writes in response to an earlier letter from a close friend inquiring how he is doing and what the people of Tomis are like. After acknowledging to his friend that he is 'wretched,' Ovid proceeds to describe the local natives and their customs. The bellicose nature of the Sarmatae and Getae occupies a large part of the central section of the poem. Ovid claims that, to a man, the barbarians carry knives, quivers, bows, and poisoned arrows. They are long-haired and bearded (hairy, and hence uncivilized) and quick to inflict wounds. Ovid lives among such individuals, but he hopes that he will not die among them, so that his shade will forever wander this hated place.

As Figure 9.1 illustrates, *Tristia* 5.7a (1–24) is a complete poem, organized in a ring-composition structure, that has as its subject Tomis and its people. We start with parallels common to the beginning and end. The final words of the first and last lines of the poem form counterparts; both *terra* (1) and *locis* (24)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

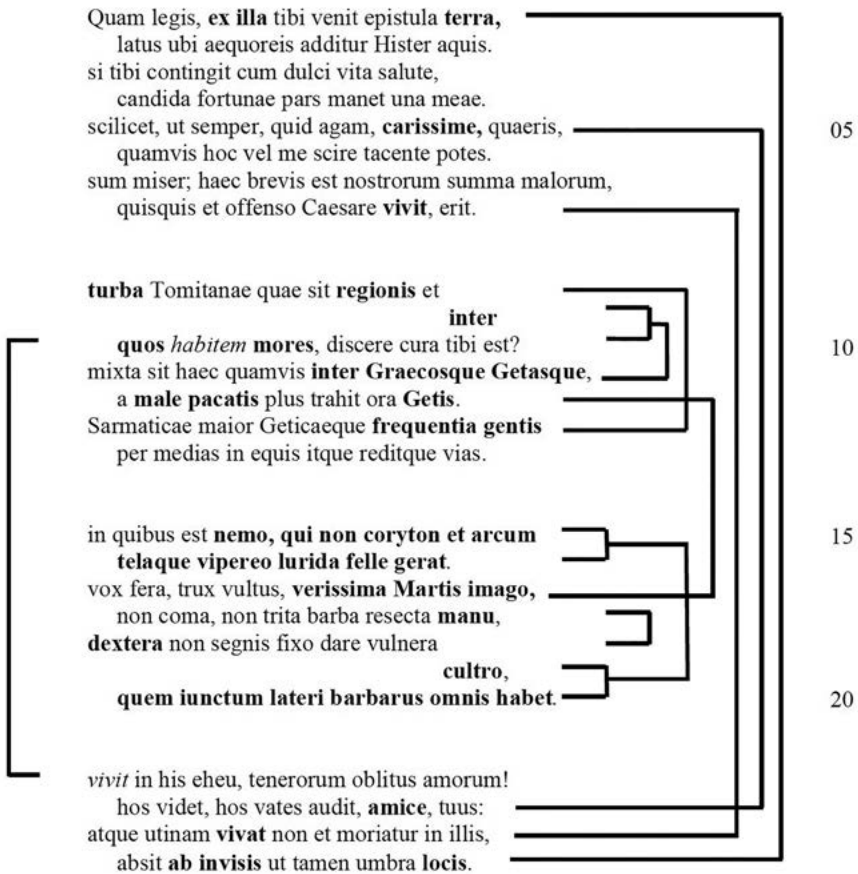

Figure 9.1. Structure of Tristia 5.7a

refer to Tomis. What is more, the nouns are both objects of prepositions that indicate separation from the site of Ovid's exile: Ovid's letter has come from that land where the broad Danube adds its waters to the sea (*ex illa . . . terra*, 1), and he hopes that he may not die among these peoples so that his shade might yet be free from this detested place (*ab invisis . . . locis*, 24). After varying the common epistolary formula *si vales, valeo,* in lines 3–4, Ovid addresses his friend with the affectionate *carissime* (5). Line 22 recalls the direct address of line 5 with the vocative *amice*. The final pair in the opening and closing sections involve the verb *vivo,* which can signify both 'to live, be alive' and 'to dwell'; the poem employs both meanings.[9] *Vivit* in line 8 and *vivat* in line 23 possess

[9] Lewis-Short *ad loc.* It is worth noting that the conjunction et is postponed by one word in the

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the meaning of 'to live, be alive.' Further, the sense of line 8 can be construed as this: 'whoever survives, and does not die, after offending Caesar.'[10] In line 23 the opposition between life and death is made explicit by Ovid's wish that he will live but not die in Tomis (*atque utinam vivat non et moriatur in illis [locis]*). *Vivit* in line 21, however, signifies 'to reside' and thus echoes *habitem* in line 10 (in Figure 9.1, these verbal echoes are indicated in italics, and their relationship is designated on the left). Ovid's residence among the natives of Tomis in line 10 has consequences in line 21, where he claims that he has forgotten the love poetry that he wrote earlier.

The center of the poem (9–20) is devoted to the subject of the inhabitants of Tomis. The structure of this section is composed of two miniature ring patterns, consisting of two pairs apiece (9–14, 15–20). In the first ring, *turba* and *frequentia*, synonyms for 'throngs of people,' join lines 9 and 13, with dependent genitives (*regionis* and *gentis*) completing the noun's meaning. Both phrases refer to the local residents. The other pair, prepositional phrases introduced by *inter,* link lines 9–10 and 11; the point is to connect the Greeks and Getae with their customs (*inter / quos . . . mores*, 9–10; *inter Graecosque Getasque*, 11). In the second ring, the idea that every barbarian is equipped with weapons is stated twice. In lines 15–16, Ovid writes that there is no one who does not bear a quiver, bow, and arrows yellow with viper's venom (*in quibus est nemo, qui non coryton et arcum / telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat*); in lines 19–20 every barbarian carries a knife secured to his side (*cultro, / quem iunctum lateri barbarus omnis habet*). *Manu* and *dextera* in lines 18 and 19 form the other pair in the second ring pattern. They implicitly contrast the practiced hand of civilized people (i.e., the Romans), who trim their hair and beards, with the hands of the uncivilized barbarians, who are quick to stab and wound with the very instrument that the Romans use for personal grooming (*culter*).[11] Ovid connects the two parts of the poem's center by joining the bellicose barbarians (*male pacatis . . . Getis*, 12) to the notion that they epitomize the very image of war (*verissima Martis imago*, 17).

Tristia 5.7a exhibits not only a closely integrated organization but one that is perfectly balanced. Twelve lines are devoted to the outer frame of the poem, which features Tomis, Ovid, and Ovid's friend (8 + 4). Twelve lines are devoted to the central section, on the inhabitants of Tomis, their uncivilized appearance,

---

corresponding lines 8 and 23.

[10] Green (1994, 95) interprets line 8 as follows: 'all who offend Caesar, and live, will be the same'—i.e., wretched.

[11] Williams 1994, 20: 'The *culter* was generally not a weapon of war for the Romans; it was a tool chiefly used for non-military purposes such as trimming beards or hair. . . . Ovid may well be referring ironically in lines 19–20 to the fact that this basic domestic function of the *culter* was unknown to the uncouth Getae.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and their warlike character, with the two miniature ring patterns consisting of six lines each (6 + 6).

Williams makes two observations about lines 15–20 that are worth repeating here. First, Ovid fictionalizes his description of the native tribesmen by drawing 'on the Virgilian portrayal of the Italian tribes in the second half of the *Aeneid*.'[12] Second, Ovid deliberately recalls *Ars amatoria* 1.518 (*sit coma, sit trita barba resecta manu*) in line 18, thereby illustrating that he is not forgetful of his 'youthful love poetry' as he claims in line 21.[13] On a literal level, Ovid's portrait of the aggressive character and incivility of the barbarians is intended to elicit feelings of concern for him from his Roman audience. On a metaphorical level, he appears to be counterposing the world of epic against that of elegy, thereby suggesting the incongruity of a love poet situated in this milieu.

Tristia 5.7b.25–68

A shift in thematic emphasis occurs between *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b. Lines 25–68 are principally concerned with the negative consequences of Ovid's living among the Pontic natives.

Carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro, 25
versibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis:
nil equidem feci—tu scis hoc ipse—theatris,
Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est;
non tamen ingratum est, quodcumque oblivia nostri
impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert. 30
Quamvis interdum, quae me laesisse recordor,
carmina devoveo Pieridasque meas,
cum bene devovi, nequeo tamen esse sine illis
vulneribusque meis tela cruenta sequor,
quaeque modo Euboicis lacerata est fluctibus, audet 35
Graia Caphercam currere puppis aquam.
nec tamen, ut lauder vigilo curamque futuri
nominis, utilius quod latuisset, ago.
detineo studiis animum falloque dolores,
experior curis et dare verba meis. 40

[12] Williams (1994, 19) notes the following parallels between Ovid's and Vergil's poems: cf. *coryton et arcum / telaque* (5.7.15–16) with *quis tela sagittae / gorytique leves umeris et letifer arcus (Aen.* 10.168–169); *telaque vipereo lurida felle* (5.7.16) with *sagitta, / armatum saevi Parthus quam felle veneni, / . . . telum immedicabile (Aen.* 12.856–858); *verissima Martis imago* (5.7.17) with *it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago (Aen.* 8.557).
[13] Williams 1994, 20.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

quid potius faciam desertis solus in oris,
quamve malis aliam quaerere coner opem?
sive locum specto, locus est inamabilis, et quo
esse nihil toto tristius orbe potest,
sive homines, vix sunt homines hoc nomine digni, 45
quamque lupi, saevae plus feritatis habent.
non metuunt leges, sed cedit viribus aequum,
victaque pugnaci iura sub ense iacent.
pellibus et laxis arcent mala frigora bracis,
oraque sunt longis horrida tecta comis. 50
in paucis remanent Graecae vestigia linguae,
haec quoque iam Getico barbara facta sono.
unus in hoc nemo est populo, qui forte Latine
quamlibet e medio reddere verba queat.
ille ego Romanus vates - ignoscite, Musae! - 55
Sarmatico cogor plurima more loqui.
et pudet et fateor, iam desuetudine longa
vix subeunt ipsi verba Latina mihi.
nec dubito quin sint et in hoc non pauca libello
barbara: non hominis culpa, sed ista loci. 60
ne tamen Ausoniae perdam commercia linguae,
et fiat patrio vox mea muta sono,
ipse loquor desuetaque verba retracto,
et studii repeto signa sinistra mei.
sic animum tempusque traho sensumque reduco 65
a contemplatu summoveoque mali.
carminibus quaero miserarum oblivia rerum:
praemia si studio consequar ista, sat est.

As to the fact that you write that my poems are performed with dancing in a full theater and there is applause for my verses, dear friend, I have written nothing to be sure (you yourself know this) for the theater, nor is my Muse ambitious for applause. Still, I am not ungrateful for whatever prevents oblivion of me and brings the name of an exile to people's lips. Although sometimes I curse the poems, which I recall injured me, and my Muses, yet when I have cursed them well, I am not able to live without them, and I seek the weapons bloodied from my wounds, and the Greek ship that was recently damaged by the Euboean waves dares to travel the waters of Caphereus. And yet I do not stay awake at night in order to be praised, and I do not care for future fame—my name would have more usefully remained hidden. I occupy my mind with the pursuit of poetry, and I beguile my grief, and I try to cheat my cares. What rather am I to

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> do alone on this deserted shore [besides writing poetry], or what other assistance for my woes should I try to seek? If I look at the place, the place is loathsome, and nothing in the whole world is more gloomy than this place. If I look at the men, they are men scarcely worthy of this name, for they possess more savage ferocity than wolves. They do not fear laws, but right yields to strength, and justice lies conquered beneath the combative sword. They ward off evil cold with skins and loose trousers, and their shaggy faces are covered in long hair. Among a few, traces of the Greek language remain. Even this is now made barbarous by a Getic twang. There is not one person among this people who possibly is able to utter any words in everyday Latin. I, that famous Roman bard—pardon me, Muses—am compelled to speak very many words in Sarmatian. Although I am ashamed, yet I confess, now because of long disuse Latin words with difficulty occur even to me. And I do not doubt that there are also in this book not a few barbarisms: not the fault of the man, but of the place. Yet, so that I may not lose the ability to converse in the Latin tongue and so that my speech may not be silent in its native sound, I speak to myself and recall disused words, and I seek again the ill-omened standards of my poetic art. In this way I distract my mind and drag out time, and I restore my senses and banish thinking about my woes. Through poetry I seek oblivion of my wretchedness: if I acquire those rewards by my literary efforts, it is enough.

Tristia 5.7b opens with Ovid's reaction to the news that his poetry has been adapted for the stage and is being performed in the theater to acclaim. He is not ungrateful that the successful production of pantomime libretti, probably based on his *Heroides*,[14] has brought the name of an exile to people's lips (25–30). The reference to his poetry leads to his describing his ambivalent relationship with the Muses and with his poetry and his motivation for composing poetry in exile (31–42). At line 43 the poem turns to Tomis and its inhabitants. As in 5.7a, Ovid stresses the lawless and warlike character of the natives and their uncivilized appearance. But this section of *Tristia* 5.7b focuses primarily on the early stages of Ovid's loss of cultural identity, on his being forced to speak a barbaric tongue in order to be understood, and on his losing facility in his native language (51–64). The poem ends, as it begins, with the theme of poetry.

[14] Ovid also indicates at *Tristia* 2.519 that his poems were adapted for pantomimic performance. The verbal cross-reference between the noun *carmina* at the start of 5.7b (25) and the phrase *tenerorum oblitus amorum* near the end of 5.7a (21) makes it appear likely that the unidentified poems performed on stage allude to his earlier love poems, the *Heroides*. On this point I therefore agree with Green (1994, 285): 'The most likely texts for such adaptation are some of the *Letters of the Heroines (Heroides)*, addressed to absent, and generally delinquent, lovers.' For a different opinion, see Ingleheart (2008, 199–217), who argues that Ovid is alluding to the *Metamorphoses*.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Here Ovid's exilic poetry is described as serving a strictly utilitarian function. It assists him in maintaining his fluency in Latin and in coping with his misery.

Tristia 5.7b is organized in two chiastic patterns of approximately equal length, 18 and 21 lines respectively (25–42 and 43–63). The closing section (64–68) brings the poem full circle thematically and verbally by recalling the theme and language introduced in the opening passage, as the discussion to follow will demonstrate.

***Tristia* 5.7b.25–42**

A ring-composition structure unifies lines 25–42 (Figure 9.2). The first section of the poem centers on Ovid's admission that he sometimes curses his poetry and his Muses (*carmina devoveo Pieridasque meas*, / *cum bene devovi*, 32–33). At the same time, he concedes that it is impossible to exist without his inspiration and the products of his inspiration (*nequeo tamen esse sine illis*, 33); this sentiment is a variation on the elegiac dilemma of Ovid's being unable to live with or without his mistress (*sic ego nec sine te nec tecum vivere possum, Am*. 3.11b.7).[15]

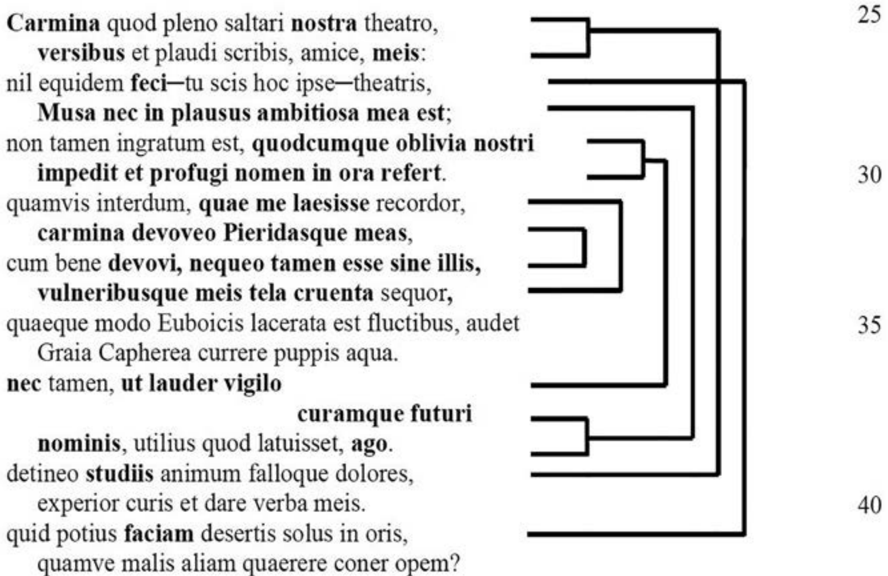

Figure 9.2. Ring structure of lines 25–42 of Tristia 5.7b

[15] Nagle 1980, 91 n42.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

A similar paradox joins *quae me laesisse* and *vulneribusque meis tela cruenta* (31, 34). Even though his poetry has harmed him, Ovid continues to pursue the very weapons that caused him injury. The next two pairs (moving from the center) concern Ovid's lack of interest in fame. Lines 28 and 37 indicate that the poet and his Muse are not ambitious for acclaim (*Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est; . . . nec . . . , ut lauder vigilo*). He is pleased, of course, that the pantomime libretti derived from his poetry are keeping his name alive in Rome (*quodcumque oblivia nostri / impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert*, 29–30); currently, however, he does not write poetry for the purpose of acquiring celebrity (*curamque futuri / nominis, . . . ago*, 37–38). The poems, which are being performed on stage to acclaim (*carmina . . . nostra . . ., / versibus . . . meis*, 25–26), find their counterpart in the literary arts Ovid pursues in Tomis to distract him from his cares (*studiis*, 39). Finally, lines 27 and 41, linked by *faciam* and *feci*, repeat the contrast between his former poetry, not intended for performance, and the poetry he now writes, which is intended to deflect attention from his woes. The subject of poetry thus predominates in lines 25–42. Ovid interwove three thematic strands in this opening section: the harmful yet indispensable nature of his poetry (which he continues to pursue), his indifference at this time to seeking fame through his poetry, and the utilitarian purpose that composing poetry now serves for him as an escape mechanism.

Tristia 5.7b.43–63

The second section of the poem emphasizes Ovid's inability to converse in Latin with the local tribesmen and the concomitant decline in fluency in his native tongue, the direct result of lack of practice (51–63). As Figure 9.3 illustrates, the ring structure here centers on Ovid's statement that he, that famous Roman bard, has been forced to learn to speak Sarmatian in order to communicate because no one in the local population can speak even the most common Latin words: *Sarmatico cogor plurima [verba] more loqui* in line 56 corresponds to *unus in hoc nemo est populo, qui forte Latine / quamlibet e medio reddere verba queat* in lines 53–54. Ovid's concern that he may lose facility in the Latin language and that his voice may become mute in its native sound (*ne tamen Ausoniae perdam commercia linguae, / et fiat patrio vox mea muta sono*, 61–62) echoes his observation on the fate of the Greek language in Tomis, a former Greek colony; now spoken only by a few inhabitants, the language has been made barbarous by its Getic sound (*in paucis Graecae remanent vestigia linguae, / haec quoque iam Getico barbara facta sono*, 51–52). Ovid's disgraceful admission that he is forgetting his Latin because he has no one with whom to converse (*et pudet et fateor, iam desuetudine longa / vix subeunt ipsi verba Latina mihi*, 57–58) is answered by his own solution to the problem: in order to maintain his Latinity, he engages in soliloquy, recalling disused words (*ipse loquor mecum desuetaque verba retracto*, 63). The

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

ring structure unifying lines 51–63 is linked to the start of this section by the repetition in line 60 of the nouns *locus* and *homo* from lines 43 and 45. Ovid reinforces the point that his competence in Latin may be compromised, that there may be barbarisms in his poetry (58–60), by associating himself with the barbarians in line 45 and Tomis and its environs in line 43.[16] Also, he appears to be playing on the notion of *tristius* in line 44; his sad poems (the *Tristia*) derive from his being relegated to the saddest place on earth.[17]

Figure 9.3. Ring structure of lines 43–68 of Tristia 5.7b

[16] The prologue to book 5 may foreshadow Ovid's creating a close linguistic connection to the barbarians, referred to here and later in *Tristia* 5.12.58, where he claims to have learned to speak both Getic and Sarmatian. In *Tristia* 5.1 he describes his poetry as 'not more barbaric than the place itself' (*non sunt illa suo barbariora loco*, 72) and himself as a poet 'who is regarded as a genius among the Sauromatae' (*inter Sauromatas ingeniosus eram,* 74).

[17] On Ovid's wordplay on the adjective *triste*, cf. the comments of Oliensis (1997, 188–189) on *Tristia* 3.9.31–32 and Ingelheart (2010, 149) on *Tristia* 2.133. *Tristia* 5.1 emphasizes that Ovid composes sad poems because of his sad circumstances. This theme is repeated throughout the first half of this poem (5.1.1–48).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

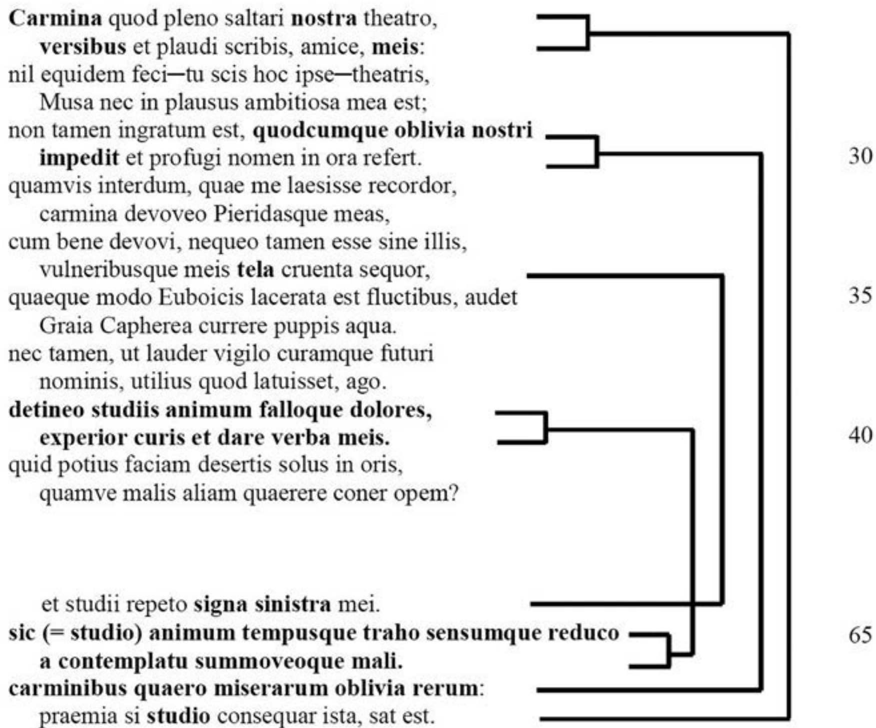

Figure 9.4. Ring structure framing the central section of Tristia 5.7b

Tristia 5.7b.46–50, 64–68

The structure of the second part of the poem is unusual because two passages (46–50, 64–68) are not incorporated into the ring pattern. Lines 46–50 reiterate Ovid's characterization of the barbarians from 5.7a.15–20 as savage, lawless, warlike, and hirsute. The description of the Getic and Sarmatian tribesmen is thus given prominence by its exclusion from the ring pattern; Ovid's intent is to signal the thematic relationship between 5.7a and 5.7b. Lines 64–68, on the other hand, serve a different purpose by bringing the poem full circle. The concluding lines repeat the subject of poetry as well as language and metaphors introduced in the opening lines (see Figure 9.4).

Lines 65–66 recall the therapeutic effect of poetry from lines 39–40; in both passages poetry occupies Ovid's mind and keeps him from contemplating his

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

troubles.[18] Moreover, at line 67 poetry serves the additional purpose of eradicating his miseries. *Carminibus quaero miserarum oblivia rerum* (67) echoes *quodcumque oblivia nostri / impedit* from lines 29–30. Through this verbal reminiscence Ovid contrasts his previous poetry, which prevents obliteration of his name, with his current poetry, which serves the practical function of helping him cope. He sets up a similar contrast through the correspondence of line 68 to lines 25–26. His earlier poetry, adapted for the stage, earns him accolades (*carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro, / versibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis*), while his current poetry assists him with dealing with his misery (*praemia [= miserarum oblivia rerum] si studio consequar ista, sat est*). Finally, military metaphors, used in reference to Ovid's poetry (weapons and standards), join lines 34 and 64. Line 64 is particularly important because another dimension is added here to poetry's usefulness besides that of diversion; poetry enables Ovid to retain his facility in Latin:[19] '[I speak with myself and recall words forgotten,] and I seek again the ill-omened standards of my poetic arts' ([*ipse loquor mecum desuetaque verba retracto*, /] *et studii repeto signa sinistra mei*, 63–64). The alarming revelation that Ovid is learning the local patois and forgetting his native language (56–58)[20] is countered by the utilitarian purpose that his poetry serves.[21] The theme of poetry thus joins the beginning and end of *Tristia* 5.7b. Lines 25–42 and 64–68 frame and simultaneously make prominent the central section of the poem, which concerns the savagery and coarse appearance of the barbarians and Ovid's linguistic isolation.

The organization of *Tristia* 5.7b, like that of *Tristia* 5.7a, appears to be carefully balanced. But whether the structure is perfectly symmetrical or slightly asymmetrical depends on how one construes line 64. Grammatically, this line forms part of a compound sentence that completes the central section (see Figure 9.3):

> *ipse loquor mecum desuetaque verba retracto,*
> *et studii repeto signa sinistra mei.*

> I speak to myself and I recall disused words,
> and I seek again the ill-omened standards of my poetic art.

[18] I think Ovid intended *animum . . . traho* in line 65 to echo *detineo . . . animum* in line 39 in meaning. And so I interpret the phrase a*nimum tempusque traho* as an instance of zeugma, with *traho* having a double meaning of 'to distract the mind and drag out time.' Nagle (1980, 106) interprets *traho* similarly.

[19] Stevens 2009, 169.

[20] There appears to be a correlation in Ovid's mind between his learning barbaric languages and unlearning Latin: 'I myself think that I have unlearned how to speak Latin, for I have learned how to speak Getic and Sarmatian' (*ipse mihi videor iam dedidicisse Latine: / nam didici Getice Sarmaticeque loqui, Tristia* 5.12.57–58).

[21] On the utility of poetry, see Nagle 1980, 71–108.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Thematically, however, because *studii* refers to poetic composition, the line also belongs to the final four lines of the poem, which are concerned with poetry (see Figure 9.4). In other words, line 64 seems to function as a transition between the central and concluding sections of the poem. If line 64 is taken with lines 45–63, a pattern of equality ensues. The sum of the lines in the two sections that frame the center (A = lines 25–42; A^1 = lines 65–68) exactly equals the number of lines in the central section (B = lines 43–64). Simply illustrated: A, 18 lines, + A^1, 4 lines = B, 22 lines.

If, on the other hand, line 64 is taken with lines 65–68, a pattern of inequality ensues. The sum of the lines in the two sections that frame the center (A = lines 25–42; A1 = lines 64–68) is slightly unequal to the number of lines in the central section (lines 43–63). Again, simply illustrated: A, 18 lines, + A1, 5 lines, is slightly unequal to B, 21 lines.

Whether Ovid was trying to achieve exact equality or a slight inequality is impossible to determine. It is nevertheless clear that the disposition of lines within the poem was intended to be proportionate.[22]

Tristia 5.7a and 5.7b as Thematic Counterparts

Both *Tristia* 5.7a and 5.7b deal with Ovid's life among the barbarians. *Tristia* 5.7a emphasizes their uncivilized and aggressive character, while 5.7b emphasizes the negative impact on Ovid of a close association with the natives. Poems 5.7a and 5.7b deal also with the theme of poetry, which assumes greater prominence in the latter poem.

Tristia 5.7a and 5.7b are joined, too, by verbal parallels. In addition to the similar descriptions of the local inhabitants (5.7a.15–20; 5.7b.46–50) noted above, Ovid addresses each poem to a friend (*amice,* 5.7a.22; 5.7b.26); he identifies himself as a *vates* (5.7a.22; 5.7b.55), a 'more elevated' term than *poeta*;[23] he uses the word *tela* to describe his and the barbarians' 'weapons' (5.7a.16; 5.7b.34) and *vulnera* to refer to the wounds inflicted by the barbarians and by his poetry (5.7a.19; 5.7b.34); he is forgetful of his earlier love poetry as well as Latin words (5.7a.21; 5.7b.57–58); and he repeats the expressions *hoc . . . scire . . . potes* (5.7a.6) with *tu scis hoc ipse* (5.7b.27) with reference to the anonymous *amicus,* and *in quibus est*

[22] In the *Tristia*, mathematical symmetry sometimes accompanies the structure of Ovid's individual poems. In this instance, the numerical patterns reaffirm that *Tristia* 5.7 actually comprises two separate poems. Other instances of mathematical symmetry will be discussed in my forthcoming monograph.
[23] Nagle 1980, 111, 142.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

nemo, qui (5.7a.15) with *unus in hoc nemo est populo, qui* (5.7b.53) with reference to the barbarians.[24]

Are poems 5.7a and 5.7b directed to the same friend? This seems unlikely, since the questions we are to imagine that his *amicus* of 5.7a raised about Ovid's well-being and the people of Tomis are answered in the course of the poem. Generally Ovid avoids juxtaposing poems directed to the same individual in his books of poetry. In the *Amores* there are two exceptions, 2.2 and 2.3 (to Bagoas) and 3.11a and 3.11b (to Corinna); in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, the successor to the *Tristia*, there are no instances of consecutive poems featuring the same recipient. In the later collection of exilic poems, Ovid identifies the addressees, except for *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.6 and 3.7, in contrast to the *Tristia,* where the addressees are anonymous.

Tristia 5.7a and 5.7b, then, form distinct poems with complementary themes. Recognizing their thematic relationship enables the reader to see more readily how *Tristia* 5.7b elaborates on the theme of *Tristia* 5.7a by emphasizing the adverse effects of Ovid's life among the barbarians. These include his lack of interest in seeking fame through his poetry (37–38); his forgetting words in his native tongue (57–58); his introducing barbarisms into his poetry (59–60); and his learning a barbarian language in order to communicate with the locals, none of whom knows Latin (53–56). Ovid appears to be doing more here than eliciting sympathy for his circumstances. His emphasis on how he is being affected linguistically by living in the company of uncivilized local tribesmen—particularly his admission that he, a Roman bard, is being forced to speak Sarmatian—is intended to shock his Roman audience.[25] Ovid's point is to suggest that his acquiring some facility in a barbarian language (*Sarmatico cogor plurima more loqui*, 56) and his compromised Latinity (*iam desuetudine longa / vix subeunt ipsi verba Latina mihi*, 57–58) are destructive to his identity as a Roman.[26]

In *Tristia* 5.7b Ovid is at a cultural crossroads; he truly is 'a poet between two worlds,'[27] as he struggles to maintain his Romanness. This perception will change in *Tristia* 5.10, the third poem of the book to deal with his life among the barbarians. There he admits bitterly that in Tomis *he* is the barbarian who is understood by no one (*barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli,* 5.10.37). Ovid's inability to communicate at all—even his gestures are misunderstood

[24] Nagle, who discusses the relationship between what she views as the two parts of *Tristia* 5.7, notes many of these verbal parallels (1980, 111–114).
[25] Nagle 1980, 134.
[26] Cf. Davis' observation (2002, 267) 'that the picture presented [in *Tristia* 3.1.17, 3.14.45–50, 5.7.55–64, and 5.12.57–58] is precisely that of a man whose cultural Romanness is at risk.'
[27] This is the subtitle of Fränkel's monograph (1945), based on his Sather Lectures.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

(5.10.41–42)[28]—has led Stevens to comment that 'at the farthest extreme, Ovid's aphasia makes him inhuman, for in Graeco-Roman thought generally to be human is to be able to speak.'[29] Since Ovid has earlier (5.7b.45–46) described the barbarians as scarcely human, it is tempting to interpret his characterization of his own lack of humanity in *Tristia* 5.10 as indicating that he is taking on barbarian attributes. For Ovid to declare, even ironically, that in Tomis *he* is the barbarian indicates the depths of his fall from grace, from being the foremost Roman poet of his time to an outcast who is culturally and linguistically isolated because of the sentence he serves at the fringes of Rome's empire.

Works Cited

Davis, P. J. 2002. The Colonial Subject in Ovid's Exile Poetry. *American Journal of Philology* 123:257–273.

Evans, H. B. 1983. *Publica Carmina: Ovid's Books from Exile*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fränkel, H. 1945. *Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Green, P. 1994. *Ovid: The Poems of Exile*. London: Penguin.

Hall, J. B. 1995. *Ovidius:* Tristia. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.

Hauben, F. 1975. *Adnuo* and *Abnuo* in Ovid, *Tristia* 5.10.41–42. *American Journal of Philology* 96:61–63.

Ingleheart, J. 2008. *Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe* (*Tristia* 2.519): Ovid and the Pantomime. In *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime,* edited by E. Hall and R. Wyles, 199–217. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ingleheart, J. 2010. *A Commentary on Ovid,* Tristia, *Book 2.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Luck, G. 1967. *P. Ovidius Naso:* Tristia, vol. 1: *Text und* Übersetzung. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Luck, G. 1977. *P. Ovidius Naso:* Tristia, vol. 2: *Kommentar.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Nagle, B. R. 1980. *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the* Tristia *and* Epistulae ex Ponto *of Ovid*. Collection Latomus 170. Brussels: Latomus.

Oliensis, E. 1997. Return to Sender: The Rhetoric of *Nomina* in Ovid's *Tristia*. *Ramus* 26:172–193.

Richmond, J. 2002. Manuscript Traditions and the Transmission of Ovid's Works. In *Brill's Companion to Ovid,* edited by B. W. Boyd, 443–483. Leiden: Brill.

[28] 'And, as it happens, they think I am mad however often I nod 'yes' or 'no' in response to those saying something [to me]' *(utque fit, insanum me aliquid dicentibus illis / abnuerim quotiens annuerimque, putant*). The Getae misinterpret his yes for no and vice versa (Hauben 1975, 61–63).

[29] Stevens 2009, 179. I am grateful to Lora Holland for pointing out to me the religious ramifications of Ovid's inability to converse in his native tongue, which strengthens my point about Ovid's portrayal of his compromised identity. Since the Roman gods expect precision in language when they are invoked, 'not speaking Latin means that the Roman gods will no longer understand him, which is beyond shocking—it's the end of him as a Roman.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Stevens, B. 2009. *Per Gestum Res Est Significanda Mihi:* Ovid and Language in Exile. *Classical Philology* 104:162–183.

Tarrant, R. J. 1983. Ovid. In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics,* edited by L. D. Reynolds, 257–284. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wheeler, A. L. 1924. *Ovid:* Tristia, Ex Ponto. 2nd ed. Revised by G. P. Goold. Reprinted, with corrections, 1996. Loeb Classical Editions. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williams, G. 1994. *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

10

The Introduction of Characters in Petronius

Martha Habash

Petronius' *Satyrica* contains a great number of characters, as one would expect in a work narrated by a wandering rogue. Some are fully fleshed out; others are merely encountered in passing.[1] Brotherton in 1934 conducted a study of Apuleius' technique in introducing characters, a work that shed light on the writer's narrative art. At present no similar examination has been applied to Petronius. The project presents several difficulties: the text is lacunose and fragmentary; the large cast and extensive references to literary and historical figures (from Praxiteles to Hannibal), along with the employment of numerous collective nouns, make it difficult even to count characters; the extant text leaves to conjecture the novel's plot and structure,[2] making it indeterminable which characters are central to the main story; and, finally, Encolpius is both narrator and protagonist within the work, which occasionally obfuscates whose voice is heard in the narration.[3] Nevertheless, I hope to gain insight into Petronius' narrative style by examining how he introduces his characters and why he introduces them in different ways.

I should like to thank Kyle Helms and Max Goldman for their insightful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this chapter.

[1] For an appreciation of Petronius' development of characters in this work, see Rankin 1971, 11–31.

[2] Schmeling (2011, xxvi) argues that the single narrator and the apparent theme of *ira Priapi* are what keep the work cohesive, while Hubbard (1986) and Bodel (1999) aver that the work is based on a ring structure centered on the *Cena*. For unifying themes, see Walsh 1970, 76–78. The genre is another point of debate; see Smith 1975, xv–xviii; Horsfall 1991/1992, 130–138; Zeitlin 1999, 1–10.

[3] The character of the narrator is beyond the scope of this chapter and has been much discussed: see Sullivan 1968, 119; Beck 1973; Conte 1996; Jensson 2004, 29–83.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

I first present a set of general narrative patterns that Petronius employs in his introduction of characters and then follow up with a case study of one particular episode, that of Quartilla, which exemplifies many of these narrative patterns.

General Narrative Patterns in the *Satyrica*

Named Characters

Forty-two characters, including our narrator and two dogs, receive *noms propres* in the *Satyrica*, while 28 more proper names are referenced.[4] The parameters of this examination omit references to literary figures and famous historical personages (e.g., Diogenes)[5] who are not central to the scenes, as well as deities, personifications, and names in the fragments, poems, and bracketed passages in Müller's 2003 edition.[6]

Petronius applies proper names for several purposes:

1. *To reveal character economically.* Proper names indicate the true nature of the character or produce humor through irony. 'Giton' ('Close Friend' in a sexual sense) aptly labels this object of lust, while 'Eumolpus' ('Good Singer') is used ironically for the poet whose public performances attract tossed stones.

2. *To differentiate characters.* Proper names distinguish characters who may have the same function within a scene or share the same identifying label. Hesus is initially introduced as 'one of the passengers' (103.5) but is singled out by name (104.5) when he exposes Encolpius and Giton for cutting their hair aboard ship.

3. *To flesh out characters through their naming choices.* Trimalchio has named a few slaves and his Lares for the sake of lame puns or superstitions: 'Carpus' in order to call the slave by name while simultaneously issuing an order, and 'Corinthus' so that this smith's products are genuine 'Corinthian bronze.' Trimalchio's favorite slave is named Croesus, and his three Lares are 'Profit, Luck, and Gain.'

4. *To evoke stereotypes.* Some names are associated with slaves and particular nationalities. 'Dama,' a common slave name, anticipates the audience's

[4] The appendix has a list of these names and citations for their first appearance in the text.
[5] The majority of proper names are attested for historical persons. Omitted here are the numerous references to well-known historical figures who do not feature in the main theater of the work, such as Julius Caesar and Pindar.
[6] The text used throughout is Müller 2003. All translations are my own.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

prejudices, while 'Trimalchio' conjures up the stereotypes of the slave/freedman and of Asiatics.

5. *To create wordplay*. Petronius' punning and wordplay are exemplified by 'Quartilla's' being afflicted with *tertiana*. 'Pannychis' (Greek for *pervigilium,* 'vigil') participates in a *pervigilium*.

6. *To underline themes.* When the three principal characters arrive at Croton, they learn that the town holds nothing except cadavers, which are torn apart, or crows, which tear apart the cadavers (116.9). At the end of this fragmentary episode, Gorgias is willing to eat Eumolpus' cadaver according to the terms of his will (141.5). Gorgias' name is meant to remind the audience of the famous orator who described vultures as 'breathing tombs';[7] thus, his name and its association with raptors underline the theme of legacy-hunters.[8]

7. *To hint at future events.* Barchiesi (1984) views several proper names as forecasters: Encolpius' pseudonym, Polyaenus, has insidious connotations; Circe's name predicts her effect on Encolpius.[9]

8. *To create a familiar setting through the incorporation of historical names.* The majority of names in this work are attested for historical persons and are found in inscriptions.[10] Not only are common names included in abundance, but also references to real people,[11] such as Apelles, a Greek actor, and Menecrates, a Greek musician.

9. *To set the tone of the novel through an abundance of Greek names and common comedic ones.* The vast majority of the proper names are etymologically Greek.[12] Schmeling (1969, 6) posits: 'To the Roman audience the use of such a high proportion (77%) of Greek names in a work of literature written by a Roman could mean only one thing: comedy.' Additionally

---

[7] Gorg. 5 (82 B 5a Diels-Kranz): γῦπες ἔμψυχοι τάφοι.

[8] See Courtney 1998, 206–207, for Gorgias' thematic implications in the scene.

[9] Barchiesi 1984, 175: 'La scelta del nome è dunque un procedimento narrativo come tanti altri nel *Satyricon*: oggetto di una strategia dell'autore che ironicamente si sottrae alla consapevolezza dei personaggi.'

[10] Prag and Repath 2009, 11: 'all the freedmen names at Trimalchio's house are attested on inscriptions from *CIL* 10 (which covers southern Italy . . .).'

[11] Trimalchio drops the name Scaurus to demonstrate how popular a host he is (77.5). Scaurus is an upper-class historical figure who may have been a sauce manufacturer from Pompeii (Walsh 1997, 182n77).

[12] Schmeling (1969, 5) gives the following statistics for the foreign names in this work: 77 percent Greek (57 of 75); 17 percent Latin (13); 4 percent Semitic (3); 1 percent Oscan (1); 1 percent Gallic (1).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> (6–7), Schmeling finds seven Greek names in this work that correspond to characters in the works of Plautus and Terence (Doris, Stichus, Corax, Syrus, Cario, Chrysis, and Daedalus) and concludes that these comic names keep the tone light and remind 'the reader constantly that he is in the realm of comedy, not moral satire.'

Which characters receive proper names? The main determinant is familiarity with the speaker (whoever it is) or one of the trio, often demonstrated or assumed through prolonged interaction.[13] Both Oenothea and Proselenus spend considerable time with Encolpius while treating his impotence (133.1–138.4).[14] At the *Cena*, Trimalchio invites to the table three of his favorite slaves: Philargyrus, Cario, and Menophila (70.10).

The freedmen's speeches provide examples of secondhand narration that includes numerous named characters. They show a concentration of personal names not found elsewhere in the text, which can be attributed to Petronius' realism. The freedmen's audience is a small group of men associated with a host from the same locality, who know each other as well as the subjects of their small talk. Two discuss Chrysanthus, who just died (Seleucus, 42.1–7; Phileros, 43.1–8). Others mention local politicians (Safinius, Titus, Mammea, Norbanus) and residents (Glyco, Mammea, Phileros). Words expressing familiarity are sprinkled into the conversations. Niceros assumes that everyone will know the location when he mentions 'the house now owned by Gavilla' (*nunc Gavillae domus est*, 61.6) and the identity of his girlfriend when he adds, 'You knew Melissa of Tarentum' (*noveratis Melissam Tarentinam*, 61.6).[15] Echion knows Agamemnon well enough to guess at his thoughts and to offer a dinner invitation (46.1–2). It is a feature of realism to identify people known to all by name.

Status is not a factor here: most of the characters in this novel are lower class. The exceptions are Circe, Philomela, Lychas, and Tryphaena. In the *Cena* alone 10 slaves (Menelaus, Croesus, Carpus, Massa, Philargyrus, Cario, Menophila, Daedalus, Stichus, Dionysos), 10 freedmen (Dama, Seleucus, Phileros, Ganymede, Echion, Hermeros, Niceros, Plocamus, Habinnas, Trimalchio), two freedmen's

---

[13] This cannot be applied to all of the named characters, however. Hesus (104.5), for example, the passenger who rats out Encolpius and Giton for cutting their hair on the ship, seems to be named only to differentiate him from the other passengers.

