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Miroslav Marcovich, *Editor*

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Two More New Verses of Hipponax (and a Spurium of Philoxenus)?

ROBERT L. FOWLER

Hipponax Test. 21 Degani:

21 Choerob. ad Hephaest. 3 (Π. ποδῶν), 1. 214. 8–20 Consbr.

"Ἴαμβος . . . εἴρηται ἤτοι ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τῆς Κελεοῦ θεραπαίνης, ἥτις τὴν Δήμητρα λυπουμένην ἠνάγκασε γελάσαι γέλοιόν τι εἰποῦσα, τῷ ῥυθμῷ τούτου τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτομάτως χρησαμένη, ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινὸς ἑτέρας, γραός, ἢ Ἰππῶναξ ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔρια πλυνούσῃ συντυχὼν ἤκουσε τῆς σκάφης ἐφαψάμενος, ἐφ' ἧς ἔπλυνεν ἡ γραῦς, "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις." καὶ συλλαβὼν τὸ ῥηθὲν οὕτως ὠνόμασε τὸ μέτρον. ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τοῦ χωλιάμβου τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἀναφέρουσι, γράφοντες τὸ τέλος τοῦ στίχου "τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέψεις."

21a Choerob. ad Hephaest. 5 (Π. ἰαμβικοῦ), 4. 229. 10–15 Consbr.

Ἱππώνακτος δ' ἔλεγον αὐτὸ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην ἀνωτέρω χρῆσιν τῆς γραὸς καὶ σκάφης· "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέψεις." τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῆς γραὸς λέγεται εἶναι τῆς ἄνω εἰρημένης.

21b Schol. [B] Hephaest. 20 (Π. ποδῶν), 4. 299. 17–300. 3 Consbr. = Arsen. 8. 99 b (CPG 2. 461. 8–17 L.–Schnw.)

ἴαμβος . . . ἐκλήθη . . . ἢ ἀπὸ γραός τινος Ἰάμβης καλουμένης, ἢ πλυνούσῃ συντυχὼν ὁ Ἱππῶναξ καὶ ἁψάμενος τῆς σκάφης, ἐφ' ἧς ἔπλυνεν ἡ γραῦς τὰ ἔρια, ἤκουσε λεγούσης "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις."

21c Tricha, Lib. de novem metris 1 (Π. ἰαμβικοῦ) 370. 11–16 Consbr.

τῇ γὰρ ἄνωθεν ῥηθείσῃ ἐντυχών, φασί, γραί, ἥτις Ἰάμβη ἐκαλεῖτο, ἔρια ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ πλυνούσῃ, τῇ σκάφῃ τε πλησιάσας ἤκουσε παρ' αὐτῆς "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις." τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα τοῦτο ἐκ τούτου τὸν χωλὸν ἐπιτηδεύσασθαι ἴαμβον.

21d Gramm. Ambros. Π. τῆς τῶν ποδῶν ὀνομασίας 255. 14–20
Keil–Nauck (pone Lex. Vindob.)

ἰάμβους δὲ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰάπτειν,
ὅ ἐστι βλάπτειν· οἷς καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος κέχρηται ὑβριστὴς ὤν.
ἄλλοι δὲ καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἴαμβον καὶ λέγουσι κληθῆναι ἀπὸ
Ἰάμβης τινὸς οὕτω καλουμένης γραός, ἥτινί ποτε ὁ Ἱππῶναξ
ὑπήντησε καὶ ἀκουσίως τῆς σκάφης ἁψάμενος, ἐφ᾽ ἧς τὰ ἔρια
ἔπλυνεν, ἤκουσε λεγούσης αὐτῆς "ἄνθρωπ᾽, ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην
ἀνατρέψεις."

In two recent articles, Christopher G. Brown and Ralph M. Rosen have
independently suggested that the verse quoted anonymously in the above
testimonium to Hipponax actually comes from the poet himself.[1] The
suggestion, which was first made by Koster,[2] but subsequently ignored, is
highly attractive. As Rosen in particular has demonstrated, the context
raises many more questions than the verse answers; the hypothesis that both
verse and context were invented by some metrician to explain the origin of
the iambic verse will not bear scrutiny. The line, therefore, comes from
some poem; whether it comes from a poem by Hipponax may still be
doubted. Both scholars suggest that the line and the story may have come
from a poetic initiation scene, paralleling those in Hesiod and Archilochus;
but the Hellenistic interest in such scenes is well known, and the possibility
that the verse comes, as Brown puts it, "from a lost comedy or poem about
Hipponax" (n. 8) cannot be dismissed. Brown finds the supposition of an
intermediary source less economical, but it is only so if the story originally
stood in Hipponax (so that a Hellenistic writer *would* be intermediary):
which is the point under contention.[3]

Both scholars refer briefly to the extra material found in the fourteenth-
century codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 356. This manuscript is quoted
by Consbruch in his apparatus to Choeroboscus p. 214, in the chapter of
Choeroboscus' commentary entitled περὶ ποδῶν (test. 21 above), although

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[1] Christopher G. Brown, "Hipponax and Iambe," *Hermes* 116 (1988) 478–81; Ralph M.
Rosen, "A Poetic Initiation Scene in Hipponax?", *AJP* 109 (1988) 174–79.

[2] W. J. W. Koster, *Tractatus Graeci de re metrica inediti* (Paris 1922) 60 f.: "Versum in
Hipponactis choliambis extitisse propter argumentum scurrile pro certo habeo; historiam
addiderunt hariolantes grammatici." The verse must have had some context, however, and there
is no need to assume that the one given by the grammarians is anything but the original.
Koster was anticipated by Heinrich zur Jacobsmuehlen in his edition of pseudo-Hephaestio *De
metris* (Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses 10. 4 [Strassbourg 1886], hereafter "zur
Jacobsmuehlen" or "ps.-Heph.") §1ᵇ, who put a discreet "(Hippon.)" in the margin beside the
verse.

[3] It arouses suspicion that in the metrical handbook underlying all these testimonia and
forming the subject of this paper the story of Hipponax was followed by another explanation for
the name of the genre—παρὰ τὸ ἰὸν βάζειν—in which Callimachus fr. 380 Pfeiffer is quoted,
a couplet that plays on the aition (see below p. 18 and notes 32, 46, 47). If the author of this
handbook culled one explanation of the origin of iambos from a Hellenistic poet, why not the
other one he quotes in the same breath?

as will be seen the manuscript is not in fact a copy of Choeroboscus.[4]
Consbruch quotes from "folio 163ᵛ": [the iambos was named after] Ἰάμβης
τινός, ἥτις κατὰ τύχην ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι πρώτη τὸ τοῦ [sic vel etiam τὸ τοοῦ
cod.; lege τοῦτο, sc. τὸ μέτρον; error per compendium ortus est] ἐξ
αὐτομάτου ἐξέφερε τὸν διωθοῦντα πλύνουσαν αὐτὴν
καταμωκησαμένη οὕτως εἰποῦσα· ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην
ἀνατρέπεις. ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀκαταθύμιος φαίνῃ, ἔργον δὲ μωρὸν ἐκτελεῖς
σκάφην τρέπων. In his version of the story, Choeroboscus seems to
distinguish the washerwoman Iambe from the well-known Eleusinian one;
he first tells the Eleusinian story, then introduces the washerwoman by
saying ἢ (εἴρηται) ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινὸς ἑτέρας, after a different Iambe. This
need mean no more than that the story comes from a different source; she
could still be the Eleusinian Iambe as the Palatine codex claims, and as
Rosen offers some slight reasons for believing. On the whole, however,
Brown is probably right to state (n. 3) that the two words ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι in
the Palatine version are simply a mistake. The rest of what the Palatine
MS offers is not, however, to be ignored. Rosen (n. 10) wonders if it
merely offers "a clumsy conflation of the details found in Choeroboscus, or
whether it represents a more accurate report of an actual passage in
Hipponax." He continues, "I would like to think that the participle
καταμωκησαμένη ('mocking') and the gloss ἐμοὶ . . . τρέπων indicate
that the commentator is explaining a passage of Hipponax that he has in
front of him, but I realize that these details could merely be an attempt to
explain an unclear account such as we find in Choeroboscus." That is a
nicely judged evaluation, but for one overlooked fact: the "gloss" scans.

We are dealing, in fact, not with one putative verse of Hipponax, but
with three:

ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε· τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις.
ἐμοὶ μὲν †ἀκαταθύμιος† φαίνῃ,
ἔργον δὲ μωρὸν ἐκτελεῖς σκάφην τρέπων.

1. ἀνατρέπεις v.l. in Choer., utpote aition choliambi metri originis
praebens. τὴν – ἀνατρέπεις: μὴ τάραττε τὴν σκάφην f. 1. apud ps.-
Heph. §1ᵇ necnon nostrum codicem fol. 161ᵛ (vide infra) et Isaacum
Monachum ed. Bachmann Anec. Gr. 2. 175. 8, 187. 11.

2. ἀκαταθύμιος et metro repugnat et orationem solutam (ne dicam
tardam) redolet.

It is easy to overlook the fact that these words scan, because
Consbruch, in accordance with his usual practice, prints them as prose
(compare for example the elegiac couplet quoted in the apparatus to p. 331).
There can be little doubt that we have here a continuation of the first verse.

[4] M. Consbruch, *Hephaestionis enchiridion* (Leipzig 1906), hereafter "Consbruch." The MS
once belonged to Arsenius (test. 21 b): H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci
bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome 1885) 203.

The third verse is a perfect trimeter, and provides an idiomatic progression from compound to simple form of the same verb (ἀνατρέπεις – τρέπων).[5] Two lexical iamb-shaped words filling up the final metron violate Knox's bridge, but the law does not hold good for Hipponax.[6]

The second verse poses obvious difficulties. Without the sequel (I readily admit) there would be no reason to think that these words constituted a verse, and an editor might prefer to print them in smaller type between the other verses on the assumption that the whole line is a paraphrase. I would not quarrel with such a decision; what I have printed here assumes that ἀκαταθύμιος, a late and prosy word,[7] has ousted the original words from the middle of the verse. But on either view a verse lies behind the words. The δέ of verse 3 does not follow well on verse 1. The μέν of verse 2 gives it its *raison d'être*. But what exactly *is* the μέν ... δέ contrast here? "You seem unpleasant to me, but you do a foolish thing in upsetting my tub" will not do; "you seem *pleasant* enough, but ..." would. Perhaps the gloss ἀκαταθύμιος is a mistake *per contrarium*. Or perhaps we have an example of a non-adversative μέν ... δέ, equivalent roughly to "the first thing I want to say is X, the second thing is Y," where no very strict relation exists between X and Y other than that of being consecutive. In this construction the first μέν is almost *solitarium*, with the force "whatever else you may say, you may say this" (as H. Lloyd-Jones once put it in a seminar); if one does then think of something else to say, the particle δέ is available to rescue you. The old woman says, in effect, "You're a pest, you are. And (I might add) an oaf."[8]

This additional information does not, unfortunately, shed much light on the question of authorship. The third verse has the ring of archaic simplicity to it, but that could be affected just as well by a later author. The content is unremarkable, except that it justifies the commentator's καταμωκησαμένη; mockery by Iambe is exactly what we want in a poetic

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[5] See R. Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism: A Reader* (Cambridge, MA 1969) 77–85; *Studies in Greek Texts*, Hypomnemata 43 (1976) 11–22. It is perhaps possible that the compound belongs to one speaker (the author of the first verse) and the simplex to another (a putative forger), but on the whole this reflex of idiom seems more likely to proceed from a single connected utterance.

[6] A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, *Language and Metre. Resolution, Porson's Bridge, and their Prosodic Basis*, American Classical Studies 12 (Chico, CA 1984) 7. Exceptions occur for example at frr. 32. 2 and 36. 1 West.

[7] All words beginning ἀκατα- in *LSJ* (and there are many) are quoted only from prose, except for one occurrence of ἀκατάβλητος at Ar. *Nub.* 1229; ἀκαταθύμιος is quoted from no author before Artemidorus. The corruption prevents us from knowing whether this verse was a choliamb or not (φαίνη need not be the last word). Iambic lines appear amid the choliambs at frr. 29a. 1, 30. 1, 32. 1, 36. 4, etc. The variant ἀνατρέψεις is presumably the emendation of someone who thought the story *should* explain the origin of the choliamb; it could have arisen at any time and has no bearing on the question of authenticity.

[8] J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*[2] (Oxford 1954) 370 writes: "The strength of the antithesis varies within wide limits. Sometimes μέν ... δέ conveys little more than τε ... καί."

initiation scene describing how Hipponax became an "iambic" poet. But another possibility, which readers will have raised already, presents itself: a grammarian, expecting just this kind of content, and missing it in the story as found in Choeroboscus, might have supplied it for himself. The relative inanity of the verses might seem to some scholars an indication of forgery rather than authenticity. One argument against this view is that a forger might at least be expected to have got the number of syllables right in his second verse. But to dispel any doubts we must investigate the MS.

Since Consbruch reports its reading in the apparatus to Choeroboscus, one easily assumes that Palatinus 356 contains a copy of that author, and is merely dependent on him. At a quick glance the same might be said of testimonia 21b–d. The truth is, however, more complex than this. Testimonium 21b is from the fifth book of the B–scholia to Choeroboscus; this book in its turn represents one recension of a popular Byzantine metrical manual whose fortunes were investigated a century ago by W. Hoerschelmann and W. Studemund.[9] The book got attached to the scholia to Hephaestio, but its connection with him is only that of the general subject matter; it is not dependent on Choeroboscus, but on Choeroboscus' sources. Testimonium 21d is a representative of another recension of the same book, and is likewise not dependent on Choeroboscus; testimonium 21c is harder to decide, since Trichas shows the influence both of this metrical handbook and of Choeroboscus in various parts of his work. This passage could come from either. Consbruch printed the B–scholia from a judicious selection of manuscripts but, as he points out in the preface (xxiv; cf. xxvii), Book 5 is found in many more manuscripts. It is in the nature of these grammatical reference books that each copy offers many minor variations (the authors were often schoolmasters culling from here and there what they needed for their lectures, with many additions and alterations), and an edition that gave an account of all these differences would be pointless. Nonetheless, one must be vigilant, for any one schoolmaster could have had at his disposal a superior copy of the original, or happened to have been the only one who took the trouble to copy out a particularly choice passage. So the solution is to report occasional readings of interest from other manuscripts in the apparatus, as Consbruch does. Palatinus 356 is one of these MSS, but Consbruch reported it in connection with Choeroboscus rather than the B–scholia to Hephaestio where it belongs (pp. 281, 300).

The MS is a miscellany of grammar, rhetoric, history, and theology;

the author is (fortunately for me) no great scholar, but a humble teacher dutifully assembling his material (and making mistakes in the process). He is not the man to ask the kind of question that would have inspired the forgery, much less the man to find an answer. He is most certainly not John Tzetzes (who was not a great scholar, but thought he was); Rosen is correct to state that folio 163ᵛ of this MS contains Tzetzes' prolegomena to Lycophron, but Consbruch was incorrect to state that our material is on folio 163ᵛ. It is on folio 163ʳ, as Professor Herwig Görgemanns of Heidelberg, through whose kind offices I obtained a microfilm of this part of the MS, immediately noticed. It might be objected by a determined skeptic that although the scribe of this MS cannot have been the forger, his authority could have been. This is to violate Ockham's razor; there is no reason to deny this witness to the book the same authority as any other, many of which contain unique material. That a fragment is preserved by a single manuscript is of course no impediment to its authenticity; such a criterion would reverse scholarly opinion of the authenticity of many fragments, not to mention more complete works like the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus. In the present case there is certainly nothing remarkable about supposing that one MS in a thoroughly "open" tradition has preserved authentic material, especially when the source is preserved complete in no MS. Most of p. 310. 8–20 Consbruch is preserved only in Vindobonensis theol. gr. 287 (see Consbruch's preface, p. xxii), as it happens, a section immediately preceding the one under discussion here. It should be pointed out too that many metrical MSS remain unread; Consbruch reports that the copies of this book are "practically innumerable."[10] Were they properly investigated, our extra verses would very likely turn up in other MSS— together with new details about their context.

Provided, then, that my (and Consbruch's) evaluation of the MS as an independent witness to the tradition of this handbook is correct (the detailed evidence is laid out below), these three verses must henceforth be read together by anyone considering the question of authenticity. We have either three new verses of Hipponax or no new verses.

In what follows I will first briefly relate the facts about this metrical handbook and then provide a transcript of the readings in Palatinus 356. Most of what I say on the first score derives from Hoerschelmann, one of that numerous class of industrious nineteenth-century Germans who devoted their lives to the dirty spadework of philology, unfashionable now, but still largely undone. (Where would we be today without that huckster Dindorf?)

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[10] P. xxiv, cf. apparatus to p. 309; Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 18. Studemund *AV* 153 n. 2 reports that Par. 2561 is another witness along with many others he cites only as "etc. etc." On p. 242 he draws attention to a "codex Hilferdingii apud Nauckium in 'Mélanges gréco-romains' tom. II pag. 510." This journal was published by the Akademiia nauk S. S. S. R., Leningrad (St. Petersburg); *non vidi*. On Mutitensis II F 4, see below n. 40; on Vat. gr. 97, below n. 41.

The book's sources probably include Longinus and Orus,[11] who gives a *terminus post quem* of the fifth century A.D.[12] This accords well enough with the fact that the Armenian translation of Dionysius Thrax, made in the fifth century, appears to lack the version of the book that became attached to Dionysius' treatise.[13] A *terminus ante* is provided by Choeroboscus' use of the work, whose career is placed "between the middle of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth."[14]

The three recensions are as follows. (1) That of Book 5 of the B–scholia to Hephaestio (pp. 280 ff. Consbruch), dubbed "*Appendix Hephaestionea*" (*App. Heph.*). It is edited from three Parisini (2756, s. xv; 2757, s. xvi; 2847, s. xvi) and a MS in the British Museum, Arundel 517 (s. xv). In his edition of Hephaestio Gaisford also used three Barocciani in the Bodleian which Hoerschelmann in his edition of the B–scholia rejected; Consbruch followed Hoerschelmann. This recension contains additional material, often of good quality. (2) The second version is closer to the original book. It formed an appendix to the *Ars grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax, and so was called the "*Appendix Dionysiana*" (*App. Dion.*) by Hoerschelmann. It is found in two versions, one of them printed by Uhlig in his edition of Dionysius (pp. 117–24), the other by Consbruch (pp. 307 ff.). The principal manuscripts are Monacensis gr. 310 (ante s. xi); Leidensis Voss. gr. in quarto 76 (non post s. xi: Uhlig xxi); a Saibantianus in the Bodleian, Auct. T IV 9 (s. xv–xvi; Consbruch's main authority); and Paris. gr. 2881 (s. xv; cf. *AV* 169). Uhlig also reports some readings from Vat. Pal. gr. 23, and Consbruch from several more: Ven Marc. 483 (s. xiv),[15] Laur. LVI 16 (cf. *AV* 167), Barb. I 4 (cf. *AV* 168), Ambr. Q 5 sup.

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[11] Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 65 ff. A work περὶ ὀνομάτων is cited at p. 294. 22 Consbr. With the beginning of this section (p. 294. 7) compare the A–scholia, p. 109. 9–11, where Longinus is cited; with the whole of ch. XX compare Choeroboscus ch. III, at the end of which Orus and Longinus are cited. Galen and perhaps Philoxenus may figure as well (below p. 13).

[12] Consbruch, p. xx, states that the book was written "non ante Georgium Pisidam" (s. vii), but this author is quoted only by Helias *AV* 170 f., who may therefore have been responsible for the addition. A similar explanation applies to the quotations of Constantine of Sicily (s. ix–x) in Isaac p. 192. 7, of John of Damascus (s. vii–viii) in the section περὶ ἐλεγείου in Ven. Marc. 483 (*AV* 195 f.), Tract. Urb. App. §7 p. 84, ps.-Heph. §7ᶜ, and our codex, and of Sophronius (s. vi–vii) in the section ἑτέρως περὶ τῶν Ἀνακρεοντείων (p. 317 Consbruch, al.), although the latter would be a quite early accretion.

[13] G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci* I. 1 (Leipzig 1883; hereafter "Uhlig") lii; Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 17.

[14] N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983) 70. It is theoretically possible that Choeroboscus used the book's sources rather than the book itself. If so, a *terminus ante* can be provided by the tenth-century date of Parisinus gr. 1983, which contains the so-called "rhetorical" recension of the work. If Hardt's date of the ninth century is right for Monacensis graecus 310, in which the "Dionysian" recension appears (I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae bavaricae. Codices graeci* III [Munich 1806]), we have an even earlier terminus; Uhlig xiii dates it more cautiously to "before the eleventh century."

[15] A collection of metrical texts including Hephaestio, Choeroboscus, works by the Tzetzes brothers, Helias Charax, and Trichas, which served as Triclinius' personal manual (there are

(s. xv; cf. *AV* 152 sqq.) and "P ii II 47 in bibl. Alexandrino-Vatic(ana)," a library whose subsequent fortunes are unknown to me (cf. *AV* 162 n.). (3) This version is dubbed "*Appendix Rhetorica*" (*App. Rhet.*) on analogy with the others, but it is not actually found as an appendix to any work. It is known from Parisinus gr. 1983, an important witness to Hermogenes and other rhetoricians. Its readings were partly reported by Cramer in *Anecdota Parisiensia* I (Paris 1839) 393 ff.; Consbruch prints it at pp. 337–43.

This book was a basic treatise in Byzantine times, providing indeed together with some other parts of the B–scholia the sole basis of all later Byzantine metrical writings except Trichas, Tzetzes, and the old scholia to the poets.[16] Trichas (Consbruch, pp. 363 ff.; date uncertain) certainly used it, along with Hephaestio and his A– and B–scholia and Choeroboscus. The Tzetzes brothers used it too; John's poem *De metris* shows its influence in the section on iambics,[17] and it may be significant that the Vindobonensis referred to above (p. 6) offers *App. Dion.* as a work of Tzetzes (no forename given; see Consbruch, p. xxii). The poems on metre of John Botaniates and Michael Psellos[18] rely on the book, and Consbruch's apparatus (e. g. p. 322) gives several instances of borrowings in Eustathius. Among lesser known authorities and anonymous writers[19] who used this book were Helias Charax,[20] Isaac Monachus,[21] pseudo-Hephaestio,[22] pseudo-Herodian on hexameters,[23] pseudo-Plutarch on the same subject,[24] the Anonymous Ambrosianus in Ambr. gr. C 222 inf. (s. xiii),[25] the Tractatus Harleianus in MS British Museum Harl. 5635, which may be by Triclinius and is at least based on him,[26] the Tractatus Urbinas edited by Koster,[27] an anonymous treatise in a Chisianus in Rome, misc. R IV 11,[28] another in

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notes in his hand): N. G. Wilson (previous note) 253; Studemund, *AV* 165–98.

[16] So K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*[2] I (1897) 595.

[17] J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* III (Oxford 1836) 308 ff.

[18] *AV* 198–204.

[19] Cf. Krumbacher (above, note 16) 596 f.; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* II (Munich 1978) 50 ff.

[20] Ed. Studemund, *AV* 170–98; see also L. Voltz, *De Helia Monacho, Isaaco Monacho, Pseudo-Dracone*, Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses selectae 11 (Strassbourg 1886).

[21] Ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* II (Leipzig 1828; repr. Hildesheim 1965) 167–96.

[22] Ed. zur Jacobsmuehlen (above, note 2); see also Consbruch, pp. 348–49, 352–54.

[23] *AV* 185–88; Consbruch, pp. 326–28 (part of the *App. Dion.*).

[24] Ed. Studemund, *Philol.* 46 (1888) 27–34.

[25] Hipponax test. 21d Degani; see *AV* 211–47; part of this treatise was printed by H. Keil, *Analecta grammatica* (Halle 1848) 3 ff. and then by A. Nauck in *Lexicon Vindobonense* (Petersburg 1867; repr. Hildesheim 1965) 253 ff., a more readily available book than *AV*.

[26] Ed. T. Gaisford in the second edition of his Hephaestio (Oxford 1855) I 317–34, and again by Studemund, *Index lectionum* (Breslau 1887).

[27] See above, note 2.

[28] Selected readings in G. Mangelsdorf, *Progr. Gymn.* (Karlsruhe 1876). Studemund, *AV* 205–09 gives the first section of this "Anecdotum Chisianum" complete, and notes that its first few pages are excerpted from the Anonymus Ambrosianus.

Vat. gr. 14,[29] yet another in Vat. gr. 1405 (s. xv), dubbed "Anonymus Romanus" by zur Jacobsmuehlen and appended to his edition of pseudo-Hephaestio (pp. 101 ff.), two more in Parisini 2881 and 2676 printed by Consbruch, pp. 349 and 351, and one entitled περὶ μέτρων going under the name of Moschopoulos.[30] Among later users are Michael Apostolius and his son Arsenius in their collection of proverbs (referred to by Degani at test. 21b) and pseudo-Draco,[31] who bring us into the sixteenth century.[32]

To turn then to the actual readings of the MS. Folios 157ʳ ff. contain §1 of pseudo-Hephaestio or his source (this MS is older than any of those containing pseudo-Hephaestio; the latter's editor[33] thinks that the common source of pseudo-Hephaestio, pseudo-Draco and Isaac Monachus was a tract written in the fourteenth century, which is to say the century in which our MS was written). On fol. 161ᵛ will be found the variant of the Hipponactean verse found in §1ᵇ of pseudo-Hephaestio and Isaac, pp. 175. 8, 187. 11, ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, μὴ τάραττε τὴν σκάφην. The variant presumably arises from quoting from memory. This section of pseudo-Hephaestio is an independent composition of his source which, although drawing on very familiar material, is not directly in the tradition of the handbook that concerns us here, so that I do not report variant readings. On fol. 161ᵛ (line 9) our material begins:[34]

§1. Περὶ μέτρου ἡρωϊκοῦ. τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἡρωϊκόν ἐστιν ἐξάμετρον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἑπτά τινας διαφορὰς αἵτινές εἰσιν αὐται· κατενόπλιον, περιοδικόν, Σαπφικόν [σαμφικόν cod.], βουκολικόν, ὑπόρρυθμον, τέλειον καὶ πολιτικόν. κατενόπλιον μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἔχον δύο δακτύλους καὶ σπονδεῖον καὶ πάλιν δύο δακτύλους καὶ σπονδεῖον, ὡς τὸ "ὥς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ" [A 357]. περιοδικὸν δέ ἐστι, τὸ ἔχον δάκτυλον καὶ σπονδεῖον καὶ πάλιν δάκτυλον καὶ σπονδεῖον, ὡς τὸ "οὐλομένην ἢ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε" [A 2]. Σαπφικὸν δέ ἐστι, τὸ ἀρχό⟨μενον⟩ ἀπὸ σπονδείου καὶ λῆγον εἰς σπονδεῖον, ὡς τὸ "ἄλλοι μέν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταί" [B 1]. βουκολικὸν δέ ἐστι, τὸ μετὰ τρεῖς πόδας [ad haec vide Consbr.; verum invenies apud eius ed. p. 351. 21] ἀπαρτίζον εἰς μέρος [ἀπαρτίζειν εἰς μέτρον cod.] λόγου, ὡς τὸ "ἐξ ἐπιδιφριάδος πυμάτης [πημάτοις cod.] ἱμᾶσι δέδεντο" [K 475].

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[29] Studemund, AV 97 ff.; cf. Consbruch 355 f., reporting readings also from Marc. gr. 483.

[30] Ed. N. Titze, Manuelis Moschopuli Cretensis opuscula grammatica (Leipzig 1822) 43–50.

[31] Ed. G. Hermann (Leipzig 1812).

[32] Parts appear also in the treatise perhaps falsely attributed to Nicetas of Serrae (also of Herakleia), edited from Par. Suppl. gr. 164 (s. xv–xvi) by Koster at the end of his edition of the Tractatus Urbinas (cf. Hunger [above, note 19]). The part of the book entitled Διονυσίου περὶ ποδῶν (Consbr. pp. 331 ff.) is found in a clutch of manuscripts enumerated by Studemund, AV 162 n., including Par. gr. 1773, one of the copies of the book to preserve Callimachus fr. 380 (cf. T. Bergk, Kleine philologische Schriften II [Halle 1886] 285 f.).

[33] Zur Jacobsmuehlen, p. 21.

[34] I follow normal conventions and do not report orthographica such as Byzantine accents on enclitics, nu-movable, etc.

ὑπόρρυθμον δέ ἐστι, τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον πόδα ἀπαρτίζον ⟨εἰς⟩
μέρος λόγου, οἷον "ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ'
ἡμῖν" [A 214]. τέλειον δέ ἐστι, τὸ ἔχον ὅλα τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου,
ὡς τὸ "πρὸς δέ με τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέαιρε" [X 59].
πολιτικὸν δέ ἐστι, τὸ ἄνευ πάθους ἢ τρόπου γιγνόμενον, οἷον
"ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα" [Λ 680]. τινὲς δὲ
καὶ ὄγδοον προστιθέασι τὸ προβάθμιον, ὅπερ ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ
καλλίστη ἐν μέτρῳ· ὃ ἀπὸ μιᾶς συλλαβῆς ἀρχόμενον μίαν μέχρι
τέλους προστίθησι συλλαβὴν [κεφαλὴν cod.], ὡς τὸ "ὦ μάκαρ
'Ατρείδη μοιρηγενὲς ὀλβιόδαιμον" [Γ 182]. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην
ἀρετὴν οὗτος ὁ στίχος ὅλος ὢν κλητική, ὥσπερ τὸ "ἥρως 'Ατρε-
ίδης εὐρυκρείων 'Αγαμέμνων" [A 102] ὅλος ὢν εὐθεῖα.

This section, which our scribe calls περὶ μέτρου ἡρωϊκοῦ, deals with
the so-called διαφοραί of the hexameter (*App. Heph.* p. 293; *App. Rhet.* p.
340; *Anon. Paris.* in cod. Par. 2676, Consbruch p. 351; ps.-Heph. §§5, 13,
29; Tract. Harl. §19[d]; Tract. Urb. Appendix §3 p. 64; etc.).[35] Unlike *App.
Heph.* and *App. Rhet.*, but like the anonymi in Par. 2676 and the Tract.
Harl., ps.-Heph., and others related to him (Isaac, p. 183. 29, pseudo-Draco,
p. 140. 16), our author provides an eighth διαφορά; but whereas the Anon.
Par. and others call this eighth type κλιμακωτόν, our man calls it
προβάθμιον (Diomedes, *GL* 1. 499. 15–17, quoting the same example, calls
such verses "*fistulares*"). Tract. Harl. has both terms, but our author gives a
differently-worded explanation and adds the material about cases, so that he
is not dependent on this source. In this section, then, the independence of
our MS is already well attested.

§2. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πάθη ἕξ· τὰ[36] μὲν κατὰ πλεονασμὸν οἷον
προκέφαλος, προκοίλιος ὁ καὶ προγάστωρ, καὶ δολιχόουρος (ὁ)
καὶ μακροσκελής· τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἔλλειψιν οἷον ἀκέφαλος,
μεσόκλαστος ὁ καὶ λαγαρός, καὶ μύουρος· προκέφαλός ἐστιν ὁ
ἔχων κατ' ἀρχὴν περισσὴν συλλαβήν, ὡς "θώρηκας ῥήξειν
δηΐων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι" [B 544; ῥήξε δηΐω ἀμφι στήθεσφι cod.;
immo est hic versus προκοίλιος, vide *App. Heph.* p. 289. 19, Anon. Par.
p. 350. 5 Consbr.]. προκοίλιος δὲ ὁ καὶ προγάστωρ λέγεται
[λέγεται ὁ καὶ π. cod.] ὁ ἔχων κατὰ τὸ μέσον περισσὴν
συλλαβήν, ὡς τὸ "(ἐπειὴ πολλὰ) [haec fortasse ex altero exemplo
hexametri quod dicitur acephali p. 350. 17 Consbr. in verbo ἐπειδὴ
incipienti, quamvis apud nostrum desit] οὐρά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά
τε [καὶ θάλασσα cod.] ἠχήεσσα" [A 157; immo est hic versus
προκέφαλος uti patet ex huiusmodi versuum ratione]. δολιχόουρος δὲ
ὁ καὶ μακροσκελὴς ὁ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἔχων περισσὴν συλλαβήν,
ὡς τὸ "Κύκλωψ, τῇ πίε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα" [ι 347].
τὰ δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψίν εἰσι ταῦτα· ἀκέφαλός ἐστιν ὁ μὴ ἔχων [κατὰ

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[35] On the διαφοραί see Hoerschelmann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Metrik," *Philol.* 47
(1889) 1–12.

[36] The scribe has a peculiar way of writing this ligature so that some might read it as τρία;
but cf. πίνοντα on line 1 of fol. 162[v], μετὰ *ibid.* line 2, etc.

τ]ὴν [aquae damnum] ἀρχὴν κεφαλήν, τουτέστι μακρὰν συλλαβήν, οἷον "ὃς ἤδη [hoc supra lin. cod.; ἤδει in lin.] τά τ' ἐόντ[α] τά τ' ἐσσόμενα [haec tria ante τά τ' ἐόντα cod.] πρό τ' ἐόντα" [A 70]. μεσόκλαστος δέ ἐστιν, ὁ ἔχων μέσον κλάσμα, ὡς τὸ "ὤτρυνέ μιν [ὤτρυνε δὲ Anon. Par., quae ambo exempla versus huiusmodi satis illustrant; Homerus vero ὤτρυνεν (vel ὄτρ-) δὲ scripsit, sc. versum ἀπαθῆ] γέροντα παριϲταμένη [sic etiam Anon. Par.; -ος Hom.] ἐπέεσσι" [Γ 249]. μύουρος δέ / / / [rasura] ὁ ἔχων κατὰ τὸ τέλος βραχεῖαν τὴν λέξιν, ὡς τὸ "Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν" [M 208].

This section discusses the πάθη of the hexameter (*App. Heph.* p. 288; *App. Dion.* pp. 322, 325, 327 [=ps.-Herodian]; *App. Rhet.* 341. 19; Athen. 14. 632c [p. 347 Consbruch]; ps.-Heph. §§11[b], 17 [pp. 348 f. Consbruch]; Anon. Par. in cod. Par. 2881, Consbr. p. 349; Tract. Urb. Appendix §4 p. 68; ps.-Plut. §5; etc.). Our author (who will treat the subject again at §10 below) is here closest to the Anon. Par., but has some differences which again attest his independence. Most noteworthy is his alternative name for the type of verse called προκοίλιος, προγάστωρ; no one else gives this information, but in view of the remark at Tract. Harl. 19[c] ("the προκοίλιος verse has an extra syllable in the middle which gives it a roundness like that of pot-bellied persons [προγαστ⟨ό⟩ρων]") it is a perfectly plausible variant. Since our scribe shows himself elsewhere to have been essentially a copyist, he should not be thought to have invented it. There are other variances: Although his πάθη are listed in the same order as the Anon. Par. and with similar definitions, his examples sometimes differ, as for example for the προκέφαλος verse (one supposedly having an extra syllable at the beginning), where our scribe quotes (under the wrong head, to be sure) *Il.* 1. 157 and Anon. Par. quotes *Il.* 1. 193. For the δολιχόουρος (a verse supposedly having an extra syllable at the end) Anon. Par. quotes *Il.* 3. 237 and *Od.* 9. 347; our author quotes only the second of these examples. In the original, it seems, there were often several examples; apographs tend to copy only one or two. They do not as a rule find new examples. In the case of the προκέφαλος these two witnesses have each chosen entirely different examples, and are thus independent of each other. Our author also has the choice variant μύουρος for μείουρος (cf. Eust. 900. 7). But he also makes mistakes, particularly in copying verses. His statement that the λαγαρός is identical with the μεσόκλαστος might be regarded as a mistake if the distinction drawn by Anon. Par. p. 350. 18 ff. is correct (although the name λαγαρός is missing there, it is possible to suppose that his two verses, of which one is deficient in the quantity of a syllable in mid-line and the other is altogether lacking a syllable, could have been designated as μεσόκλαστος and λαγαρός in the original, since Anon. Par. is the only one to make such a distinction and yet shares with our author alone the quotation of *Il.* 3. 249); but it is as likely, and more economical, to suppose that the distinction is an autoschediasm.

§3. (fol. 162ʳ) Περὶ δακτύλου καὶ ἑτέρων μέτρων. δάκτυλος
ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ δύο βραχειῶν· ἀνάπαιστος ἐκ δύο βραχειῶν καὶ
μακρᾶς· ἀμφίμακρος ἐκ μακρᾶς βραχείας καὶ μακρᾶς·
ἀμφίβραχυς ἐκ βραχείας μακρᾶς καὶ βραχείας· τροχαῖος ἐκ
μακρᾶς καὶ βραχείας· βακχεῖος ἐκ δύο μακρῶν καὶ βραχείας·
παλιμβάκχειος ἐκ βραχείας καὶ δύο μακρῶν· μολοσσὸς καὶ
χορεῖος ἐκ τριῶν βραχειῶν. ἡ πρώτη χώρα τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ μέτρου
δέχεται σπονδεῖον καὶ δάκτυλον· καὶ ἡ δευτέρα ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ
τρίτη καὶ ἡ τετάρτη καὶ ἡ πέμπτη· ἡ δὲ ἕκτη τροχαῖον ἢ καὶ
σπονδεῖον· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα πάντα [sc. ἀμφίμακρον, παλιμβάκχειον,
etc.; vide infra partem de hexametro] πλὴν τοῦ ἰάμβου [haec transposui;
ante τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα cod.] δέχεται ὁ ἡρωϊκὸς στίχος.

This series of definitions represents the actual beginning of the
handbook that underlies this whole investigation. The two sections so far
reported come from a later part of it. This is only one small example of
how fluid the transmission of these things is, so that sorting them out is
not so much a matter of finding tracks through a jungle as of separating
blended liquids. Our author entitles the section περὶ δακτύλου καὶ
ἑτέρων μέτρων, and begins with the definition of a dactyl, to proceed with
the anapaest, the amphimakros, etc., down to the molossus in the order
found in *App. Rhet.* pp. 337. 17–338. 10 and many other places. His
definitions of the baccheus and palimbaccheus are inverted, and he has
mistakenly identified the molossus and the choreus; he has also omitted the
disyllabic feet altogether, although he inserts the definition of a trochee after
the amphibrach at p. 338. 4. These inadequacies will shortly be made up by
a repetition of the whole section. But first we are briefly told what kinds of
feet (dactyls or spondees) are permissible in each of the six feet of the
hexameter. I am unable to find that this is taken from anywhere in
particular, but it is of course perfectly unremarkable (and could be inferred
for example from Hephaestio 7. 1 p. 20 Consbruch, or for that matter from
the section below περὶ τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ). Then, as mentioned, our author
begins again with the basic definitions, this time from the top (p. 337
Consbruch).

§4. Περὶ μέτρου ποδός. τί ἐστι μέτρον; ποδῶν συνθήκη· καὶ
τί ἐστι πούς; μετρικὸν σύστημα συλλαβῶν· ποσαχῶς ὁ πούς;
διχῶς· ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλοῦς, ὁ δὲ σύνθετος· ἁπλοῦς μέν, ὁ ἐκ δύο
ἢ καὶ τριῶν συλλαβῶν· σύνθετος δέ, ὁ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων
[τετάρ(των) cod.] μέχρι καὶ ἕξ· πόσοι πόδες ἁπλοῖ; ιβ'· πόσοι
τούτων δισύλλαβοι; δ'· καὶ πόσοι τρισύλλαβοι; η'· πόσοι πόδες
σύνθετοι; ιβ'· πόσοι τούτων τετρασύλλαβοι; ι'· πόσοι
πεντασύλλαβοι; λβ'· πόσοι ἑξασύλλαβοι; ξδ'· καὶ πόσοι
τρισύλλαβοι; ὀκτώ· ποῖοί εἰσιν οἱ δισύλλαβοι; ὁ σπονδεῖος, ὁ
πυρρίχιος, ὁ τροχαῖος, καὶ ὁ ἴαμβος· ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ σπονδεῖος
καὶ ποῖος ὁ πυρρίχιος καὶ ποῖος ὁ τροχαῖος καὶ ποῖος ὁ ἴαμβος;
σπονδεῖος μὲν ὁ ἐκ δύο μακρῶν, οἷον ἥρως· πυρρίχιος δὲ ὁ ἐκ
δύο βραχειῶν, οἷον λόγος· τροχαῖος δὲ ὁ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ

βραχείας, οἷον κῆπος· ἴαμβος δὲ ἐκ βραχείας καὶ μακρᾶς, οἷον
Σόλων [σίλων cod.]· ποῖοί εἰσιν οἱ τρισύλλαβοι; δάκτυλος,
ἀνάπαιστος, ἀμφίμακρος, ἀμφίβραχυς, βακχεῖος,
παλιμβάκχειος, χορεῖος, καὶ μολοσσός. ὁ δάκτυλος ἐκ μακρᾶς
καὶ δύο βραχειῶν, οἷον "Ἥλιος· ὁ ἀνάπαιστος ἐκ δύο βραχειῶν
καὶ μακρᾶς, οἷον Πολέμων· ὁ ἀμφίμακρος ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ μέσης
βραχείας καὶ πάλιν μακρᾶς, οἷον 'Ἡγεμών· ὁ ἀμφίβραχυς ἐκ
βραχείας καὶ μέσης μακρᾶς καὶ πάλιν βραχείας, οἷον βοηθός· ὁ
βακχεῖος ἐκ βραχείας καὶ δύο μακρῶν, οἷον Νοήμων· ὁ
παλιμβάκχειος ἐκ δύο μακρῶν καὶ βραχείας, οἷον "Ἥφαιστος· ὁ
χορεῖος ἐκ τριῶν βραχειῶν, οἷον Δόλιος· ὁ μολοσσὸς ἐκ τριῶν
μακρῶν, οἷον 'Ἡρώδης. σημείωσαι ὅτι καὶ οἱ τετρασύλλαβοι
⟨καὶ οἱ πεντασύλλαβοι⟩ καὶ οἱ ἐξασύλλαβοι πόδες ἔχουσιν ἴδια
ὀνόματα· ἐπεὶ μὴ χρῶνται τούτοις οἱ νῦν γράφοντες μετρικῶς,
οὐδὲ χρεία τούτων· ἐμπράκτως νῦν ζητεῖται ἤδη ταῦτα [sc.
minus quam τετρασύλλαβοι], ἵνα μὴ περιττοσυλλαβοῦντες ἡμεῖς
νομιζώμεθα.