[14] Another example is Eumolpus' servant who is also a barber (*mercennarius*: 94.12, 99.6, 103.1, 108.4, 108.8; *tonsor*: 103.1, 103.3). In the extant text, he receives a name (117.2) only after he engages in conversation with the trio (Labate 1986, 137).

[15] Petronius assigns names humorously in the freedmen's world. For example, Melissa (Honeybee) is the well-known name of a prostitute in Athenaeus (578c), and her description as the wife of an innkeeper (inns were notorious for prostitution) underlines her profession.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

wives (Fortunata, Scintilla), and even two family dogs (Margarita, Scylax) receive names.

Petronius incorporates four main techniques in the introduction of named characters. The first of these is introducing the name before the character's entrance. This technique evokes certain expectations from the audience. Quartilla's name precedes her entry and suggests that she is of upper-class status, but her subsequent actions undermine expectations of respectable behavior. A slave introduces Trimalchio prior to his arrival on the scene. Menelaus, the slave of Agamemnon (26.8), describes to the *fratres* the host of their impending meal before their encounter with him: 'Trimalchio, a most refined man, has a clock in his dining room and a decked out trumpeter so that he may often know how much of his life has passed' (*Trimalchio, lautissimus homo . . . horologium in triclinio et bucinatorem habet subornatum, ut subinde sciat quantum de vita perdiderit*, 26.9). Later, the narrator employs paralipsis to relay his first impressions of the host, unbeknownst to the trio (they 'learn' the host's identity at 27.4, although the narrator logically already knew it).[16] In Encolpius' words, 'Suddenly we see a bald man, dressed in a red shirt, playing with a ball among long-haired boys' (*subito videmus senem calvum, tunica vestitum russea, inter pueros capillatos ludentem pila*, 27.1). What attracts their attention is the odd figure that Trimalchio cuts in public, dressed in a bold color (red), exercising with a green ball 'at an age when a respectable man would have given up such a pursuit' (Smith 1975, 27.1), and wearing slippers (27.1–2), even though it was considered in poor taste to wear them outside the house (cf. Cic. *Verr*. 5.86). Long-haired boys (long hair suggests beauty; cf. Sen. *Ep*. 95.24), and two eunuchs, who are 'probably to be seen as a claim to regal magnificence' (Smith 1975, 27.2),[17] serve his whims. The former play an unusual ball game with Trimalchio, while the latter stand by with a silver chamber pot. Encolpius' first impressions are of an exotic, extravagant man who lives by his own rules, while the slave Menelaus assesses Trimalchio as extremely refined and chronophobic.[18] Petronius presents the name, a Greek-Semitic compound meaning 'Thrice King,'[19] before the physical description because the name implies that the character is a slave or former slave and

[16] Goldman (2007, 10) points to this example of the narrator's manipulation of knowledge as a 'technique of protagonist-restriction [that] creates suspense and directs the reader's attention to the portrait. It also allows the reader to enter into the story on a level with the character, fostering engagement, an effect reinforced by the historical present *videmus*.'
[17] Schmeling (2011, 27.3) similarly views the eunuchs as 'a sign of either wealth and importance or pretentious luxury.'
[18] Schmeling 2011, 26.7–78: 'E.'s description begins with a report of the exotic externals of his way of life, then moves to an insider's view of his circle and standing in the community, and finally to his self-portrait, all of which supplement the dramatic presentation of the character's temperament, bad taste, pretensions, and foibles.'
[19] See Schmeling 2011, 26.9, for a discussion of the roots of this name.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of eastern origin, which would have conjured up in the audience stereotypes of both slaves and Asiatics.[20] At the *Cena*, Trimalchio embodies his name as a wealthy, Asiatic freedman who lives like a king.[21]

The freedmen's names at the *Cena* indicate slave or freedman status and evoke stereotypes as well. In this scene realism is introduced through characters with typical slave or freedmen names, such as Dama (Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.38; Pers. 5.76–66), Phileros, Chrysanthus, and Seleucus, whose name is of Syrian origin, and Echion's son, Primigenius (*CIL* 4 index).[22] The first five freedmen to speak at the *Cena* upon Trimalchio's departure are identified by name prior to their speeches.

Postponing the name, Petronius' second technique, calls attention to information that is more important to the scene, such as occupation, relationship, or age, as in the case of Quartilla's maids (discussed below). For Eumolpus, the delay allows the audience to learn of his character and ability as a poet before his name is bestowed (83.1–90.1).[23] The narrator announces theatrically (*ecce*) the arrival of a new character upon the scene: 'Look! A white haired old man entered the art gallery' (*ecce autem . . . intravit pinacothecam senex canus,* 83.7). While *senex* (old man) may set up the expectation of the *senex* of New Comedy,

---

[20] For Greek and Roman perceptions of barbarians living in and around Syria, see Andrade 2013, 253–260.

[21] Andreau 2009, 116: 'The character of Trimalchio does not only caricature what is known about rich freedmen; he becomes a purely literary creation, inserted into a context deliberately presented as less fictional.' See Sullivan 1968, 129–138, and Bodel 1999, 39–41, for possible models of Trimalchio's character, and see Walsh 1970, 113, for the narrative technique employed in the development of his character.

[22] An example of a minor character named up front to evoke stereotypes is Bargates, the manager of the tenement house (96.4). While Encolpius voyeuristically watches the brawl between Eumolpus and the lodgers, Bargates, drawn away from his dinner, is carried into the fray by two litter-bearers (he suffers from gout, we are told). He curses drunks and runaway slaves until he recognizes Eumolpus; then he disperses the angry lodgers, addresses the poet as 'most well-spoken of poets' (*o poetarum . . . disertissime*), and requests abusive verses from him. Petronius paints an unflattering portrait of Bargates: he possesses a Semitic name (Solin 1977, 218) and refers to his wife as *contubernalis,* both of which suggest slave status, his gout implies gluttony, and his crassness is demonstrated when he curses his inferiors and requests insulting poetry. Bargates is perhaps introduced by name because he alone in the extant text shows appreciation for Eumolpus' poetry. In addition, the development of this minor character appears to be another nod to theater, since Bargates bursts onto the scene to increase the number of people on stage and reinforce 'the slapstick tone of the incident' (Panayotakis 1995, 130) in what Panayotakis (122–135) reads as an adultery mime, with Encolpius, Giton, Eumolpus, and Bargates playing lead roles.

[23] The text is sound between 83.1–84.3, and there is no mention of the poet's name. The proper name does not occur in the extant text until 90.1, but it may have been introduced earlier, between 84.4 and 89.10.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Petronius' portrayal of this character does not follow a stock role.[24] Encolpius' first impressions include a physical description of a man of deep thought and lofty cultivation, whose 'Pergamene Boy' tale soon belies this assessment: 'of worried countenance, and who was seeming to promise I don't know what great thing, but shabby in appearance, so that easily it appeared from this sign that he was a man of letters, the kind the rich hate' (*exercitati vultus et qui videretur nescio quid magnum promittere, sed cultu non proinde speciosus, ut facile appareret eum <ex> hac nota litteratorum esse, quos odisse divites solent*, 83.7). Encolpius proves to be correct about one thing: Eumolpus' occupation. The poet's first words to our narrator are: 'I am a poet' (*ego . . . poeta sum*, 83.8). Indeed, Eumolpus defends his appearance: he claims, after all, to be a man entirely devoted to the arts and to a moral, ethical life. However, our expectations, like Encolpius', are soon disappointed.[25] Petronius introduces the character's name, which suggests higher status than his words and behavior later support, only after he has presented at least one example of his poetry (83.10). Naming a man with little poetic talent 'Good Singer' arrives like a punchline to undercut both Encolpius' impression of a man of talent and Eumolpus' boasts of being a poet. The postponement makes the irony all the more humorous.

Lastly, in some scenes Petronius uses the characters themselves to define their roles, producing realism through natural conversational techniques such as *ipse dixit* and direct address.[26] In the *Cena,* for example, the freedmen chatter freely after the tyrant leaves (41.9). For the first four freedmen, Encolpius reports only their names and words. The first three speeches are in 'domino' form: Dama introduces a discussion about the weather and staying warm ('and so Dama first': *Dama itaque primus,* 41.10), and Seleucus quickly picks it up, leading to the introduction of a new topic, the funeral of Chrysanthus ('Seleucus took up part of the story': *excepit Seleucus fabulae partem,* 42.1). Phileros fills in details of the dead man's life ('that one was boring and so Phileros cried out': *molestus fuit, Philerosque proclamavit,* 43.1), until Ganymede, fed up with such idle chatter, changes the subject to the price of corn ('Phileros said these things, Ganymede those': *haec Phileros dixit, illa Ganymedes,* 44.1). The fifth freedman to speak is

---

[24] Conte (1996, 39–40) believes that the expectation is of a character wearing rags from tragedy. See Panayotakis 1995, 120–21, for a summary of Eumolpus' characteristics based on his own words. Panayotakis does not view Eumolpus as a stock character, but he does see him as theatrical.

[25] Schmeling (2011, 354) notes that it is Encolpius' *modus* to believe at the beginning that someone is special, only to be disappointed later. Conte (1996, 18) interprets Encolpius in the picture gallery, identifying himself with the representations, as throwing himself into the role of a noble Trojan hero: hence, his new aquaintance must also take on 'noble and grandiose attitudes.'

[26] Goldman (2008, 376) also comments that Petronius introduces characters via two techniques: the narrator names them based on his own *ex eventu* knowledge, or he waits until another character reveals the name. We see both techniques employed here by Encolpius.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

identified by name and occupation: Echion *centonarius.*[27] ''I beg you to speak better,' says Echion, the rag merchant' ('*oro te' inquit Echion centonarius 'melius loquere*,' 45.1), and he carries on at length about a gladiatorial show before addressing Agamemnon.

Trimalchio's employment of direct address demonstrates the host's dominance upon his return (47.1). At 57.1 one of Trimalchio's freedmen grows hot (*unus ex conlibertis Trimalchionis excanduit*) at Ascyltus' irreverence. His character is delineated by insults and abusive speech before Trimalchio rebukes him by name, Hermeros, at 59.1. To lighten the mood of the party, Trimalchio requests stories from two guests, while he himself adds one: 'Trimalchio looked at Niceros and said, 'You were accustomed to be more pleasant at a feast. I beg you . . . tell the one you experienced'' (*Trimalchio ad Nicerotem respexit et 'solebas' inquit 'suavius esse in convictu . . . oro te . . . narra illud quod tibi usu venit,*' 61.1). After Trimalchio offers a tale about witches, he asks Plocamus to speak ('I say, Plocamus, are you not going to tell a story?': '*tibi dico' inquit, 'Plocame, nihil narras*?' 64.2). The grand entrance of Habinnas follows.[28]

Petronius varies his narrative techniques in this scene, which begins in a staccato tempo, with back and forth conversations in an *ipse dixit* style for the first five speakers. The technique is successful here because it is an economical way to distinguish one freedman from another while also introducing realism in the language,[29] in the fluidity of their conversations, and in the topics discussed. Trimalchio redirects the party upon his return through the direct address of the next three freedmen. All of the freedmen are characterized by their words,

---

[27] See Baldwin 1976 for the possible translation of *centonarius* as 'old clothes dealer' or 'fireman.'

[28] His introduction resembles that of Eumolpus. Encolpius relates his erroneous impressions of the late arrival of Habinnas, coming from another party: 'Amid these things, a lictor struck the folding doors of the dining room and a reveler, wrapped in white attire and accompanied by a large entourage, entered. I, frightened by his grandeur, thought a praetor had arrived' (*inter haec triclinii valvas lictor percussit amictusque veste alba cum ingenti frequentia comissator intravit. ego maiestate conterritus praetorem putabam venisse*, 65.3). His initial appearance, which strikes Encolpius as worthy of admiration, belies his position: he is a stonemason and a freedman (65.4–6), whose political career has taken him only as far as *sevir* (65.5). Goldman (2007, 11) interprets the introduction as serving to highlight the protagonist's confusion: he thinks the newly entered character is a *praetor* until Agamemnon informs him of the newcomer's name and title: *Habinnas sevir est* (Habinnas is a board member, 65.5). Habinnas' introduction, therefore, is a mixture of protagonist and narrator-restriction because the narrator mistakes Habinnas' position and withholds the name. Goldman (2007, 11), explains: 'The narrator-restriction serves to warn the reader that the character is about to make another mistake, while the restriction of information to the protagonist highlights his confusion, the irony of which Agamemnon's comment drives home. This passage shows the complexity and sophistication of Petronius' narrative technique.'

[29] For the Latinity of these speeches, see Abbott 1907; Slater 1990, 147–151; Boyce 1991.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and the audience also learns more about the host from the company he keeps.[30] Only one freedman, Echion, the rag merchant (*centonarius*), is identified by occupation, an apparent allusion to theater, since *Centonarius* is the title of a mime by Laberius. In addition, the narration throughout this scene is relatively free from explicit judgments, apart from the change of speaker from Seleucus to Phileros ('that one was boring and so Phileros cried out,' 43.1), thus allowing the audience to draw its own conclusions from the 'evidence' presented. The effect of the narration is a realistic drawing of a dinner party by a seemingly unprejudiced narrator who incorporates common names, topical discussions, and a lively intercourse in which the words of the speakers dominate.[31]

Unnamed Characters

The number of unnamed characters within this work far exceeds the named ones. The author avoids using proper names when there is little interaction between the narrator and the character, and when a different label more economically describes the character’s function in the scene. In lieu of *noms propres* Petronius often employs nouns, relative clauses, or adjectives expressing various qualities.

1. *Occupation*: the introduction at the *Cena* of numerous unnamed slaves, often identified by their specific occupations, adds realism to the scene.[32] Thirty-one specialties are mentioned, reflecting wealthy Romans’ practice of having numerous slaves performing very specific functions.[33]

[30] Courtney 2001, 93: 'The point of all this small-town talk is clearly that the absent Trimalchio, who has been portrayed mainly in his own right up to this point, should now be set against a social background of the municipal society within which he circulates,' indicated through the 'mouths of its members.'

[31] Goldman (2007, 10) observes that 'the freedmen are simply named before they speak, in accordance with the expectations of narrator-restriction. If he had focused the reader’s attention by the more elaborate technique of protagonist-restriction, the stress might have fallen on the men rather than their talk. By introducing the freedmen through the narrator, the author allows these interesting men to characterize themselves through their speech.'

[32] Bradley (1984, 16) records that a Roman aristocrat, L. Pedanius Secundus, a mid-first-century CE senator, had a minimum of 400 slaves in his domestic entourage (Tac. *Ann.* 14.43.4), and a Christian woman of the early fifth century, Melania, kept 24,000 (*PLRE* s.v. 'Melania 2'). Apuleius’ wife, Pudentilla, owned at least 400 slaves (Apul. *Apol.* 93). The emperor was the largest slave-owner, with thousands of slaves.

[33] Specialty slaves at the *Cena* include *symphoniacus* ('musician,' 28.5); *chorus* ('chorus,' 34.1); *cornicines* ('horn-blowers,' 53.12, 78.5, 78.6); *choraules* ('pipers,' 53.13, 69.5); *tubicines* ('trumpeters,' 64.5, 69.4); *histrio* ('actor,' 52.9); *comoedi* ('comic actors,' 53.13); *Homeristae* ('rhapsodes,' 59.2–3); *tripudiantes* ('dancers,' 36.1); *petauristarii* ('acrobats,' 47.9, 53.11, 53.12, 60.2); cocus ('cook,' 47.12, 47.13, 49.4, 49.5, 49.6, 49.9, 50.1, 54.3, 70.7, 70.12, 74.5); *pistor* ('baker,' 68.7); *procurator* ('steward,' 30.1); *dispensator* ('treasurer,' 30.9, 53.10); *actuarius* ('accountant,' 53.1, 53.7); *aediles* ('officials,' here perhaps 'police,' 53.9 [Smith 1975, 53.9]); *saluarii* ('gamekeepers,' 53.9); *vilici* ('farm overseers,' 53.5,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

2. *Relationship*: Bal (2009, 127) lists 'relations with others' as one of the four principles that work together to build a character's image. Encolpius introduces Scintilla through her relationship with her husband: 'That one, however, already sloshed, had placed his arms on his wife's shoulders' (*ille autem iam ebrius uxoris suae umeris imposuerat manus,* 65.7). Next, Habinnas refers to her as his lady (*mea domina*, 66.5) before revealing her name (*imprudens Scintilla*, 66.5).

3. *Status, age, or physical description*: In the marketplace episode (12.1–15.9), Encolpius and Ascyltus enter intent on selling a stolen cloak. The owners of this stolen cloak appear in the same marketplace, carrying the lost tunic, and are introduced thus: 'nor having delayed for long a certain bumpkin came closer—familiar to my eyes with a little woman in tow' (*nec diu moratus rusticus quidam familiaris oculis meis cum muliercula comite propius accessit,* 12.3). Five times within this scene, the man is identified as *rusticus* ('bumpkin,' 12.3, 12.4, 13.1, 15.2, 15.7; I omit 14.5),[34] to characterize him as 'naïve' and 'simple-minded' (*OLD;* cf. Ov. *Fast*. 3.465; Juv.14.25) and therefore easy prey (he has neither noticed nor touched the gold).[35] The two parties have not met, and therefore proper names would reveal less than *rusticus*, which characterizes the duo's foe.

4. *Nationality:* All the toponymic characters in the *Satyrica* are slaves. Encolpius at the banquet introduces Alexandrian slaves (31.3); two long-haired Ethiopians (34.4); an Egyptian slave (35.6); and an Alexandrian slave (68.3). These slaves are primarily or solely referred to by their nationality, which was a common practice among the Romans.[36]

5. *Groups:* Within the *Cena,* slaves are collectively referred to 38 times as *pueri,* 22 times as *servi*, and 12 times as *familia.*

53.10); *atriensis* ('steward,' 72.8, 72.10); *cursores* ('message runners,' 28.4); *intraliptae* ('masseurs,' 28.3); *ostiarius* ('porter,' 28.6, 77.4); *lecticarius* ('litter-bearer,' 34.3); *aucupes* ('fowlers,' 40.6); *nomenculator* ('name-reminder,' 47.8); *balneator* ('bath attendant,' 53.10); *cubicularii* ('servants of the bedroom,' 53.10); *sutor* ('cobbler,' 68.7).

[34] The man is identified initially as *rusticus quidam familiaris oculis meis* ('a certain bumpkin familiar to my eyes,' 12.3), and later as *rusticus emptor* ('the hick buyer,' 12.4), *muliercula comite* ('accompanied by a little woman,' 12.3); she is later referred to as *mulier* ('woman,' 15.2).

[35] Furthermore, the *rusticus* is arrogant (*fastidiose venditabat*: 'he was scornfully selling,' 13.1; *indignatus*: 'reluctant,' 15.7) and of low status (*personam vendentis contemptam*: 'contemptible character of the seller,' 13.2), while the woman's head is uncovered (14.5), implying that she is not a respectable lady (see Schmeling 2011, 14.5). Because of the gaps in the surviving text, it is impossible to know if this is the same woman as the maid who introduces Quartilla to the trio at 16.3.

[36] Slaves lacked the right to their own names and were called by whatever names their owners bestowed upon them. See Solin 1996, 31–42, for lists of slaves with toponymic names, such as Atticus, Italia, Italicus, and Siculus.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The more developed unnamed characters often invoke stereotypes, theatrical borrowings, and historical types. An old hag (*anus)*, a popular character in satire, is twice elaborated in the post-*cena* portion of the text.[37] The doorkeeper of the trio's lodging is introduced as 'the old hag herself, having gorged herself on drink for a length of time with the lodgers so that she would not have felt even a fire under her' (*anus enim ipsa inter deversitores diutius ingurgitata ne ignem quidem admotum sensisset,* 79.6). This introduction explains why the *fratres*, returning from Trimalchio's dinner, almost slept outdoors. It is also an example of paralipsis, offering information beyond what is required of the scene. Petronius is apparently drawing upon the stereotype of old hags as bibulous, as they are portrayed elsewhere in this work (Oenothea and Proselenus are described as 'old hags loosened by drink and lust': *aniculae . . . solutae mero ac libidine*, 138.3), as well as in other Roman writers (Lucil. 282–283 Marx; Ov. *Am*. 1.8.3–4) for comedic purposes.[38]

Eumolpus' most fearsome opponent in his battle with the lodgers is a blear-eyed hag, clothed in an extremely dirty dress, standing on uneven clogs, who drags a huge dog into the fray to attack him (*anus praecipue lippa, sordidissimo praecincta linteo*, *soleis ligneis imparibus imposita, canem ingentis magnitudinis catena trahit,* 95.8). It is the dog that is the critical addition to the fight, which makes the long introduction of the old woman seem superfluous. Petronius apparently embroiders her description to fit the stereotype of an old hag who is ugly and dirty, with watery eyes (cf. Hor. *Carm*. 4.13.10–12). Furthermore, the *anus lippa* is a common role in mime. Choricius (*Apol. Mimorum* 110) includes in his description of mime characters three of the figures involved in this fray: the *anus lippa* ('blear-eyed hag'), *coctores* ('cooks'), and *insularii* ('lodgers').[39] Panayotakis (1995, 129) observes that a mimic battle like the one presented here between Eumolpus and the lodgers—with unusual and comic weapons such as a small jug, a candlestick, a spit with meat, a fork, and a dog—was often added to the parodies of epic battles that were popular in mimes. The *anus lippa* appears to have been described in elaborate detail here to signify that she is borrowed from theater.

[37] Old women make up one of the three categories in satire: 'their age and decrepitude are enormously exaggerated, they too like to drink, and, though they often offer the narrator money or a large dowry to marry or service them, he usually resists, with loathing' (Richlin 2005, 378).
[38] Roman laws on marriage equate winebibbling with adultery and treat it as a reason for divorce (Richlin 2005, 378n10). Drunkenness is sometimes connected to promiscuity (Juv. 6.300–345).
[39] See Panayotakis 1995, 122–135, for a discussion of this scene as part of an adultery mime. He adds (129n23): 'The extremely detailed description of the blear-eyed old woman cannot be explained in any way other than that the author wants to point out precisely her figure as a stock-character in comedy.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Two additional unnamed characters who receive exceptional treatment are well-known Roman types who introduce realism into the text. After Giton chooses Ascyltus over Encolpius, the dejected narrator 'girds his side with a sword' in mock-heroic fashion[40] and rages up and down the street with this weapon until 'a soldier, who may have been either an impostor or a nocturnal bully' (*miles, sive ille planus fuit sive nocturnus grassator*, 82.2), questions him (he is wearing unmanly shoes, *phaecasia* ['slippers'], after all) and asks him to surrender his weapon, which he does. Later Encolpius expresses gratitude for the bully's boldness (82.4). It is a fitting and comic ending that the phony soldier is unmasked by one playing the part better than he does. Suetonius (*Aug.* 32.1) and Apuleius (*Met.* 9.39–42) describe former soldiers or bullies who intimidate and abuse civilians, much as Encolpius retrospectively perceives his own treatment.

A second historical type is featured in Eumolpus' narration to Encolpius of an event he witnessed at the bath: a standing, naked man surrounded by admirers,[41] screaming for Giton, until 'some Roman knight, infamous, everyone was saying, covered the wandering Ascyltus with his own clothing and led him home so that he alone could enjoy such good luck' (*nescio quis enim, eques Romanus ut aiebant infamis, sua veste errantem circumdedit ac domum abduxit, credo, ut tam magna fortuna solus uteretur*, 92.10). Here, Eumolpus provides information to Encolpius about the fate of Ascyltus while admiring the cleverness of the knight. What does 'Roman knight' add to this narrative? The employment of a Roman knight in this scene reveals the apparently common practice among knights and other upper-class Roman men of picking up sexual partners at public baths (cf. Juv. 6.374–376, 9.34–36).[42]

The absence of named characters often points to orally transmitted stories. Four scenes in the extant novel contain no named characters: the brothel, the marketplace, and the two Milesian tales. Encolpius narrates the two pre-*cena* stories, set in the brothel (6.1–8.4) and marketplace (12.1–15.9), which contain characters only briefly encountered by two protagonists. It is natural that the characters would be identified mainly by their function in the scene.

[40] The account of Encolpius taking up the sword parodies Vergil's description of Aeneas girding on his sword before protecting his house (*Aen.* 2.671). Conte (1996, 1–36) discusses this scene in depth as an example of the narrator's mythomania.

[41] Williams 2010, 99: 'Romans readily expressed admiration of phallic endowment, whether as tool of pleasure or as emblem of masculine potency.'

[42] Seneca (*QNat.* 1.16.2–3) relates how Hostius Quadra searched for men with large genitals in baths, while Martial (*Spect.* 1.96.11–13) describes a man who stares at men's crotches in the baths, and Cotta, who finds dinner guests (i.e., partners) in the same place (*Spect.* 1.23). For a discussion of the Roman bath as a meeting place for lovers or a site for trysts, see Fagan 1999, 34–36.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Additionally, three of the four episodes that contain only unnamed characters are either Milesian or Milesian types;[43] orally transmitted stories like Milesian tales often lack named characters (Brotherton 1934, 51). The two Milesian tales, 'The Pergamene Boy' (85–87) and 'The Widow of Ephesus' (111–113), both narrated by Eumolpus, rely on roles, which are more informative than a name and also allow for differentiation among characters unknown to the audience.[44]

Case Study

The Quartilla episode (16.1–26.6) provides a suitable case study of how Petronius introduces named and unnamed characters. Within this lacunose episode are three named characters besides our trio: Psyche, Pannychis, and Quartilla. In addition, 10 unnamed individuals or groups make up Quartilla's entourage.

The three named women interact intimately with the *fratres* in a three-day vigil to Priapus. The narrative technique employed to introduce these women creates suspense and awe.[45] Hearing a knock on the door, the trio ask who it is and are told 'to open up to find out.' Before the men can rise, the bolt falls on its own and the double doors open, admitting 'the one entering' (*intrantem*, 16.1–2). A woman (*mulier*) with her head covered then issues a perceived threat, 'Did you think that you had fooled me?' ('*me derisisse' inquit 'vos putabatis?*' 16.3),

[43] Walsh 1970, 88: 'The market-place anecdote is a favourite Milesian type in which the narrator recounts his discomfiture.' Although there are unmistakable Milesian elements in the marketplace episode, there is no conclusive link between the brothel episode and a Milesian tale. See Panayotakis 1995, 11–14, for a discussion of the brothel episode and possible theatrical elements.

[44] In 'The Pergamene Boy' (85–87), a naughty son is involved in an affair that must be hidden from his parents. His youth is emphasized repeatedly by the labels *puer* ('boy,' 85.4, 85.5, 85.6, 86.4, 86.7, 87.6), *ephebus* ('young man,' 85.3, 86.2, 86.5, 87.1, 87.7), and *filius* ('son,' 85.1). Other characters are delineated by relationship: *pater familiae* ('father of the family,' 85.1) or simply *pater* ('father,' 87.1, twice at 87.3, 87.10), and *mater* ('mother,' 85.2). 'The Widow of Ephesus' (111–113) describes a recent widow who has an affair with a soldier in the tomb of her deceased husband. She is introduced as *matrona quaedam* ('a certain wife,' 111.1, similar to the *rusticus quidam,* 'a certain bumpkin,' in the marketplace episode, 12.3) and is repeatedly labeled *matrona* ('wife,' 111.1, 111.5, 112.1), *mulier* ('woman,' 111.7, 111.13, 112.2, 112.4, 112.6, 112.7), or *femina* ('woman,' 111.3, 111.8, 112.8); she is once called *uxor* ('wife,' 112.3) and once *domina* ('mistress,' 111.10). Her deceased husband is *vir* ('man,' 111.2, 112.3, 112.6) and *maritus* ('husband,' 112.8). He and the lover are referred to as *homines* ('men,' 112.7). Her lover is identified by his occupation, which is significant in the plot, *miles* ('soldier,' 111.10, 112.1, 112.2, 112.4, 112.6, 112.8), and once as *familiaris* ('companion,' at 112.6). Others identified by occupation are *magistratus* ('magistrates,' 111.3), *imperator provinciae* ('governor of the province,' 111.5), *latrones* ('thieves,' 111.5), *iudex* ('judge,' 112.6), and *ancilla* ('maid,' 111.4, 111.10, 111.13, 112.1). Relationship words are *parentes* ('parents,' 111.3, 112.5) and *propinqui* ('relatives,' 111.3). Those casting judgment are *vicinarum gentium feminae* ('women of the neighboring communities,' 111.1) and *populus* ('the people,' 112.8).

[45] Panayotakis (1995, 31–51) offers an analysis of this episode as 'Quartilla's programme for the performance of her own Priapus-mime' (1995, 32), with the first *ancilla*'s appearance serving as a prologue.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

followed by a proclamation of her status and relationship to a woman, Quartilla, whose accompanying description reveals her position as a priestess of some god: 'I am the maid of Quartilla, whose religious rite before the crypt you disturbed' (*ego sum ancilla Quartillae, cuius vos sacrum ante cryptam turbastis*, 16.3). The lost portion of the text presumably contains this religious violation, so we cannot know whether the men even recognize the name Quartilla. The maid next announces her mistress's imminent arrival: *ecce ipsa venit* ('Look! She's on her way,' 16.4). This *ecce* marks the 'staged atmosphere' of the episode.[46] Two more unnamed characters then enter: 'Up until now we remained silent . . . then the very one entered, accompanied by a young girl' (*tacentibus adhuc nobis . . . intravit ipsa, una comitata virgine*, 17.1). Petronius repeats *ipsa* to mock the maid's grandiose proclamation at 16.4. Subsequently, Quartilla's name is used to denote her, but direct addresses to her employ *domina* ('mistress,' 20.1, 24.2). Despite the theatrical introduction, Quartilla is not a stock character from the stage;[47] her character is deduced through her own words and actions, and the reactions of others.[48]

Proper names in this episode serve several functions. Quartilla's name suggests upper-class status (Kajava 1994, 131), which Courtney (2001, 40n36) interprets as serving as a contrast to her depravity. Similarly ironic are the religious names given to Psyche ('Soul') and the virgin, Pannychis ('All-Night'), which Schmeling (2011, 20.2) interprets as Quartilla's attempt to 'give her shabby assembly a patina of respectability.' These names also underline the theme of *ira Priapi,* as the vigil is little more than an orgy where Quartilla directs sexual assaults against those who have offended Priapus. Additionally, Petronius demonstrates a fondness for wordplay in his choice of proper names. Quartilla, whose name contains the word for 'four' ('four-bit whore' [Schmeling 1969, 9]), suffers from *tertiana*, whose name signifies a flare up every three days; 'Pannychis' is the term for the religious rite for Priapus. Furthermore, proper names are needed for the maids because this episode contains three.[49] The first *ancilla,* who introduces herself as the 'maid of Quartilla' (16.3), is referred to as *ancilla* again at 18.7 and 19.5 until her name is introduced at 20.2: 'The maid who was called

---

[46] See Panayotakis 1995, 37n56, for the use of *ecce* throughout the novel to create a 'staged atmosphere.' Schmeling (2011, 16.4) interprets *ecce* here as a continuation of the parody of divine epiphany.

[47] For possible models for this character, see Walsh 1970, 89–90; Currie 1989, 330; Panayotakis 1995, 38. Walsh (1970, 140) views Quartilla and others as 'types attacked in Roman satire and all simultaneously represent facets of contemporary society under attack from Petronius.'

[48] Abbott (1899, 441) elaborates: 'One of the fundamental principles of modern realism . . . is that the characters of the persons concerned should be revealed to the reader by their words and actions, without comment or explanation on the part of the author.'

[49] The text is fragmentary and it is difficult to determine in some passages which *ancilla* is meant.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Psyche' (*ancilla quae Psyche vocabatur*). She is called by name thereafter (21.2, 25.1, 26.1). The second *ancilla* is Pannychis, referred to as *virgo* ('young girl,' 17.1, 19.5), *virguncula* ('little girl,' 18.7, 20.8), and *puella* ('girl,' 21.1, 25.2, 25.3, 26.1, 26.3) until 25.1, when Quartilla casually mentions the name of the bride-to-be. The third *ancilla*, never named, is the one injured by a cup.

The lacunose state of the text often makes it difficult to determine when characters' names are first introduced, as is the case with the maids' names. Nevertheless, it is clear that the maids' names are postponed. Petronius underlines the tender age of the second maid through her labels as *virgo, virguncula,* and *puella* to enhance the shock when she marries Giton. The first maid's introduction initially emphasizes her relationship to Quartilla, which explains her presence ahead of her mistress and announces her as a stock character, the maid of Roman Comedies, acting as a go-between. Additionally, by introducing Quartilla's retinue by their occupation—as maids—before assigning proper names, Petronius underscores their association with this stock character from Comedy in this very theatrical episode.[50] In sum, these maids receive proper names because they interact intimately with the protagonists, their names are applied ironically and develop the 'religious theme' of this episode, and the names serve to differentiate them. Postponing their names emphasizes characteristics vital to the scene, such as status and age, while their occupation evokes their role in the theater.

In this episode 10 unnamed individuals or groups enter and exit, serving minor roles with limited engagement with the protagonists; they are identified principally through their functions in the scene. Of these unnamed individuals or groups, we find characters labeled as follows. (1) Collective nouns are applied to members of the *familia* ('household'): the *tricliniarches* ('steward') who sets up the meal, the *pueri* ('slaves') who serve it, various members (*alii . . . alii*) of the household, an *ancilla* ('maid'), and *mulieres* ('women'), who participate in the wedding. (2) Some are identified by occupation: *palaestritae* ('masseurs'), *cymbalistria* ('cymbal-player'), *tricliniarches*, *ancilla,* and *fures* ('thieves') serve various functions. (3) Identified by status, *cinaedi* ('catamites') and *pueri* are considered the lowest members of society. Finally, (4) labeled according to their nationality, *Syri* ('Syrians') enter the vigil as thieves.

The *fures* and *cinaedi* are more fully developed than other unnamed characters. The thieves are initially described thus: members of the household were asleep 'when two Syrians intent on stealing [a platter] entered the dining room' (*cum duo Syri expilaturi [lagoenam] triclinium intraverunt,* 22.3). The introduction of

[50] See Panayotakis 1995, 37–38, for the comparison of the first maid's speech to Plautine prologues.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

fures rouses the sleeping party and initiates what has been described as a mimic interlude (Walsh 1970, 89). Syrians were common in Roman Comedy, and the toponym may point to theater.[51] 'Syrian' is also applied because the thieves are slaves and Petronius reflects the common Roman practice of referring to slaves by nationality (Cic. *Pis.* 1.1; Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.38–39; Ter. *Heaut*), and because this particular nationality was negatively stereotyped by Roman authors (Lucil. 26.a.2.669–70 Marx; Juv. 1.3.62–78; Lucian *Syr. D.* 16–27, 51). The term 'Syrians,' with all it implies, thus further discredits the worshippers of Priapus and enhances Petronius' parody of this religious celebration.[52]

Two *cinaedi* join the party at different times,[53] each receiving a rather lengthy introduction. The first one wears a green robe with a sash; he gives filthy kisses to and grinds away at Encolpius and Ascyltus (21.2). The other one, who sings an indecent song in Sotadean meter and whose painted, sweating face is vividly compared to a wall drenched in rain, similarly gives foul kisses and sexually assaults the narrator before 'changing horses' (23.2–24.4). Each *cinaedus* is developed as a character because he serves three functions within the scene. (1) They are there to punish Encolpius (and Ascyltus), thereby reinforcing the theme of the wrath of Priapus, here enacted by the command of his priestess.[54] (2) They represent the class of people who worship Priapus, intensifying Petronius' mockery of this eastern cult. All of these worshippers are of low status, and no one is considered lower in society than the *cinaedus* (Catull. 16, 25, 33; *Priapea* 25, 45, 46). (3) They signal to the audience that both are characters borrowed from mime for Petronius' own mime, which resembles the Priapus mimes popular at the time.[55]

In sum, in the Quartilla episode the unnamed characters fall into four categories, identified by occupation, collective noun, status/age/appearance, and nationality (a fifth category, relationship, is established in the initial

---

[51] A discussion of characters in Terence named Syrus or Syra is found in Austin 1923, 56.

[52] For the implications of describing these thieves as Syrians, see Habash 2017; for the stereotyping of Syrians in the ancient world, Andrade 2012; 2013, 245–313.

[53] Courtney (2001, 69), in his discussion of the second *cinaedus,* says: 'By this time we are feeling that all these entries and exits are nothing so much as a stage performance, and we are right; the impresario Quartilla has scripted all this in advance.'

[54] See Habash 2007.

[55] See Panayotakis 1995, 20–51, for an excellent discussion and rewriting of this episode as a theatrical piece. Sandy (1974, 339–340) also looks at mimic associations in this episode and explores the mime counterparts of the characters within the Quartilla episode, concluding (340): 'I want in particular to emphasize the *cinaedi* who participate in the action of the *Satyricon* (21.2, 23–24). The musical accompaniment (*cymbalistria*, 23.1), the Sotadean meter of the song of a *cinaedus* (23.3), and the fact that one of the *cinaedi* is wearing make-up (23.5) all underscore the character's well-known theatrical and mimic role.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

introduction of the first maid: *ego sum ancilla Quartillae*, 16.3). The two sets of unnamed characters that are more fully developed have ties to theater: the *cinaedi* are borrowed from mime, while Syrian slaves were common in Roman Comedy. Petronius employs realism in labeling the slaves by nationality and in denoting status by sexual preference. Both labels denote low status and conjure up stereotypes that further Petronius' mockery of Quartilla's vigil. Additionally, the role of the *cinaedi* in this episode underlines the *ira Priapi* theme.

Conclusion

It remains now to consider why Petronius employs these narrative techniques in introducing characters. An examination of his narrative patterns points to two general purposes: to inject both humor and realism into the novel. Humor comes from employing creative referential names accurately or ironically, the timing of the revelation of proper names, wordplay, and the development of characters through their own preferences in naming. Notably, a comic tone is set and reinforced through the abundance of etymologically Greek names and names from Comedy.

Various narrative techniques used in introducing characters add realism.[56] Petronius' incorporation of predominantly historical names that are attested in inscriptions 'gives the story a particular setting and cements in the mind of the reader a specific era'; moreover, 'the level of realism he apparently intends for us to see is the lowest' (Schmeling 1969, 7). Additional narrative practices that enhance realism include natural speech techniques of direct address and *ipse dixit*, the inclusion of named characters in stories whose audience is familiar with them, and the differentiation of characters of similar function by proper names. The inclusion of cultural practices also provides a sense of familiarity: upper-class Roman men cruising baths for lovers, wealthy Roman households holding large numbers of specialized slaves, and roaming soldiers or ex-soldiers haunting public spaces. The numerous characters labeled by occupation alone accurately reflect the abundance of freedmen[57] identified by their occupations in the first century CE, as demonstrated in funerary inscriptions.[58] Proper

---

[56] Abbott (1899, 440) nicely sums it up: 'In one important particular the novel of Petronius stands apart from all ancient imaginative literature and takes its place by the side of our latest modern fiction; I mean in its realism. This is true of its individual incidents, of its portrayal of contemporaneous society, and of the way in which the various characters are presented.'

[57] Andreau (2009, 114) observes: 'But, among his literary objectives there is also the desire to make the reader feel a strong *effet de réel* ('sense of reality'): the author avails himself of settings taken from everyday life, and the freedmen form part of these settings.'

[58] Verboven 2009, 129: 'Up to 78 percent of funerary inscriptions in Rome that mention the deceased's profession are set up in commemoration of slaves or freedmen (Joshel 1992: 47). Professional success was the only way for most freedmen to achieve social standing.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

names and labels that draw upon stereotypes of the character's status, age, or nationality express common cultural attitudes, while the incorporation of theatrical types reflects the popular interest in theater during the Neronian period.[59]

Other techniques are subtler. The author enhances themes and hints at future events through proper names. The revelation of characters' proper names prior to their entrance may evoke stereotypes associated with status (Quartilla) and ethnicity (Trimalchio). Conversely, the postponement of the name calls attention to other aspects of character, such as age or relationships (as with Quartilla's maids) or talent (Eumolpus). Elaborated unnamed characters point to stereotypes (the Syrian thieves, the old hag) and borrowings from theater (the *cinaedi*, the blear-eyed hag). Moreover, Petronius often marks the theatricality of scenes by the word *ecce.* This is noteworthy because characters in a novel are not typically introduced through announcements.

Petronius' ultimate goal doubtless is entertainment.[60] The narrative techniques for introducing characters outlined in this chapter provide a realistic representation of his times[61] while also enhancing humor. These varied and numerous narrative practices, often economically employed and nuanced, invite the reader to examine the text more closely.

Appendix: Named Characters

The citation indicates the first appearance of a name.

Characters encountered by (and including) Encolpius

Agamemnon (3.1)
Ascyltus (6.1)
Giton (9.1)
Quartilla (16.3)
Psyche (20.2)

[59] Concerning the Petronian Question: Bagnani 1954, 3–26; Rose 1961; Sullivan 1968, 21–33; Rose 1971; Habermehl 2006, xi–xiii; Prag and Repath 2009, 5–9; Schmeling 2011, xiii–xvii; Völker and Rohmann 2011. Recent discussions casting doubt on the first-century dating of this work: Laird 2007, 156–167; Holzberg 2009; Henderson 2010.
[60] Beck (1973, 45–46) discusses Petronius' literary purpose in this novel and, based on his use of realism, also concludes that it is solely entertainment.
[61] Auerbach 1953, 30: 'Petronius' literary ambition . . . is to imitate a random, everyday, contemporary milieu with its sociological background, and to have his characters speak their jargon without recourse to any form of stylization. Thus he reached the ultimate limit of the advance of realism in antiquity.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Encolpius (20.7)
Pannychis (25.1)
Trimalchio (26.9)
Menelaus (27.4)
Carpus (36.5)
Fortunata (37.2)
Dama (41.10)
Seleucus (42.1)
Phileros (43.1)
Ganymede (44.1)
Echion (45.1)
Hermeros (59.1)
Niceros (61.1)
Plocamus (64.2)
Croesus (64.5)
Scylax (64.7)
Margarita (64.9)
Habinnas (65.5)
Scintilla (66.5)
Massa (69.5)
Daedalus (70.3)
Philargyrus (70.10)
Cario (70.10)
Menophila (70.10)
Stichus (77.7)
Eumolpus (90.1)
Bargates (96.4)
Lichas (100.7)
Tryphaena (100.7)
Hesus (104.5)
Corax (117.11)
Circe (127.6)
Chrysis (128.3)
Proselenus (132.5)
Oenothea (134.8)
Philomela (140.1)
Gorgias (141.5)

Characters referenced by Encolpius and Others in Speeches, Reports, or Inscriptions

Cinnamus (30.2)
Gaius Pompeius Diogenes (38.10)

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Gaius Iulius Proculus (38.16)
Chrysanthus (42.3)
Safinius (44.6)
Titus (45.5)
Manii (45.7)
Glyco (45.7)
Hermogenes (45.9)
Mammea (45.10)
Norbanus (45.10)
Primigenius (46.8)
Philero (46.8)
Pansa (47.12)
Corinthus (50.4)
Mithridates (53.3)
Nasta (53.5)
Melissa (61.6)
Terentius (61.6)
Gavilla (61.6)
Scissa (65.10)
Agatho (74.15)
Serapa (76.10)
Scaurus (77.5)
Marcus Mannicius (95.3)
Hedyle (113.3)
Lycurgus (117.3)
Doris (126.18)

Works Cited

Abbott, F. 1899. Petronius: A Study in Ancient Realism. *Sewanee Review* 17:435–443.
Abbott, F. 1907. The Use of Language as a Means of Characterization in Petronius. *Classical Philology* 2:43–50.
Andrade, N. 2012. Seducing Autocracy: Tacitus and the Dynasts of the Near East. *American Journal of Philology* 133:441–475.
Andrade, N.2013. *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Andreau, J. 2009. Freedmen in the *Satyrica*. In *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by J. Prag and I. Repath, 114–124. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Auerbach, E. 1953. Fortunata. In *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, 26–49. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Austin, J. 1923. *The Significant Name in Terence*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
Bagnani, G. 1954. *Arbiter of Elegance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bal, M. 2009. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Baldwin, B. 1976. Echion's Profession in the *Satyricon*. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 104:327–328.

Barchiesi, A. 1984. Il nome di Lica e la poetica dei nomi in Petronio. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 12:169–175.

Beck, R. 1973. Some Observations on the Narrative Technique of Petronius. *Phoenix* 27.1:42–61.

Bodel, J. 1999. The *Cena Trimalchionis*. In *Latin Fiction*, edited by H. Hofmann, 38–51. New York: Routledge.

Boyce, B. 1991. *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius'* Cena Trimalchionis. Leiden: Brill.

Bradley, K. 1984. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control.* Brussels: Latomus.

Brotherton, B. 1934. The Introduction of Characters by Name in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. *Classical Philology* 29.1:36–52.

Conte, G. 1996. *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius'* Satyricon. Translated by E. Fantham. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Courtney, E. 1998. Two Notes on Petronius. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 40:205–207.

Courtney, E. 2001. *A Companion to Petronius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Currie, H. 1989. Petronius and Ovid. In *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, edited by C. Deroux, 317–335. Brussels: Éditions Latomus.

Fagan, G. 1999. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Goldman, M. 2007. *Anseres* [*sacri*]: Restrictions and Variations in Petronius' Narrative Technique. *Ancient Novel* 5:1–23.

Goldman, M.2008. The Poet's Croak: The Name and Function of Corax in Petronius. *Classical Quarterly* 58.1:375–378.

Habash, M. 2007. Priapic Punishments in Petronius' *Satyrica* 16–26. *SyllClass* 18:212–224.

Habash, M. 2017. *Duo Syri* in Petronius' *Satyrica. Latomus* 76:981–992.

Habermehl, P. 2006. *Petronius,* Satyrica *79–141: Ein philologisch-literarischer Kommentar,* vol. 1: Sat. *79–110.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Henderson, J. 2010. The *Satyrica* and the Greek Novel: Revisions and Some Open Questions. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 17:483–496.

Holzberg, N. 2009. Habermehl 2006. *AN* 7:105–112.

Horsfall, N. 1991/1992. Generic Composition' and Petronius' *Satyricon*. *Scripta classica Israelica* 11:123–138.

Hubbard, T. 1986. The Narrative Architecture of Petronius' *Satyricon*. *Classical Antiquity* 55:190–212.

Jensson, G. 2004. *The Recollections of Encolpius.* Gronigen: Barkhuis.

Joshel, S. 1992. *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kajava, M. 1994. *Roman Female Praenomina*. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Labate, M. 1986. Di nuovo sulla poetica dei nomi in Petronio: Corax 'il delatore'. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 16:135–146.
Laird, A. 2007. The True Nature of the *Satyricon*? In *The Greek and Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*, edited by M. Paschalis *et al.*, 151–167. Gronigen: Barkhuis.
Müller, K., ed. 2003. *Petronii Arbitri* Satyricon *Reliquiae*. 4th ed., rev. Munich: Saur.
Panayotakis, C. 1995. *Theatrum Arbitri: Theatrical Elements in the* Satyrica *of Petronius.* New York: Brill.
Prag, J., and I. Repath, eds. 2009. *Petronius: A Handbook*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Rankin, H. 1971. *Petronius the Artist*. The Hague: Marinus Nijhoff.
Richlin, A. 2005. Invective against Women in Roman Satire. In *Latin Verse Satire*, edited by P. Miller, 377–389. New York: Routledge.
Rose, K. F. C. 1961. The Author of the *Satyricon*. *Latomus* 20:821–825.
Rose, K. F. C. 1971. *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*. Leiden: Brill.
Sandy, G. 1974. Scaenica Petroniana. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104:329–346.
Schmeling, G. 1969. The Literary Use of Names in Petronius' *Satyricon*. *Rivista di studi classici* 17:5–10.
Schmeling, G. 2011. *A Commentary on the* Satyrica *of Petronius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Slater, N. 1990. *Reading Petronius*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Smith, M., ed. 1975. *Petronii Arbitri* Cena Trimalchionis. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Solin, H. 1977. Die Namen der orientalischen Sklaven in Rom. In *L'Onomastique latine*, edited by N. Duval and H.-G. Pflaum, 205–220. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
Solin, H. 1996. *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch.* Vol. 1. Stuttgart: Steiner.
Sullivan, J. 1968. *The* Satyricon *of Petronius*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Verboven, J. 2009. Reading Petronius to Write Economic History. In *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by J. Prag and I. Repath, 125–139. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Völker, T., and D. Rohmann. 2011. *Praenomen Petronii*: The Date and Author of the *Satyricon* Reconsidered. *Classical Quarterly* 61:660–676.
Walsh, P. 1970. *The Roman Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Walsh, P. trans. 1997. *Petronius:* The Satyricon. New York: Oxford University Press.
Williams, C. 2010. *Roman Homosexuality*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
Zeitlin, F. 1999. Petronius as Paradox: Anarchy and Artistic Integrity. In *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*, edited by S. Harrison, 1–49. New York: Oxford University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

11

Playing the *Victor*: Triumphal Anxiety in Neronian Satire

Mark Thorne

When Nero ascended to the halls of power in October 54 CE at the age of 16, after the sudden death of the older and increasingly unpopular Claudius, in many ways he was doing so under enviable circumstances. Militarily at least, the Roman world was enjoying a period of comparative security. Roman legates were making headway in pacifying southern Britain, while the Rhine and Danube borders were relatively quiet. The Parthians were interfering in distant Armenia, but overall the eastern frontiers, too, were reasonably stable. This period of greater stability brought the blessings of peace to people throughout the empire. And yet this peace paradoxically presented the young Nero with a problem: Roman *imperium* was founded upon a paradigm of imperial victory. The legitimacy of any would-be *princeps* was to a certain extent established upon that ruler's valid association with victorious achievement. The geopolitical realities of empire thus generated an ongoing anxiety about the ideological stability of Roman victory, for a system built on victory required an ongoing pattern of victories to sustain it. Caesar Augustus had set a high standard in this regard, one that was perhaps too high for his successors. Although Tiberius enjoyed an admirable record of victories as a general under Augustus, the later Julio-Claudians all struggled with these expectations, each scrambling to claim for himself triumphal honors by any means necessary. One perhaps surprising source for insight into this understudied aspect of Nero's reign is Neronian satire. Both Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Persius' sixth satire target

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

social anxieties over the legitimacy of the triumphs claimed by recent Roman emperors.[1]

The Festival: *Victoria Romana*

Such an anxiety over the health of Roman victory is worth exploring precisely because it touches the very heart of Roman identity during the imperial period. Indeed, *Victoria Romana* was central to the justification for the entire Roman empire.[2] Continuous victorious achievement protected the Roman world from her enemies and demonstrated divine favor.[3] *Victoria* thus came from the gods and served as 'the idealized representation of war's successful conclusion' (Welch 2006, 18). From the legendary days of Romulus up through the unparalleled expansion of Roman power and empire under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, Rome's carefully cultivated story was one of consistent success in war. Even the founding myth of Rome's origin depicts the transformation of Trojan *victi* into proto-Roman *victores*.[4] Clark's study of Roman defeats during the Republic reveals that Rome did not seek to ignore or whitewash all of its very real military defeats but instead managed to build a narrative that cast those defeats as temporary setbacks in 'a compelling teleology of victory' (2014, 16).

From the perspective of someone living in the reality of Roman power, the very fact of the empire's existence was proof enough of this teleology. *Pax Romana* in turn owed its existence to the perpetuation of *Victoria Romana*, on the understanding that peace could come only when one's enemies had been defeated.[5] Continued victories reminded the empire's inhabitants that all was well. The corresponding anxiety was that without *Victoria*, *Roma* as the Romans knew it would be no more.

I gratefully dedicate this chapter to the memory of Carin M. C. Green, my mentor, dissertation advisor, and friend. Her dedication, patience, warmth, and *humanitas* to me and to everyone else was, and continues to be, an inspiration.

[1] All translations are mine, following Eden 1984 for Apocolocyntosis; Kissel 1990 for Persius.

[2] Fears (1981) offers the most thorough synthesis in English on Roman victory ideology; see also Hölscher 1967 and, more recently, the chapters in Dillon and Welch 2006 and Popkin 2016, 1–22.

[3] See Fears 1981, 740–749, esp. 742, where he discusses a series of cults to *Victoria* set up during the Republic; cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61–62.

[4] Verg. *Aen.* 9.590–637 offers an excellent example of this tradition of transformation.

[5] Cf. Weinstock 1971, 44–50; Rehak 2006, 134; Welch 2006, 10; Rich 2009, 140–141; Lavan 2017; and, most recently, Cornwell 2017, with her full treatment of imperial *pax* and its ideological power during the transition from Republic to Principate. Valerius Maximus (2.7–8) makes this connection between *victoria* and *pax* explicit by noting that it is military discipline that forms the foundation on which blessed peace can rest secure and has led to Roman mastery of the world in triumph.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Surrounded by triumphal statues and other monuments to the ancestral victors who had defeated Rome's enemies and built the empire, the Roman people lived and breathed in a veritable ecology of victory (Hölscher 2006). The most spectacular and socially significant celebration of their identity as a victorious people, however, was the triumphal procession.[6] With ancient roots in the Republic, the triumph was the highest reward offered to a successful general who had led the armies of Rome victoriously against her enemies. He entered the city of Rome accompanied by his soldiers, members of the Senate, captives, and a long train of spoils taken from the enemy.[7] Serving as a kind of social mirror, the triumphal parade was a welcome moment of social reassurance, reinscribing Roman identity as set against 'the other' through a performance that demonstrated who were the *victores* and who were the *victi*.[8] Because of the prestige that the triumph bestowed, over the course of the Republic generals increasingly lobbied for the privilege after any kind of military action, whether significant or not, exemplified by Cicero's famously stubborn (and ultimately unsuccessful) campaign to be awarded a triumph for minor victories while he was governor of Cilicia in 51 BCE.[9] Yet it remained crucial to the validity of the act that the triumph—this communal performance of Rome's victorious identity—not become too trivialized through improper use.

The rise of Augustus to the Principate after his decisive victory at Actium marked a turning point for the triumph and *Victoria Romana* generally. The new ruler systematically monopolized various privileges that had previously been open to many, including those that embodied the ideology of victory. Toward this end, the full triumphal procession eventually became the exclusive prerogative of the imperial family. In this way Augustus made an association with victory a defining characteristic of the role of *princeps*, to the extent that *Victoria Romana* quickly became inseparable from *Victoria Augusta*.[10] Over the

[6] Brilliant (1999) provides a good introduction to the collective social functions performed by the Roman triumph. The triumph has been the welcome recipient of a growing number of studies in the past couple of decades: e.g., Holliday 1997; Itgenshorst 2005; Beard 2007; Östenberg 2009; Lange and Vervaet 2014; Lange 2016; Popkin 2016. Due to the nature of our sources, most scholarship focuses on the Republican period up through Augustus; on the development of the triumph during the empire, see Goldbeck and Wienand 2016.

[7] Beard (2007, 72–218) offers a useful overview; see also Östenberg 2009.

[8] Cf. Brilliant (1999, 224) who argues that the triumphal parade presented 'Rome in its most celebratory moment of vivid self-realization.' See also Östenberg 2009, 8–9.

[9] E.g., Cic. *Fam*. 2.10, 8.5. On triumph-hunting during the Republic (especially as portrayed by Livy during the Augustan era), see Pittenger 2008.

[10] Cf. Rich 2009, 137: 'For the theme of the representation and perception of Roman imperial power no individual could be more central than Augustus and no aspect of his reign of greater importance than his role as both great conqueror and bringer of peace.' See also Hickson 1991; Lange 2015.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

course of his career, from his triple triumph in 29 BCE in the wake of Actium to his numerous campaigns to expand the empire, Augustus embraced the role of world conqueror and filled the Roman world with visual reminders of this fact. From coinage to victory arches to his own monumental *Res gestae*, he proclaimed himself universal 'victor on land and sea' (*victor terraque marique*, *RG* 3.1, 4.2). It was he who shut the gates of Janus three times (*RG* 13), filled his new Forum with statues of the *summi viri* in triumphal costume (Suet. *Aug*. 31.5), and placed in the heart of the Curia Julia the famed statue of *Victoria* standing on a globe.[11] Augustus thus positioned himself as the necessary guarantor of Roman imperial identity, such that from his time onward the implication was now clear: *Victoria*, and the *Pax* that came from it, depended squarely on the *princeps*.[12] The pressure was on each of his successors, including Nero, to try to follow in his footsteps.

The Haunter of the Dark: Triumphal Anxiety during the Principate

Maintaining the strength of *Victoria Romana*, however, turned out to be no easy task. Augustus had brought Rome out of the madness of civil war and won many foreign victories, but *Furor* always lurked in the shadows. From the very beginning of the Principate, under a *princeps* who could claim to have pacified the world (*RG* heading: *orbem terrarium . . . subiecit*), we find literary evidence of a nagging anxiety over the long-term health of Roman victory.[13] Vergil's *Aeneid* may depict the reassuring scene of Augustus' triple triumph on the shield of Aeneas (8.714–723), but Hardie (2016, 5) perceptively reminds us that Jupiter's earlier prophecy of Roman victory and its resulting 'empire without end' (*imperium sine fine*, 1.279) concludes with a scene of unholy *Furor* chained, but *not* annihilated, by the future Caesar. The fact that Vergil placed as the prophecy's closing words the haunting future tense—*Furor* '*will* roar savagely with its blood-stained mouth' (*fremet horridus ore cruento*, 1.296)—clearly signals that Augustan triumph in his generation is the momentary and not necessarily final outcome, as the *furor* latent in Aeneas' slaying of Turnus at the close of the epic reinforces (Hershkowitz 1998, 124).

---

[11] On the formula *terra marique,* see Momigliano 1942. On Augustan coinage (and other media) with victory imagery (e.g., *RIC* 47B, 93, 145, 231A), see Gurval 1995, 47–65; Koortbojian 2013, 129–154. On imperial Roman victory arches, see Kleiner 1985. Dowling (2006, 157) describes the entire Forum of Augustus as a 'pan-Roman celebration of victory.' Cf. also Osgood 2011, 84–86. On the Curia Julia, see Pohlsander 1969; Bond 2015.

[12] Cf. Zanker 1988, 185: 'Military victories occupy a special place in Augustan ideology. . . . Every new victory becomes automatically a justification of the ruler.' See also Pollini 2012, 209.

[13] E.g., Hor. *Epod*. 7.13–14: *furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior / an culpa?*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

When Nero ascended to power, he inherited from his imperial predecessors a dubious record of trying to live up to the standards set by Augustus. In particular, he did not receive the kind of military training or experience that was an expected part of the role of *princeps* (Griffin 1984, 221–234). Tellingly, the closest thing we find to a military experience in his youth is the anecdote in Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.14) that as part of his formal introduction into public life at 13 he paraded through the circus in triumphal garb; Suetonius (*Ner.* 7.2) relates that on this occasion Nero personally led the praetorian guards in a drill procession with a shield in his hand. From the beginning, then, Nero enjoyed the trappings of military success without possessing any actual experience, thus providing a model for the rest of his imperial career. In Fantham's words, 'The Roman Principate passed from the disillusioned and geriatric Tiberius to his immature and soon demented grandson Caligula, then from Caligula to his aging uncle Claudius without any major warfare or serious imperial generals' (2013, 18). She exaggerates to make a point: although there were in fact some real military actions under the later Julio-Claudians, no *princeps* after Tiberius led armies into meaningful victories against Rome's enemies, and anyone paying attention knew this. Tiberius had already concluded his extensive and successful military career (and the resulting triumphal honors) by the time he became *princeps* at the age of 54. During his reign, Germanicus and Drusus (Tiberius' son) took their proper roles in conquering foreign enemies, leading the former to his triumph of 17 CE and both to a lesser triumphal *ovatio*, but their premature deaths left no one in the imperial family with military experience.

The military misadventures of his successor, the young and reckless Caligula, signaled a breaking point in the minds of most observers. Eager for the kind of military honors that marked his predecessors, Caligula celebrated a triumphal *ovatio* in 40 for what Suetonius (*Calig.* 43–49; cf. Cass. Dio 59.21–22, 25) describes as an embarrassingly ridiculous failure of a campaign against the Germans and Britons. It involved virtually no fighting but rather a faked battle against trees, dressed-up 'prisoners,' and finally a 'conquest' of Ocean, complete with gathering seashells as triumphal spoils.[14] Whatever the truth of the seashore scene or the campaign in general, what matters here is the *perception* of Caligula's actions. While admitting the hostile (and potentially distorting) perspectives of later senatorial writers such as Suetonius and Tacitus, this overall perception of Caligula's conquests as ridiculous theatrics is contemporary at least to the reign of Nero, as our discussion of Persius' sixth satire below makes clear. Caligula's

[14] Cf. Cass. Dio 59.25, where he emphasizes Caligula's triumph-hunting motivations for these escapades. See Woods 2000 and Hind 2003 for a summary of scholarly theories about the expedition to Ocean, which range from sheer megalomania and unpopular maneuver exercises to an earnest effort at pearl hunting.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

triumphal entry into Rome in celebration of such empty achievements as these made a grotesque mockery of the triumph, robbing traditional *Victoria Romana* of its ideological vitality. The whole affair certainly shocked the Roman elite, who came to remember the episode (along with his mock-triumphal procession over the artificial bridge of boats erected across the Bay of Baiae [Suet. *Calig.* 19; Cass. Dio 59.17]) as firm evidence that Caligula was a bad *princeps* unworthy of the office (Icks 2016, 322–325).

Claudius too, like his predecessor, found himself in the position of *princeps* without the military experience the role called for. Long overlooked in the imperial family, he also longed for the added *auctoritas* and feelings of validity that a triumph-worthy conquest could bring. He thus organized a conquest of Britain in 43 and, after sending his generals ahead to make the initial invasion, went briefly to the front lines.[15] While the campaign was a success insofar as it established a permanent Roman foothold in Britain, the greatest resulting benefit for Claudius was that he finally had a conquest worthy of a triumph. In 44 he paraded through the streets of Rome in full triumphal procession, the first triumph awarded since that of Germanicus in 17, and the first by a reigning emperor in over 70 years—since the triple triumph of Augustus in 29 BCE. Arches and statues and other triumphal honors were awarded to Claudius, who leaned on the Britannic triumph as his 'signal accomplishment' (Osgood 2011, 92). Many, however, felt that more was claimed than was actually deserved. Suetonius, from his later vantage point, judged the invasion dismissively: 'all told, he undertook only a single campaign, and a modest one at that' (*expeditionem unam omnino suscepit eamque modicum*, *Claud.* 17). The campaign did admittedly manage to achieve something tangible, but here again was an emperor who appeared to many to be far more interested in triumphal posturing than in undertaking a worthy conquest of foreign foes.[16] What, many must have wondered, would the future of the empire be under *principes* who pursued the glitter of victory instead of achieving its substance?

---

[15] Osgood (2011, 87–92) provides an excellent synthesis of the campaign and his guiding motivations, including the possible desire to follow in Julius Caesar's footsteps.

[16] Suetonius' bitingly brief summary of the campaign juxtaposes the perceived triviality of Claudius' military achievement with his grandiose celebration of it: 'Without any battle or bloodshed, within just a few days a part of the island surrendered, and then, in about the sixth month after he had set out, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph with the greatest splendor' (*sine ullo proelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit triumphavitque maximo apparatu*, *Claud.* 17).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The Dreams in the Witch House: Triumphal Mockery in the *Apocolocyntosis*

Neronian Rome inherited this long-established concern over the ability of the *princeps* to embody *Victoria Romana* and thereby guarantee *Pax Romana*. When Claudius died suddenly in October 54, Nero became yet another *princeps* with no military experience. Many Romans shared the hope that the young ruler would perhaps set a better example than his two predecessors. Seneca, Nero's own tutor, was certainly one of those who longed for a more capable *princeps*. On the occasion of Nero's first public speech, delivered for Claudius' funeral, Seneca (who wrote the speech) gave Nero words of praise for the deceased emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 12.3; Cass. Dio 61.3). Following precedent, Claudius was duly granted divine honors. Not long after, however, Seneca showed a different attitude when he composed the *Apocolocyntosis*, his scathing Menippean satire of Claudius' 'deification,' in which the late ruler's faults and crimes are exposed and he is denied entry into the pantheon of deities.

This satirical portrayal of Claudius' life and achievements essentially functions as a Saturnalian exercise in imperial character assassination, with a clear political dimension that utilizes the occasion of his death and supposed apotheosis to comment on what Claudius' reign did to the empire (e.g., Leach 2008; Star 2012, 141). It is significant that one of Seneca's major targets is Claudius' military record. Seneca takes vengeful delight in shredding Claudius' martial reputation. In Apollo's prophecy we read that the new *princeps* 'will offer to the weary an age of prosperity' (*felicia lassis / saecula praestabit*, 4.1.23–24), suggesting the ineffectual or even counterproductive nature of Claudius' victories. It is precisely this kind of sentiment that underlies the cutting joke made at Claudius' expense when he encounters Hercules at the gates of Olympus. In an attempt to show off his erudite Greek learning, he proudly recites a line from Homer, Odyssey 9.39, to indicate that he, as an imperial descendant of Caesar, was of Trojan stock. Here Seneca's narrator slyly interjects: 'The following Homeric verse [*Od.* 9.40], however, was truer: 'There I sacked a city and destroyed its people' (*erat autem sequens versus verior, aeque Homericus*: ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς, 5.4). By intentionally leaving out the first word of *Odyssey* 9.40 (referring to the Thracian city of Ismarus), the narrator guides his audience to insert 'Rome' in the gap. Claudius, so eager to prove his ability as a conqueror, did in fact sack a city—his own![17]

Seneca continues his systematic deconstruction of Claudius' martial legacy when the deified Augustus speaks up in the Olympian assembly during the

[17] This point is reinforced in the next section when the god Febris identifies Claudius correctly as having been born in Gaul, thus concluding: 'And so he did what a Gaul is supposed to do and captured Rome' (*itaque quod Gallum facere oportebat, Romam cepit*, 6.1). Cf. Star 2012, 152–153.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

debate on the newcomer's deification. As many have pointed out, this speech marks a turning point in the satire (Wolf 1986, 1; Relihan 1993, 85; Leach 2008, 268) and also in Claudius' fortunes as Augustus furiously piles up one serious accusation of vile, unworthy behavior after another. The very first attack made by the founding *princeps* is notably couched in a military formula: 'Was it for *this* outcome that I procured peace on both land and sea?' (*in hoc terra marique pacem peperi?* 10.2).[18] Seneca is here quoting the very formula that Augustus used in his *Res gestae* (3.1, 4.2) to indicate his position as world conqueror, a formulation that in this context suggests just how much Claudius falls short of this Augustan standard. Seneca has Augustus open his speech this way because he sees this unworthy descendant not merely as a fool but as a genuine threat to the health of the empire that his own *Victoria Augusta* had built (cf. Wolf 1986, 27). Claudius is thus exposed as a literal degenerate, an embarrassment to the lineage of the great Augustus as the mocked 'ultimate product' of Rome's legacy of victory.

Augustus does not directly mention the Britannic conquests in which Claudius put so much stock, but the satirical funeral dirge that follows certainly does. After Claudius is expelled from Olympus, Mercury escorts him to the underworld on a journey that conveniently passes through Rome during his own funeral.[19] The passage has an ironic bite because instead of mourning, everyone is strolling joyfully through the streets, like those who have been at last made free (*omnes laeti, hilares; populus Romanus ambulabat tamquam liber*, 12.2). The ensuing funeral dirge becomes a comedic farce as the crowd begins to sing sarcastically of his 'laudable' deeds:

> *Fundite fletus, edite planctus,*
> *resonet tristi clamore forum:*
> *cecidit pulchre cordatus homo,*
> *quo non alius fuit in toto*
> *fortiori orbe.*
> *ille citato vincere cursu*
> *poterat celeris, ille rebelles*
> *fundere Parthos levibusque sequi*
> *Persida telis, certaque manu*
> *tendere nervum, qui praecipites*
> *vulnere parvo figeret hostes*
> *pictaque Medi terga fugacis,*
> *ille Britannos ultra noti*
> *litora ponti*

[18] Cf. similar formulations at Livy 1.19.3; Sen. *Clem.* 1.9.4.

[19] Suet. *Ner.* 9 and Cass. Dio 61.35.2 relate the lavish scale of his funeral.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

et caeruleos scuta Brigantas
dare Romuleis colla catenis
iussit et ipsum nova Romanae
iura securis tremere Oceanum. (12.3.1–18)

Pour out pounds of tears, let loose the beating of your chests, let the Forum resound with the clamor of sadness! A handsomely judicious fellow has fallen, no other in the whole world braver than he! He could conquer the swift with his speeding chariot, rout the rebellious Parthians, pursue the Persian with light weapons, and stretch taut the bowstring with steady hand. This was the man who could with one tiny prick put the foe to flight and send headlong the embroidered backs of the fleeing Mede! The Britons beyond the shores of the known sea and the Brigantes with their indigo shields—these he ordered to submit their necks to Romulean chains! He even ordered Ocean itself to tremble beneath new laws in force under the Roman axe.

This *nenia* makes a Menippean mockery of Claudius' entire military career.[20] Seneca selects his targets for full effect: the least physically capable Julio-Claudian of all (who could hardly harm a fly at 10.3) here becomes the bravest of all; the emperor famous for his limping (cf. 1.2) needs a chariot to catch up to the speedy; and with one comically small blow he can make the entire Parthian army flee.[21] Seneca's audience knew Claudius could do none of these things. While the more historically accurate conquests in Britain are also praised, their efficacy is called into serious question in the context of the surrounding satire. Claudius leaned heavily upon these victories and the lavish triumph he celebrated for them to gain imperial legitimacy, but here in the counter-world of Senecan satire, the crowd essentially assigns them just as much value for securing *felicia saecula* as fictitious victories over the Parthians. Thus, although the funeral dirge highlights the martial achievements that led to Claudius' Britannic triumph of 44, they are here figuratively buried in sarcasm and treated as yet more refuse of the former regime. In a delightfully Saturnalian reversal, we find that *this* funeral procession of joy is the true triumphal parade.

A year or two later in his *De clementia*, a work that aimed to give Nero guidance in becoming a wiser absolute ruler, Seneca paints a picture of the empire as a living body with the emperor as the head or mind (*mens illa imperii*, 1.4.1) that must

[20] For an overview of the funeral *laudatio*, see Flower 1996, 128–158. Sumi (2002) discusses the performance of mimes during funerals, which this passage parodies.
[21] Eden (1984, 133) points out that in fact the exact opposite was the case by the time of Claudius' death in 54, when 'the Parthians were everywhere dominant and aggressive.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

necessarily serve as its guide.[22] A bit later in the work he is even more specific, advising the young *princeps*: 'You are the soul of your republic' (*tu animus rei publicae tuae es*, 1.5.1). Star (2012, 143) describes this relationship as 'the ideal of sympathy between the ruler's insides and the larger world of politics.' A good emperor's wisdom and deeds reveal an inner vitality that corresponds to a healthy, vital empire. In Senecan satire, however, Claudius' dying words reveal that his inner world was full of something less noble: 'Damn it, I think I've gone and shit myself' (*vae me, puto, concacavi me*, *Apocol.* 4.3). Taking full advantage of this opportunity for satirical freedom of speech, Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis* reveals his ultimate vision of the soul of Claudius and what he had done to the empire: his conquests and his triumph, like everything else he did, was in the end just a pile of shit.[23]

The Whisperer in Darkness: The Staged Triumph of Persius' Sixth Satire

It soon became clear, however, that Nero's soul might not be made of much better stuff. Whereas Claudius did organize an invasion of Britain in order to earn his requisite triumph, the new adolescent emperor did not seem interested in military matters at all.[24] This is not to say that there were no military campaigns during his reign, for Nero's generals did in fact fight and defeat foreign foes from Britain to the Crimea and Armenia.[25] Yet it was ideally the *princeps* himself, and not merely his legates in the field, who was supposed to embody Rome's triumphal identity and achieve deeds worthy of being hailed as *imperator*.[26] Every success during his reign was entirely due to the competence of his generals rather than to his own, and everyone knew it. Nero instead began earnestly developing his theatrical and musical talents, which proved most embarrassing for those who looked to him to restore the dignity of his office after Claudius.[27]

The only triumphs that Nero seemed personally interested in pursuing were those of the stage and music hall, and these became for him satisfying substitutes

---

[22] Leach (2008) and Braund and James (1998) offer convincing examples of reading the *Apocolocyntosis* and *De clementia* productively together.

[23] Seneca emphasizes such a conclusion by adding, 'Whether he really did, I don't know; he certainly shat out everything else' (*quod an fecerit, nescio; omnia certe concacavit*, *Apocol.* 4.3). Cf. Braund and James 1998, 298; Star 2012, 143.

[24] Suet. *Ner.* 18 claims that he never entertained any desire to expand the empire and even considered abandoning Claudius' conquests in Britain.

[25] Shotter (2005, 30–45) and Braund (2013) offer surveys.

[26] Griffin (1984, 222–224) and Braund (2013, 84) discuss this point in connection with Nero specifically.

[27] E.g., Suet. *Ner.* 20, where Nero's musical education takes first position after the transition to the 'shameful and criminal' (*probris ac sceleribus*, 19.3) actions of the emperor.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for traditional military achievement (Icks 2016, 317–327). One recurring theme in Suetonius' life of Nero is in fact the routine appropriation of (martial) triumphal imagery for his artistic accomplishments. We read, for example, that his poetry recitations were received with such acclaim that the Senate voted a *supplicatio* of thanksgiving for them, an act traditionally reserved for important deeds of military valor that helped secure the *respublica*, and furthermore that selections from his poetry were inscribed in golden letters and dedicated within the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, like triumphal spoils from a vanquished enemy *(ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata*, *Ner.* 10.2). Much later, during his grand tour of the famous competitions in Greece near the end of his reign, we further read that the emperor sought musical victory so ardently that whenever he (inevitably) was proclaimed the winner, he self-consciously made the announcement himself and then had all the statues of previous winners dragged away and cast into the toilets so that the only remaining tangible memory of Olympic victory would be of Nero (*ac ne cuius alterius hieronicarum memoria aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti et unco trahi abicique in latrina omnium statuas et imagines imperavit*, 24.1). And after satisfying himself with victories of this kind, he famously returned to Italy in grand style, entering Rome in a full triumphal-style procession and riding in the very same chariot that Augustus had used for his famous triumphs of old (25.1–2). Such a pattern of actions communicated to his Roman audience that Nero's imperial contribution to *Victoria Romana* would not be military success that could strengthen the security of the empire but rather artistic success that could glorify only himself.

Nero surely took an interest in military affairs now and then, but our evidence suggests that his focus was primarily on the ways in which the victories of his generals and armies could be leveraged to make him look good. Events in Armenia in 54–58 illustrate well his longing for appearances over substance. When the Parthian king invaded to replace that country's Rome-backed ruler with his own brother, the people looked to their new *princeps* for a strong response. The Roman élite, however, were rather uncertain about how things would unfold (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.6) because of Nero's youth and consequent need to rely on his advisors. Although any victory would, by convention, be his to claim, it was also clear that he would have virtually no part to play in its accomplishment. When the sudden threat of internal strife back home led the Parthian king to withdraw from Armenia, those around Nero seized the opportunity to proclaim a magnificent victory. Even though no combat took place, the Senate, 'in their accustomed manner of slavish flattery' (*suetam adulationem laeti*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.8), proposed all manner of extravagant triumphal honors, including holidays, a statue to rival that of Mars Ultor, and a triumphal *ovatio* into the city (perhaps to match that of Caligula). That these honors were lavished upon a *princeps*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

who had done virtually nothing to deserve them suggests some measure of genuine relief that the perceived threat in Armenia had diminished; even more, it reveals the real anxiety at work in Roman society, an anxiety made manifest through the choreographing of a slate of reassuring triumphal celebrations in the first place. And after the sack of the Armenian capital Artaxata by his general Corbulo in 58, yet more extravagant honors were decreed for Nero: more holidays, commemorative statues, and ultimately a large triumphal arch, high on the slopes of the Capitoline, resplendent with a quadriga on top flanked by personifications of *Pax* and *Victoria* (Tac. *Ann.* 13.41; Kleiner 1985). It must have made for an oddly dissonant scene: such monumental celebrations of victory for a war that was not remotely resolved and in honor of an emperor with no military record who had done virtually nothing to earn them.

Such conspicuous excesses were a perfect source for satire, and indeed a scene of triumphal playacting appears in the sixth satire of Persius. Born in 34, Persius entered his twenties as Nero entered the Principate. His six satires were probably written in the years just preceding his death in 62, the very period described above. They reveal an outsider's persona whose satirical gaze penetrates a Roman world that comes off as 'fake, soulless, and rotten to the core' (Freudenberg 2001, 129). In the midst of his densely arranged sixth satire, Persius recalls the manufactured quality of recent imperial triumphal spectacles by referencing Caligula's infamous faked triumph of 40. This short passage (6.41–51) gains a good deal of its punch from its relationship to the whole poem, so a brief summary is in order.

The satire opens with an address to Caesius Bassus in the form of an epistle, establishing the author within his Horatian epistolary model and interacting especially with *Epistle* 2.2.[28] He moves on to the topic of wealth derived from one's estate and its proper enjoyment, declaring his intent to establish a Horatian mean between the habits of a careless spender and those of a penny-pinching miser (18–33). This is a clear nod to Horace's *Epistle* 2.2.180–204, where Horace also describes his efforts to achieve a balanced enjoyment of wealth. The connection is made even clearer by Persius' doubled use of *utar ego, utar* (22) for Horace's single *utar* (*Epist.* 2.2.190) to declare that the owner of the estate 'will use, yes, will use' his wealth moderately to secure enjoyment of what one has in this life (Hooley 1997, 162–168). The Horatian intertext continues as both poems transition into scenes where an angry heir wants the owner of the estate to stop spending money so that he can inherit more (33–80; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.190–192). It is worth noting, however, that whereas Horace's angry heir occupies no more than three lines, in Persius (Horace's literary heir) this figure's greedy presence

[28] See Kissel 1990, 760, for an overview.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

dominates the remainder of the poem.[29] The sixth satire thus has the theme of inheritance as its unifying theme.

It is in this context of inheritance that Persius introduces the image of the triumph. The *heres iratus* (33)—upset because the current owner is spending a modest amount on a friend who has suffered through a shipwreck—threatens to retaliate by giving him a shoddy funeral, neglecting the funeral meal and burial perfumes (33–36). The heir's complaint is straightforward: 'Are you going to reduce the estate and get away with it?' (*tune bona incolumis minuas?* 37). Persius strikes back with his own threat to blow the entire fortune on lavish shows, using Caligula's triumphal *ovatio* of 40 to make his point:

> *at tu, meus heres*
> *quisquis eris, paulum a turba seductior audi.*
> *o bone, num ignoras? missa est a Caesare laurus*
> *insignem ob cladem Germanae pubis et aris*
> *frigidus excutitur cinis ac iam postibus arma,*
> *iam chlamydas regum, iam lutea gausapa captis*
> *essedaque ingentesque locat Caesonia Rhenos.*
> *dis igitur genioque ducis centum paria ob res*
> *egregie gestas induco. quis vetat? aude.*
> *largior. an prohibes? dic clare.* (6.41–51)

> But you, my heir—whoever you are—step away from the crowd a bit and listen up. What? My good friend, you mean you don't know? A triumphal letter has been sent by Caesar regarding that remarkable destruction of German manhood. The cold ash is being swept from altars, and already Caesonia is farming out contracts for weapons to adorn the doorposts, royal cloaks, yellowish beards of felt for the captives, chariots, and enormous 'Rhine' rivers! Therefore, in honor of the gods and our leader's divine spirit, I am putting on a *hundred* pairs of gladiators on account of his outstanding accomplishments. Well, who is going to stop me? Just try, I dare you. If you don't join in on this party, watch out! Olive oil and meat pies for the people, it's all on me! Or are you going to object? Speak up!

We have here a case of ridiculous extremes (Rudd 2008, 381). When the heir becomes angry over a perfectly reasonable expenditure, Persius counters by threatening to undertake the ludicrously unreasonable expenditure of putting

[29] Freudenberg (2001, 200–208) convincingly reads this theme of inheritance as a way for Persius to confront his own position as Horace's literary heir. My point here is that it additionally suggests the ways in which emperors use or abuse what they inherit from their predecessors.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

on shows with one hundred pairs of gladiators, an exorbitant cost far beyond any but the truly wealthy.[30]

Persius' dramatic scene is interestingly set in the remembered past rather than his own Neronian Rome.[31] As mentioned above, our sources clearly describe this military venture as a complete farce (Kissel 1990, 824–825). Suetonius (*Calig.* 47) later wrote that Caligula, craving the glory of a triumphal procession despite a campaign in which he did not defeat anybody, chose some of the tallest men in Gaul—who by their striking appearance were in his opinion 'worthy of a triumph' (ἀξιοθριάμβευτον)—to take on Germanic disguises and thus fill the required role of captives for the parade. Persius' description of the emperor's ridiculous show, all style over substance, drips with the kind of irony and sarcasm (e.g., *insignem*, 44; *ob res egregie gestas*, 48–49) that is right at home in satire (Beikircher 1969, 83–87; Harvey 1981, 195). Any mention of a Roman emperor, however, raises the specter of the living *princeps*, leading the reader to wonder to what extent this passage might be a veiled reference to Nero's own overblown triumphal aura.[32]

Roman satire had a tradition of claiming free speech, but Persius understood that he was not living in the same world Horace inhabited; he thus had to approach his task by writing the kind of satiric poetry in which 'truth and wild laughter explode out of repression.'[33] His description of Caligula's stage-managed triumph in celebration of dubious victories inevitably brings to mind similarities with his own contemporary world and an emperor even fonder of theatricalized spectacle (Nichols 2013, 267). Persius as well as his Neronian readership had the wildly exaggerated celebrations for victory in Armenia fresh in their memories. Some battles had been won, but none were remotely worthy of the same sort of triumphal honors that Augustus earned in the wake of Actium and other campaigns. To celebrate with vulgar extravagance such comparatively minor military actions cheapened the validity of *Victoria Romana* in the minds of many Romans who were growing increasingly anxious about the validity of Rome's triumphs.

---

[30] See Freudenberg 2001, 202; cf. Hopkins and Beard 2005, 90–91, on the high costs of gladiators.

[31] This passage, the only time Persius references a specific historical event (Reckford 2009, 141; Nichols 2013, 267), has been the subject of surprisingly little scholarship, beyond the surface observation that it perhaps offers a safe way to reference Nero.

[32] As Gowers (1994, 131) reminds us, 'The sun-king always penetrates the dark studies and rural retreats that confine Neronian writing.' Cf. Freudenberg 2001, 125–134; Dinter 2012.

[33] Reckford 2009, 151. On freedom of speech and truth-telling in Persius, see also Miller 2010; Roller 2012.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

This, however, does not explain what Persius gains by including a reference to Caligula’s sham triumph within a satire focused on the theme of inheritance. It is true that the historical event provides Persius with an opportunity for threatening a ridiculously ruinous expenditure of his inheritance as a satirical counter for the equally ruinous greed of the imagined heir. Yet I argue here for reading Persius as pointing to an even deeper connection between the emperors and the squandering of a hard-earned inheritance. This scene of triumphal waste to honor a trumped-up victory in fact suggests the ruinous expenditure of public trust in *Victoria Romana* inherited from Rome’s authentically victorious ancestors. Later in the satire, Persius explains why he does not want to stop spending and enjoying the full value of the estate he has himself inherited and built up: he is not going to deprive himself like a miser just so that the greedy heir’s own heir can one day blow the inheritance by filling his face with luxurious food and filling up the pussies of patrician ladies whenever his groin gets to throbbing (*olim satur anseris extis, / cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena, / patriciae inmeiat volvae*, 71–73). In the broader context of the entire poem, the power of the stage-faked triumph is that it presents us with an image of the Roman emperor who is willing to trade the empire’s victorious inheritance for the inauthenticity of empty spectacles.[34] In the end, perhaps the emperor has taken too much to heart Persius’ exasperated closing advice to his heir: 'Fine, sell your soul for profit' (*vende animam lucro*, 75). In this reading, Persius shows us a troubling portrait of an emperor who has not properly used—has in fact abused—the glory of empire that the triumph is supposed to reify. In the wake of such emperors as these, what will be left for the next generation to inherit?

The Thing on the Doorstep: Conclusion

For a time, Nero basked in the glow of his numerous, if undeserved, triumphal honors. The tradition of such posturing made a perfect target for satire. At the beginning of his reign, the mocking treatment of his predecessor Claudius’ celebrated victories in the *Apocolocyntosis* gave evidence of an existing concern over the emperor’s ability to genuinely fulfill the triumphal expectations of his position. In the middle of his reign, Persius’ depiction of Caligula choreographing a faked triumph reflected the anxieties of those who feared that Nero (like his predecessors) was wasting Rome’s triumphal inheritance on extravagant but ultimately empty shows. The subsequent stage-managed 'crowning' of the

[34] Braund (2013, 85) argues that in contrast to the hostile ancient tradition, Nero’s military record was in fact quite good, concluding that 'like his imperial predecessors, Nero was very much concerned to show himself as a successful commander and diplomat.' Yet this was precisely the problem: the military record of his generals may have been admirable, but Nero visibly enjoyed the trappings of a triumphal identity without needing to display anything of its substance himself.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Parthian Tiridates I as king of Armenia in 66 as an enormous Roman victory only served to reinforce such perceptions. During the proceedings Nero sat on the rostra dressed in triumphal garb and was then hailed as *imperator* as if he had been the conquering hero (rather than his general, Corbulo). To cap off the festivities, he closed the Gates of Janus (Suet. *Ner.* 13) as if he had extinguished all wars, rather than merely having Corbulo negotiate a temporary end to hostilities.