The introductory definition of "foot" is preceded by one of "metron";
our author also has some additional material at p. 337. 7. The original at
this point obviously gave the total number of πόδες σύνθετοι, followed by
the sub-totals of 4-, 5-, and 6-syllable feet. (There is a lacuna, in other
words, after ὀκτώ in line 7 and similarly in *App. Dion.* p. 307. 7. Cf. also
ps.-Heph. §§2, 20.) Our author does indeed have this material, but he has
mistakenly repeated the total of "twelve" from the ἁπλοῖ. He gives the
totals for 4-, 5-, and 6-syllable feet respectively as 16, 32, and 64, agreeing
therefore with ps.-Heph. (note, however, that he has the remarks at p. 338.
11–14, as ps.-Heph. does not). The total for σύνθετοι should therefore be
112. (Our author has also managed to omit the total of 3-syllable feet in its
rightful place and adds it after the 6-syllable ones.) But for all this there are
distant echoes of learning here too; compare the full account of 5- and 6-
syllable feet in the Anonymus Ambrosianus *AV* 232 ff., with Studemund's
notes. The source is there given, unexpectedly, as Galen ἐν τῷ περὶ
συνθέσεως τεχνῶν, a lost work which Galen himself calls περὶ τῆς τῶν
τεχνῶν συστάσεως in περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίβλων, vol. XIX 44 Kuehn (cf.
XVIII A 209. 6, I 227. 4). Galen, in his turn, may be copying Philoxenus
(pseudo-Draco, p. 133. 2, if that is not an invented citation, as seems
likely).[37] The longer feet are not enumerated by our author, however; he
stops (as does the Anec. Chis. *AV* 209) after the trisyllables at p. 338. 14
with an explanation somewhat like that of lines 11–14. In the enumeration
of feet he omits (as he did the first time round) the sigla and the temporal
length of each foot. In his examples he substitutes κῆπος for Ζῆθος at line

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[37] "Pseudo-Draco" is in reality Jacob Diassorinos, who also forged a lexicon of Philemon;
his friend Constantine Palaiokappa forged the *Eudociae Violarium*. The material would be
germane in Philoxenus' περὶ μέτρων, frr. 285–87 in the edition of C. Theodoridis (Berlin
1976), who appears to have missed this citation.

13 (*App. Dion.* p. 307. 13 has δῆμος here); at p. 338. 4 he has (like Isaac, p. 178. 19) βοηθός for Ὅμηρος (Anec. Chis. also has Ὅμηρος; *App. Dion.* p. 308. 6 has Σερῆνος, except for Marc. Ven. 483, which also has βοηθός). In this section, then, our author emerges once more as a man who has got hold of good old material independently of other known witnesses, but who has copied with little thought.

§5. ἔτι περὶ μέτρου ἡρωϊκοῦ. ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον; ᾧ [οὗ cod.] καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὁ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ὁ περιηγητὴς καὶ ὁ Ἄρατος καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ Ὀππιανὸς καὶ οἱ παλαίτεροι τούτων Ὀρφεὺς καὶ Λίνος. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν ἑξάπουν ἐστίν· ἓξ γὰρ ἔχει πόδας, ἐκ δακτύλου καὶ σπονδείου τοὺς πέντε συγκειμένους, τὴν δὲ ἕκτην ἢ διὰ σπονδείου ἢ διὰ τροχαίου ἀποπληροῖ· ἡ γὰρ ἕκτη ἐπὶ παντὸς μέτρου ἀδιάφορον ἔχει τὴν τελευταίαν συλλαβήν. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ παλιμβάκχειον καὶ ἀμφίμακρον δέχεται τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον, καθαρούς μέντοι [μὲν cod.] καὶ ἐν τάξει δακτυλικοῦ κειμένους· καθα[ροὶ δ]έ εἰσιν ὅταν ἀπαρτίζωσιν εἰς μέρος λόγου καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔχουσι λέξιν ἀπὸ φωνήεν[τος ἀρχο]μένην. καὶ παλιμβάκχειον μέν, ὡς τὸ "πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσ[εν]" [α 2]· [ἀμ]φίμακρον δέ, ὡς τὸ "οὔ τί μοι (αἰτίη) ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν" [Γ 164]. δέχεται καὶ χορεῖον τὸν καὶ τρίβραχυν, καθαρὸν μέντοι καὶ αὐτόν· (fol. 162ᵛ) ὡς τὸ "Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ [ἡ ἀχὴ cod.] πίνοντά περ ἔμπης" [Ξ 1]. διὰ τί λέγεται ἡρωϊκόν; ἐπεὶ οἱ πρῶτοι πρώτῳ ἐμμέτρῳ χρησάμενοι ἡρώων πράξεις ὑπέθεντο· καὶ Ὅμηρος μετὰ Λίνον καὶ Ὀρφέα τοιούτῳ μέτρῳ ἐχρήσατο ἡρώων τὰς ἐπὶ Τροίας [τῆς ἐ. Τ. τὰς cod.] πράξεις διεξιών.

We continue duly with the section that seems to have stood next in the original book (*App. Dion.* p. 312, *App. Rhet.* p. 339). Perhaps on his own initiative our author gives at the outset a list of poets who have used the hexameter; the material of *App. Rhet.* pp. 339. 19–40. 11 is then given with some minor variations in order and with the omission of p. 340. 5–9, but with the additional information, obviously coming from the original, that the choree or tribrach can also be found in the hexameter; *Il.* 14. 1 is quoted as an instance. Compare ps.-Draco, pp. 149, 153, and the Anonymus Romanus §3 (ed. zur Jacobsmuehlen ps.-Heph. p. 102).

§6. Περὶ ἐλεγείου. τὸ ἐλεγεῖον μέτρον πεντάμετρόν ἐστι· πέντε γὰρ ἔχει χώρας. τὰς μὲν οὖν δύο συγκειμένας ἔκ τε δακτύλου καὶ σπονδείου· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἀμφίμακρον καὶ παλιμβάκχειον ἐπιδέχεται ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μόνον, καθαρούς μέντοι καὶ ἐν τάξει δακτύλου κειμένους. καθαροὶ δέ εἰσιν ὅταν ἀπαρτίζωνται εἰς μέρος λόγου καὶ ⟨εἰς⟩ φωνῆεν ἢ εἰς συλλαβὴν καθαρὰν λήξωσι καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔχωσιν ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχομένην, ⟨οἷον⟩ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀμφιμάκρου, ὡς τὸ "οὔ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί" [Γ 164]· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παλιμβαχείου, ὡς τὸ "πλάγχθη [πλάχθη cod.], ἐπεὶ Τροίης" [α 2]. ἡ δὲ τρίτη χώρα σπονδεῖον

μόνον δέχεται, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη μόνον ἀνάπαιστον, ἡ δὲ πέμπτη
ἀνάπαιστον ἢ καὶ χορεῖον μόνον· ἐπὶ παντὸς γὰρ μέτρου
ἀδιάφορός ἐστιν ἡ τελευταία τοῦ στίχου συλλαβή. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
οὕτω μετρῆσαι· τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον πόδα χρὴ
δάκτυλον ἢ σπονδεῖον ἐπιζητεῖν ἤ, καθὼς προείρηται,
ἀμφίμακρον ἢ παλιμβάκχειον θεραπευόμενον καὶ καθαρῶς ἐν
τάξει δακτύλου κείμενον· καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀπαρτισμὸν τῶν δύο
τούτων ποδῶν χρὴ συλλαβὴν μακρὰν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀπαρτιζομένην
εἰς μέρος λόγου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν συλλαβὴν ἄλλους δύο πόδας ἀπὸ
δακτύλου μόνον κειμένους καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς δύο πόδας
χρεὼν αὖθις ἐπιζητεῖν συλλαβὴν εἰς τὸ πέρας τοῦ ἐλεγειακοῦ
στίχου [στοιχείου cod.] ἢ μακρὰν ἢ βραχεῖαν, ἐπειδήπερ, καθὼς
προείρηται, ἐπὶ παντὸς μέτρου ἀδιάφορός ἐστιν ἡ τελευταία τοῦ
στίχου συλλαβή. διὰ τί λέγεται ἐλεγεῖον; διότι ἔλεγοι ἐλέγοντο
οἱ θρῆνοι οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς [περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς cod.]·

συντίθεται δὲ ἡ λέξις παρὰ [περὶ cod.] τοῦ ε, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν
ἀνεκφώνητον στεναγμόν, καὶ τὸ [τοῦ hic vel τὸ altero loco possis
legere; in ceteris exemplis similiter haec confunduntur] λέγω· οἱ γὰρ
θρηνεῖν ἀρχόμενοι πρῶτον ἀφασίᾳ κατεχόμενοι στεναγμοῖς
καταχρῶνται. σημείωσαι ὅτι τὸ ε̅ ψιλὸν δηλωτικόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ
α̅ι̅ δίφθογγον τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τοῦ ἐκπεφωνημένου· καὶ διεστάλη
ἡ γραφὴ ἵνα διδαχθῇ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ τούτων διαφορά. ἔτι ποίοις
μετρᾶται ὁ ἐλεγεῖος, καὶ πόσαις χώραις περαίνεται; ποσὶ μὲν τῷ
δακτύλῳ καὶ τῷ σπονδείῳ, δυσὶ δὲ χώραις καὶ μιᾷ συλλαβῇ.
κρεῖττον δὲ εἴ τις ἡρῴῳ στίχῳ συμπλέκει [hic δ(ιὰ) τ s.l. u.v., unde
v.l. διαπλέκει τοὺς deprehendi potest] τοὺς ἐλεγείους, ὡς τὸ "χρὴ
πενίην φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον ῥιπτεῖν καὶ πετρῶν
Κύρνε κατ' ἠλιβάτων" [Theognidis 175 f.] καὶ τὸ "σήμερον
ἀχράντοις(ι) βαλὼν θεοφθεγγεῖ [-φθογγεῖ cod.] πυρσῷ πνεύματος
ἐνθάπτει νάμασι ἀμπλακίην" [Joh. Damasc. PG 3. 825].

This section περὶ ἐλεγείου can be found in almost identical form at
App. Dion. pp. 315 f. The words supplemented by Consbruch at 315. 26
from ps.-Heph., the Anec. Chis. and others are found also in this MS. But
after p. 316. 5 we are given material on the origin of elegy not found in any
of the three recensions as printed by Consbruch, yet plainly germane at this
point, as the similar progression on the ἴαμβος in *App. Heph.* shows (pp.
280 f., cf. below on anacreontics). Further confirmation of this supposition
comes from the branch of the tradition to which ps.-Heph. belongs, where
this extra material recurs verbatim (§7[a]; cf. Helias 3. 1, ps.-Mosch. p. 48,
Isaac 186. 22, ps.-Draco 161. 28, Tract. Urb. App. §7 p. 82).[38] With this
account compare the shorter version at Σ Dion. Thr. 476. 4–6 Hilgard:

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[38] Our author is not, however, dependent on ps.-Hephaestio (at least as represented by
surviving MSS); in zur Jacobsmuehlen's apparatus sufficient separative errors are quoted from
all the MSS he used. Tract. Urb. does not have everything that our MS does, and Tract. Harl.
and ps.-Draco have markedly different wording.

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἕ ἔ εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφεται, θαυμαστικὸν ἐπίρρημά ἐστιν, εἰ δὲ διὰ τῆς αῑ διφθόγγου, σχετλιαστικόν. This is another example of the close relation of these two traditions on metrical points.[39] Our author then continues with ἔτι ποίοις μετρᾶται κτλ.; these remarks are lacunose and jejune, and add nothing to what has already been said. The citation of a Byzantine poet of the eighth century adds to the impression that this material is intrusive. It is not, however, unique to our author (who is, therefore, once again simply copying what he sees), for quite similar remarks and a quotation of the same pentameter are found in Ven. Marc. gr. 483 (*AV* 195).[40] It is worth noting too that our author has the obviously correct ἀχράντοις(ι) whereas the manuscript printed by Migne has ἀχράντοιο.

§7. Περὶ ʼΑνακρεοντείου. τὰ ʼΑνακρεόντεια· ἐπιδέχονται μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ οἶκοι ἀνάπαιστον καὶ δύο ἰάμβους καὶ μίαν περιττὴν συλλαβήν, οἷον "ἀπὸ τοῦ λίθου τὸ ῥεῖθρον." τὸ δὲ τούτων κουκούλλιον δέχεται τοὺς ἐξ ἐλάττονος καὶ μείζονος, εἴτουν πυρρίχιον καὶ σπονδεῖον, οἷον "ἀρετῆς εὐστεφάνου ἄνθεα δρέψας." οὕτω ἐστὶν ὁ στίχος τοῦ ʼΑνακρέοντος· ἡ πρώτη χώρα ἐξ ἀναπαίστου· ἡ β′ καὶ γ′ ἐξ ἰάμβου· ἡ δ′ μονοσύλλαβος καὶ ἀδιάφορος· οἷον "ἀπὸ τῆς φίλης ἐρήμου" (Sophronii 5. 1 ed. Gigante). τοῦ δὲ κουκουλλίου αὐτοῦ ἡ α′ καὶ γ′ καὶ ε′ χώρα ἐκ πυρριχίου, ἡ β′ καὶ τετάρτη ἐκ σπονδείου· ἡ δὲ ἕκτη καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ ἐκ σπονδείου ἢ ἐκ τροχαίου, οἷον "Ζαχαρίου μεγάλου πάγκλυτε κοῦρε" (Sophronii 5. 17). ἰστέον ὅτι ἐὰν ἀναπαύηται τὸ κῶλον εἰς τέλειον πόδα, ἀκατάληκτον λέγεται· εἰ δ′ ἐλλείπει, καταληκτικὸν ὀνομάζεται. διὰ τί καλεῖται ʼΑνακρεόντειον; ὅτι ʼΑνακρέων τις πρῶτος τούτῳ ἐχρήσατο.

For this section on anacreontics compare *App. Dion.* pp. 316. 20–17. 11 (and note the extra comment, trivial but quite possibly from the original, as similar remarks about final syllables in other sections show, about the possibility of a "trochee" in the sixth foot). A brief description of catalectic and acatalectic versions follows, which is good old learning but found in none of the three regular recensions. The definition of catalexis and acatalexis does, however, recur in ps.-Heph. §9, where the editor reports Studemund's opinion that it is taken from the rhetor Castor; but as Krumbacher notes, the ascription of that treatise to Castor is false, and it is

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[39] In the Dionysian scholia these words follow on another explanation of the origin of elegy, the one about the daughter of Kleio who died just before her wedding. Hilgard attributed this explanation to Heliodorus, the scholiast of Dionysius (otherwise unknown, and not to be confused with the metrical writer). His criteria for attribution, which are cogent, are laid out on pp. xiv ff. of his edition (*Grammatici Graeci* I 3 [Leipzig 1901]); for his not so cogent argument that Heliodorus merely summarized Choeroboscus see N. G. Wilson (above, note 14) 71 f.

[40] It recurs also in Mutitensis II F 4 (s. xv–xvi), which also contains ps.-Hephaestio (cod. Z); but from what Jacobsmuehlen reports of this MS's readings (p. 11) it seems clear that it is a copy of our MS.

really an anonymous work of perhaps the tenth century (so that the borrowing is the other way around).[41] The explanation of the name's origin is also in ps.-Heph. (§8ᵃ, which is to say before the definition of catalexis rather than after as in our codex; ps.-Heph. has presumably got the order right, since the definition of catalexis reads like a general remark about all metres so far discussed—note the absence of δέ in our MS, which could be expected were this an additional comment on the anacreontic), and in others related to him (Isaac, p. 191. 25, ps.-Draco, p. 167. 12, Anon. Rom. §5 p. 105).

§8. Περὶ ἰαμβικοῦ. τὸ ἰαμβικὸν μέτρον ἑξά/μετρον (fol. 163ʳ) καὶ τρίμετρον καλεῖται· τρίμετρον μὲν κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς οἵτινες κατὰ τετρασυλλάβους καὶ πεντασυλλάβους καὶ ἑξασυλλάβους πόδας μετροῦσι· διὰ τί καλεῖται ἑξάμετρον; ὅτι χώρας ἓξ ἔχει· εἰς πόσους διαιρεῖται τὸ ἰαμβικὸν μέτρον; εἰς δύο, εἰς τὸ καλούμενον κωμικόν τε καὶ τραγικόν, ᾧ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ πολλοὶ κατεχρήσαντο· καὶ εἰς τὸ καλούμενον καθαρόν τε καὶ τρίμετρον. ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ τραγικόν τε καὶ κωμικόν, ὃ δέχεται ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ τρίτῃ καὶ πέμπτῃ χώρᾳ {ἤτοι} πόδας πέντε· δάκτυλον, (σπονδεῖον), χορεῖον, ἀνάπαιστον, καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἴαμβον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τετάρτῃ τοὺς ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχομένους τουτέστι χορεῖον, ἀνάπαιστον, ἴαμβον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ, ἴαμβον ἢ πυρρίχιον· δεῖ γὰρ πάντως αὐτὴν εἶναι δισύλλαβον καὶ τὴν πρὸ τέλους ἔχειν βραχεῖαν. ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ τρίμετρον, ὅπερ ἐν μὲν ὅλαις ταῖς βάσεσιν ἤγουν ταῖς χώραις {ἤγουν} τῷ ἰάμβῳ χρῆται, ἢ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ τρίτῃ καὶ πέμπτῃ ἴαμβον ἢ σπονδεῖον ἐπιδέχεται, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ μόνον τὸν ἴαμβον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἢ ἴαμβον ἢ πυρρίχιον. πόθεν ὠνομάσθη τὸ μέτρον τοῦτο ἰαμβικόν; ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινός, ἥτις κατὰ τύχην ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι πρώτη τοῦτο [τὸ τοῦ vel τὸ τοοῦ cod.] ἐξ αὐτομάτου ἐξέφερε τὸν διωθοῦντα πλύνουσαν αὐτὴ καταμωκησαμένη οὕτως εἰποῦσα· "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις. ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀκαταθύμιος φαίνῃ, ἔργον δὲ μωρὸν ἐκτελεῖς σκάφην τρέπων." ἄλλως· ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινος γυναικὸς ὑβριστρίας, ἥτις αἰσχρῶς ὑβρισθεῖσα ἀγχόνη [-όνη cod.] τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, ὡς τὸ Ἀρχιλόχου δηλοῖ ποίημα ὅπερ Λυκαμβίδες καλεῖται. λέγουσι

[41] Castor: C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* III (1834) 713. 10–12; Krumbacher (above, note 16) 451. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Lyons 1688; repr. Graz 1958) col. 727, s. v. κουκούλλιον, writes out this section on anacreontics from "an anonymous MS." P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* I (Rome 1850; repr. Hildesheim 1971) praef. 30 n. 1 quotes du Cange and adds variant readings from Vat. gr. 97, which may therefore be another copy of our book.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συντεθῆναι τὸν ἴαμβον ἀπὸ βραχείας καὶ
μακρᾶς, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἀπὸ βραχείας ἄρχεσθαι τῆς
αἰτίας, εἰς μέγα δὲ καταλήγει(ν) κακόν, ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρός φησι
περὶ αὐτῆς· "ἥτ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε [-ιζε cod.] κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει" [Δ 442–
43].

We come at last to the section that most concerns us here. The
beginning of these remarks περὶ τοῦ ἰάμβου corresponds most closely to
App. Heph. pp. 280–81. 17, except for a reference at the outset to the
ancients' practice of analysing by metra rather than feet; this remark, which
is a remnant of good old learning, is found in no other copy of this section
except the Anonymus Romanus §6 who, however, omits much else. Our
MS also shares with the Anonymus Romanus the unique, if easily inferred,
detail that the Iambe who hanged herself αἰσχρῶς ὑβρισθεῖσα was also an
ὑβριστρία; more interestingly, our MS is the only source to state that
Archilochus' poem was actually *called* Λυκαμβίδες. In view of the
unswerving consistency of all other sources in saying simply ὅπερ καὶ αἱ
Λυκαμβίδες ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρχιλόχου ποιήμασι, this detail may be regarded as a
mistake like ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι; but it is a rather odd mistake. Perhaps it arises
from misreading the source as something like αἱ Λυκαμβίδες τοῦ
Ἀρχιλόχου.

The different explanations of the genre's name are excerpted differently
by the various copyists. For ease of reference I shall designate them as
follows:

A. The name comes from the Eleusinian Iambe.
B. People wanting to "insult" (ἰαμβίζειν) others used this metre.
C. From the Iambe who abused Hipponax.
D. The name come from ἰὸν βάζειν (quotation of Callimachus).
E. From the Iambe who was so disgraced that she hanged herself, like the
   Lykambids in Archilochus' poem.
F. Iambs are made up of a short and a long because *hybris* tends to start
   from trivial causes and grow ever larger (quotation of Homer).

The following chart will show the fluidity of the tradition. Any of
these witnesses not provably derivative must be given equal weight to the
others. It is apparent at a glance that Choeroboscus is not the source of the
rest. By "preamble" I mean the part of the section preceding the etymology.

	preamble	A	B	C	D	E	F
Choeroboscus p. 214		x	x	x[42]			
MS Pal. 356	x			x		x	x
App. Heph. p. 280	x		x		x	x	x
App. Heph. p. 299		x	x	x	x	x[43]	

[42] B is conflated with D and cited after C.
[43] Cited in order A, E (without mention of Archilochus), C, B, D.

	c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6
App. Dion. p. 310	x		x		x	x	x
"Dionysius" περὶ ποδῶν (App. Dion. p. 333, AV 160)	x[44]					
App. Rhet. p. 342	x					
Ambros. Q 5 sup. (AV 153)			x	x	x	x
Helias (AV 170)	x		x	x	x	x
Marc. gr. 483 (AV 196)	x		x		x	x[45]
Anec. Chis. (AV 206)			x	x	x[46]	
Anec. Chis. (AV 208)		x		x		
Anon. Ambros. (AV 223; Nauck, Lex. Vind. 255)		x	x	x	x	x[47]
ps.-Heph. §1^b				x		
ps.-Heph. §6	x					
ps.-Heph. §40	x					
ps.-Heph. §37	x		x		x[48]	
Anon. Rom. §6 (ps.-Heph. p. 105)	x				x[49]	x
Isaac, pp. 187–89	x		x	x	x	x[50]
Trichas, p. 366	x			x	x	x[51]
Tract. Harl. §17		x	x			x[52]
Tract. Harl. §18	x					
Tract. Urb. App. §2, p. 60		x	x	x	x	x[53]
Tract. Urb. App. §6, p. 79	x					
Tract. Urb. App. §8, p. 84	x					
"Nicetas" De metris (Tract. Urb. p. 107)	x		x		x	
Id. p. 111	x	x	x		x	x	x[54]

[44] This author also has the explanation (which is no explanation at all) ὅτι ἐν διπλασίονι (ἐνδιπλάσιος: em. Consbruch) (ὁ) λόγος, "because the ratio (of long to short) is 2 : 1." Cf. Anec. Chis. AV 207.

[45] Without mention of Archilochus.

[46] Cited in order C, D (with quotation of Callimachus), B. The reader is reminded that Anec. Chis. is an apograph of Anon. Ambros. in this section (above, note 28).

[47] Cited in order A (with detailed account of the story), B (deriving the name, however, from ἰάπτειν), C, E, D (with quotation of Callimachus), B more briefly (this time reporting the equation ἰαμβίζειν = λοιδορεῖν).

[48] Without mention of Archilochus.

[49] Without mention of Archilochus.

[50] Cited in order C (without mentioning Hipponax; this aition was also given at p. 175. 5), preamble (more profusely), B conflated with E (without mention of Archilochus), F (without quotation of Homer). Ps.-Draco, pp. 127, 162 ff. copies Isaac, pp. 175, 187–89.

[51] C is given at greater length at p. 370. 11.

[52] Cited in order B, E, A.

[53] Omits quotation of Homer.

[54] Cited in order A, preamble, B, D, E, F.

§9. ἔτι περὶ τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ μέτρου. τὸ δακτυλικὸν μέτρον
ἐπιδέχεται πόδας β΄, τὸν δάκτυλον καὶ τὴν συναίρεσιν τοῦ
δακτύλου· λέγω δὴ τὸν σπονδεῖον. δοκεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τέλει τὸν
τροχαῖον ἐπιδέχεσθαι· τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ὁ
τροχαῖος δάκτυλος ἐλλείπων μιᾷ συλλαβῇ τῇ τελευταίᾳ.

These remarks recur in this form at ps.-Heph. §11[a], but nowhere else in
this whole tradition (although similar material is found at ps.-Heph. §25, cf.
Hephaestio 7. 1); yet, once again, they may confidently be believed to have
come from the source. Although several points of contact have emerged
between ps.-Heph. and our MS (and others will emerge below), we have
seen repeatedly that they are independent in details, and so need not be
regarded as interdependent in this section. Independence of these two books
is also proved in a more general way by the completely different
arrangement of their contents. Another argument based on the dates of the
manuscripts was advanced earlier (p. 9).

§10. πάθη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ γίνεται τρία μὲν κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, τρία
δὲ κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν· κατὰ μέγεθος τὸ λεγόμενον μακροκέφαλον καὶ
τὸ προκοίλιον καὶ τὸ μακροσκελές. καὶ μακροκέφαλον μέν,
ὅταν πλεονάζῃ συλλαβῇ κατ᾽ ἀρχὴν καὶ συναίρεσις γίνεται
[γίνεται cod.] δύο συλλαβῶν εἰς μίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ "χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ
σκήπτρῳ" [Α 15, 374]. προκοίλιον, ὅταν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ
μέσον πάθῃ, ὡς ἐν τῷ "ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, Πηλέως υἱέ" [Π 21, alibi].
μακροσκελὲς δέ, ὅταν συλλαβὴ κατὰ τὸ τέλος πλεονάζῃ, ὡς ἐν
τῷ "ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε Σούνιον ἱρὸν ἀφικόμεθ᾽ ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων" [γ 278;
ἱερὸν et Ἀθηναίων cod.]. τὰ δὲ κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν, ὡς τὸ λεγόμενον
ἀκέφαλον ⟨τό τε⟩ λαγαρὸν καὶ τὸ μείουρον. ἀκέφαλον μέν, τὸ
ἐλλεῖπον χρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ "ἐπειδὴ νῆάς τε
καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἵκοντο" [Ψ 2]. λαγαρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον χρόνῳ
κατὰ τὸ μέσον, ὡς ἐν τῷ "βῆν εἰς [βινεῖς cod. (!)] Αἰόλου κλυτὰ
δώματα [δόματα cod.]" [κ 60]. τὸ γὰρ ο οὐ δύναται μακρὰν
ποιεῖν συλλαβήν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπήρτισται εἰς μέρος λόγου. τὸ δὲ
ἐλλεῖπον χρόνῳ κατὰ τὸ τέλος μείουρον λέγεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ
"Τρῶες δ᾽ ἐρρίγησαν, ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν" [Μ 208].

For the πάθη of the hexameter see above on §2. This second treatment
of the subject recurs word for word in ps.-Heph. §11[b] (pp. 348 f.
Consbruch).

§11. (fol. 163ᵛ) τομαί εἰσι τέσσαρες [debuit πέντε],
πενθημιμερής, ἐφθημιμερής [-ές bis cod.], τρίτη τροχαϊκή, καὶ
τετάρτη, καὶ βουκολική. πενθημιμερές ἐστιν, ὅταν μετὰ δύο
πόδας εὑρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγου, οἷον
"μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος" [Α 1]. ἐφθημιμερὲς δέ
ἐστιν, ὅταν μετὰ τρεῖς πόδας εὑρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς
μέρος λόγου, οἷον "τὸν δ᾽ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς
Ἀχιλλεύς" [Α 84, alibi]. τρίτη τροχαϊκή ἐστιν, ὅταν ὁ δεύτερος
πούς εὑρεθῇ τροχαῖος καὶ ἀπαρτίζῃ [-ει cod.] εἰς μέρος λόγου

τέλειον, οἷον "πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν" [A 3].
τετάρτη τροχαϊκή, ὅταν ὁ γ' πούς εὑρεθῇ τροχαῖος εἰς τέλειον
μέρος λόγου ἀπαρτίζων, οἷον "Τρώων ῥῆξε [ἔρρηξε cod.]
φάλαγγα, φόως δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν" [Ζ 6]. βουκολικὴ δέ, ὅταν
μετὰ τέσσαρας πόδας εὑρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος
λόγου τέλειον, οἷον "Ζεὺς μέν που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ
ἄλλοι" [Γ 308]. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα βουκολική, ᾗ τὰ βουκολικὰ
συνεγράφησαν.

This section on the τομαί of the hexameter recurs in §10 of pseudo-
Hephaestio (compare further *App. Dion.* pp. 328 ff., Helias *AV* 172, ps.-
Heph. §§15, 30, Anec. Chis. §8, ps.-Draco, pp. 126, 137, ps.-Plut. §3 =
ps.-Heph. §15, Tract. Harl. §8, and Isaac, p. 186. 1).[55] The confusion over
the number of caesurae is older than this handbook (see Terentianus Maurus
1695 [*GL* 6. 376], Diomedes *GL* 1. 498. 4 and Marius Victorinus *GL* 6.
65. 23). Originally there were only four (the penthemimeral, the
hepthemimeral, the trochaic or "third trochaic" because it occurs after the
third trochee, and the bucolic); when someone added a fourth caesura after the
second trochee, this became the "third trochaic," i. e. τρίτη (τομὴ)
τροχαϊκή, and the "third trochaic" became the "fourth trochaic." The
difficulty caused by the intruder is apparent from the persistence of the
number "four" in the MSS and the ineptitude of the example given for the
τρίτη τροχαϊκή. (The Latin grammarians have the luxury of keeping the
third trochee in the third foot and the fourth in the fourth; in Greek this
would violate Hermann's bridge.) This section adds nothing to what we so
far know of the MS.

There follows wholly new material of a rhetorical nature (definitions of
φράσις, ἔκφρασις, ἀντίφρασις, μετάφρασις, παράφρασις and
περίφρασις), and then the prolegomena to Lycophron.

The general conclusion of this examination does not need to be
repeated. To close on a rather different note, the great difficulty I
encountered even in identifying, let alone locating, all the sources necessary
to evaluate the material offered by this manuscript, highlights the need for a
corpus metricorum. The need was clearly identified a century ago, and the
work begun, but like so many other projects of our industrious forebears the
laborers to complete it have not yet been found. It is to be hoped that
someone more ambitious than myself (who can plead involvement

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[55] On the doctrine of caesurae see Voltz (above, note 20) 48 ff.

with another, equally deserving corpus, viz. the mythographers) will take on
the task.[56]

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More on Zeno's *Forty Logoi*

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In *Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1986) 35–41, John Dillon presents material from Proclus' *Commentary on the Parmenides* in which he makes it clear that Proclus knew of a work purporting to be by Zeno, which contained forty *logoi*; this work was allegedly the one which "Zeno" had just read at the opening of the main narrative of Plato's *Parmenides* (127c), and which Socrates subsequently challenges (127d–30a). Dillon presents the same material in his introduction to Proclus' *In Parmenidem.*[1] Its relevance is no longer confined to the Neoplatonists, since Dillon believes that it is possible that the *Forty Logoi* "at least contained genuine material, though perhaps worked over at a later date."[2] It threatens to have implications both for Eleatic Studies and for the interpretation of the *Parmenides* itself.

I believe that the issue must be tackled again, not merely because of Dillon's judiciously aporetic conclusion, but because I fear that there are important points which have not yet been tackled. Firstly, from a passage which is not included in Dillon's survey, but which seems to me to be relevant, it appears that the allegedly Zenonian work was known to much earlier, pre-Plotinian interpreters; and that they considered it important for the interpretation of the hypotheses of the second part of the *Parmenides*, at least down to 155e and possibly beyond. This increases the potential importance of the work, as well as marginally increasing its claim to be genuine; at least it was not a *Neoplatonic* forgery.

Secondly, in spite of Proclus' apparent familiarity with it, it does not seem to clarify for him Plato's rather puzzling reference to the "first *hypothesis* of the first *logos*" at 127d7; one would have expected that consultation of the relevant text of Zeno would have done so, and this might be thought an obstacle to the belief that the work is what it purported to be.

Thirdly, there is a significant question of Proclus' independence: there are some disturbing features about the historical material in this commentary which are absent from his *Timaeus*-commentary, for instance. Most relevant here is the rather scrappy way in which Parmenides himself

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[1] *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, trans. G. R. Morrow and J. M. Dillon (Princeton 1987) xxxviii–xliii.

[2] *ICS* 11 (1986) 41 = *Proclus' Commentary* (previous note) xliii.

has been quoted. On p. 665 the three short quotations from B8 are out of order; on p. 708 two of the same snippets of B8 have B5 (whose genuineness is less than certain)[3] in between them; at p. 1152 we meet seven tiny quotations, the five from B8 this time being in the correct order, but with an impossible version of B3 between B8. 30 and B8. 35–36; B4. 1 then follows.[4] The total number of lines quoted in whole or part (excluding uncertain allusions) amounts to only 21 (9 of these from B8. 25–36), but some lines appear three or more times (B8. 4, 25, 29, 44). It is clear that Proclus had remembered certain favourite phrases, and one doubts whether he was referring to any text, except possibly at p. 1134, where a passage of four lines (!) is quoted; even here either Proclus or the scribes have failed us in the last line. Likewise there is no need to suppose that he is referring at any point to the alleged work of Zeno. Certainly he knows something about it, and he may well have had access to it, and read it in the past. But I do not find anything in the text which requires that he should be consulting the work as he writes. Furthermore, if we bear in mind that earlier interpreters had made use of the *Forty Logoi*, much of Proclus' material on the work could plausibly be attributed to borrowings from earlier commentaries. One which he had certainly used is that of Plutarch of Athens, whose work on earlier interpreters Proclus evidently admired (p. 1061. 18–20).[5] We should not allow any admiration for Proclus as a philosopher, or even for the doxographic material in other commentaries, to lead us to suppose that his reports will be *either* original *or* reliable in this commentary.

[3] See G. Jameson, "'Well-Rounded Truth' and Circular Thought in Parmenides," *Phronesis* 3 (1958) 15–30; cf. Tarrant, *Apeiron* 17 (1983) 82 n. 21.

[4] There is a reasonable chance, however, that B4 is placed correctly after B8, since P. J. Bicknell, "Parmenides B4," *Apeiron* 13 (1979) 115, argues that it comes at the end of the poem; I have defended this view in *Apeiron* 17 (1983) 73–84, though I do not anticipate widespread acceptance of it. As for B3, or what *seems* in Proclus to be B3, its position between B8. 30 and B8. 35 is intriguing, given that B8. 34 signifies the identity of thinking and thinking "it is" while B3 signifies the identity (for the Neoplatonist at least) of thinking and being. This may suggest that B3 originally arose from an inaccurate paraphrase of B8. 34; or that B8. 34, which either Proclus or the source has before his eyes, brought to mind B3. In that case B3 would have been some way away from B8 in the text, otherwise the commentator would have referred to the correct version and made sure that he had the correct text, for it could scarcely have escaped him that what he gave did not scan.

[5] Here one must note that interpreters prior to Plutarch of Athens are not named in this commentary. This namelessness is not Proclus' policy, since Plutarch and Syrianus are clearly identified, Plutarch by name (1058) and Syrianus by the phrase "our master." Moreover Proclus has no qualms about identifying earlier commentators in other works. Thus one might assume that the policy of anonymity had in fact been that of an important source of Proclus' information on early commentators; if this were Plutarch of Athens, then it would explain why he is the first to be named by Proclus. I cannot agree with Dillon (above, note 1) that Plutarch did not produce a written commentary; how else could Proclus have written p. 1061. 13–22?

Old Interpreters and Zeno's Arguments

Proclus believed that the *Forty Logoi* were useful for explaining a number of *loci* at *Parm.* 127d–31b. Some, however, had gone a great deal further, and they had argued that a work of Zeno, identified by Proclus at least with the *Forty Logoi*, was crucial to the understanding of the *Parmenides* as a whole. These persons, who seem to have been the earliest group of the four whose interpretations are discussed at p. 630. 37 ff.,[6] believed that Plato pursued his rivalry with other schools in three ways: by polished imitation (as in the *Menexenus*), by direct opposition (as in the *Parmenides*), or by a combination (as in the *Phaedrus*).

The theory behind their interpretation of the *Parmenides* as anti-Zenonian polemic is as follows:

> For whereas he [Zeno] had attempted to catch out those who posit many beings in many ways, so that his refutation extends to *forty arguments which bring opposite attributes into contention*, he [Plato] himself composed his wide-ranging display of arguments with a view to the One, contending against him who had exercised against the plurality of beings, and showing *in the same fashion as him* the opposite attributes accruing to the same subject; and as he criticised the many by showing that the same things were similar and dissimilar, same and different, and equal and unequal, it is *along the same lines*, they say, that Plato too shows the One similar/dissimilar and not-similar/not-dissimilar, same/different and not-same/not-different, and so on in every case: both asserting and denying the conflicting attributes, and not merely asserting them as Zeno had done. By these means he showed his richness of argument to be far greater than that which in Zeno's hands had so stunned the others that the sillographer [Timon] called him "double-tongued," and, in delight at the man's powers, spoke of Zeno's "great strength, not easily exhausted." So what utterance would he have let fly concerning the man who had multiplied the methods of his discoveries, when he called Zeno double-tongued?
>
> (pp. 631. 36–32. 23)

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[6] I tend to disagree with Dillon (above, note 1) on the identity of the first two groups of early commentators. Identifying "Alcinous" with Albinus, Dillon feels that Albinus made positive logical use of *Parm.* at *Didasc.* 6, and hence that he is typical of group 2. But group 2 see Idea-theory as critical (p. 633. 16–18), and Galen had given the work an Idea-related purpose (Damascius, *V. Isid.* fr. 244), while still including it among logical works (see the four compendia coupled with that of *Parm.*, P. Kraus and R. Walzer (eds.), Galen, *Compendium Timaei Platonis* [London 1951] 1). Moreover, logical examples in *Didasc.* 6 do not mean that the work's purpose was necessarily regarded as "logical," and *Parm.* may be behind a little negative theology in *Didasc.* 10. As for Albinus, by explicitly placing the logical dialogues in the "zetetic" class rather than the hyphegetic group (called by Proclus, *In Parm.* 631. 4, "aporetic" and "hegetic" respectively), he seems thus far to be allied with Proclus' first group of commentators, whose views we are discussing (see Albinus, *Prol.* 6, p. 151. 6 Hermann). There is nothing, however, to suggest that he would have been their principal spokesman. *In Parm.* p. 862. 35–39 appears to refer to the same group, who see Plato and Parmenides as less than happy with Zeno's work; less clear is whether they or group 2 are in mind at pp. 1051. 40–52. 3.

Proclus has included much unnecessary material about the views of these interpreters, not merely the talk of Timon but also details of their interpretations of the *Menexenus* (631. 21–34) and *Phaedrus* (632. 23–33. 12); it is scarcely possible that he is not following them, or some reliable source for them, in some detail; this is confirmed by the fact that the whole passage, apart from the final rhetorical question, is expressed by means of the accusative and infinitive, thus ruling out the possibility that any substantial portion of the text expresses Proclus' own view.

The claim is made that Plato, presumably in hypotheses 1 and 2 of the final part of the *Parmenides*, imitates Zeno, arguing for the application of the same opposite attributes to the One that Zeno had applied to the many; the claim is made that Plato is even more thorough than Zeno in that, besides arguing for Fx and Gx, where G is F's opposite, he argues also for $(-F)x$ and $(-G)x$. It is a fact that in many cases hypothesis 1 (137c4 ff.) dissociates the One from both opposites of a pair (138b7–41a4), while hypothesis 2 (142b1 ff.) predicates both opposites of the One (145e7 ff.). The question is whether Plato is consciously trying to outdo Zeno's arguments, constantly dealing with the same predicates, and constantly using Eleatic techniques against the Eleatics.

The fact that such an interpretation could be argued in antiquity means that the book attributed to Zeno must have been compatible with this thesis; the fact that the interpretation eventually fell from grace meant that the book did not establish every detail of the interpretation. Initial opposition was based on the claim that Platonism regards Eleatic monism as an ally, and that Plato's respect for Parmenides extended also to his pupil Zeno (pp. 633. 14–34. 5). It could deny that the hypotheses were evidence of anti-Eleatic polemic; it may not have denied that they imitated and surpassed Zeno's own arguments. The passage quoted might indeed suggest that Proclus was happy with such a claim; for whether or not the rhetorical question is his own, he need not have included it, and by doing so he appears to sanction this aspect of the interpretation.

The extract seems to tell us three things about Zeno's book: (i) that it contained 40 *logoi*; (ii) that the *logoi* were arguing for opposite conclusions concerning the hypothetical many; and (iii) that three pairs of opposites attached to the many were similar/dissimilar, same/different, and equal/unequal: probably in that order. This agrees with what Proclus tells us elsewhere: on p. 694. 23 ff. the arguments are said to be 40, and we hear of similar/dissimilar (the first pair in the testimony of Plato, 127de), one/many, rest/motion, equal/unequal (619. 30 ff., 769. 22 ff.), if not of same/different. The early pages of the *Parmenides* would have suggested similar/dissimilar, one/many, and rest/motion (see 129d8–e1), but not same/different or equal/unequal. What seems uncertain is whether the *Forty Logoi* was made up of arguments for 2×20 predicates or 2×40 predicates. The text at *Parm*. 127d7 would actually suggest something more

complicated than either possibility: it talks of the first "hypothesis" of the first "logos," and one might readily identify this "hypothesis" with the argument that if there are many, they must be both similar and dissimilar, and since this is impossible there are not many. Could there have been a number of hypotheses for each *logos*, each of them constituting a separate argument, and thus bringing the total of arguments (as opposed to *logoi*) to well in excess of 40, and the predicates perhaps to well over 80?

Proclus seems to be somewhat confused by what he finds in Plato, and it is likely that he was himself puzzled by Plato's expression, "the first argument's first hypothesis." At 694. 25 he remarks that Socrates has taken separately *one of the first logoi*. Why such imprecision? He goes on to set out the *logos* in roughly the same fashion as "Socrates" had done at e1–4: "if there are many beings, what is the same thing will be similar and dissimilar; yet this is impossible, that the same thing should be similar and dissimilar; thus there are not many beings." This he refers to as the whole *logos*, and he states that it is composed of *three* hypotheses, apparently using the term *hypothesis* as the equivalent of "premiss"; there are said to be two conditional premisses and a minor premiss, followed by a conclusion (695. 5–14):

H(C1):	If there are many beings, that which is the same thing is similar and dissimilar.
H(C2):	If the same thing is not similar and dissimilar, there are not many beings.
H(MP):	The same thing is not similar and dissimilar.
C (unstated):	There are not many beings.

It is odd that Proclus finds it necessary to regard H(C2) as a separate premiss, since it is merely an inversion of H(C1). Is he merely trying to divide up the argument into as many premisses as possible? Is he doing so with reference to the actual book of Zeno? Or with reference to the work of some predecessor who had the book ascribed to Zeno available? I believe that what we are offered is neither a complete guess nor a competent appraisal of the Eleatic text and its relationship to the lemma. The structure of this kind of Zenonian argument can be observed in the fragments in Simplicius (B1–3). It should immediately be obvious that Zeno would regard H(C1) as something which two arguments will have to show, and that these arguments will be what requires Zeno's ingenuity. Once they have been completed he only needs to reiterate these findings in the fashion of either H(C1) or H(C2), appeal to H(MP), and state C. Prior to the argument we should expect a statement of what it is intended to prove, and while this might plausibly take the form of the outline given by Socrates at 127e1–4, what we meet in Zeno B3 is simply, "If there are many, the same things will be both limited and unlimited"; or in B2, "If there are many,

they are both great and small; so great as to be infinite, so small as to be sizeless." I suggest that such claims could indeed be called "the first hypothesis" of the argument, but not so much in the sense of "premiss" as in the sense of "proposition to be demonstrated"; each argument would have its own particular proposition to be demonstrated (that if there are many, the same thing would have to be both F and G, where F and G are opposite predicates), and this proposition would then supply the major premiss for the second part of the argument, where the proposition to be demonstrated is common to all (that there are not many).

One cannot improve upon such an interpretation of the term hypothesis here by comparing its use with other occurrences in the *Parmenides*. At 128d5 the hypothesis of Zeno's opponents is simply "if/that there are many"; at 137b3 Parmenides' hypothesis is "if/that there is One." At 136a5 it is clearly in the conditional form, "if there are many," as also at 136b1-2. A variety of translations such as "premiss," "assumption," "proposal," "starting-point" or even "thesis" suggest themselves in some or all of these cases, but none can be applied without difficulty at 127d7: particularly if one asks oneself how the arguments can have had a plurality of "hypotheses" rather than the one "hypothesis"—"if/that there are many." One might be tempted to question the received text, since some modern translations do not render the "first . . . of the first . . ." in full: thus Jowett gives "the first thesis of the treatise," while R. E. Allen gives "the hypothesis of the first argument."[7] There is, however, not the slightest doubt that Proclus had our text here.

If I have been correct to take the use of "hypothesis" at 127d7 as meaning "proposition to be demonstrated," then is it likely that Proclus was familiar with the *Forty Logoi*? We ought, I think, to assume that even if the *Logoi* were a forgery they would have followed the pattern associated with Zeno. Proclus is perhaps taken aback by a use of the term different from its established uses in logic and from other uses in the *Parmenides*. Yet he is able to realise that Socrates gives more than the initial hypothesis at 127e1-4, and to identify "the first hypothesis" with the correct element, if for the wrong reasons. The worrying feature is that it is to Plato's text, as p. 696 shows, that he has turned for help, and it is Plato's text which has led him to seek further "hypotheses" in further premisses, whereas he would have turned to the supposedly Eleatic text if he had actually been writing with it at his side. He may have read the work in the past, but he is no more anxious to check it now than he is to check the text of Parmenides himself.

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[7] R. E. Allen, *Plato's Parmenides* (Oxford 1983) 4. On p. 69 Allen claims that the arguments of the treatise "Contained 'hypotheses,' . . . of which this paradox is one (127d)," implying, I suspect, acceptance that there were a number of arguments, called "hypotheses," for each *logos*.

Forty Logoi and Hypotheses 1–2

Plato's text, interpreted in any sensible fashion, gives some support for the idea that each *logos* is a unit incorporating two contrary arguments, and trying to show that their conclusions are irreconcilable. If there were forty *logoi* of this kind, then there were forty antinomies, each apparently attaching two opposite predicates to the proposed many. Indeed, to postulate any more pairs of opposites than this would tend to conflict with the passage which we have quoted from Proclus, where it is claimed that Plato's response (at 137c–55e) was far more thorough and detailed than the Zenonian original. There is no proof, however, that the work known to Plato could not have consisted of just twenty antinomies, for *logos* need not necessarily have been used in the same sense by Plato as by Proclus' predecessors. In my view the extract quoted suggests that Plato had tried to attach to the One no fewer groups of predicates than "Zeno" had done. Any attempt to outdo Zeno in the way envisaged by them would have failed if Plato was unable to apply to the One nearly all pairs of predicates which Zeno had applied to the many. How many pairs, then, are to be found in Plato's examination of the One?

The question is not entirely straightforward, because Plato's arguments are not presented in pairs. One must usually search in hypothesis 2 for the material which might be held contrary to material in hypothesis 1. The predicates attached to the One in hypothesis 1 are as follows:

1.   not many (137c), not one (141e)
2.   not being whole, not having parts (137cd)
3.   having neither beginning nor middle nor end (137d)
4.   unlimited (spatially) (137d)
5.   neither curved nor straight (137de)
6.   not in space, neither in self nor in another (138ab)
7.   neither moves nor rests (138b–39b)
8.   neither same as self or another, nor different from self or another (139b–3)
9.   neither similar to, nor dissimilar from, itself or another (139e–40b)
10.   neither equal nor unequal to itself or another (140b–d)
11.   neither older nor younger than itself or another, nor of the same age (140e–41a)
12.   not in time (141a–d)
13.   was not, is not, will not be, becomes not, will not become, did not become (141de)
14.   has no being (141e)
15.   has no name (142a)
(16?). has no *logos* (142a)
(17?). has no way of being known (142a)
(18?). has no way of being perceived (142a)
(19?). has no way of being opined (142a)

It is obviously possible to count in a slightly different fashion. The final five predicates appear in just one sentence, and could be counted as one; one might divide up no. 13 into being and becoming, though the text suggests that the division into past, present, and future would be preferable. Many of the predicates appear in groups of two or more negations, which could not simultaneously be applied to one normal entity. Thus there is internal paradox. Predicates 2–4, 12 and 14–19, however, are not paradoxical in themselves, but conflict with predicates applied to the One by hypothesis 2, generating what we may call a second-level paradox. Each of the 19 (or 15) topics has contrasting material in hypothesis 2, and one fresh topic is there added to produce an additional internal paradox. The number in brackets in what follows indicates the order of the topics' reappearances in hypothesis 2:

1.   is unlimited, many, and one (143a–45a) (3)
2.   is a whole with parts (142c–e, 144b–45a) (2)
3.   has beginning, middle, end (145ab) (5)
4.   spatially limited (though numerically not, 144e–45a) (4)
5.   has shape, curved, straight or mixed (145b) (6)
6.   both in itself and in another (145b–e) (7)
7.   both moves and rests (145e–46a) (8)
8.   both same as itself and others, and different from itself and others (146a–47b) (9)
9.   both similar to, and dissimilar from, itself and others (147c–48d) (10)
. . . touches itself and others, and does not touch itself or others (148d–49d) (11)
10.   equal to, more than, and less than itself and others (149d–51e) (12)
11.   older than, younger than, and same age as itself and others (151e–55e) (14)
12.   partakes of time (151e–52a) (13)
13.   was, is, will be, became, becomes, will become (155d) (15)
14.   partakes of being (142b) (1)
15.   has name (155d) (19)
(16?). has *logos* (155d) (20)
(17?). is known (155d) (16)
(18?). is perceived by senses (155d) (18)
(19?). is opined (155d) (17)

It will be seen that, while there are many similarities of order between the treatment of the nineteen topics in hypothesis 1 and that in hypothesis 2, some adjustments have been made by Plato, in order to achieve more effective presentation of the material: not so much in respect of the internal order of topics 11–12 and 15–19 which may be treated together in any case, but rather in respect of topics 1–4. The new topic added by hypothesis 2 is complete in itself, and it is difficult to imagine how any further contrast could have been achieved by adding further material to hypothesis 1. There

is internal paradox once again in the case of topics 6–11 and 1, but other predicates only contribute to a paradox in conjunction with corresponding material in hypothesis 1.

It could plausibly be argued that Plato has used twenty topics for the development of paradoxes (though some yield both internal and second-level paradoxes, as our commentators had noticed). The topics include all those known to have been employed by "Zeno's *Forty Logoi*" (9, 8, 10, 1, 7), and others which might be held to be reminiscent of Zeno himself (compare 4 with B3, 6 with A24, and perhaps 18 with the millet-seed paradox of A29).

The fact that one can identify twenty topics in hypotheses 1–2 while forty *logoi* were present in the work of Zeno known to Proclus may be an accident; but it may not be. It is quite likely that the interpreters referred to at pp. 631–32 did believe that Plato had tackled the same topics as Zeno but in greater detail; certainly they believed in a very considerable overlap of topics. With such a belief they might perhaps have tried to *reconstruct* the work of Zeno which they supposed Plato to have used, and this may be the work which Proclus knew. Such a reconstruction of the supposed Zenonian original should perhaps have argued, in some order, that the many were:

1. one and many (see *In Parm.* pp. 620, 760, 769, 862)
2. wholes and parts
3. with/without beginning/middle/end
4. unlimited/limited spatially
5. with/without shape (curved/straight)
6. contained/not-contained in some space (cf. A24)
7. in motion and at rest (see *In Parm.* p. 769; cf. A13)
8. similar and dissimilar (see *In Parm.* pp. 620, 725, 760, 769)
9. same and different (see *In Parm.* p. 632)
10. touching/not-touching
11. equal and unequal (see *In Parm.* p. 620)
12. older and younger
13. in time and not in time
14. generated and ungenerated
15. existing and not-existing
16. with/without a name
17. with/without a *logos*
18. known and unknown
19. perceived and unperceived by senses
20. opined and not opined

It need not have required outstanding ingenuity to devise a passable pseudo-Eleatic work arguing that these groups of predicates must be applied to the many, and there is little doubt that those who saw the *Parmenides* as an attempt to outdo Zeno *either* had access to some such work *or* devised one. If we adhere rigidly to these topics, then it will be much more difficult to allow that the work was genuine, for it is difficult to see how B1–2 and B3 could have belonged to it; and few scholars will be prepared to doubt

what Simplicius has offered us rather than what Proclus gives evidence of. There is a difference between our requirement 4 and the subject of B3, since this latter is talking of limited and unlimited *number*, not size; and though an argument for unity and (unlimited) plurality is our first requirement, Proclus has produced a different "Zenonian" unity/plurality argument at 760. 25 ff., and suggests later (p. 862) that Zeno, in such a context, somehow talked of whiteness (and blackness?) being present both to us and to the Antipodeans, just like night and day.[8] So B3, I fear, would have to have been a separate element in the *Forty Logoi*. B2, which talks of the many being great (even infinite) and small (even sizeless), can likewise not be identified with any of our required arguments. It is true that greater and smaller do feature in the discussion of equality and inequality at 149d ff. in hypothesis 2, as also at 140c in hypothesis 1, but here they are subordinate to equal and unequal. They also feature in a less subordinate role in hypotheses 5 (160a5), 6 (161de), 7 (164d), and 8 (164e–65a), so that there would have been some incentive to claim that great and small had featured in the work of Zeno.

The assumption that the *Forty Logoi* build twenty antinomies along the same lines as antinomies detectable in hypotheses 1 and 2 thus seems to lead to the conclusion that the *Forty Logoi* was incompatible with our knowledge from elsewhere of Zeno's arguments against plurality. Either it must have been a forgery, or, much less likely, it must have been a different genuine work from that used by Simplicius.

A Case for Authenticity?

Perhaps, however, we are applying the idea of Plato's having used Zeno's topics far too rigorously. Is it likely that Zeno would have argued separately on the topics of knowledge, sensation, opinion, name and definition of the many? Certainly there is a tendency for Plato to mention carefully all five topics, even in hypothesis 7 (164b1–2), but it is in the course of a single argument; if all had been tackled by Zeno (or "Zeno"), they could have been tackled there too as one argument. That would leave space for four more Zenonian arguments which did not find any exact counterpart in Plato, or not at least in hypotheses 1 and 2: unlimited number finds its way into hypotheses 4 (158b) and 8 (164d), though limited number, as distinct from unity and definite plurality, does not. And great and small feature in hypotheses 5–8, if not in the uncompromising fashion of Zeno's B2. Plato might easily have tried to fuse certain Zenonian topics if he thought them closely interrelated; perhaps he thought it undesirable to have too much material on size, number and finity. Thus there is still a chance that the *Forty Logoi*, even if they consisted of just twenty

antinomies with a close relation to the topics of hypotheses 1 and 2, could have stemmed from Zeno himself or have epitomized Zeno's work.

There may also be a point in favour of the work's having been genuine, assuming only a rough correspondence between the latter part of the *Parmenides* and the forty arguments. Early interpreters of the dialogue seem to have known of a work of forty arguments purporting to be by Zeno; Proclus gives evidence of having seen such a work; Elias *In Categ.* p. 109. 6 (Busse) also speaks of forty attempted proofs in support of the non-existence of the many, and five proofs elsewhere in support of the non-existence of motion, and he would appear to have been an independent witness. Is it then likely that Simplicius, at the end of a chain of commentators who knew the *Forty Logoi* as Zeno's, would have drawn his Zenonian proofs against plurality from any other source than this? Had the genuine work come to light? Or had Simplicius found these arguments in a much earlier source? It might be easier to assume that he found them in precisely the same book of anti-pluralistic arguments as other Neoplatonists knew.

As soon as one allowed that the fragments preserved by Simplicius could have been part of the *Forty Logoi*, one would be forced to grant that work a greater respect. The fragments are surely more complex than a forger need have made them, and in particular the argument of which B1 and B2 are parts seems surprisingly intricate. Moreover one could discount the desire to create a work which conformed with a particular view of the hypotheses 1 and 2 *as a motive for forgery*. If a reconstruction did not have such a motive, then how was it that its content was related so closely to the content of hypotheses 1 and 2, as well as to what we heard earlier in the *Parmenides* about Zeno's book and to the report of it at *Phaedrus* 261d?

Furthermore, upon close examination, it may prove that the very passage which seems most obviously to challenge the theory of Zenonian authorship actually suggests authenticity. I am referring now to *In Parm.* 862. 26–63. 25, of which Dillon only makes much use of the first few lines in his discussion. Firstly, I wish to note that once again Proclus is not the first to have noticed a connexion between part of the *Parmenides* (Socrates' analogy of the day at 131b) and an aspect of Zeno's book (here an alleged use of the analogy of whiteness, somehow connected with day and night). He disapproves of the position taken by certain persons (anti-Zenonians again), that Plato has Parmenides refute *Socrates'* day-analogy to avoid the embarrassment of refuting a similar example used by his own pupil (p. 862. 35–39). Secondly, I wish to draw attention to pp. 862. 39–63. 2, where it says that Parmenides could have challenged Zeno over the analogy before he had read his discourse; this means that the analogy was assumed to be part of the work supposedly ready by Zeno at 127c, i. e. the *Forty Logoi*.

I quote the Morrow–Dillon translation at 862. 26–34:

> . . . for Zeno, in his endeavour to show that the many participate in some
> one, and are not devoid of one, even though greatly separated from each
> other, has said in his discourse that whiteness is present both to us and to
> the antipodes, just as night and day are.

And again at 863. 23–25:

> . . . in the way of the whiteness that is both in us and in the antipodes, and
> the latter is obviously what Zeno had likened to day and night.

Now there are four points against seeing this analogy (however it
worked) as Zeno's own:

(i)   the seemingly Platonic participation–language;
(ii)   the vivid imagery in what otherwise might have seemed a very
        abstract writing;
(iii)   doubts as to whether the concept of Antipodeans would have been in
        circulation at around 450 B.C.;
(iv)   the apparent incompetence of the analogy, bearing in mind that
        Antipodeans are precisely the people who cannot be experiencing
        day or night at the same time as we are.

Proclus' ability to Platonize pre-Platonic writings when he chooses, and to
understand their purpose in relation to the supposed truths of Neoplatonic
philosophy, should not be doubted. As we have seen, one must not expect
Proclus to have the Zenonian work at his side for consultation. His defence
of Zeno's analogy at 863. 2–21 relies upon its having been Zeno's intention
to demonstrate the unity of immanent form, as opposed to transcendent: as
unlikely a purpose for a pseudo-Eleatic forgery as for Zeno himself. What
the terminology of participation conceals, I think, is that Zeno was trying
to demonstrate not the unity but the sameness of the whiteness in us and
whiteness in Antipodeans.

The vivid imagery would be more of a problem if we did not possess
the paradoxes on motion, which R. E. Allen seeks to exclude from the work
against plurality precisely because of their vividness.[9] Zeno could be vivid,
and we have nowhere near enough information on the work against plurality
to doubt that he could have been there. Furthermore, my reconstruction of
the argument will not make it quite as vivid as one might be expecting from
Proclus' account.

The notion of somebody standing *antipous*, i. e. at the very opposite
side of a spherical earth, appears in Plato's *Timaeus* (63a) and in a related

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[9] See Allen (above, note 7) 69; in the end I cannot accept this argument for the separateness
of the motion-paradoxes. Note that, if early commentators were right to view hypotheses 1–2 as
a response to the anti-pluralistic works, hypothesis 3 (or the corollary to hypotheses 1–2 if it is
so viewed, 155e–57b) which deals principally with problems of motion and change, coming to
be and passing away, might be some kind of response to the motion paradoxes; this might make
the view that they were a corollary to the anti-pluralistic arguments attractive.

passage of the Aristotelian *De Caelo* (4. 308a20). Much of the material in Timaeus' account of the workings of the physical universe is drawn from the Presocratics, and the antipodes do occur in the account of Pythagorean doctrine given by Alexander Polyhistor at D. L. 8. 26. The Ionian opponents of the western-Greek spherical earth would surely have noticed the satirical potential of the notion of people who walk the opposite way up to the Greeks, and the notion of a spherical earth was found in Parmenides' cosmology (A1, A44). Any attempt by Zeno to show the Antipodeans to be the same as us might therefore have had the additional purpose of removing the sting from an Ionian weapon against western cosmology.

The incompetence of the analogy can only be proven if we know how the analogy was used. Certainly Socrates uses the example of a single "day" which embraces (people in) many places. It is a fact that the same "day" (where "day" is opposed to "night") cannot embrace both us and those who are antipodean to us. There is little chance that this would have escaped the notice of those who understood about the moon's reflected light. "Day," "night," and "white-appearance" too will be different for us and for the Antipodeans in so far as they occur at different times. One horn of a dilemma will be readily available, and the challenge of finding a counter argument will appeal to an Eleatic Palamedes.

What was the counter-argument which he produced? Proclus preserves what appears to be part of the hypothesis of the argument:

(H₁)   "The many participate in some one, even if they stand at the
        greatest distance from each other." (862. 29–30, my translation)

Removing the participation-language, we are left with:

(H₂)   (If there are many), they are the same, even if they are maximally
        diverse.

This might be opposed to:

(HB)   (If there are many), they are different, even if they are as close as
        possible.

One then concludes the argument:

        thus if there are many they are both the same and not the same;
        but this is impossible; therefore there are not many.

The ambiguity in κἂν εἰ διειστήκει πορρωτάτω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων can be made use of by Zeno. The Antipodeans are the furthest people from ourselves, but they might also be thought to be most different, completely inverted human beings in an inverted cosmic situation. But of course Zeno cannot just say "even if they are most different" while maintaining that the *same* things cannot be *different*. Thus an expression indicating maximal distance but with implications of considerable unlikeness is just what he wants.

Having chosen two peoples most diverse, he takes something which cannot be present to them simultaneously: whiteness. The exact meaning of this term here is doubtful, but it would be more appropriate for it to mean "lightness" or even "daylight" than to be restricted to the colour white, for only then does the connexion with day and night become apparent.

> Now lightness for the Antipodeans is that which is present only during the day;
>
> but lightness for us is that which is present only during the day;
>
> thus lightness is the same for us as it is for the Antipodeans, even though their lightness and ours are at the greatest possible remove.

Now it is obviously not true that Zeno is making our sharing the same whiteness with the Antipodeans dependent upon our sharing the same day (in the sense of being simultaneously embraced by a single day-lit sky); but if one starts with the conviction that Zeno was using a good philosophic argument rather than a sophism, as Proclus did, then one might indeed conclude that he wanted us to share the same lightness with Antipodeans *in the same way* as we shared the same day with them. And 131b might have reinforced his impression that this was so.

There can be no conviction that my argument for the sameness of whiteness (lightness) for us and whiteness for the Antipodeans is exactly that of the *Forty Logoi*. But (i) it seems such as might have produced the reaction that we find in Proclus at *In Parm.* pp. 862–63, particularly if Proclus was not actually consulting the text of "Zeno"; and (ii) it would agree reasonably well with the pattern of Zenonian arguments reported by Simplicius.   Moreover (iii) it does not involve any incompetence whatsoever in the choice of the illustration, nor does it make the illustration particularly vivid. What it does do is to produce an argument which would have been reasonably at home in the philosophic milieu of the mid-fifth century B.C., and which is unlikely to have been reproduced by an ill-informed imitator at a much later date. It could not have been prompted by the reading of *Parm.* 131b, though Plato could plausibly have thought of the example of daylight there after meeting a similar example in Zeno's text. That Zeno should have used examples involving light and dark is also highly appropriate, given that these were the principles of Parmenides' cosmology, and that they also feature prominently in his prologue.[10]

These considerations lead me to conclude, with some reluctance, that Dillon is correct in supposing that Proclus *may* have genuine Zenonian material in mind, even if it had been reworked or epitomized. The use of the *Forty Logoi* by commentators clearly had a long history, and it had been

[10] B8. 53 ff., B9, B12. 1–2; B1. 9–11—whether the prologue depicts a journey from day into night or vice-versa need not concern us here.

seen as important for the understanding of the early pages of the *Parmenides* and of a large part of its later inquiry into the One.

A Case Against Authenticity

The case for full authenticity has presumed that Simplicius himself is using the *Forty Logoi* for his own reporting of Zeno's arguments, but that assumption entailed the rejection of a close correspondence between the *Forty Logoi* and the twenty antinomies detected in the *Parmenides*. It may be preferable to assume that Simplicius, rather than using a late compilation of supposedly Zenonian arguments, had resorted to ancient reports of these arguments from a good source such as Theophrastus. Such a theory might be attractive for those who would not wish to see the content of the *Parmenides* as being determined as much by a work of Zeno's as by Plato's independent didactic purposes. In this case one would attribute to the author of the *Forty Logoi* a wish to reconstruct Zeno's book, employing (i) the assumption that the *Parmenides* is a rigidly anti-Zenonian work; (ii) any evidence of its content which could be extracted from Plato; and (iii) any further evidence which could be obtained. Such a reconstruction could have been presented as an epitome such as one finds in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *MXG*, introduced by "Zeno says . . ." or some such words. Its serious scholarly purpose might mean that it preserved valuable details in parts (as on the antipodes argument?) alongside much which stemmed from the unproven conviction that Zeno's work contained twenty antinomies directly related to hypotheses 1 and 2: for arguments leading to the application of 40 predicates had to be found, and those which were not reported in the sources would simply have had to be invented.

A Non-Conclusion

While the case against authenticity impresses me more than any in favour of complete authenticity, I must ultimately suggest that Proclus' testimony should be studied by those interested in Zeno, and perhaps even by those seeking an explanation of the *Parmenides*. The evidence against the *Forty Logoi* is not yet compelling, and its probable purpose had more to do with informing us than with deceiving us. It may indeed have contained valuable information from outside Plato, now obscured by Proclus' rather inadequate reporting.[11]

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The "Atheistic" Fragment from Euripides' *Bellerophontes* (286 N²)

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In a recent article on "'Impiety' and 'Atheism' in Euripides,"[1] Mary R. Lefkowitz carefully investigates passages from Euripidean drama which scholars often held to display a rather unconventional, if not impious, view about the gods, and which in antiquity may have triggered off the passionate criticism of Aristophanes.[2] It is rather surprising that she does not refer in this connection to the famous fragment of *Bellerophontes* (286 N²) which reads as follows:

φησίν τις εἶναι δῆτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεούς;
οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐκ εἰσ', εἴ τις ἀνθρώπων θέλει
μὴ τῷ παλαιῷ μῶρος ὢν χρῆσθαι λόγῳ.
σκέψασθε δ' αὐτοί, μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις
γνώμην ἔχοντες. φήμ' ἐγὼ τυραννίδα   5
κτείνειν τε πλείστους κτημάτων τ' ἀποστερεῖν
ὅρκους τε παραβαίνοντας ἐκπορθεῖν πόλεις·
καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες μᾶλλόν εἰσ' εὐδαίμονες
τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἡσυχῇ καθ' ἡμέραν.
πόλεις τε μικρὰς οἶδα τιμώσας θεούς,   10

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[1] *CQ* 39 (1989) 70–82.

[2] It is obviously Aristophanes' polemics which led ancient biographers from the 4th century B.C. onwards to assume that Euripides was tried for ἀσέβεια. There is no historical evidence for such a trial; see M. R. Lefkowitz, "Aristophanes and other Historians of the Fifth Century Theater," *Hermes* 112 (1984) 143–53; M. R. Lefkowitz, "Was Euripides an Atheist?," *SIFC* 5 (1987) 149–66. For an account of modern scholarship on Euripides' attitude towards religion cf. W. Kullmann, "Deutung und Bedeutung der Götter bei Euripides," *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 5 (1987) 7–10.

αἳ μειζόνων κλύουσι δυσσεβεστέρων,
λόγχης ἀριθμῷ πλείονος κρατούμεναι.
οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τις ἀργὸς ὢν θεοῖς
εὔχοιτο καὶ μὴ χειρὶ συλλέγοι βίον,
<*   *   *   *   *   *>
τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ' αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί.   15

The fascinating and often quoted passage has been transmitted only in a florilegium called *De monarchia* and wrongly attributed to Justin Martyr.[3] In addition to a few minor textual problems which have been convincingly solved in the past,[4] there is a conspicuous lacuna after line 14.[5] For οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς syntactically requires an infinitive[6] which does not appear, and the phrase αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί ought to be preceded by another subject which is missing, since τὰ θεῖα must obviously be regarded as the object of πυργοῦσ'. Hugo Grotius was the first to notice the lacuna and to offer a supplement, and ever since then (A.D. 1626) many solutions have been proposed. Before looking at them more closely, it is important to interpret the fragment as a whole and to work out the way in which the argument is developed up to the notorious lacuna.

The avowed aim of the passage is to prove that there are no gods in heaven.[7] The evidence which the speaker, most likely Bellerophontes,[8] cites for his disbelief is founded on a very common and widespread notion which assumes that good men ought to enjoy a good and prosperous life whereas the wicked and impious should be given exactly the opposite: e. g. Arist. *Plut.* 489–91:

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[3] Ps.-Justin *De mon.* 5. 6. For the general character and the date of this Jewish treatise cf. my article on "*TrGF* 2. 624—A Euripidean Fragment," *CQ* 40 (1990) n. 4 and its context.

[4] In lines 2–3, the two codices of *De mon.* differ from each other; as in Nauck and Marcovich (see below), the reading of the Argentoratensis Gr. 9 has to be adopted and not the one of the Parisinus Gr. 450 (εἴ τις ἀνθρώπων λέγει, / μὴ τῷ παλαιῷ μῶρος ὢν χρήσθω λόγῳ). In line 4, both codd. wrongly transmit αὐτά (corrected by Boissonade), in line 11 δυσσεβεστέρῳ (corrected by Grotius), in line 12 κρατούμενοι (corrected by Grotius) and in line 15 πυργοῦσιν (corrected by Sylburg). For a fuller apparatus criticus see A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta²* (Leipzig 1889; repr. with a Supplement by B. Snell, Hildesheim 1964). I am very grateful to Prof. M. Marcovich who was so kind as to let me use the typescript of his forthcoming new critical edition of three treatises of Ps.-Justin (M. Marcovich [ed.], *Pseudo-Iustini Cohortatio ad Graecos, De Monarchia, Oratio ad Graecos*, Patristische Texte und Studien [Berlin and New York 1990]).

[5] *De mon.* has generally come down to us in a rather poor condition. There are several obvious instances of mechanical corruption (cf. my article [above, note 3] n. 15), one of them being the lacuna in Eur. fr. 286 N².

[6] Cf. Soph. *OT* 1227 οἶμαι γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν Ἴστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἂν / νίψαι καθαρμῷ τήνδε τὴν στέγην ὅσα / κεύθει; *Ph.* 536 f.; 1058 f.; *OC* 998 f.

[7] Euripides generally shows a genuine interest in the "theological" question of whether the gods exist or not, cf. my article (above, note 3) section II.

[8] Cf. L. Di Gregorio, "Il Bellerofonte di Euripide I: Dati per una ricostruzione; II: Tentativo di ricostruzione," *CCC* 4 (1983) 168 with n. 47 ("che la *rhesis* sia sua, come del resto ritengono tutti gli studiosi, è certo").

φανερὸν μὲν ἔγωγ' οἶμαι γνῶναι τοῦτ' εἶναι πᾶσιν ὁμοίως,
ὅτι τοὺς χρηστοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὖ πράττειν ἐστὶ δίκαιον,
τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους τούτων τἀναντία δήπου.

Variants of this traditional concept of theodicy occur quite frequently in
Euripides, e. g. *Al.* 604–05:

πρὸς δ' ἐμᾷ ψυχᾷ θάρσος ἧσται
    θεοσεβῆ φῶτα κεδνὰ πράξειν,

or *Ion* 1621–22:

ἐς τέλος γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐσθλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀξίων,
οἱ κακοὶ δ', ὥσπερ πεφύκασ', οὔποτ' εὖ πράξειαν ἄν.[9]

Since the gods are supposed to be just by nature[10] and, consequently, to
bring about justice visibly among men,[11] the opposite experience that the
wicked often flourish and the pious suffer hardship is an extremely
bewildering one: Eur. *Skyrioi* fr. 684 N[2]:

φεῦ, τῶν βροτείων ὡς ἀνώμαλοι τύχαι.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσι, τοῖς δὲ συμφοραὶ
σκληραὶ πάρεισιν εὐσεβοῦσιν εἰς θεούς,
καὶ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς κἀπὶ φροντίδων βίον
οὕτω δικαίως ζῶσιν αἰσχύνης ἄτερ.[12]

Such a conspicuous lack of divine justice can profoundly shake the
basic confidence of religious people in the gods' power and care, as
Euripides has the Chorus sing in *Hipp.* 1102–10:

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[9] Cf. *Hec.* 902–04 πᾶσι γὰρ κοινὸν τόδε, / ἰδίᾳ θ' ἑκάστῳ καὶ πόλει, τὸν μὲν κακὸν / κακόν τι πάσχειν, τὸν δὲ χρηστὸν εὐτυχεῖν; *Oidip.* fr. 554a Sn. κακὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα χρὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ἀεί.

[10] E. g. Eur. *Suppl.* 594–95 (ἐν δεῖ μόνον μοι, τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχειν ὅσοι / δίκην σέβονται; 610 f.; *And.* 439; *HF* 212; 347; cf., moreover, *Bellerophontes* fr. 292. 7 N[2] εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσιν φαῦλον (Ps.-Justin and Plut.; αἰσχρόν Stob.), οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί, which seems to have preceded fr. 286 N[2] (Di Gregorio [above, note 8] 370; Ps.-Justin *De mon.* 5. 6 quotes, in fact, line 7 of it immediately before fr. 286 N[2]).

[11] Cf. *HF* 772–73 θεοὶ θεοὶ / τῶν ἀδίκων μέλουσι καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπάειν; *Oinomaos* fr. 577 N[2]; see also the declaration of the Dioscuri in *El.* 1350–53 τοῖς μὲν μυσαροῖς οὐκ ἐπαρήγομεν, / οἶσιν δ' ὅσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον / φίλον ἐν βιότῳ, τούτους χαλεπῶν / ἐκλύοντες μόχθων σῴζομεν etc.

[12] Cf. *Phrixus* fr. 832 N[2] εἰ δ' εὐσεβὴς ὢν τοῖσι δυσσεβεστάτοις / εἰς ταὐτ' ἔπρασσον, πῶς τάδ' ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι; / ἢ Ζεὺς ὁ λῷστος μηδὲν ἔνδικον φρονεῖ; *Hipp.* / fr. 434 N[2] οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν αἱ θνητῶν τύχαι, / τολμήμασιν δὲ καὶ χερῶν ὑπερβολαῖς / ἁλίσκεταί τε πάντα καὶ θηρεύεται; fr. 900 N[2] ὤφειλε δῆθεν, εἴπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ / Ζεύς, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δυστυχῆ καθιστάναι. See, moreover, the imitation of Euripides in *TrGF* 2. 1b (g) δεινόν γε τοὺς μὲν δυσσεβεῖς κακῶν (τ') ἄπο / βλαστόντας εἶτα τούσδε μὲν πράσσειν καλῶς, / τοὺς δ' ὄντας ἐσθλοὺς ἔκ τε γενναίων ἅμα / γεγῶτας εἶτα δυστυχεῖς πεφυκέναι. / οὐ χρῆν τάδ' οὕτω δαίμονας θνητῶν πέρι / πράσσειν· ἐχρῆν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εὐσεβεῖς βροτῶν / ἔχειν τι κέρδος ἐμφανὲς θεῶν πάρα, / τοὺς δ' ὄντας ἀδίκους τούσδε τὴν ἐναντίαν / δίκην κακῶν τιμωρὸν ἐμφανῆ / τίνειν· / κοὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖ κακὸς γεγώς.

ἢ μέγα μοι τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ', ὅταν φρένας ἔλθῃ,
λύπας παραιρεῖ· ξύνεσιν δέ τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθων
λείπομαι ἔν τε τύχαις θνατῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργμασι λεύσσων·
ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται, μετὰ δ' ἵσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰὼν
πολυπλάνητος αἰεί.[13]

Already in the Theognidean Sylloge, Zeus is asked the challenging question whether someone who sees the just man suffering what he does not deserve[14] would still be able to worship the immortals:

καὶ τοῦτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον,
    ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,
μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μήθ' ὅρκον ἀλιτρόν,   745
    ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐών, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;
τίς δή κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος ὁρῶν πρὸς τοῦτον ἔπειτα
    ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τίνα θυμὸν ἔχων,
ὁππότ' ἀνὴρ ἄδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτέ τευ ἀνδρὸς
    οὔτέ τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος,   750
ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
    τρύχονται χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;[15]

In our fr. 286 N[2], Bellerophontes takes a further step and openly denies the existence of the gods: If someone follows the old story—we are told—he is foolish (μῶρος ὤν), for the object-lesson's teaching is unequivocal. Tyranny of the worst kind[16]—killing very many people,[17] robbing properties, transgressing oaths,[18] sacking and pillaging cities[19]—is far more

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[13] Cf. W. S. Barrett's commentary (Oxford 1964) *ad loc.*: "The Chorus are in a state of mental conflict. They are naturally religious, with a belief in the divine governance of human affairs; but experience shakes this belief, and suggests that life is purely haphazard, without rhyme or reason." See also M. Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*[2] (Göttingen 1954) 275.

[14] The author discusses the case of people who are struck by heavy blows for evil which their forefathers committed.

[15] Cf. Soph. *El.* 245–50; see also W. Nestle, *Euripides. Der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung* (Stuttgart 1901) 120: "Ein altes Postulat des polytheistischen wie des monotheistischen Gottesglaubens, besonders innen demselben der Glaube an eine individuelle Unsterblichkeit nicht zur Seite geht, ist der Anspruch, dass es den guten Menschen auf der Welt gut, den schlechten schlecht gehen sollte."

[16] For negative statements about tyranny in Euripides cf. *Ion* 621 ff.; *Phoen.* 524 f. and 549; *Auge* fr. 275 N[2] (κακὸς δ' ὄλοιντο πάντες οἳ τυραννίδι / χαίρουσιν ὀλίγῃ τ' ἐν πόλει μοναρχίᾳ); *Peliades* fr. 605 N[2] (see following note).

[17] Cf. the characteristics of tyranny described in *Peliades* fr. 605 N[2] τὸ δ' ἔσχατον δὴ τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν βροτοῖς / τυραννίς, οὐχ εὕροις ἂν ἀθλιώτερον. / φίλους τε πορθεῖν καὶ κατακτανεῖν χρεών, / πλεῖστος φόβος πρόσεστι μὴ δράσωσί τι.

[18] Cf. the exhortation of the Dioscuri in *El.* 1354–55 οὕτως ἀδικεῖν μηδεὶς θελέτω / μηδ' ἐπιόρκων μέτα συμπλείτω; see also Arist. *Thesm.* 356–67 ὁπόσαι δ' / ἐξαπατῶσιν παραβαίνουσί τε τοὺς / ὅρκους τοὺς νενομισμένους / κερδῶν οὕνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ / . . . / ἀσεβοῦσ' ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν.

[19] Cf. *Tro.* 95–97 μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις, / ναούς τε τύμβους θ' / ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων, / ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον and *Suppl.* 1223 πόλεος ἐκπορθήτορες.

prosperous than peaceful pious communities (5–9).[20] A second example is added in lines 10–12, again illustrating this lack of anything like divine justice but this time from the opposite angle: Small cities which honour the gods have to obey bigger and ungodly states which exert their control by the numerical superiority of their weapons.[21]

In the following lines (13 ff.), there is a remarkable change of tone and perspective. For whereas the first two illustrations concerned political realities, Bellerophontes now chooses an example from private life (εἴ τις ἀργὸς ὤν . . .), and although the audience was already urged in 4–5 to examine the case on their own and not only to pay attention to Bellerophontes' words, he still presented the political examples in a rather authoritative manner (5 φημί, 10 οἶδα). Only in lines 13 ff. does he— almost paternally—include in his considerations the addressees' own experience (οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς . . .). We may gather from this change that he cannot assume familiarity with the macrocosm of politics for his audience. This observation supports, I think, the assumption of Wecklein, Mette and Di Gregorio that Bellerophontes is addressing the Chorus consisting of Lycian peasants who were living in the isolation of the Ἀλήιον πεδίον.[22]

It is obvious that the illustration provided by Bellerophontes in this incomplete section was meant to serve the same purpose as the examples taken from the political sphere in 5–12. That is, lines 13 ff. must have supplied further evidence for the non-existence of the gods. In the dependent clause εἴ τις κτλ., Bellerophontes presents the Chorus with the commonplace example of a lazy man praying to the gods instead of using his own hands to make his living. It is generally held in antiquity that only brave men can hope to obtain the gods' help, cf. the proverb σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει[23] or Eur. *Hipp. I* fr. 432 N² αὐτός τι νῦν δρῶν εἶτα δαίμονας κάλει·/ τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. The sluggard will never improve his miserable situation only by praying, cf.

[20] Cf. *TrGF* 2. 181 ἔα με κερδαίνοντα κεκλῆσθαι κακόν· / κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἢ σέβοντα τοὺς θεῶν νόμους / πένητα ναίειν δόξαν ἡμπολημηκότα.

[21] It is worth mentioning that, later in the play, the last point seems to have been picked up and, implicitly, corrected by one of Bellerophontes' interlocutors, for fr. 301 N² reports cases where a smaller group of people has overthrown the more numerous enemy and thus ended up with a better fate: ὁρᾷς δ' ἀέλπτους μυρίων ἀναστροφάς· / πολλοὶ μὲν οἶδμα διέφυγον θαλάσσιον, / πολλοὶ δὲ λόγχαις πολεμίων ἀμείνονες / ἥσσους γεγῶτες κρείσσον' ἦλθον εἰς τύχην.

[22] Cf. N. Wecklein, "Über fragmentarisch erhaltene Tragödien des Euripides," *SB München* (1888) 104 "Chor der Landleute"; H. J. Mette, "Euripides (insbesondere für die Jahre 1968–1981). Erster Hauptteil: Die Bruchstücke," *Lustrum* 23–24 (1981–82) 98; Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 175. The place of the action in *Bellerophontes* is the so-called Alean field, cf. below, note 55.

[23] Zenob. V 93 = *Paroemiogr. Gr.* I 157 f. L.-Schn. παροιμία ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ χρῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσι καθημένους ἀργεῖν; Diogen. VIII 11 = *Paroemiogr. Gr.* I 306 L.-Schn.

Eur. *El.* 80 f., with a wording surprisingly similar to lines 13–14 of our fragment:

> ἀργὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς <u>θεοὺς ἔχων ἀνὰ στόμα</u>
> <u>βίον</u> δύναιτ' ἂν <u>ξυλλέγειν</u> ἄνευ πόνου.[24]

Since Bellerophontes, as seen above, refers to the everyday experience of his audience, the *topos* can only have been used in order to make the Chorus consent to the fact that prayers, at least under such circumstances, are totally useless: e. g. "I think you know well that, if a lazy man only prays and does not earn his living with his hands, the prayers do not help him at all."[25]

The next issue to be raised is that of how such an argument could have been linked with the last transmitted line, τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ' αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί. Most scholars who have hitherto tried to make sense of the defective passage have chosen to alter line 15 in one way or another, cf. already Grotius' suggestion οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τις ἀργὸς ὢν θεοῖς / εὔχοιτο καὶ μὴ χειρὶ συλλέγοι βίον, / (βραχεῖ παρ' αὐτῶν πραγμάτων πεῖραν λαβεῖν,) / τὰ θεῖ' ἀπείργουσ' εἰ κακὰς τὰς συμφοράς (instead of τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ' αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί),[26] or Heimsoeth's emendation of the last line to τὰ φλαῦρα πυργοῦν τὰς κακάς τε συμφοράς,[27] or even the solution proposed by Vitelli[28] who boldly transposed an altered version of line 15 to the beginning of the fragment[29] and, as a consequence, had to emend line 13 to ... εὔχοιτο, μόλις εὐχαῖσι συλλέγειν βίον.[30]

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[24] Cf. *Hel.* 756 κοὐδεὶς ἐπλούτησ' ἐμπύροισιν ἀργὸς ὤν.

[25] I previously wondered whether the converse observation of a lazy man undeservedly becoming rich could have featured in the lacuna as a proof of the absolute lack of divine justice (e. g. (τοιόνδ' ἰδεῖν πλουτοῦντα· τοῖς δ' ἐσθλοῖς πόνοι); cf. also E. Holzner, "Kritische Studien zu den Bruchstücken des Euripides," *WSt* 15 [1893] 46–48). Yet such a thought would be too sophisticated and inappropriate to the circumstances (Bellerophontes appeals to a common experience and not to something extraordinary); moreover, people in antiquity would probably have been inclined to accept such a miraculous change of situation rather as a proof of the existence of the gods, as W. Burkert has pointed out to me.

[26] H. Grotius, *Excerpta ex tragoediis et comoediis Graecis* (Paris 1626) 379 (with a note on p. 956). Grotius was e. g. followed by J. Barnes, *Euripidis quae exstant omnia* (Cambridge 1694) 460, and P. Maranus, *Justini Philosophi et Martyris opera quae exstant omnia*, Patrologia Graeca 6 (Paris 1857) 324 A.

[27] F. Heimsoeth, *Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Tragikern* (Bonn 1865) 46 f.

[28] G. Vitelli, "Appunti critici sull' Elettra di Euripide," *RFIC* 8 (1880) 493 f.

[29] φησίν τις εἶναι δῆτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεούς; / οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐκ εἶσ', (αἱ κακαὶ δὲ συμφοραὶ / τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ',) εἴ τις ἀνθρώπων θέλει / μὴ τῷ παλαιῷ μῶρος ὢν χρῆσθαι λόγῳ.