Finally, at the end of Nero's reign, the Gallic governor Vindex set the dominoes of rebellion falling with an impassioned call to revolt against an unworthy emperor who had failed to live up to the standards of Augustus (or even Claudius). Even taking into account the hostile biographical tradition, the version of the speech presented by Cassius Dio is telling, for instead of defeating Rome's real enemies, Nero had instead 'despoiled the whole Roman empire' (πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένην σεσύληκεν, 63.22.3); he had embraced the vulgar role of an actor instead of acting like a true *princeps*. Vindex concluded: 'Will anyone truly name such a man Caesar and emperor and Augustus? Never! Let no one arrogantly abuse those sacred titles.'[35] Nero in the end was seen as a failed *princeps*. Alongside numerous other faults, he had only played at being the *victor*. He had not followed Augustus' model in actually striving to *be* one.

Roman anxieties about their *princeps*' ability to embody *Victoria Romana* and keep *Furor* at bay soon found fertile ground in the horror of the round of civil wars that followed Nero's fall. Emerging victorious by the end of 69, the career soldier Vespasian understood that the validity of Rome's empire rested upon a foundation of victory. He helped secure the faith of the people throughout his new empire, not only by ending the civil wars but also, in large part, by granting them the reassurance that came from a proper conquest over foreign enemies.[36] In 71, after the fall of Jerusalem, Vespasian, in the company of his son Titus, led a magnificent triumphal parade into Rome in honor of their victory over the rebellious Jews. Statues were erected, victory arches were constructed, the Temple of Peace was soon built, and all was once again well.[37] In Vespasian and Titus, genuine *victores* had come to lead Rome, and this time they were leaders truly worthy of their triumphs.

---

[35] Cass. Dio 63.22.5–6: εἶτά τις τὸν τοιοῦτον Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Αὔγουστον ὀνομάσει; μηδαμῶς! μηδεὶς ὑβριζέτω τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀνόματα.

[36] Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 7.158, who emphasizes that these victories had reestablished the empire on the firmest of foundations.

[37] Magness 2009, 38: 'So in a very real (material) sense the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple provided the foundation for the establishment of Flavian rule. Pax—a new era of peace ushered in by the victory over the Jews—is the theme that underlies the reigns of Vespasian and Titus.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Works Cited

Beard, M. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beikircher, H. 1969. *Kommentar zur VI. Satire des A. Persius Flaccus*. Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger.

Bond, S. 2015. 'Curial Comuniqué: Memory, Propaganda, and the Roman Senate House.' In *Aspects of Ancient Institutions and Geography: Studies in Honor of Richard J. A. Talbert*, edited by L. L. Brice and D. Slootjes, 84–102. Leiden: Brill.

Braund, D. 2013. Apollo in Arms: Nero at the Frontier. In *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, edited by E. Buckley and M. T. Dinter, 83–101. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Braund, S. M., and P. James. 1998. Quasi Homo: Distortion and Contortion in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*. *Arethusa* 31:285–311.

Brilliant, R. 1999. Let the Trumpets Roar!' The Roman Triumph. In *The Ancient Art of Spectacle*, edited by B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon, 221–229. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Clark, J. 2014. *Triumph in Defeat: Military Loss and the Roman Republic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cornwell, Hannah. 2017. Pax *and the Politics of Peace: Republic to Principate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dillon, S., and K. E. Welch, eds. 2006. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dinter, M. T. 2012. The Life and Times of Persius: The Neronian Literary 'Renaissance. In *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal*, edited by S. Braund and J. Osgood, 41–58. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Dowling, M. B. 2006. *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Eden, P. T. 1984. *Seneca:* Apocolocyntosis. With introduction and commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fantham, E. 2013. The Performing Prince.' In *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, edited by E. Buckley and M. T. Dinter, 17–28. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Fears, J. R. 1981. The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.17.2: 736–826.

Flower, H. I. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Freudenberg, K. 2001. *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldbeck, F., and J. Wienand, eds. 2016. *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Gowers, E. 1994. Persius and the Decoction of Nero. In *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, and Representation*, edited by J. Elsner and J. Masters, 131–150. London: Duckworth.

Griffin, M. T. 1984. *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gurval, R. A. 1995. *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Hardie, P. 2016. Introduction: Augustan Poetry and the Irrational. In *Augustan Poetry and the Irrational*, edited by P. Hardie, 1–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, R. A. 1981. *A Commentary on Persius*. Leiden: Brill.

Hershkowitz, D. 1998. *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hickson, F. V. 1991. Augustus 'Triumphator': Manipulation of the Triumphal Theme in the Political Program of Augustus. *Latomus* 50:124–138.

Hind, J. G. F. 2003. Caligula and the Spoils of Ocean: A Rush for Riches in the Far North-West? *Britannia* 34:272–274.

Holliday, P. J. 1997. Roman Triumphal Painting: Its Function, Development, and Reception. *Art Bulletin* 79:130–147.

Hölscher, T. 1967. *Victoria Romana: Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesenart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hölscher, T. 2006. The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure. In *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, edited by S. Dillon and K. E. Welch, 27–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooley, D. M. 1997. *The Knotted Thong: Structures of Mimesis in Persius*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hopkins, K., and M. Beard. 2005. *The Colosseum*. London: Profile Books.

Icks, M. 2016. Turning Victory into Defeat: Negative Assessments of Imperial Triumphs in Greco-Roman Literature. In *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*, edited by F. Goldbeck and J. Wienand, 317–333. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Itgenshorst, T. 2005. *Tota illa pompa: Der Triumph in der römischen Republik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Kissel, W. 1990. *Persius,* Satiren. With introduction and commentary. Heidelberg: Winter.

Kleiner, F. S. 1985. *The Arch of Nero in Rome: A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.

Koortbojian, M. 2013. *The Divinization of Caesar and Augustus: Precedents, Consequences, Implications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lange, C. H. 2015. Augustus' Triumphal and Triumph-like Returns. In *The Moving City: Processions, Passages, and Promenades in Ancient Rome*, edited by I. Östenberg, S. Malmberg, and J. Bjørnebye, 133–144. London: Bloomsbury.

Lange, C. H. 2016. *Triumphs in the Age of Civil War: The Late Republic and the Adaptability of Triumphal Tradition*. London: Bloomsbury.

Lange, C. H., and F. J. Vervaet, eds. 2014. *The Roman Republican Triumph: Beyond the Spectacle*. Rome: Quasar.

Lavan, M. 2017. Peace and Empire: *Pacare*, *Pacatus*, and the Language of Roman Imperialism. In *Peace and Reconciliation in the Classical World*, edited by E. Moloney and M. S. Williams, 102–114. London: Routledge.

Leach, E. W. 2008. The Implied Reader and the Political Argument in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and *De Clementia*. In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Seneca*, edited by J. G. Fitch, 264–298. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Magness, J. 2009. Some Observations on the Flavian Victory Monuments of Rome. In *Koine: Mediterranean Studies in Honor of R. Ross Holloway*, edited by D. B. Counts and A. S. Tuck, 35–40. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
Miller, P. A. 2010. Persius, Irony, and Truth. *American Journal of Philology* 131:233–258.
Momigliano, A. 1942. *Terra Marique*. *Journal of Roman Studies* 32:53–64.
Nichols, M. F. 2013. Persius. In *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, edited by E. Buckley and M. T. Dinter, 258–274. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Osgood, J. 2011. *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Östenberg, I. 2009. *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Triumphal Procession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pittenger, M. R. P. 2008. *Contested Triumphs: Politics, Pageantry, and Performance in Livy's Republican Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Pohlsander, H. A. 1969. Victory: The Story of a Statue. *Historia* 18:588–597.
Pollini, J. 2012. *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Popkin, M. 2016. *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Reckford, K. J. 2009. *Recognizing Persius*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Rehak, P. 2006. *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius*, edited by J. G. Younger. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Relihan, J. C. 1993. *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Rich, J. W. 2009. Augustus, War and Peace. In *Augustus: Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World*, edited by J. Edmondson, 137–164. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Roller, M. 2012. Politics and Invective in Persius and Juvenal. In *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal*, edited by S. Braund and J. Osgood, 283–311. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Rudd, N. 2008. Persius' Mind at Word: A Study of the Sixth Satire. *Classical Quarterly* 58:378–382.
Shotter, D. 2005. *Nero*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
Star, C. 2012. *The Empire of the Self: Self-Command and Political Speech in Seneca and Petronius*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Sumi, G. S. 2002. Impersonating the Dead: Mimes at Roman Funerals. *American Journal of Philology* 123:559–585.
Weinstock, S. 1971. *Divus Julius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Welch, K. E. 2006. Introduction. In *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, edited by S. Dillon and K. E. Welch, 1–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wolf, S. 1986. *Die Augustusrede in Senecas* Apocolocyntosis. Meisenham am Glan: Anton Hain.
Woods, D. 2000. Caligula's Seashells. *Greece & Rome* 47.1: 80–87.
Zanker, P. 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Translated by A. Shapiro. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

12

Theocritus' First Idyll and Vergil's First Eclogue: Two New Translations

Jane Wilson Joyce

Theocritus, The First Idyll

THYRSIS   A GOATHERD

Th. Sweet is the soughing, Goatherd, as there, beside the fountains,
the pine whispers her honeyed song; 'tis sweet too when you
pipe us a tune. Close after Pan, you'll win second prize!
Should He claim the horned billy buck, you'll get the doe;
should He take the doe to have for His own, to you falls 5
the goatling—goatling's flesh is a fine dish, 'fore she's milked.

G. Sweeter, O Shepherd, is your honeyed song than the water
leaping in tumbling, splashing streams down from the rocks above.
Should the Muses choose the ewe in a singing contest,
you'll take home the hand-fed lamb; should it be Their pleasure 10
to take the lamb, you shall instead receive the ewe.

Th. Come, here by the Nymph! come, O Goatherd, and here sit ye down,
where the hill slopes gently down and the tamarisk scrub grows:
pipe us a tune. I'll watch your goats for you in the meantime.

G. Nay, Shepherd, nay—'tis nor meet nor right that, at noon, we 15
pipe a tune, for fear of Pan, who's sure to be resting

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

after a weary hunt—He's got a temper, a quick one;
bitter and ever alert the anger that stings His nostrils!

But come, Thyrsis, you often sing 'Daphnis Afflicted'—
you're brimming with song, filled with the gift of bucolic Muses. 20

Come now, under the elm—let's settle here, with Priápos
opposite and, not far from Him, the upwelling springs
close to the shepherds' bench and the oak trees. And, if you sing
as you sang before, in the match with Chromis the Libyan,
thrice I'll let you milk a nanny, a mother of twins, whose 25
flow daily fills her young ones and two milk pails besides.

I'll give you a deep mazer as well, washed with sweet wax,
two-handled and new-carved, still fragrant from cuts of the chisel.
High up, winding close to the lip of the cup is ivy,
ivy entwined among golden whorls, along whose stem 30
tendrils twirl, each swelling with pride in its yellow berries.

Within, a woman, fashioned like something the Gods might make,
stylish in raiment and circlet; on either side of her, two men
—handsome, longhaired, rivals with one another—who take turns,
each pleading his case; but no words of theirs touch her heart, 35
for now she is glancing over at this one and smiling,
now turning to that one instead; and they, whose desire
has long left them hollow-eyed, labor to no avail.

Besides these, a gaffer's been crafted, a geezer, and scraggy
rocks: here, gathering up his great net, eager to cast it, 40
old though he is, seems he works with a will—that's what he's like.
You'd swear he was fishing with every ounce of his dumb strength,
given the way all the tendons are standing out in his neck,
despite his gray hairs—he has the strength of a youngster!
Not far off from that sea-buffeted ancient, behold! 45
loaded with darkening bunches of grapes, a lovely vineyard;
a small boy, who sits on a drystone wall, has come there
to guard it; beside him, two vixens; the one on the right runs
along the rows, stealing the ripe fruit; the one on the left,
all her crafty wits fixed on his satchel, devising a scheme, 50
says she'll keep after the lad till [she's snaffled his breakfast].

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

As for him, he's weaving a pretty cage for a cricket,
lily stems bound with rush; far greater than any concern
for satchel or vine is the pleasure he finds in his weaving.
Reaching out, all 'round the cup is pliant acanthus— 55
something for awestruck goatherds to gape at, a marvel, a wonder.

For this work, to the man from Kalýdna who runs the ferry,
I paid out a goat and a wheel of creamy white cheese;
nor have my lips even once touched this cup; stored away,
it remains unsullied. To please you, I will gladly 60
give it to you, dear friend, if you'll sing the ballad I long for.
I mean it, no joke. Come now, good sir! for your Ballad
must not go with you Below, where all, all is forgot!

[THYRSIS' SONG]

Th. *Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!*
Thyrsis of Etna am I, and the voice of Thyrsis is sweet! 65
Where were You when Daphnis was wasting away, where, O Nymphs?
down the lovely vales of Peneios? the valley of Pindos?
You surely were not haunting the mighty stream of Anápos,
nor Etna's peak, nor yet Akis, whose waters are sacred!

Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song! 70
For him, for Daphnis, jackals howled, wolves were howling
for him; off in the bush, even the lion mourned his death.

Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!
Many a cow came crowding about his feet, many a bull,
many heifers and many calves—all of them bawling. 75

Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!
Came Hermes first, out of the hills, and He spoke to Daphnis:
'Who torments you, friend? who is it you so desire?'

Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!
Came the cowherds, then the shepherds, the goatherds too came: 80
all of them asked him what was the matter.
Came Priápos
and said, 'Poor Daphnis! why are you wasting away? A lass

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

wanders, frantic, by every spring, in every grove: she's—'

(Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!)
'searching for you! You're a fool for love, and feeble besides. 85
Cowherd you once were indeed called—now Goatherd's more like it!
Your goatherd, whenever he sees his nanny goats mounted,
wastes his eyes with weeping that he was not born a goat.'

(Begin, my dear Muses, begin Your bucolic song!)
'And you, when you see the maidens and how they smile, you 90
waste your eyes with weeping that you're not *dancing* with them!'
To this, no response; the Cowherd, deep within, bore
his bitter love, bore it through to the end as fated.

Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!
Came to him next the Lady Kypris, sweetly smiling, 95
smiling in secret; making a show of grievous displeasure,
She said, 'Wasn't it you, Daphnis, who swore he'd bind Love?
and isn't it Love, hard to endure, who instead has bound you?'

Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!
Then in reply came Daphnis' answer: 'Kypris the Grievous, 100
Kypris the Spiteful, Kypris who art by mortals detested!
Is *this* what You think—that 'all my suns have now set'?
Daphnis—even in Hell! —will be an affliction to plague Love!'

(*Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!*)
'Don't folk tell of You, how the cowherd—? To Mount Ida 105
go, go to Anchises! There oak trees grow! Here, marsh reeds,
here by the hive is a humming, a lovely honeybees' hum.'

(*Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!*)
'Blooming with youth like him is Adonis, who tends his sheep,
and courses the hare, and brings down all manner of wild game. 110

(*Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!*)
'Once more make Your stand against Diomédês, and say,
'I conquered Daphnis the Cowherd! Come do battle with me!''

(Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!)
'O wolves! O jackals! O bears dwelling in mountain dens, 115

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

farewell—I, Daphnis the Cowherd, no more in your woods,
no more in your thickets and groves. Farewell, Arethusa,
and you, rivers that down the Thybris disgorge your waters.

(*Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!*)
'Daphnis am I, yes! the one who herded his cows here, 120
the Daphnis who drove his bulls and his calves here to drink.

(Begin again, Muses, begin Your bucolic song!)
'O Pan, Pan! Whether You haunt the steep slopes of Lykaíos,
or patrol mighty Mount Maínalos, come to the island,
to Sicily—leave Hélikê's peak behind, and the High Tomb 125
of Lykáon's Descendant, in which even the Blessed delight.'

End Your song, Muses, bring Your bucolic song to an end.
'Come, Lord, take this—wax, compacted, honeys the sounding
air: 'tis a fine pipe, prettily tied, its lip well entwined;
for I, led Below by Love, am drawn under—now. 130

(*End Your song, Muses, bring Your bucolic song to an end.*)
'Now, brambles, bring forth violets—you too, acacia!—
and you, junipers, produce blooms of lovely narcissus.
Let all things topsy-turve, let the pine bring forth pears—
Daphnis is dying! Let stag now tear hounds asunder, 135
from sunup let nightingales yield, outcrooned by screech owls.'

End Your song, Muses, bring Your bucolic song to an end.
Thus he spoke, then spoke no more. Aphrodite desired
to raise him up, but thread the Fates had assigned him all
run out: {{run}} Daphnis stepped into the stream, the whirlpool washed 140
over the man the Muses loved and no Nymph detested.

End Your song, Muses, bring Your bucolic song to an end.
Give me the goat and the goblet. Libations I then shall pour—
milk for the Muses! Oh, once again farewell! Muses,
fare Ye well! in the future I'll sing You a sweeter song. 145

G. Fill your lovely mouth with honey—go on, Thyrsis!
fill it with honeycomb too; nibble on these figs of Aígilos—
they're sweet! For you far surpass the cicada in singing.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

See, here's the cup: note, dear friend, how sweet is its fragrance!
Why, you'd think this cup's been dipped in the Springs of the Seasons! 150

Here, Ivy! Milk her, Thyrsis! Hie, you nanny goats,
stop frisking about—you'll get a rise out of Billy!

Vergil, First Eclogue

MELIBOÉUS TÍTYRUS

M. Títyrus! while you, lolling beneath a broad canopied beech,
the Woodland Muse rehearse with your delicate oatstraw flute,
we are leaving our native borders behind, and our sweet fields,
we are fleeing our homeland, while you, Títyrus—shaded,
at ease—teach your 'Fair Amarýllis' to these resonant woods. 5

T. O Meliboéus! a God made us this life of leisure.
For a God he will always be to me, and his altar
many a tender lamb will anoint, chosen from our sheepfolds.
He has allowed my cattle to roam, as you see, and he lets me
play what tunes I will on my rustic, my shepherd's reed pipe. 10

M. Nay, truly, no envy I feel but wonder: on all sides
farms are in turmoil, as am I, driving my nanny goats
forth, sick at heart. This one, Títyrus, scarce can I lead her;
back in the hazel thicket she strained to produce two little twins,
hope of my herd, but alas! on the flinty ground she has left them. 15
That this evil loomed—had I been in my right mind!—the skies
often foretold, I recall, for lightning struck many an oak.
But still, who's this God of yours? Come, Títyrus, tell us!

T. The city they call Rome, Meliboéus, I had imagined
—dunce that I am!—to be like our town, down to which we shepherds 20
customarily drive our lambs, tender fruit of our flocks.
Thus I likened pups to bitches and kids to their dams—thus
I had learned, thus was accustomed to gauge greater from smaller.
But *she* raises her head as high above other cities
as over low-bending osiers towers the cypress. 25

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

M. And what urgent reason had you for seeing Rome?

T. Liberty: though late, still She regarded me (idle and artless!),
once the whiskers that fell from my razor began to be grizzled;
still, She did regard me and after a long time did come,
once Amarýllis had won me and Galatéa had left. 30
For, I will confess, while I was in Galatéa's clutches,
I'd neither hope of my liberty nor care for my savings.
Although plenty of victims went to the altars from my pens
and much rich cheese was pressed for the ungrateful city,
never did I make it home with my hands loaded with cash. 35

M. I wondered why, sad Amarýllis, you called on the Gods, why
and for whose sake you left the branches hanging with apples:
Títyrus was gone! Yes, in your absence, Títyrus, pine trees
called for you, fountains called, the very vineyards were calling.

T. What should I do? I'd no lawful way out of enslavement, 40
nowhere else to encounter Gods so present to my plea.
There, at Rome, Meliboéus, I saw him—the youth in whose honor
my altars shall smoke for a day twice six times each year!
There, he was the first one to respond to my petition:
'Graze the cattle just as before, boys! raise full-grown bulls!' 45

M. Fortunate old man! so your acres remain yours, a farm
you find large enough, though the soil is stony and bare, though
floodwater swamps all your fields with mud and rushes.
But no poisonous plants will harm your ewes heavy with young,
nor will maladies spread to them from a neighbor's diseased flock. 50
Fortunate old man! here, by the streams and sacred fountains,
waters you know well, you'll seek the coolness of dense shade:
here, by the willows that edge your property, hedges on whose blooms
Hybla's honeybees feed without cease—'tis *you* they will
often lull to sleep with their gently persuasive susurrus; 55
there, on the ridge, some trimmer of vines will sing to the breezes,
while wood pigeons, your charges, make endless and throaty
moan—a turtledove does so too from her aerial elm.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

T. Sooner instead shall light-footed stags go grazing in thin air,
and breakers stand back from the shore, leaving the fish stranded; 60
sooner shall nomads crisscross national borders—an exiled
Parthian drinking the Saone, a German imbibing the Tigris—
than shall that man's face disappear from deep in *my* heart.

M. But we're leaving—some will journey to African deserts,
others to Scythia, or to the chalky spate of the Oxus, 65
or to dwell at the ends of the earth among the Británni.
Oh, shall I ever behold my homeland? or, after a long time,
wonder at sight of the packed-turf roof of my pauper's cottage,
gaze again at what once was my kingdom—my acres of ripe wheat?
Some godless soldier will now own, some barbarian harvest, 70
new ground I plowed! Strife in the state—oh, where has it brought us?
Wretched civilians, we, for *them*, have seeded our wheat fields!
Graft your pear trees now, Meliboéus, and set rows of vines!
Hie, my nanny goats, lucky no longer! hie, little herd!
Never again will I, stretched out in a leafy green cave, 75
see you hang on a distant cliff, its side shaggy with gorse;
no songs I'll sing, nor with me as your herdsman will you goats
browse on flowering clover, on shoots of bitter willow.

T. But you could stay here with me, taking your rest tonight
on a bed of green leaves. We've got ripe apples, and chestnuts 80
roasted soft, and an ample supply of pressed goat's-milk cheese,
and smoke is by now rising from farmhouse roofs in the distance,
as down the steep foothills fall the lengthening shadows.

Translator's Note

Having made it clear that the model for his poems is Theocritean pastoral, Vergil immediately sets about laying artistic claim to the genre. What in Theocritus is a sophisticated awareness of the urban and urbane world out there becomes, in Vergil, in addition, an insistence upon unpleasant, contemporary, political realities. Throughout the *First Eclogue*, Vergil sets up his two characters in stark opposition one to another. The new bucolic order impinges upon us early on (see 3–4, 7, 9–10), and we grow increasingly uneasy (contrast 11–17 to *Id.* 1.23–26), until, at line 42, Títyrus declares, 'I saw him,' affirming his God's appearance as in an epiphany. Títyrus reveals that his 'God,' who dwells with others of his kind

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

at Rome, is 'the youth' (Latin *iuvenem*). Fredricksmeyer (1966, 210) calls this 'the key word of the whole poem' because it identifies (or suggests a highly likely identification of) the *deus* of line 6 above, the man responsible for the fortunes of both Títyrus and Meliboéus; Fredricksmeyer points out (1966, 214) that the word straddles the middle of this line, thus serving as the precise center of the poem, which has 41.5 lines prior to it and 41.5 after it. 'The youth' is how Vergil styles Octavian at *Georgics* 1.500. In 41 BCE, Octavian (born in 63), had been left in Italy by Mark Antony to oversee the settlement of the veterans of Philippi (a policy continuing until well after Actium). Hence, the confiscation of land and the eviction of local, indigenous farmers, represented by Meliboéus, who sees his replacement as 'some barbarian' (70)—an outlander, even a foreign mercenary, certainly not someone who will know and love the land or revere its local deities (hence 'godless') as its current, displaced inhabitants do.

In bucolic poetry, Art reflects Nature, Nature reflects Art, and Poetry reigns supreme. In their creation of bucolic poetry, Theocritus and Vergil consciously exercise an apparently artless artistry.[1] Both poets draw on real landscapes to create a rustic world, but Vergil infuses his with the poignancy of a beloved place now lost. As fictive characters speak and sing in their idealized rustic settings, each poet invites his urban and urbane audience to notice and enjoy the naturalistic artifice he has employed in the creation of a world that is artificially natural.

Carin Green had a rare gift for thoughtful friendship. Thoughtful, I mean, not just in kind attentions, but in her welcoming, affectionate, careful attention, one might almost say her scrutiny. We talked about so many things over the years—about what we were reading, doing, teaching, thinking, writing, about politics (both national and Neronian), about gardens (whether Pompeian or our own), about a new syllabus, a new book, or a new approach to teaching Vergil's Aeneid. And whatever we talked about, she entered into the subject thoughtfully, that is, both generously and shrewdly, both wholeheartedly and energetically. She always brought her mind to bear on what one was saying. Conversation with Carin so often sparked new ideas, new insights, new plans, new projects.

The fruit of one of many such lively conversations with Carin is this translation of Vergil's First Eclogue, for it was she who started me on the project of translating the Eclogues, a work I knew hardly at all. Two or three poems further into the work, I realized that, like me, a reader of an English translation of the Eclogues might very well also wish to consult the bucolic Idylls of Theocritus. How better to serve such a reader than to supply a translation of the Greek poems and the Latin ones in the same volume? Carin was enthusiastic in her support for this expanded plan and, until her untimely death, encouraged me every step of the way.

In memory of her gift of the initial spark and her constant encouragement as the project grew, I dedicate these two translations to Carin, a dear friend sorely missed. I only wish we could have seen the completion of the project together. I know she would have had something thoughtful to say about it.

[1] For the *First Idyll*, I have followed the text of Gow 1952; for the *First Eclogue,* that of Clausen 1994.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Translators of these poems face the usual hurdles but find that those hurdles are set higher and come at more frequent intervals. Although, as always, poetic echoes and devices pose particular difficulties, tone presents the more nuanced array of puzzles. Each poet echoes the work of other poets, and each uses echoes and repetitions of his own words and syntactical units. Vergil wishes us, in addition, to be keenly aware of his role as Theocritus' follower and rival. Integral to both poems translated here are patterns of sound and the structural patterning of lines and blocks of lines. More difficult still, for both the reader of the original and the translator, each poem, sometimes each section of each poem, presents interpretive questions. What is the tone of the poetry? Is it consistent or fluctuating, subtle or flaunted?

Echoes, devices, tone—how to convey all this in translation? There is no way, no direct way, no one way, certainly no complete or entirely satisfactory way. Meander as one may, one arrives only at *a* solution, not *the* solution.

Regarding the more technical matters in these two translations: for the shapely, elegant hexameters of the original poems, I make use of loose six-beat lines, a practice that gives me a chance to achieve line parity. As much as possible, I favor dactyls, spondees, and trochees (it was especially important, for example, to create a falling rhythm for the last line of *The First Eclogue*). I try to end each line with one or two strong syllables. My determination to honor the original first and last words of each line has meant that, except for the initial 'O' of the sixth line, I had to bypass the acrostic *f-o-n-s* in *Eclogue* 1.5–8. Sometimes rhythmic or syntactic considerations have caused me to switch the original last and first words in adjacent lines (e.g., 'fountains' and 'the pine' in *Idyll* 1.1–2) or to rearrange them (e.g., 'the skies' and 'often' in *Eclogue* 1.16–17); sometimes alignment has just not been possible.

I make an effort to echo the original works both in their repetitions of key words (e.g., 'sweet,' 'sweeter,' and 'sweetly' in *The First Idyll;* 'shaded,' 'shade,' and 'shadows' in *The First Eclogue*) and also in their avoidance of repetition. Thus, in *The First Idyll*, the Ivy Cup is referred to as a 'mazer' at line 27, a 'cup' at 55, and a 'goblet' at 143; in *The First Eclogue*, 'oatstraw flute' at line 2 becomes 'reed pipe' at 10. I also make sure to follow the two ancient poets when they use a word only once. So, for example, Theocritus uses *kissybion* at 1.27 and *skyphos* at 1.143, and neither appears elsewhere in *Idylls* 1–11; I use 'mazer' and 'goblet' here and nowhere else in my translations of the first eleven *Idylls*. Similarly, Vergil uses *tenuis* only at *Eclogue* 1.2 and in an echoing line at 6.8, and I translate it with 'delicate,' a word I use only in the corresponding two lines. And if the original

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

poets select a rare word, I try to choose or create a memorable word for the translation: again, in *The First Idyll*, 'mazer' at line 27 and 'topsy-turve' at 134.

To translate the two sets of bucolic poems, I have contrived a sort of impressionistic country speech—touches of 'nay' and 'aye,' of ''its' and ''twere' and the like, just enough to give a sense of the incongruity of supposedly rustic speakers talking and singing of country matters in the grand heroic meter (e.g., Daphnis' farewell in *The First Idyll*, line 129, or Meliboeus' in *The First Eclogue* at 93–95).

For readers—as opposed to hearers—of the translated poems, I make free use of such visual cues as indentation, paragraphing, and emphasis. These print signals are not necessarily part of the Greek and Latin texts. To aid nonspecialist readers with pronunciation of proper nouns, I use simple diacritical marks.

When it comes to tone, for all the deliberate similarities to the Greek poem that the Latin one demonstrates, the two could hardly be less alike. As Hubbard (1995, 43) points out, bounty in Theocritus' poem becomes, in Vergil's, deprivation and loss. The most obvious example is the nanny goat with newborn twins. In the *Idyll*, the mother goat's flow of milk is copious (25–26), and milking her will be part of the prize for Thyrsis' song. In *The First Eclogue*, exiled Meliboéus' goat has had to leave her newborn kids (13–15), and we are left to surmise that they will die of exposure and that her milk will dry up.

Another kind of loss expressed in Vergil's poem is loss of reciprocity. Unlike Theocritus' herdsmen, Títyrus and Meliboéus do not have a fully reciprocal exchange. For much of the time, lucky Títyrus seems unable to leave off rejoicing in his own good fortune, and wretched Meliboéus is absorbed in what he is leaving behind, in the hardships that await him, and in a dreamlike vision of the older man's (shall we say) idyllic future. Differing fortunes are disrupting the community. As the community breaks up, so too does communication.

With an enigmatic smile, Theocritus drops before us a small, green world like a colored glass marble pinched from the folds of Homer's robe. For, as Hunter points out (1999, 71), *Idyll* 1 hints at a scene on Achilles' shield (*Iliad* 18.525–526) in which two piping shepherds drive their flocks to the river to drink. No less than the scene on the Shield (which Theocritus has carefully cropped), the scenes on the Ivy Cup and those in Thyrsis' Song exist in a suspended present moment. The framing scenes of Thyrsis and the Goatherd seem hardly more time-defined, although they do supply the context of exchange. The world of Theocritus' poem, like the art it depicts, is timeless. Not so the world portrayed in *The First Eclogue*.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The world of Vergil's poem bobs on the stream of passing time. From the opening scene, with Títyrus lying in the shade, to the close, when he points out the coming dusk, the poem exists within a framework of time passing. This stratagem allows for characters who remember, regret, and reevaluate—much more than Thyrsis and the Goatherd do—and it permits them to plan, to dream, and to issue an invitation.

In drawing inspiration from the Shield, Theocritus has taken but a small portion of that small scene from Homer, and has made it his all. He excludes the immediate larger context of the miniature scene. For the two Homeric shepherds are unaware that they are walking into a deadly ambush. Although he makes no mention of them in his poem, Theocritus knows that *we* cannot suddenly cease to know of the killers who lie in wait in Homer's poem. Death is certainly present in *The First Idyll*, but not death prompted by the political aims of a City of War. In the *Idyll*'s first exchange, it is clear that one or another of the herd animals is liable to die, sacrificed to Pan or the Muses, or perhaps dished up when the herd is culled. And, of course, the theme of Thyrsis' song is the languishing death of Daphnis. But Theocritus closes his poem with the Goatherd's hearty appreciation of (and prompt payment for) Thyrsis' song and the Priapic energy of frisking goats.

Martial death, death on disputed turf—that is nowhere in *The First Idyll*, except insofar as *we* bring it in by recalling the entire scene on Achilles' shield. Yes, Theocritus prompts us to think of Homer's two innocent shepherds, but, as far as he is concerned, the ambush is peripheral; it is at a far remove. In sharp contrast, Vergil's *First Eclogue* gives us characters fully aware of turf disputes, cities of war, and political ambitions run amok. And not the martial matters of distant heroes, either, but the cruel effects of the very real, very recent Roman civil war crowd in upon us. Vergil has drawn real time, real events, real people into the wings of his poem, and into our peripheral vision. As Títyrus recalls how his visit to the City garnered him a guaranteed continuation of his place in the little bucolic world, that big outside world stomps right onto the stage.

In these and other ways, Vergil differentiates his bucolic world from that of Theocritus. And his artistic choices about how close to us or how far off he holds deprivation and loss, about how capable or incapable his characters are of communicating with one another, about how he presents time, reality, and death—all these contribute, in Vergil's very Theocritean poem, to his very un-Theocritean tone.

In his *First Eclogue*, Vergil adopts the trappings of Theocritus' mannered, charming, cheerful, amused and amusing, urbane first poem, but Vergil's aim

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

is more serious, his view more inclusive, his mood more nostalgic, and hence his tone is melancholy. In his poem, loss hangs heavy in the twilit air. To melancholy is added dread. The killing of shepherds, the ambush of innocence and beauty, the unravelling of community ties is not just about to begin—it *has* begun. Adapted from his Greek model, the little green world that Vergil depicts is, we know, a world that never really existed, one that never could exist. And yet Vergil makes us grieve for its loss, for what its loss represents. We grieve all the more for knowing that there never was a world quite like that and never will be. We grieve because that little world will always be destroyed by ours.

Works Cited

Arnott, W. G. 1996. The Preoccupations of Theocritus: Structure, Illusive Realism, Allusive Learning. In *Hellenistica Groningana: Theocritus*, edited by M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker, 55–70. Groningen: E. Forsten.

Arnott, W. G. 2007. *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z*. New York: Routledge.

Borgeaud, P. 1988. *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*. Translated by K. Atlass and J. Redfield. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Blazek, V. 2002. The 'Beech' Argument: State-of-the-Art. *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics* 115:190–217.

Boyle, A. J. 1975. A Reading of Virgil's *Eclogues*. *Ramus* 4:187–203.

Breed, B. W. 1996. Imitation of Originality: Theocritus and Lucretius at the Start of the *Eclogues*. *Vergilius* 46:3–20.

Cairns, F. 1984. Theocritus' First Idyll: The Literary Programme. *Wiener Studien* 97:89–113.

Cairns, F. 1999. Virgil *Eclogue* 1.1–2: A Literary Programme? *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 99:289–293.

Clausen, W. 1994. *A Commentary on Virgil,* Eclogues. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Clauss, J. J. 1997. An Acrostic in Vergil (*Eclogues* 1.5–8): The Change That Mimics Choice? *Aevum* 10:264–287.

Coleman, R. 1977. *Virgil:* Eclogues. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crane, G. 1987. Laughter of Aphrodite in Theocritus, *Idyll* I. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 91:161–184.

Damon, C. 1995. Narrative and Mimesis in the 'Idylls' of Theocritus. *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* n.s. 51:101–123.

Dover, K. J., ed. (1971) 1994. *Theocritus: Select Poems*. London: Macmillan; reprint ed., Wauconda IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1994.

DuQuesnay, I. M. Le M. 1981. Vergil's First *Eclogue*. *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3:29–182.

Faber, R. 2000. The Literary Metaphor of the Chisel (*Tornus*) in *Eclogue* 3.38. *Hermes* 128:375–379.

Fredricksmeyer, E. A. 1966. Octavian and the Unity of Virgil's First Eclogue. *Hermes* 94:208–218.

Gow, A. S. F., ed. and trans. 1952. *Theocritus.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Green, R. P. H. 1996. Octavian and Vergil's *Eclogues*. *Euphrosyne* 24:224–236.
Griffiths, F. T. 1979. *Theocritus at Court*. Mnemosyne Supplement 55. Leiden: Brill.
Gutzwiller, K. J. 1986. The Plant Decoration on Theocritus' Ivy-Cup. *American Journal of Philology* 107:253–255.
Gutzwiller, K. J. 1991. *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Hubbard, T. K. 1995. Allusive Artistry and Vergil's Revisionary Program: *Eclogues* 1–3. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 34:37–67.
Hunter, R., ed. 1999. *Theocritus: A Selection:* Idylls *1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 13*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Jones, F. 2011. *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space*. London: Bristol Classical Press.
Kitchell, K. F., Jr. 2014. *Animals in the Ancient World from A to Z*. New York: Routledge.
Lee, M. O. 1989. *Death and Rebirth in Virgil's Arcadia*. New York: SUNY Press.
Lipka, M. 2001. *Language in Vergil's* Eclogues. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Rundin, J. 2003. The Epicurean Morality of Vergil's 'Bucolics. *Classical World* 96:159–176.
Sargeaunt, J. 1920. *The Trees, Plants, and Shrubs of Virgil*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press; reprint ed., Bolchazy-Carducci, 1969.
Segal, C. 1974. Death by Water: A Narrative Pattern in Theocritus (Idylls 1, 13, 22, 23). Hermes 102:20–38. Reprinted in Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral: Essays on Theocritus and Virgil, 47–65. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
Smith, P. L. 1965. *Lentus* in Umbra: A Symbolic Pattern in Virgil's *Eclogues*. *Phoenix* 19:298–301.
Smith, P. L. 1970. Vergil's *Avena* and the Pipes of Pastoral Poetry. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 101:497–510.
Thompson, D'A. W. 1936. *A Glossary of Greek Birds*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Walsh, G. B. 1985. Seeing and Feeling: Representation in Two Poems of Theocritus. *Classical Philology* 80:1–19.
White, K. D. 1970. *Roman Farming*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Williams, F. J. 1969. Theocritus, *Idyll* i, 81–91. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 89:121–123.
Williams, R. D., ed. 1979. *Virgil: The* Eclogues *and* Georgics. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Glossary

Aígilos — *Id.* 1.147 Eponymous hero whose name lies behind the adjective in the Greek text, which points to an Attic deme famed for its dried figs; appropriately enough, *aigilos* (*Id.* 5.128) also names a variety of vegetation favored by goats.

Akis — *Id.* 1.69 A river rising east of Mount Etna. See note at *Peneios*, *Pindos* below.

Anápos — *Id.* 1.68 Sicilian river flowing into the Gulf of Syracuse.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Hybla	*Ecl.* 1.54 A word redolent of thyme-scented honey, a Sicilian ghost town on the southern slopes of Mount Etna, and Vergilian innovation.
Kalýdna	*Id.* 1.57 One of a group of islets off the northwest coast of Kos.
Lykaíos	*Id.* 1.123 Twin-peaked mountain (or mountain range) in southwest Arcadia, known as the birthplace of Pan and site of his sacred refuge.
Lykáon	*Id.* 1.126 A mythological king of Arcadia. His 'Descendant' might be (1) his daughter Kallisto's son, Arkas, eponym of Arcadia, or (2) Maínalos, a son of his less well known daughter, Hélikê.
Maínalos	*Id.* 1.124 An Arcadian city or, more likely here, a mountain nearby (also called Mainalion), where Pan hunts. 'Hélikê's peak' in the next line may refer to this mountain.
Oxus	*Ecl.* 1.65 (Lat. *Oaxen*) In a brief catalogue of fierce, hostile lands of exile, Meliboéus uses an obscure Greek noun (or possibly a Vergilian invention) to name what must, given the context, be a muddy, exotic, mighty river. Rising from Lake Oaxus (Plin. *HN* 6.48) and rushing into the Aral Sea, one candidate is the Oxus in Central Asia (modern Amu Darya), a major river that served as the border between two Persian satrapies and was associated with Alexander the Great, as Britain was with Julius Caesar.
Peneios	*Id.* 1.67 After Thyrsis signs himself in with the first Pindos couplet, the lament begins with the absence of the Nymphs from Daphnis' deathbed and also from their assigned Sicilian localities. One possible reason for their notable absence is that the Nymphs are gadding about northern Greece, touring famous sights, such as (1) the river Peneios, which flows through the Vale of Tempe between Mounts Olympos and Ossa, and (2) the Pindos mountain range, the 'Spine of Greece,' which runs between Thessaly and Epiros.
Thybris	*Id.* 1.118 A name later authors associate with Sicily and apply to various geographic features; here, a mountain, glen, or high meadowland.
Títyrus	*Ecl.* 1.1 Vergil's herdsman (also at *Ecl.* 3.20, 23, 96; 5.12; 6.5; 8.55; 9.23) is a minor Theocritean character: at *Id.* 3.2–4, rather than singing himself, he must look after another goatherd's flock while *he* sings; but in the Goatherd's song at *Id.* 7.72, Títyros will sing of Daphnis. Primed by this first word in the *Eclogues* to think of Theocritus' pastoral poems, we find, as the Latin line continues, that the *i* and *u* sounds echo those in the opening Greek line of *Id.* 1—sounds that, in turn, imitate those of the pipe. As is also typical of a Theocritean herdsman, Vergil's Títyrus reclines in the shade while he pipes.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

13

The Popularity of Hercules in Pre-Roman Central Italy

Karl Galinsky

Not only was Herakles the true Panhellenic hero, but his popular presence was unequaled in Italy as well. Most of our familiarity with the Roman Hercules is shaped by his temples in Rome and his imperial identifications (by Commodus, for example), but there was much more. The evidence in cult, myth, foundation stories, and élite art has been well surveyed and keeps growing. Evidence of the hero's popularity is even stronger in what we now call non-élite objects, which still tend to receive somewhat less attention. In this contribution, which aims to be no more than a brief update, I focus on recently published material from central and southern Italy from pre-Roman times: that is, roughly from the sixth to the second century BCE, a period also dear to Carin Green through her investigations of the cult of Diana at Aricia.[1] In Hercules' case, however, we have no Servius to confuse us.

Rome had, of course, conquered most of these regions by the beginning of the third century, but Roman-ness at large was not complete until the first century, and regional differences flourished, not in the least because his cult left ample room for regional and local diversity. Hercules emerges from this scene as a

This chapter is an expanded version of part of my keynote address at the conference 'Hercules: A Hero for All Ages,' delivered on 24 June 2013 at the University of Leeds. My renewed thanks to Emma Stafford for the invitation and her support, to several of the conference participants for their comments and suggestions, and, especially, to Alexandra Sofroniew, then at the Getty Villa Museum in Malibu, for directing my attention to the votive material discussed here and the pertinent bibliographic and other resources.

[1] Green 2007.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

figure who was widely shared. As such, he permeated every nook and cranny of Italy; as Dionysius of Halicarnassus famously put it in his *Roman Antiquities* (1.40.6, Loeb trans.), 'In many other places also in Italy [besides Rome] precincts are dedicated to the god and altars erected to him, both in cities and along highways; one can scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honored.' This popularity also has an important bearing on Vergil's *Aeneid*, often labeled Rome's 'national epic,' which can be understood, somewhat more precisely, as a poetic (re)construction of Roman cultural memory.[2] Aeneas was substantially less well known in Italy than Hercules, one of the several reasons Vergil assimilated Aeneas to Hercules.