[30] Other emendations have been offered by M. Seyffert, "Zu den Fragmenten der griechischen Tragiker von A. Nauck," *RhM* 15 (1860) 620 τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦν οὔ, κακὰς δὲ συμφοράς (explained as "wenn jemand von euch reich und mächtig würde durch blosses Gebet zu den Göttern und nicht durch seiner Hände Arbeit, so würde ich das nicht göttliche Fügung nennen, sondern ein schlechtes Ungefähr"), and H. van Herwerden, *Exercitationes criticae* (The Hague 1862) 45, who proposed two solutions, both of them rather violating the transmitted text: a)

Yet any sort of change in line 15 is, I think, absolutely unjustified, for, although a first subject is clearly missing, the line is otherwise impeccable and the meaning straightforward: "X and misfortunes build up religion like a tower." For τὰ θεῖα in the sense of "religion" see e. g. Soph. *OT* 910 ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα, for the architectural metaphor πυργοῦσ' cf. Eur. *Tro.* 612–13 ὁρῶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργοῦσ' ἄνω / τὰ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντ' ἀπώλεσαν, *Suppl.* 995–98 ἁνίκα (- ∪∪ -) γάμων / τῶν ἐμῶν πόλις "Άργους / ἀοιδαῖς εὐδαιμονίας / ἐπύργωσε etc.[31] A similar critical view about the roots of religion is displayed in Eur. *Hec.* 958–60, where the gods are said to "jumble up" human affairs on purpose; they add this confusion in order that we should worship them out of ignorance: φύρουσι δ' αὐτὰ θεοὶ πάλιν τε καὶ πρόσω / ταραγμὸν ἐντιθέντες ὡς ἀγνωσίᾳ / σέβωμεν αὐτούς. Other comparable Euripidean passages show that "fear" is considered to be a major cause of piety: *Suppl.* 552–55 τρυφᾷ δ' ὁ δαίμων· πρός τε γὰρ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς, / ὡς εὐτυχήσῃ, τίμιος γεραίρεται, / ὅ τ' ὄλβιός νιν πνεῦμα δειμαίνων λιπεῖν / ὑψηλὸν αἴρει, *El.* 743–45 φοβεροὶ δὲ βροτοῖσι μῦ/θοι κέρδος πρὸς θεῶν θεραπεί/αν and fr. pap. 81. 48 Austin φόβος τὰ θεῖ[α.[32] Thus φόβοι may well have been the first subject of τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ' αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί.[33]

It seems quite unlikely that the argument of the lazy man (13 ff.) supplied enough evidence for this verdict on religion. I am rather inclined to think that Bellerophontes made his point here again from two different, yet complementary, angles. We have observed this argumentative structure in the section concerning political realities (godless tyranny vs. small pious cities). The morally reprehensible notion ἀργός similarly asks for a positive contrast. I hazard a guess that Bellerophontes may have argued that even the ἐσθλοί, brave men like him and the Chorus, are not rewarded for

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μαθεῖν, ἀπείργειν εἰ σθένουσιν συμφοράς, "scil. οἱ θεοί" (ἀπείργειν is influenced by Grotius, see above), and b) (μαθεῖν ἂν ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν· αἱ δ' εὐπράξίαι) / παθεῖν ἀγυρτοῦ νιν τάχιστα συμφοράς. N. Wecklein, *Euripides' Electra* (Leipzig and Berlin 1906) 25 only indicated what he thought to be the general outline in supplementing (λιμῷ θανεῖν ἄν; cf. also Wecklein (above, note 22) 104, "Denn der Gedanke, dem der Schlusssatz fehlt, ist nach dem Zusammenhang folgender: 'ich glaube, dass ihr, wenn ihr nur beten sind nicht mit der Arbeit eurer Hand euren Unterhalt sammeln würdet, bald Hungers sterben müsstet.'" Nestle (above, note 15) 447 n. 103 adopted Wecklein's interpretation. Cf. M. Haupt, "Coniectanea," *Hermes* 7 (1873) 295 (λιμῷ τεθνήξειν. αἱ δ' ἀνέλπιστοι τύχαι) κτλ.

[31] See, moreover, Eur. *Heracl.* 293, *Med.* 526, A. *Pers.* 192, Arist. *Ra.* 1004, *Pax* 749.

[32] The line may be identical with *TrGF* 2. 356 φόβος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσιν βροτῶν; see Austin *ad loc.*

[33] Cf. also the famous *Sisyphus*-fragment (Critias 88 B 25 D.–K., attributed to Euripides by Aetius I. 7. 2—cf. the discussions by A. Dihle, "Das Satyrspiel Sisyphos," *Hermes* 105 [1977] 28–42 and, recently, M. Winiarczyk, "Nochmals das Satyrspiel 'Sisyphos,'" *WSt* 100 [1987] 35–45) where religion is presented as the invention of a clever man who thought a ubiquitous power was needed ὅπως / εἴη τι δεῖμα τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρᾳ / πράσσωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν ἢ φρονῶσί (τι) (6 ff.; cf. φόβους in 29 and 37).

their piety with good luck, which they would deserve in life according to everybody's expectation.[34] Such an argument, which would be strongly underlined by the miserable present situation of both Bellerophontes[35] and the poor Lycian peasants, would quite naturally have led to the conclusion that the gods have no power whatsoever and that religion is nothing other than imagination, built up by fear and misery.

If that is right, we have to reckon with a lacuna of not only one line, as is often assumed, but with one of three lines[36] or even more.[37] This makes any serious attempt at filling the gap by an adequate supplement hopeless. It may, however, be useful to illustrate the hypothetical line of thought with a sketchy supplement *exempli gratia*:

οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τις ἀργὸς ὢν θεοῖς
εὔχοιτο καὶ μὴ χειρὶ συλλέγοι βίον,
(ὡς οὐκ ὄναιτ' ἂν τῶν λιτῶν σάφ' εἰδέναι·
οὐδ' εὐσεβείας χάριν ἔχουσ' ἐσθλοί ποτε,[38]
θεῶν σθενόντων οὐδέν·[39] ἀλλ' ἡμῖν φόβοι)
τὰ θεῖα πυργοῦσ' αἱ κακαί τε συμφοραί.   (15)

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Nowhere in the surviving Euripidean texts is the existence of the gods so sharply denied as in this outspoken and provocative passage: "Does anyone maintain that there are gods in heaven? No, they do not exist. They do not!" The Chorus in *Hipp.* 1102 ff., seeing the arbitrary nature of life, may be shaken in their belief for reasons similar to Bellerophontes',[40] but they would never draw the bold conclusion that the gods therefore do not exist.[41] Other Euripidean passages may be, in one way or another, doubtful about,

[34] Cf. Eur. *Al.* 604, *Ion* 1621 etc. (above).

[35] Cf. below.

[36] Cf. I. A. Hartung, *Euripides restitutus* I (Hamburg 1843) 395 f. (he seems to have considered fr. 299 N[2] as one of the missing lines—a rather arbitrary suggestion).

[37] Bellerophontes is rather eloquent in 5–12; the same may have been the case in 13 ff.; Aristophanes, at any rate, was evidently struck by the rhetorical skills of Bellerophontes, for his description of Telephus in *Ach.* 429 f. (οὐ Βελλεροφόντης· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἦν / χωλός, προσαιτῶν, στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν) applies also (κἀκεῖνος) to Bellerophontes, as Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 168 and 177 f. has rightly pointed out.

[38] Cf. fr. 446. 5 N[2] ἦλθε γὰρ ἢ πρόσθ' ἢ μετόπισθεν / τῆς εὐσεβίας χάρις ἐσθλή.

[39] Cf. fr. pap. 154. 5 Austin ε̣ι̣ δ' οἱ θεοί ι̣σθένουσιν̣; *Hec.* 799; *HF* 759 (below, note 41).

[40] See above, with note 13.

[41] Cf. also *HF* 757–59, where the Chorus refutes the opinion of a person who, unlike Bellerophontes, only doubts the power of the gods and not their existence as such (τίς ὁ θεοὺς ἀνομίᾳ χραίνων, θνατὸς ὤν, / ἄφρονα λόγον / †τοὐρανίων μακάρων† κατέβαλ' ὡς ἄρ' οὐ / σθένουσιν θεοί; cf. 772 f. θεοὶ θεοί / τῶν ἀδίκων μέλουσι καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπάειν κτλ.).

or critical of, the traditional gods;[42] yet their rhetoric is quite different, and no other text ever strikes such a positive and self-confident note as Bellerophontes' declaration.[43] I cannot help feeling that Aristophanes may have been driven primarily by the frank and bold assertion of fr. 286 N[2] to accuse Euripides in *Thesm.* 450 f. of having in his tragedies convinced mankind that there are no gods:[44]

> νῦν δ' οὗτος ἐν ταῖσιν τραγῳδίαις ποιῶν
> τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναπέπεικεν οὐκ εἶναι θεούς.[45]

It is quite remarkable that later, in *Thesm.* 667, the Chorus of women, searching thoroughly the place of their assembly for intruders, threaten in their song that anyone caught in the act would not only be punished but also have to affirm openly that the gods exist:

> ἢν γὰρ ληφθῇ δράσας ἀνόσια,
> δώσει τε δίκην, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ
> τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἔσται
> παράδειγμ' ὕβρεως ἀδίκων τ' ἔργων   670
> ἀθέων τε τρόπων·
> <u>φήσει δ' εἶναί τε θεοὺς</u> φανερῶς
> δείξει τ' ἤδη
> πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σεβίζειν δαίμονας

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[42] Cf. e. g. *Melanippe* fr. 480 N[2] Ζεύς ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ; fr. 900 N[2] ὤφειλε δῆθεν, εἴπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ / Ζεύς, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δυστυχῆ καθιστάναι.; *Tro.* 884 ff. (see Lefkowitz [above, note 1] 72 f.); *Philoctetes* fr. 795 N[2]; *Phrixus A* (see note 44); Dihle (above, note 33) 33; P. Rau, *Paratragodia. Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, Zetemata 45 (München 1967) 45 n. 66; Kullmann (above, note 2) 9–20. For Euripides' criticism of particular myths see Nestle (above, note 15) 87 ff.; G. W. Bond, *Euripides. Heracles* (Oxford 1981) 400.

[43] Cf. A. B. Drachmann, *Atheism in Pagan Antiquity* (Copenhagen 1922) 53, "strictly speaking there is only one case in which a character openly denies the existence of the gods" (i. e. fr. 286 N[2]).

[44] Cf. also B. B. Rogers, *The Thesmophoriazusae of Aristophanes* (London 1920) *ad loc.* A similarly plain "atheistic" view may well have been formulated also in *Phrixus A*, cf. my article (above, note 3) sections II and IV; yet both *Phrixus A* and *B* seem definitely not to have impressed Aristophanes as much as did *Bellerophontes* (cf. Rau [above, note 42] where the two plays are conspicuous by their absence apart from a short reference to Arist. *Ra.* 1225 f. in which the prologue of *Phrixus B* is quoted).—The time-span between *Bellerophontes* (before 425 B.C.) and *Thesmophoriazusae* (411 B.C.) does not affect my argument at all; in *Thesm.* 519 and 689 ff., Aristophanes clearly refers to, and parodies at length, Euripides' *Telephus*, a tragedy which had been produced as early as 438 B.C. (cf. Rau [above, note 42] 42–50).

[45] The accusation is brought by a woman selling wreaths for divine worship who blames Euripides for the slackness of her business (452 ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐμπολῶμεν οὐδ' εἰς ἥμισυ). There is a striking parallel in the NT (Acts 19. 25 f.), where the silversmith Demetrius complains in a very similar way about losses in his business, which deals with devotional items at Ephesus (ἄνδρες, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ εὐπορία ἡμῖν ἐστιν, καὶ θεωρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐ μόνον Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος <u>πείσας</u> μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον, λέγων ὅτι <u>οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ</u> οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι).

δικαίως τ' ἐφέπειν ὅσια καὶ νόμιμα   675
μηδομένους ποιεῖν ὅ τι καλῶς ἔχει.

Since in the preceding scene a disguised kinsman of Euripides—sent by
the tragedian to defend his case among the women, who have assembled
with intent to destroy the misogynistic poet—has been apprehended and
convicted, the lines are, of course, again aimed at Euripides himself.[46] I
therefore wonder if line 672, which takes up the charge of atheism brought
against Euripides in 450 f., may not also be a hint at Bellerophontes' speech
(cf. line 1 φησίν τις εἶναι δῆτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεούς;).[47]

Be that as it may, the lost tragedy *Bellerophontes* surely was a favourite
target of Aristophanes.   It seems that the Euripidean portrayal of the
Corinthian national hero thoroughly captured the comedian's imagination.
In the *Acharnians*, he has Dicaeopolis ask Euripides for the rags of a beggar
in order to address the Chorus, whose compassion he wants to exploit (414
ff.).   Aristophanes fully enjoys reviewing the various Euripidean beggars,
the penultimate one being Bellerophontes:

(Ευ.)   . . . ἀλλ' ἢ Φιλοκτήτου τὰ τοῦ πτωχοῦ λέγεις;
Δι.   οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τούτου πολὺ πολὺ πτωχιστέρου.   425
Ευ.   ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δυσπινῆ θέλεις πεπλώματα
          ἃ Βελλεροφόντης εἶχ' ὁ χωλὸς οὑτοσί;
Δι.   οὐ Βελλεροφόντης· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἦν
          χωλός, προσαιτῶν, στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν.

Bellerophontes' shabbiness is outdone only by that of Telephus, a
Euripidean character who obviously bewitched Aristophanes even more than
Bellerophontes.[48]

Yet in the *Peace*, Euripides' *Bellerophontes* serves as a foil for the
whole first episode, where Aristophanes cooks up the story of Trygaeus
flying to heaven to rescue the goddess Peace and to bring her down to earth.
Instead of Pegasus, the winged horse which Bellerophontes used for his
flight, Aristophanes assigns Trygaeus a dung-beetle as his means of
transport, which the hero addresses with words quite similar to those used by
Bellerophontes:

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[46] The metre of the passage evidently parodies Euripidean lyrics, see B. Zimmermann,
Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der Aristophanischen Komödien, Bd. 2:
Die anderen lyrischen Partien (Königstein/Ts. 1985) 107.

[47] I do not think it is merely incidental that, in the following lines, Aristophanes points out
the fact that all godless wrongdoers will be visibly punished by a god immediately (*Thesm.* 679
ff. αὐτῶν ὅταν ληφθῇ τις ὅσια (μὴ) δρῶν, / μανίαις φλέγων λύσσῃ παράκο/πος, [εἴ
τι δρῴη] πᾶσιν ἐμφανὴς ὁρᾶν / ἔσται γυναιξὶ καὶ βροτοῖς / ὅτι τὰ παράνομα τά τ'
ἀνόσια / θεὸς παραχρῆμ' ἀποτίνεται).   The opposite argument is used by Bellerophontes
to deny the existence of the gods (see above). Moreover, the apposition in *Thesm.* 680 μανίαις
φλέγων λύσσῃ παράκο/πος also suits the psychological distraction from which the hero
seems to have delivered his atheistic declaration in the Euripidean play (see below).

[48] See in general Rau (above, note 42).

καὐτὸς καταψῶν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πωλίον   75
"ὦ Πηγάσιόν μοί" φησι, "γενναῖον πτερόν,
ὅπως πετήσει μ' εὐθὺ τοῦ Διὸς λαβών."

Cf. Eur. *Bellerophontes* fr. 306 N² (transmitted by the Aristophanes-Scholion *ad loc.*):

ἄγ', ὦ φίλον μοι Πηγάσου πτερόν . . .[49]

Apart from the direct use of one Euripidean line in *Peace* (722),[50] the comedy seems generally to have imitated its tragic model quite closely.[51] If we therefore try to find out where our fragment 286 N² may have had its place in the lost Euripidean play, it is methodologically sound to look for a clue in Aristophanes' *Peace*. The way Trygaeus is introduced to the audience is, indeed, very significant. He is reported to be in a lamentable psychological state by one of his slaves:

ὁ δεσπότης μου μαίνεται καινὸν τρόπον,
οὐχ ὅνπερ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἕτερον καινὸν πάνυ.   55
δι' ἡμέρας γὰρ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπων
ὡδὶ κεχηνὼς λοιδορεῖται τῷ Διὶ
καί φησιν· "ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ποτε βουλεύει ποιεῖν;
κατάθου τὸ κόρημα· μὴ 'κκόρει τὴν Ἑλλάδα."

Trygaeus' madness is nothing other than a copy of Bellerophontes' frame of mind. For in the opening scene of the Euripidean play, the hero must also have been introduced as being emotionally disturbed. Μελαγχολάνας is the key word, used by the Scholion to the *Iliad* 6. 202a, with an unequivocal allusion to Euripides.[52] Scholars have rightly presumed that Bellerophontes' melancholia was caused by all the injustices he had suffered throughout his life, beginning with Stheneboea's wrong

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[49] Cf., moreover, Arist. *Pax* 135 οὔκουν ἐχρῆν σε Πηγάσου ζεῦξαι πτερόν κτλ.

[50] Eur. fr. 312 N² ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ (the line hints at the καταστερισμός of Pegasus). Moreover, Aristophanes incidentally quotes one line from the *Bellerophontes* also in the *Knights* 1249 (= Eur. fr. 310 N²) according to the Scholion *ad loc.*

[51] Cf. Rau (above, note 42) 89 ff.; T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 109; Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 164 ff. N. Wecklein (above, note 22) 98 f. wrongly thought that Aristophanes' paratragedy aimed at Euripides' *Stheneboea*, where Bellerophontes used his winged horse Pegasus for killing Stheneboea. But Trygaeus' madness clearly hints at Bellerophontes, and both heroes go up to heaven to dispute with the gods about their unjust behaviour. Moreover, the effort of the daughter in *Peace* 114 ff. to keep her father back from flying may well reflect a similar attempt of Bellerophontes' son Glaucus, who anticipated the disastrous consequences of his father's foolish enterprise.

[52] οὐχ ὡς οἱ νεώτεροί (i. e. Euripides) φασι μελαγχολάνας, ἀλλ' ὀδυνώμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων ἀπωλείᾳ ἐμόναζεν; cf. Wecklein (above, note 22) 104 and Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 168 ff. Di Gregorio was the first to point out that Bellerophontes' depression and isolation are hinted at also in fr. 285. 19–20 N² οἷος ἦν ποτε / κἀγὼ μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἡνίκ' ηὐτύχουν βίῳ.

accusation of his alleged harrassing and seducing her,[53] and ending with his expulsion from the throne shared with Iobates in Iolcus;[54] the latter was obviously the immediate reason for Bellerophontes' pitiful loneliness in the bleak solitude of the Alean field, where the whole action of the play must have taken place.[55]

Aristophanes makes the nature of Trygaeus' madness quite clear. Trygaeus is continually arguing with Zeus because he thinks that the god is behaving carelessly and ruthlessly towards Greece (62–63):

"ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δρασείεις ποθ' ἡμῶν τὸν λεών;
λήσεις σεαυτὸν τὰς πόλεις ἐκκοκκίσας."

It is the explicit purpose of Trygaeus' flight to defy the god to make known his plans for the Greeks, who in 421 B.C., the year of the production of this Aristophanean play, were given an almost unique chance of making peace.[56] In case Zeus should rebuff his challenge, Trygaeus goes as far as to declare that he would charge the god with betraying Greece to the Persians (107–08 γράψομαι / Μήδοισιν αὐτὸν προδιδόναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα).

Such a rebellious attitude is in fact not quite dissimilar to Bellerophontes' dexterous reasoning about the gods.[57] Whereas Trygaeus is tired of Zeus' indifference towards the Greeks, who go on suffering as a consequence of the Peloponnesian war, it is the gods' conspicuous lack of care for the righteous in general which leads the Euripidean hero to the conclusion that the gods simply cannot exist because there is no justice whatsoever on earth.[58] Although in tragedy, unlike Aristophanes' caricature, Bellerophontes' desperation is not the immediate cause of his flight to heaven,[59] the parallelism of the argument still leads to the conclusion that our fragment 286 N[2] must also have been delivered by Bellerophontes *before* his fatal flight, probably quite close to the beginning of the play.[60]

[53] Cf. *Iliad* 6. 160 ff. Euripides seems to have dealt with this earlier part of the myth (the Potiphar-motif, dramatised also in the *Medea*) in *Stheneboea*, see Pohlenz (above, note 13) 291 and Webster (above, note 51) 80–84.

[54] Cf. Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 187, following A. Caputi. The loss of his children was obviously a further heavy blow to Bellerophontes (Schol. *Iliad* 6. 202a).

[55] Bellerophontes seems, from the very beginning of the play, to have been in the isolated Lycian "land of wandering" (LSJ's translation for "Alean field"), begging and moaning about his miserable fate (cf. *Iliad* 6. 200–02 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν, / ἤτοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο, / ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων); see Wecklein (above, note 22) 103; Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 167 ff.

[56] Cf. K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London 1972) 136–39; A. H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, Vol. 5: 'Peace' (Warminster 1985) xv ff.

[57] Cf. Rau (above, note 42) 90.

[58] See above.

[59] See below (Megapenthes' attempt on Bellerophontes' life).

[60] Such an assumption is also suggested by the similarity of structure to Euripides' *Medea*, where in the prologue the heroine is first heard moaning from behind the stage (like Trygaeus in Arist. *Pax* 62 f.) and then comes out to express general and almost philosophical feelings in a

That Aristophanes in his paratragedy has imitated Bellerophontes' critical view about the gods to such a large extent is quite surprising if we take into account the comedian's criticism of Euripides' religious beliefs, as expressed mainly in *Thesmophoriazusae*.[61] However, Trygaeus' sort of rebellion, does, of course, not include an explicit denial of the gods' existence, and hardly any dramatist other than Euripides seems ever to have dared to produce such an outspoken atheistic idea on stage.[62] No wonder the comedian felt provoked. But is his criticism justified as far as Euripides himself is concerned? Does the poet share the view of his protagonist as expressed in our fragment and thus advocate the case for atheism?[63]

Lefkowitz, in the article mentioned at the beginning,[64] is surely right in stressing the methodological importance of interpreting every single declaration of a Euripidean character within the context of the whole play, for only the outcome of a play puts the various, often clashing, opinions in their place and allows speculations about the playwright's own beliefs. The results which Lefkowitz reaches considering other Euripidean tragedies are, indeed, fully confirmed by *Bellerophontes*. She holds that "any character in Euripides who expresses 'philosophical' notions about the gods does so out of desperation, and that ultimately, the gods in that play will prove—not always to the characters' satisfaction—that the gods still retain their traditional powers."[65]

Although the details of the action of *Bellerophontes* are rather uncertain, and various gaps have to be bridged by mere conjecture,[66] the outlines of the plot display exactly such a pattern. As seen above, Bellerophontes was from the beginning of the play presented as being in an abysmal

style quite similar to *Bellerophontes* frr. 285 and 286 N². Cf. Rau (above, note 42) 91 and Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 368 f.

[61] See above; cf., moreover, *Ra.* 888 ff., where Aristophanes has Euripides worship Aither instead of the traditional gods (Socrates is similarly presented by the comedian worshipping the Air in *Nub.* 264–65).

[62] Cf. my article (above, note 3) n. 49 and Drachmann (above, note 43) 54: "It would never have occurred to Sophocles or Aeschylus to put such a speech in the mouth of one of his characters." For Critias' *Sisyphus* see above, note 33.

[63] As Dihle (above, note 33) 33, Winiarzcyk (above, note 33) 37 f. with n. 17, and Lefkowitz (above, note 1) 73 and 79, have pointed out, it has often been unduly neglected, in antiquity as well as among modern scholars, that sayings of dramatic characters need not automatically express the author's own opinion.

[64] Above, note 1.

[65] Lefkowitz (above, note 1) 72.

[66] Most of the rather numerous fragments (285–312 N²; frr. 68 and 666 N² are, moreover, convincingly reclaimed for *Bellerophontes* by Di Gregorio [above, note 8] 199 ff.; cf. also fr. pap. 155 Austin, where I would suggest we read ['Εκ] Βελλεροφ[όντου]) are transmitted by Stobaeus and have therefore a strongly proverbial character which most of the time does not allow inferences about the plot of the play. Di Gregorio's rather verbose but very useful study (above, note 8), however, which covers all the relevant points, makes it definitely easier to get a picture of the play as a whole; cf. especially his reconstruction, pp. 365 ff.

psychological state of distress caused by the many injustices he had suffered throughout his life. It is out of this "desperation" that he exhibits his proof in fr. 286 N[2] that the gods do not exist.[67]   Later in the play, his μελαγχολία seems to have been aggravated by a further malicious threat to his life.[68] For Stheneboea's son Megapenthes, probably supported by Iobates, obviously appeared in the Alean field to carry out a plebiscite of the Argives which condemned Bellerophontes for having murdered Stheneboea.[69] This insidious, and unjustified, assault makes Bellerophontes' indignation definitely boil over. Absolutely bewildered by the lack of justice, he sees no other alternative[70] than to fly to heaven with his winged horse Pegasus, to see whether the gods exist at all and to argue with them if he should discover them. But the gods do, indeed, show to the hero's cost that they still exist, for Bellerophontes' flight, scolded by Pindar as unrighteous,[71] is dramatically ended by the intervention of Zeus, who by his thunderbolt hurls down to the Alean field the challenger of the gods, as a messenger would have reported in Euripides' play.[72]

Thus at the end, the traditional order is again established, and Bellerophontes' "atheistic" declaration is more than outweighed by his pitiable lot. Being lame (χωλός) as a consequence of his crash[73] and about to die, the hero was obviously brought back to the stage on the ἐκκύκλημα, pondering over his life and the general attitudes he adopted throughout it, as the two lines transmitted by Aelian (fr. 311 N[2]) clearly show:[74]

ἦσθ' εἰς θεοὺς μὲν εὐσεβής, ὅτ' ἦσθ', ἀεὶ
ξένοις τ' ἐπήρκεις οὐδ' ἔκαμνες εἰς φίλους.

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[67] Cf. also Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 198.

[68] It is significant that quite a lot of the fragments deal with matters of justice and wickedness (cf. 293. 2 f. N[2] θνήσκοιμ' ἄν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον λεύσσειν φάος / κακοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐκδίκως τιμωμένους; 297. 1 N[2] ὡς ἔμφυτος μὲν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κάκη; 303 N[2]).

[69] The assumption is based on fr. 305 N[2]; see Webster (above, note 51) 109; Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 204 ff.

[70] Cf. Arist. Pax 110 οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ ταῦτ' ἄλλ'.

[71] Isthm. 7. 44 ff. Sn.–M. (cf. 47 f. τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν / γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά).

[72] Cf. Webster (above, note 51) 110; Di Gregorio (above, note 8) 379 f. The messenger would also have described the failure of Megapenthes' final attempt on Bellerophontes' life which, as Anth. Pal. 3. 15 shows, was carried out only after the hero's fall from Pegasus and prevented by Bellerophontes' son Glaucus.

[73] Cf. Arist. Pax 147, Ach. 411 and 427, Ra. 846; cf. Schol. Arist. Pax 147 a. α διό(τι) δρᾶμά ἐστι Εὐριπίδου Βελλεροφόντης, ἐν ᾧ χωλὸν εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πεπτωκέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηγάσου βουλόμενον εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν.

[74] NA 5. 34 τοιοῦτόν τινα καὶ τὸν Βελλεροφόντην ἡρωικῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως εἰς θάνατον παρεσκευασμένον ὁ Εὐριπίδης ὑμνεῖ· πεποίηκε γοῦν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λέγοντα αὐτόν· ἦσθ'. . . καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

The restriction ὅτ᾽ ἦσθ᾽ is highly significant.[75] In an earlier period of his life, before the time of utter melancholic desperation and bitterness of heart as dramatised in our play, Bellerophontes evidently did not disregard the gods. The outcome of the play may have brought him back to such an outlook. Once more—to conclude with Lefkowitz's words—Euripides' "lesson, if anything, as in other Greek religious ritual, is to do honour to the gods and, in the process, to remind men of their mortal limitations."[76]

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[75] Pohlenz (above, note 13) 292 translates "solang' du warst"; cf. Di Gregorio's interpretation (above, note 8) 184 f.: "'quando veramente vivevi,' cioè 'fino a quando vivesti nel pieno possesso delle tue facoltà'." One might refer also to fr. 285. 20 N² . . . ἡνίκ᾽ ηὐτύχουν βίῳ.

[76] Lefkowitz (above, note 1) 75.

4

Initial ῥ- in Attic: New Evidence
for the Effect of Lexical Status
and Syntactic Configuration on the
Gemination of ῥ- after Final Short Vowels

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1. Previous research. The modern study of word initial ῥ- in Greek goes back to the famous *sectio IV de consonantis sive adspirationis vau virtute* of Richard Dawes' *Miscellanea Critica*,[1] where he noted "nam observari potuisset verba non composita a ῥ incipiente vires itidem retro sufficere, ac finales praecedentium syllabas natura breves constanter producere." The doctrine is stated more succinctly in the fourth index of Thomas Burgess' second edition:[2] "ῥ apud Atticos semper ultimam praecedentis vocabuli produxit."

It was not long, however, before it was discovered that matters were not so simple. Meineke,[3] commenting on Pherecrates 108. 29 K, observed that the prosodic treatment of -V̆#ῥ- (where # means a word boundary) varied according to the type of meter, dialogue or lyric: "quam frustra tuearis Hermippi exemplo Phormoph. II 8 [= 82. 8 K (77. 8 Kassel-Austin)], ὄζει ἴων, ὄζει δὲ ῥόδων, ὄζει δ᾽ ὑακίνθου, quod a metri genere excusationem habet." Meineke, furthermore, following G. Hermann on Sophocles *O.T.* 72, claimed a difference between the genres of tragedy and comedy, "alia tragicorum poetarum ratio." Kock[4] agreed, remarking at Plato Comicus 138, "apud comicos certe vocalis brevis ante vocem a ῥ incipientem semper producitur." Christ[5] invoked only the factor of metrical type, not a difference between genres: "Auch ein einzelner Consonant konnte im Griechischen die Längung einer Silbe herbeiführen. Die Kraft hatte bei den

[1] R. Dawes, *Miscellanea Critica* (Cambridge 1745).

[2] In R. Dawes, *Miscellanea Critica*[3], ed. G. C. Harless (Leipzig 1800).

[3] A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* II. 1 (Berlin 1839) 303–04.

[4] T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* I (Leipzig 1880).

[5] W. Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*[2] (Leipzig 1879) 15. Cf. R. Westphal, *Allgemeine griechische Metrik* (= A. Rossbach und R. Westphal, *Metrik der griechischen Dramatiker und Lyriker nebst den begleitenden musischen Künsten* II. 2 [Leipzig 1865] 305): "daß die Tragödie nur selten dem vorausgehenden Vokale die Geltung der rhythmischen Kürze vindiziert."

Attikern die Liquida ρ, vor der sie in der Regel den kurzen Schlussvokal
verlängerten. Ausnahmen von der Regel finden sich mehrere Male in
lyrischen und anapästischen Partien, in Senaren nur Soph. *Oed. R.* 72."
Groeneboom,[6] like Meincke and Kock, emphasizes the generic difference in
his comment on Aeschylus, *Eum.* 190: "Dat de ῥ, gelijk hier, positie maakt
is en de oude commedie regel . . . de tragedie niet . . ." Herington[7] reverses
the differences and takes the light syllables before ῥ- at *Prom.* 713 and 992
as "instances of an affinity with (or influenced by?) comic style." Most of
the discussions in the twentieth century, however, follow Christ and
emphasize the regularity with which ῥ makes position. Maas sought to
emend or condemn as many cases of ῥ- not making position as possible in
order to keep the rule as general as possible:[8] "Initial ῥ may always count
as a double. This is the general rule in Attic comedy and tragedy. In
comedy there are a few exceptions in choral passages." According to
MacDowell[9] on Arist. *Vesp.* 1066, "the normal rule is that initial ῥ counts
as a double consonant, so that a short vowel at the end of the preceding word
is scanned long." West[10] appears to deemphasize somewhat the difference
between dialogue and lyric: "With ῥ the lengthening effect remains
common in iambus and lyric verse, while in the dialogue of Attic drama it
is almost invariable." The only recent scholar to hint at the rarity with
which ῥ- actually does make position is Griffith:[11] "In *Prom.* 1023 we find
an orthodox, but still rare, occurrence of initial ῥ making position, μέγα
ῥάκος. . . Sophocles and Euripides are slightly freer with such usages."
Griffith, on the whole, seeks to emend, reanalyze, or ascribe to the
peculiarities of individual forms as many cases of ῥ- not making position as
possible, except for *Prom.* 713 and 992.

   In the entire history of research into the phonology of ῥ-, there has been
only one study that could be described as approaching exhaustiveness in the
collection of cases, namely that of Johannes Rumpel[12] in 1867. It has been

[6] P. Groeneboom, *Aeschylus' Eumeniden* (Groningen 1952) 122.

[7] C. J. Herington, *The Author of the Prometheus Bound* (Austin 1970) 36.

[8] P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, transl. by H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962) 80; cf. also *Nachrichten von
der Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen* 1. 1 (1934) 58. Maas' emendations have not been
widely accepted and are subject to serious objections: cf. E. R. Dodds, *Euripides. Bacchae*[2]
(Oxford 1969) 236 (on v. 1338). It can now be demonstrated, furthermore, that Maas'
suggestion, "[a]t Eur., *Bacch.* 59 τύμπανα may be corrupt for τύπανα," is unlikely:
positionally lengthened anapaests in the first foot of the trimeter are avoided (cf. A. M. Devine
and L. D. Stephens, *Language and Metre* [Chico, CA 1984] 76–77). This constraint holds true
for words ending in V̆C and even more strongly for those ending in -V̆. Thus even if the
constraint is relaxed in Euripides' later tragedies, Maas' suggestion (followed by M. Griffith,
The Authenticity of the Prometheus Bound [Cambridge 1977] 82) escapes the frying-pan only to
land in the fire.

[9] D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes. Wasps* (Oxford 1971) 270.

[10] M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 16.

[11] Griffith (above, note 8) 82.

[12] J. Rumpel, "Zur Metrik der Tragiker," *Philologus* 25 (1867) 471–83.

widely ignored, perhaps because he wrote without the benefit of
Neogrammarian linguistics, perhaps because he did not adequately weigh the
difference between dialogue and non-dialogue meters. At any rate, his
conclusion is in profound disagreement with current opinion: "daß bei den
hierher gehörenden Wörtern der dem anlautenden ρ vorausgehende kurze
Endvokal fast ebenso oft die Geltung einer Kürze als die einer Länge
hat . . ." What is remarkable about all previous research on the question,
however, is not so much the disagreements, whether concerning genre,
metrical type, or even degree of regularity of positional lengthening of final
short vowels, as the absolutely uniform failure to consider the existence of
factors which might promote one prosodic treatment over another, and, in
fact, the failure to inquire whether, even in those cases where ῥ- does make
position, its prosodic behavior is comparable to that of initial clusters such
as κτ- and πτ-.

2. The segmental phonology underlying positional lengthening by ῥ- and
its diachronic basis. The segmental basis for counting -V̆#ῥ- as a heavy
syllable has long been understood. With the exception of certain
loanwords,[13] inherited ῥ- in Greek derives, not from a single segment *r-,
but from the clusters *sr- and *wr-. The latter is still spelled in Mycenaean,
e.g. wi-ri-no = ῥῑνός, wi-ri-za = ῥίζα. In prevocalic position *s > h had
already occurred by the time of Mycenaean, e.g. o-pi-a₂-ra = ὀπι-hαλα, a₂-
te-ro = hατερος (a₂ is the only sign used to indicate /hV/) and it is
possible[14] that *sr- > *hr- had as well. An intermediate stage is attested by
the spelling ρh for *sr- in archaic inscriptions, e.g. Corcyr. ρhοϝάισι =
ῥοαῖς (cf. also λhαβον = λαβών). In Attic and Ionic *sr- and *wr-
develop in the same way: *sr- > ῥ- and *wr- > ῥ-.[15] In postvocalic
position, the development depended on whether a synchronically recoverable
morpheme boundary intervened between the vowel and *sr/*wr. In the
absence of such a boundary, the diphthongs Vμ, of course, remained
unchanged, e.g. ταῦρος, but *Vsr > Vhr followed by compensatory
lengthening in V̆hr > V̄ρ in Attic–Ionic, e.g. *ĝʰesr-n̥s > χεῖρας, but with
gemination Vhr > Vρρ in Lesbian and Thessalian, e.g. *ĝʰesr-n̥s > χέρρας.

When a morphosyntactic boundary intervened, however, gemination was the
result with both *wr- and *sr- also in Attic–Ionic, e.g. *a-wrektos >

ἄρρηκτος (but Lesbian αὔρηκτος since ϝ- is preserved longer in Lesbian, cf. βρόδον = ῥόδον) and *e-srew-o-m > ἔρρεον beside ῥέω. Thus whole series of morphophonemic alternations arose, e.g. *srew- > ῥέω, ῥόος ::

ἐπιρρέει, καλλίρροος; *wn̄p- > ῥίπτω :: ἔρριψα, ἀναρρίπτω.

3. Syntactic phonology (sandhi). Gemination also took place after word final short vowels in connected speech. Double spellings are well attested in Attic inscriptions, e.g. το Ρρετο, *IG* I² 81. 421, ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς *IG* I² 314, 40. 407 (cf. κατὰ ρρύσιον Del.³ 622). The double consonant functions like clusters such as κτ/πτ- and could close the preceding syllable, thus making it a heavy one (S̄): -V̆#ῥ- → -V̆ρρ- = S̄. Thus there arose a sandhi process as well as a morphophonemic one. Now it is well known that sandhi processes do not operate everywhere their segmental phonological conditions are met. First of all, they tend to be variable. They are limited to certain domains. These domains, even if best analyzed as phonological, are correlated strongly with syntax. Within its maximal domain a sandhi process tends to operate at higher relative frequencies in closer syntactic connections. Sandhi processes are correlated with phonostylistic factors: productive ones tend to apply at increasing rates and in increasing domains as the tempo of speech increases and the level of formality decreases. Finally, enclitic and proclitic words, appositives, and non-lexical words[16] tend to be more subject to sandhi, both in the extent of the domain in which they are affected and in the relative frequencies with which they are affected. Strangely, philologists have not interested themselves in the conditions, particularly of lexical status and syntax, which promote or inhibit -V̆#ῥ- → S̄. Linguists working on Greek have been content with only the most rudimentary observations. For example, Lejeune[17] says only, "Au début du mot, des consonnes géminées, exclues de l'initiale absolue, c'est-à-dire après une pause, peuvent reparaître dans la phrase: non seulement dans un groupe de mot proclitique + mot tonique ... ou de mot tonique + mot enclitique ... mais dans un groupe de deux mots toniques (hom. ... Φ 258 ὕδατι '(ρ)ρόον scandé ∪∪ – ∪∪ ... Θ 250 Ζηνὶ '(ρ)ρέζεσκον scandé – – – – ∪ ...)." Rix[18] hypothesizes, "vielleicht wurde in festen syntaktischen Fügungen genauso

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[16] On the concepts of lexical and non-lexical words, see A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, "Semantics, Syntax, and Phonological Organization in Greek: Aspects of the Theory of Metrical Bridges," *CP* 78 (1983) 1–25. Non-lexicals encompass proclitics and enclitics as well as articles, conjunctions, negatives, interrogatives, pronouns, prepositions, lower cardinal numbers, and certain adverbs. The term "appositive" is often used for this class; cf. part of the notion of "freie Wörter" invoked by I. Hilberg, *Das Prinzip der Silbenwägung und die daraus entspringenden Gesetze der Endsilben in der griechischen Poesie* (Vienna 1879).

[17] Lejeune (above, note 14) 303.

[18] H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (Darmstadt 1976) 77.

wie bei inlautender Morphemgrenze /hr- hl- hn- hm- hɥ-/ zu /rr ll nn mm ɥɥ/ assimiliert," but makes no attempt to define what constitutes "feste syntaktische Fügungen." It is my goal here, after treating some preliminary matters (4. Vocabulary and Morphology) and establishing some new results on the metrical distribution of $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- (5.), to remedy this lack in previous work. I believe that it is a very bad method to begin with an a priori conception of a rule and proceed to emend away putative exceptions. Rather, I shall consider all the reasonably secure cases of both $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- $\rightarrow\bar{S}$ and

$-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- $\rightarrow\bar{S}$ and inquire whether they conform to a natural linguistic pattern. The material in question can be found in Rumpel,[19] Descroix,[20] White,[21] and in the idiosyncratic selections of the commentators cited above.   In particular, I take it as justified to analyze $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- at the third anceps in tragedy as a light syllable in all cases where a bad Porson's Bridge would result according to the criteria established by Devine and Stephens.[22] On first-foot anapaests in the trimeter see note 8 above.

4. Vocabulary and Morphology.

4. 1. Peculiarities of individual words. Rumpel,[23] Dodds,[24] Herington[25] and Griffith[26] ("or regard ῥύομαι as a freak") point to the surprising number of cases in which forms of ῥύομαι fail to undergo gemination after final short vowels. Neither Dodds nor Griffith, however, notes that this failure is not invariable, as Eur. fr. 360. 15 N proves:

ὡς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα.

Now before a judgment can be made as to the significance of the restriction of lexical items to one or the other prosodic treatment, it is necessary to determine the frequencies with which each would be expected to show $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$-

$\rightarrow\bar{S}$ and $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- $\rightarrow\bar{S}$ in the absence of any restriction: in other words, it is necessary to formulate an explicit null hypothesis and test the observed data against it before rejection of that null hypothesis in favor of a hypothesis of special prosodic restriction is justified.   The assessment of overlap between $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- $\rightarrow\bar{S}$ and $-\breve{V}\#\acute{\rho}$- $\rightarrow\bar{S}$ cannot be made by the usual method of

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[19] Rumpel (above, note 12).
[20] J. Descroix, *Le trimètre iambique* (Macon 1931) 20.
[21] J. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London 1912) 336.
[22] Devine and Stephens (above, note 8) 122–27.
[23] Rumpel (above, note 12).
[24] Dodds (above, note 8).
[25] Herington (above, note 7).
[26] Griffith (above, note 8).

random partitioning,[27] since the words located after Š and S̄ will have
different metrical locations (e.g. beginning in a *longum* versus beginning in
a *breve* or *anceps*, etc. according to the meter in which they occur) and some
word-shapes will be excluded, others less frequent in one position than the
other. To control for the factor of metrical localization, only words of the
same shape should be compared. When this is done for forms of ῥύομαι,
the special restriction to -V̆#ῥ- →Š disappears. Cretic shapes of ῥύομαι,
e.g. ῥύσεται Eur. *Bacch.* 1338, fail to produce positional lengthening three
times; yet no cretic-shaped word beginning with ῥ- shows gemination.
There is only one form of ῥύομαι which is spondee-shaped, so no overlap is
possible, even though the spondee-shapes of other words in ῥ- occur both
with and without gemination. Furthermore, since ten spondee-shapes do not
show gemination and seven do, the occurrence of ῥύῃ (Eur. *Suppl.* 380)
without gemination is slightly favored purely by chance. Finally ῥύομαι
occurs once as a molossus-shape, #S̄S̄S̄# without gemination, and once
as #S̄S̄S̄S̄# with gemination. The absence of any special restriction to -V̆#ῥ-
→ Š for ῥύομαι is confirmed by an examination of its behavior in
augmentation. Augmented forms occur with gemination six times in the
extant tragedies, but there is one probable case without gemination: ἔρυτο
Soph. *O.T.* 1351 in an iambic dimeter responding with an amphibrach-
shape ἔπαισε at 1333. Additionally, it is probably not coincidental that
ἔρυτο κάνέσωσεν here recalls *Il.* 5. 23 ἔρυτο σάωσε δέ.

The commentators ignore the fact that forms of ῥάκος always show
gemination. The forms of ῥάκος attested in tragedy and comedy, however,
always occur as iambic-shapes or potentially iambic-shapes (#Š-V̆C#). As
would be expected on metrical grounds, iambic- and potentially iambic-
shapes occur far more frequently with gemination than without: the ratio is
19 to 4. Consequently, it is not statistically significant that none of the
five forms of ῥάκος is found without gemination.

A much stronger case can be made for ῥέζω as an individual, lexical
exception to variability. There are six cases in which it lacks gemination,
five after the interrogative τί, one after τόδε at Pherecrates 152. 2 K in a
hexameter. There are no cases in which it shows gemination. All six of
these forms are spondee-shapes. Thus the word's exclusion from -V̆#ῥ-
→ Š is readily tested by comparing its distribution with other spondee-
shaped words begining with ῥ- according as they do (ρρ) or do not (ρ) show
gemination after a final short vowel. The data are given in Table 1.

	ρ	ρρ
ῥεζ-	6	0
other #S̄̆S̄̆#	4	7

p = .0170

Table 1

The probability p = .0170 means that there is only about one chance in fifty-eight that all six cases of forms of ῥέζω after final short vowels would cluster in the type -V̆#ῥ- →S̄̆ simply on the basis of random distribution. Thus a special restriction must be pointed for ῥέζω. Its exceptional status is further confirmed by an examination of its augmented forms (which, in the extant tragedies, are all aorists; there are none in Aristophanes). The augmented forms never show gemination. There are three cases which are required by the meter to lack gemination: Eur. *Med.* 1292, *Andr.* 838 (codd.),[28] and *El.* 1226. At Soph. *O.C.* 539, ἔρεξ- occurs twice in a lyric trimeter, with ἔ- in anceps each time, but each time responding with a light syllable in the antistrophe. There are no cases where the meter requires gemination of ῥ- in augmented forms of ῥέζω. Even if we exclude the Sophoclean instances as ambiguous, the failure of gemination in the three remaining cases is statistically significant in comparison to ῥίπτω and ῥήγνυμι, the aorists of which occur fifteen times in the extant tragedies, all with gemination. If there were actually no difference between ῥέζω on the one hand and ῥίπτω and ῥήγνυμι on the other, there would be a probability of only p = .0012, or just a little more than one in a thousand, that all three cases of single ῥ- should be restricted to augmented forms of ῥέζω. The special status of ῥέζω may be taken as evidence for the lexical diffusion of the loss of the gemination rule. Yet, it should be noted that the failure of gemination in these forms is restricted to lyric and is not attested in dialogue.

4. 2. Types of internal morpheme boundaries. As one would expect,[29] failure of gemination at internal morpheme boundaries is more frequent in lexical compounds than in prepositional compounds and in both far more frequent in augmentation. This gradient can easily be demonstrated by comparing ῥέω with ῥυτός and ῥόος. In tragedy augmented forms of ῥέω (e.g. ἔρρει Eur. *Phoen.* 1471) and its prepositional compounds (e.g. ἀπορρυέντων Aesch. *Ag.* 1294) are never found in metrical locations that

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[28] Cretic and dochmiac. See A. M. Dale, *Metrical Analyses of Tragic Choruses*, Fasc. 3 (London 1983) 55.

[29] Cf. A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, review of M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, *Language* 54 (1978) 935–40 and L. D. Stephens, "The Role of Palatalization in the Latin Sound Change /w/ > /β/," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 421–32.

would exclude gemination. Failure of gemination in lexical compounds of
ῥυτός and ῥόος is fairly frequent (e.g. φονορύτῳ Aesch. *Sept.* 938,
ὠκυρόαν Eur. *Bacch.* 568). Failure of gemination is somewhat less
frequent in their prepositional compounds (e.g. κατάρυτα Eur. *Tro.* 1067,
ἀμφιρύτου Soph. *Ai.* 134, ἀμφιρύταν Eur. *Hel.* 1127). The difference
between ῥέω and ῥυτός / ῥόος is so overwhelming that no formal statistical
test is required to prove its significance. Obviously, the adjectival
compounds have less analogical support for retention of the geminate, and
there is less support still in lexical than in prepositional compounds.
Lexical compounding is not restricted to a closed set of first elements as is
prepositional compounding, and lexical compounding is only weakly
associated with finite verbs. Augmentation, in contrast, is a regular
paradigmatic process. Nevertheless, once again we observe an
overwhelming restriction of the failure of gemination to lyric: the only
possible case in a trimeter is Grotius' ἑπτάρους Aesch. fr. 300. 2 Radt.

5. Metrical distribution of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}-$.

5. 1. Dialogue versus lyric. It has long been recognized that $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$ is,
in absolute numbers, more frequent in lyric than in dialogue meters. This
preponderance, however, has never been compared to the distribution of

$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$ according to its metrical context. This comparison yields quite
surprising results. I shall treat tragedy and comedy separately in this
subsection, and compare the two genres in 5. 2.

The cross-classified data for tragedy is given in Table 2:

	Tragedy		
	Dialogue	Lyric	N
$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$	40.00%	60.00%	20
$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$	95.45%	4.55%	22

$$\chi^2 = 15.0742$$

Table 2

The most striking result is that $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$ is almost completely excluded
from tragic lyric. The value $\chi^2 = 15.0742$ shows that this near exclusion is
not merely a random phenomenon, but is highly significant. There is
considerably less than one chance in a thousand that a difference as great as
or greater than that observed would arise at random. It is probably not a
coincidence that the single exception which I have found, Eur. *Andr.* 286, is
in a lekythion which is followed by an iambic dimeter, and which, therefore,
may be analyzed as an iambic colon in this context. This near exclusion is

readily explained: regular gemination may have been perceived as an extreme Atticism inappropriate in lyric. At any rate, the near exclusion of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{V}\rho\rho-$ in lyric constitutes a "metrical isogloss" almost as striking as *alpha impurum*.

The data for Aristophanes are given in Table 3.

	Aristophanes	
	Dialogue	Lyric
$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$	0	1
$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$	5	10

Table 3

It should be noted that all the cases of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$ outside of the trimeter occur in anapaests. No case of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$ occurs in anapaests; nor does any occur in trimeters. The single instance of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$, *Vesp.* 1067, is in a melic trochaic dimeter. In the fragments, there seem to be only two cases of the failure of gemination in the trimeter: Pherecrates 108. 29 K and Plato Comicus 138 K, and two cases of failure of gemination in hexameters: Pherecrates 152. 2 K and Hermippus 82. 8 (77. 8 Kassel-Austin). The number of cases of the failure of gemination is too small to permit application of a statistical test. Nevertheless, Aristophanes' treatment is consistent with the hypothesis that $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$ is more acceptable in lyric than in dialogue.

5. 2. Tragedy versus comedy. As is evident from section 1, it has long been realized that comedy more strongly prefers $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$ than tragedy. Table 4 compares the treatment of $-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}-$ in the non-dialogue meters of the two genres. The two cases from the comic fragments are included.

	Non-dialogue Meters		
	$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$	$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$	N
Tragedy	92.31%	7.69%	13
Comedy	18.75%	81.25%	16

$$\omega = 52.0000$$
$$\chi^2 = 15.5416$$

Table 4

The value of the odds-ratio $\omega = 52.0000$ means that the odds for the failure of gemination in tragic, non-dialogue meters (12:1) is fifty-two times as

great as the odds in comic, non-dialogue meters (3:13). The value $\chi^2 = 15.5416$ shows that this great difference is statistically significant. We may conclude that the failure of gemination of ῥ- after final short vowels is far less acceptable in comedy than in tragedy.

The facts that failure of gemination is 1) less acceptable in dialogue than non-dialogue meters and 2) less acceptable in comedy than in tragedy are readily explained. The language of dialogue is closer to standard spoken Attic than the language of lyric on many criteria (cf. e.g. *alpha impurum*, the admissibility of Homeric forms, etc.). Since gemination is a feature of the Attic dialect, dialogue, therefore, prefers it more strongly than lyric. The language of comedy is, on the whole, closer to standard, colloquial Attic than that of tragedy on many criteria (e.g. *correptio attica*). Therefore comedy prefers gemination, even in non-dialogue meters, more strongly than tragedy.

5. 3. Location without sandhi effects and ambiguous location of ῥ-. The results of subsections 5. 1 and 5. 2, however, are not the whole story concerning the metrical distribution $\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}$-. No previous study has seen fit to compare the treatment of initial ῥ- with other initial consonants which have a sandhi effect on syllable weight. The most obvious candidates are the initial *muta cum liquida* clusters traditionally termed *coniunctiones graves*, i.e., a voiced stop plus λ, μ, or ν (abbreviated as DN). The *coniunctiones graves* usually, but not invariably (depending on the syntax) result in positional lengthening, i.e. resyllabification such that the voiced stop closes the preceding syllable. Fortunately, statistical data are available from the tragic trimeter for this behavior.[30] This treatment in the tragic trimeter is compared with that of ῥ- in Table 5.

	Š	S̄	N
DN	25.00%	75.00%	28
ῥ-	28.57%	71.43%	28

$$\omega = 1.05$$

Table 5

It will be seen from the odds-ratio, $\omega = 1.05$, which is very nearly unity, that the sandhi effect on syllable weight of ῥ- is almost identical to that of the *muta cum liquida* clusters DN. This fact indicates that gemination of ῥ- in connected speech is still a productive process in Attic during the last half of the fifth century B.C.

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[30] L. D. Stephens, "The Myth of the *lex de positione debili* and a Fundamental Question in Metrical Theory," *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 171–80.

Nevertheless, there is evidence for a compositional strategy that seeks to minimize the prosodic effect of ῥ-. Initial segments capable of having a sandhi effect on syllable weight may, of course, be located in metrically ambiguous positions, such as after a final short vowel in an anceps (not at a bridge). In such locations, the poet does not commit himself either to positional lengthening or to its failure. Furthermore, they may be located after final syllables that are heavy by nature or a V̆C, which would be closed by any single, initial consonant. Thus we may recognize three classes of location: 1) unambiguous as to the sandhi effect, 2) metrically ambiguous, and 3) no special sandhi effect. Since there is variability in the treatment of ῥ- after a final short vowel, it might be thought that the sum of the relative frequencies of ῥ- located unambiguously after a final short vowel both with and without positional lengthening would be greater than that for initial clusters which permit only positional lengthening. This supposition, however, is not true, as comparison with κτ- and πτ- shows. Since I have data on κτ/πτ- only for extant tragedies, the data for ῥ- in Table 6 is also limited to extant tragedies.

	S̄ / S̆ unambiguous	Metrically ambiguous	No special sandhi	N
ῥ-	7.83%	5.99%	86.18%	434
κτ/πτ-	13.48%	2.27%	84.24%	660

$$\chi^2 = 17.2089$$

Table 6

Since for a table such as 6 with two degrees of freedom, a value $\chi^2 = 5.991$ is required for statistical significance at the .05 level, the value 17.2089 indicates a highly significant difference in the distribution ῥ- and κτ/πτ-; in fact, there is less than one chance in a thousand a difference as great as or greater than that observed would arise at random. Table 6 can be interpreted as follows: overall, the rates at which ῥ- and κτ/πτ- appear after final V̄(C) or V̆C (column 3) are nearly identical, a fact which reflects the frequency of final short vowels in the language. After V̆#, however, ῥ- is preferred in metrically ambiguous positions and avoided where the poet would have to commit himself to either V̆#ῥ- → S̄ or V̆#ῥ- → S̆. Thus, even the logical sum of the two possible sandhi effects is avoided vis-à-vis the sole effect, positional lengthening, permitted with κτ/πτ-. This fact points to a compositional strategy: poets preferred to avoid committing themselves to either of the two possible treatments. This strategy, in turn, suggests that it was more difficult to satisfy the linguistic conditions which promote either one of the sandhi outcomes. Section 6 is devoted to the elucidation of those conditions.

6. The factors of lexical status and syntactic configuration. It has already been pointed out in section 3 that sandhi processes, such as the gemination of ῥ-, are conditioned by certain domains which encompass the words between which those processes may apply, and that those domains are functions of the lexical status and syntactic configuration of the contiguous words. In this section I shall demonstrate that there is an independently defined hierarchy of such domains which correlates almost perfectly with rate of gemination of ῥ- after final short vowels. We must begin by establishing that hierarchy.

There is extensive evidence[31] from the rules governing split and divided resolution and anapaestic substitution, from bridges such as Porson's Bridge, Havet's Bridge, Hermann's Bridge, and Knox' and Wilamowitz' Bridges at the end of the trimeter in the iambographers, and also from elision, for ranking articles and prepositions plus nouns at the top of the hierarchy, i.e. as forming the domain most conducive to the application of a sandhi process. Examples involving ῥ- are:

τὰ ῥάκη	Arist. *Pl.* 1065
διὰ ῥοὰς	*Rhesus* 919

The same evidence ranks next below them other non-lexical, prepositive words such as demonstratives, conjunctions, and the lower cardinal numbers, e.g.

μήτε ῥιγῶν	Arist. *Nub.* 416
ταῦτα ῥιπτέσθω	*Prom.* 992
ἵνα ῥοαί	Eur. *Hel.* 492
δύο ῥοπάς	Eur. *Hel.* 1090

Non-prepositive non-lexicals such as interrogative pronouns, post-positives such as γε, δέ, τε, and enclitic forms of personal pronouns rank next, e.g.

τί ῥέξεις	Eur. *Alc.* 263, Aesch. *Sept.* 104
τίνι ῥυθμῷ	Eur. *El.* 772
τε ῥύσομαι	Aesch. *Eum.* 232
δὲ ῥυθμίζεις	Soph. *Ant.* 318

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[31] See A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens (above, notes 8 and 16) and "Bridges in the Iambographers," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 305–21.

When we turn to pairs of lexical words, we must proceed in terms of the syntactic configuration[32] to which they belong, so that matters become slightly more complex, but we may employ the intuitive notions of the size and the tightness of the syntactic phrase which contains them. The highest ranking syntactic configuration (closest connection) that may usefully be distinguished is that in which both lexical words, L_1 and L_2, are contained within the same phrase within the sentence (basically noun phrases, adjective phrases, verb phrases, etc.) and no multiword phrase contains just L_1 or just L_2 which does not contain L_2 or L_1 respectively. This configuration may be called the simple phrasal type. It may be represented as

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[32] Classical Greek, while basically a Subject-Object-Verb language, permits considerable variability in word order, in fact, to the extent that many constituents are discontinuous, interrupted not only by enclitics, particles, and the non-lexical words, but also by lexical words belonging to other syntactic constituents. Of course, to a very large extent, word order is controlled by pragmatic factors such as focus, topicalization, and, what may be called rhematization, in terms of the theory of functional sentence perspective (see Jan Firbas, "On the Concept of Communicative Dynamism in the Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective," *Sborník Prací Filosofické Falculty Brněnske University* A19 [1971] 135–44, and Dirk G. J. Panhuis, *The Communicative Perspective in the Sentence: A Study of Latin Word Order* [Amsterdam 1982]). Some within the generative tradition might want to label Classical Greek a non-configurational language, that is, one having a basically flat, rather than complex, hierarchical, syntactic structure (on the notion of nonconfigurationality, see N. Chomsky, *Lectures on Government and Binding* [Dordrecht 1984] 127–35; K. Hale, "Walpiri and the Grammar of Nonconfigurational Languages," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1 [1983] 5–47; *Topic, Focus, and Configurationality*, ed. W. Abraham and Sjaak de Meij [Amsterdam 1986]; and, for a more accessible discussion, A. Radford, *Transformational Grammar: A First Course* [Cambridge 1988] 277–78). While treated as a cross-linguistic parameter, configurationality is generally viewed as a categorical (yes/no) matter (e.g., J. Horvath, "Remarks on the Configurationality-Issue" [in Abraham and de Meij above, pp. 65–87] argues that "(a) . . . it is crucial to assume a category-neutral base, and (b) a category-neutral base implies that in any given grammar, all category-types will have uniform hierarchical structure, i.e., either all of them will be configurational, or all of them will be nonconfigurational . . ."), although W. Abraham ("Word Order in the Middle Field of the German Sentence" [in Abraham and de Meij above, pp. 15–38] invokes a concept of "split configurationality," arguing that "PO [prepositional object] has a special, i.e. stronger configurational status" than the rest of the "middle field" which has "a weakly configurational quality." "Free" word order and non-configurationality are not simply to be equated; rather, most of the debates about configurationality concern abstract representations of syntax which may differ considerably from the material which is formed into phonological phrases. At any rate, it is obvious that phonological phrase formation takes place even in sentences with discontinuous constituents. The crucial assumption here is that phrase formation and the domains of sandhi processes will be influenced by what syntactic configurations may be present in the surface structure of a sentence, specifically that where such processes are characteristic of smaller domains, the probability of their application will be greater between two, contiguous lexical words L_1 and L_2 if L_1 and L_2 are constituents of a smaller (lower level) syntactic phrase than if they are constituents of a larger (higher level) phrase or of no single phrase within the sentence at all. As will be seen, this assumption turns out to be true in a very strong statistical sense.

$$[L_1 \; L_2]_{XP}$$

where no other phrase YP within XP contains just L_1 or just L_2. In general either L_1 or L_2 will be the head of the phrase of type X (as a noun is the head of noun phrase, a verb of a verb phrase). In the simple phrasal configuration, intuitively, either L_1 or L_2 is closer to the other syntactically than to any other words of the sentence. Simple examples of this type are noun phrases consisting of adjective plus noun (where examples with ῥ- are lacking, ones involving words in κτ/πτ- are used, since they provide the control for the tests below), e.g.

μέγα ῥάκος	*Prom.* 1023
πόντια ῥάκη	Adesp. 258 Kannicht-Snell

or noun plus unmodified genitive, e.g.

Κωκυτοῖο ῥεέθρων   Eur. *Alc.* 458

Phrases of a verb or participle plus unmodified object also belong to the simple phrasal type, e.g.

μητέρα κτανών	Eur. *Or.* 546
εἶχε πτερά	Arist. *Aves* 1176

Ranking below the simple phrasal type are configurations in which L_1 or L_2 is the head of the phrase containing the other lexical, but there is another phrase which contains the non-head lexical. In other words, both words belong to the same phrase, but one of them also belongs to a smaller phrase to which the other does not belong. This configuration may be called the complex phrasal type. It may be represented as

$$[\ldots L_1 \; [L_2 \ldots]_{YP} \cdots]_{XP(L_1)}$$

where $XP(L_1)$ means that L_1 is the head of the phrase of type X, or by

$$[\ldots [\ldots L_1]_{XP} \; L_2 \ldots]_{YP(L_2)}$$

where $YP(L_2)$ means that L_2 is the head of the phrase of type Y. The complex phrasal type includes verb phrases in which the noun object is modified, i.e. it is contained in a noun phrase within the verb phrase, e.g.

λογχοποιῶν ὄργανα κτᾶσθαι	Eur. *Bacch.* 1208
τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα ῥήξῃς	Eur. *Ion* 522

It also comprises prepositional phrase plus verb, e.g.

εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων   Eur. *Bacch.* 150

Further included under the complex phrasal type are cases which are not well described by the bracket notation because the smaller phrase containing one of the lexical words is discontinuous, e.g.

δυστυχῆ τ' ἀεὶ πάντα ῥύη   Eur. *Suppl.* 380
τέκνα κτείνουσι σά   Eur. *Herc.* 496
      ἀλιστόνοις πόδας
χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν   *Prom.* 713

Intuitively, in the complex phrasal type, either L_1 or L_2 or both may be more closely linked syntactically to other elements of the sentence than it is to the other, but nevertheless one is contained within the other's phrase.

The lowest ranking syntactic configuration comprises those cases in which L_1 and L_2 are not contained in a phrase headed by the one or the other. This configuration may be referred to as the non-phrasal type. Intuitively, neither L_1 nor L_2 is contained within the other's phrase, although there may be a still larger phrase which contains both. The non-phrasal type may be represented as

$$([_{ZP})\ldots[_{XP}\ldots L_1]_{XP} [_{YP}L_2\ldots]_{YP}\ldots(]_{ZP})$$

where the parenthesis means that there may or may not be a phrase of type Z which contains the phrases XP and YP containing L_1 and L_2 respectively, but if there is such a phrase ZP, then neither L_1 nor L_2 is its head. The most frequently encountered form of the non-phrasal type is subject plus verb, since there is no phrase within the sentence that contains both the subject and the verb phrase, e.g.

πρηστῆρε ῥεύσονται   Eur. fr. 384. 3 N
ἔδραμε ῥόθια   Eur. *Hel.* 1117

It also comprises instances of accusative object and oblique case adjunct to the verb whether one is modified as in

                νίψαν αἱ-
γλᾶντα σώματα ῥοαῖς   Eur. *Andr.* 286

or whether the object and adjunct are unmodified. In this type there is a larger phrase, ZP, which contains L_1 and L_2, namely the (complex) verb phrase: ZP = VP. Of course, the non-phrasal type also includes cases in which the two lexical words in question belong to different clauses, e.g.

                πάρες ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
πέπλον, ἀπόδικε, ῥέθος ἀελίῳ δεῖξον   Eur. *Herc.* 1205

Having defined the hierarchy of domains, we are now in a position to assess how that hierarchy affects the sandhi treatment of $\breve{V}$#ῥ-. In the data, there are too few instances of the simple phrasal type of configuration to permit statistical evaluation, so that that class must be collapsed with one contiguous to it in the hierarchy. In order not to obscure the effect of the syntactic configuration of lexical words on the gemination of ῥ-, I have collapsed the simple phrasal type with the class of non-prepositive non-lexicals. There is evidence from resolution and the bridges in support of

this choice; at any rate, it leaves us with a five-level hierarchy, within which the ranking of each class is well motivated theoretically and by good external evidence, so that it will not impair the validity of our results. From now on the five ranked classes of domains will be referred to by numbers, as follows: 1) article or preposition plus noun, 2) other prepositive non-lexicals plus lexical word, 3) non-prepositive non-lexicals plus lexical word (3a) and simple phrasal configurations of lexical words (3b), 4) complex phrasal configurations of lexical words, and 5) non-phrasal configurations of lexical words.

I begin by establishing that there is a perfect correlation of domain type with frequency of sandhi treatment. As one proceeds down the hierarchy of domains (i.e., as the separation becomes intuitively greater), the rate of the failure of gemination increases, and, contrariwise, of course, as one proceeds up the hierarchy of domains (i.e., as the separation becomes intuitively less) the frequency of gemination increases. The data are given in Table 7.

Domain Type	$\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}\text{-} \to \check{S}$	$\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}\text{-} \to \bar{S}$
1)	9.52%	90.48%
2)	46.15%	53.85%
3)	52.63%	47.37%
4)	75.00%	25.00%
5)	80.00%	20.00%

$$\bar{\chi}^2 = 14.9317$$

Table 7

The value $\chi^2 = 14.9317$ (which, of course, is the same for each column) shows that this is a statistically significant result. It should be noted, as further evidence of the effect of syntax, that in domain type 5) (non-phrasal configurations), there is no case of $\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}\text{-} \to \check{S}$ in which the lexical words involved belong to different clauses, but there is a case of $\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}\text{-} \to \bar{S}$ involving words in different clauses, Eur. *Herc.* 1205. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely to be a chance phenomenon that the only two cases of $\check{V}\#\dot{\rho}\text{-} \to \check{S}$ in domain type 1) should be attested in the fragments of Pherecrates and Plato Comicus (both involve the article).

Another way in which to test the significance of an ordering along a five-level hierarchy is by means of ridit analysis. The term "ridit" is a sort of acronym for "relative to an identified distribution."[33] For this test, we calculate the proportion of cases from some reference group that fall in half of each given category and all the categories above it in the list. This proportion is the ridit for the given category. Using the ridits obtained from

[33] For the etymology and the mathematics, see J. Fleiss, *Statistical Methods for Rates and Proportions* (New York 1973) 102–07.

the reference group, we calculate the mean ridit for a comparison group. If that mean is greater than .50, then more than half the time, a randomly chosen case from the comparison group will fall into a lower ranking category (farther down the list) than a randomly selected case from the comparison. Similarly, if the mean is less than .50, the cases in the comparison group tend to fall into a higher ranking category. In our case, gemination may be taken as the reference group, failure of gemination the comparison group. Table 8 gives, in the second column, the ridit, r, for each domain type and in the third column the product of that ridit and the frequency, f, of that domain type in cases without gemination, and below column 3, the sum and the mean ridit, $\bar{r}$, for the failure of gemination, and the total number of cases, N.

Domain type	r	f · r
1)	.2568	.5136
2)	.6081	3.6486
3)	.8243	8.2430
4)	.9595	2.8785
5)	.9865	3.9460
		19.2297

$$\bar{r} = .7692$$

$$N = 25$$

Table 8

Since the mean ridit is considerably greater than .50, $\check{V}\#\dot{p}\text{-} \rightarrow \check{S}$ tends to occur in the larger (lower ranking) domains than $\check{V}\#\dot{p}\text{-} \rightarrow \check{S}$. In fact, the odds are slightly better than three to one (.7692/.2308) that a case of non-gemination will occur with a greater separation between the words involved than a case of gemination. Since the standard error of a mean ridit is

$$\sigma_{\bar{r}} = \frac{1}{2\sqrt{3N}}$$

we may test the significance of the difference between the observed mean ridit for non-gemination and the reference value, .50, by the normal approximation

$$z = \frac{\bar{r} - .50}{\frac{1}{2\sqrt{3N}}}$$

For Table 8, we obtain z = 4.6655. This, of course, is a highly

significant result: there are less than three chances in a hundred thousand that an r̄ this great or greater would have been obtained due to random effects if in fact it were the same as that of the gemination group (.50). We may conclude that lexical status and syntactic configuration are prime determinants of whether ῥ- is or is not geminated following a final short vowel.

If the foregoing statistical analysis is not convincing proof to some that lexical status and syntactic configuration are crucial factors determining the likelihood of gemination of ῥ- in connected speech, the following list of minimal pairs should clinch the argument. They have been chosen so that in each pair it is the same word which shows both gemination and failure of gemination after a short vowel. In each column the lowest ranking domain type (if more than one is attested) has been given for the word in question.

$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \breve{S}$	$-\breve{V}\#\dot{\rho}- \rightarrow \bar{S}$
τῶνδε ῥώμην	ὑπὸ ῥώμης
(Arist. *Vesp.* 1067)	(Arist. *Vesp.* 1487)
Type 2	Type 1
ἔδραμε ῥόθια	τὸ ῥόθιον
(Eur. *Hel.* 1117)	(Arist. *Eq.* 546)
Type 5	Type 1
Κυκωτοῖο ῥεέθρων	παρὰ ῥείθροισι
(Eur. *Alc.* 458)	(Soph. *Ant.* 712)
Type 3(b)	Type 1
δυστυχῆ τ' ἀεὶ πάντα ῥύῃ	πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα
(Eur. *Sup.* 380)	(Eur. fr. 360. 15 N)
Type 4	Type 3(a)

And if taken as short third anceps to make a better Porson's Bridge

οὐδὲ ῥητά μοι (Soph. *O.T.* 1289)	ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς (Eur. *Hipp.* 459)
Type 2	Type 1

When both gemination and failure of gemination are attested with one and the same word, there is not a single case in which the maximum separation with gemination is greater, or even equal to, the maximum with failure of gemination.

The effect of lexical status and syntactic configuration holds true despite differences of genre and metrical type. Thus, despite the fact that gemination is very nearly exceptionless in Aristophanes (the only exception is *Vesp.* 1067), nevertheless, he prefers the closer lexico-syntactic connections in cases of gemination in comparison to cases without gemination, even in lyrics. Similarly, despite the fact that tragic lyric prefers non-gemination overall, it nevertheless prefers the looser lexico-syntactic connections in cases without gemination in comparison to cases with gemination, even in dialogue meters. Thus the linguistic factor of

lexical status and syntax is operative regardless of genre and metrical type. It follows that the generic and metrical preferences, which we have seen in section 4 to have a linguistic basis, are not simply abstracted from the spoken language without regard for the factors which condition gemination. Even in comedy and dialogue, if there is gemination, tighter connections are preferred with it; even in tragic lyric if there is no gemination, greater separation is preferred. The moral is a simple one: even what is often called "license" has a linguistic basis, and not all departures from the norm are equally acceptable, but are hierarchized according to principled linguistic criteria.

7. Comparison of gemination of ῥ- and resyllabification of other clusters. It has been noted in section 1 that no previous discussion of ῥ- has seen fit to inquire whether the positional lengthening that it effects differs from the positional lengthening produced by initial consonant clusters such as κτ/πτ-. It might be expected that there should be such a difference, since in the case of κτ/πτ-, etc., two consonants are always present, and all that is involved is the transference of the first to the coda of the preceding syllable, e.g. -V̆#κτ- → -V̆κ.τ-. Table 9 compares the proportions of each of the five levels of the lexico-syntactic hierarchy of section 6 occurring with -V̆#ῥ- →S̄ with their respective proportions occurring with positional lengthening of -V̆# effected by κτ/πτ-.

	Domain Type					
	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	N
-V̆#ῥ- →S̄	51.35%	18.92%	24.32%	2.70%	2.70%	37
-V̆#κτ/πτ-→S̄	33.03%	20.18%	32.11%	10.09%	4.59%	109

Table 9

It is obvious that domain type 1) is far more frequent with -V̆#ῥ- →S̄ than with -V̆#κτ/πτ- → S̄. It is also clear that the three loosest (lowest ranking) domain types are far less frequent with -V̆#ῥ- →S̄ than -V̆#κτ/πτ- →S̄. We may assess the preference for the tighter domain types with ῥ-gemination by means of ridit analysis, as in section 6, taking κτ/πτ- as the reference group. I present the analysis in Table 10, following the same format as Table 8.

Domain Type	r	f · r
1)	.1651	3.1319
2)	.4312	3.0184
3)	.6927	6.2343
4)	.9037	.9037
5)	.9771	<u>.9771</u>
		14.2654
		r̄ = .3856
		N = 37

Table 10

The standard error of the mean ridit for resyllabification of κτ/πτ- is .0475, so that the z-score is –2.4084: the mean ridit for $\breve{V}$#ρ̇- $\rightarrow$ S̃ is significantly less than the value .50 for the reference group $\breve{V}$#κτ/πτ- $\rightarrow$ S̃; there is a chance of only about one in fifty-six that a mean ridit as small as or smaller than that observed would arise at random. The odds are better than three to two (.6144/.3856) that a case of $\breve{V}$#ρ̇- $\rightarrow$ S̃, chosen at random, will occur in a tighter domain than a randomly selected case of $\breve{V}$#κτ/πτ- $\rightarrow$ S̃. Thus we may conclude that gemination of ρ̇- after a final short vowel with resyllabification to give a heavy syllable requires closer lexico-syntactic connection between the words involved than resyllabification of κτ/πτ-. This result is important, for it has never before been established that there is any difference between types of positional lengthening according to consonants affecting it. We may conclude that gemination and resyllabification of ρ̇- is a process characteristic of word internal morpheme boundaries and the closer lexico-syntactic domains: it does not freely occur between any two words.

8. Lexico-syntactic constraints on positional lengthening in general. The rates at which positional lengthening by κτ/πτ- occurs at the several domain types are an important criterion for differentiating the language styles underlying the prosody of tragic authors. Not surprisingly,[34] it is Euripides who permits $\breve{V}$#κτ/πτ- $\rightarrow$ S̃ at higher rates in the larger (lower ranking) domains. The data are given in Table 11, which compares the practice of Aeschylus and Sophocles with that of Euripides.

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[34] See A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, "A New Aspect of the Evolution of the Trimeter in Euripides," *TAPA* 111 (1981) 43–64.

Domain Type

	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Aesch./Soph.	56.00%	20.00%	12.00%	12.00%	0%
Eur.	17.19%	20.31%	45.31%	10.94%	6.25%

Table 11

The fact that Euripides permits positional lengthening at greater rates in the case of κτ/πτ-, which admits no variant option without positional lengthening, in larger domains than Aeschylus and Sophocles, establishes a lexico-syntactic constraint on even the segmentally prototypical type of positional lengthening of -V̆#. Of course, simple examination of the proportions of the domain types in Tables 10 and 11 immediately suggests that even positional lengthening by κτ/πτ- is constrained to take place in the closer, higher ranking, lexico-syntactic domains, since it is intuitively obvious that the lower ranking types of domains are more frequent when positional lengthening of -V̆# is not involved. This limitation of positional lengthening, even in the prototypical case of κτ/πτ-, is important evidence that resyllabification of initial clusters was correlated with tighter lexico-syntactic domains in colloquial Attic, a hypothesis for which no controlled evidence has been produced heretofore.[35]

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[35] It is surprising that no one advanced an explicit hypothesis on the basis of the examples given by Hilberg (above, note 16).

5

Myrsilus of Methymna and the Dreadful Smell of the Lemnian Women

STEVEN JACKSON

Myrsilus of Methymna was a Hellenistic *paradoxographos* who flourished c. 250 B. C. He wrote a series of books under the general title *Lesbiaka* which recounted the origins and causes of contemporary *mirabilia*. His practice was to visit the area concerned and to question the inhabitants themselves.[1] In the first of these books he refers to the infamous episode of the massacre of their husbands by the women of Lemnos. But interestingly, he appears to cite as the instigator of this terrible tragedy, not Aphrodite, as was the general view, but Medea. The report we have of him, preserved in the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius,[2] is as follows: τὴν Μήδειαν παραπλέουσαν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ῥῖψαι εἰς τὴν Λῆμνον φάρμακον καὶ δυσοσμίαν γενέσθαι ταῖς γυναιξίν, εἶναί τε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμέραν τινά, ἐν ᾗ διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν ἀπέχειν τὰς γυναῖκας ἄνδρα τε καὶ υἱεῖς. One can easily understand Medea's feeling of jealousy, and we may safely assume that the events of which Myrsilus speaks occurred on the return journey from Colchis, since Medea was with the Argonauts. But Myrsilus' version *prima facie* presents us with a major difficulty in interpreting the reason for the male population's rejection of the female on Lemnos and the resultant massacre by the Lemnian women of their menfolk. For, apparently, Myrsilus is saying that on Argo's return voyage Medea created a situation which the Argonauts had already found to be in existence when they called at the island on their way *to* Colchis![3] How, then, can we account for Myrsilus' words?

It has been suggested by W. Burkert[4] that Myrsilus was influenced by Pindar's fourth *Pythian* (252–58). Burkert makes the somewhat surprising statement (p. 7) that "in accordance with the older version ousted by

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[1] *F. Gr. Hist.* 477 T 1–2 Jacoby.

[2] Sch. Ap. Rh. 609e, p. 54 Wendel = 477 Fr. 1a Jacoby.

[3] Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1. 609 ff.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 17; Hyg. *Fab.* 15; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 2. 77 f. See also Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 448, p. 159 Drachmann.

[4] "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos. A Study in Myth and Ritual," *CQ* 20 (1970) 1–16.

Apollonius (Pi. *P.* 4. 252-7), Myrsilus made the Argonauts come to
Lemnos on their return from Kolchis, though the presence of Medeia
brought some complications for Jason and Hypsipyle." Burkert omits to
recognise that Pindar is the *sole* authority for the transfer of the Argonauts'
visit to Lemnos from the outward journey to the return. This alteration is
due to a literary device which the poet is using to emphasise the close link
between the Argonauts' union with the Lemnian women and the foundation
of Cyrene.[5] The "complications for Jason and Hypsipyle," referred to by
Burkert, would not have troubled Pindar in his over-all composition,
although they cannot readily be explained when taken *outside* the context of
the Pindaric ode. It takes too much imagination, surely, to see Medea
standing aside and allowing Jason and Hypsipyle to have their affair. But
the Pindaric transfer of the Lemnian episode has no relevance to the original
version of the saga in which the Argonauts probably returned by the same
route as they sailed out, and did *not* call at Lemnos on their way home.[6]
Contrary to Burkert's words, it is Apollonius of Rhodes (*Arg.* 1. 609 ff.)
who follows the traditional version of the tale in his making the Argonauts
call at Lemnos on the outward voyage.

One must also consider the word παραπλέουσαν, which is used by the
scholiast to describe one of Medea's actions in Myrsilus' version.
Παραπλέουσαν can only mean, in any context, "passing by" or "passing
along the coast." This consideration, coupled with the knowledge that
Medea travelled with the Argonauts only on the return leg of the voyage to
Colchis, already shows us that for Myrsilus Argo sailed close by the island
of Lemnos on her way home but did *not* call there.[7] Myrsilus, therefore, did
not follow Pindar, as Burkert suggests.

Quite simply, with the exception of Medea's olfactory drug, Myrsilus
was following the original version of the Argonautic tale. *Ipso facto* he
knew and understood the original details of the Lemnian episode. It is
reasonable to assume, therefore, that Myrsilus' account of Medea and her
spell-casting act was an addition or rider to the myth, and not part of the
original myth at all. As so often happens in instances of this kind, a
coalescence of the two stories was evolved by later authors, and this in turn
has confused scholars over the years, particularly with regard to the element
of the infamous *dysosmia*. Myrsilus, in fact, does not cite Medea as the
instigator of the Lemnian tragedy but rather as a type of avenging fury[8]

[5] See R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes. Essays in interpretation* (Oxford 1962) 150–
52 and 164.
[6] Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 448, p. 159 Drach. Λημνιᾶν τ' ἔθνει γυναικῶν· οὐκ ἀκολούθως.
οὐ γὰρ ὑποστρέφοντες προσέβαλον τῇ Λήμνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντες.
[7] The fact that Medea only passed along the coast of Lemnos and did not put in there made
her feeling of jealousy no less understandable. She was, after all, a priestess and sorceress with
special powers, and would have had at least some inkling about Jason and Hypsipyle. But Jason
himself may have told her.
[8] Compare the distressing and rather monstrous picture of Medea as painted by Euripides.

who, because of jealousy, reconstitutes and revives an earlier situation, thus recreating all its painful memories, to gain her revenge. In sum, Medea did not create a situation on the return voyage which the Argonauts had already discovered to be in existence on the outward leg of the journey, but she recreated it, or, more accurately, part of it. Once this idea is realised, the major difficulty produced by Myrsilus' words begins to be alleviated.

Was the *dysosmia*, though, an integral part of original Lemnian mythology? Two post-Myrsilan authors, Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1. 9. 17) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 15), mention the *dysosmia* as part of the Lemnian myth, but by this time the coalescence of the two separate stories had evolved. The *dysosmia* is also referred to in three scholia (on the *Iliad*, the fourth *Pythian*, and Apollonius' *Argonautica*),[9] but there is no reason to say that the scholiasts did not use Myrsilus of Methymna as the source for this element of the story. Certainly, no extant pre-Myrsilan source speaks of a *dysosmia*, although this fact *per se* proves nothing in the light of so much literature lost to us. We should, perhaps, at this point refer to the works of two of Myrsilus' contemporaries, Apollonius of Rhodes and Antigonus of Carystus.

In his *Argonautica* (1. 609 ff.) Apollonius gives us a full exposition of the reasons for the Lemnian massacre. This is a detailed account; Apollonius had before him most of the authors who had referred to the Lemnian myth; and yet, he does not mention a *dysosmia*. But Apollonius was a very deliberate poet and applied a method of creative selectivity in the composition of his work.[10] If the *dysosmia* was an integral element of the story, either in its original form or in that of Apollonius' day, Apollonius decided to reject it for his own dramatic purpose. For Apollonius, the emphasis in the Lemnian visit must rest on desire, lust and sexual attraction. Any hint of an unpleasant odour emanating from the women who were providing the allurement would have been most inappropriate. Not only must Jason discover the physical attraction he had for most women, but he also had to discover sex itself and how to use it to his advantage. The fact that the women's smell might have disappeared by the time of the Argonauts' arrival would not have been sufficient for Apollonius' purpose (Apollonius tells us that the Lemnian massacre occurred one year before the heroes' visit: 1. 610). Even the slightest reference to the *dysosmia* would have detracted from the Apollonian depiction of love's attractions, so important in this context.

However, Apollonius may have been prompted to omit the *dysosmia* for another reason, which cannot entirely be divorced from the one just

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[9] Sch. *Il.* 7. 468; Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 88b, p. 109 Drach.; Sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 609, p. 53 Wendel. But it is interesting to note that a second scholion on the fourth *Pythian* (449, p. 159 Drach.) does *not* mention the *dysosmia*, although in every other respect it gives us the most detailed account of the Lemnian massacre to appear in the scholia.

[10] A more detailed discussion of this thesis can be found in my monograph, *Creative Selectivity in Apollonius' Argonautica* (forthcoming).

discussed. According to the scholiast:[11] Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Ὑψιπύλῃ ἐν ὅπλοις φησὶν αὐτὰς ἐπελθούσας χειμαζομένοις ἀπείργειν, μέχρι λαβεῖν ὅρκον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάντας μιγήσεσθαι αὐταῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Λημνίαις καὶ μάχην ἰσχυρὰν αὐτοῖς συνάψαι φησίν. Certainly, both tragedians paint a picture here of some very unattractive women. Aeschylus' *Hypsipyle* presents a more intriguing scenario. Were the Lemnian women still malodorous by the time of the Argonauts' arrival? They were obviously desperate to have sexual intercourse with the heroes, threatening recourse to violence if they failed to oblige. But why was this threat of arms necessary? They could not *all* have been ugly. They could, however, *all* have been stinking. Clearly, the women had a good reason for believing that the Argonauts would not have had sex with them unless forced. A *dysosmia* seems more than a plausible explanation. If this was the case, Apollonius would have had to omit the smell element from his version straightaway. Hypsipyle may have been able to conceal the massacre of the Lemnian male population in her address to Jason,

> ... ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι ναίεται ἄστυ,
> ἀλλὰ Θρηικίης ἐπινάστιοι ἠπείροιο
> πυροφόρους ἀρόωσι γύας,   (1. 794–96)

but she could not possibly have dissimulated a prevailing body odour. Not only was the *dysosmia* story inappropriate to the Apollonian scenario, but also one can well imagine its embarrassing effect on the Lemnians whom Myrsilus met.

Antigonus wrote his single paradoxographic treatise after Myrsilus' account of the Lemnian incident.[12] We know that Antigonus followed Myrsilus very closely,[13] and at *Hist. Mir.* 118[14] he writes: τὰς δὲ Λημνίας δυσόσμους γενέσθαι Μηδείας ἀφικομένης μετ' Ἰάσονος καὶ φάρμακα ἐμβαλλούσης εἰς τὴν νῆσον κατὰ δή τινα χρόνον καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς ἱστοροῦσιν τὴν Μήδειαν παραγενέσθαι, δυσώδεις αὐτὰς οὕτως γίνεσθαι ὥστε μηδένα προσιέναι. In his preceding chapter[15] Antigonus says: Μυρσίλος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τετυχηκέναι, ὅτι τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν (τὸ ὕδωρ) ὄζει, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ταφίου καλουμένου ὄρους· καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτόθεν εἰς θάλασσαν ὥσπερ πύον, τετάφθαι δ' ἐν τῶι ὄρει τούτωι Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. Clearly Antigonus at this point of his treatise is discussing Myrsilus' comments on the origins and causes of contemporary smells. We know of three versions of the

[11] Sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 769–73, p. 68 Wendel. Cp. F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes. Argonautiques*, Budé trans. (Paris 1974), I 20–21 and 26–28.

[12] F. Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist., Komm. zu* 477 (text) p. 378; see also Westermann's *Paradoxographi Graeci* (Braunschweig and London 1839) 61–102.

[13] Cp. 477 Fr. 1b, 2, 5, 6 Jacoby.

[14] 477 Fr. 1b Jacoby.

[15] 477 Fr. 6 Jacoby.

Heracles/Nessus story,[16] but Myrsilus is the first extant source to introduce the Locrians and their dreadful smell into the tale. Later, Ovid (*Met.* 9. 101 ff.), Pausanias (10. 38. 1), and Strabo (9. 4. 8) interpolate Myrsilus' account into the original myth. A scholiast, too, mentions the Locrian smell element.[17] Here, surely, we have a parallel case to our present one. On both counts, Myrsilus is explaining the origins of a contemporary smell, one of the Locrians, and the other of the Lemnian women. This he does by clouding the origins in the mist of myth, and, in effect, by adding a rider to the original myth. On both counts, too, Myrsilus' rider later coalesced with the original tale and so led to the confusion of scholiasts and scholars alike. The original Heracles/Nessus story ended with the killing of Nessus by Heracles, but in his rider Myrsilus introduces Nessus' flight to a neighbouring tribe of Locrians where, on his death, his body rots at the foot of Mt. Taphiassus, and taints the countryside with a loathsome smell. Similarly, Medea and her olfactory drug were elements introduced as a rider to an already well-established myth; the only difference between the Locrian tale and that of the Lemnian women is that the events recounted in the rider occurred on the return leg of the journey and not immediately following the events of the original legend.