New Finds

The most significant recent addition to the manifestations of Hercules' popularity has been the publication of hundreds of votive statuettes. Most of them are in bronze and come from the 'Sabellian' area, generously defined as stretching from the heel of the peninsula to Campania, the Apennines, and the Abruzzo.[3] His representations are as varied as were his many associations. Let us look at the former first.

Figure 13.1a–c. Hercules in assault. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 144, figs. 7–9.

[2] Galinsky 2016a; 2016b, 18–19; cf. http://www.laits.utexas.edu/memoria/vergil_aeneid.html (accessed 25 July 2016); Seider 2013.

[3] Some of the principal publications are Colonna 1970; van Wonterghem 1992; Papi 1997; cf. Scopacasa 2015, 109–112, with further bibliography. For informative analysis see Bradley 2005, esp. 136–143; Sofroniew 2010, 26–30.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

A prevalent type presents him in a combat pose, 'Hercules in assault' (*Ercole in assalto*), to use the term that has established itself in the catalogues. This is a young, beardless Heracles with a vigorous stance, ready to confront any opponent (Fig. 13.1a–c). There is a close affinity with more generic warrior figurines, but Hercules has a special accouterment, the lion skin, which is managed in various ways. Sometimes we are dealing with a more abstract and geometric type, where the lion skin resembles a stylized ink blot (Fig. 13.2): call him the Rorschach Hercules. The general situation here is the melding of, or the dynamic between, two different artistic traditions: the indigenous one, which was more stylized and geometric, and the more corporeal mode of representation, which appeared with the arrival of Greek culture and, with it, the cult of Hercules (Fig. 13.3). In this type, the facial features are developed much more strongly, as are the muscular legs and thighs, and the muscles of the upper body are clearly discernible. The overarching phenomenon associated with the type is the spread of Greek influence in central Italy, or *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, to use the title of Zanker's conference and publication (1976); the time is the fourth and third centuries BCE.

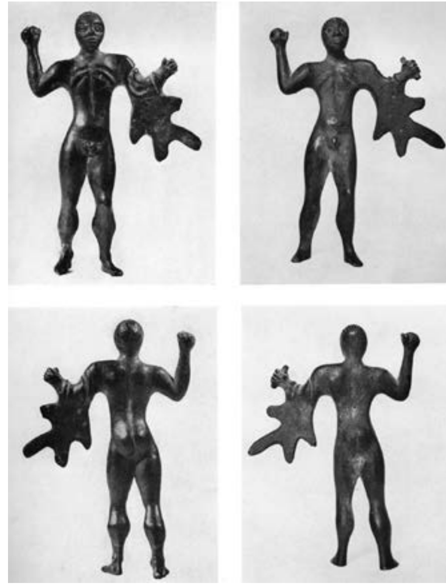

Figure 13.2. Hercules with stylized lion skin. After Colonna 1970, fig. 386.

The artistic tradition, then, to some extent reflects what happened at the cultic level: Hercules most probably was grafted upon, or replaced, or was hybridized with, native deities. That may well be an underlying reason why the artistic representations of these generally unpretentious statuettes actually exhibit a truly remarkable variety. Sure enough, there is a basic schema for mass production, but no statuette is exactly like the others, as is evident from the three samples in Figure 13.1. The creativity comes with the lion skin. Sometimes it is just a napkin; sometimes it is more detailed; and sometimes (almost like the drapery folds of the Nike in the Louvre) it is the major attraction (Fig. 13.4).[4]

[4] E.g., in order of reference, Colonna 1970, figs. 391, 380, and 374.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Figure 13.3. Votive statuette of Hellenized Hercules. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 147, fig. 20.

Sometimes the combat pose is enhanced by the club he is brandishing, and the lion skin is reduced to a handkerchief.[5] In addition, he can hold one or more of the apples of the Hesperides, or, styled as 'Hercules in repose' (Fig. 13.5), he may rest his right arm on his hip and lean back, with the lion skin casually draped over his left arm.[6] In sum, in the apt formulation of Sofroniew, 'Despite this uniformity in concept, it is rare to find two exactly alike; slight variations in their size, their facial features and posture, the angle of their arms, and the shape of their lion skin and clubs, make for a very diverse portfolio of the hundreds of recorded figures'.

What does this wealth of objects tell us? Who were their owners? What were their contexts? Here, what we see is pretty much what we get. Many of the statuettes seem to have come from votive deposits, but the find spots range over wide areas, and we generally know nothing about the figurines' specific archaeological context. They were portable, and they were more expensive than clay votives; at the same time, they could be melted and recycled into something else. It is safe to say that most of their owners or patrons were male, and certain clienteles have been proposed; such extrapolations often slide into stereotyping or what one scholar has characterized as 'environmental determinism.'[7] The attacking Hercules type has been viewed a priori as a reflection of the warrior ethos, starting in the early decades of the fifth century with Italian mercenaries in Calabria in the employ of Hippocrates of Gela and others and continuing, further north, with those military paragons, the Samnites and the Marsi. The argument has been extended to making the votives an emblem of Campanian and central Italian mercenaries in the Carthaginian army. At the same time, it is entirely possible that the type simply derives from, or is a variation of, the generic warrior or 'Mars' figurines, which are fewer in number[8]—when Hercules became popular, without any apparent military connection, an existing type was adapted and transformed to meet the need.

[5] E.g., Papi 1997, no. 17.

[6] Papi 1997, no. 14.

[7] See especially the astute discussion in Bradley 2005.

[8] See Colonna 1970, nos. 131–195.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

One such need, devoid of martial overtones but still sufficiently macho, has been defined in terms of Italic pastoralism and transhumance in particular—'transhumance' being the technical and more elegant term for what we call a cattle drive in the United States or, more generally, the movement of livestock from one pasture to another. Routes used for that purpose linked the central Apennines, and especially Apulia, with Campania and even areas of Magna Graecia. Some of the find spot patterns for statuettes and inscriptions align with the posited transhumance network,[9] but, as Bradley has pointed out, there are chronological and other problems with limiting the spread and distribution of the figurines to this one activity.[10] The roads, for instance, were also used for other purposes by traders, soldiers, and craftsmen: why could they not have been devotees of the god as well? As always, it is tempting to look for support in myth and folklore, in this case the myth of Hercules driving the cattle of Geryon. It is, for good reason, the starting point of Dionysius' extended account of Hercules' feats in Italy (*Ant. Rom.* 1.39–44), although, as we will see shortly, the historian imparts to them an updated agenda.

Figure 13.4. Lion skin and Hercules. After Colonna 1970, fig. 374.

Figure 13.5. Hercules in repose. After Campanelli et al. 1997, 147, fig. 14.

[9] See, e.g., van Wonterghem 1973, with special reference to the Palaegni; Di Niro 1977 on Samnium.

[10] Bradley 2005, 138–140; also Stek 2010, 55–58.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Other factors have been cited. Torelli has correlated cult sites of Hercules in central Italy with the supply and provision of salt, which was of paramount importance for the upkeep of herds and the preservation of the flesh of slaughtered animals.[11] At the same time, Hercules could be invoked more generally as *alexikakos*, the hero and protector who keeps bad things and bad guys at bay and who is always ready to stand up and fight. Also, his youthful appearance in these representations—in contrast to the more aged, if not weary, Hercules we know from Greek sculpture—may point to an earlier, indigenous cult figure whom Hercules superseded as Greek culture made inroads in Italy, as noted above. It is possible, therefore, and perhaps even likely, that the statuettes were modeled after large cult figures at some of the sanctuaries.[12] By the second century, another source for the hero's popularity may have come via theatrical performances. Pietrabbondante in Samnium had a permanent theater/temple complex that was built decades earlier than the Theater of Pompey in Rome;[13] by that time, however, the frequency of the statuettes is beginning to wane.

Figure 13.6. Hercules of Cafeo. After Bonacasa 2013, 69 [fig. 37].

The obvious point is that all these scenarios and possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Hercules was the most inclusive hero/god of classical antiquity, inviting ever-new adaptations and receptions, whether in literature, the arts, or cult. The popular Hercules was just as multifaceted, easily assimilable, and open to new associations. One more example may be relevant to the huge popularity of his cult and statuettes in Italy: his association with springs and waters.

In central Italy, such a link can be found at the sanctuary of Hercules at Corfinium.[14] For clearer attestation we may turn to Himera in Sicily. That is hardly a detour, as the characteristics of a material part of the evidence, the small bronze (about 8 inches) of the so-called Heracles of Cafeo (Fig. 13.6), 'hark insistently back to much earlier indigenous works and also, in part, to certain small Italic bronzes from upper Latium, Abruzzo,

[11] Torelli 1993. Cf. the importance of the Via Salaria for archaic Italy.

[12] Cf. Papi 1997, 142, in connection with a type from Picenum.

[13] See, e.g., Lomas 2014, 237–238.

[14] Buonocuore 1995; Bradley 2005, 137.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and Basilicata, as well as certain votive deposits from central Italy . . . devoted to Herakles.'[15]

For Hercules' connection with springs and healing waters in the region ofHimera, we have the explicit literary testimony of Diodorus (4.23.1). According to his account, Hercules came to Sicily after driving the cattle of Geryon through Italy, an event that, as we have seen, resonated and may have contributed to the production and popularity of Hercules figurines.[16] When Hercules arrived at Himera, the nymphs caused hot springs to surge forth, thus providing an *aition* for the cult of healing waters at the site. The Hercules figurine found in the alluvial deposits in a riverbed has therefore been connected with the cult at the nearby springs. In his left hand (the right always held the club) he may have held the Apples of the Hesperides, just as he does in some of the Italic votives. Further, and again corresponding to his evolution in Italy, Hercules at Himera may have fused with the cult of an earlier, indigenous deity. The dichotomy of the statuette may reflect this: on the one hand, the classical pose, akin to that of Scopas' Hercules; on the other, 'a certain wild, animal expression, including the wide-open eyes.'[17] This is not the place to pursue this further, except to note again that multiple aspects are endemic to the character of Hercules.

That, of course, is a truism for his representations in art and literature,[18] and it is these two areas that we reference, almost exclusively, as 'reception' today. Evidence such as the votives from central Italy suggests that our horizons need to be wider. What the material from central Italy and elsewhere really shows us is Hercules' tremendous popularity on the ground, among the masses, who could literally hold him in their hands. As they did so—and this is what I find telling—they had, despite all the mass production, an artifact that was not precisely like any other but had some individual features. And that may well have reflected the individual ways in which these non-élite people shaped their relationship with their protector.

The inscriptional evidence supports this general picture. 'Epigraphy,' as has been noted, 'shows the great variety of devotees across the social spectrum, a phenomenon paralleling the wide uptake of the Bacchanalia in Italy in the early second century B.C.E., but apparently not posing the same threat to the Roman social order.'[19] Ovid's hometown Sulmona, for instance, had a

---

[15] Bonacasa 2013, 69. The earlier literature on the statuette can be found there.

[16] Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*, probably composed in the early sixth century, played a role, too; Stesichorus has sometimes been associated with Himera.

[17] Bonacasa 2013, 69.

[18] See Galinsky 1972; Stafford 2012.

[19] Bradley 2005, 142.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

significant sanctuary of Hercules Curinus, which is also the provenience of a unique votive statuette of the Hercules Farnese type (Fig. 13.7).[20] Among the several inscriptions found there, the largest one is about the patrons of the temple, and it lists members of various professions and social strata, such as freedmen, freedmen craftsmen, merchants, soldiers, and members of the local élite.[21] Parallel to this is the social diversity of epigraphic attestations in terms of regions. It is more frequent and pronounced in the southern area of central Italy and less so in Umbria and Picenum.

The other dimension of our hero's fortunes, both in antiquity and in later times, is the political one. In his subsequent chapters on Hercules, which he calls 'closer to the truth' (1.41), Dionysius develops a matrix that, as one scholar observed, reads almost like a charter myth for the Roman colonization of Italy.[22] The narrative is quite different from the Augustan versions. A paradigm is its treatment of Cacus, who, far from being a cattle thief, is a barbarian chieftain who 'rules over wild men,' holds 'fortified places,' and 'inflicts pain on his neighbors.' Cacus attacks Hercules' army and steals from it while the troops are asleep; in revenge, Hercules besieges and demolishes his citadels. Cacus is killed, and his lands are given to Evander and Faunus. The overall framework of the story is that Hercules comes to Italy with a great army as a civilizer. He rids the land of savages, miscreants, and despotic and oppressive rulers and in their place establishes lawful and well-ordered governments, with 'humane and social customs for life,' mingles Greeks and barbarians, builds

Figure 13.7. Votive statuette of Hercules Farnese type. After Moreno 1989, pl. VI.

[20] Moreno 1989. The proposed date is the first half of the first century CE.

[21] *Supplementa Italica* 4 (1988); also Buonocuore 1989. This particular appeal of Hercules proved to be as enduring as others; cf. Stafford 2012, 197, on his worship by a large spectrum of social groups.

[22] Bispham 2006, 115–118.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

roads through mountains and towns in 'barren places,' and opens up land and sea for the use of all (1.41.1).

It is hardly accidental that this is exactly how the Romans would cast their increasing dominance of Italy through colonization from the later fourth century onward. The material evidence that we have looked at tells us that the Romans did not have to resort to an extraneous myth for that narrative. Hercules was known and cultivated in every corner of Italy, and what the Romans were doing looked familiar in that context. One more point: this particular Roman use of the Hercules myth, which probably goes back to a second-century source, here stands in contrast to the other hugely popular cult in that century: that of Dionysus or Bacchus. The facts, and the hype, are well known: in the wake of major social developments, such as the effects of the Second Punic War, the Dionysiac cult spread like wildfire throughout Italy, according to Livy and others. It was unsettling, and the Roman Senate in 186 BCE passed its famous decree de *Bacchanalibus* to regulate its worship.[23] Hercules, then, emerges as the constructive counterpart of Dionysus, with an emphasis on civic responsibility, that capital Roman virtue. Hercules' pedigree in Italy helped: the early penetration of the cult even into the backcountry is evidenced by the mass of votive statuettes. Moreover, his polyvalence, again illustrated by the same material, could include borrowings from Dionysus, such as his wreath of vine leaves and his drinking cup (Fig. 13.8; he probably held his club in the other hand).

Figure 13.8. Hercules with attributes of Dionysus. After Colonna 1970, fig. 476.

[23] For a sensible, concise discussion see Beard, North, and Price 1998, 91–98.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Conclusion: Hercules and Aeneas

As I pointed out many years ago (and, for once, there was no controversy), Vergil incorporates a Herculean matrix into his portrait of Aeneas throughout his epic. As is typical of the broad range and resonances at which the poem excels, the model of Hercules operates on many levels. Literati would see many an adaptation and echo from Greek literature and mythology, starting with Vergil's casting of Aeneas, unattested in the previous tradition, as persecuted by Hera/Juno. To the philosophically inclined, the characterization of Aeneas as another Hercules would appeal because of the latter's association with Stoic values and ethos. There were also the prominent cult sites in Rome, ranging from the Ara Maxima to the temple of Hercules Musarum in the Porticus of Philippus, for which Peter Heslin has recently posited a special connection with the epic.[24] But the *Aeneid* was also meant to be a poem for the people, and Vergil was eminently successful in that endeavor, to judge even from the nonliterary evidence.[25] Part of the appeal of Aeneas/Hercules, I would argue, is precisely the god's popularity among the Italic peoples, manifested by votives that were not inexpensive and numbered in the thousands; we can safely assume that there were many more than the surviving specimens. As I put it at the time, 'Vergil doubtless hoped that his Italic readers would regard Aeneas with the same kind of personal intensity with which they worshiped Hercules.'[26] The votive material that has become available in the meantime strengthens that dimension of Rome's national epic.

Works Cited

Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S. R. F. 1998. *Roman Religion*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bispham, E. 2006. *Coloniam deducere*: How Roman was Roman Colonization during the Middle Republic? In *Greek and Roman Colonization: Origins, Ideologies, Interactions*, edited by G. Bradley and J. Wilson, 73–160. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Bonacasa, N. 2013. Herakles Cafeo. In *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*, edited by C. Lyons *et al.*, 68–69. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Bradley, G. 2005. Aspects of the Cult of Hercules in Central Italy. In *Herakles and Hercules: Exploring a Graeco-Roman Divinity*, edited by L. Rawlings and H. Bowden, 129–151. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Buonocuore, M. 1989. La tradizione epigrafica del culto di Eracle tra i Peligni. In *Dalla Villa di Ovidio al santuario di Ercole*, edited by E. Mattioco *et al.,* 193–206. Sulmona: Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Abruzzo.

[24] Heslin 2015, 199–254.

[25] See, e.g., Horsfall 1995, 249–255.

[26] Galinsky 1972, 149; reprint ed., Galinsky 1990, 294.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Buonocuore, M. 1995. Il santuario di Ercole a Corfinium (loc. San Ippolito): Prime acquisizioni epigrafiche. *Xenia Antiqua* 4:179–198.

Campanelli, A., *et al.,* eds. 1997. *I luoghi degli dei.* Chieti: Carsa Edizioni.

Colonna, G. 1970. *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana I: Periodo 'arcaico.'* Florence: Sansoni.

Di Niro, A. 1977. *Il culto di Ercole tra i Sanniti Pentri e Frentani: Nuove testimonianze.* Documenti di antichità italiche e romane 9. Salerno: Pietro Laveglia.

Galinsky, K. 1972. *The Herakles Theme*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Galinsky, K. 1990. Hercules in the *Aeneid*. In *Oxford Readings in Vergil's* Aeneid, edited by S. J. Harrison, 277–294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Galinsky, K. 2016a. Memory and Forgetting in the Age of Augustus. Todd Memorial Lecture. Sydney: Department of Classics Publications, University of Sydney.

Galinsky, K. ed. 2016b. *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, C. M. C. 2007. *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heslin, P. 2015. *The Museum of Augustus: The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, the Portico of Philippus in Rome, and Latin Poetry*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Horsfall, N., ed. 1995. *A Companion to the Study of Vergil.* Leiden: Brill.

Lomas, K. 2014. Italy during the Roman Republic, 338–31 B.C. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by H. Flower, 236–259. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moreno, P. 1989. Attribuzione lisippea del bronzo di Eracle in riposo. In *Dalla Villa di Ovidio al santuario di Ercole*, edited by E. Mattioco *et al.*, 59–68. Sulmona: Soprintendenza Archeologica dell' Abruzzo.

Osgood, J. 2006. *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Papi, R. 1997. La rappresentazione di Ercole nella produzione votiva in bronzo in area sabellica. In *I luoghi degli dei,* edited by A. Campanelli *et al.*, 142–153. Chieti: Carsa Edizioni.

Scopacasa, R. 2015. *Ancient Samnium: Settlement, Culture, and Identity between History and Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seider, A. 2013. *Memory in Vergil's* Aeneid*: Creating the Past.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sofroniew, A. 2010. Considering Cultural Exchange: A Thematic Analysis of Votive Objects from Southern Italy from the 6th to the 2nd centuries B.C. D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University.

Stafford, E. 2012. *Herakles*. New York: Routledge.

Stek, T. 2010. *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy: A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 14. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Torelli, M. 1993. Gli aromi e il sale: Afrodite ed Eracle nell'*emporia* arcaica dell'Italia. In *Ercole in Occidente*, edited by A. Mastrocinque, 91–117. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Van Wonterghem, F. 1973. Le culte d'Hercule chez les Paeligni: Documents anciens et nouveaux. *L'Antiquité classique* 42: 36–48.

Van Wonterghem, F. 1992. Il culto di Ercole fra I popoli osco-sabellici. In *Héraclès d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée: Bilan et perspectives*, edited by C. Bonnet and C. Jourdain-Annequin, 319–351. Brussels and Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome.

Zanker, P., ed. 1976. *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

14

Spolia as Strategy in the Early Roman Empire: Reused Statues in Augustan Rome

Brenda Longfellow

The reuse of statues and other types of monuments has been an area of particular interest for scholars of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, periods when existing monuments throughout the ancient Mediterranean were ready quarries for building projects that might honor or ignore the classical heritage of the reused material.[1] Many of these studies label older artifacts placed in new contexts as *spolia*; this modern use of the Latin term stems from Giorgio Vasari's use of the Italian word *spoglie* for the reused elements in the Arch of Constantine.[2] The Romans, however, probably did not use the Latin word in this way. Depending on the time period, the ancient term referred to trophies of war, animal hides, or even the clothing taken from executed criminals.[3]

Uses of *Spolia*

Modern scholars often define the act of spoliation as the plundering of earlier monuments for functional and decorative elements, applying the term to any type of material reused in a new context, regardless of whether the original

This chapter was inspired by many conversations with Carin Green about sculptural reuse in ancient Rome and the rich afterlives of objects. I profoundly miss her friendship and generosity of spirit, as well as her enthusiastic and insightful engagement with the Roman world.

[1] For instance, a fourth-century CE papyrus from Oxyrhynchus inventories the columns available as building material in an unidentified Egyptian city: Lukaszewicz 1979.

[2] Fehl 1985, 28–29.

[3] For the origins and development of the ancient and late antique concepts of *spolia*, see Brenk 1987; Guberti Bassett 1991; Alchermes 1994; Kinney 1995.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

monument was destroyed or damaged in the removal of the piece.[4] Spoliated material is most commonly used as space filler in places where it will never be seen, as is the case with the architectural elements reused in the pediment over the main entrance to the Porticus Octaviae in Rome. Extensively rebuilt in 203 CE by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the porticus retained the basic plan established in the Augustan period of a double colonnade enclosing a temple for Jupiter Stator and one for Juno Regina. At the southwest end of the Severan complex was a monumental entrance with a double pediment. Hidden from view behind a marble veneer, column drums and other architectural pieces found new life as the rubble used to fill the triangular space within the inner pediment.

But spolia can also be incorporated into a new context where it remains visible by design, accident, or indifference. Within this 'spectrum of reuse,' a phrase popularized by Maria Fabricius Hansen,[5] scholars interested in spolia tend to focus on programmatic display, the process in which artifacts are transferred to new contexts in which they are presumably intended to be seen by the public and perhaps even recognized as reused pieces. Many scholars have singled out the late third and early fourth centuries CE as the period when programmatic spolia unassociated with military action first began to be deliberately incorporated into imperially sponsored monuments. The repurposed materials in the Arcus Novus of Diocletian (297–298) and the so-called temple of Romulus in the Forum Romanum (after 307) are often considered the first examples of this practice, while the Arch of Constantine is often heralded as the monument that initiated the extensive use of programmatically repurposed materials.[6] Dedicated by the Senate and people in celebration of Constantine's decennalia on 25 July 315, this patchwork monument incorporates over 1,600 pieces of reused stone, ranging from undecorated blocks to figural reliefs.[7] As Kinney has astutely noted, the spoliated pieces on this arch probably were meant to be seen and recognized by

4 For an assessment of the modern concept of *spolia*, see Kinney 1995, 1997, 2005; Elsner 2000. For discussions on the reuse of sculpture in particular, see, e.g., Blanck 1969; Brandenburg 1989; Curran 1994; Coates-Stephens 2007; Prusac 2011; Kristensen 2013; Kristensen and Stirling 2016.

5 Hansen 2003.

6 E.g., Deichmann 1975, 5–7; Brenk 1987; Kinney 1995, 56; Elsner 2000, 153; Hansen 2003, 15–17, 41. The Arcus Novus stood along the Via Lata (Via del Corso) in the Campus Martius and, like the later Arco di Portogallo located along the same street, incorporated spoliated reliefs. For the Arcus Novus, these reliefs probably came from the Arch of Claudius (54 CE), which once stood along the same street. The so-called temple of Romulus displayed reused architectural material on its exterior façade, including the Severan bronze doors and marble frame, the porphyry column shafts of two different lengths flanking the door that are topped by Flavian capitals, and the Augustan blocks in the uppermost cornice. Claridge 2010, 114.

7 Pensabene 1988, 413; Pensabene and Panella 1999. For summaries of the different approaches to the Arch of Constantine's *spolia*, see Elsner 2000; Liverani 2011.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the average Roman viewer not as fragments from specific monuments built by specific emperors, but rather as universal references to imperial heritage and its continuity under Constantine.[8]

The focus in scholarship on spoliated materials in Constantinian Rome and later eras has fed and been fed by a basic assumption that the intentional display of recycled materials outside the realm of so-called *damnatio memoriae* is a phenomenon linked to the changing religious, economic, and political landscape of fourth-century Rome.[9] As scholars have shown how older architectural fragments and statues might have significant associative value for fourth-century patrons—and that this associative value not only could be symbolically representative of a cultural and political past but also could augment the reputation of the monument into which they were incorporated—they have sometimes ascribed to this time period a sea change in imperial and élite attitudes toward older objects.[10] But surging scholarly interest in the ties between cultural memory and material reuse in earlier epochs, such as the Augustan period, indicates the need to challenge such assumptions.[11] This chapter discusses how and why certain statues were singled out for reuse in imperial building projects initiated under the first emperor of Rome, Augustus. The objective is to demonstrate that the Constantinian practice has its roots in a venerable tradition in which emperors programmatically incorporated recycled material into major monuments built throughout Rome. In other words, although the Arch of Constantine provides the most famous example of spoliation, statues and other materials were prominently and deliberately repurposed throughout the imperial period, and emperors incorporated recycled material into their new building projects in Rome long before the fourth century.

---

[8] Kinney 1995, 57–58. Although the associative values of the images incorporated into the Arch of Constantine may have resonated for the senatorial patrons and imperial recipient, most passersby probably did not even recognize the repurposed figural reliefs and statues as having different origins than other parts of the arch.

[9] So-called *damnatio memoriae* is a modern term used for the political and social denunciation of an emperor, a member of the imperial family or an élite; the term is often invoked to explain cases in which a portrait was destroyed or reworked into that of someone else. For the problematic use of the term, see Flower 2006. For a singular discussion of imperial portrait reuse in ancient contexts other than so-called *damnatio memoriae*, see Galinsky 2008.

[10] E.g., Most 2009, 11.

[11] E.g., Frey 2015, Kousser 2017, Swetnam-Burland and Ng 2019. On reuse in Augustan Rome, see, e.g., Alföldy 1989; Celani 1998; Haug 2001; Hölscher 2006; Weisweiler 2015; Woolf 2015. Like Augustan Rome, the Athenian Acropolis has been a focal point for scholars exploring ancient reuse: e.g., Wrede 1996; Kousser 1999; Shear 2007; Keesling 2010.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Spolia in Augustan Rome

Some of the reused statues on display in Augustan Rome continued the Republican tradition of publicly displaying war booty—*spolia* in the Roman sense of the term.[12] But the programmatic reuse of statues under Augustus can be broken down into at least two broad categories beyond war spoils claimed from foreign enemies. The first category consists of statues imported from the provinces to become integral components of existing and newly conceived complexes. The second contains statues appropriated from preexisting contexts in Rome to form new ensembles. This chapter addresses each category in turn, focusing on how these repurposed pieces helped reconfigure cultural memory and augment imperial identity in Rome.

Augustus is remembered as having moved so many older statues to Rome from the eastern provinces that Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36.4.13) declared that the emperor incorporated statues by the Archaic sculptors Bupalus and Athenis into almost every monument he built. Clearly an exaggeration, Pliny's statement still provides a glimpse of how Augustus was perceived to be regularly weaving pieces of the Classical past into his new city. This glimpse is augmented by the surviving fragments of Classical statues associated with Augustan Rome, including a fifth-century BCE Amazonomachia reused as pedimental sculpture in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, which was located in the southern Campus Martius.[13] Ostensibly celebrating the victory of Gaius Sosius over the Jews in 37 BCE and his resulting triumph in 34, the temple was completed by 20 BCE and included an interior frieze celebrating Augustus' triple triumph in 29. Like the Archaic statues by Bupalus and Athenis that were incorporated into the pediment of the temple of Apollo Palatinus as corner figures (Plin. *HN* 36.34), the Amazonomachia in the temple of Apollo Sosianus became a fragmentary part of a greater whole that included sculptures that had migrated from any number of locales and brought with them any number of biographies. The pedimental sculptures, for instance, probably came from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria and may have been buried for centuries before they were taken to Rome. These Classical statues worked into the newly built temple façade in many ways foreshadow the statues and figural reliefs worked into the Arch of Constantine. Like the Trajanic statues inhabiting the attic of the fourth-century arch, these pedimental sculptures gave the weight of Classical authority to the new construction. Their associative value was augmented by the sculptural collection within the temple, which included Niobids by either Scopas or Praxiteles, an Apollo by Timarchides, a Latona by Philiscus of Rhodes,

[12] See Pape 1975 for a discussion of Augustus' continuation of the Republican tradition in which victorious generals displayed war spoils throughout Rome.
[13] For the temple's origins, architecture, and decoration, see La Rocca 1985, 1988; Viscogliosi 1988, 1996.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

a Diana, and the nine Muses (Plin. *HN* 36.34–35). In addition to the votive statues listed by Pliny, the cult statue of Apollo worshipped here was also repurposed (*HN* 13.53). Taken from Seleucia by Sosius at a moment when Sosius was allied with Mark Antony, the cedar statue became a stark reminder not only of the expanse of empire but also of the piety and benevolence of the emperor, who exonerated Sosius for his partisanship and role in the civil wars.

The physical fragments of Greek cultural heritage on display in the pediment and the statues inhabiting the interior of the temple of Apollo Sosianus complemented and perhaps even augmented the classicizing style used to create monuments such as the Ara Pacis Augustae.[14] As Kinney has noted about the second-century reliefs and statues incorporated into the Arch of Constantine, the recycled statues displayed in the sanctuaries, fora, and porticoes of Augustan Rome probably were *not* recognized by most Romans as fragments from specific cities or works by specific sculptors. Removed from their original contexts, the reused pieces occupy a space outside a specific historical moment or geographical site, where they have the potential to trigger a range of memories and associations that might be vastly different for different viewers.[15] Indeed, the collection of recycled elements in the temple of Apollo Sosianus offers a good example of how patrons, members of the elite, and the community at large would not necessarily see the same messages in or have the same understanding of the repurposed statues and fragments. Sosius, for instance, would feel differently about the cult statue he had taken from Seleucia as war booty than Augustus, who built a contemporary temple for Apollo, his patron deity, on his Palatine property. Similarly, the statue's impact on individual members of the city's populace would depend not only on social, religious, familial, and personal perceptions of it but also on unique viewing contexts. A priest of the cult, for example, would interact with it more frequently and probably know more of its biography than a contestant headed to the adjacent theater of Marcellus who happened to catch a glimpse of it on an occasion when the cella doors stood open.[16] As in Constantinian Rome, the repurposed statues probably were understood by most viewers as generic pieces that added the legitimizing weight of history—in this case bolstering Augustus' claims of ushering in a golden age of peace, prosperity, and renewed piety. In this way, they worked as other imperial monuments did, carrying messages

[14] Hölscher 2006.

[15] Kinney 1995, 58.

[16] For discussions of how variables like gender, social class, and ephemeral activities affected how Romans and other groups engaged with monuments, see, e.g., Zanker 1994; Kinney 1995; Clarke 2003; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Mattingly 2013.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

and memories that reinforced the perception of the emperor as an exemplary benefactor and patron of Rome and its population.[17]

From historical sources, we get a picture of how judiciously venerable statues could be incorporated into the nodal spaces of Augustan Rome. Among the statues that Augustus brought to Rome was a colossus of Zeus that had stood in the Heraion on Samos until Mark Antony removed it for Cleopatra's pleasure (Strabo 13.1.30, 14.1.4). Created by Myron, the statue of Zeus had shared a base with colossi of Athena and Hercules. According to Strabo, Augustus righted Antony's wrong by sending the statues of Athena and Hercules back to the sanctuary on Samos. But he sent the Zeus to Rome, where it was displayed in a newly built shrine in the sacred precinct of the Capitolium. In its new setting, Zeus joined a group of colossi that had been showcased in Republican triumphs before being put on display in the Area Capitolina, the terminus of triumphal processions and the religious core of the *caput mundi*. These earlier colossi include the Lysippan Hercules that Fabius Maximus had triumphantly brought to Rome 'in chains' after recapturing Tarentum in 209 BCE (Livy 27.16.7; Strabo 6.3.1; Plin. *HN* 34.40; Plut. *Fabius Maximus* 22.6),[18] and the 13-meter-tall Apollo by Kalamis, which, according to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34.40), had cost the city of Apollonia 500 talents in the fifth century.[19] After conquering Apollonia in 72 BCE, Marcus Lucullus claimed the pricy statue from the city's sanctuary of Apollo for his triumph and then dedicated it in the Capitoline precinct (Strabo 7.6.1). Like the Tarentine statue of Hercules, the colossus of Apollo was tied to the identity of Apollonia and thus a visual embodiment of the conquered city.[20] The dedication of these colossi in the Area Capitolina not only symbolized the subjugation of the cities but also emphasized each general's piety, the significance of his victory to the Roman state, and his position at the apex of the Roman political and social hierarchy.

Augustus' dedication of the colossus of Zeus visually aligned Augustus with those Republican victors, and the association of the statue with Mark Antony and Cleopatra made it an effective reminder of the Augustan victory at Actium. Unlike the statues taken by Republican generals from newly subjugated territories, the Zeus dedicated by Augustus was associated with a major Panhellenic sanctuary firmly within the Roman empire. Rather than being a symbolic display of the subjugation of new territory, then, this statue spoke

[17] Kinney 1995; Zanker 2010.

[18] According to *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* 37, the Lysippan Heracles was moved to Constantinople under Constantine. Cameron and Herrin 1984.

[19] Other colossal Greek statues in the Capitoline precinct include a colossal bronze head by Chares taken from an unknown location: Ridgway 1979, 109.

[20] Guberti Bassett 1991, 92.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

to Augustus' personal piety and linked him to the divine guarantor of Roman victory: Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The noted separation of the statue of Zeus from the two statues with which it had originally shared a base also asked those people who knew the statue's history to remember why it had left the Heraion in the first place, thus juxtaposing the piety of Augustus with the impiety of the defeated Antony.

The addition of the colossal Zeus to this sanctuary becomes that much more meaningful when it is noted that Augustus removed certain honorific statues from the Area Capitolina, ostensibly because of congestion (Suet. *Calig.* 34.1) This culling of commemorative statues from crowded display spaces is nothing new. For instance, Livy (40.51.3) tells us that in 179 Marcus Aemilius Lepidus removed from the Capitoline precinct statues that were in the way, and Pliny (*HN* 34.30) mentions that the censors of 158 removed all the statues of former magistrates in the Forum Romanum that had not been set up by the will of the Senate or people. The difference between these cleansings and that of Augustus is that Suetonius mentions what happened to the statues moved by Augustus. Rather than being destroyed, these statues were erected in the Campus Martius, where they stood among an array of Augustan building projects. This deportation of honorific statues from the heart of Rome to a region beyond the pomerium is just one example of the restructuring of public spaces under Augustus that helped preclude challenges to his rule. Where once leading senators were honored by clients, the Senate, and other groups with honorific statues in the most public places of Rome, now their statues were displayed where Augustus willed, or restricted to their personal properties.[21]

After the Circus Flaminius was created in 221 BCE, it became the traditional starting point of the triumphal procession, and the area around it served as an arena for competitive display in the late Republican period. There *triumphators* erected triumphal monuments and temples adorned with Greek statues and other war spoils. Under Augustus, the addition of new monuments like the Porticus Philippi and the theater of Marcellus, as well as the conversion of venerable ones like the Porticus Metelli (which became the Porticus Octaviae), meant that the Campus Martius was transformed from a competitive arena into an area focused on Augustus and his family.[22] Like the movement of war booty to Rome, the movement of commemorative statues from the privileged display space of the Area Capitolina to the more peripheral Campus Martius was a statement of power and authority. It emphasized Augustus' control over

[21] Eck (2010) has demonstrated that more than 80 percent of the honorific statue bases in Rome come from domestic spaces rather than public ones.
[22] See Jacobs and Conlin 2014, 95–111, for the porticoes in the Campus Martius.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

society, and specifically over the commemorative landscape, in which he alone bestowed and withdrew public honors.[23]

The commemorative statues that Augustus left in the Area Capitolina honored select individuals from Rome's mythical and historical past, from Romulus to Fabius Maximus to Augustus himself.[24] The addition and subtraction of statues in the Capitoline precinct was part of a much larger manipulation of cultural memory that helped knit the city into a unified memory space focused on Augustus. The commemorative statues that remained in the Area Capitolina echo the teleological statuary program in the Forum of Augustus, where the *summi viri* and the divine genesis of the Julian clan justified Augustus' position and supremacy.

In the Forum of Augustus, the Luna marble fragments associated with the Julian ancestors and the *summi viri* indicate that the venerable ensemble of Roman soldiers and civilians was newly carved for the complex. Vowed at Philippi in 42 BCE, when Antony and Octavian fought together against Cassius and Brutus, the forum was a central location for the dissemination of Augustan ideology and was built with the finest materials and by the best craftsmen available. And yet historical sources mention at least three recycled statues that were conspicuously incorporated into this newly built complex. Each of these repurposed statues referenced the defeat of Antony at Actium and the vast extent of the Augustan empire. Pausanias (8.46.1–4) tells us that a pure ivory statue of Athena Alea stood just inside the entrance to the complex. Augustus removed it from the sanctuary at Tegea in Greece, probably as retribution for the Arkadians' support for Antony at Actium. Pausanias (34.48) also mentions that Augustus placed two statues associated with the tent of Alexander the Great in front of the temple of Mars Ultor. Furthermore, another pair of statues from Alexander's tent were set up in front of the Regia in the Forum Romanum. The tent had been used during Alexander's burial procession, and Augustus presumably took the statues from Egypt when he visited Alexander's grave in

[23] Honorific statues were one of a number of distinctions that could be conferred on individual members of a Roman community during or after their lifetimes. Initiated by family members, other individuals, or communal, civic, or religious groups, these statues were treasured privileges, as they not only publicly embodied the *quid pro quo* relationship of élites and the larger community but also provided a sanctioned means of familial self-promotion and advancement. Often decreed in thanks for specific benefactions or to serve as a perpetual reminder of a promised social good, such statues publicly monumentalized and memorialized the positive relationships of communities with individual patrons. Typically, the location and appearance of these statues were proposed by the sponsoring individual or group and then approved or modified by the Senate. For more on the benefits of honorific statues to both honorand and community, see Tanner 2000; Stewart 2003; Fejfer 2008; Ma 2013; Longfellow 2014/2015.

[24] Cass. Dio (56.29.4) states that Augustus' statue was hit by lightning in 14 CE.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

30 BCE. With these statues, Augustus visually linked his military campaigns—which had brought Egypt under Rome's control and united the empire—with the campaigns of Alexander the Great.[25]

Augustus' incorporation of war booty associated with Alexander into the two fora in many ways parallels the way in which the Republican general Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus incorporated the Granikos Monument into his porticus in the Campus Martius (Plin. *HN* 34.64; Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–4). The Granikos Monument was a series of equestrian statues commissioned by Alexander from the sculptor Lysippus in honor of his comrades who died during the pivotal battle at the Granikos River in 334 (Vell. Pat. 1.11.2–5). After Metellus annexed Macedonia in 146, he moved these famous commemorative statues to Rome and placed them in his newly built porticus, where they faced his new temple to Jupiter Stator. With these statues, Metellus visually bound his victory over Alexander's descendants with the victories of Alexander himself.

Augustus took the associative value of Alexander's statues a step further. His strategic placement of the four tent statues of Alexander so that they formed pendant groups in two disparate locations—one he built and one tied to his position as pontifex maximus—went beyond any traditional use of war spoils. Not only did the statues visually link the new and old centers of civic life through Augustan military prowess and piety; they also opened the way for a new type of civic engagement with recycled statues, one that asked viewers to draw connections with the sculpture's provincial origins as well as with statue groups thematically linked to the emperor and similar ensembles throughout the city.

The associations drawn with these statues between Alexander and Augustus probably called to mind for some people the Granikos Monument in the Porticus Metelli, an architectural edifice that was completely rebuilt in the Augustan period and rededicated as the Porticus Octaviae (31–23 BCE).[26] The Granikos Monument and other war booty that had been incorporated into the complex by Metellus were reinstalled in the new porticus. Thus, although the Granikos Monument did not move from its original Roman location, its surroundings were completely transformed into a victory space intimately tied to Octavian's sister, and by extension to the emperor himself. Moreover, an inscribed statue base was either added to the Porticus Metelli around 100 and

[25] The link between his roles as world leader and as commander of armies was strengthened by the two paintings of Alexander by Apelles that were also incorporated into his forum (Plin. *HN* 35.27, 35.94).

[26] Augustus' connection to the complex was made explicit with the changing of the anniversary date of Jupiter Stator to Augustus' birthday (23 September). Donati and Stefanetti 2006, 116–118.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

selectively recut in the Augustan period or newly added to the complex in the Augustan period.[27] This base supported a seated statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. Cornelia's statue was an unprecedented honor for a female, even if it was erected posthumously (Plin. *HN* 34.31; Plut. C. *Gracch.* 4.3). As Kellum has recently suggested, Cornelia may prefigure Octavia, in whose complex the statue now stood and whose familial devotion came to embody the family virtues that were so important in the Augustan Age.[28]

Conclusion

By reusing statues long familiar to the Roman populace, from the honorific statue of Cornelia to the Granikos Monument to the commemorative statues left on the Capitoline and those moved to the Campus Martius, Augustus visually and physically connected his reign with earlier epochs in memorable ways that also emphasized his moral agenda as well as his position as uncontested emperor. The incorporation of anachronistic sculptural groups into newly built edifices resulted in eye-catching displays that spoke meaningfully to Augustus' current and desired place in the history of the Roman world. This programmatic use of *spolia* allowed both patron and viewer to look at the civic landscape afresh, even if the ideal audience in each case seems to have been the emperor himself rather than the average Roman.

The general focus of *spolia* scholarship on examples of programmatic reuse of materials in late antique Rome and later has led to the notion that the deliberate recycling of materials in imperial building programs was a phenomenon linked with the changing religious and political landscape of fourth-century Rome.[29] And yet programmatic repurposing is a strong tradition in the Augustan period, building on the Republican practice of incorporating war booty into triumphal monuments. Rather than standing at the beginning of a trend, the so-called temple of Romulus and Arch of Constantine continue a longstanding tradition of an emperor recycling statues to link his rule to that of certain predecessors, certain parts of the empire, and certain memory spaces in the city of Rome.

[27] Coarelli 1978; Flory 1993, 290–292.

[28] Barbara Kellum discussed this possibility in a talk at the University of Iowa on 22 October 2015; she is currently researching a book on the Porticus Octaviae titled *Winning Hearts and Minds: Augustan Visual Strategies.* See Woodhull 2003 on the presentation of Octavia, who remained loyal to her husband during his affair with Cleopatra VII, as the paradigm of ideal womanhood and Augustan values.