In the case of the Lemnian women Myrsilus is attempting to explain a contemporary annual event wherein the women on the island of Lemnos, on the pretext of a smell, keep apart from their menfolk for a day. This would appear to exclude the possibility of this particular phenomenon having anything to do with fire-ritual on the island.[18] The much more likely reason for the emphasis on the smell of the women is to be found in the menstrual cycle of the human female, something incomprehensible to the ancients, and, subsequently, a taboo subject. This is not to say, of course, that all the Lemnian women menstruated malodorously on one and the same day each year, but, simply, that this annual ceremony was concerned with menstruation-ritual. Menstruation, indeed, has been very much a taboo topic until comparatively recent times. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 7. 15. 63–67) epitomises the attitude in the ancient world:

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[16] Sch. Soph. *Trach.* 39.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] As suggested by G. Dumézil, *Le Crime des Lémniennes* (Paris 1924) and Burkert (above, note 4).

> Sed nihil facile reperiatur mulierum profluvio magis monstrificum. Acescunt superventu musta, sterilescunt contactae fruges, moriuntur insita, exuruntur hortorum germina, fructus arborum decidunt, speculorum fulgor adspectu ipso hebetatur,[19] acies ferri praestringitur, eboris nitor, alvi apium moriuntur, aes etiam ac ferrum robigo protinus corripit odorque dirus aera, in rabiem aguntur gustato eo canes atque insanabili veneno morsus inficitur . . .

The sentiments expressed in this short passage speak for themselves, and Pliny continues the chapter in very much the same vein. Myrsilus was writing, let us remember, just over three hundred years *before* Pliny. So one can easily imagine the difficulty people had in having to explain the origins of such a malodorous stink, especially when one also considers the taboo surrounding it. Wary of this taboo, they disguised and shrouded the details of the ritual in the mists of pre-historic myth, a common and perfectly acceptable practice. The *dysosmia* which Myrsilus reported, therefore, had only a tenuous connection with original Lemnian mythology. Note that, according to Myrsilus, it is the *women* who are active in keeping away from the males, not the other way around; τὰς γυναῖκας is clearly the subject of ἀπέχειν. This fact is incongruous with the original Lemnian story wherein the men reject their women, but it does aptly accomodate the contemporary notion of the human female enduring her period and having to refrain from sexual intercourse.

The Lemnians needed a link with the past for their explanation of the contemporary Lemnian *dysosmia* which would, in turn, conceal the original version of the *dysosmia* story, understandably abhorrent to them.[20] Lemnos already had its place in the epic cycle, i. e. in the Argonautic saga. Who more suitable for their link than the passionate Medea, and the desirable Hypsipyle, with the emphasis on female sexuality? Who better than Medea, the sorceress, to conjure up the offending *dysosmia* with an olfactory drug?[21]

Any reconstruction of the development of the legend must remain conjectural, but one can construct a scenario which will accord with the known facts. One thing we do know: there was a women's festival on Lemnos which involved staying away from men for a day, even in Myrsilus' time. There was one myth attached to this ritual, known to the

[19] Cp. Aristotle, *De Somniis* 459b ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνόπτροις τοῖς σφόδρα καθαροῖς, ὅταν τῶν καταμηνίων ταῖς γυναιξὶ γινομένων ἐμβλέψωσιν εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον, γίνεται τὸ ἐπιπολῆς τοῦ ἐνόπτρου οἷον νεφέλη αἱματώδης.

[20] Lemnos, indeed, seems to have been all too readily identified with smells by the ancients: sc. the story of Philoctetes' poisoned foot (see G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and other Cultures* [Berkeley 1970]).

[21] Doubtless, one could argue rationally that by the time the Argonauts passed Lemnos on the return voyage, the women on the island had found new mates, and Medea could then recreate an old situation out of her jealousy. But her drug's effects would, of course, be of a temporary nature, and the original massacre was not repeated. The idea of the temporary effect of the olfactory drug assimilates well with the equally temporary effects of the menstrual period of the human female. However, such rationalisation would hardly have bothered the Lemnians.

outside world, which involved *Aphrodite's* imposing a curse of a *dysosmia* upon the Lemnian women because of their failure to pay her due homage. This version of the myth is plainly known to Aeschylus and Sophocles, and so, no doubt, to earlier epic sources.[22]

The possibility we may entertain is that Myrsilus, visiting Lemnos, was told by *the women of Lemnos* a version of the myth more favourable to their self-esteem: that Aphrodite's curse had involved, not the imposition of a smell,[23] but simply alienation of the affections of their husbands, who had subsequently deserted them and taken up with Thracian concubines.[24] Their claim would be that they consorted voluntarily with the Argonauts when they dropped by *en route* to Colchis, and in revenge for *that act* Medea put the smell-curse on them on the way back, a curse from which they finally freed themselves by establishing the festival. This, then, could well have been the version of the tale which the Lemnians related to Myrsilus, and which Myrsilus has recorded for us.

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6

Structure and Symmetry in Terence's Adelphoe

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With all that has been said, it seems impossible to say something new about the last act of Terence's *Adelphoe*.[1] Incredible as it sounds, however, there is a perspective which has not been taken and sheds light on the controversial ending of the play. Past arguments have dealt, for the most part, with the specific nature of Terence's adaptation and whether or not the

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[1] The bibliography on this problem is extensive. H. Marti, "Terenz 1909–1959," *Lustrum* 8 (1963) 72–79, reviews scholarship on *Adelphoe* prior to 1960. The bibliography provided by F. H. Sandbach, "Donatus' Use of the Name Terentius and the End of Terence's *Adelphoe*," *BICS* 25 (1978) 123–45, catalogs work up to 1976. S. M. Goldberg, "Scholarship on Terence and the Fragments of Roman Comedy: 1959–1980," *CW* 75 (1981) 96–100, discusses more recent contributions. The work on *Adelphoe* with direct bearing on this study is:

W. G. Arnott, "The End of Terence's *Adelphoe*: A Postscript," *G&R* 10 (1963) 140–44

W. E. Arnott, *Menander, Plautus, Terence* (Oxford 1975) 54–55

K. Büchner, *Terenz: Adelphen*, in *Studien zur römischen Literatur* 8 (Wiesbaden 1970), esp. 1–20

M. Damen, "Reconstructing the Beginning of Menander's *Adelphoi* (B)," *ICS* 12 (1987) 67–84

G. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1952)

E. Fantham, "*Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe*: A Study of Fatherhood in Terence and Menander," *Latomus* 30 (1971) 983–96

W. E. Forehand, "Syrus' Role in Terence's *Adelphoe*," *CJ* 69 (1973) 52–56

W. E. Forehand, *Terence* (Boston 1985) 104–19

S. M. Goldberg, *Understanding Terence* (Princeton 1986), esp. 23–28

J. N. Grant, "The Ending of Terence's *Adelphoe* and the Menandrian Original," *AJP* 96 (1975) 42–60

N. A. Greenberg, "Success and Failure in the *Adelphoe*," *CW* 73 (1979–80) 221–36

W. R. Johnson, "Micio and the Perils of Perfection," *CSCA* 1 (1968) 171–86

E. Lefèvre, "La structure des *Adelphes* de Térence comme critère d'analyse," in *Théâtre et Spectacles dans l'Antiquité* (Leiden 1983) 169–79

C. Lord, "Aristotle, Menander and the *Adelphoe* of Terence," *TAPA* 107 (1977) 183–202

R. H. Martin, *Terence: Adelphoe* (Cambridge 1976)

V. Pöschl, "Das Problem der Adelphen des Terenz," *S.B.* (Heidelberg 1975) 4. 5–24

O. Reith, *Die Kunst Menanders in den 'Adelphen' des Terenz*, with appendix by K. Gaiser (Hildesheim 1964), esp. 101–20

F. H. Sandbach, "Donatus' Use of the Name Terentius and the End of Terence's *Adelphoe*," *BICS* 25 (1978) 123–45

H. Tränkle, "Micio und Demea in den terenzischen Adelphen," *Mus. Helv.* 29 (1972) 241–55 (Henceforth, all of the above will be cited by last name only.)

Latin text might resemble the Greek original in detail.[2] Because, however, the question is largely one of whether Terence has added scenes, not merely words, to Menander's drama, it seems advisable to back up and view the play as a whole, that is, to analyze the scenic structure of *Adelphoe* and evaluate its ending in light of the general arrangement of events in the drama.[3] Such analysis, we will see, supports the conclusion that in the finale Terence has followed Menander's general design of scenes, if not also his words.

Let us begin by breaking the entire play into the general sequences of action that carry the plot forward:[4]

1. *Micio and Demea* (26–154). The older brothers explain and demonstrate the basic situation: Demea has given his older son Aeschinus to his brother Micio for adoption but has kept and raised his younger son Ctesipho. Micio and Demea are very different fathers. Micio is generous and indulgent, Demea strict and gruff. Although the sons are now adults, the fathers still argue over whose method of child-rearing is better and analyze both sons' behavior for evidence of their own success and the other's failure.

2. *Ctesipho* (155–287). Ctesipho is united with his girlfriend Bacchis, a flute-player, through the efforts of his brother Aeschinus and Micio's slave Syrus and in spite of her owner, the pimp Sannio.

3. *Sostrata and Geta* (288–354). Micio's neighbor Sostrata has a daughter Pamphila who unbeknownst to Micio is pregnant with Aeschinus' child. Sostrata's servant Geta brings her news of Aeschinus' abduction of a flute-girl. Assuming Aeschinus is being unfaithful to her daughter, she

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[2] Although both sides have made excellent points, the balance has tipped in favor of those who view the ending of the Roman comedy as a reflection, at least in its lineaments, of the Greek original; see Lord 194. The finales of Menander's recently recovered *Samia* and *Dyskolos* contain surprising turns in the plot, not unlike that in *Adelphoe*, though neither quite matches its unexpectedness; see A. Thierfelder, "Knemon, Demea, Micio," in *Menandrea, Miscellanea Philologica* (Genoa 1960) 107–12; Arnott (1963) 142 ff., and (1975) 54: "The general ragging of Micio . . . is as Menandrean as anything in Terence." Those relatively few who believe Terence made substantial changes in the finale of Menander's play are cited and briefly summarized by Grant 43 n. 2; see below, note 25.

[3] By "structure" I refer strictly to the larger framework of the play's action, as opposed to the wider application of the term commonly used to mean the arrangement of dramatic elements at any level; cf. Lefèvre 169–79; see also Büchner 17.

[4] I employ the following terms, loosely borrowed from cinema, to designate the components of the plot (in descending order of length): *section*, one of two divisions of a double plot, comprising about half the story; *sequence*, a continuous block of action representing a major development in the drama, usually but not always spread over a series of scenes; *scene*, a subsection of a sequence, often consisting of a confrontation between two characters (e. g. Syrus and Sannio, Demea and Micio) which marks one step toward the resolution of the sequence. It should be noted that these divisions are based not on the movements of characters on and off stage but on developments in the plot; therefore, a scene may entail numerous exits and entrances, or a sequence very few. Also, *interstice* (see below, pp. 104–06), for lack of a perfect word, connotes a bridging sequence or series of sequences which links the two sections of a double plot.

sends Geta to inform Hegio, a friend of her late husband and a protector of the family.

4. *Demea and Syrus* (355–437). Demea returns to Micio's house where he encounters Syrus. To remove him from the vicinity, the slave tells him that Ctesipho, who is actually inside, is at their home in the country. Before departing, Demea pontificates on the benefits of strictness in educating children, after which Syrus mocks him by extrapolating his principles to the running of a kitchen.

5. *Hegio and Demea* (438–516). Geta brings Hegio to Sostrata's house. From them Demea learns that Aeschinus will soon become a father by the ravished Pamphila. Demea and later Hegio go in search of Micio.

6. *Aeschinus* (517–712). Aeschinus' love affair is brought to light. After Syrus once again sends Demea away, this time on a wild-goose chase, Micio gives Aeschinus permission to marry Pamphila.

7. *Demea and Micio* (713–62). Back from his fool's errand, Demea finally meets up with Micio. Still thinking Aeschinus has abducted Bacchis for himself, he strongly objects to Micio's proposed cohabitation of flute-girl and mother. Micio leaves his brother in the dark about Ctesipho's involvement with Bacchis and urges him to let the matter rest and join the festivities.

At this point the sequence leading to the problematical ending begins. Demea discovers by accident that Ctesipho is inside Micio's house. When he enters, he sees his son with a flute-girl. The ending itself then commences with his third encounter with Micio. From here the dramatic action accelerates considerably. Events come in rapid succession, climaxing in Micio's sudden wedding and the precipitous liberation of Syrus.

8. *Micio and Demea* (787–881). Demea confronts Micio with his breach of their non-intervention pact. Obviously in the wrong, Micio counters with a sophistical argument of little substance but enough smoke to confound his already shaken adversary. He encourages his brother to erase his bad mood and join the wedding party. In the most surprising turn of events in the play, Demea agrees, going so far as to adopt Micio's generous, affable persona.

9. *Syrus* (882–88). Syrus is the first to encounter this "new" Demea who greets his former foe with kind words. Syrus retreats, uncustomarily speechless.

10. *Geta* (889–98). Geta also receives kind words and praise from Demea, a man who hardly knows him and cannot even remember his name.

11. *Aeschinus* (899–923). When Aeschinus appears impatient at the wedding preparations, Demea puts the theory of indulgence into action and bids him dismiss formalities and break the wall down between Micio's and Sostrata's houses.

12. *Sostrata and Hegio* (923–58). Hearing about Demea's proposed demolition, Micio confronts his brother, who not only reconciles him to a

broken wall but also convinces him to marry Sostrata and bestow on Hegio a sizeable tract of land.

13. *Syrus* (958–83). Syrus reappears and at Demea's behest again Micio gives him his freedom, as well as his wife's freedom and a loan of money.

14. *Demea and Micio* (984–97). Finally, Micio demands Demea account for his uncharacteristic generosity. Demea explains that he wanted to demonstrate that Micio's way of life was "not sincere or essentially right and good, but derived from complacency, indulgence and free-spending" (986–87).

The play divides into two, clearly separate sections: a first and longer section (sequences 1–7, above) in which Micio with charm and smooth sophistication triumphs over Demea, and a second (8–14) in which Demea defeats Micio at his own game. These two sections are separated by an interstice in which Demea learns that Micio has broken his pledge not to interfere in the upbringing of Demea's son. Each section opens and closes with an argument between Micio and Demea (1/7, 8/14). These four confrontations clearly serve as the boundary markers of the sections and fall into symmetrical pairs. The outer pair (1 and 14) shows Micio the weaker of the two older brothers: in 1, Demea informs him of Aeschinus' abduction of a flute-girl and he must on the spot rationalize his son's behavior to his righteously indignant brother; and in 14, Micio accepts the loss of his bachelorhood, his slave Syrus, land, money and, most important, his favored status in Aeschinus' and Ctesipho's eyes.[5] In the inner pair (7 and 8) Micio prevails over his brother.[6] Twice he forces Demea to allow him to dictate the proper treatment of both sons, once by deceiving

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[5] It could be added that sequences 1 and 14 are linked by *aequum et bonum*, a phrase both Micio and Demea use in criticizing each other's educational methods (*nimium ipsest durus praeter aequomque et bonum*, 64; *id non fieri ex vera vita neque adeo ex aequo et bono*, 987); see Johnson 185 n. 21, Martin 28–29, 239. Whether Terence is imitating a similar verbal echo in Menander is, of course, impossible to determine, but Demea's mimicry of Micio's words follows well from the general structure of the play which is, I believe, attributable to Menander; see below, p. 100. It should be noted, however, that parallel phrases do not, for the most part, fit neatly into parallel sequences, e. g. 833–34 = 953–54. Nor should we expect them to. The structure of balanced sequences is a comprehensive map the details of which do not have to correspond in the same way as the general structure and, in fact, would look over-calculated and unnatural if they did. By making cross-references between sequences which are not parallel, the playwright gives the play a more natural, less contrived texture. After all, a play is not a mathematical equation and must seem simultaneously spontaneous and carefully orchestrated. Conceived first, the general structure gives the play coherence and conveys to the audience a feeling of unity, that they are watching a single event despite its many pieces. On the other hand, the words, which represent a different part of the creative process, are added later, naturally with resonances throughout the play, not solely in accordance with the general structure of which they are not a part, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 347E–F. The carefully balanced sequencing is the guiding principle of the play, while verbal echoes bind its fabric and keep it from falling into rigid, self-contained segments.

[6] See Johnson 180: "The brothers' third confrontation (787–854) ends with the triumph of Micio, . . ."

Demea—or rather not enlightening him about Ctesipho's situation—and once by convincing a startled Demea to become more easygoing. Both sequences end with Micio inducing his angry brother to join in the festivities. The outer pair of Micio–Demea confrontations holds the play together, while the inner demarcates the most important transition in the plot, Demea's change of heart.

Within the first section (sequences 1–7) there is a carefully balanced arrangement of action:

    1.   Micio and Demea: Micio's Indulgence (26–154)
        2.   Ctesipho's Affair (155–287)
            3.   The Neighbors: Sostrata and Geta (288–354)
                4.   Demea and Syrus: The Benefits of Strictness (355–437)
            5.   The Neighbors: Hegio and Geta (438–516)
        6.   Aeschinus' Affair (517–712)
    7.   Demea and Micio: The (Temporary) Victory of Indulgence (713–62)

Micio and Demea confront each other at the beginning and end of the section. As we move in toward the center, the next sequences (2 and 6) highlight the troubled love affairs of the younger brothers, first Ctesipho and later Aeschinus. Inside these, sequences 3 and 5 involve the neighbors whose daughter has been impregnated by Aeschinus. The news of the abduction reaches Sostrata in the first sequence and Hegio in the second; both misread the situation the same way. At the center of this section Demea confronts Syrus, who cleverly insults him and keeps him at bay by misinforming him of Ctesipho's whereabouts.

A close comparison of the parallel sequences confirms the correctness of this division of the action. Sequences 1 and 7 are similar in that both entail confrontations between Micio and Demea. Sequences 3 and 5 also bear a remarkable resemblance in basic design:

    3.   The Neighbors: Sostrata and Geta
        1.   Sostrata's Worries: Pamphila's pregnancy (288–98)
        2.   Geta's Bad News: Bacchis' Abduction (299–350)
        3.   Geta leaves to appeal for help from Hegio (350–54)

    5.   The Neighbors: Hegio and Geta
        1.   Hegio's Worries: Aeschinus' Dishonor (438–59)
        2.   Hegio's Bad News: Pamphila's pregnancy (460–510)
        3.   Hegio leaves to appeal for justice from Micio (511–16)

Sostrata's worries about Pamphila's situation in scene 3. 1 parallel Hegio's similar worries in 5. 1. Naturally, however, the mother dwells on her daughter's pain and anguish, while the surrogate father focuses on the young man who dishonored her. In 3. 2 and 5. 2, bad news about the future couple is delivered to their unsuspecting parents: Sostrata learns from Geta of Aeschinus' abduction of a flute-girl, and Demea learns from Hegio of Aeschinus' impending fatherhood. In 3. 3 and 5. 3, a protector of Pamphila

(Geta/Hegio) leaves to petition a higher authority (Hegio/Micio). In both scenes the "buck is passed" up the social ladder from slave to free man and from poor to rich man. Sequences 3 and 5 clearly comprise a contrasting pair as the neighbors, first the slaves and women and then the men, are drawn into Aeschinus' tangled web.

The same sort of affinity does not, however, exist between the other parallel sequences (2 and 6). This derives, no doubt, from Terence's insertion of a scene from Diphilos into sequence 2.[7] His reworking has disrupted the original arrangement of scenes and the careful balancing of sequences. Even so, sequences 2 and 6 are not without similarities and their differences suggest the general nature of Terence' revision.[8] Both have four scenes, but only four of those eight scenes (asterisked) are parallel to each other.

   2. Ctesipho's Affair
       1.   Aeschinus/Sannio: The Payment of the Pimp (155–208)
     *2.   Syrus/Sannio: Syrus fends Sannio from the door (209–53)
       3.   Syrus/Ctesipho: The Nervous Son (254–64)
     *4.   Aeschinus/Ctesipho: Aeschinus scolds Ctesipho (265–87)

   6. Aeschinus' Affair
       1.   Syrus/Ctesipho: The Nervous Son, Again (517–37)
     *2.   Syrus/Demea: Syrus fends Demea from the door (537–91)
       3.   Micio/Hegio: The Permission for Aeschinus' Marriage (592–609)
     *4.   Micio/Aeschinus: Micio chastises Aeschinus (610–712)

In scenes 2. 2 and 6. 2 Syrus fends a hostile intruder (Sannio/Demea) from the door.[9] In 2. 4 and 6. 4 a young man whose love affair has been rescued

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[7] Ad. 6–11.

[8] See Damen 67–84, esp. bibliography in note 1.

[9] Lefèvre, 171–76, argues unconvincingly that Terence has added scenes 1–2 of sequence 6 (traditionally act 4, scenes 1–2). Although he is correct that these scenes do not in strict terms advance the plot, he fails to see their importance in the overall action. Syrus' second dismissal of Demea, the wild-goose chase, keeps Demea away from Micio's house during a critical juncture in the plot. With Demea gone, Ctesipho's love affair will not be disclosed and Micio and Aeschinus can resolve their business unmolested (see below, pp. 97–98). The duplication of plot elements is so common in Menander that the recapitulation of the Syrus–Demea confrontation comprises a stronger argument for than against Menandrean origin; cf. the double deception in *Dis Exapaton*, the double eviction of Chrysis in *Samia*, Euclio's beating of Congrio and later the Servus Lyconidis in *Aulularia*, Knemon's successive rejection of Getas and Sikon in *Dyskolos*. Lefèvre's suggestion (176–78) that 763–86, the turning point between the sections, was also added to Menander's play by Terence is unfounded. There is no evidence, and it is indeed highly implausible, that the crucial revelation of Ctesipho's affair and Micio's perfidious involvement come from Micio himself (Lefèvre 178).

The seemingly unmotivated entrance of Ctesipho and Syrus (517) also does not constitute an argument for Terentian reworking. More than once Menander brings conversations "that would more realistically be ended indoors" out onto the stage for the audience's benefit; cf. *Perik.* 708, *Ad.* 288; see Martin 150, with reference to Gomme–Sandbach 514. It should be noted that for whatever purpose Terence has left unstated the obvious reason for Ctesipho's and Syrus' conversation to take place outside: Ctesipho is urging Syrus to stand guard at the doors and

from the brink of disaster (Ctesipho/Aeschinus) is chastised by an older relative (Aeschinus/Micio) for failure to seek help sooner (272/691). Unlike these, 2. 1 and 2. 3 have little in common with their counterparts 6. 1 and 6. 3. Rather, the converse seems truer. 2. 3 and 6. 1 bear a close resemblance in that they feature the same characters, Ctesipho and Syrus. In both scenes Ctesipho displays his inability to handle his own business. 2. 1 and 6. 3 are also similar in their purpose, if not their characters, insofar as in both reparation for a wrong (abduction/rape) is promised to an injured party (Sannio/Hegio) by an older relative (Aeschinus/Micio) of the person responsible for the injury (Ctesipho/Aeschinus).   To gauge by the "uncontaminated" sequence (6), we can see that Terence's adaptation of sequence 2 probably consisted largely of inverting scenes 2. 1 and 2. 3. If we reverse these scenes and bring Ctesipho on in 2. 1 and Aeschinus in 2. 3, the same sort of balance is found in sequences 3 and 5 is restored to 2 and 6.[10]   The diagram below illustrates a possible reconstruction of the original disposition of scenes in sequence 2 (reconstructed scenes in italics):

2.   Ctesipho's Affair (155–287)
  1.   *Syrus/Ctesipho: The Nervous Son*
  2.   Syrus/Sannio: Syrus fends Sannio from the door
  3.   *Aeschinus/Sannio: The Payment of the Pimp*
  4.   Aeschinus/Ctesipho: Aeschinus scolds Ctesipho

6.   Aeschinus' Affair
  1.   Syrus/Ctesipho: The Nervous Son, Again (517–37)
  2.   Syrus/Demea: Syrus fends Demea from the door (537–91)
  3.   Micio/Hegio: The Permission for Aeschinus' Marriage (592–609)
  4.   Micio/Aeschinus: Micio chastises Aeschinus (610–712)

From this it is clear that the sequences of the first section are arranged in parallel around the central confrontation of Syrus and Demea.

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keep Demea away, just as he kept Sannio away before. Nor does Syrus' later entrance (763) lack motivation: *sed postquam intus sum omnium rerum satur, / prodeambulare huc lubitum est* (765–66). He is tipsy (591) and wants to escape the bedlam of wedding preparations inside Micio's house. It is not an incontestable motivation to enter but it is perfectly adequate in a comedy. Lefèvre may be correct that Terence has played up the classic comic confrontation of slave and irascible old man, but I see no compelling evidence that Menander's play excluded these scenes altogether. Sandbach, 129–30, sees in Donatus the possibility of an implied comparison between Terence's and Menander's version of 539 (in 4. 1); cf. also his comments on Donatus at 541, 560 and 578 (pp. 133–34).

[10] This reconstruction presupposes that Syrus has smuggled Aeschinus and Bacchis into the house under Micio's nose and they are already waiting inside Micio's house at the beginning of the play; see Damen 75 f. Such surreptitious activity on the part of slaves in New Comedy is not unparalleled. The unnamed Servus Lyconidis of *Aulularia* returns to Megadorus' house and hides the stolen gold without anyone noting his presence (701–12). Overall, it is fair to say that some slaves in New Comedy are sneaky and at times evade those whom we might expect to notice them.

Remarkably, the same sort of design exists for the controversial ending:

8. Micio and Demea: The Benefits of Indulgence (787–881)
   9. Demea and Syrus: Kind Words for an Old Enemy (882–88)
      10. Demea and Geta: Kind Words for a Stranger (889–98)
         11. Demea and Aeschinus: Indulgence in Action (899–923)
      12. Demea provides for the neighbors at Micio's expense (923–58)
   13. Demea obtains freedom and money for Syrus (958–83)
14. Demea and Micio: The Evils of Indulgence (984–97)

As in the first section, Micio and Demea open and close the second section
(sequences 8 and 14). In sequences 9 and 13 Demea rewards the cunning
Syrus, first with kind words and later with freedom and money. In
sequences 10 and 12 Micio's poor neighbors reap the benefits of Demea's
"new" demeanor. In the central sequence (11), Demea pampers Aeschinus,
impatient with the wedding preparations, and suggests he destroy Micio's
wall.

The central sequence marks a fundamental change in Demea's methods.
Up to this point, he has indulged himself only in Micio's affable rhetoric,
but from 11 on he puts his new language into effect. The sequence itself
demonstrates this transition from word to action.[11] Demea first receives the
impatient Aeschinus with caring words (899–904) and then suggests, later
orders, that the garden wall be torn down (905–16). The other sequences are
aligned around this transition. In 9 Demea promises to do Syrus a favor and
in 13 he delivers on his promise by securing Syrus' and his wife's freedom,
as well as a loan from Micio. In 10 Demea expresses his good will toward
Geta as a loyal representative of his family's interests and in 12 puts those
words into action by securing Micio's marriage to Sostrata, Geta's mistress.

The two major sections of action, the body of the play (sequences 1–7)
and the ending (sequences 8–14), are designed on the same type of pattern, in
spite of the fact that the first is considerably longer than the second. Both
sections have seven sequences which are arranged in parallel groups
enclosing a central sequence but their congruity runs deeper than that. Not
only are they similar in structure but the sequences are also parallel in
content. Both sections begin and end with dialogues between Micio and
Demea (sequences 1/7 and 8/14). Demea dominates the central sequences (4
and 11) of both sections. The neighbors' travails and triumphs occupy the

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[11] Demea's words at 877–78 forecast this intention to imitate first Micio's words and then
his actions: *age, age, nunciam experiamur contra ecquid ego possiem / blande dicere aut benigne
facere, . . .* He expresses his intention first "to speak sweetly" and then "to act kindly." Martin,
228–29, sees a transition in sequence 11, but of a different sort. In his view, Demea's
intentions modulate from an earnest attempt to adopt his brother's *mores* to a realization that he
can have it both ways by billing Micio for his own acts of generosity. The best that can be said
for this is that the transition at 911–15, if it exists, is well disguised; see below, note 25.

sequences (3/5 and 10/12) on either side of the central ones, and enveloping those are ones (2/6 and 9/13) in which Syrus dominates the action.[12]

A closer examination of both sections, sequence by sequence, will clarify their affinities. Of course, no sequences in drama are identical or even perfectly parallel and these present no exceptions. The differences that the parallel sequences exhibit are as interesting as their similarities and link them equally well through inversion or contrasted imitation of the action in the parallel sequence. Furthermore, because the second section is clearly designed to invert the first (i. e. Demea point by point steals victory away from Micio), we will find as much contrast as congruity and many ironies, especially where Demea is involved.[13]

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[12] There is also an interesting and instructive contrast between the two sections. Whereas Micio dominates the first section and exerts his will mostly from offstage, Demea controls the action of the second section from the stage itself. Micio is on stage for fewer than three of seven sequences in the first section; Demea, however, never leaves the stage in the second. In fact, he is on stage overall almost twice as much as Micio (in 12 versus 7 sequences). Paradoxically, this arrangement works in Micio's behalf. While we are directly confronted with Demea's excessive generosity and malevolent kindnesses, Micio's extravagances we see mainly through others' eyes. For instance, it is left to us to imagine such unpleasant moments as Micio's shock at the revelation of Aeschinus' impending fatherhood, his decision to break his agreement with his brother and buy Bacchis for Ctesipho, his misplaced praise of Syrus for managing the abduction and his rationalization of Aeschinus' behavior to Sostrata's family. On the other hand, we see all of Demea's prejudices in action. His character leaves nothing to the imagination, except perhaps his mysterious conversion. It helps to understand the uneven presentation of the older brothers if we realize that the stage action is designed so as to make Micio seem more appealing by sequestering many of his more difficult moments offstage. Our imaginations naturally fill these voids with pleasant scenes as an extension of his pleasant disposition elsewhere. With Demea we are never given that opportunity. Micio would, perhaps, not appear so attractive if the action of the play took place in the market and we were exposed to his misjudgments as often as his brother's.

[13] Many of Demea's retributions are prefigured in the earlier section of the play in things he hears or sees; cf. Forehand (1985) 119: "(the finale) is not so unexpected as it might appear at first glance." (That we should not expect the following echoes and parallels to occur in corresponding sequences, see above, note 5.) 1. Demea's seemingly sudden shift to excessive generosity is, in fact, clearly presignified by his general perception throughout the play that Micio's behavior is extravagant. 2. His involvement in Aeschinus' life is suggested by Micio's intrusion in Ctesipho's. 3. His conception of the form his revenge should take may be traced to Micio's insistence that he relax and join the day's festivities (754–56, 838–39, 842, 854); see Grant 58. 4. The idea of falsifying a change of heart (985–88) may be seen to stem from Micio's earlier lies about their sons' situations (745–54). 5. His request that, if Micio does not feel genuine shame at Aeschinus' behavior, he can at least pretend to be upset (733–34), also foreshadows the deceptive nature of Demea's conversion. 6. Micio's celebrated bachelorhood (43–44, 811–12) provokes Demea's famous match-making (928–46). 7. Micio's claim early in the play that, although Demea is Aeschinus' natural father, he himself is his "admonitory" (*consiliis*) father (126) evidently remained with Demea, because near the end of the comedy he affirms to Aeschinus that he is his father "in both spirit and nature" (902). 8. The proposed breach of the garden wall (908) recalls the luxurious outdoor furniture which is mentioned at the culmination of Demea's and Syrus' second confrontation, the wild-goose chase (585–86). 9. Demea's adulation of Syrus and Aeschinus in the later section of the play (903, 964–68) reflects his brother's praise of Syrus' and Aeschinus' part in abducting Bacchis (367–68). 10. Conversely, his attempt to flatter Geta is nearly undermined by his inability to

1/8. Micio and Demea (26–154, 787–881). These sequences open the major sections of the action. In both Micio, who is on stage first, lectures his brother on the proper education and evaluation of young men. Each time Micio must defend himself: In sequence 1, Demea brings news that Micio's indulged son has beaten up an innocent man and abducted a prostitute, apparently for his own enjoyment; and in 8, Demea confronts him with a clear breach of his promise not to interfere in Ctesipho's life. Both times Micio covers up the inadequate performance of his doctrines with glib language and both times in spite of having right on his side Demea walks away without making his mark.[14]

The differences in these sequences highlight their similarities, and together they make it clear that the second is a new beginning, a parallel inversion of the first.[15] Whereas Micio begins sequence 1 with a long soliloquy (26–77) outlining the history of his conflict with his brother and painting himself as a kind, caring father, Demea closes sequence 8 with a soliloquy (855–81) reviewing their conflict from his perspective and refurbishing himself with the same airs of an indulgent, loving father which Micio had given himself earlier.[16] In the first, Micio all but loses the

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remember Geta's name (891). Although in their earlier meeting Hegio mentioned it three times in his presence (447, 479, 506), the old, irascible Demea paid hardly any attention to the slave. Now the new Demea makes a poor attempt to compensate for his previous oversight with over-generous praise. 11. Finally, in answer to Micio's assertion that the bride will be accepted without a dowry and both she and Aeschinus' (supposed) mistress will live under his roof (728–29, 745–54), Demea suggests to Aeschinus that he should take his bride without the formalities of a wedding (905–10). Behind this preposterous suggestion lurks the shame and horror that Demea first registered when he learned of Aeschinus' irregular conduct in procreating his child (467–86, 721–34). Everything else has been done without regard for tradition, thinks Demea, why not the wedding, too?

I could also point to specific expressions used by Demea in the second section which echo earlier statements, mostly ones by Micio: e. g. 80–81 = 883, Duckworth 118 note 40; 746–48 = 909–10/925–27, 733–36 = 934, 72–73 = 967–68, Johnson 182 ff.; 934 = 107, Arnott (1975) 55; 42–43 = 863–64, Goldberg 101–02. Even though both occur in the same section, Sandbach (140–41, 145 n. 57) notes that Demea's later generosity at Micio's expense is foreshadowed by his earlier acceptance of the flute-girl with no mention of recompense to Micio who has paid for her (842–50). I include these specific ironies and echoes because they resemble the parallels and contrasts which we will find on the wider level of general plot construction when we compare the first and second sections. Clearly on all levels it is the playwright's intention to echo and invert the first section in the second.

[14] Johnson's assessment of Demea is incisive, 177: "It is true that Demea lectures Micio on every possible occasion, that his lectures are funny and irritating (funny because irritating) even as his rage and self-pity are funny and irritating. But the wounds he gives are clean, and for all his energy and bluster he is not merely narrow-minded and tough but rather desperate and rather lonely as well."

[15] P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford 1944) 398: "This [soliloquy, 855–81] of Demea corresponds with that of Micio at the opening of the play." See below, note 40.

[16] Fantham (977) compares 40–46 and 862–68; Johnson (181 f.) compares 39 and 865; Grant (49) compares 131–32 and 829–31, and also (p. 58) 50–51 and 879–80.

quarrel. The abduction casts his pedagogical methods in a very bad light. He must resort ultimately to a plea of *nolo contendere* by insisting Demea mind his own business and abide by the very agreement Micio himself will later break, the infringement of which will trigger the second section.[17] In the aftermath of this first confrontation Micio all but admits defeat: *nec nil nec omnia haec sunt quae dicit* (141), "What he said is not completely wrong, or right." In the second section, Demea with much the same reluctance concedes defeat to Micio who through indulgence has won the love and admiration of his sons while he himself is feared and shunned: *miseriam omnem ego capio, hic potitur gaudia* (876), "Grief is my part, joy is his." Thus, these opening sequences of the two major sections are closely linked by a contrast in victor, just as we will see the final sequences (7/14) are also.[18]

2/9. *Syrus* (155–287, 882–88). The second sequences of the major sections feature Micio's crafty slave Syrus.[19] Forehand rightly points out this character's importance in the drama.[20] Syrus' contribution to the successful outcome of the younger brothers' love affairs cannot be understated. Although Terence has obscured what was probably more explicit in Menander, the slave somehow played a crucial role in the abduction,[21] then by a clever trick reconciled the pimp to the loss of the girl, helped convince Micio to pay for her and later fended Demea from Micio's house and kept him out of the way of the happy resolution of the love affairs. If such efforts can be construed as meritorious, Syrus' rewards in the latter half of the play are well-earned and clearly anticipated in his activities in the first section.

In the comic climax of sequence 2, Syrus wins over the pimp, for the most part, with smooth words alone and accomplishes permanently what Aeschinus' violence could do only temporarily. It is fitting, then, that his rewards in the parallel sequence (9) come first in the form of kind words from his old rival. Suddenly sweet-natured and affable, Demea arouses Syrus' suspicions. Hence, the slave is uncharacteristically curt in his

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[17] Sandbach (139 f.) unsuccessfully defends Micio's infringement of his agreement with Demea, although he makes several important points.

[18] See below, pp. 98–99; cf. Johnson (180–82) who gives a sensitive, dramatic reading of Demea's transitional soliloquy.

[19] Aeschinus' role in the abduction (sequence 2) is not small but was to a large extent secluded offstage in Menander's play such that his audience was not really confronted with the young man's considerable involvement in the resolution of his brother's problems. Terence has changed that by adding the scene from Diphilos' *Synapothnescontes* which focuses attention on Aeschinus and the abduction rather than Syrus and its aftermath. Even so, the Roman drama deals less with Aeschinus than Syrus, who paves the way for the purchase of the flute-girl from the pimp and leaves only the final details to be settled by his young master.

[20] See Forehand (1973) 52–56; also (1985) 116: "(Syrus) is instrumental in helping the young men with their difficulties." The slave appears in as many scenes as Micio and has more lines than any character except the older brothers.

[21] *Ad.* 315, 368, 560, 568, 967–68.

responses to Demea's compliments, does not pursue the old man's expressions of good will and at the first opportunity withdraws from conversation. Whereas in sequence 2 he brings down a battery of words and wisdom on Sannio, in 9 he has hardly ten words to say to Demea before he retreats from the scene. The contrasting length of the sequences is ironical and humorous, and the different pictures of Syrus, manipulating Sannio and being manipulated by Demea, fuse the sequences with the same sort of contrast by which the Micio–Demea sequences were linked above.

3/10. *The Neighbors*: *Sostrata and Geta* (288–354, 889–98). Sequence 3 demonstrates the neighbors' outraged reaction at Aeschinus' abduction of a flute-girl. Geta speaks in especially harsh tones of the whole family's misconduct. This sequence ends with Sostrata sending Geta off to bring back Hegio, her late husband's friend and their only protector. In sequence 10, Geta enters speaking back inside the house to Sostrata. He announces that he will see whether Aeschinus' family is ready to receive the bride. When Demea meets him, he praises Geta for having upheld the honor of the family for whom he works. Both sequences focus on the neighbors' problems entailing the same concern, Aeschinus' delay in claiming his bride (333–34, 889–90). Besides the obvious connection that Geta and Sostrata figure large in both sequences, Geta's harsh judgment of Demea's family and Demea's kind words for Geta link the sequences by contrast.

4/11. *Demea* (355–437, 899–923). These are the central sequences, the points around which the structure and themes of the play pivot. Both feature Demea, first the martinet who exercises stern control over Ctesipho and later the "new" Demea who practices leniency on Aeschinus. The extremes of his behavior create a contrast that binds these sequences together. In the earlier one he expounds his theory of child-rearing full of strong exhortations, "Do this!" and "Don't do that!" (417), with Syrus as a comic foil applying Demea's home wisdom to home economics. In the later sequence the seemingly reformed Demea puts into practice his newly adopted program of indulgence. In place of fierce admonitions and finger-wagging we find bland phrases like "What's wrong, Aeschinus?" (901) and, about his new-found indulgence, "That's the way I am" (923). The comparison of these sequences provides a glimpse of Ctesipho's life and its small but tragic ironies. In 4 Demea makes it clear that his son at home receives only discipline and disapproval from his father, but in the parallel sequence, when Demea has supposedly reformed, it is not Ctesipho but Aeschinus, his ever-fortunate brother, who reaps the rewards of their father's new-found leniency. These diametrically opposed views represent the essence of the change in Demea's character and duly occupy the focal points of the two major sections.

5/12. *The Neighbors*: *Hegio* (438–516, 923–58). Sequences 5 and 12, like 3 and 10, involve Micio's neighbors. These sequences are linked most closely through Hegio, who first appears in 5 as Sostrata's protector and later through Demea's efforts is rewarded in 12 with a gift of land. Thanks

again to Demea, Sostrata also is rewarded in the later sequence with marriage to Micio. Demea also links these sequences. In 5 he learns, much to his horror, of Aeschinus' impending fatherhood. His shock there makes an effective contrast to his later glee in 12 at Micio's sudden marriage. Parenthood and marriage, Demea and the virtuous but poor neighbors whose patience and good character earn them justified, if over-generous rewards, bridge and bind these sequences.[22]

6/13. *Syrus and Micio* (517–712, 958–83). Just as in sequences 2 and 9, Syrus is again a dominant figure in 6 and 13. Micio, who also appears in both, connects these sequences as well. On the surface Syrus' role in 6 may seem purely comical, but under close inspection it becomes clear that he plays a crucial part in its successful outcome. His purposeful misdirection of Demea through the city, "the culmination of the Syrus role"[23] and arguably his finest hour, not only delivers laughter but also removes Demea from the scene and allows Micio and Aeschinus to resolve their business uninterrupted. Ironically, although Syrus deceives Demea in 6, in the parallel sequence 13 Demea rewards Syrus by persuading Micio to free him. It is a fitting vengeance on both Micio and Syrus that Demea removes his most formidable adversary from Micio's house, not through honest rage but treacherous generosity.

Also, in both sequences it is at Aeschinus' behest that Micio agrees against his personal interests to lend support to a weaker party, in 6 the undowered Pamphila and in 13 the slave Syrus.[24] In both cases his

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[22] Another link between sequences 5 and 12 may be found in the contrast between Pamphila's fertility (486–87) and her mother Sostrata's sterility (931).

[23] Forehand (1973) 56.

[24] The three-actor rule prohibits a speaking actor from playing Aeschinus after 916; see Sandbach 138. One actor plays Aeschinus and Syrus; see Damen 80–81:

Lines	Actor 1	Actor 2	Actor 3	Mute Actor	Terence's Additions
855–81		Demea			
882–88		Demea	Syrus		
889–98	Geta	Demea			Syrus
899–916	Geta	Demea	Aeschinus		Syrus
917–19	Geta	Demea			Aeschinus
920–23		Demea			Aeschinus
923–58	Micio	Demea		Aeschinus	
958–97	Micio	Demea	Syrus	Aeschinus	

In the Greek original Aeschinus, not Syrus, must have gone inside to inform Micio of Demea's suggestion to destroy the garden wall (916). Menander's Syrus cannot have done it because he had already left the stage at 888 in order for the actor playing him to reappear as Aeschinus momentarily (899). That there is no speaking actor free to portray him after 916 does not, however, preclude Aeschinus' presence on stage. While the Aeschinus actor changes mask and costume offstage (917–58), a mute actor may accompany Micio on stage at 923 and play Aeschinus, whose relative silence from 916 to the end of Terence's play suggests just such a design in Menander. Aeschinus' few words after 916, mostly insipid pleading and cries of joy, could easily have been conveyed by the non-verbal reactions of a mute actor. Therefore, whether

indulgence of his son leads him to the loss of a considerable sum of money, but the shape his charitable contributions take makes an interesting contrast. He forfeits money once by allowing Pamphila into his family without a dowry and twice again by letting Syrus leave his house without paying for his freedom and instead giving him a loan. Ironically, he loses each time but in opposite ways, first by letting someone into his *familia* and later by letting someone out of it. These sequences are similar in that both involve Syrus and the misfortunes of Micio, which are in both cases brought about largely through his indulgence of Aeschinus, and are contrasted by Demea's frustration in the former and glee in the latter.

7/14. *Demea and Micio* (713–62, 984–97). Coming full circle, the play focuses again on the older brothers. As sequences 1 and 8 began the two major sections of the play, sequences 7 and 14 provide the resolutions of the sections. Neither resolution is entirely satisfactory. In the former Micio leaves Demea with the (mistaken) impression that Aeschinus will both marry Pamphila and keep the prostitute Bacchis at home, and in the latter Demea grudgingly accepts Ctesipho's girlfriend into his house but leaves an undeserving Micio saddled with an old wife and her poor family. The sequences share other similarities. Whereas in the earlier parallel sequences 1 and 8 Micio precedes Demea on stage, in 7 and 14 Demea precedes Micio. In each of the sequences one of the fathers allows the flute-girl to live with him. Demea's lecture on the dishonesty of Micio's indulgent ways (985–88) serves as a strong rejoinder to Micio's earlier lies (745–53) and discourse on complaisance (737–41).[25] The fathers criticize each other's outward demeanor: in 7 Micio urges Demea to look happy for

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or not Aeschinus was portrayed by a speaking actor does not matter to his role in his adopted father's demise or to the congruity of sequences 6 and 13.

[25] The discrepancy between Demea's monologue (855–81) and his final speech (985–95) has evoked much discussion and seems on the surface to indicate that Terence has deviated from his model in the latter, possibly also in much of the second section; see Büchner and Lefèvre (above, note 2). It is far simpler, however, to suppose that Terence has made changes in not the later speech (see Reith 101–20) but the earlier one (see Grant 53–58). I suggest that, by dispensing at that point with Menander's clear admonition to the audience that Demea's change of heart is not genuine, Terence has created greater uncertainty as to the nature and outcome of the experiment. This would accord with other changes made by Terence that serve to generate dramatic suspense, e. g. *HT* 178 ff. and 572 ff., and the general omission of expository prologues; see Arnott (1975) 53: "By limiting the audience's knowledge to that available to his stage characters at the time, he may have deliberately intended his audience to share his characters' ignorances and worries," and Goldberg (28) in reference to *Ad.* 855–81: "Terence has created ambiguity where Menander so often created clarity." The function of Demea's monologue (855 ff.) as a "second prologue" and the frequency of suppressed information at the beginning of Terence's plays make this suggestion all the more likely. Demea's repeated asides (884–85, 896–97, 898, 911–15, 946, 958) provide a commentary on his scepticism and belie his true conversion; see Fantham 988 f., Grant 54, Forehand (1985) 111. For our purposes here, it is safe to conclude that Menander's play ended with a fourth and final Micio–Demea confrontation in some form or other.

Aeschinus' wedding (754–56), and in 14 Demea asserts that what his sons thought was a cheerful, easy-going nature was only a facade, not *ex vera vita* (986–88).

The differences in the sequences shed an interesting side light on the brothers' characters and the vicissitudes of their struggle. Demea plays the interrogator in the first sequence, demanding to know how Micio will accomodate both wife and girlfriend under one roof. In the second sequence Micio is the questioner, demanding to be told the reason for Demea's sudden change of character. As in the opening sequences (1 and 8), in each of the closing sequences a different brother emerges victorious. In 7 Micio's ebullient spirit and mischievous prevarications leave Demea dumbfounded, while in 14 Demea's scathing analysis of lenient parenting leaves Micio uncharacteristically laconic. Finally, although a different brother ultimately prevails in each sequence, the outcome of the sequences is much the same. In the final words of 7 Demea gives up in exasperation (761–62): *ipsa si cupiat Salus, / servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam*, "if Salvation herself wanted to, there is no way she could save this family." At the close of 14 Micio gives his brother a brief, doubtlessly double-edged "Bravo!" (997) and brings the play to an abrupt end.[26]

With this overview we can see that the ending is clearly modelled on the body of the play. It is a recapitulation that echoes the main play sequence by sequence but focuses on the vices instead of the virtues of indulgence. The most important characters of the first section reappear in the same order in the second: Micio and Demea, Syrus, the neighbors, Demea, the neighbors again, Syrus again, Demea and Micio. One after another, sequences in the later section recall those in the earlier one and encourage the audience to reconsider the preceding action. Point by point the playwright purposefully erases the sympathetic picture he has painted of the indulgent parent. That is surely an essential element in the play's clear but unstated message: moderation is the key to the successful education of youth.[27] By destroying the contrast between himself and Micio, Demea

[26] Martin 241; Pöschl 18 ff.; Greenberg 221 (n. 3).

[27] See Forehand (1985) 111; Lord 193; Forehand (1973) 52 n. 4; Johnson 186; O. L. Wilner, "The Role of Demea in the *Adelphoe*," in Studies in honor of Ullman, *The Classical Bulletin* (St. Louis 1960) 55–57; Duckworth 287; P. J. Enk, "Terence as an Adapter of Greek Comedies," *Mnemosyne* 13 (1947) 87, 91. Tränkle, nn. 4 and 5, assembles the arguments on this issue. Sandbach, 138–40, makes a strong but ultimately unconvincing case for the essential integrity of Micio's *paideia* and its product: ". . . it turns out that Aeschinus has not told (Micio) that he has got Pamphila with child. This does not show that there was anything wrong with the educational methods, certainly not that they ought to have been stricter (138)." Granted, but Aeschinus' secrecy does point to Micio's misconception that indulgence leads to trust; cf. 52–54. To this extent Micio is seriously misguided: even if he knows he will not be punished, a young person is still disinclined to confess a wrong he has committed because with or without the censure of his elders it is an acknowledgement of failure. Micio does the right thing—he is lenient and understanding with his son—but for the wrong reason, to win his trust. He shows that he knows but does not understand Peripatetic principles.

forces his brother to play the strict parent or lose his easy life. When Micio refuses to exchange roles with Demea, he is trumped, thereby acknowledging that he could not be the easygoing Micio if there were no gruff Demea to play against and that there is not room in any world for more than one of his kind.

Who is responsible for the replication of the first section in the second? Considering Terence's revision of sequence 2 and his obvious disinterest in the balanced arrangement of scenes there, I think he makes an unlikely candidate. Not the architect of this or any plot, he generally focuses less on structural integrity and more on consistent comic quality. This is not to deprecate his talent. If we had the original to compare to his adaptation, we would probably find that, while Menander's may be a better play, Terence's is a better comedy. The ending, a brilliant imitation and inversion of the first section, shows, without doubt, the signs of a master-craftsman of dramatic action. Menander, who constructed over a hundred comic plots, is very likely that man. It would, however, be helpful in confirming this point of view if there were some corroborating evidence from Greek drama to support a Hellenic origin for this sort of dramatic structure, some earlier Greek drama with two discrete sections, separated by an interstice, of which the second echoes the first.

There is, and from the likeliest source. Since antiquity the connection between Menander and Euripides has been well-recognized.[28] For plays like *Ion* that include elements common in later comedy (rapes, abandoned babies, recognitions, deceptions and happy endings), Euripides was rightfully heralded the forefather of New Comedy.[29] Menander himself was well aware of his debt to Euripides. More than once he alluded to his tragic forebear and even imitated him directly.[30] Euripides is the first place to look for a play that is similar in structure to *Adelphoe* and may have inspired Menander.

From there one does not have to search far. In the Euripidean corpus there is an obvious candidate, *Heracles*, a play whose structure has generated criticism not unlike that of *Adelphoe*.[31] The hero's sudden outbreak of madness separates the play into discrete sections: the rescue of Megara and the children, Heracles' madness and deliverance by Theseus. This constitutes a striking effect and "extremely good theatre," no doubt, intended

[28] See T. B. L. Webster, *Introduction to Menander* (Manchester 1974) 56 ff.; W. G. Arnott, "Menander qui vitae ostendit vitam . . .," *G&R* 15 (1968) 9 ff.

[29] Satyrus, *Vita Euripidis*, col. 7.

[30] *Epit.* 1125, *Asp.* 427, *Sik.* 176 ff.; see Arnott (above, note 28) 9–11, and Goldberg 204–05.

[31] Still, the best analysis is D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* (Toronto 1967) 17–18, 78–90. Of more recent contributions, see J. Gregory, "Euripides' *Heracles*," *YCS* 25 (1977) 259–75; J. Shelton, "Structural Unity and Euripides' *Herakles*," *Eranos* 77 (1979) 101–10; G. Bond, *Euripides: Heracles* (Oxford 1981).

to shock the audience.[32] Such sharply divided dramatic action has inspired critics to question Euripides' rationale in devising so disjointed (or seemingly so) a plot.[33] It is not, however, our purpose here to criticize Euripides or Menander for their unintegrated plots but to show how the latter has borrowed and adapted his predecessor's concept of a symmetrical double plot structure.[34] While it is possible that it is Terence, not Menander, who has imitated Euripides in the ending of *Adelphoe*, I will proceed on the assumption that it is much more probable that the Greek playwright is borrowing from his Greek forebear.

Like most tragedies of the classical period, *Heracles* involves fewer convolutions of plot and moves at a less frenetic pace than later comedy in general does. Therefore, its structure is simpler insofar as it has not as many elements (i. e. sequences, scenes, characters, entrances and exits, etc.) as *Adelphoe* has. Still, even on this simpler level it is clear from broad analysis of the dramatic action that Euripides' tragedy has the same sort of double plot structure as Menander's comedy:

SECTION 1

1. Amphitryon/Megara: Amphitryon prays that Heracles will return to save himself and Heracles' children and wife Megara, all of whom are suppliants at Zeus' altar (1–106)

    CHORUS: The Weakness of Old Age (107–37)

    2. Lycus/Amphitryon/Megara: The suppliants accept that death is inevitable (138–347)

    CHORUS: The Labors of Heracles (348–441)

3. RESCUE: Heracles saves the suppliants (442–636)

    CHORUS: Prayer for Blessings (637–700)

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[32] K. Hartigan, "Euripidean Madness: Herakles and Orestes," *G&R* 34 (1987) 127. W. G. Arnott, "Red Herrings and Other Baits: A Study in Euripidean Techniques," *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 3 (1978) 6–14, suggests that the "unimaginative and second-rate" beginning of the play is designed to give the complaisant audience a communal "thrill of horror," when Lyssa makes her sudden entrance "like the fortissimo G in the sixteenth bar of the second movement of Haydn's Surprise Symphony." With such theatrical effects the play was popular in the post-classical period; see T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Tragedy, G&R* New Surveys in the Classics 5 (Oxford 1971) 36; *Greek Theatre Production* (London 1956) 137. There can be little doubt Menander knew the play.

[33] While many debate the reason and intended effect of such a discontinuous plot, no one to my knowledge questions that Euripides is responsible for the multipartite structure. Therefore, it is not strictly necessary to review the explanations proposed for Euripides' peculiar plot structure, but a glance at recent contributions (see above, note 31; especially the introduction to Bond's commentary) will certainly complement the following discussion.

[34] By "double" I do not mean, in the traditional sense, having two sets of parallel characters, such as lovers. With this term I allude to the fact that in these dramas one section of the plot is independent of but parallel to the other.

INTERSTICE

4. Amphitryon/Lycus: Preparation for Lycus' Death (701–33)

    5. Lycus (offstage) and CHORUS of Joy: Lycus' Death (734–814)

        6. Iris/Lyssa: The Coming of Madness (815–74)

    7. Amphitryon (offstage) and CHORUS of Horror: The Children's Deaths (875–909)

8. Messenger: The Deaths of the Children and Megara (910–1015)

CHORUS: Ode of Grief (1016–27)

SECTION 2

9. Amphitryon/Heracles: Amphitryon begs the chorus to be quiet so as not to wake the sleeping madman Heracles surrounded by his dead wife and children   (1028–88)

    10. Amphitryon/Heracles: Heracles wakes and, seeing what he had done, wishes for death (1089–1152)

11. RESCUE: Theseus saves Heracles and Amphitryon (1153–1428)

Heracles' unexpected bout of homicidal madness divides the play in half and creates the tripartite structure: Section 1 (sequences 1–3), Heracles' rescue of his wife Megara and their children; interstice (sequences 4–8), the murders of Lycus but also of the children and Megara;[35] Section 3 (sequences 9–11), Theseus' rescue of Heracles. The sequences in each section are carefully balanced. In the first section, sequence 1 establishes, in Burnett's words, the "suppliant drama" which its parallel sequence (3) resolves with the unexpected intervention of Heracles.[36] The central sequence of the first section (sequence 2) features Lycus, the brutal usurper and would-be murderer of innocents. In the second section, sequence 9 introduces the broken hero, asleep and unaware of his terrible deeds. The parallel sequence 11 contains the resolution of this problem, Theseus' unforeseen rescue of the great hero. The central sequence of the second section (sequence 10) features the awakened Heracles, once the savage murderer of his own family but now a broken, suicidal man.

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[35] Although the audience can hardly have suspected they were moving into a new section of the plot at 701, especially one so different from the preceding action, the interstice of *Heracles* opens not with Lyssa's arrival (815) but the preparations for Heracles' murder of Lycus (701); see Arnott (above, note 32) 11, who recognizes correctly that 701 marks the real shift in focus. That is surely an intentional effect, to envelop the audience in what seems to be predictable plot development before unexpectedly casting them into *terra incognita*.

[36] A. P. Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal* (Oxford 1971) 158 ff.

As in *Adelphoe*, the two major sections are parallel in content as well as structure. Sequences 1 and 9, which open the sections, both display spectacular tableaux: first, the suppliants kneeling at the altar of Zeus, and later the same characters lying dead around the bound and sleeping Heracles. In both sequences Amphitryon speaks for victims of unjust cruelty, Heracles' family (1) and the hero himself (9). These sequences are contrasted insofar as the source of the unjust cruelty in 1 is human (Lycus) and in 9 is divine (Hera). Sequences 2 and 10, the central scenes, are connected through the victims' common decision to face death. First, Megara resolves not to fear death if it is inevitable, and later grief for his wife and children drives Heracles to the brink of suicide. The central sequences both feature assassins, the would-be murderer Lycus and the actual murderer Heracles, an unlikely pair grafted together by the former's intention and the latter's achievement of the children's murders.[37] The strong contrast between the guilty Lycus and the innocent Heracles underscores the injustice, or at least the indeterminable justice, of the gods, a theme running throughout the play.

In the closing sequences (3 and 11), an innocent victim is delivered from death by an unforeseen rescuer. In 3 Heracles unexpectedly arrives from Hades and saves Megara and the children from Lycus, and in 11 Theseus arrives from Athens (and Hades, too!) and rescues Heracles from death at his own hand. Neither arrival is completely unanticipated. In sequence 1, it is made clear that Heracles' whereabouts are uncertain. He may or may not return to save his family (25, 97). In sequence 3 Heracles mentions that he rescued Theseus trapped in the Underworld (619) and thus prefigures his own rescue in the parallel sequence later (11). Again, a contrast between the sequences underscores an important theme in the play. Having successfully wrestled death, Heracles is a superhuman figure who uses his extraordinary strength to destroy a man, whereas Theseus, also a hero but less invincible than Heracles, uses persuasion and friendship to win the fallen hero back to life. Human virtues embodied by Theseus prove as great as, if not greater than, Heracles' divine powers.

It should be apparent from this brief analysis of *Heracles* that Euripides' play exhibits a plot design very similar to that of *Adelphoe*. In both dramas the sequences of the two major sections are arranged symmetrically around a central sequence. The first section of both plays is considerably longer than the second. In Menander's play the second section takes place for the most part after the last choral interlude; in Euripides' it falls entirely after the final ode.[38] The first section of each highlights a strong antagonist, the

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[37] The connection between Heracles and Lycus was, no doubt, enhanced on the Greek stage by one actor's portrayal of both characters; see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², ed. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968) 146.

[38] The final act-break of Menander's original fell probably at what corresponds to 854/855 in Terence; see Damen 71–73.

bloodthirsty Lycus and the Demea who practices uncompromising strictness. The second section highlights a reformed one, the new, more lenient Demea and Heracles the guilt-stricken murderer and humanized demigod. The second section of both plays features a startling and unexpected change of character: Demea plays the kind, indulgent father, and Heracles shows himself the murderer rather than the protector of his family. The central sequences of the earlier sections spotlight unsympathetic characters, the old Demea and Lycus, while those of the later section dwell on more sympathetic characters, the new Demea and the suffering Heracles. The dissimilarities between Euripides' and Menander's plot designs stem largely from their differing levels of complexity. The tragedy does not have the numerous sequences of the comedy, or the balanced arrangement of scenes within parallel sequences. Yet the basic design of section-interstice-section remains unchanged.

One part of the tragedy is, however, more complex than its analogue in the comedy: the interstice. Whereas Demea learns the truth about Ctesipho in fewer than twenty-five lines, the murders of Lycus, Megara and the children take over three hundred lines. As short as it is, the interstice of *Adelphoe* can be divided into three brief scenes:

1. Syrus and Demea (763–75): Syrus' Joy
2. Dromo (776): "Hey, Syrus, Ctesipho wants you to come back!"
3. Demea and Syrus (777–86): Demea's Anger

First, the drunk Syrus encounters Demea, who rails at him helplessly (763–75). Second, Dromo appears for only one line (776) but long enough to upend the whole play by informing Demea of Ctesipho's true whereabouts.[39] Third, Syrus attempts to cover up the truth but Demea for the first time in the play enters Micio's house and sees the real situation for himself (777–86). As in the major sections enveloping it, the central scene of the interstice, Dromo's brief but crucial appearance, is sandwiched between parallel scenes, Demea's confrontations with Syrus, which are contrasted by Syrus' domination in the first half (1) and Demea's in the second (3).

The interstice of *Heracles* is more complicated. Lycus goes inside to meet his death (sequence 4). His death-cries rise above the chorus' song of joy (5). Iris escorts Lyssa to the palace to drive Heracles mad (6). Amphitryon's cries of horror at the slaughter of the children inside the palace mingle with a song of terror (7). Finally, a messenger describes Heracles' murder of his own family (8). Like the major sections, the sequences of the interstice are arranged in parallel groups around a central,

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[39] The remark by O. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (Berkeley 1978) 95, in reference to Phaedra's *deltos*, with which she informs Theseus of her supposed rape by Hippolytus, is pertinent here: ". . . so small and impersonal a messenger sets in motion large and tragic consequences." With about as many words to say, Dromo is the *deltos* of *Adelphoe*.

pivotal sequence, the arrival of Madness (6). Here 4 is linked with 8 and 5 with 7 through a series of ironic contrasts. From 4 and 5 we are led to expect a report of Lycus' demise, but instead in 7 and 8 we learn of the death of the children and Megara. Through Heracles' earlier arrival (3) the audience anticipates the fate of his victim Lycus in 4, although Lycus does not foresee his death and walks inside unaware of what awaits him in the palace. Conversely, the death of Heracles' family in 8 takes the audience by surprise but not, ironically, the victims Megara and the children who have prepared for death earlier in the play (2). In other words, in the earlier sequences (4 and 5), the audience is prepared for the murder (Lycus') while the victim is not, and in the parallel sections (7 and 8) the victims (Megara and the children) are prepared for their deaths while the audience is not. The offstage voices in 5 and 7, announcing respectively the good news of Lycus' murder and the bad news of the children's slaughter, also bind these parallel sequences by their similarity and contrast.

Euripides' interstice is quite complex but, like Menander's, not longer than the main sections themselves. The sequences, though numerous, are relatively brief and the action moves quickly and inexorably toward and away from its terrible climax. Yet, the interstice is not short. Unlike Menander's of merely twenty-five lines, Euripides' is drawn out to well over three hundred. This comes as no surprise if, as seems likely, this sort of dramatic construct is a novelty on the stage in its day. The intrusion of the gods in the middle of the play, a daring stroke to be found in no Greek tragedy prior to this, would boldly announce to the Greek audience, accustomed to seeing gods at the beginning or end of a drama, the end of one play and the beginning of another.[40] It is not unnatural, then, that Euripides calls attention to his venturous innovation by drawing out and elaborating that section of the drama. Nor is it unnatural for Menander *not* to dwell on the interstice which is not his invention. To judge by a lesser Greek drama of the fourth century, *Rhesus*, that imposes the gods and sudden plot reversals on the center of the play, Euripides' experiment did not pass unnoticed or unimitated but was infrequently met with the inventive genius witnessed in *Adelphoe*.[41] Menander wisely brushes past the interstice, does not invite

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[40] Similarly, Menander uses a prologue-like soliloquy (855–81) to announce the beginning of the second section of his comedy; see above, note 25. To usher in the new play, each author simulates a type of opening scene which was conventional in his day. In this vein Forehand (1985) 108, calls the end of *Adelphoe* "a sort of *deus ex machina*."

[41] *Rhesus* seems hardly worthy of Euripides, *pace* W. Ritchie, *The Authenticity of the 'Rhesus' of Euripides* (Cambridge 1964). Imitations of Euripides' double plot continue into our own age; see D. H. Porter, "MacLeish's *Herakles* and Wilder's *Alcestiad*," *CJ* 80 (1984–85) 147: ". . . the bipartite structure of MacLeish's *Herakles*, in which Acts 1 and 2 are related to each other as contrasting panels, Act 1 poising the hero at the peak of his career, Act 2 plunging him into the depths, owes much to the structure of Euripides' play."

comparison to Euripides and moves on to the second section where he has built a more complex and innovative structure than his predecessor's.[42]

In conclusion, the structure of sequences and scenes in *Adelphoe* argues for an ending derived from Menander. The intricately balanced system of parallel sequences within and between sections of the plot betrays a highly evolved sense of dramatic construction indicative of a master playwright, recalling Menander more than Terence. Comparison of the plot of Euripides' *Heracles* with that of *Adelphoe* shows the Greek ancestry of this particular dramatic structure and supports a Hellenic origin for the symmetrical double plot. The limitations of this approach are self-evident. At the great remove required in the analysis of whole plays, it is almost impossible to discern details which Terence may or may not have taken from the original. Nor is it advisable with this approach to evaluate Menander's reasons for using such a structure, or his success.[43] Final opinions on such a difficult problem as Demea's sudden volte-face cannot be reached by judging only one aspect of a play such as the general structure. The conclusions reached here should be added in with those reached by other methods of analysis and together they should lead us to a final judgment. As far as this study goes, however, it is fair to say that the ending of *Adelphoe* probably derives from Menander.

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[42] Menander diminishes not only the scope of the interstice but also the grandeur of the intruding characters. Euripides uses the gods Iris and Lyssa to redirect the action, whereas Menander uses only one otherwise unimportant slave Dromo. The difference in the status of these characters represents Menander's attempt to invert, while still imitating, Euripides' plot structure. It should be noted that Menander also inverts the general design of *Heracles* by applying the simple ABA design of Euripides' main sections to his own interstice and the more complex structure found in Euripides' interstice to the main sections of the comedy. If nothing else, it is an ingenious means by which to make a simpler plot more complex without completely reworking its basic design or merely adding more scenes or sequences.

[43] Arnott (1963) 144, suggests that Menander's reasons for using this particular structure were to "surprise an unsuspecting audience with a final ironic twist" and that "the traditional *komos* finale of old Attic comedy may still have retained some influence after the death of Aristophanes."

7

Like a Wolf on the Fold:
Animal Imagery in Vergil

VIOLA G. STEPHENS

Whether the *Aeneid* offers its audience an essentially optimistic or pessimistic vision of the human condition is an issue that has been long debated but never resolved. It is natural to want one of the most cherished poems in our western cultural tradition to speak positively of man's possibilities, but such meaning is hard to wrest from a work so permeated with sorrow and regret. In the end each reader's own attitudes towards life may determine his sense of the epic.

Those who espouse the bleaker interpretation find the source of the poem's pessimism in the disparity between man's hopes for himself and the institutions he actually creates. Rome the civilizer turns out to be Rome the destroyer and Aeneas is its first well-intended failure.[1]

What ultimately thwarts the designs of the hero or of the city is not the fundamental inhumanity of their ideals nor the caprice of hostile gods. It is not even the malignancy of a twisted minority or the lapses of otherwise good men. The cause seems to lie in ordinary human nature, in several of man's most basic qualities: his mortal ignorance and his capacity for irrational passion.

The symbol for this latter aspect of the human psyche, as has been long recognized,[2] is *furor impius.* Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1 (257–96) gives us the ideal toward which Aeneas and Rome strive—*furor* rendered powerless and a rational human order perpetuated. But neither Jupiter nor the force of Roman institutions can change human nature, and the promise of *furor* subdued is a cruel delusion.

That message resonates throughout much of the intricately contrived symbolism and imagery of the *Aeneid* but is heard with particular clarity in allusions to animals, especially to predatory animals and the beasts they hunt, and to those creatures who possess a combination of human and

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[1] W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) ch. 1, has a long discussion of the views put forward by scholars on both sides of this continuing debate.

[2] For example, see V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) 18 ff. and the discussion in B. Fenik, "Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* II and IV," *AJP* 80 (1959) 7–9.

animal traits.[3] Critics have treated many of these images in depth before, either individually or in connection with other perceived patterns of meaning. In this paper I shall try to show that they are used in concert to express a perception of man as essentially and irremediably flawed and to suggest that from his defective nature come his suffering and failure.

Vergil's description of the goddess Circe at the beginning of Book 7 (10–24) contains many of the important elements in the system of images I shall attempt to trace. Its central position within the poem serves to give focus and coherence to the pattern which has been developing throughout the earlier books.[4]

Since it is often helpful in any examination of the *Aeneid* to compare an incident to its analogue in Homer, I shall turn to the Circe-episode in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*. The differences between the two treatments throw into relief the disparate purposes of each author.[5]

In the two works the kinds of animals each Circe keeps are largely the same. There is a mixed selection of predators: wolves, lions and, in Vergil, bears. Significantly there are also swine, a species which is the victim of predation. In other words the two divinities surround themselves with both hunters and hunted. Each goddess' animals, however, behave very differently.

The Homeric goddess' pets are tame. Her pigs are domestic swine who live in sties and her wolves and lions are dog-like, fawning on visitors and wagging their tails (*Od.* 10. 214–19).[6] The description of the Latin goddess' animal entourage strikes a stark contrast to this picture of friendly domestication. Her creatures are kept in chains (7. 16) and pens (17). They make the night resound with howls and other bestial complaints against their captivity (15–16, 18). Instead of docile swine this Circe has *saetigeri sues*, whose behavior is linked with that of bears for both share the same verb: *saevire* (17–18).[7] Homer's pigs do not rage, but weep (*Od.* 10. 241), yet in Vergil these animals, who are frequent victims of predation, sound as fierce and dangerous as their potential predators. Any creature pursuing such

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[3] I do not include snakes since they have associations with other important and complicated themes, such as rebirth and deception, which are not part of my discussion. See B. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 71 (1950) 379–400 and W. R. Nethercut, "The Imagery of the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 67 (1971–72) 123–43.

[4] M. Putnam, "*Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 91 (1970) 408–30, has seen that the Circe-episode has great symbolic importance and that the goddess stands for man's violence. I owe a debt to the many suggestions he makes in his article.

[5] For more general and comprehensive comparisons of the Homeric and Vergilian scenes see G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964) 136–38 and C. Segal, "Circean Temptations," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 419–42.

[6] In fact they are much friendlier than most watchdogs. Compare the herd dogs in *Od.* 14. 29–31.

[7] J. Conington, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera* III (London 1871) *ad loc.*, holds that wild boars are meant, but other uses of *saetigeri* and *sues* in the *Aeneid* suggest domestic pigs since they are sacrificial animals (11. 198, 12. 170).

a beast might well experience a sudden reversal of roles. The Italian animals are equally savage because they are all victims of the goddess whether they be predator or prey.

The difference in the dispositions of these animals serves to emphasize what is unnatural and sinister in each episode. The Greek animals are strange in two respects: first because they were once men,[8] and second because they act contrary to the expectations of Odysseus' crew. The men look upon these creatures as αἰνὰ πέλωρα (*Od.* 10. 219) because they are dangerous and, paradoxically, because they are not.[9]

Vergil's transformed animals, on the other hand, are not unnatural *qua* animals. One might reasonably expect confined beasts to be vocal and restive. There may be some suggestion that these creatures are aware of their changed state in the words *gemitus* (7. 15), *recusantem* (16) and *ululare* (18), but since these terms are not inappropriately used of animals,[10] their state of awareness is not made explicit. Homer's weeping pigs, on the other hand, are aware (*Od.* 10. 239–41). What is strange and terrible in the Vergilian scene is not so much the behavior of the animals, as it is in Homer, but primarily the fact that they once were men. To undergo such a fate, to become animal-like when one is human, is to suffer *talia monstra* (7. 21).

There is not only a difference in animal behavior in the two scenes, but also a difference in the process of metamorphosis. The Greek victims assume porcine forms without much elaboration of the part of the poet:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δῶκέν τε καὶ ἔκπιον, αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα
ῥάβδῳ πεπληγυῖα κατὰ συφεοῖσιν ἐέργνυ·
οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
(*Od.* 10. 237–40)

The process is not described, only the result. What connection Circe's potion has with the mechanics of change, which seems to come at the touch of her wand, is not explained.

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[8] Conington *ad loc.*, maintains that the Homeric wolves and lions are simply tamed beasts, not transformed men. W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer* I (London 1959), in his notes to *Od.* 10. 212 convincingly argues that they are changed humans.

[9] Segal (above, note 5) 433 notes this paradox.

[10] *Ululare* in its various forms is most frequently used of mourning humans, but it is used of dogs when Aeneas and the Sybil approach the entrance to the Underworld (6. 257). *Gemitus* and *gemere* are primarily sounds of human grief and pain except in 12. 722 where *gemitus* is used of fighting bulls and in 7. 501 where *gemere* is the sound made by a wounded stag. *Recuso* is used exclusively of humans (or parts of humans, see 12. 747 about Aeneas' knees). Conington *ad loc.* points out that *gemitus* and *gemere* are used elsewhere of animals. Segal (above, note 5) 433 feels that these animals "have lost all traces of humanity and are simply dangerous wild beasts."

Vergil, unlike Homer, does not depict a specific change in a vague manner, but rather describes the goddess' *modus operandi* in a more graphic and suggestive image:

> quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis
> induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum.   (7. 19–20)

What exactly *terga* means in this context is not clear. It could mean that the goddess clothed men in the frames or even the backs of beasts, or, what is more likely, that she dressed them in the hides of beasts.[11] The verb *induo* is often used in the *Aeneid* for donning armor and putting on disguises.[12] In the Greek passage there is the notion of human appearance giving way to animal shape, but in the Latin there is the suggestion that the goddess somehow dresses up men or disguises them in animal skins.

Homer's depiction of Odysseus' followers is designed to contrast the crew's emotional state with Odysseus'. Circe's potion causes the crew to forget their native land (*Od.* 10. 235–36) and thus their essential attachment to the human world, but Odysseus, despite a temporary lapse, cannot forget, for his mind is ἀκήλητος (*Od.* 10. 329).[13] He can never be transformed. The susceptibility of the crew is the obverse of the goddess' power; together they effect metamorphosis. Vergil, by comparison, is more concerned with the symbolic value of the actual physical activity described. Aeneas and his followers are not only being warned of what may happen to them metaphorically, but the poet is also calling attention to the donning of animal insignia as a motif and to what it comes to signify: dressing in skins ultimately reveals the wearer as beast himself.

Besides illuminating aspects of Vergil's Circe by contrast, Homer's deity also links the Roman poet's goddess indirectly to the figure of Dido, because the queen is for Aeneas what Circe and Calypso are for Odysseus: potent female distractions from the hero's goal. We cannot help but notice that when the hero avoids the baleful magic of the Italian Circe in Book 7, he does so only after succumbing to Dido's enchantments.

Earlier, in Book 3, the poet makes another indirect connection between the goddess and Dido when Circe is called Aeaean Circe (3. 386). The

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[11] *Tergum* frequently means an animal's skin in the *Aeneid* (1. 368, 5. 351, 7. 94, 8. 460) or that which is made from skin, such as shields (10. 718) or boxing gloves (5. 403). Editors vary in their interpretation: see C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII–VIII* (Oxford 1977) *ad loc.* See also T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Vergil* II (London 1951) *ad loc.*

[12] *Induo* is most frequently used of armor and in this context Vergil employs it for dressing in the spoils of the enemy (2. 275, 393, 10. 775, 12. 947). It also describes a warrior dressed in a lion's skin (8. 668) and is twice used of a god donning mortal disguise (1. 684, 7. 417). In the first reference Venus instructs Cupid: *notos pueri puer indue vultus.*

[13] For a discussion of these points see W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford 1961) 45–50, W. S. Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," *CJ* 54 (1958) 2–11 and C. H. Taylor, "The Obstacles to Odysseus' Return," *Yale Review* (1961) 569–80. These critics also view Odysseus' backsliding under Circe's spell as a temporary and minor aberration from his customary responses.

adjective alludes not only to her present Italian location but to her Homeric association with Colchis and Medea, as Aeetes' sister (*Od.* 10. 135 ff.). Dido throughout Book 4 evokes Medea, especially in the preparation of her funeral pyre (4. 465, 474, 484–85).[14]

These references connect the goddess with erotic figures and invest the sinister demon in Book 7 with a subliminal sexuality.[15] Later the covert eroticism becomes overt when we learn that she, *capta cupidine* (7. 189–91), turned the worthy Picus into a woodpecker.[16] Erotic passion, it seems, can motivate bestial transformations.[17]

Circe has more to do with animals than simply creating them out of men. Latinus gives Aeneas a gift of horses (7. 208 f.) descended from stock bred by the goddess. The genealogy of this present suggests that Circe's association with beasts is very diffuse. It includes winged creatures as well as mammals, wild and tame. That war horses are included is significant: it connects Circe and all she means to that realm of human activity.[18]

For the last observation about the episode with Circe we must go back to the description of the goddess' dwelling place. The opening lines describe its setting as *inaccessos lucos* (7. 11). Like her Homeric counterpart she practices her singular craft in the woods, the natural haunt of wild animals, at least to the popular imagination.[19] Wooded places inhabited by animals are also part of the network of allusions, symbols and images that this paper will trace.

Before turning to the text in an attempt to demonstrate how all these elements work, it would be useful to review what has emerged so far in this brief comparison with Homer.

Vergil makes Circe and her actions symbols of the forces that reduce men to brute behavior. We note that the goddess turns humans into animals of all kinds, but particularly into common predatory beasts and their prey. The transformed victims exist in a state of rage and grief, whether they be predator or prey, since they are alike in their frustrated anger and sorrow.

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[14] See Conington *ad loc.* and R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil* I (London 1972) *ad loc.* for references to Apollonius and to other commentaries. See also C. Collard, "Medea and Dido," *Prometheus* 1 (1975) 131–51.

[15] This is in addition to that aura of sexuality which is natural to her as a lover of Odysseus and in general as a projection of man's libido. Servius calls her "*clarissima meretrix.*"

[16] He may not have been a woodpecker; see T. MacKay, "Three Poets Observe Picus," *AJP* 96 (1975) 272–75. The phrase *capta cupidine* is puzzling in conjunction with *coniunx*; see Conington *ad loc.* and Segal (above, note 5) 435.

[17] Putnam (above, note 4) 414 has an interesting observation on Picus and his variegated plumage.

[18] Putnam (above, note 4) 415. He notes that war horses are an appropriately ominous gift. Horses symbolize war in the *Aeneid* as he points out here and in his book, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Cambridge, MA 1965) 107.

[19] For example see Horace, *Odes* 1. 22. 9 ff. In fact, however, predators of grazing and browsing animals live not in the deep woods, but where their prey lives, on the periphery of wooded areas.

What is sinister and frightening about them is less their frantic behavior than the fact that they were once humans. The combination of man and beast is monstrous, and the goddess creates these *monstra* by disguising them or dressing them up as beasts. The goddess, who resembles her creations by living in the woods,[20] works her art on men who enter the woods and who become involved with her. We learn later that such disastrous commerce may include erotic involvement.

Books 1–4 show a gradual accretion of the elements which the Circe passage brings into relation with each other. Jupiter's speech to Venus in Book 1, the very words that promise a golden future for Rome, contains two images:

> inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
> Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
> moenia . . .   (275–77)

> . . . dirae ferro et compagibus artis
> claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
> saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
> post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento. (293–96)

Although the *laetus* Romulus is engaged in peaceful, constructive activity, he is nonetheless clothed in a wolf's skin. The meaning of this is not yet apparent, but there are hints: the Roman hero is the foster child of a wolf, one of the most deadly and effective of predators;[21] the wolf is the wolf of Mars and her adopted whelp is building *mavortia moenia*.

Furor is the first of a series of monsters in the *Aeneid*. He is shut up and chained like Circe's beasts. *Fremo* is a word Vergil frequently uses of loud, excited animal sounds[22] and once of another monster, the Chimera on Turnus' crest (7. 787). The verb in conjunction with the expression *ore cruento* is used twice of lions (9. 341, 12. 8). Although he is like an animal, *vinctus post tergum nodis* suggests he has a human shape with hands.[23] This hybrid monster is a visualization of the social violence of war and even at the very beginnings of the city his eventual materialization seems implied in Vergil's description of Romulus' lupine garb.

The next image of importance for our purposes is the appearance of Venus as a huntress when she intercepts Aeneas while he travels through the Tyrian forests.[24] It has been frequently remarked by critics that she foreshadows Dido, who is likened to Diana at 1. 498, and she serves to

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[20] Like them, she is also described as *saeva*, as Putnam (above, note 4) 413 points out.

[21] The frequency with which the wolf appears in Roman proverbs and expressions indicates that the Romans were familiar with this animal's intelligence and its capacity as a predator.

[22] For example *fremitus* (11. 607) of horses, *fremo* (9. 607) of a wolf, (11. 599) of horses. Furor is perhaps not the first monster. Putnam (above, note 18) 11 describes Aeolus' winds as "part beast, part brutish man." They also *fremunt* (1. 56).

[23] Conington *ad loc.*

[24] This foreshadows the next, more fateful, excursion into the woods in Book 4.

introduce the conventional literary theme of love as a hunt.[25] The device also connects the erotic with one who is not only the mistress of the hunt but goddess of all wild creatures, prey and predator both. In other words, her concerns embrace the desire of the hunter and the agony and fear of the victim.

As if to underline this point Venus refers to an imaginary companion whom she describes as girt with a lynx's skin (321–24). Thus the hide of a predatory cat adorns another predator; hunter and hunted are equated. The equation is psychologically appropriate, for when a hunter hunts he is driven by desire for what he seeks as his victim is driven by him. In some sense his prey pursues him. The same is true of lover and beloved.[26]

Soon after seeing his mother Aeneas comes upon the temple of Juno decorated with scenes from the Trojan War, among which is the Amazon Penthesilea engaged in battle: *Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet* (491). Since Dido as Diana appears immediately afterwards we must perforce connect them both with the ardent Amazon, especially in view of Dido's unfeminine boldness in founding a city.[27] We have an interesting conflux centering on the queen: love, war and hunting in the figure of a goddess (Dido–Diana) with power over wild creatures. It is the same combination that exists in Circe, erotic mistress of predatory beasts and breeder of war horses. The forces of transformation she comes to symbolize in Book 7 are already at work in Book 1.

The link between the activity of predatory beasts and human behavior suggested in Book 1 becomes explicit in Book 2:

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[25] See particularly B. Otis, *Vergil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963) 235, W. R. Nethercut (above, note 3) 131. F. L. Newton, "Recurrent Imagery in *Aeneid* IV," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 31–43, discusses traditional love-motifs in Book 4.

[26] The eagerness of the hunter, human or animal, often sharpened by hunger or lust for glory, is a frequent detail in Vergil's hunting similes. See, for example, 4. 157–60; 5. 252–54; 7. 479–81, 496–97; 11. 339–41. The motif of lover as hunter or victim is an established image in love poetry by the Hellenistic age and is found in the *sermo amoris*. J. R. Dunkle, "The Hunter and Hunting in the *Aeneid*," *Ramus* 11 (1973) 143 n. 5, connects the identification with the depiction of Eros as archer. He cites Callimachus *Epigr.* 31; Horace *Sat.* 1. 2. 105–09; Ovid *Amor.* 2. 9. 9, 19. 36. Also see Horace *Odes* 1. 23. For lover as victim of the hunt see Tibullus 1. 6. 3–4. One of the most felicitous expressions of this enduring erotic conceit is Shakespeare's adroit use of the Actaeon myth:

> O, when mine eyes did see Olivia first
> Me thought she purg'd the air of pestilence!
> That instant was I turned into a hart;
> And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,
> E'er since pursue me.
>
> (*Twelfth Night* I. i)

[27] K. Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing in *Aeneid* I. 462," *AJP* 86 (1965) 27, makes this association between Dido and Penthesilea. See G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth 1974) 62 for a discussion of Artemis and Aphrodite and their links.

> sic animis iuvenum furor[28] additus. inde, lupi ceu
> raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
> exegit caecos rabies catulique relicti
> faucibus expectant siccis . . .   (355–58)

Driven by fury and despair (*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* [354])
the Trojans sally forth transformed by simile into feral, predatory beasts.
The image suggests a connection between these warriors and Romulus,
especially since the wolves here and Romulus' wolf are parents. The phrase
improba rabies[29] *ventris* and the word *caecos* have echoes in Book 2 and
Book 4 which relate the simile to the themes of love and war. At 2. 335 we
hear of the guards at the Trojan gates resisting *caeco marte* and at 4. 2 the
fire of love that wastes Dido is described as *caecus ignis*. *Caecus* is usually
construed passively, "unseen" or "hidden" fire, but the passion of love also
afflicts blindly, without regard for her suffering.[30] Later Vergil asks:
improbe Amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis! (4. 412).[31] The frenzy of
the hunting animal, the passion of love and the emotions of the warrior, the
poet seems to say, are the same—immoderate and indiscriminate.

Book 2 ends with Aeneas covering his shoulders with a lionskin before
leaving Troy. The action foreshadows his identification with Hercules and
his role as the slayer of Mezentius and Turnus both of whom appear as lions
(10. 454, 727, 9. 792).[32] It also suggests that he is man and beast, prey and
predator at the same time. The image adumbrates his role in Book IV, as
we shall see.

Book 3 is filled with half-human monsters such as the Harpies (214–
17), with their maiden faces and birds' bodies, and Scylla (424–28), woman
above and multi-form monster below.[33] These creatures, successors of
Furor,[34] are images of want and violence swollen to super-human

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[28] Note that the *furor* of the Trojan warriors causes them to act like wolves driven by the
rabies of hunger. The passion of battle with its rage and despair and the madness of the hunting
animal are equated and both are linked to *furor impius* in Book 1.

[29] The word *rabies* is used of war (*rabies belli*) in 8. 327. Also see note 74 below.

[30] See A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, MA 1935) *ad
loc.* and R. G. Austin, *Publi Vergili Maronis Liber Quartus* (Oxford 1955) *ad loc.*

[31] Page in his note on 2. 356 writes of *improbus*: ". . . it expresses an absence of all
moderation, of all regard for consequences or for the rights of others." For a fuller discussion
along the same lines see Austin *ad loc.*, who says: "The basic sense of this adjective is
persistent lack of regard for others in going beyond the bounds of what is fair and right."
Improbus, as he points out, is used of savage beasts in the *Aeneid*. It is also used of Aeneas by
his foes (4. 386, 11. 512, 12. 261). In their comments both Page and Austin relate 4. 412 to 2.
356.

[32] G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII," *AJP* 87 (1966) 26 n. 20
and Nethercut (above, note 3) 126 n. 17, 128.