[29] The chapters in Kristensen and Stirling 2016 provide an important check on this assumption about reuse through their exploration of the range of social practices and natural processes that affected how and when statues were repurposed in late antique cities.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Works Cited

Alchermes, J. 1994. *Spolia* in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48:167–178.

Alföldy, G. 1989. Zu den Monumenten der römischen Provinzen auf dem Augustusforum. In *Migratio und Commutatio: Studien zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben, Thomas Pekáry zum 60. Geburtstag am 13. September 1989 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, edited by H.-J. Drexhage and J. Sünskes, 226–234. St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae.

Blanck, H. 1969. *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Brandenburg, H. 1989. Die Umsetzung von Statuen in der Spätantike. In *Migratio et Commutatio: Studien zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Thomas Pekáry zum 60. Geburtstag am 13. September 1989 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, edited by H.-J. Drexhage and J. Sünskes, 235–246. St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae.

Brenk, B. 1987. Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41:103–109.

Cameron, A., and J. Herrin, eds. 1984. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 10. Leiden: Brill.

Celani, A. 1998. *Opere d'arte greche nella Roma di Augusto*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

Claridge, A. 2010. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clarke, J. R. 2003. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coarelli, F. 1978. La statue de Cornélie, mère des Gracques et la crise politique à Rome au temps de Saturninus. In *Le dernier siècle de la republique romaine et l'*époque *augustéenne*, edited by H. Zehnacker, 13–28. Strasbourg: Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine.

Coates-Stephens, R. 2007. The Reuse of Ancient Statuary in Late Antique Rome and the End of the Statue Habit. In *Statuen in der Spätantike: Akten des Internationalen Workshops in München am 11. und 12. Juni 2004*, edited by F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, 171–187. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Curran, J. 1994. Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective. *Art History* 17:46–58.

Deichmann, F. W. 1975. *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*. Munich: Beck.

Donati, N., and P. Stefanetti. 2006. Dies natalis*: I calendari romani e gli anniversari dei culti*. Rome: Quasar.

Eck, W. 2010. Emperor and Senatorial Aristocracy in Competition for Public Space. In *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*, edited by B. Ewald and C. Noreña, 89–110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elsner, J. 2000. From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68:149–184.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Fehl, P. 1985. Vasari and the Arch of Constantine. In *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, edited by G. C. Garfagnini, 27–44. Florence: L. S. Olschki.

Fejfer, J. 2008. *Roman Portraits in Context*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Flory, M.B. 1993. Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123:287-308.

Flower, H. 2006. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Frey, J. 2015. The Archaic Colonnade at Ancient Corinth: A Case of Early Roman Spolia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 119:147–175.

Galinksy, K. 2008. Recarved Imperial Portraits: Nuances and Wider Contexts. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53:1–25.

Guberti Bassett, S. 1991. Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45:87–96.

Hansen, M. F. 2003. *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplement 33. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Haug, A. 2001. Constituting the Past—Forming the Present: The Role of Material Culture in the Augustan Period. *Journal of the History of Collections* 13.2: 111–123.

Hölscher, T. 2006. Greek Styles and Greek Art in Augustan Rome: Issues of the Present versus Records of the Past. In *The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, edited by J. I. Porter, 237–269. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jacobs, P. W., II, and D. A. Conlin. 2014. *Campus Martius: The Field of Mars in the Life of Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keesling, C. 2010. The Hellenistic and Roman Afterlives of Dedications on the Athenian Akropolis. In *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, edited by R. Krumeich and C. Witschel, 303–327. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Kinney, D. 1995. Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*. In *The Art of Interpreting*, edited by S. C. Scott, 52–67. University Park: Pennsylvania State University.

Kinney, D. 1997. *Spolia*: *Damnatio* and *Renovatio Memoriae*. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 62:117–148.

Kinney, D. 2005. Spolia. In *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, edited by W. Tronzo, 16–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kousser, R. 1999. Destruction and Memory on the Athenian Acropolis. *Art Bulletin* 91:263–282.

Kousser, R. 2017. *The Afterlives of Greek Sculpture: Interaction, Transformation, and Destruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kristensen, T. M. 2013. *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Kristensen, T. M., and L. Stirling, eds. 2016. *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

La Rocca, E. 1985. *Amazzonomachia: Le sculture frontonali del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano*. Rome: De Luca.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

La Rocca, E. 1988. Der Apollo-Sosianus-Tempel. In *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, edited by M. R. Hofter, 121–129. Mainz: von Zabern.
Liverani, P. 2011. Reading Spolia in Late Antiquity and Contemporary Perception. In *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, edited by R. Brilliant and D. Kinney, 33–52. Farnham: Ashgate.
Longfellow, B. 2014/2015. Female Patrons and Honorific Statues in Pompeii. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 59/60: 81–102.
Lukaszewicz, A. 1979. Some Remarks on P. Lond. III 755 and the Problems of Building Materials in the Fourth Century A.D. *ArcheologiaWar* 30:115–118.
Ma, J. 2013. *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mattingly, D. J. 2013. *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Most, G. W. 2009. On Fragments. In *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, edited by W. Tronzo, 9–21. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust.
Pape, M. 1975. Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre *öffentliche* Aufstellung in Rom: Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit. Diss., University of Hamburg.
Pensabene, P. 1988. The Arch of Constantine: Marble Samples. In *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, edited by N. Herz and M. Waelkens, 411–413. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
Pensabene, P., and C. Panella. 1999. *Arco di Costantino tra archeologia e archeometria*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
Prusac, M. 2011. *From Face to Face: Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late-Antique Portrait Arts*. Monumenta Graeca et Romana 18. Leiden: Brill.
Ridgway, B. 1979. *Roman Copies of Greek Sculptures: The Problem of the Originals*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Shear, J. 2007. Reusing Statues, Rewriting Inscriptions and Bestowing Honours in Roman Athens. In *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, edited by Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby, 221–246. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Stewart, P. 2003. *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Swetnam-Burland, M., and D. Y. Ng, eds. 2019. *Reuse and Renovation in Roman Material Culture: Functions, Aesthetics, Interpretations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tanner, J. 2000. Portraits, Power and Patronage in the Roman World. *Journal of Roman Studies* 90:18–50.
Viscogliosi, A. 1988. Die Architektur-Dekoration der Cella des Apollo-Sosianus-Tempels. In *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, edited by M. R. Hofter, 136–148. Mainz: von Zabern.
Viscogliosi, A. 1996. *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo' e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico Augusteo.* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
Wallace-Hadrill, A. 2008. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Weisweiler, J. 2015. Making Masters, Making Subjects: Imperial Ideology and Memory Policy in the Early Roman Empire and in the Later Roman State. In

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire, edited by K. Galinsky and K. Lapatin, 66–85. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
Woodhull, M. 2003. Engendering Space: Octavia's Portico in Rome. Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art 4:13–33.
Woolf, G. 2015. Mars and Memory. In *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*, edited by K. Galinsky and K. Lapatin, 206–224. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
Wrede, H. 1996. Waffen gegen die Perser. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1:37–41.
Zanker, P. 1994. Nouvelles orientations de la recherche en iconographie: Commanditaires et spectateurs. *Revue archéologique* n.s., fasc. 2: 281–293.
Zanker, P. 2010. By the Emperor, for the People: 'Popular' Architecture in Rome. In *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*, edited by B. Ewald and C. Noreña, 45–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

15

Ovid and the Legend of Capella (*Fasti* 5.111–128)

John F. Miller

In his calendar-poem *Fasti*, Ovid marks the first of May with the rising of the bright star Capella, the Goat. As elsewhere in the poem, the astronomical notice is accompanied by an aetiological narrative, in this case the myth of the nymph Amalthea and her goat, which nursed the baby Jupiter while he was hidden away in Crete and earned stellar form as a reward (5.111–128):

> *Ab Iove surgat opus. prima tibi nocte videnda*
> *stella est in cunas officiosa Iovis:*
> *nascitur Oleniae signum pluviale Capellae;*
> *illa dati caelum praemia lactis habet.*
> *nais Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida,* 115
> *dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem.*
> *huic fuit haedorum mater formosa duorum,*
> *inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,*
> *cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis,*
> *ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis.* 120
> *lac dabat illa deo; sed fregit in arbore cornu,*
> *truncaque dimidia parte decoris erat.*
> *sustulit hoc nymphe cinxitque recentibus herbis,*
> *et plenum pomis ad Iovis ora tulit.*
> *ille ubi res caeli tenuit solioque paterno* 125
> *sedit, et invicto nil Iove maius erat,*
> *sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu*
> *fecit, quod dominae nunc quoque nomen habet.*

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> Let the work begin from Jupiter. On the first night is visible to you the star that was dutifully attentive to Jupiter's cradle. The rainy sign of the Olenian She-Goat arises; she has a place in the sky as reward for the milk that she gave. The naiad Amalthea, famous on Mount Ida in Crete, is said to have hidden Jupiter in the forest. She was the beautiful mother of two kids, and conspicuous among the flocks of Mount Dicte. The goat had lofty horns curving over her back, and an udder such as the nurse of Jupiter might have. She was giving milk to the god, but she broke off a horn on a tree, and was pruned of one half of her beauty. The nymph picked it up, wrapped it in fresh herbs, and brought it, full of fruit, to the mouth of Jupiter. When he held ownership of the sky, and sat on his father's throne, and there was nothing greater than unconquered Jupiter, he turned into stars his nurse and the nurse's horn of plenty, which even now has the name of the mistress.[1]

This narrative is a miniature masterpiece, a good part of whose effect derives from Ovid's manipulation of multiple versions of the story. We are intended throughout, I believe, to appreciate how Ovid both blends these variant versions and plays them off one another. In an insightful brief discussion, Boyd (2000, 71–74) argues that Ovid juxtaposes versions of this tale from Callimachus' first *Hymn* (to Zeus) and Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which are themselves already in dialogue with one another, in order to develop the theme of poetic authority raised by those texts, especially by Callimachus, who poses the question of whether Zeus was born in Crete or in Arcadia. But Boyd downplays the extent of Ovid's engagement with Aratus here, and correspondingly somewhat overemphasizes the admittedly important Callimachean background. Moreover, it oversimplifies the complexity of Ovid's appeal to the broader Hellenistic tradition to limit focus to these two intertexts, even if the vagaries of survival sometimes frustrate attempts to pinpoint exact sources.

The story of baby Zeus, the nymph, and a goat was widely told by Hellenistic authors: besides the accounts of Callimachus and Aratus, we know of versions attributable to Eratosthenes and Nicander, and related accounts are found later in Apollodorus, Nonnus, and elsewhere. The tradition hands down to Ovid many permutations. In some versions 'Amalthea' is the name of the goat rather than the helping nymph; elsewhere more than one nymph attends the

---

This chapter is offered in memory of Carin Green, whom I had the good fortune to know since her days as a Ph.D. student at the University of Virginia, and with whom I had many lively conversations through the years—in Iowa City, at many CAMWS meetings, and back in Charlottesville—about Roman religion and Latin literature, our shared profession, and life.

[1] The text is that of Alton, Wormell, and Courtney 1997, except that in 111 *tibi* is my emendation for the *mihi* of the codices. Translations are my own.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

baby; a common account has the child fed with honey as well as the goat's milk; sometimes Pan or Capricorn is along as Zeus's sidekick; and at times the *aition* of Zeus's aegis is spun from the story, made by the grownup god from this goat's skin in order to fight the Titans.[2] Previously in the *Fasti*, at 3.443–444 (when presenting a statue group featuring Veiovis, understood as young Jupiter), Ovid seems to recall Callimachus' account in his *Hymn to Zeus* (1.46–49), where multiple Cretan nymphs tend to Jupiter, who sucks the goat (called 'Amalthea' by Callimachus):

> *stat quoque capra simul: nymphae pavisse feruntur*
> *Cretides, infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.*
>
> A she-goat, too, stands along with him: Cretan nymphs are said to have fed him, and she gave milk to the infant Jupiter.
>
> Ζεῦ, σὲ δὲ Κυρβάντων ἑτάραι προσεπηχύναντο
> Δικταῖαι Μελίαι, σὲ δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια
> λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζόν
> αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρως.
>
> O Zeus, the companions of the Corybantes took you in their arms, the Dictean Meliae, and Adrasteia set you down in a golden cradle, and you sucked the rich breast of the goat Amaltheia and ate the sweet honeycomb besides.

In our story Ovid may allude to the same passage in his metonymic expression at the start (5.112), *cunas . . . Iovis* to signify 'the infant Jove,' since the baby's cradle—a golden one at that—is a conspicuous part of Callimachus' scene. But overall Ovid is following the general outlines of the story as told in Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi* (13), which is perhaps not surprising in view of his own interest here in the tale's asterizing conclusion:

> Ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἡ Αἲξ καὶ οἱ Ἔριφοι. Μουσαῖος γάρ φησι Δία γεννώμενον ἐγχειρισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ῥέας Θέμιδι, Θέμιν δὲ Ἀμαλθείᾳ δοῦναι τὸ βρέφος, τὴν δὲ ἔχουσαν αἶγα ὑποθεῖναι, τὴν δ' ἐκθρέψαι Δία· τὴν δὲ Αἶγα εἶναι Ἡλίου θυγατέρα φοβερὰν οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς κατὰ Κρόνον θεούς, βδελυττομένους τὴν μορφὴν τῆς παιδός, ἀξιῶσαι <τὴν> Γῆν κρύψαι αὐτὴν ἔν τινι τῶν κατὰ Κρήτην ἄντρων· καὶ ἀποκρυψαμένην ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῆς τῇ Ἀμαλθείᾳ ἐγχειρίσαι, τὴν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνης γάλακτι τὸν Δία ἐκθρέψαι· ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς ἡλικίαν καὶ μέλλοντος Τιτᾶσι πολεμεῖν, οὐκ

[2] Roscher 1884, 1.262–266 (Stoll); Schömann 1857, 2:258; Ganz 1993, 41–42.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> ἔχοντος δὲ ὅπλα, θεσπισθῆναι αὐτῷ τῆς αἰγὸς τῇ δορᾷ ὅπλῳ χρήσασθαι διά τε τὸ ἄτρωτον αὐτῆς καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς μέσην τὴν ῥάχιν Γοργόνος πρόσωπον ἔχειν· ποιήσαντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ φανέντος διπλασίονος, τὰ ὀστᾶ δὲ τῆς αἰγὸς καλύψαντος ἄλλῃ δορᾷ καὶ ἔμψυχον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον κατασκευάσαντος, αὐτὴν μέν φασιν ἄστρον οὐράνιον καταστῆσαι.[3]

> Figured in this (the Charioteer) are the She-goat and the Kids. For Mousaios says that Zeus at birth was handed over by Rhea to Themis and that Themis gave the infant to Amalthea, who put the infant under her she-goat and reared Zeus. The she-goat was a daughter of Helios, so terrible that the gods around Kronos, loathing the form of Helios' child, asked Gaia to hide it in some one of the caves in Crete. And secret care of her was handed over to Amalthea, who reared Zeus with the goat's milk. When the child came of age and was intending to war against the Titans, but lacked weapons, it was prophesied to him that he should use the goat's skin as a weapon and to have (it) because of its invulnerability and terribleness and because of the face of the Gorgon in the middle of the spine. When Zeus did these things and craftily became double in size and covered the bones of the she-goat with another skin and made her alive and immortal, they say that she was set as a heavenly star.

In Eratosthenes, too, who attributes the tale to Mousaios, the trajectory is from the goat-owning Amalthea who feeds the infant god in Crete to the she-goat becoming a star in the heavens. As if to signal that he is following this source, and not Callimachus and others who call Amalthea the nourishing goat, Ovid in verse 115 makes the first words of the narrative proper *nais Amalthea.* Amalthea is the nymph, not the goat. On the other hand, he pointedly does not follow a very prominent motif in Eratosthenes—namely, the terrible aspect of the goat, a child of Helios, who so frightened the Titans that they asked Gaia to hide it away. As if to counter that version, Ovid makes his goat *formosa,* 'beautiful' (117), and then details the conspicuousness of its impressive horns and abundant udder (119–120). Hand in hand with this, Ovid for the first time in literary history makes this she-goat (and so the constellation's name) a diminutive, *Capella,* where previously in Latin she is *Capra,* translating Αἴξ, the word always used in Greek accounts.[4] *Capella* in verse 113 anticipates the

---

[3] Text cited from Pàmias I Massana 2013. The *Katasterismoi* that comes down under the name of Eratosthenes is now usually attributed to a later adapter; see Pàmias I Massana 2013, xx–xxiv, on the history of the text. On Ovid's evident consultation of the original work by Eratosthenes in the *Fasti*, see Robert 1882, 29. The final word of the quoted passage, καταστῆσαι, is Heyne's conjecture in place of the codices' κατασκευάσαι. Some see a lacuna here.

[4] The diminutive *Capella* for the star also appears at *Met.* 3.594, followed by Manil. 1.367, 2.30 (also

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

romanticizing attractiveness of the narrative's caprine focal point, and evokes a neoteric spirit. One finds the word 13 times, always at verse end, as here, in Vergil's *Eclogues*, where *capellae* regularly roam through the pastoral world.[5]

If Eratosthenes provides the basic story line, Ovid at the same time evokes a heavily Aratean atmosphere—again, quite appropriate for a star myth. The opening, *ab Iove surgat opus* (111), clearly recalls the famous start of the *Phaenomena*, Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα ('Let us begin from Zeus'). Then, as Boyd astutely remarks (2000, 71–72), by following this allusion immediately with mention of a catasterism won by serving the infant Jupiter (111–112), Ovid feints at the first star myth in Aratus' poem (*Phaen.* 30–35), a unique tale of the Bears who nourished the infant Jupiter in Crete:

> εἰ ἐτεὸν δή,
> Κρήτηθεν κεῖναί γε Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι
> οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὅ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα
> Δίκτῃ ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο,
> ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
> Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο.
>
> If indeed it is true, they (the Bears) by the will of mighty Zeus entered up into the sky because, when in olden days he was a baby in fragrant Dicte near Mount Ida, they put him in a cave and fostered him for a year, when the Dictaean Curetes were deceiving Cronus.

But Ovid instead goes on to tell of Jupiter's more famous nurse, the goat, and does so by alluding at once to Aratus' own brief mention of the goat star later in the *Phaenomena*. The phrase *Oleniae . . . Capellae* (113), with its recherché epithet, echoes *Phaenomena* 164 (Ὠλενίην . . . Αἶγα). Other Aratean touches not mentioned by Boyd are the goat's two offspring, suggesting the constellation adjacent to Capella, which Aratus, too, in the same passage calls 'her kids' (*Phaen.* 165–166: οἱ . . . Ἔριφοι); in the same couplet, the adjective referring to Mount Dicte (*Dictaeos,* 118), just a couple of verses after *Cretaea* . . . Ida in 115, points to the *zetema* at *Phaenomena* 33, which was puzzled over by ancient exegetes because it juxtaposes these two Cretan locales that are so distant from one another.[6] This occurs in Aratus' star myth of the Bears (quoted above), of which Ovid fleetingly puts us in mind at the outset.

Plin. *HN* 18.248, 255, 310, 312; Pliny names Ovid among his sources for book 18). *Capra*: Enn. Trag. 250 W.; Cic. *Arat.* 25.3, 33.468 Soubiran; Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.6; German. *Arat.* 167, 685.

[5] *Ecl.* 1.12, 74, 77; 2.63, 64; 3.96; 4.21; 7.3; 8.33; 9.23; 10.7, 30, 77.

[6] See Kidd 1997, 186–187 *ad loc.* The two Cretan toponyms are nearly conflated in this story by Callim. *Hymn* 1.4 and 6; 47 and 51.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The elegant interplay of Aratean allusions announced by imitation of the very first words of the *Phaenomena* invites us to consider this entire 18-verse section of the *Fasti* as a kind of equivalent to the 18-line hymn to Zeus that opens Aratus' poem. While Ovid's movement is not formally hymnic, he keeps Jupiter in view throughout, naming the divinity six times (112: *Iove*; 113: *Iovis*; 116: *Iovem*; 120: *Iovis*; 124: *Iovis*; 126: *Iove*; cf. 121: *deo*). In place of the Stoic Zeus who guides the universe in Aratus, Ovid features a chapter in the same god's birth legend, which is the focal point of Callimachus' first *Hymn*. I suggested earlier that the cradle in verse 112 may look to that very text, so another intertextual dynamic at work here is Ovid's clever *contaminatio* of two great Hellenistic hymns to Zeus, rather than, as Boyd characterizes it, the shift once and for all from Aratus to Callimachus.

Where Boyd would have that shift occur, in verses 115–116 (*nais Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida, / dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem*), a larger interplay with various versions is evident. Ovid may, as she argues (2000, 73), be conflating nymphs from two stages of Callimachus' story, the Arcadian Neda, who took the baby god from Rhea and hid him away in Crete, and the Cretan Adrasteia of verse 47, who may implicitly own the goat Amaltheia mentioned in the phrase immediately following (49):

> Νέδῃ δέ σε δῶκε κομίσσαι
> κευθμὸν ἔσω Κρηταῖον, ἵνα κρύφα παιδεύοιο,
> πρεσβυτάτῃ Νυμφέων, αἵ μιν τότε μαιώσαντο.
>
> And she gave you to Neda to carry away into the Cretan hiding place, so that you might be raised secretly, to her the eldest of the nymphs who attended at the birth.
> (*Hymn* 1.33–35)
>
> σὲ δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια
> λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζόν
> αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρως.
>
> And Adrasteia set you down in a golden cradle, and you sucked the rich breast of the goat Amaltheia and ate the sweet honeycomb besides. (*Hymn* 1.47–49)

But by naming the nymph herself Amalthea, Ovid is demonstrably following the version seen in Eratosthenes.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

There is a similar appeal to a broader tradition in the second half of the narrative, where, onto the story of the nymph and her goat who suckled Jupiter, we find grafted an *aition* for the fantastically plentiful Cornucopia in its incarnation as the Horn of Amalthea (121–127). The latter legend lived an independent existence from at least the sixth century BCE.[7] Some attribute the joining of the two tales to Ovid,[8] but Gee (2000, 134) draws attention to a confused scholion on Aratus 156 as indicating that Amalthea's magical horn was already in the tradition connected to—or, should we say, detached from—Zeus's caprine nurse (albeit in a strange version of the tale):

> ὁ δὲ μῦθος οὕτως ἔχει, ὅτι ἡ Αἲξ αὕτη γυνὴ ἦν Ἀρκαδική, ἥτις ἀνέθρεψε τὸν Δία. καί φασιν ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον λαβὼν αὐτῆς τὸ δέρμα κατὰ συνείλησιν περιέθετο, καὶ αὐτὴν κατηστέρισε. διὸ Αἰγίοχος κικλήσκεται ἀνθρώποισι. ταύτην δὲ καλοῦσι καὶ Ἀμάλθειαν, καὶ Ἀμαλθείας κέρας τὸ τῆς Αἰγός.
>
> The story goes that the Goat herself was an Arcadian woman who brought up Zeus. And they say that after her death, taking her skin, he put it around himself as a covering and turned her into a star. Wherefore he is called Aigiochus by mankind; they call her also Amalthea, and the Goat's horn the Horn of Amalthea.

A scholion to verse 49 of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* likewise imagines both of the she-goat's horns as potentially contributing to the baby god's sustenance, since from one was said to flow ambrosia, and from the other nectar.[9]

An even more important, if neglected, piece of evidence points to the same conclusion as do these scholia. This is a fountain frieze dated to the second century CE, now in the Vatican Museum (Figure 15.1).[10] To the left of a tree, a draped woman extends a large cornucopia to a seated baby, who drinks from it. Below the child in the foreground are two goats. Just to the right of the tree, under what seems like a stone archway, perhaps designating a cave, stands a youthful Pan playing the pipes. On the top of the arch an eagle feeds on a dead animal (a hare?); above him, in a crook of the tree, rests a nest of birds, approached by a snake wrapped around the tree trunk.

---

[7] See *RE* 2 (1894): 1721–1722, s.v. 'Amaltheia' (Wernicke); Ganz 1993, 41–42.

[8] E.g., in *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (1996): 568, s.v. 'Amaltheia' (J. Bremmer). Ovid's own alternative *aition* at *Met.* 9.85–88 for the Cornucopia—arising from the horn of Achelous, torn off by Hercules—is almost surely his own innovation.

[9] Schol. Callim. *Hymn* 1.49: λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς κέρατος ἀμβροσίαν ῥεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου νέκταρ.

[10] Musei Vaticani inv. 9510 (now in the Museo Gregoriano Profano); see Helbig 1963, 1:726–727, no. 1012 (H. von Steuben); *LIMC* s.v. 'Amaltheia 1'; Roscher 1884, 1:263; Liverani 1995, 49–50, with further bibliography.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

In common with Ovid are the tree (121: *arbore*) and the pair of young goats (117: *haedorum . . . duorum*) at its foot, as well as, most conspicuously, the woman feeding the baby from the cornucopia. Compare Ovid's verse 124: *et plenum pomis ad Iovis ora tulit.* In place of the fruits in Ovid, the baby in marble is enjoying liquid sustenance, which would have been seen pouring through the fountain hole still visible in the horn. Because the infant has satyr-like ears, it has been doubted that the frieze depicts Amalthea and Jupiter,[11] but the eagle above to the right feasting on prey must gloss the baby god via his well-known avian emblem. Likewise, the tree is an oak, which was sacred to Zeus/Jupiter. The eagle may be a shorthand reference to the omen of Troy's fall sent to the Greeks at Aulis by Zeus, the twin eagles feasting on a pregnant hare as recalled in the parados of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (113–120). The snake slithering up the tree to attack the nest of chicks corresponds to another omen to the same effect in *Iliad* 2, where the sign of Troy's doom is explicitly credited *to Zeus*.[12] But quite apart from the allusion to Homer, the scene of threatened baby birds, whom their agitated parents here would protect, neatly refracts the tableau of human figures below, the nymph sustaining the infant who has been rescued from the snakelike swallowing of his parent Cronos. If one is tempted to conclude that the lower scene of this frieze was influenced by Ovid's little narrative, the Pan figure standing on the right suggests rather that the poet and artist are drawing on a common source in which the wondrous cornucopia originated from the goat that nursed Jupiter.[13] For, not Pan himself, but the Pan-like goat-man Capricorn (Greek Aigokeros) occurred in earlier versions of the story of Zeus's infancy in Crete. According to Eratosthenes, again in the *Katasterismoi*, Capricorn was the son of Zeus's goat nurse and was reared with Zeus in Crete and later stellified along with his mother by the adult Zeus.[14] For

[11] E.g., in Helbig 1963, 1:716 (H. von Steuben).

[12] *Il.* 2.305–319; cf. 324: ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηνε τέρας μέγα μητίετα Ζεύς. These two allusions in the frieze are noted by Liverani 1995, 49.

[13] Lora Holland draws my attention to Giovanni Pietro Bellori's note on the etching of the Vatican Amalthea by Pietro Santi Bartoli in *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum* (Rome, 1693), pl. 26, which describes the action as '*Amalthea . . . puero . . . e taurino Acheloi cornu caprinum lac praebet.*' Bellori presumably interprets the horn as taurine because of its large size. If he is correct that the relief artist intended to evoke Achelous' severed horn, then the scene would be conflating Ovid's two *aitia* for the origin of the cornucopia (see n. 8 above).

[14] *Cat.* 17. Αἰγόκερω. Οὗτός ἐστι τῷ εἴδει ὅμοιος τῷ Αἰγίπανι· ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ γέγονεν· ἔχει δὲ θηρίου τὰ κάτω μέρη καὶ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ· ἐτιμήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ σύντροφον εἶναι τῷ Διί, καθάπερ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ συνῆν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐστράτευσεν. οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ εὑρεῖν τὸν κόχλον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς συμμάχους καθώπλισε διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤχου Πανικὸν καλούμενον, ὃ οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἔφυγον· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν <ὁ Ζεὺς> ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὸν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν αἶγα τὴν μητέρα. 'Capricorn. This one is like Goat-Pan in form and was born from him. He has the lower parts of a beast and horns on his head. He was honored for being reared along with Zeus, as Epimenides says in his history of Crete that he was with Zeus on Ida when he warred against the Titans. He is thought to have discovered the conch shell trumpet,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

all the other similarities with Ovid's account, the fountain artist would not have taken the Capricorn motif from Ovid, who only glances at the idea in totally transforming it. Ovid plays with this side story when he has *Iuppiter invictus* (a common marker of this story's conclusion)[15] catasterize not only the goat but also her horn (127–128). The Cornucopia is not otherwise a star, so Ovid has Jupiter elevate to the heavens, in the goatish horned Capricorn's place, the *nutricis fertile cornu*.

With this maneuver—to look back now over this whole episode in the *Fasti*—Ovid applies the crowning touch to his twofold story of Capella. Even if he inherited from a source now lost the conjoined motifs of Amalthea's plentiful horn and the nursing of baby Jupiter, Ovid takes pains to weave the two motifs intricately together. Amalthea's nurture of the divine infant is doubled: her goat gives the baby milk; she herself then feeds him fruit from the goat's broken horn. When, in verse 121, *lac dabat illa deo*, Ovid precisely restates his opening summary statement in 114 of the goat's milky service, *dati . . . lactis*, the nursing has now become background information in the imperfect tense as the main action unexpectedly switches to the broken horn via a clever narrative indirection. But this turn of events at the fateful tree has been anticipated by the apparently stray detail in 116 that Jupiter was hidden *in silvis*—even though Ida was famously wooded. The lost horn is likewise set up by the earlier description of the she-goat's impressive rack: *cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis,* 119. In the final couplet Ovid pulls together the three foci of his narrative—caprine nurse, her horn, and her mistress—and applies several other closural effects. These include resumptive verbal echoes (*nutricem, nutricis*—cf. *nutrix,* 120; *cornu*—cf. *cornu,* 121; *habet*—cf. *habet,* 114);[16] repetition of the principal honorand *nutricem nutricis*; return to the poet's present; and the act of stellification by the now-victorious Jupiter prefigured at the start (*illa . . . caelum praemia . . . habet*, 114). Complementing all this is Ovid's evident innovation in replacing the tradition's Capricorn with an *asterized* Horn of Amalthea, which neatly aligns in conclusion the infant's two sources of nourishment.

with which he armed his allies by means of the noise called Panic, which the Titans fled. When Zeus seized power, he put him in the stars and also the goat his mother.'

[15] Eratosth. *Cat*. 13; Ant. Lib. *Met*. 36; Diod. Sic. 5.70.1; Hyg. *Astr*. 2.13.

[16] These start in the previous couplet with *caeli* (125) echoing *caelum* (114) in the same *sedes*.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Figure 15.1. Fountain frieze, marble, second century CE. Musei Vaticani inv. 9510. Photo: Vatican Museums, published with permission.

Works Cited

Alton, E. H., D. E. W. Wormell, and E. Courtney, eds. 1997. *P. Ovidi Nasonis* Fastorum *libri sex*. 4th ed. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.

Boyd, B. W. 2000. Celabitur auctor: The Crisis of Authority and Narrative Patterning in Ovid, Fasti 5. *Phoenix* 54:64–98.

Ganz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gee, G. 2000. *Ovid, Aratus, and Augustus: Astronomy in Ovid's* Fasti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Helbig, W. 1963. *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* vol. 1: *Die Päpstlichen Sammlungen im Vatikan und Lateran,* edited by B. Andreae *et al.* 4th ed. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
Kidd, D. 1997. *Aratus:* Phaenomena. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Liverani, P. 1995. La collezione di antichità classiche e gli scavi di Tusculum e Musignano. In *Luciano Bonaparte, le sue collezioni d'arte, le sue residenze a Roma, nel Lazio, in Italia (1804–1840)*, edited by M. Natoli, 49–79. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato.
Pàmias I Massana, J. 2013. *Eratosthène de Cyrène* Catastérismes. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Robert, C. 1882. *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*. Berlin: Weidmann.
Roscher, W. H., ed. 1884–1890. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Schömann, G. F. 1857. De Iovis incunabulis. In *Opuscula Academica*, vol. 2: *Mythologica et Hesiodea*, 250–263. Berlin: Weidmann.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

16

Galen and the Culture of Dissection

Lesley Dean-Jones

In the earliest period of Greek medicine, from the sixth to the fourth century BCE, there was no *systematic* dissection of the human body. At least one Hippocratic author was misled even about the number of vertebrae and ribs in a human body. *Places in Man* 6 says that humans have 18 or 20 vertebrae (rather than the normal 24 that we expect) and 7 pairs of ribs (rather than 12).[1] It seems likely that the author had, at best, seen parts of a disarticulated skeleton in which the only ribs that remained were the 7 pairs joined to the sternum.[2] On the other hand, another Hippocratic treatise suggests that there was *some* human dissection. In *On Anatomy* 2 the author describes 'the lung' as having 5 lobes, which human lungs do, but not those of any other animal.[3] However, the author's description of the organs and the relation between them is very

---

Earlier versions of this chapter were delivered at the Association of Ancient Historians, as the Dr. Henry Lee Lecture at the College of William and Mary, and as the Erling Holtsmark Lecture at the University of Iowa. I am grateful for all the comments and suggestions I received from the audience on those occasions. After the Holtsmark lecture Carin Green was particularly enthusiastic and supportive, and she came back to it often in the marathon dinner sessions to which we treated ourselves on the first night of the APA meeting every year. The warmth of Carin's character gave me great joy and, on occasion, solace. I miss her very much.

[1] *Nature of Bones* 1 has the number correct. Craik (1998, 122) tries to account for the mistaken number of vertebrae but does not address the five missing pairs of ribs.

[2] The fact that the treatise *On the Nature of Man* makes no reference to the heart when discussing the human vascular system has also been used to demonstrate the Hippocratic lack of knowledge of the interior of the body. In Dean-Jones 2017, however, I argue that the language of the text suggests precisely that the author *had* seen the interior of the human thorax.

[3] Craik 2006, 143. The right lung has three and the left two lobes. The Greeks considered the two lungs together to constitute a single organ and referred to 'the lung' in the singular.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

basic and sometimes mistaken, so it seems that opening the body to confirm and develop opportunistic observations was not routine.[4] The Hippocratics do not seem to have practiced animal dissection either, apart from the famous suggestion to cut open a goat's brain to demonstrate the cause of epilepsy.[5] In the second half of the fourth century, Aristotle practiced dissection on a large number of animals, including, almost certainly, human fetuses and neonates, but not mature human bodies.[6]

We are told by the Roman authors Celsus and Tertullian that this changed early in the third century BCE in Alexandria in Egypt, where the doctors Herophilus and Erasistratus dissected, and vivisected, human subjects—condemned criminals handed over to them by the ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy II.[7] Celsus was writing three and Tertullian five centuries after Herophilus and Erasistratus, and Tertullian was a Christian with an antipagan bias, so this testimony, as regards vivisection at least, is considered untrustworthy by many. However, the descriptions of the anatomy and relative position of human organs in the fragments of the Alexandrians make it certain that they had seen the interior of the human body, at least in cadavers, and Herophilus' identification of the cerebellum as responsible for muscle activity and maintaining the equilibrium of the body suggests that he had also cut open living humans (von Staden 1989, 247). The practice of cutting open the human body, dead or alive, is thought by most scholars to have come to an abrupt end after a period of less than 50 years, just after the middle of the third century BCE, though there is no ancient testimony to confirm that this is what happened.

In fact, in the past many scholars have recognized that human dissection did take place at Rome in the late Republic and early empire, if only in some opportunistic contexts. Edelstein (1967) argues that human dissection

[4] *On Anatomy* 2 describes the lungs as being an ashy color with dark spots. On this point Craik (2006, 143) merely comments, 'The lung is rose-pink in all young creatures; the characteristic dark pigmentation, in animals as in humans, is due to breathing an impure atmosphere,' apparently relying on a 1949 edition of *Gray's Anatomy*. But even today, when our atmophere is certainly more polluted than that of ancient Greece, the lungs of healthy adult nonsmokers and nonminers are a pinkish grey and not generally covered in dark spots. Ashy-colored lungs with dark spots sound like lungs diseased with silicosis (Rosen 1943). It seems likely that the body that was dissected was that of a slave from the silver mines: there would be less concern about his corpse than about that of a Greek citizen, but still enough anxiety to prevent routine systematic dissection.

[5] *On the Sacred Disease* 6. The author believes that this will demonstrate the phlegmatic nature of goats' brains. Goats were believed to be the animals most prone to epilepsy.

[6] See Dean-Jones 2017. Aristotle's description of the heart seems to include the foramen ovale, the ventricular septal defect, and the coronary fossa, all of which are visible in the human fetal heart, but not the adult.

[7] Celsus, *On Medicine* 1, *Introduction* 23–26; Tertullian, *On the Soul* 10.4, 25.5.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

continued as a matter of course until the first century CE but ceased before Galen's time because Roman superstition reasserted itself over clear-headed Greek philosophy. Singer (1956, 244n72) says that even during Galen's time, 'occasional human dissection was normal,' and May (1958, 409) refers to 'sporadic, fortuitous dissection of the human body' in the same period. Since a very influential article by Kudlien in 1969, however, most scholars have denied that human dissection was performed frequently or routinely after the third century BCE. Von Staden (1989, 148n22) calls the possibility 'untenable.' But to reach this conclusion you have to read the evidence in a way that takes as its starting point the idea that human dissection was unthinkable in this period. If you begin with the assumption that it *was* possible, the evidence takes on a different cast.[8]

Evidence for Dissection at Rome

The strongest evidence for continued human dissection by some doctors at Rome into the first century CE at least is found in Celsus' *Introduction* to his encyclopedic work *On Medicine*.[9] In *Introduction* 12 he begins to explain the difference between the two major sects of medicine that developed in Alexandria: the Dogmatists, who believed in looking for hidden causes of disease, and the Empiricists, who believed that such knowledge was useless; for them, all a doctor needed to know was which remedies were known to work for which diseases. Celsus says of the Dogmatists:

> *Neminem putant his adhibere posse remedia, qui ipsas ignoret. Ergo necessarium esse incidere corpora mortuorum, eorumque viscera atque intestina scrutari; longeque optime fecisse Herophilum et Erasistratum, qui nocentes homines a regibus ex carcere acceptos vivos inciderint, considerarintque etiamnum spiritu remanente ea, quae natura ante clausisset.*
>
> They hold that no one can apply remedies for <diseases> who is ignorant about the parts themselves; hence it becomes necessary to lay open the bodies of the dead and to scrutinize their viscera and intestines. They hold that Herophilus and Erasistratus did this in the best way by far, when they laid open men whilst alive—criminals received out of prison

[8] Lora Holland has drawn to my attention the fact that terracotta anatomical votives appear in Italy and are popular only from the late fourth to the first century BCE. If their prevalence is connected to the frequency of dissection, it would suggest that dissection of humans continued after the Alexandrian period but had ceased before Galen's time. I have not had a chance to investigate this further.

[9] Celsus was not himself a doctor. He also compiled encyclopedias on other subjects, including agriculture, but these have not survived.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> from the kings—and whilst these were still breathing, observed parts which beforehand nature had concealed. (*Introduction* 23–24)[10]

Following this, Celsus summarizes the Empiricists' objections to the Dogmatists (primarily to vivisection), concluding with a brief reference to dissection of dead bodies:

> *Ob haec ne mortuorum quidem lacerationem necessariam esse (quae etsi non crudelis, tamen foeda sit), cum aliter pleraque in mortuis se habeant.*
>
> For these reasons, since most things are altered in the dead, some hold that *even* the dissection of the dead is unnecessary; although not cruel, it is none the less nasty. (*Introduction* 44, emphasis added)

Celsus then continues in his own voice:

> *Cum haec per multa volumina perque magnas contentionis [disputationes] a medicis saepe tractata sint atque tractentur, subiciendum est, quae proxima vero videri possint.*
>
> Since all these questions have been discussed often by practitioners, in many volumes and in large and contentious disputations, and the discussion continues, it remains to add such views as may seem nearest the truth. (*Introduction* 45)

In his assessment of the competing views (in which he favors Empiricism), on three occasions Celsus uses phrases indicating 'our own time' (*aetate nostra*, 49; *saeculi nostri*, 54, 69)[11] and ends by saying:

> *Igitur, ut ad propositum meum redeam. . . . Incidere autem vivorum corpora et crudele et supervacuum est, mortuorum discentibus necessarium: nam positum et ordinem nosse debent, quae cadaver melius quam vivus et vulneratus homo repraesentat.*
>
> Therefore, to return to what I myself propound. . . . To lay open the bodies of men whilst still alive is as cruel as it is needless; that of the dead is a necessity for learners, who should know positions and relations, which

[10] The text and translation of Celsus is taken from Spencer's Loeb edition.

[11] This latter phrase occurs in reference to Cassius, the most ingenious physician of Celsus' time, whose floruit is dated 10 BCE to 30 CE by Keyser and Irby-Massie 2008, 204.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> the dead body exhibits better than does a living and wounded man.[12] (*Introduction* 74)

Apart from the use of the word 'nasty' (*foeda*), neither side of the debate as reported by Celsus implies a taboo on human *dissection* at the time he is writing; rather, there is an assumption that it does take place. Dogmatists think it is necessary, as does Celsus himself, at least in training doctors. The reported Empiricist position—that they did not think bodies '*even* of the dead' (*ne mortuorum quidem*) should be cut open—also implies that it was a practice countenanced in the wider Roman culture as well as medical circles.

Kudlien (1969) has argued against this interpretation, however, and it is his views that have convinced most scholars. He argues that the deep-seated but unspoken taboo in Greek culture against manipulating a human corpse reasserted itself after Herophilus and Erasistratus in the articulated objections of the Empiricists and that these objections were internalized even by non-Empiricist physicians, though the evidence he cites for revulsion at touching a human corpse all comes from Empiricist or nonmedical contexts. He argues that Celsus' discussion is a translation of an earlier source and that his vivid first-person statements merely reflect a theoretical understanding of the possibility of human dissection.[13]

Now, it has to be admitted that not a great deal of talk about dissection survives from the Hellenistic and Roman world, but this is also true of the first half of the third century BCE, when everybody agrees that it was occurring. Kudlien relegates to a footnote (1969, 91n6) the comment of Apollonius of Citium, an Empiricist physician of the generation before Celsus, that Herophileans of his time were devoting themselves to 'notorious dissection' (πολυθρύλητος ἀνατομή), with the gloss that it was an ironic comment that could refer to the dissection of animals or the medical literature on dissection. These are possibilities, but not the first that the phrase 'notorious dissection' in connection with Herophilus brings to mind, especially as animal bodies had always been manipulated by butchers, and animal dissection had been practiced since Aristotle's time. Indeed, the fact that most of the references to dissection that we have come from Empiricists arguing against it rather than from Dogmatists arguing for it tends to suggest that it was the Empiricists who felt the need to argue against

---

[12] See von Staden 1994 for an examination of the persona Celsus crafts for himself throughout *On Medicine*.

[13] Ferngren (1982, 290) remarks that although Celsus 'does not say whether dissection was practised in his own day . . . by the second century it appears that outside Alexandria dissection was a thing of the past.' This makes the shift from past to present tense in Celsus' remarks on vivisection and dissection respectively hard to account for.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the status quo. Furthermore, most of the medical writing that survives from the period between the Alexandrians and Galen does so as epitomes and quotations in Galen himself, and, as we shall see, Galen had an interest in downplaying the incidence and significance of human dissection.

We can also document something of a change in attitude toward animal dissection between classical Greece and the Roman empire. In fourth-century Athens some young men chose to attend the Lyceum, where they knew they would be expected to learn about the natural world. Even so, Aristotle had to cajole these students into dissection, commiserating with them in *On the Parts of Animals*:[14]

> οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἄνευ πολλῆς δυσχερείας ἰδεῖν ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, οἷον αἷμα, σάρκες, ὀστᾶ, φλέβες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόρια.
>
> It is not possible without considerable disgust to look upon the blood, flesh, bones, blood-vessels and suchlike parts of which the human race is constructed. (1.5.645a28–31)[15]

In contrast, in the second century CE, Galen, the most famous physician in antiquity after Hippocrates and a Dogmatist, enthusiastically promoted the study of medicine, including animal dissection, among those who never intended to practice as doctors, without the slightest indication that he expected to meet resistance. A man might be rich and of noble birth and have no need to earn a living, yet Galen believed that the best training for his mind was to study a serviceable art, and that medicine was the most noble of these. He wrote a book on the subject: *Exhortation to the Study of the Arts, Especially Medicine*. One such amateur anatomist—Galen refers to him as one of his *hetairoi*—was Flavius Boethus, consul in 164 CE and later governor of Palestine. *On Anatomical Procedures*, a magnum opus of 15 books, was intended as a handbook for those beginning dissection. These men definitely performed the dissections themselves and, at least in Galen's imagination, were anxious to display their skills to each other as a leisure pursuit. Describing how to separate the skin from the underlying membrane, Galen says:

> δεῖται δὲ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χρόνου πλείονος. ὅθεν, ὅταν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν φιλομαθῶν ἐπιδεικνύῃς τὰ κατὰ τὴν χεῖρα, φθάνων προαπόξυε τὸν ὑμένα τοῦ δέρματος, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν θεώμενον. εἰ δέ τινι

[14] A visiting lecturer at UT had a similar reaction when one of my Ph.D. students suggested that Aristotle's biology could be exploited much more than it usually is to help elucidate some parts of *De anima*. 'Oh,' he said, 'but biology is so wet and sticky.'

[15] The text and translation of Aristotle's *Parts of Animals* is taken from Peck's Loeb edition.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> τῶν ἑταίρων ἐθέλοις κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀνατομῆς, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἄλλῳ ποτὲ δεῖξαι βουλήσεται, παρόντος αὐτοῦ ποιοῦ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν.
>
> This operation is rather tedious, so, if you are demonstrating the parts of the arm to another, remove the skin before he arrives. If your colleague who participates in the dissection wants to show it to others, do the operation in his presence. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 3.2)[16]

Of course, Galen also thought dissection was essential for those who intended to practice as physicians. Concerning knowledge of the attachments of muscles, position of veins and arteries, and such matters, he writes:

> ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ἰατροῖς, ὥστ' οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ τῆς ἀνατομῆς γράψαντες ὅλας βίβλους ἐμπειρικοὶ καταγνῶναι τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἶναι_χρησιμωτάτην ἁπάντων τῶν τοιούτων τὴν γνῶσιν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑκάστοτε γιγνομένων τραυμάτων αὐτάρκως διδάσκεσθαί φασι τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν. τούτους μέν γε θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις τῆς προπετείας. ὅπου γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ μετὰ σχολῆς πολλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατομὴν αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες ἠκριβώκασι τὴν θεωρίαν, σχολῇ γε ἄν τις ἐκ τῆς τῶν τραυμάτων θέας διδαχθείη.
>
> These things are so necessary to physicians that not even the Empirics, who wrote whole books against dissection, have dared to condemn such knowledge. Indeed they admit that all such knowledge is most useful, though they maintain that enough of it can be learned from the wounds that occur from time to time. One might well wonder at their temerity, for since even those who have devoted much time to anatomy have failed to bring it to perfection, one could scarcely acquire it from the contemplation of wounds. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 2.3)

There is no evidence that Galen had to resort to impassioned protreptic to overcome repugnance in either those who intended to go into medicine professionally or his dilettante followers.[17] And we know that these dissections were performed, not only in small salons but also in the large public venues discussed below.

As regards the limited value of contemplating wounds in human beings, Galen knew whereof he spoke. At Pergamon in 158–161 CE, he had been physician to the gladiators and had ample opportunity to use wounds as 'windows on the

[16] The text of Galen is that of Kühn. The translation of *On Anatomical Procedures* is that of Singer.
[17] Interestingly, Galen always seems to have had more amateur students than aspiring professionals.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

body.' Yet Scarborough (1971, 104–105) has demonstrated that the anatomical observations he made at this period are more tentative and less detailed than those of his later works. After practicing dissection on animals assiduously throughout his career, Galen became much bolder. He recounts the case of a slave who suffered from chronic suppuration of the sternum, claiming that he was able to excise the affected part without puncturing the pericardium:

> ὑγιάσθη δὲ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ· ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο, μηδενὸς τολμήσαντος ἐκκόψαι τὸ πεπονθὸς ὀστοῦν· ἐτόλμησε δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἄνευ τοῦ προγεγυμνάσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἀνατομικὰς ἐγχειρήσεις.
>
> Before long the slave recovered completely, which would not have been the case if no one had dared to excise the affected bone, and no one would have had the courage to do so without previous anatomical experience. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 7.13)

There is no doubt that Galen's dissections were performed exclusively on animals. May, the translator of *On the Usefulness of Parts of the Body*, another of Galen's magna opera, remarks that she found the anatomy of the rhesus monkey far more useful in following Galen's descriptions than *Gray's Anatomy* (May 1970, 169).[18] Galen's favorite subject for dissection was the Barbary ape, which he considered the most humanlike animal. He was aware of differences in skeletal structure because he says he had seen an articulated human skeleton at Alexandria, and he advises his students to visit Alexandria for this express purpose if they can.[19] Despite this understanding that there were considerable differences between the skeletons of humans and apes, Galen assumes that superficial resemblance in observable tissues can be extrapolated to deeper structures:

> ταύτας οὖν ἁπάσας τὰς φλέβας, ἃς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς πρὸ τῆς ἀνατομῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ πιθήκῳ ἀνατεμνομένῳ ὄψει. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς διὰ τοῦ βάθους ὡσαύτως ἔχει τὰ ζῷα ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

[18] Dr. Julius Rocca (2003) dissected the brain of an ox following Galen's directions and found everything to be exactly as Galen described.

[19] This statement cuts to both sides of the argument. It implies that human skeletons were not generally available in Galen's time, and many think that the one at Alexandria dated to the time of Herophilus, though even bone would have to be very well curated to survive for five centuries. On the other hand, it suggests that revulsion at touching the remains of the dead was not as all-pervasive as Kudlien (1969) states. It must also be remembered that here Galen is addressing his own students. On the significance of this see below.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

> All the veins that you see in man without dissection you will see in the ape during dissection. Clearly then these animals are like men in respect of the deep veins as well. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 3.5)

Singer describes Galen's anatomy as 'the soft parts of the ape imposed on the skeleton of man' (1956, xix). His assimilation of human to ape leads Galen to declare, for instance, that human and ape intestines are the same, apparently unaware of the existence of the vermiform appendix in humans and its absence in apes.[20]

Although all his dissections were performed on animals, Galen claims that he was able, through contant practice, to develop the precision needed to perform operations like the excision of the sternum. He believed that dissection was of little use even to the amateur enthusiast if undertaken sporadically. He constantly reiterates the importance of frequent repetition if dissection is to be worthwhile.[21] Not only is anatomy learned through chance observations, as advocated by the Empiricists, inadequate to teaching the precise nature of the parts, but dissection itself, he says,

> ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἄνευ τοῦ πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολλῶν γεγυμνάσθαι.
>
> cannot do so even when carried out with careful attention, unless accompanied by constant practice on many bodies. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 2.3)

Galen called such practice *gymnasia* and in his own case saw it as necessary preparation for public dissection, in the same way that a concert pianist would practice before a performance.

And, as already mentioned, dissection was a form of popular entertainment in ancient Rome. As well as practicing physicians such as Galen, and amateur enthusiasts, such as Boethus, there were also professional dissectionists, for whom dissection was an end in itself. Von Staden (1995) has shown how the performances of such men were part of the rhetorical culture of the Second Sophistic, presented in private salons (ἴδια), larger venues (δημόσια), and huge gatherings (ἐν πλήθει). Galen himself often performed in such contexts, which were, as von Staden has shown, as lively, as agonistic, and as open to impromptu suggestions from the audience to test the performer's knowledge and ability

[20] *On Anatomical Procedures* 6.9. Such was Galen's authority for more than a millennium after his death that even when these mistakes became evident, the medical profession fought against the conclusion that he had not seen the interior of the human body (see Temkin 1973, 95–133).

[21] E.g., *On the Usefulness of the Parts* 2.3; *On Anatomical Procedures* 1.2, 2.3, 3.9, 5.6.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

as other sophistic displays of the period. Galen is unfailingly caustic about his rivals' abilities. He tells of one occasion on which he dissected the abdomen of an ape, spreading out the organs on the table in front of him as he removed each one. At the end of his display, he gave other anatomists in the audience the opportunity to demonstrate their skill by taking the podium and putting all the pieces back in the correct place, but, he notes with satisfaction, no one took up his challenge, and he had to do it himself (*On Examinations by Which the Best Physicians Are Recognized* 9.6; see von Staden 1995, 56). The lack of skill of such professionals he attributes to lack of *gymnasia*: a failure to practice.

On a number of occasions Galen indicates that as a subject for dissection, the ape is a second-best option. Introducing the topic of the study of bones, he advises any student who cannot visit Alexandria to take any opportunity afforded by the exposure of a body (e.g., a corpse washed out of a tomb by a flood, a robber killed and left lying by the side of the road) to examine the human skeleton, especially if there is enough flesh and skin on it to keep it articulated as though for elementary teaching. 'If you have not the luck to see anything of this sort,' he says, 'dissect an ape.' A little later he adds:

> ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ χρὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ πολλῆς σχολῆς ἕκαστον τῶν μορίων, ἵν' ἐξαίφνης ὀφθὲν γνωρισθῇ, μάλιστα μὲν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ζώων παραπλησίων ἀνθρώπῳ.
>
> For to understand [a dissection] when suddenly seen, one must have observed each part at leisure beforehand, preferably in human subjects or, failing these, in animals similar to man. (*On Anatomical Procedures* 1.2)

This passage undercuts the thesis of Annoni and Barras (1993), who have argued that human dissection ceased after the Alexandrian period because it was possible, based on the human dissections of Herophilus and Erasistratus, to establish rules for relating animal dissections to the human body. To show that human dissection was no longer considered necessary, they point to the fact that Galen feels justified in correcting statements on human anatomy by 'even the greatest experts' on the basis of his purely animal dissections (1993, 214–217). They also note that Rufus of Ephesus (a slightly earlier contemporary of Galen) bemoaned the fact that 'ancient' doctors (i.e., those in third-century BCE Alexandria) had more success than those of his own time because they did not have to rely on animals to learn anatomy. This may show that Rufus of Ephesus himself did not have the opportunity to dissect a human body, but it seems to contradict Annoni and Barras' contention that this was because human dissection was no longer considered necessary. Following Kudlien (1969), they counter this objection by characterizing Rufus' lament that he could not dissect

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

humans as rhetorical rather than heartfelt, but they have no evidence for such a judgment other than their argument that human dissection ceased because it was no longer thought necessary.

Both Apollonius of Citium and Celsus can be read as evidence for human dissection in the first centuries BCE and CE. In the second century CE, the utility of dissecting *animals* was widely acknowledged among Roman doctors. Far from finding it disgusting, as Aristotle's students had, Romans seem to have positively reveled both in watching professionals ferreting around in intestines and in doing it themselves. Still, at that time animals, even apes, were recognized as inferior substitutes for the human body. In certain circumstances (such as after a public execution, particularly of a traitor, or after certain games in the arena, particularly at midday), post-mortem mutilation of human corpses was standard at Rome (Kyle 1998). Vivisection as a form of execution seems like something the Romans could have countenanced. Compassion for condemned criminals was hardly widespread, even among the intellectual élite. Seneca's objections to the bloodthirsty spectacles in the arena centered on their effect on the audience rather than the suffering of the victims. In one of his letters, after describing some of the horrors inflicted there, he imagines himself addressing a member of the audience: *Quia occidit ille, meruit ut hoc pateretur; tu quid meruisti miser, ut hoc spectes?* ('Granted that, as a murderer, he deserved this punishment, what crime have you committed, poor fellow, that you should deserve to sit and see this show?' *Ep.* 7.5, trans. Gummere). Given these circumstances, what prevented Roman doctors from performing human dissection?

Evidence for Human Dissection at Rome

Maybe very little, maybe nothing, prevented them. In some passages Galen envisages the possibility that his students may have the opportunity to dissect the human body, not just catch a lucky glimpse of a decomposing corpse. In *On Anatomical Procedures* 3.5, he ennumerates three specific contexts in which this could happen. First, he mentions that some doctors have the opportunity to examine a human body 'at their considerable leisure' (ἐπὶ πολλῆς σχολῆς). He cites as an example certain physicians who dissected the body of a German enemy who had been killed in battle against Marcus Aurelius. In a similar context in *On the Composition of Medicines* 3.2, he mentions physicians in the German war who had permission (ἐξουσία) to dissect barbarians. Whether this shift to the plural and more general nomenclature shows that dissection of enemies killed in battle happened more than once is difficult to say. The phrasing of the second passage, however, would seem to indicate that one barrier to the dissection of humans in the Roman world was the need for permission from the *secular* authorities and that this was granted in certain circumstances. As one

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

might expect, Galen is dismissive about what was achieved by the anonymous doctors on these occasions. All they were able to understand, he says, was the position of the various organs.

The second context in which an anatomist could avail himself of the opportunity to dissect the human body was in the arena:

> τῶν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθέντων καὶ θηρίοις παραβληθέντων ἐθεάσαντο πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὅπερ ἐβουλήθησαν ἑκάστοτε διὰ ταχέων.
>
> For men have often rapidly observed whatever they wished in bodies of men condemned to death and thrown to wild beasts. *On Anatomical Procedures* 3.5)

The phrase 'whatever they wished' suggests that obtaining permission was less of a problem here, but the observations had to be done rapidly, as is the case with unburied bodies, rather than at leisure, as was possible for the doctors who performed dissections on German prisoners of war.

The third type of body that could be dissected was that of an exposed infant, and here Galen talks of experienced men who had frequently dissected many such bodies. It is these men, he says, who discovered that a human has the same bodily structure as an ape. Galen does not suggest that he was himself one of these men, nor, in all his voluminous writings, does he ever say that he had availed himself of the opportunities to dissect a human body that he says lie open for his *hetairoi,* should they choose to pursue them. He instead insists that if they want to make the most of such an opportunity, should it arise, they should follow his directions for dissecting apes and pigs and do it frequently. They will then be able to see and understand more, even from a rapid viewing of the interior of the human body, than the doctors in Germany were able to do from a dissection undertaken 'at leisure.'

The progression of Galen's argument through these possible objects of dissection acts as marketing for his instruction against rivals who may be able to claim better credentials through the experience of leisurely human dissection while on campaign with the emperor. These men, says Galen, did not understand anything they saw. In contrast, men with good and frequent training on animals, such as he can provide, can learn a lot from a rapid dissection of a human corpse in the arena. And that the ape provides an excellent approximation of the human body has been shown by men who have performed multiple dissections of exposed infants. Therefore, although Galen himself has not performed

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

human dissection, an aspiring physician would do better to train with him than with another teacher who has.[22]

But why did Galen himself never get the opportunity to dissect a human body? Why were 'brief views of the torn human body . . . the full extent of Galen's experience with human anatomy' (Scarborough 1971, 106)? Given that mutilation of the body was the main aim of death in the arena (Kyle states that *noxii* were 'condemned to be damaged'),[23] he may have seen the bodies as too mangled or too burnt to warrant dissection. To prepare subjects for dissection, Aristotle had recommended strangling them to avoid desanguification (*History of Animals* 3.3.513a12–15), but Galen prefers drowning specimens because strangling damages the organs in the neck (*On Anatomical Procedures* 4.2). To be really useful, dissection should be performed on subjects as undamaged and fresh as possible.

Moreover, certain types of death created a need to remove bodies from the city quickly. Suicides by hanging had to be removed from the city within one hour of the deaths' being reported, and dead slaves within two hours of daylight. The evidence points to the rapid removal of most of those killed in the arena, though Kyle mentions occasions on which corpses were abused for as long as three days (1998, 163–164). Now, a good dissection, such as the ones Galen performed to demonstrate respiration or the source of the voice, could take days (*On Prognosis* 5.16). So even if a body left the arena more or less intact, the speed with which dissection would have to be performed would not suit Galen's purposes.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Roman anatomists may have had greater latitude to examine the interior of the human body while victims were still alive. Galen's remark that some men studied the bodies of those 'condemned to death *and* thrown to wild beasts' (ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθέντων καὶ θηρίοις παραβληθέντων), rather than simply those killed in the arena, could indicate that some anatomists performed vivisections (perhaps privately rather than in the arena) before victims were thrown to animals. However, while obviating the need to get rid of a polluted corpse with dispatch, vivisection would impose time constraints of its own. One of the problems with vivisection, as Celsus had pointed out (*On Medicine*, *Introduction* 42), was that the victim cannot survive

---

[22] It could be objected that if other teachers did dissect the human body we might expect that there would be an articulated skeleton available for viewing closer than Alexandria. But even if this were the case, it is doubtful that Galen would advertise a rival's superior classroom equipment to his *hetairoi*.

[23] Kyle 1998, 95. Even when throwing victims to the beasts, the aim was mutilation rather than ingestion (Kyle 1998, 185).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

for an instant the cutting of the diaphragm, 'so it is only when the man is dead that the chest and any of its viscera come into the view of the medical murderer' (*ita mortui demum praecordia et viscus omne in conspectum latrocinantis medici dari*). The need for speed existed whether physicians examined bodies before or after they were thrown to the lions. Moreover, however agonized the cries, the spectacle of human vivisection seems to be rather small-scaled for the extended attention of the audience at the Colosseum.

It is also unlikely that Galen himself would have been comfortable performing human vivisection. When describing the vivisection of an animal to demonstrate the nerves controlling the thoracic muscles, Galen explicitly advises using a pig 'because there is no advantage in having an ape in such experiments and the spectacle is hideous' (εἰδέχθες, *On Anatomical Procedures* 8.8). Mind you, on the same occasion when he challenged the anatomists in the audience to replace the ape’s abdominal organs, Galen says that he 'deliberately severed many large veins, thus allowing the blood to run freely,' and demonstrated that he was the only one present who knew how to treat wounds successfully (*On Examinations by Which the Best Physicians Are Recognized* 9.6, which exists only in an Arabic translation). For this purpose the ape must have been alive at the time.

Access to Bodies for Dissection at Rome

But if compassion precluded vivisection of humans, and bodies from the arena were already too mutilated to be serviceable, and neither scenario gave sufficient time for Galen’s purposes, could he have had access to condemned criminals killed specifically for the purpose of dissection? In their *senatus consultum* of 177 CE, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus allowed that in Gaul condemned prisoners could be bought cheaply from the state by individuals to be used 'in the old custom and sacred ritual' (*veteri more et sacro ritu*). Kyle (1998, 95) believes that this is a reference to human sacrifice and states that the emperors were concerned with 'setting up price controls to lessen the burden on elite citizen-buyers.'[24] This might seem a promising source of specimens for dissection, but whatever the Gallic rites consisted of, they were, like the spectacles of human death in the arena, clearly public rituals that had at least some pretense to being performed for the good of the state. Kyle (1998, 270) states, 'Public condemnation, repeated in the arena via announcements or placards, legitimized the denial of rights and rites to the victims, establishing

[24] There were also time constraints: 'Purchasers of condemned criminals were contractually bound to have them killed by a deadline' (Kyle 1998, 162). Andrew Lintott has drawn my attention to the fact that *veteri more et sacro ritu* is more likely to refer to gladiatorial combats than human sacrifice, both because the Romans tried to abolish human sacrifice and because the following paragraph seems to envisage some survivors from the ritual.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

an emotional distance and precluding empathy.' In 64 CE, when Nero staged the punishment of Christians in his own gardens, although the spectacle was open to the public, Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44.8) records that there was sympathy for the victims because it was thought that the event took place 'not for the welfare of the state but to the ferocity of a single individual' (*tamquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur*). Even if permission were granted to some anatomists to perform human vivisection or dissection in the context of public retribution, it is unlikely that they would be granted the opportunity for private *gymnasia* on a series of bodies in preparation for the event. And while it is possible that Galen's ability (and vanity) would have allowed him to perform without such *gymnasia* in a sophistic display of dissection, it is extremely doubtful that he could have been persuaded to appear as part of the bloodthirsty spectacle of the arena.

For the prospect of human dissection to appeal to Galen, it would have to involve fairly intact bodies without tight time constraints and, initially at least, a fairly private setting. These circumstances seem to have prevailed on the occasions when doctors serving in Marcus Aurelius' German campaign were given permission to dissect the bodies of the enemy. Galen tells us that he was asked by Marcus Aurelius to accompany him on the German campaign, but he persuaded the emperor to let him stay behind in Rome by asserting that Asclepius had warned him against going to Germany in a dream (*On My Own Books* 2).[25] It might be argued that dissection of Germans was allowed because it took place far from Rome, but Galen uses this only as an *example* of leisurely human dissection, and the name of Marcus Aurelius is associated with another case that could have taken place in Rome itself. The *Suda* lists one Hermogenes, a famous orator who had impressed Marcus Aurelius, among others, in his youth. At the age of 24 he apparently lost his cognitive abilities without any other bodily impairment. Some say he was dissected after his death, when 'his heart was found to be covered in hair and far to exceed in size human nature' (ἀνετμήθη καὶ εὑρέθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ τετριχωμένη καὶ τῷ μεγέθει πολὺ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὑπερβάλλουσα). Today a 'hairy heart'—where fibrin clings to the heart in threads, giving it a hairy appearance—is referred to clinically as fibrinous pericarditis, usually associated with an enlarged heart caused by the accumulation of pericardial fluid.[26] This is just one reference, and a late one at that, to a supposed dissection, but it is a very arbitrary one, an aside occasioned by the interest of the names involved and the surprising results of

[25] In *On Prognosis* 9 Galen merely says that he was able to persuade the emperor because of the latter's good and noble character, without any reference to Asclepius.

[26] *Mosby's Medical Dictionary* 2009. Retrospective diagnosis is suspect, but this seems to have a good chance of being correct.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the dissection, rather than a report sensationalizing the fact of the dissection itself. If it did occur (and why would anybody come up with an enlarged hairy heart if it had not?), it seems likely that this dissection was not an isolated incident. The *Suda* does not say where this took place or that it needed the explicit permission of the emperor, but it seems possible that imperial interest may have been more germane for a leisurely human dissection than location.

According to Galen he was physician in chief to Marcus Aurelius. If the emperor was willing to give permission to physicians for human dissection, we might expect Galen to have been among the lucky ones, but he was not. Was he less close to the emperor than he claims? Although no contemporary attests to Galen's closeness to the imperial household—in fact, there are very few references to Galen during his lifetime—Nutton (1984) has shown that the three extant references we have all attest to Galen's celebrity while he was alive. It is unlikely that he would claim a nonexistent closeness to the imperial family: his prominence would not have let this assertion go unchallenged if it was not true. He served Marcus Aurelius primarily as a purveyor of theriac, a medication compounded from opium and other ingredients, which the emperor used to control pain. Was this all that the imperial household wanted from Galen? Did Marcus Aurelius not find him congenial? When the emperor countenanced the dissection of human bodies, such as the one performed on Hermogenes, did he prefer to rely on doctors who had been on campaign with him and had acquired experience by dissecting Germans?

These are unanswerable questions, but the fact that most of the rhetoric we have concerning dissection after the Alexandrians is from Empiricists arguing against it implies that it continued to take place. There is no a priori reason to discount the implication of Celsus' words that dissection was performed at Rome in the first century CE: if the practice had been entirely forbidden, we would expect more arguments for its reinstitution, like that of Rufus of Ephesus. Galen believed in the value of dissection for the furtherance of medical knowledge and practice and encouraged his students to take every opportunity to look inside the *human* body—and he seems to have expected these opportunities to occur. He claims to have had the ear of authorities who could have made human bodies available to him, as they appear to have done for others. The culture had few scruples about inflicting the most barbaric tortures on condemned prisoners or violating their corpses after death. Under the circumstances Galen's lack of exposure to the interior of the human body seems strange.

The atrocities of the arena were inalienably public, however, inflicted upon human beings in large part as entertainment. In ancient Rome, although dissection was itself primarily a form of entertainment that took place in front

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of sometimes huge audiences, Galen, his students, and his aristocratic hobbyist dissectors viewed themselves as part of the culture of sophistic rhetorical debate, and not as performers in the blood and guts culture of the Colosseum. They insisted on the need for frequent practice in private before opening themselves to public testing. In Alexandria there had been no arena vying for a supply of fresh unmutilated bodies, and the activities of the Museion were largely divorced from the concerns of local culture. Paradoxically, it is in part *because* Roman culture had a venue for the mutilation of criminals living and dead and *because* dissection was itself a very public event that it was more difficult for serious anatomists like Galen to gain access to such bodies. Dissectionists willing to perform in arena conditions without prior practice may have had some exposure to the human body, as it seems did doctors on campaign with the emperor's army, or otherwise in the emperor's good graces. Galen turned up his nose at both arena and campaign, but he could not very well attack those who had accepted those opportunities; nor could he complain about his own lack of opportunity—to do either would be to criticize the emperor's decisions. However, Galen was competing with anatomists who could use their experience in dissecting a human body, and perhaps their future ability to do so, to lure students away from him, students like Flavius Boethus, who could one day be in a position to authorize a human dissection themselves. Therefore, Galen downplays the significance of and opportunities for human dissection. When he refers to rivals who have dissected the human body, he takes the opportunity to insist that even though he has not done so himself, he is in a better position to prepare students to take advantage of such an opportunity when it presents itself because of the frequency and care with which he dissected apes.

Conclusion

These limited opportunities for dissection may have continued for some time after Galen. In *City of God* 22.24, Augustine bemoans the fact that some doctors have dissected and even vivisected human bodies. Because he uses the past tense to refer to their activities, this could be simply a reworking of the antipagan rhetoric Tertullian directed against Herophilus and Erasistratus, but Augustine does not refer to them by name. Instead, he refers to those 'who are called dissectionists' (*quos anatomicos appellant*) and describes the people who were vivisected as their patients who were on the point of dying from disease rather than condemned criminals. A fourth-century CE painting from the catacombs under the Via Latina, commonly known as 'The Anatomy Lesson,' may provide evidence of human dissection a hundred years after Galen (Proskauer 1958). It balances a picture on the opposite wall of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul, and Christ is also shown on the ceiling with the four Evangelists. But the iconography of the frescos in these catacombs is not all Christian. There is also pagan imagery,

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

with several scenes from the everyday life of the period. There are various interpretations of this scene, one of which is that it celebrates a doctor-teacher buried in the catacombs in the act of giving an anatomy lesson. The elements of the scene bear a striking resemblance to depictions of early anatomy lessons in the Renaissance period in which the professor reads from an anatomical text (Galen or an epitome of Galen), the dissector cuts up the body, and the ostensor points to the relevant structures. Proskauer (1958, 679) argues that the scene appears in the catacombs because dissection was not taboo in Christianity, and so the professor would be safe in the catacombs from 'the indignation of the common people.'[27] This interpretation is rejected by most scholars, who believe that the first dissection of the human body for teaching purposes took place in 1281 in Bologna. In these discussions it is frequently reported that Celsus and Galen state that there was no human dissection at Rome. We have seen that this is not in fact the case. Some human dissection was possible during Galen's lifetime, but, for whatever reason, he did not participate in it. I suggest that it was his success—indeed, eventual domination—in medicine through his mastery of the art of animal dissection that led generations of doctors to view human dissection as unnecessary, despite Galen's own words. The culture of dissection in the second century CE did not prevent Galen from opening the human body. It was the fact that he did not that shaped the later history of the practice.

Works Cited

Annoni, J.-M., and V. Barras. 1993. La découpe du corps humain et ses justifications dans l'antiquité. *Canadian Bulletin for Medical History* 10:185–227.

Craik, E. M. 1998. *Hippocrates,* Places in Man: *Greek Text and Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Craik, E. M. 2006. *Two Hippocratic Treatises:* On Sight *and* On Anatomy. Leiden: Brill.

Dean-Jones, L. 2017. Aristotle's Heart and the Heartless Man. In The Comparable Body, edited by John Wee, 122–141. Leiden: Brill.

Edelstein, L. 1967. The History of Anatomy in Antiquity. In *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, edited by O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, 247–301. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ferngren, G. B. 1982. A Roman Declamation on Vivisection. *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 5:272–290.

Ferngren, G. B. 1985. Roman Lay Attitudes towards Medical Experimentation. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59:495–505.

[27] Toward the end of the eighth century CE, the monk Theophanes the Confessor recorded the torture by vivisection of an apostate from Christianity by physicians, presumably Christian, 'in order to apprehend the structure of man' (Temkin 1977, 213n69).

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Gummere, R. M. 1917. *Seneca*: Epistles volume I. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Keyser, P. T., and G. Irby-Massie. 2008. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists: The Greek Tradition and Its Many Heirs*. New York: Routledge.

Kudlien, F. 1969. Antike Anatomie und menschlicher Leichnam. *Hermes* 97:78–94.

Kühn, C. G. 1821. *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*. Leipzig: Knobloch (repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1964).

Kyle, D. G. 1998. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. New York: Routledge.

May, M. T. 1958. Galen on Human Dissection. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 13:409–410.

May, M. T. 1968. *Galen:* On the Usefulness of Parts of the Body. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

May, M. T. 1970. On Translating Galen. *Journal of the History of Medicine* 25:168–176.

Mosby's Medical Dictionary. 2009. 9th ed. St. Louis: Mosby/Elsevier Health Sciences.

Nutton, V. 1984. Galen in the Eyes of His Contemporaries. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58:315–324.

Peck, A. L., and Forster, E. S. 1961. *Aristotle*: Parts of Animals, Movement of Animals, Progression of Animals. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Proskauer, C. 1958. The Significance to Medical History of the Newly Discovered Fourth Century Roman Fresco. *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 34:672–686.

Rocca, J. 2003. *Galen on the Brain: Anatomical Knowledge and Physiological Speculation in the Second Century A.D.* Leiden: Brill.

Rosen, G. 1943. *The History of Miners' Diseases: A Medical and Social Interpretation*. New York: Schuman's.

Scarborough, J. 1971. Galen and the Gladiators. *Episteme* 5:98–111.

Selinger, R. 1999. Experimente mit dem Skalpell am menschlichen Körper in der griechisch-römischen Antike. *Saeculum* 50:29–47.

Singer, C. 1956. *Galen:* On Anatomical Procedures. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spencer, W. G. 1938. *Celsus:* De Medicina. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Temkin, O. 1973. *The Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Temkin, O. 1977. *The Double Face of Janus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

von Staden, H. 1989. *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Temkin, O. 1994. Author and Authority: Celsus and the Construction of a Scientific Self. In *Tradición e innovación de la medicina latina de la antigüedad y de la Alta Edad Media: Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional sobre los Textos Médicos Latinos Antiguos*, edited by M. E. Vázquez Buján, 103–117. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Temkin, O. 1995. Anatomy as Rhetoric: Galen on Dissection and Persuasion. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50:47–66.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

17

Warts and All: The Paratexts in the Iowa Lucan

Samuel J. Huskey

In the introduction to his edition of Lucan, A. E. Housman raises our hopes of finding a new manuscript of the *Pharsalia*: 'It may be that somebody roaming through a library will one day stumble upon a hidden treasure . . . '[1] A couple of years after I graduated from the University of Iowa, exciting news came from Iowa City. The librarians in the Special Collections of the university's Main Library had, in fact, stumbled upon a hidden treasure: a 15th-century manuscript of Lucan.[2] Before anyone becomes too hopeful, it is important to remember the rest of what Housman had to say about such a prospect: '. . . but those are not the quarters from which Lucan most needs help nor from which most help is to be had.'[3]

This chapter is about a manuscript of Lucan, one of Carin's favorite Latin authors—but it is also an illumination of Carin's approach to teaching and mentoring, since it shows how effective she was in encouraging her students to do things they did not know they could do. Although Carin was not my dissertation director at the University of Iowa, I consider her my mentor, and she continued to provide guidance and advice long after I had graduated and begun my career. Studying this manuscript gave me a hands-on introduction to several subjects that I did not have the opportunity to study in graduate school, and it required me to make new acquaintances in other disciplines, several of whom have become friends. It also opened new possibilities for my scholarship and teaching. Carin would be pleased by all of these outcomes, since she always encouraged her often bookish and introverted students to explore areas outside their expertise and take the time to socialize with people in other disciplines. I thank Jason Houston, Stefano Baldassarri, Francesco Bausi, and D. H. Dipson for helping me in various ways with this chapter. I am forever grateful to Carin, and I offer this work in honor of her memory and our friendship.

1 Housman 1958, v.

2 Now University of Iowa MS xMMs.Hi1.

3 Housman 1958, v.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Undeterred, Carin Green assigned the task of investigating the manuscript to one of her graduate students, Mark Thorne, who was working on a dissertation on Lucan. After examining the manuscript and determining quite rightly that it did not hold much promise of contributing anything new to our understanding of the text, he returned to working full time on his dissertation. Still holding out hope that something interesting could be found in the manuscript, Carin encouraged me to work on it. She knew that I had always been interested in manuscripts, paleography, and textual criticism, and she sensed that I would benefit from a new challenge. As she and Peter had so often before, they showed generous hospitality when my wife and I traveled to Iowa City so that I could take pictures of the manuscript and begin my work. Carin gave me access to all of her resources on Lucan and his text, and she continued to provide support and encouragement throughout the project.

During the time I spent studying the manuscript, I found that even though it has nothing to contribute to our understanding of Lucan's text, its paratexts have much to tell us about Lucan's reception in later ages, the life of the scribe who wrote the manuscript, and the nature of rare book ownership in the United States. I have published the most substantial of these paratexts elsewhere,[4] but I have not had an opportunity to discuss the others—including two previously unpublished *argumenta*—until now. Since Carin always enjoyed hearing about her students' research and scholarship, this seems a fitting place to tell this particular story.

The absence of any record of the University of Iowa's acquisition of the manuscript complicates our understanding of its provenance, but what appears to be an antiquarian bookseller's typewritten notice—our first paratext—has been tucked into the box that houses the manuscript:

> LUCANUS, MARCUS ANNAEUS
>
> PHARSALIA. *Manuscript on paper.* (At end:) Hoc opus scriptum fuit p. me Tõmam domini baldinocti de baldinoctis Anno dñi M.cccdxv [*sic*] mensis ianuarij. (*This book was written by me Tomas (scribe?) of the Nobleman Baldinocti de Baldinoctis in the year 1465 in the month of January.) Folio. With 12 beautiful, large, decorated initials in gold, red, green and white on a blue background in manière criblée. Richly stamped leather over wooden boards (binding in bad condition).* $360.00. The first four chapters commented, and this commentary has never been edited.

[4] Huskey 2010, 2011.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

The last sentence tantalizes, but it turns out to be false, for the most part. I will return to that after tracing the manuscript's provenance.

Whoever wrote the notice was correct in assuming that 'Tomas' was a scribe. He was, in fact, Tommaso Baldinotti (1451–1511), who became known as 'one of the finest 'Florentine' scribes of the later 15th century.'[5] In 1465 (Florentine dating, 1466 by common dating), he was merely 14 years old and had probably not yet left his hometown of Pistoia.[6] Unfortunately, it is impossible to be specific about the dates of his travels and the locations of his activities as a copyist of manuscripts.[7] In any case, the Lucan manuscript was not Baldinotti's first attempt at copying, since we know that he produced a manuscript of Seneca's tragedies in the previous year.[8] We also know that he copied some manuscripts to retain in his own personal library, and that the Lucan manuscript was among those that he intended to bequeath to the Convento dei Servi in Pistoia upon his death.[9] But his nephew Baldinotto Baldinotti held on to some of these books and did not fully discharge the bequest until 1526.[10] Baldinotto kept some of his uncle's books for himself, including the Lucan, as the next paratext reveals:

> *Baldinoctus de Baldinoctis de Pistoria minimus i(uris) u(triusque) doc(tor) etcetera caritate posuit atque dicavit 1532.*
>
> Baldinotto Baldinotti of Pistoia, most humble doctor of both laws [i.e., canon and civil law] et cetera, deposited and dedicated [this book] with affection in 1532.

This inscription on the manuscript's first leaf is nearly identical to the one in Tommaso Baldinotti's copy of Lactantius, which found its way at some point into the collection of the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, and it is similar to

[5] De la Mare 1985, 446. On Tommaso Baldinotti's life see Chiti 1898, 1900; Petrucci 1956; Lanza 1976, 115–117; De la Mare 1985, 446–447; Badioli and Dami 1997.

[6] Baldinotti's dates were a source of controversy until Chiti (1898, 22) demonstrated conclusively that he was born in 1451. For more on the problem, see Chiti 1898, 18–22; Badioli and Dami 1997, 60–63.

[7] I can say for certain that Baldinotti was not working from the 14th-century manuscript of Lucan now known as A 30 in the Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia, which belonged to Sozomenus (1387–1458), a fellow Pistoian, and was among the books that scholar bequeathed to the city's nascent library in 1460. I have inspected digital images of that manuscript.

[8] Now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Acquisti e doni 76). The frequency of marginalia in this manuscript also dwindles, suggesting that young Baldinotti's interest may have flagged. His manuscript of Lactantius (cod. Corsiniana 7 41 G 20), also from this period in his life, has very little in terms of glosses or marginalia.

[9] Chiti 1898, 40n3.

[10] See also Badioli and Dami 1997, 166, for the text of entries from the records of the Convento dei Servi confirming receipt of Tommaso Baldinotti's books in 1511 and 1526.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the one in the volume of Seneca.[11] Unfortunately, not one of the inscriptions says *where* he deposited and dedicated the book, so we have no way of knowing where it resided after 1532; the Convento dei Servi seems a likely place, given the presence of a Baldinotti altar there.[12] The difficult history of the Convento dei Servi in Pistoia complicates matters further, since it was incorporated into the structure of the Convento della Santa Annunziata sometime in the late 16th century.[13] Moreover, after the suppression of the Order of Servites in the late 18th century, the Convento della Santa Annunziata was pillaged. The order did not resume possession of the building until the middle of the 19th century, so it is impossible to determine what happened to the holdings of its library.[14] In any case, the Lucan manuscript bears no further marks to indicate ownership, whether by a library or a private collector.

Early in the 20th century, the book found its way into the inventory of Paul Gottschalk, an antiquarian bookseller based in Berlin. Gottschalk does not mention this manuscript in his memoir.[15] Nevertheless, we know that Edward Alexander Parsons of New Orleans, Louisiana, acquired it from Gottschalk sometime before 1935, when de Ricci and Wilson listed it among the manuscript holdings of the Bibliotheca Parsoniana, as the collection was then known.[16] Sadly, Parsons never recovered financially from the Great Depression and eventually had to sell his collection.[17] The supplemental volume to de Ricci and Wilson's *Census* indicates that the University of Iowa acquired the Lucan manuscript in 1952.[18] It does not list the name of the agent who handled the transaction, and the university's library does not have any records of the acquisition. For nearly 50 years afterward, the manuscript sat virtually unnoticed in the Special Collections of the University of Iowa's Main Library, although de la Mare must have seen it at some point prior to 1985, since she describes it in some detail in

[11] Petrucci (1956, 253) discusses the inscription in Baldinotti's manuscript of Lactantius, but he prints *civitate* where I have printed *caritate*.

[12] On the Baldinotti altar, Badioli and Dami (1997, 84–86) point out that the Baldinotti family also had an altar in the church of San Domenico. Tolomei 1821 has brief descriptions of the Baldinotti altars in the Convento della Santa Annunziata (67) and San Domenico (109).

[13] On the history of this church, see Ferrini 1930.

[14] In his 1878 entry on the life of Tommaso Baldinotti, Capponi mentions his copies of Lucan, Seneca, and Vergil, but says that they are 'lavori tutti ora dispersi' (1878, 28).

[15] Gottschalk does, however, give us a possible lead (1967, 11): 'I bought more rare books from [the Florentine antiquarian bookseller Tammaro De Marinis] in the course of my career than from any other source and I generally knew nothing of their existence before entering his shop.'

[16] De Ricci and Wilson 1935–1940, 748, no. 4.

[17] Parsons 1962, 383. Parsons does not mention the Lucan manuscript anywhere in his memoir.

[18] Faye and Bond 1962, 187, no. 6.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

her article 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence,' published in that year.[19]

It came to light again when David E. Schoonover, curator of rare books at the University of Iowa Libraries, happened to enter the walk-in vault to look for something else. Here is his account of the discovery:[20]

> I looked and did not find what I thought I might find. Then I looked on a nearby shelf and realized that there were some manuscripts that I did not remember seeing before. One was the Lucan. It had been there, maybe being moved around as we re-ordered groups of books and manuscripts on the shelves. We had compiled a good list of medieval manuscript books and leaves and I knew that the Lucan was not part of that effort. I showed it to several people, including the long-retired head of the department, Frank Paluka, whose retirement in 1986 had opened a spot for me. He remembered it and thought it had been bought by our original bibliographer, Frank Hanlin, who single-handedly bought most of the rare books and manuscripts in the 60s and 70s. . . . No one could account for it not being catalogued, but it had never happened.

That is all that we know about the manuscript's provenance.

As for the manuscript itself, it is bound in stamped calf leather, with 136 paper leaves measuring 28.5cm x 20cm, with a 4.5cm margin at the top and a 6.5cm margin at the bottom. Vertical lines divide each recto page into four columns of different widths. From left to right, the first column, containing marginal notes, measures approximately 3.5cm. The next column, measuring 0.5cm, is for the red capital letter that begins each line. The third column, 8.5cm in width, is for the text of the rest of each line, written in lower case in iron gall ink. The fourth column, also for marginal notes, is 6.5cm wide. The measurements for the verso are similar, except that there are only three vertical lines, marking columns for the initial capitals and the text, and the widths of the first and fourth column are nearly the reverse of their counterparts on the recto.

Another of the manuscript's paratexts is written on the inside of the front cover: poetic *argumenta* for all but the tenth book of the poem, although there is just

[19] De la Mare 1985, 539. She probably learned of its existence in de Ricci and Wilson 1935–1940. Badioli and Dami (1997) include the manuscript in their census of Baldinotti's books, citing Ciociola (1979) as their source; but he knew only of its existence in Parsons' library. It seems more likely that they learned of the manuscript's location in Iowa City by reading De la Mare's description of it.

[20] Pers. comm., 29 February 2007.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

enough space for one. The arguments for books 1–6 and 9 resemble those that both Baehrens and Riese print in their editions of minor Latin poetry, but those for books 7 and 8 are completely different from their counterparts in those editions. Although, as summaries, they cover the same material, they differ in length and phrasing. They appear in print here for the first time:

> *Septimus exequitur quae uidit sompnia Magnus*
> *Pugnam. Miles erat Magni uix annuit illi.*
> *Notat prodigia tandem spectata per omnes.*
> *Ordinat ad bellum Magnus gentesque suasque,*
> *Hortaturque suos Caesar pugnante fidenter,*
> *Pompeusque suos monet ut uincere pugnent.*
> *Conflictus pugnaque diu durauit ad imum.*
> *Pompeus uictus abit fugitque Larissam.*
> *Vltimo conqueritur auctor clamatque mirando.*
>
> *Octauus fugam Pompei detinet abit.*
> *Lesbon usque uenit fugiens per loca Larissae,*
> *Vxoremque suam suscepit et inde lacessit.*
> *Capite dampnatur Magnus audente Phorino.*

The arguments published by Baehrens and Riese vary only slightly from each other, so I will print Baehrens' version for the sake of comparison:

> (VII) '*Segnior Oceano' casu quo bella geruntur*
> *Ostendit populo sic esse quod . . . uterque.*
> *Proxima pars bellum describit, et ultima, Magnum*
> *Devictum cepisse fugam. sed Caesar habendas*
> *Militibus monstravit opes castrisque recedit.*
>
> (VIII) '*Iam super Herculeas' quo fugit, denotat atque*
> *Quid dixit . . . quando quaerere Parthos*
> *Consuluit: sed cassa fuit sentential Magni.*
> *[Altera pars . . . exitium tibi, Magne, paratum.]*
> *Parsque secunda notat Pompeium morte peremtum*
> *Indigna; Phariis pars ultima facta sepulcro.*

The variation from previous editions is not surprising, since Baehrens and Riese collated only a couple of the dozens of manuscripts that contain these arguments.[21]

---

[21] Riese 1906, 278–281 (no. 806); Baehrens 1883, 413–414 (no. 107). A full investigation of the arguments in all of the manuscripts could be a fruitful undertaking for someone in search of a project.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Twelve illuminated capitals decorate the text of the poem itself: one for the initial capital of each book, and one each for the proemium and for the epitaph of Lucan that precedes it. The illumination depicts vegetation in green and red twining around a letter in gold, all against the background of a night sky in dark blue with white stars. The text of the poem and the commentary is written in a clear, legible humanist script, but not by a practiced hand (as is to be expected from an amateur teenage scribe).[22] Manicules (i.e., pointing hands) adorn the margins throughout the manuscript, but they do not appear to be linked in any meaningful way with the notes in the margins. Indeed, after the commentary ceases at the end of the third book, manicules continue to point out notable lines in the rest of the manuscript.

Two illustrations accompany the text. On 22^{v} there is a map of Brundisium in the shape of a bull's head.[23] A rudimentary map of the world appears on 29^{r} to illustrate the extent to which 'Pharsalia offered the world to be conquered all at once' (*uincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem*, 3.297).

I have already stated that this manuscript will not change our understanding of the textual tradition of Lucan's poem. If nothing else, the agreement of Baldinotti's manuscript now with one group of manuscripts, now with another, supports Housman's contention that 'the manuscripts group themselves not in families but in factions; their dissidences and agreements are temporary and transient, like the splits and coalitions of political party.'[24] On this front, line 1.567 is of some interest, since Baldinotti corrected by expunction the word *sanguineum*, which is found in ZMV, to *sanguinei*, which is found in PGU. This does not necessarily suggest that Baldinotti compared more than one manuscript with an eye toward textual criticism. He may have simply copied the correction directly from his exemplar. Indeed, the frequency of his scribal errors, the lack of any explanatory notes for the corrections, and the general carelessness evinced in the copying of both the text and the commentary suggest that Baldinotti was anything but critical at this point in his life.

As mentioned above, the commentary appears in only the first three books, not four, as the notice in the manuscript's box suggests.[25] Moreover, most, but not all, of it repeats verbatim material that can be found in the *Glosule super*

---

[22] Compare the quality of the handwriting in the Lucan that Baldinotti produced as a professional scribe later in his life (cod. Laurentiana Plut. XCI sup. 32).

[23] This illustration of Brindisi is common in manuscripts of Lucan. See Marti 1958, lxvi.

[24] Housman 1958, vii.

[25] Scholia are scattered elsewhere in the manuscript (4.708–709, 4.767–768, 6.100, 6.106, 6.155, 6.355, 6.488, 7.331, 7.852, 8.111, 8.165, 8.374, 9.244, 9.258, 9.326, 9.478, 9.905, 9.977–981, 9.1071, 10.265, 10.397), not arranged in a running commentary as in the first three books.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Lucanum of Arnulf of Orléans. However, roughly a quarter of the scholia do not resemble any of the known collections of scholia on Lucan, such as the *Commenta Bernensia* or the *Adnotationes super Lucanum.*[26] Typically, these comments begin with the words *hic ponit auctor* or something similar, and they go on to elucidate one of Lucan's allusions to historical events or Roman cultural practices. The medieval style of the Latin argues against Capponi's assertion that Tommaso Baldinotti wrote the commentary himself.[27] In any case, this apparently new commentary is the most important contribution that this manuscript will make to Lucan studies, but since it appears only in the first three books of the poem, it is of interest more for the study of the reception of Lucan's text than for the study of the poem itself.[28]

Most of the interlinear glosses are rudimentary in nature and betray some reader's inexperience with Latin poetry. Perhaps they are Baldinotti's own aids to reading. For example, throughout the commented portions of the manuscript it is common to see the note *pro -runt* over the syncopated form of a third-person plural perfect verb. Similarly, the note *pro et* appears with bewildering frequency over the abbreviation for the enclitic conjunction *que*, which is written as a separate word throughout the text.

There are three colophons in red ink on the last page. One is a common leonine hexameter: *hoc scripsi totum pro pena da mihi potum* ('I wrote this whole thing as punishment; now give me a drink'). Following that are four lines that have been deleted with iron gall ink. At my request, David Schoonover took the manuscript to the Iowa Division of Criminal Investigation Criminalistics Laboratory, where Gary Licht, the Questioned Document Examiner, took infrared digital pictures of the colophon. The fluorescence of the letters underneath the black ink made it easier to see the contents of the colophon. Use of an image-editing application to magnify the letters and change the levels of black and white in the image made it possible to reconstruct what turns out to be an elegiac quatrain:

Thommas adolescens Lucanum hunc scripsit et ipsi
De baldinoctis atque manu propria.
Det veniam Christus moritur cum et debita purget
Dirigat atque ipsum per loca sacra deus.

[26] See Marti 1958 for the text of Arnulf; Usener 1869 for the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*; Endt 1909 for the *Commenta Bernensia*. The tradition of commentaries on Lucan is a field of scholarship unto itself. See especially Werner 1994, 1998, but also Cavajoni 1967, 1968, 1975; Sanford 1934.
[27] Capponi 1878, 28.
[28] See Huskey 2010 for publication of the glosses and marginalia unique to this manuscript.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

I have argued elsewhere that Tommaso Baldinotti deleted these lines, and that his nephew Baldinotto wrote the final colophon to preserve Tommaso's name in the manuscript: *hoc opus scriptum per me Tomam domini baldinoctis de baldinoctis Anno dni Mºccccºlxvº mensis ianuarij*.[29] Even though the grammatical form of the date is incorrect and the writing itself is easily recognizable as a forgery, there is little reason to suspect the date, since we have other examples of Tommaso Baldinotti's work from the same time.[30]

Finally, on the back flyleaf of the book someone—certainly not Baldinotti—has written in Italian a remedy for warts:

> *Rimedio provato ad levare e porri delle mani o d'altro luogo:*
> *Pigla tanti saxolini quanti tu hai porri e ciascuno porro pugni leggiermente con un saxolino: poi gli lega in una pezzuola biancha e dalla finestra gli getta nella via e al primo che ricorra detti saxolini verranno altretanti porri e tu ne serai mondo e netto.*
>
> A proven remedy for removing warts from hands or other places:
> Take as many pebbles as you have warts, and touch each wart lightly with a pebble. Then tie them in a white handkerchief and throw it from the window into the street. The aforementioned pebbles will become just as many warts on the first person who picks them up, and you will be pure and cleansed.

This 'remedy' has a long tradition.[31] In the fifth century Marcellus Empiricus included a similar one in his *De medicamentis* (34.102):

> *Lapillum quemlibet inuolutum hederae folio ad uerrucam admoueto, ita ut eam tangat lapillus, atque ita celebri loco abicito, ut ab aliquo inuentus colligatur; miro modo ad illum, qui collegerit, uerrucae transferuntur et ideo quot fuerint uerrucae, tot lapillis tangi debent.*
>
> Wrap any pebble in an ivy leaf and apply it to the wart so that the pebble touches it, then throw it away in a crowded place so that it can be found and picked up by someone. The warts are miraculously transferred to the person who picked it up. Do the same for each wart, one stone per wart.

[29] Huskey 2011.
[30] See n. 6 above.
[31] I am grateful to Lora Holland for the references to Marcellus and Pliny. I was not aware of this remedy's history until she commented on a draft of this chapter.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Going back further, Pliny records another treatment involving chickpeas instead of pebbles (*HN* 22.149):

> *Verrucarum in omni genere prima luna singulis granis singulas tangunt, eaque grana in linteolo deligata post se abiciunt, ita fugari vitium arbitrantes.*
>
> For every kind of wart: on the first day of the moon, they touch each wart with its own chickpea. They tie the chickpeas in a strip of linen and toss it behind them, believing that the blemish has been cured in this way.

The tradition notwithstanding, a later hand in Baldinotti's book has crossed out the remedy and written *falsus superstitiosus est.*

It is fitting to conclude this discussion with the flyleaf, not only because the flyleaf contains the last item in the manuscript, but also because it captures the character of the book itself, which, as I hope I have demonstrated, is more interesting for its paratexts than for its text of Lucan. From the front flyleaf, where the *argumenta* were written, to the back flyleaf, with its disagreement about a remedy for warts, the entire object is a space for dialogue. The poetic arguments attest not only to the enduring interest in Lucan's poem, but also to the tradition of poetic composition in Latin. Through the blending of at least two commentaries in its margins and interlinear glosses, it records discussions about vocabulary, grammar, science, geography, religion, and a variety of other subjects—all related, however tangentially, to Lucan's poem. The presence of classical, medieval, and neo-Latin texts throughout the manuscript reminds us that Latin is not a monolithic, dead language, but rather a language that changed with the times and continues to have a life as long as people engage with its texts. The inscriptions by Tommaso and Baldinotto Baldinotti give us a glimpse into the relationship between an uncle and his nephew, and they also demonstrate the real and sentimental value that handwritten books maintained even as the printing press was transforming the trade. The modern dealer's description also attests to the enduring value of manuscripts as works of art. But the interaction of the hands on the back flyleaf eloquently demonstrates the conversational nature of the manuscript's paratexts. The first hand, writing in the vernacular, has recorded a remedy for warts. Another hand has used Latin—the language of scholarly authority—to declare the remedy false and superstitious. On the one hand, we have someone preserving the classical tradition through translation. On the other hand, we have someone denouncing the text in Latin. Neither one has anything to do with Lucan, but, taken together, they capture the spirit of dialogue with the past that pervades this manuscript.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Works Cited

Badioli, L., and F. Dami. 1997. Per una nuova biografia di Tommaso Baldinotti. *Interpres* 16:60–183.

Baehrens, E. 1883. *Poetae Latini minores*, vol. 5. Leipzig: Teubner.

Capponi, V. 1878. *Biografia Pistoiese, o Notizie della vita e delle opere dei Pistoiesi.* Pistoia: Rossetti.

Cavajoni, G. A. 1967. La tradizione degli 'Scholia vetera' a Lucano nelle 'Glosule super Lucanum' di Arnolfo di Orleans. *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche* 101:184–194.

Cavajoni, G. A. 1968. Gli scholia inediti a Lucano di un codice della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo. *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche* 102:189–204.

Cavajoni, G. A. 1975. Scholia inediti a Lucano del Codex Bernensis Litt. 45 Saec. X. Acme 18:79–114.

Chiti, A. 1898. *Tommaso Baldinotti, poeta Pistoiese: Notizie della vita e delle rime.* Pistoia: Tipografia Niccolai.

Chiti, A. 1900. Ancora per Tommaso Baldinotti. *Bullettino Storico Pistoiese* 2:13–15.

Ciociola, C. 1979. Review of L. S. Olschki, ed., *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas* (1978). *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 9:1939–1945.

De la Mare, A. 1985. New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence. In *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento: Un primo censimento*, edited by Annarosa Garzelli, 395–600. Florence: Giunta Regionale Toscana e La Nuova Italia Editrice.

de Ricci, S., and W. J. Wilson. 1935. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Vol. 1. New York: H. W. Wilson.

Endt, J. 1909. *Adnotationes super Lucanum*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Faye, C. U., and W. H. Bond. 1962. *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York: Bibliographical Society of America.

Ferrini, F. M. 1930. *Chiesa e chiostro della SS. Annunziata in Pistoia*. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti.

Gottschalk, P. 1967. *Memoirs of an Antiquarian Bookseller*. Gainesville: University of Florida, Research Library.

Housman, A. E. 1958. *M. Annaei Lucani* Belli Civilis *Libri Decem*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Huskey, S. J. 2010. Three Colophons in Tommaso Baldinotti's Manuscript of Lucan. *Textual Cultures* 5: 99–110.

Huskey, S. J. 2011. Fragments of an Anonymous Medieval Commentary in a Manuscript of Lucan's *De bello civili*. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 46:91–110.

Lanza, A. 1976. 'Un poeta pistoiese del tardo quattrocento: Tommaso Baldinotti.' *Filologia e Critica* 1:115–137.

Marti, B. M. 1958. *Arnulfi Aurelianensis glosule super Lucanum*. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 18. Rome: American Academy in Rome.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Olschki, L. S., ed. 1978. *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas*. Florence: O. S. Olschki.

Parsons, E. A. 1962. *The Wonder and the Glory: Confessions of a Southern Bibliophile*. New York: Thistle Press.

Petrucci, A. 1956. 'Alcuni manoscritti Corsiniani di mano di Tommaso e Antonio Baldinotti.' *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8.11: 252–263.

Riese, A. 1906. *Anthologia Latina*, vol. 1, fasc. 2. Leipzig: Teubner.

Sanford, E. M. 1934. 'The Manuscripts of Lucan: Accessus and Marginalia.' *Speculum* 9:278–295.

Tolomei, F. 1821. *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle arti con notizie degli architetti, scultori, e pittori pistoiesi*. Pistoia: Bracali.

Usener, H. 1869. *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Werner, S. 1994. 'On the history of the *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*.' *HSCPh* 96:343–368.

Werner, S. 1998. *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's* Bellum civile. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

18

Three Editions of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

Mark Morford

Smith College, where I have had the pleasure of working for many years, possesses three important editions of Lucan in its Mortimer Rare Book Room. The earliest is that of Simon Bevilaqua, printed in Venice in 1493. Bevilaqua's folio edition was followed by the first portable edition, the small octavo of Aldus Manutius, first printed at Venice in 1501, with its second edition, the one in the Mortimer Room, following in 1502. Richard Bentley's edition was printed at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Press in 1760. Bentley, who died in 1742, completed his commentary on only three books. His grandson, Richard Cumberland, wound up the work on the remaining seven books, which Bentley had written but not revised.

Simon Bevilaqua's Edition (1493)

Bevilaqua's volume is unprepossessing to look at, for its old vellum binding has been repaired with brown paper, itself in poor condition. A label has been pasted on the spine with the legend *Lucano 1493*. The old vellum has a deep cut on the back, and on the same side someone has written (in ink) two sets of sums, as if he were jotting down grocery expenses on a piece of scrap paper (and adding up one of them wrongly). One opens the volume to find on the front paste-down endpaper various booksellers' penciled notes and, pasted in, the label of Smith College's L. Clark Seeley Fund and the typewritten catalogue entry of the bookseller who sold the volume to the college, describing it as 'fine tall clean copy.' But he did not mention a price: this was recorded on this same paste-down in large and firm penciled figures: 9/8/39 // £3/3/-. The college apparently paid £3/6/- (recorded on the back free endpaper) on 5 December

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

1939. Such was the value of a folio incunable of one of Rome's greatest epic poets.

We turn the front free endpaper expecting to find the text of Lucan's poem and are surprised to find a vellum manuscript leaf from a 15th-century missal, whose companion leaf has been inserted between the back free endpapers. The bookseller clearly thought that these leaves, rather than an early printing of Lucan's epic, were the principal attraction for prospective buyers, for in the catalogue entry noted previously he typed: 'WITH END PAPERS FROM A CHOIR BOOK ON VELLUM.' Each leaf has had about 10mm shaved from its right edge, cutting off two or three letters of the text. The front leaf contains part of the text and music for the Saturday of Holy Week, as was noted by someone in ink at the top of the first side (*Pro Die Parasceue,* 'For the Day of Preparation'). There are seven lines of musical notation, with text written in black uncials below each line. Where a new text begins, it is marked by large capitals in red and blue. The first new text is from the office for the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, and the second begins Psalm 66, *Deus misereatur.* The verso of this leaf is headed *xxxv* in red and contains four lines of music and words, *[a]utem crucis . . . quod est super omne . . . dextera*. Before the last word, which appears to begin a new melisma, there is written, to the left, *Off.* and, above, *xvii.* The words (but not the music) are too much faded to read for the last two and a half lines of music. Yet there is a clear rubric, written, as a rubric should be written, in red: *Credo in de / um dicitur. Agnus / dei dicitur. Sed pax / non dicitur.* Two fragments from this missal and two from a different one have been glued onto the free endpaper, facing the verso of this leaf.

The recto of the back leaf similarly has four lines of music and words, of which little can be clearly read, beginning *[pecca]torum meorum*; after that the words are too far faded to be read. The bottom half of the recto contains nine lines of prose (perhaps a prayer), too faded to read but with its capitals clearly colored, three in red and one in blue. The verso of this leaf is clearer. It is headed *xxxiiij* and begins with three lines of a preface or prayer (on this side of the leaf the left margin has been shaved), ending with a versicle for Palm Sunday, *Populoque quem fecit dominus.* After the rubric *Offertorium* there follow six lines of music to the words of Psalm 48, *[impro]perium expectavit cor meum,* and ending *[e]t dederunt in escam meam // [fel et in] siti mea potaverunt me [aceto]*. ('My heart hath waited impatiently . . . and they gave me poison to eat and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.') After we have spent so long with these two leaves from a missal, it is anticlimactic to record that they were only printer's spoil, for at this early period of printing the printers assumed that once a text was printed, there was no more need for the manuscripts, and they were thrown away or, as here, used as filling for another volume.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

This volume lacks six pages of introductory material: lives and an ancient epitaph of Lucan, with various letters and other material, interesting chiefly as evidence for the working methods of Renaissance scholars and for the semipublic way in which they addressed each other and were critical, more or less, of each other's work. Despite this loss, Bevilaqua's edition is valuable for including two important commentaries on Lucan, printed together here for the first time.

The earlier was that of Omnibonus (Ognibene da Lonigo, 1412–1493), who had been a schoolteacher at Mantua and was later professor of rhetoric at Vicenza. Significantly, he was also reader and editor for the great early Venetian printer Nicolas Jenson (d. 1480), from whom he would have learned a great deal. He wrote the dedication for Jenson's Quintilian of 1471, calling Jenson the inventor of printing. His commentary on Lucan was first published in 1475, and excerpts were still appearing in Oudendorp's edition of Lucan, published at Leiden in 1728.

The other commentary was that of Sulpitius (Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli, before 1450–after 1506), who taught at Rome and was a protégé of Cardinal Antonio Pallavicini, to whom he dedicated his commentary (the dedication is printed in the leaves missing from this volume). Sulpitius prefaced each of the 10 books with a summary of its contents in eight Latin hexameters. Book 10 is shorter than the others and ends abruptly: there is no knowing if Lucan would have added to it if his life had not been cut short by his suicide, ordered by Nero. Sulpitius, at any rate, added 11 hexameters *velut superioribus annectenda,* which merely narrate how Caesar escaped from his difficult situation.

Both commentaries are pedestrian, explaining names or phrases in the text in simple Latin. Occasionally they manage to be quite perceptive. For example, in book 1, where the puzzling *laudatio* of Nero begins (lines 33–66 in the text), Omnibonus comments, *nunc sensum transit ad inuocationem: & sine dubio hoc loco per ironiam dicit,* and gives five lines of lucid explanation. Sulpitius' commentary on this passage begins in a similar way (*apta ad principem assertatione, in qua est suspicio aliqua ironiae*), but he adds very little else. Omnibonus had a greater knowledge of Greek, for he had studied under the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras, and he was admired as a Greek orator. His Greek helped him in the notorious passage about the Libyan serpents (9.700–937), the source of which was Nicander's *Theriaka*. In comparison, Sulpitius' notes here are thin.

At last we come to the text of Lucan! Bevilaqua's text was surrounded on three sides, encased, as it were, like a jewel in its box. I have not compared the text with other early editions or manuscript readings, but, given the popularity

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

of Lucan in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, there were already 13 printed editions that he could have followed. Most likely he used the Venetian edition of 1492, printed for Octavianus Scotus by Bartholomaeus de Zanis. There are few errors (I am aware of only one), and the print is clear. The abbreviations are easy to understand (for example *9* for *-us*, as at 1.683: *quo diuersa feror? primos me ducis in ort9).* This contrasts with the printing of the two commentaries, which is small and full of difficult abbreviations.

A folio volume is to be read in a library with the aid of a lectern, such as the small seventh-century one illustrated at the beginning of chapter 6 in the recent book *Images for Classicists* (Coleman 2015). Readers who wanted to read privately or on their travels needed a book that was easy to hold or that fitted into the pocket of a cloak or in the package of their clothes. The great Venetian printer Aldus Manutius answered this need with his series of small octavo volumes of classical authors, printed in *italics*, designed by Francesco Griffo and used by Aldus, for the first time in a complete edition of an author's works, in the Virgil of September 1501. Lucan was one of the earliest in this series, and Smith College owns a copy of the second edition, printed in April 1502. On the back of the front cover is the bookplate of a 19th-century owner, the Reverend Edmund Maturin, with his coat of arms, two birds close (i.e., standing) above a chevron in which is a mountain; on the crest is a horse passant. Below is the motto MINATUR, the intention of which is hard to understand. Maturin says on the first free front page *emi Leydæ in auctione* ('I bought [this] at auction in Leiden'). On the same page he wrote (in ink) a proverb and a quotation from *Lucanus in Catagenio*, a reference that I have not been able to locate.

Maturin (1818–1891) was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and his career took him from benefices in Ireland to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where in 1858 he became a Catholic and the cause of much controversy. In 1861 he became an Anglican again and, in 1863, returned to Ireland, where he spent the rest of his life. It seems appropriate that such a controversial person should have owned (and read) the epic of a poet who was himself controversial during his short life.

Maturin's predecessors have left their names. On the verso of the cover's free page *M. E. Grant Esq a*ppears. On the title page, on which Aldus had printed the one word LVCANVS, is the name *Io. Caspari Orellij,* written in small italics. At the bottom of the same page in larger italics is *Ioh. Casp. Gruteri*. Orelli seems to have been an editor of an obscure fifth-century philosopher, Ammonius Hermiae, whose writings on Fate he published at Zurich in 1824. He edited and published the *Hypomnemata* of Aeneas Tacticus at Leipzig in 1818. J. C. Gruter, despite his name, which he shared with a distinguished classical scholar, is disappointing; I cannot find any references to him.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

On the page facing the beginning of the text of Lucan is Aldus' letter of dedication to the Venetian military leader Antonio Mauroceno. It ends with the words *quia commodius in manibus sua paruitate haberi poterit*. ('[I think this little gift will please you . . .] because you can hold it more conveniently thanks to its small size.') Indeed, Aldus was revolutionizing the book trade with these words, since at last classical works could be easily carried about and read by busy people, especially those who had to travel from home: military men like Mauroceno or ambassadors, like the scholar Pietro Bembo, ambassador to the Vatican. Folios, besides having to be read in a library or monastery, were published with a print run of no more than 1,500. With his small books (page size 17 x 9cm), Aldus could risk a print run of 3,000 and publish classical authors, Virgil and Juvenal among them, knowing that he would recover his expenses.

Clearly the black-figure types used in folios would be inappropriate for the pages of the new small quarto books. Instead of going with a small Roman type, Aldus decided to use, for the first time, *italic* font. The type must have been cut early in 1500, for it appears in the full-page frontispiece (*10v) to the *Epistole devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena*, which was printed by Aldus on 15 September 1500, while the letter of dedication to Cardinal Aeneas Piccolomini was dated 19 September. In the frontispiece St. Catharine holds in her right hand an open book with the words *ieſu dolce ieſu amore*; in her left hand is a heart, in which is inscribed the single word *ieſus*. The absence of capital letters is notable, for Aldus elsewhere used a small Roman type for capitals. In the Lucan each line begins with such a capital, upright, followed by italics slanted to the right.

The final italic type was designed by Francesco Griffo of Bologna, but the original model for italics was the cursive script of Bartolomeo Sanvito of Padua, the favorite scribe of Pietro Bembo. His manuscript of Horace, made for Bembo to take with him to the Vatican in 1514, is as beautiful and regular as the printed type of Griffo. In his preface to the 1514 reprint of the Vergil, Aldus refers to *libri portatiles*—a term with the same meaning and intention as the description in the dedication quoted above.

There were many imitators of the Aldine italic type. Particularly interesting is an edition of Lucan, printed by Stephanus (Robert Estienne), *typographus regius* (printer to the French king, François I), in 1545, also in the college's collection. Although in slightly larger format, the italic type looks the same as that of Aldus, clear and easy to read. Stephanus added a considerable amount of material about Lucan and, most significantly, the variant readings from the manuscripts that he had used, which he listed in an appendix.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Lucan continued to be read and printed for four more centuries, the last great edition being that of Housman, printed at Oxford by Blackwell in 1926 and reprinted in 1927 and 1950. Notable editions in Smith College's possession from the two centuries between Aldus and Housman include an edition by Farnaby (Amsterdam, 1669) and the large edition by Oudendorp (Leiden, 1728). Housman calls Farnaby 'excellent and industrious,' and says of the notes in his edition, which was first published in 1618, that 'while full of matter . . . [they] are succinct and practical, and the poem has even now no better commentary' (1926, xxxi). I can support this judgment from my own experience. Of the large edition of Oudendorp, Housman says that it is 'the most solid and valuable, though not in all respects the most important, among the editions of Lucan.' Of Oudendorp himself he says that 'in common sense, sobriety of judgment, and fairness of temper, [he] is the best of Lucan's annotators. But the whole constitutes no regular commentary, and interpretation, . . . though sometimes furnished, is not professed.'

Richard Bentley's Edition (1760)

From Oudendorp I move ahead to the edition printed by Horace Walpole at the Strawberry Hill Press in 1760, with a Latin commentary by Richard Bentley (1685–1742), the president of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a brilliant classical scholar, whose character fell short of Oudendorp's virtues.

Walpole has left a detailed diary of the proceedings of his press in his *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill*. From this we learn that he began to print the Lucan on 14 July 1758 'from some sheets of Dr. Bentley's notes.' Walpole wrote in a letter to the Reverend Henry Zouch on 9 December 1758:

> I am just undertaking an edition of *Lucan*, my friend Mr. Bentley having in his possession his father's notes and emendations on the first seven books. Perhaps a partiality for the original author concurs a little with this circumstance of the notes, to make me fond of printing, at Strawberry Hill, the works of a man who, alone of all the classics, was thought to breathe too brave and honest a spirit for the perusal of the Dauphin and the French. I don't think that a good or bad taste in poetry is of so serious a nature, that I should be afraid of owning too, that with that great judge Corneille, and with that, perhaps, *no* judge Heinsius, I prefer Lucan to Virgil. To speak fairly, I prefer great sense, to poetry with little sense. There are hemistichs in Lucan that go to one's soul and one's heart.

Walpole continues with a perceptive discussion of the *Aeneid*, concluding: 'I should like Virgil better if I understood him less.'

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Bentley had completed and revised his proposed commentary on the first three books of the poem, and he had completed his commentary on the next four books, but without revision. His notes were inherited by his son, also named Richard Bentley (1717–1797), who was an artist and a close friend (at least until 1761) of Walpole. He made his father's notes available to Walpole, but he refused to have anything to do with the final product, for which his nephew, Richard Cumberland, grandson of the elder Bentley, took responsibility. He had been secretary to Lord Halifax, to whom he dedicated the book in fulsome terms, printed in four types of capitals.

The year 1759 saw turmoil in Walpole's printing house. Three printers left in quick succession; the fourth, Thomas Farmer, came on 18 July. He must have been the printer of the volume, since he stayed for the full two years of his contract. Walpole was pleased with his work, as the quotation below shows.

In other commentaries Bentley was often dismissive of scholars who lacked his penetrating genius. Tarrant calls Bentley 'a master of denunciation [who] seeks to inflame or intimidate his reader' (2016, 43–44). Fortunately, in this edition he reserved his contempt for corruptions in the text, and, as far as I have been able to establish, he did not indulge in personal attacks, other than in the first example discussed below. Housman (1926, xxii–xxiii) admits that Bentley 'did more than anyone else' for the emendation of Lucan, but he goes on to say that 'the vices of his temper began to invade his intellect' (that is, after he had 'reached perfection before he was forty'). Of the hundreds of conjectures in his commentary, few have been adopted by later editors, including Housman and Shackleton-Bailey, whose Teubner text of 1988 we used in our seminar[1]. Where Bentley made the right conjecture, sometimes supported by a manuscript that was discovered after his time, his excellence is obvious. In any case, it is more than instructive to read Lucan with his commentary, as the examples given below show. Smith College possesses two copies of this edition.

This is a beautiful book, large quarto in size (29.5 x 23.5cm) and printed on laid paper. It is the only classical text printed at Strawberry Hill, and many people have judged it to be the finest piece of printing to come from that press. Walpole

[1] One of the most memorable experiences in my long teaching career was a seminar on Lucan's poem at the University of Virginia. There were about 10 of us, and we sat in a circle. We read one book of the poem each week—10 books in 10 weeks—meaning anything from 700 to 1100 lines of difficult (or at least unfamiliar) Latin, a load that would intimidate many graduate students. But Carin Green showed true and gracious leadership, and it is in memory of her unobtrusive and brilliant scholarship that I offer this chapter. I only regret that I never was able to continue the discussions that I had enjoyed with Carin at the University of Virginia. The memory of her is forever vital.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

himself wrote on 7 January 1760, 'My Lucan appears to-morrow; I must say it is a noble volume.' Many years later, on 30 January 1780, he wrote:

> Mr. Cumberland, full as ingenuous as he is ingenious, has barely mentioned the edition of his grandfather's Lucan, which, with singular veracity, he says that he, Mr. Cumberland, published. The truth of which veracity is exactly this: the MS of the notes, I believe, was in Cumberland's possession, who gave it to his uncle for the latter's benefit, and for the latter's benefit I printed it at Strawberry Hill entirely at my own expense, found the paper, and as it was at least a year printing, and I had but one printer at a guinea a week, it cost me above fifty guineas. Mr. Bentley alone selected and revised the notes, and he and I revised the proof-sheets; and as Mr. Bentley did not choose . . . to appear the editor, Cumberland's name was affixed to the dedication, which with the gift of the MS., entitled him, I suppose, to the right of calling it *his* publication. (Walpole 1923, 38–39)

There are two engraved plates, the work of Charles Grignion (1717–1810), who, despite his French name, was English. On the title page is a Latin motto: *Multa sunt condonanda in opere postumo.* Below this is printed, in small type: 'In Librum iv, Nota 641. Book 4.' 641 has nothing to do with the motto, which means, 'Much has to be forgiven in a work [published] after the author's death.' This strange and unexpected motto is explained by Walpole, continuing the quotation above:

> Did I ever tell you a ridiculous blunder that happened to our edition by Mr. Bentley's and my carelessness? He had chosen for a motto a note out of the MS., in which were these words, *Multa sunt condonanda in opere postumo,* so they stand in the title-page, but, alas!, Mr. Bentley had rejected the note, and thus the motto quotes a note not to be found in the edition. He did not recollect he had done so, and I never searched for the note till after the edition was published.

The edition included the notes of the great Dutch jurist and scholar Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), which had first been published by Raphelengius at Leiden in 1641. They are properly acknowledged in the edition by the addition of his name. It is a measure of the elder Bentley's egoism that he joined himself to one of greatest of the scholars of the golden age of intellectual life in the Netherlands.

The Roman type is spacious, with commentary printed on each page below the text. Bentley used Grotius' text, referring occasionally to manuscripts that were available in England, including one in his college's library, while his many suggestions for improvements on the text were argued in the commentary, with

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

conjectures printed in large capital letters. Bentley was no shrinking violet! Yet, as noted above, Housman and Shackleton-Bailey adopted few of Bentley's conjectures. Unlike the Renaissance editors, Bentley did not comment on the ending of the poem, much less add an ending, as Sulpitius had done.

Here are a few examples of Bentley's commentary. I give the lemma first, as it is printed in the text, and then his notes.

> *Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla*
> *Signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso*
> *Ultima curvati procederet ungula Tauri.*
>
> And the land of the Ethiops, which would have no portion of the zodiac overhead, unless the hock of the hunched Bull had given way and the tip of his hoof projected. (3.253–255, trans. Housman 1926, 327)

This is one of the most vexed passages in Lucan's epic, and it is safe to say that Roman poets, other than Manilius, were usually confused when they tried to write about astronomical matters. Bentley wrote a very long note commenting on these lines. He began by quoting Servius *ad vi Aeneidos*, followed by Grotius' explanation, and then the commentary of the elder Scaliger, which begins: *Hic vero nequeo satis mirari, quid Lucano venerit in mentem.* Bentley then introduces his own conjecture, *contra stultissimam lectionem*: *........... nisi poplite lapso Ultima TRUNCATI procederet ungula CAPRI.* This he defends with quotations from Vergil and Servius. And he asks: *quid de sua Aethiopia Noster?* He answers his own question by paraphrasing lines 253–255 and commenting:

> *Tauri ungula extra Signiferum? quae a capite et tergo Tauri introrsus in medium Signiferum vergat? Quale vero illud portentum est! Vult suam Aethiopam ad Austrum porrigi, ultra fines Signiferi: unde ergo pertingat ad eam Taurus, qui in Borealibus signis est? Insanus, non indoctus dicendus qui ita scripserit.*
>
> The hoof of Taurus outside the Zodiac? Which would point from the head and back of Taurus inward towards the middle of the Zodiac? What a monstrosity that is! He wants his Ethiopia to be stretched to the South, beyond the limits of the Zodiac: how then would Taurus, which is a Northern constellation, have anything to do with it? Anyone who wrote this should be called insane, not ignorant [trans. Morford].

Bentley then argues for his own conjectures, with quotations from Manilius and 'the Grammarians.' He calls Lucan 'insane' and his lines 'a monstrosity,' and changes them so as to make good sense. This is typical of Bentley: attack

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

the text and save the poet with conjectures. Housman devotes nearly two pages to his discussion of this passage in his 'Astronomical Appendix' (1926, 327–329), with scholarship equal to Bentley's, shown especially in references to authors famous and obscure. He agrees with Bentley's *insanus* to some extent: 'I believe that Lucan is merely trying to repeat, with the circumlocutions and embellishments of a bad poet, something as true and simple as the words of Cleomedes,' which Housman then quotes (I translate from the Greek): 'Syene lies in the summer circle, and Ethiopia is further in than Syene.' (Housman of course was aware of Cleomedes' birthdate, two centuries after Lucan, and he chose his words carefully. Syene is the modern Aswan.)

It is a relief to turn from scholarly criticism to the edition of Hyginus (also in Smith College's collection), printed at Venice eight years before Bevilaqua's Lucan by Erhard Ratdolt, who gives a brief account of Taurus on b8^{v} and an illustration on d1^{v} , which, in agreement with the earlier account, shows only the front part of a bull (Taurus)—nothing about its hock or being hunched! Moreover, Ratdolt gives a diagram of Earth's sphere (a1^{v}) showing the zodiacal signs lying obliquely across the sphere: Taurus is in the northern hemisphere in the East, far from where Ethiopia would lie and with no possibility of his 'hock' covering that land.

> *..................: nec gloria leti*
> *Inferior, juvenes, admoto occurre[re] fato.*
>
> And the glory of [your] death, young men, is no less if you go to meet approaching fate.[2] (4.479–480)

This is part of the speech of Vulteius, Caesarian commander of the doomed ship manned by citizens of Opitergium, urging his men to kill themselves rather than let their enemies kill them. Bentley assumes that Vulteius is *senex*, in contrast to his men, who are *juvenes*. Inevitably, then, he improves upon Lucan by conjecturing: *...........nec gloria leti Inferior JUVENI EST admoto occurrere fato.*

Bentley then gives a lucid explanation of the contrast heightened by his conjecture: 'and the glory of death is no less for a young man to meet approaching fate.' He begins by showing that there are two contrasts here (*duo sunt opposita*), old and young, and committing suicide as a *juvenis*, when you might have had a long time to live, and as a *senex*, when you would not have had long to live anyway. And he ends with the words *Profecto in tenebris hic micabant interpretes.*

[2] This is one of the few misprints in the volume.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

('To be sure commentators here have been [mere] sparks in the darkness.') This is a perfect example of Bentley's introduction of **a** conjecture to improve upon Lucan, entirely unnecessarily. Housman's note on 480 is dismissive: *expl.* **a** *Farnabius Cortius, partim etiam* **c** *Grotius, ut excusatione careant diuersi Bentlei et Weisii errores.* ('Explained by the *adnotationes super Lucanum,* Farnaby, [and] Korte; explained partly by the *Commenta Bernensia* [and] Grotius, so that there is no excuse for the different mistakes of Bentley and Weise.') I have checked Farnaby's note on these lines and both **a**, the *adnotationes*, and **c**, the *Commenta Bernensia,* and Housman is correct.

> *Nesciat hoc quisquam nisi tu, quae sola meorum*
> *Conscia votorum es, me, quamvis plenus honorum,*
> *Et Dictator eam Stygias, et Consul ad umbras,*
> *Privatum, Fortuna, mori.*

> 'Let nobody know this except you, Fortune, who alone have known my prayers; that I, although full of honors, both Dictator and Consul, am going to the Stygian shades; that I am dying as a private citizen.' (5.665–668)

Bentley quotes Grotius on 665: *Non* nesciet, *est enim optantis.* He continues: *Nesciat; hoc esset; Omnes hoc sciant, nisi tu, o Fortuna. Atqui contrarium voluit Poeta.*: Lege, NE SCIAT *hoc quisquam, nisi tu.*

Another vexed passage, which would have pleased Browning's Grammarian for its quibble over a single letter and its spacing; yet the difference between *nesciat, ne sciat,* and *nesciet* matters for the reader's estimate of Caesar's character. The context is the final scene of the great storm, as Caesar and Amyclas in their dinghy are tossed by the waves. Caesar speaks, prepared for drowning, knowing that his corpse will be lost to the waves and be just another body, for which the highest honors in the state are unnecessary and indifferent. Despite Grotius' warning, Housman and Shackleton-Bailey read *nec sciet,* future indicative tense: that is, a statement, not a prayer. The reading *ne sciat* is found in the corrections to Z, the ninth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 101314), and in *codices recentiores.* Bentley's conjecture was anticipated by the 17th-century scholar Nicolaus Heinsius, *acutissimus* and *vir magnus* as Bentley calls him. He quotes Ovid, *Fasti* 3.489, in support: Ne sciat *hoc quisquam, tacitisque doloribus urar.* Here are Bentley's comments on this line, immediately after his reference to Ovid, and lines 668–670:

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

ubi hunc Lucani locum recte emendavit acutissimus Nic. Heinsius. Operose haec vir magnus. Verior tamen simpliciorque sensus est: Nemo sciat modum et genus mortis meae; privatum, *solum, plebis habitu, sine fascibus et potestatis insignibus, mori. Retinete, o di, cadaver in medio profundo, ne orbis sciat me sic perisse.*

Where the extraordinarily perceptive Nicolaus Heinsius has made the correct emendation. The great man expended much effort over these words. A truer, however, and more simple sense is [this]: let no one know how I died and by what sort of death; that I am dying as a *private citizen*, alone, in plebeian clothing, without the *fasces* and insignia of power. Keep, O gods, my corpse in the middle of the ocean, lest the world know that I died in this way.
668. *Privatum, Fortuna, mori.* Meo judicio privatum me mori. quanquam enim sum et Dictator et Consul, nihil tamen ista sunt, qui regiam potestatem speravi, nec ulla minore contentus esse possum. Hanc nondum adeptus, privatus mihi videor. Ita in Secundo:

Non privata cupit, Romana quisquis in urbe
Pompeium transire parat.

Non privata, id est regnum. Hic privatum est nondum regem.

To die, Fortune, as a private citizen. In my opinion I am dying as a private citizen. For although I am both Dictator and Consul, those offices, however, are nothing [to me], who have hoped for a King's power, nor can I be content with any lesser power. [Since] I have not yet achieved it, I seem to myself to be a private citizen.

It is the same in Book Two [564–65]:

Non privata cupit, Romana quiquis in urbe
Pompeium transire parat.

'The man who is ready to outdo Pompey is not aiming to be a private citizen.' [Shackleton-Bailey reads *cupis* for *cupit.*]) Not to be a private citizen, that is, to be a king.

Bentley then adds Grotius' note, which quotes from Plutarch's *Life of Marius* 45, to the same effect: that Marius died without achieving the things for which he was ambitious.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

These three examples from Bentley's edition, and our survey of three important editions of Lucan, show how the poet's text has attracted the best editors of their time. Yet he languishes in university curricula and deserves to be restored. We may not agree with Walpole, who preferred Lucan to Vergil, but at least students should be given the opportunity to make the comparison.

Works Cited

Coleman, K. M., ed. 2015. *Images for Classicists*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Housman, A. E. 1926; 1950. *M. Annaei Lucani,* Belli ciuilis*, libri decem: Editorum in usum edidit.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Tarrant, R. J. 2016. *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walpole, H. 1923. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill* [1789], transcribed and edited by P. Toynbee. London: Chiswick Press for Constable & Co.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/14/2023 12:33 AM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use