[33] *Utero luporum* (428) and *caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa* (432) give her canine features.
She is distinctly predatory and lives in a cave (424).

[34] It is possible to consider the Trojan horse one of these monsters since it is called a
monstrum (2. 245) as Putnam (above, note 18) 131 points out. Its cargo of warriors gives it a
human element, and, although it is not living, the language describing it suggests an animate

proportions. They represent the dangers that threaten Aeneas and his followers in the course of their wanderings, and they reinforce the idea that combinations of man and beast are terrifyingly destructive forces.

Several animals of significance appear in this book, each symbolizing the Roman future: the white sow of Alba in Helenus' prophecy and the four white horses on Italy's shore glimpsed by Anchises. The peaceful, nursing sow and the horses that portend war seem disparate symbols, but the disparity is deceiving. Their color and their role as visions of what is to come link them on a superficial level. A suckling animal mother associated with Rome evokes the Martian wolf and in turn the marauders of Book 2, who have left behind hungry cubs. We later hear of Circe's fierce swine and the cornered boar that is the warrior Mezentius in Book 10 (707 f.). Conversely horses, as Anchises acknowledges (3. 541), can pull wagons and ploughs for the peaceful uses of agriculture. No matter how serene their immediate demeanor, such animals as symbols imply a latent violence and possible loss of control overtly signified by the Harpies or Scylla.

Where Book 3 uses externalized symbols of violence affecting men from outside and only suggests the reverse, Book 4 charts the opposite process. The animal within affects the wider world without.

Dido with her wound of love is transformed into a hunted beast (4. 68–74),[35] when in reality she is the seeker after Aeneas' love and he is her victim. The appearance of both Dido and Aeneas as hunters (136–50) and the similes likening them to Apollo and Artemis (1. 494–508, 4. 141–45) make the ambiguity manifest. Both are equally hunters and prey at the same time. Ascanius' prayer for game fiercer than goats and deer causes us to remember Aeneas in his tawny lionskin at the end of Book 1:

spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.   (4. 158–59)[36]

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being. It groans (*gemitus dedere* 2. 53), it climbs (*scandit . . . muros* 237), it is pregnant (*feta armis* 238) and it glides (*inlabitur* 240) and jumps (*cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit* 6. 515). The Cyclops too, although not literally half-beast, qualifies because of his animal characteristics. He is much like a wolf or lion. He lives in a cave (3. 617), eats raw, warm, quivering flesh which he crunches up bones and all (625–27), and he gnashes his teeth when he is angry (664). Even more interesting is his effect on Achaemenides. Fear of the Cyclops transforms the Greek into a quasi-animal who lives in the woods and eats roots and berries (646–50) like a wild pig or bear.

[35] See R. A. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes* (Iowa City 1970) 92. The hunting images and their significance have been frequently investigated. See Pöschl (above, note 2) 71–76, Nethercut (above, note 3) 123, 131–32, O. G. Davis, "The Motif of the Hunt in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Landmarks in Western Culture: Commentaries and Controversies* (Englewood Cliffs 1968) 204–14, Dunkle (above, note 26) and T. Crane, "Hunter and Hunted in *Aeneid* 7–12," *CB* 50 (1973–74) 21–25.

[36] Nethercut (above, note 3) 134 thinks these animals are chosen to foreshadow the Latin chiefs in the last books.

The culmination of this mutual venery occurs in a manner consistent with its beginnings. Deep within the woods, amid the primitive sights and sounds of a thunderstorm, while *summo ulularunt vertice nymphae* (168), Dido and Aeneas mate inside a cave.[37] The whole scene suggests a Circean metamorphosis.

The queen later laments:

> non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
> degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas.   (550–51)

There is a terrible irony in these lines for she has indeed acted *more ferae*.[38]

The personal destructiveness of Dido's and Aeneas' union is intimated by animal allusions; its wider, social destructiveness by the monstrous figure of Fama.[39] As a semi-human she recalls the figures of Book 3,[40] while verbal echoes in her description also connect her to the queen. Dido's attacks of passionate frenzy are described as maddened wandering: *totaque vagatur furens* (68), *fuga silvas saltusque peragrat* (as the doe, 72) and *totamque incensa per urbem bacchatur* (as a Thyiad, 300).

Fama spreads the news of Dido's death:

> . . . concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
> lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
> tecta fremunt . . .   (666–68)

The last two lines recall not only the sounds accompanying the lovers' initial union but also the queen's prayer to the infernal Diana for vengeance: *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes* (609). We shall hear those echoes again in the noises made by Circe's bestial menage.

Dido shares another characteristic with Fama—sleeplessness:

> . . . neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit.   (530–31)

The monster *nocte volat . . . per umbram / . . . nec dulci declinat lumina somno* (184–85). The hungry wolves, too, go out *atra in nebula* (2. 356) and later Circe is heard spinning and singing in the night while her imprisoned animals make their uproar through the dark hours.

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[37] Caves, like woods, are the lairs of wild animals and the homes of monsters such as the Cyclops, Scylla and Cacus.

[38] The exact meaning of these lines is a subject of long debate (see Pease, Austin and Williams *ad loc.* for thorough discussions of the problems). Whether by *more ferae* Dido means "innocently as an animal" or "promiscuously as an animal" makes no difference to my point. See also Newton (above, note 25) 38 n. 12, and K. Quinn, *Vergil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor 1968) 337.

[39] See Pöschl (above, note 2) 82 and especially Otis (above, note 25) 81–83.

[40] Her avian characteristics (180–81, 184) evoke the Harpies and she too is called a *monstrum* (181); yet she is a *dea* (195), sister to a giant and a Titan (179), and capable of speech (183, 195).

Aeneas' bestiality becomes more pronounced as Book 4 progresses for we see him through the eyes of the disillusioned queen. She calls him *improbus* (386) and accuses him of being suckled by a tigress (367), thus recalling in the same speech *improbus amor*, the wolves driven by *improba rabies* and the Roman wolf bitch who nurtures human cubs.

The essential identity of pursuer and pursued emerges again in Vergil's description of Dido's increasing torment: *agit ipse furentem / in somnis ferus Aeneas* (465–66). He is the savage and relentless predator and she, though hounded, is still *furens*.[41] She threatens to follow Aeneas as a Fury (384),[42] yet later she sees herself as afflicted by Furies,[43] like Pentheus or Orestes.

Although any allusion to human beings as animals suggests the monstrous, Aeneas is not explicitly associated with this dimension in the same way as Dido through her similarities to Fama. He is not so adversely affected by his passion as she, and the social consequences for his followers are not tragic, as they are for the Tyrians. What the images and allusions vividly illuminate is the dehumanizing effects of uncontrolled passion which inflicts mutual pain on individuals and turmoil on society at large. Yet these emotions arise as spontaneously in the human heart as in the breast of any animal.

The images with which we are concerned appear sporadically and less coherently in Book 5 and Book 6, remaining as shadowy hints of the future or fleeting glimpses of the past.

On his return to Drepanum Aeneas is greeted by Acestes in a scene whose details have reverberations in Book 8. Acestes, as one of Trojan descent, has ties to Aeneas as does Evander through Aeneas' father, and the meeting between Aeneas and the two kings occurs in each instance during rites commemorating a hero. Both kingdoms are rustic and simple: Acestes' followers are *adsueti silvis* (5. 301), while the people of Evander's realm are called *agrestes* (8. 349).

Acestes first appears dressed in a bearskin and carrying javelins, an appropriate garb[44] for a sylvan warrior king and for his latent violence. Images of the overtly monstrous to match the individual propensity for it suggested by Acestes' costume are found in the boat race. Two of the

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[41] Hornsby (above, note 35) 95: "She dreams of herself as hunted by a wild beast who drives her mad . . . and she who once appeared as the hunter now sees herself as the hunted, and the creature she would hunt has become the beast which hunts her. She has transferred to Aeneas the attitude she herself had toward him." See also Davis (above, note 35) 211.

[42] Davis (above, note 35) 208 notes the common perception of the Furies as dog-like hunters.

[43] G. S. Duclos, *"Nemora Inter Cresia," CJ* 66 (1971) 195, writes: ". . . Dido changes from subject to object: the hunter becomes the hunted, whether Diana and doe, or Bacchante and Pentheus."

[44] Evander appears cloaked in skins too (8. 460). G. K. Galinsky, "Aeneid V and the Aeneid," *AJP* 89 (1968) 167, notes that Evander is Acestes' counterpart in Book 8.

vessels in this race are called *Scylla* and *Centaur*,[45] and the winner of this contest of momentary passions and harmless violence receives a cloak embroidered with a striking motif—the rape of Ganymede:

> intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
> velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat
> acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
> sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis.   (252–55)

The picture is paradigmatic for the movements of the chase. The young deer hunter, keen and panting (like a dog?), is snatched up in turn by another predator, emissary of Jove's amorous passion.

In addition, competitive sporting events themselves such as the ship contest are mock battles or mock hunting.[46] Indeed, the prize awarded to Salius, displaced winner of the foot race, is an animal skin (*tergum Gaetuli immane leonis* 351), the customary trophy of the hunt.

For this reason some of the symbolism of the *lusus Troiae* can be seen in the light of the motifs under discussion. The exercise itself seems to represent, in its youthful participants, hope for the future, and to embody the harmonious, disciplined orderliness of an idealized Roman life, with its strong familial ties.[47] The intricacy of the boys' maneuvering is likened to the Cretan labyrinth and their flights and conflicts to dolphins at play. Nonetheless this is a game designed to exhibit the skills of the mounted warrior. The labyrinth brings to mind the half-human Minotaur, the destructive product of wrongful passion, lurking at its centre and the dolphins evoke less benign sea-dwellers like Scylla in the same way that the she-wolf and the white sow recall their more ferocious counterparts. An image of peace and hope dissolves into its opposite just as hunter turns into victim on Cloanthus' victory cloak.[48]

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[45] Another pair are Chimera and Pristis, creatures lacking in human characteristics, but multiform beings relating to the beasts and monsters so far encountered. Pristis is a sea-monster like Scylla and the Chimera is partly lion-like. See Putnam (above, note 4) 411 n. 2. S. Small, "The Arms of Turnus: *Aeneid* 7. 783–92," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 248, has a discussion of the meaning of the Chimera's multiform nature.

[46] See Putnam (above, note 18) 88, for comments and a reference on this point.

[47] See L. H. Feldman, "The Character of Ascanius in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 48 (1953) 306–07. Putnam (above, note 18) 85–88 and Hornsby (above, note 35) 53 have interesting analyses of the *lusus Troiae*. Both note the darker aspects in the scene's allusions. Galinsky (above, note 44) 166 thinks that Ascanius' ride recalls his ride in Book 4 because of his Sidonian mount (5. 571).

[48] Book 5 also picks up the theme of fear as the cause of bestial transformation seen in the Achaemenides episode in Book 3. The Trojan matrons, fearing the consequence of their ship-burning, slip away like animals into the woods (676–78). This theme sounds its last note in Book 11 (809–13) when, after slaying Camilla, Arruns flees to the woods as a wolf who has killed a man or a steer flees to the mountain forests.

One of the first signs that greet Aeneas' eyes on reaching Italy in Book 6 (besides the forest on the shore)[49] is the temple of Apollo at Cumae with its reliefs illustrating the legends of Crete, among which is the story of the Minotaur. Here too, in the promised land, Aeneas will not be free of monsters.

Critics have seen in this episode an allusion to the forbidden love of Dido and Aeneas.[50] On a certain level the implied analogy is apt. Pasiphae's surrender to animal passion brought forth the Minotaur; the result of their union was the half-human monster Fama. The relief becomes more than a reference to Dido if we remember that Pasiphae was, like Circe, a daughter of Helios and that she managed to attract the attention of her beloved bull by dressing up like a heifer with the aid of Daedalus' craft.[51] In Book 7 we learn that the device on Turnus' shield is Io transformed. Both she and Pasiphae were outwardly turned into animals through love; Dido was transformed metaphorically in the woodland cave. The temple doors thus serve to unite Book 4 to the center of the work and to prefigure both Circe and Turnus through the motif of animal metamorphosis as a symbol for irrational passion.

Half-human and multiform monsters appear in abundance in the underworld. Since Aeneas' subterranean journey traverses his chaotic and unhappy past and ends in a vision of the future, the presence of those creatures comes as no surprise. He has already encountered some of them directly, such as Scylla and the Harpies, or indirectly in the names of his ships in Book 5. He will meet some of these same beings and others like them in human form amongst the Italian warriors and even in himself.[52]

After these generalized and highly symbolic representations of human misery Aeneas confronts the specific and personal manifestations of passion and despair in his own life. In this part of Hell Dido appears to him in a manner singularly appropriate to Aeneas' experience of her above ground. Her wound and the words used to describe her (*errabat silva in magna* [451]), evoke the injured doe and the sight of her as *per nubila lunam* (454) reminds

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[49] There are frequent references to woods and forests in Book 6 (7–8, 131, 179, 186 are some examples). They seem to suggest that in Italy more than elsewhere lies the landscape of transformation. The decided increase in animal imagery in the last books seems to bear this out.

[50] Otis (above, note 25) 284–85; Hornsby (above, note 35) 53.

[51] In a different connection Putnam (above, note 4) 414 points out that Circe is called *daedala* (7. 282).

[52] For example, Turnus with the Chimera on his crest (7. 785), Catillus and Coras as Centaurs (7. 672–75) and Briareus in himself (10. 785). Putnam (above, note 4) 410–11 makes this point and remarks on the psychological implications. He notes as "curious" (411 n. 2) that the Trojan ships in Book 5 have the names of Hell's monsters. The symbolic nature of monsters is made apparent in the scene at the threshold of Hell (6. 268 ff.). Aeneas is frightened by the monsters but seemingly not by *malesuada Fames, turpis Egestas* and their kin. This is perhaps because the Harpies, for instance, are more convincing projections of these vague allegorical entities. The Centaurs and Briareus could well represent the violence of *Discordia demens* or *mortiferum Bellum*.

us of her role as Diana, goddess of the hunt (I. 499).[53] She dwells in a myrtle grove with, among others, the shades of Pasiphae, who made herself into an animal for bestial love, and of Procris, killed through her passion for her husband and through his love of hunting. She appears as hunter and prey simultaneously. In the end this mute, wild creature, transfixed by desire, retreats into the woods (*nemus umbiferum* 473) to remain there forever.[54]

The book's closing preview of the Roman future needs no animal embellishment to convey its message of disappointed hopes and human suffering, yet even in a more triumphant part of the vision we have a brief reminder of this brutish aspect of man's nature and of his achievements.[55] In describing future Augustan conquests Anchises compares their extent to the extent of Hercules' wanderings (801–04). The allusion is part of the Hercules–Aeneas–Augustus associations found throughout the epic,[56] but what is important for our purposes is that Hercules, symbol of Rome, is presented as a deerslayer (a familiar role for Aeneas), boar-hunter and monster-stalker.[57] The equation of predator with prey established in earlier books alerts us to this possibility for Hercules. The suggestion is finally made explicit in Book 8.

The flavor of wild places and animal life fills Book 7. It begins with woods and groves as does Book 6, calling attention once more to Italy's sylvan character. Aeneas avoids Circe's *inaccessos lucos* (11) and lands at the mouth of the Tiber with its *ingentem lucum* (29), thus eschewing one haunt of wild creatures to enter another filled with the song of birds instead of the howls of four-legged brutes.[58] Yet Picus, we soon learn, was turned into a bird through Circe's art (189–91).

Critics have long noted the natural, primitive robustness of the Italians in the epic.[59] One of the founding fathers of the Latin people is the deified king *silvicola Faunus* (10. 551), son of the avian Picus and Circe, a figure

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[53] Nethercut (above, note 3) 132 n. 29 makes these points and refers to Pöschl's comments. Also see G. S. Duclos, "Dido as 'Triformis' Diana," *Vergilius* 15 (1969) 33–41 and M. O. Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid* (Albany 1979) 188 n. 9.

[54] Of the scene immediately following this, as Aeneas passes Tartarus, Putnam (above, note 4) 413 remarks that the line describing the sounds issuing from that place (*hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare / verbera* [557–58]) is reminiscent of the lines about the sounds from Circe's grove.

[55] Aeneas' last child, however, is named Silvius, *quem . . . Lavinia coniunx / educet silvis* (764–65).

[56] Otis (above, note 25) 302, Galinsky (above, note 32) 18–51, Nethercut (above, note 3) 127–29, 134.

[57] Nethercut (above, note 3) 134 notes that Hercules and Aeneas are both hunters. Also see Dunkle (above, note 26) 139 for a positive view of Hercules here.

[58] Putnam (above, note 4) 416–17 sees a contrast here between the night-time groves of Circe and the Tiber's bird song, but notes its deceptiveness. See W. Görler, "Aeneas' Ankunft in Latium: Beobachtungen zu Vergils epischer Technik," *WJA* N. F. 2 (1976) 165–79.

[59] For example, A. Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2. 4 (1963) 67–68, Otis (above, note 25) 329, Putnam (above, note 4) 410.

identified with the half-animal Pan by Vergil's time.[60] His son, Latinus, is thus directly related to Circe (12. 162–64). The catalogue of Italian warriors confirms that the other Italian tribes are equally ferine, for so many of the combatants are animal-like, bear animal insignia, were brought up in the woods or are noted hunters. Turnus with Io on his shield and a chimera on his crest, Camilla the huntress, dressed in skins as a babe and raised in the forest, and Aventinus, son of Hercules (655–69) are the more obvious examples.[61]

Juno, through Allecto, rouses the slumbering beasts of Italy. The first to be affected are real animals as Allecto infects Ascanius' hounds with *subita rabies* (479) and they become *rabidae canes* (493–94), reminding us of the wolves driven by *improbus rabies* in Book 2 (357). Allecto herself is a monster like Fama,[62] who appears when men behave like animals. She is human with snake-like features, yet she is like a bird[63] and like Fama too (*luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti* (4. 186) when she seeks the rooftops:

ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum . . .   (512–13)

or like a wild beast when she haunts the woods: *pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis* (505).

Under her influence Amata becomes a maenad, a role remarkably suited to our bestial motif.[64] To be under the sway of Dionysus is to be controlled and transformed by irrational forces, and the traditional aspects of Bacchic behavior such as dressing in skins and taking to wild places signals the transition. Amata flies off to the woods:

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[60] See Horace *Carmina* 1. 17. There is some evidence also that he was connected to the Martian wolf (*RE*, s.v. "Faunos").

[61] So also are Lausus, *equum domitor, debellatorque ferarum* (651), Catillus and Coras, who are like Centaurs (674), the followers of Caeculus, who have wolfskin caps (688) and the followers of Messapus, who are like raucous swans (699). The Italian warriors on Aeneas' side (10. 166 ff.) have fewer overt animal associations: Massicus' ship is called Tiger (166), Aulestes' is Triton, whose figure-head is described as *semiferus* (212) and Cupavo's is the Centaur (195). Cupavo himself has a father Cycnus, who changed into a swan from grief at Phaethon's death (189 ff.). Cupavo wears a crest of swan feathers.

[62] Pöschl (above, note 2) 82 has pointed out the analogy. Putnam (above, note 4) 416 links her with Circe.

[63] Particularly birds of ill-omen on rooftops, see 4. 462, 12. 836–64. The owl in the last simile is the transformed Dira, who heralds Turnus' doom. She also sings at night (*nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras* [864]) like Circe and her brutes.

[64] Pöschl (above, note 2) 30 discusses Bacchic imagery and its relation to the irrational in the epic. Hornsby (above, note 35) 130 links Amata and Dido through their Bacchic qualities. The queen's deliberate affectation of Bacchic behavior does not mean that she is rational, as the long description of Allecto's assault upon her in Book 8 (341–58) and the top simile (373–90) indicate. It merely cloaks her madness in legitimate religious garb.

> quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
> maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
> evolvat et natam frondosis montibus abdit.   (385–87)

Though the source of madness is not Dioynisian, the effect is the same.
Allecto drives her with Bacchic goad amid the forests:

> talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum
> reginam . . .   (404–05)

The queen roars the name Bacchus (*fremens* 389), the same word used of
furor impius and for the noise of excited animals.[65] Her followers' cries are
ululatus (395), like the howls of Circe's wolves.

Aeneas' symbolic link to the figure of Hercules is confirmed through
his visit to Arcadia and the future site of Rome in Book 8. Part of the web
of associations between the two figures is Aeneas' contact with the
Herculean emblem of the lionskin (177, 552–53).[66] The assumption of an
animal's skin, however, is at best an ambiguous symbol, and the Hercules–
Cacus episode underscores this basic ambiguity.

Cacus is another of the half-human monsters who embody the
exaggerated passions governing the behavior of men and whose influence
results in social disorder. He is called *semihomo* (194) as well as *semiferus*
(267), different aspects of the same condition, and his chest is hairy with
bristles (266), reminding us of Circe's *saetigeri sues* and shaggy Io on
Turnus' shield.[67]

Cacus' slayer, who is thanked yearly with religious rites for his service
to the Arcadians in ridding them of this menace, undergoes a transformation
while pursuing his foe. When he finds his cattle gone, he is the picture of
bestial wrath:[68] *hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro | felle dolor* (219–20).
Cacus, too, experiences a dark, fiery rage: *atros | ore vomens ignis* (198–
99). Hercules rushes to enter Cacus' dwelling:

>   omnemque
> accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
> dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira
> lustrat Aventini montem . . .   (228–31)

His behavior is soon to be echoed in the preamble to the description of
Turnus as a wolf prowling around a sheepfold in Book 9:

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[65] See above, note 23.

[66] Nethercut (above, note 3) 128 (especially n. 22), Galinsky (above, note 32) 26. Nethercut
129 says, however, that though both Aeneas and Hercules wear the lionskin, neither is likened
to lions.

[67] Galinsky (above, note 32) 39–40 discusses the notion of an identification of Cacus with
Turnus and cites Pöschl. He also notes a resemblance between Cacus' cave and the Underworld
(p. 38). See also Small (above, note 45) 248.

[68] Galinsky (above, note 32) 41 discusses Hercules' wrath and its similarities to Aeneas'
moments of anger.

huc turbidus atque huc
lustrat equo muros aditumque per avia quaerit.
ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili . . .   (9. 57–59)

This frustrated predator is enraged too: *asper et improbus ira / saevit* (9. 62–63). Hercules is not only wolf-like, he gnashes his teeth like an animal.[69] To be equated to him says that one is a monster-slaying hero and a dangerous beast at the same time.[70]

The final scene of Book 8 describes the reliefs on Aeneas' shield, which are meant to illustrate *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (626). The images of monstrous violence we have come to expect are conveyed in the warring Egyptian gods (*deum monstra et latrator Anubis* [698]) and are thereby attached to Rome's enemies, whom she subdues as Hercules subdued Cacus.[71] But even as the Hercules–Cacus image turns in upon itself and does not quite mean what it appears to, the shield tells us of more than Roman triumphs. Its first picture is a tableau of maternal tenderness, whose main actor, the Martian wolf-bitch, is a creature both comely and loving:

illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.   (633–34)[72]

This maternal vision has been foreshadowed by Aeneas' encounter with the Alban sow on his journey up the Tiber (83–84). These animals' grimmer relatives, the savage wolves of Book 2 and the fearsome beasts belonging to Circe, have already warned us of the dual natures of predators and prey. The metaphorically transformed warriors of the succeeding books confirm this duality.

Images of animals, especially predatory animals and their victims, occur frequently in the books narrating the war with the Latins (9–12). Hunting is as appropriate a symbol for the emotional state of the soldier as for that of the lover: the pursuing warrior's passionate rage is no less than the lover's passionate desire. It is also apposite in depicting the actual fortunes of war. He who chases his enemy is destined in turn to flee from him.[73] The constant role-reversal which underscores the essential identity of

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[69] Galinsky (above, note 32) 31 n. 32 sees a resemblance between Cacus and the Homeric Polyphemus. Putnam (above, note 4) 131 sees similarities between Cacus and Furor with allusions to the Cyclops and the Trojan Horse.

[70] Kirk (above, note 27) 206–09 discusses Heracles' ambiguous nature. Also see Nethercut (above, note 3) 134.

[71] The references cited for the Hercules and Cacus episode in notes 68–70 above discuss Aeneas' symbolic role as monster-slayer.

[72] Putnam (above, note 18) 148–49 sees the wolf's ambiguity.

[73] Putnam (above, note 35) 419: "as man tracks man, one predator after another." Putnam, however, sees a change in the nature of the hunting in the earlier parts of the epic. On changes in hunting images see Crane (above, note 35). Both the Greeks and the Romans saw the affinity between hunting and war on a more practical level than literary conceit: the manly sport strengthened moral fibre and was good physical training for war. See J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985), especially chapters 2 and 5.

pursuer and victim is a common theme in the similes of bestial transformation from these books, and they echo the related images from earlier books as well as resonate with each other.

A good example is the simile comparing Turnus to a wolf at a sheepfold (9. 59 ff.). We have already noted that the introductory lines of the passage recall Hercules. *Fremit* (60), however, evokes *furor impius* and Amata in the woods (7. 389). *Improbus* (62), *ira* (62), *rabies*[74] and *siccae fauces* (64) call to mind the ravening wolves of Book 2 and *saevit* (63), in the context of predatory animals, invites comparison with Circe's unhappy beasts. The wolf's tormented hunger (*collecta fatigat edendi / ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces* (63–64) renders him as much a helpless victim of terrible need as the sheep are his victims.

The Nisus–Euryalus episode functions in a similar, though more complex, way. Before their ill-fated excursion the pair are referred to as hunters: Nisus was sent with Aeneas by *Ida venatrix* (9. 177) and both men have become familiar with the Italian countryside in the course of their hunting (244–45).[75] At their departure the coming events are symbolically foreshadowed by Mnestheus' gift to Nisus of a lionskin (306–07). The hunting trophy suggests both the young man's violent, predatory nature and his eventual role as victim. Later while indulging in an orgy of slaughter he is likened to an unfed lion:

> impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans
> (suadet enim vesana fames) manditque trahitque
> molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento.   (339—41)

The language and setting recall the hungry wolves; *impastus* and *vesana fames*, in particular, those of Book 2. *Fremit ore cruento* evokes not just Turnus but *furor* as well. The two men work in the night (*noctisque per umbram* 314) like Fama (*nocte volet . . . per umbram* 4. 184) and the Trojan wolves.[76] The ground running with blood after their deadly work (. . . *sanguine singultantem*; *atro tepefacta cruore . . .* 9. 333, . . . *tepidaque recentem / caede locum et plenos spumanti sanguine rivos* 455–56) is reminiscent of Cacus' dwelling (*semperque recenti / caede tepebat humus* 8. 195–96).[77]

When at last the murderous pair are discovered, they flee to the woods (378), and the enemy hunts them through the forest like wild beasts (380

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[74] *Rabies* and related words are also used of Allecto's face (*rabido ore* [7. 451]), Cerberus' hunger (*fame rabida* [6. 421]), Scylla (*Scyllaeam rabiem* [1. 200]) and war (*rabies belli* [8. 327]). See above, note 30.

[75] Perhaps we are meant to think of that first pair of hunters in Book 4, who come to grief in the woods through their lack of self-restraint.

[76] Compare the night-time activities of Circe and Dido. The Sibyl and Aeneas journey through the night too: *ibant . . . sub nocte per umbram* (6. 268).

[77] In lines 340–41 of the lion simile there are echoes too of the Cyclops' behavior when we remember Achaemenides' descriptions of his eating habits in Book 3 (626–27).

ff.). With Euryalus' capture Nisus becomes a hunter again as he prays to
Diana to guide his spear by all the hunting trophies he and his father have
dedicated in the past (404–08). Only death calls a halt to these continual
role changes.

The same pattern of bestial transformation and role-reversal can be seen
in the episode with Camilla. She has lived like a wild creature in the woods
with a savage father (9. 539, 567–72), has been dedicated to Diana (11. 552–
60), and has hunted from babyhood (573–75, 577–80) while dressed in skins
(*tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent* 577). There is little, in fact,
that is human about her.[78]

The first of her victims given a description of any length is Ornytus the
hunter (686) who wears a wolf's head helmet and a steer's hide (679–81),
thus sporting the insignia of predator and prey at the same time. The garb
is prophetic for, hunter that he is, he is changed into a victim by the
huntress Camilla. She in her turn succumbs to Arruns, who tracks her
down in canine fashion (759–69)[79] and who, after killing her, is compared to
a wolf slinking off to the woods in fear (809 ff.). A further intricacy is that
he kills her as she, *venatrix . . . caeca* (9. 780–81), hunts down Chloreus,
bird-like in his brightly colored garments and on a horse covered by a skin
with feather-like bronze scales.[80] The epithet *caeca* allies her to the Trojan
wolves, to *caecus Mars* and to the consuming fire of Dido's passion.

Mezentius as a boar driven from the mountain woods by hounds (10.
707–15) is a prey so *ferox* that he cows his attackers and blurs the
distinction between pursuers and victim. The boar *infremuit* (711), evoking
furor and Turnus as a wolf (9. 59 ff.), and a few lines later Mezentius,
dentibus infrendens (718), calls up the violent, savage Hercules.

The second animal image involving Mezentius is equally evocative:

impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans
(suadet enim vesana fames), si forte fugacem
conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum,
gaudet hians immane comasque arrexit et haeret
visceribus super incumbens; lavit improba taeter
ora cruor.   (10. 723–28)

Impastus, *vesana fama* and *improba* recall Turnus as a hungry wolf, the
wolves of Book 2 and Nisus, the other ravening lion. *Taeter cruor* covers
the lion's mouth and conjures up the same visual image as *ore cruento* with
its concomitant allusions.

[78] See S. G. P. Small, "Virgil, Dante and Camilla," *CJ* 54 (1959) 295–301.

[79] That is, by trailing after prey over a long distance as opposed to running it down with a
swift, unexpected rush over a short distance in the manner of felines. The former pattern is
significant, see pages 127 and 128 below.

[80] This episode is, perhaps, an echo of the earlier simile of Camilla as a falcon killing a dove
when she dispatches the crafty Aunus (11. 721–24).

The suggestion that victim and slayer are in some way the same is particularly pronounced in the case of Pallas. After a successful bout of indiscriminate slaughter the young Arcadian faces the man who will reverse his triumph. To illustrate Turnus' and Pallas' relative positions Turnus is likened to a lion and Pallas to a bull, a creature no match for the feline predator. Nonetheless, this bull is not timorous prey but *meditantem in proelia taurum* (10. 455).[81] If the simile is entirely consistent with the circumstances giving rise to it, the bull must be practicing for his coming battle with the lion, for Turnus does not catch Pallas by surprise. In this he is ironically similar to the equally doomed bull to which Turnus himself is compared in Book 12 (103–06). Dying, the lion's victim *terram hostilem . . . petit ore cruento* (10. 489), recalling not pathetic prey but the savage lion Nisus in Book 9, as well as *furor* in Book 1. Mezentius' later turn as a lion in Book 10 retrospectively deepens the ambiguity[82] felt here.

Of all the figures in the *Aeneid* Turnus is the one most often compared to animals, as befits the fiercest and most violent among a fierce and violent people.[83] In Book 9 alone he is likened to a predatory creature five times: 59–64, the hungry wolf around the sheepfold; 563–65, an eagle and a wolf; 730, a tiger; 792–96, a lion. The wolf in 563–65 is the *lupus Martius*, a creature usually seen in connection with Rome, not with the Italians. The first wolf, as suggested earlier, evokes the Trojan wolves and thus both creatures, while referring to Turnus, also allude to his enemies.

The first four of these five similes depict a ferocious predator against helpless prey: timid lambs, a powerless hare or swan, and *pecora inertia* (730). In the last simile, however, the situation has changed. Though *saevus* and *asper* (792–94) the beset lion is *territus* (793). Like the boar Mezentius, even hard-pressed, he is more than a match for his pursuers. From this point onward images characterizing Turnus begin to reflect his increasing vulnerability[84] while still expressing the underlying conception that hunter and hunted are both victims. With the exception of the lion simile in Book 10 (454–56) he is hereafter either a driven animal or a creature more likely to be the object of predation.

The first intimation of this transition is the Homeric simile of Turnus as a stallion who, after breaking free, rushes off to his mares or to the river for a swim (11. 492–97).[85] The image is graceful and is superficially without sinister violence, but a stallion on the loose can be a formidable

[81] See Hornsby (above, note 35) 70.

[82] The Punic lion in Book 12 will be discussed below, but this later echo further identifies Pallas and Turnus.

[83] See Putnam (above, note 18) 186.

[84] This is not so apparent in other similes for Turnus. See note 90 below.

[85] The figure comes, interestingly, after a description of Lavinia, *oculos dejecta decoros* (11. 480), suggesting the source of Turnus' wildness. The bearer of Io's insignia has been transformed by sexual passion.

animal, and we know, in any case, from Anchises' words in Book 3 (539–40) that horses can symbolize war. The language describing him reinforces the symbolism. *Emicat* (11. 496) is used twice of warriors leaping into the fray: Pandarus in 9. 736 and Turnus himself in 12. 728. *Fremo*, along with all its other connotations, is used of Turnus' own war horses: *poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis* (12. 82).[86]

A similar picture of spirited bellicosity in a non-predatory animal is manifest in the simile of Turnus as a bull (12. 103–06) practicing for battle. The irony of this description in relation to the Pallas simile (10. 454–56) has already been noted. The same bitter and poignant echoes sound in the intervening image of Turnus as a wounded Punic lion (12. 4–8).[87] The defiant beast at bay (. . . *gaudetque comantis / excutiens cervice toros* . . . 12. 6–7) reminds us of Mezentius as a cornered boar (. . . *et inhorruit armos* 10. 711) or as an exultant lion shaking his mane (*comasque arrexit* 10. 726), but *fremit ore cruento*, while evoking the boar (*infremuit* 10. 711) and the same lion (10. 728), as well as the image of Nisus as a lion, recalls the dying Pallas. Unlike Mezentius' beast, Pallas and the wounded lion taste their own blood. In the spectrum of these shifting animal images Turnus the killer is simultaneously Turnus the victim.

The bull similes in the last books culminate in the comparison of Turnus and Aeneas to two fighting bulls (12. 715–22). Both animals are hurt and their necks and shoulders stream with blood (. . . *et sanguine largo / colla armosque lavant* . . . 721–22)—a chilling and pathetic echo of the exuberant stud with his flowing mane (. . . *luduntque iubae per colla, per armos* 11. 497). The surrounding woods resound with the noise of their battle: . . . *gemitu nemus omne remugit* (12. 722).[88] The line reiterates the description preceding the simile: *dat gemitum tellus* (12. 713). Circe's grove is filled with similar sounds of angry beasts: . . . *hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum* (7. 15).

In the last animal simile of the epic (12. 749–55) Turnus has become prey as helpless as that which he pursued earlier in the guise of a wolf, eagle or lion. The description of this hunt with Turnus as stag and Aeneas as *venator canis* contains echoes of all such similar pursuits and flights:[89] the flight of Polites from Pyrrhus (2. 526–30), the *lusus Troiae* (5. 592–93), Hercules' search for Cacus (8. 228–31), Turnus around the Trojan camp (9.

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[86] It and related words are used of horses in two instances: 9. 607 and 7. 638. *Emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte / luxurians* (11. 496–97) recalls a line describing the murderous serpents of Book 2: . . . *superant capite et cervicibus altis* (219).

[87] The allusion to Dido has long been noted and amply discussed, for example by Pöschl (above, note 2) 110. He also notes that *furor impius* was so described in Book 1. Putnam (above, note 18) 153–56 explores the allusions to Dido and *furor*. Also see Galinsky (above, note 44) 175.

[88] Galinsky (above, note 32) 35 sees in this a reference to Cacus. See also Galinsky (above, note 44) 175.

[89] Putnam (above, note 18) 186–88 discerns a similar pattern in some of these passages but does not examine them closely.

57–61), Nisus seeking Euryalus (9. 392–93), Arruns stalking Camilla (11. 762–67), Aeneas searching for Turnus (12. 479–84), Turnus retreating with sword broken (12. 442–45) and Aeneas' final pursuit of Turnus (12. 763–65). The common elements are protracted, repetitive activity—the fugitive trying various avenues of escape, or the tracker different points of attack. *Iam . . . iam, nunc . . . nunc*, or repeated demonstratives (e.g. *huc . . . huc, hos . . . hos*) or verbs (e.g. *fugit . . . refugit*) mark the passages. Some form of *lustro, vestigo*, or *vestigia* appears in most of them as well. The language emphasizes that hunter and hunted trace reciprocal patterns of frustration and terror; their recurrent *pas de deux* is the epic's choreography for despair and death.

In the last half of the epic most of the similes involving Aeneas describe his prowess in battle and most contain references to natural phenomena: storms (10. 603, 12. 450 f.), rivers and fires (12. 521 f.), and mountains (12. 701 f.). To be likened to irresistible impersonal forces serves to emphasize his fated superiority in war, although Turnus too is compared to such things.[90] When Aeneas behaves monstrously, he is depicted as the fire-breathing monster Aegaeon (10. 565–68). Interestingly, the fire-breathing monsters most recently encountered were Cacus and the Chimera on Turnus' crest; the first was a victim of one whose identity Aeneas has assumed and the last is the insignia of his own victim.

The same elusive, subtle indirectness characterizes another of the hero's associations with animals and hunting. His first act in battle with the Italians is to kill a Latin warrior called Theron (10. 312), whose name surely suggests a wild beast. Soon after, Aeneas, the man who has become a second Hercules in the previous book, dispatches two brothers who are armed with the weapons of Hercules (10. 318) and whose father was the Greek hero's friend (320–21).

In Book 12 Aeneas is likened directly to animals, a bull battling another bull, and a hound after a stag.[91] The change in imagery charts the shifting fortunes of the combatants: at the beginning Turnus is strong and hopeful, a match for Aeneas, but with the shattering of his sword he loses ground irrevocably. As in all such images in the *Aeneid*, however, the superficial logic of the simile is only part of its meaning. The bull is by nature fierce and belligerent, but it is often the victim of sacrifice or predation, as for example the bull Pallas who dies under the attack of the lion Turnus. In the simile from Book 12 both animals are not only well-matched opponents, but equally victims of their own devouring passions.

[90] 12. 365 ff., 684 ff. See S. Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil* (Hamden, CT 1978) 88, 115 note 6.

[91] Both Putnam (above, note 18) 189 and Hornsby (above, note 35) 64, 75 remark that this is the first time Aeneas has been compared to animals, but this view, as my paper argues, is essentially wrong.

Though Aeneas is soon to be triumphant over his foe, the emblem of his victory, the *vividus Umber* (10. 753) at the heels of its prey, is an image not of success, but of acute frustration frozen in time. The dog with mouth agape (*haeret hians* 754) clings to his fleeing quarry like the hunger-maddened lion Mezentius (10. 725–26), but for the hound there is no denouement. He is beset with an agony of protracted desire:

> iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti
> increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est.   (12. 754–55)

Hunter and victim are inseparably and endlessly bound by common suffering, each the cause of the other's pain.

After hesitating initially, Aeneas destroys his cornered prey because he sees Pallas' belt:

> ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit . . .   (12. 945–46)

Exuviae are the warrior's spoils, but also the hunter's, the hide of his quarry. It is as if Turnus the predator has dressed himself in his victim's skin and thus become the very prey he hunted.

The device on Pallas's buckler, whatever else it may mean,[92] is a tale of revenge. The deed of the Danaids is *nefas* (10. 497–98), but they too were victims. Like their ancestor Io they suffered unwanted erotic attention. These seemingly helpless women take revenge by turning on their pursuers. The vanquished Pallas exacts his vengeance from the grave and the slaughter of his killer is no less terrible than his own death. This is perhaps the meaning of the omen seen by the Rutulians in Book 12 of swans turning upon an attacking eagle (247–56). The sight does not portend victory but embodies the circular ambiguity of a bestial hunt where hunter and hunted merge and which has become a symbol for the compulsive, destructive irrationality so immovably lodged in the human heart.[93]

Circe singing in the woods tells us not that men may turn into beasts but that they are beasts. She does not transform so much as reveal. Her animal costumes mirror reality; the human form is the disguise. The frightened deer, the truculent bull, the cornered boar, the ravenous wolf or lion are all victims of uncontrollable inner urges, their own or others'. The same is true of man, particularly the lover or the warrior. He cannot avoid grief in either role, any more than his animal counterparts can as, driven by instinct, they hunt or are hunted. The difference between man and beast is that animal violence is largely individual, limited and part of nature's

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[92] The most interesting of the more recent interpretations is that the device is meant to evoke Hypermnestra, the bride who refrained from violence when moved by compassion.

[93] K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge 1983) in his first chapter paints a graphic picture of the militaristic violence and bloodthirstiness of Roman society. If he is accurate in his assessment, Vergil's feelings about human nature were well substantiated in the life around him.

balance. Man's mindless violence, however, affects his social institutions, those fragile defences erected by human reason to protect man from himself. His destructiveness becomes monstrous, in fact, and thus his suffering infinitely greater than that of any animal.

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8

Tragic *Contaminatio* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses:* Procne and Medea; Philomela and Iphigeneia (6. 424–674); Scylla and Phaedra (8. 19–151)[1]

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Ovid's use of tragic sources in his *Metamorphoses* is varied and complex. The principal sources at his disposal were the Latin adaptations of Greek plays by Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius and the original Greek versions of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and others. That Ovid was familiar with, and made extensive use of, the tragic tradition is not in dispute,[2] but some clarification of how he incorporated this material into the *Metamorphoses* seems appropriate. Basically, Ovid uses tragic sources in two ways: most frequently, he structures his own account of a particular story around the traditional tragic version—in the *Phaethon* (1. 747–2. 339), the *Pentheus* (3. 511–733) and the *Hecuba* (13. 399–575), for instance, the canonical Euripidean treatments form the basis of the

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[1] Line numbers pertain to the Teubner edition of W. S. Anderson (Leipzig 1985). The following works will be cited by the author's surname only: J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore 1982); F. P. Bömer, *Ovidius Metamorphosen. Kommentar*, 7 vols. (Heidelberg 1969–86); I. Cazzaniga, *La saga di Itys nella tradizione letteraria e mitografica Greco-Romana*, 2 vols. (Milan 1950–51); H. M. Currie, "Ovid and the Roman Stage," *ANRW* II 31. 4 (1981) 2701–42; B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*[2] (Cambridge 1970); H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton 1974).

[2] See Currie; G. D'Anna, "La tragedia latina arcaica nelle Metamorfosi," *Atti del Convegno internazionale Ovidiano* II (Rome 1959) 217–34; S. Jannacone, *La letteratura greco-latina delle Metamorfosi* (Messina 1953); G. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs* (Paris 1904; repr. Hildesheim–New York 1971) 141–59. Ovid wrote a *Medea*, and for it and *Her.* 12 used Euripides' play; Jacobson, in his discussion (110, n. 4) of the sources of *Her.* 4, concludes that Ovid "knew and was using both of Euripides' plays (and, just possibly, Sophocles' too)", with reference to Euripides' first and second *Hippolytus* and Sophocles' *Phaedra*. In *Tr.* 2. 383–406, Ovid mentions 25 personages who were the subject of tragedies: it is difficult to believe that he had not read the Greek versions in at least some cases—the lists of titles of plays by the major Roman tragedians do not include an *Aerope*, a *Bellerophon*, or a *Canace*, for example, and the only play apparently mentioned by title is Euripides' *Hippolytus*. The theory that Ovid simply read mythographical summaries or the hypotheses of plays is undermined by the large number of verbal echoes noticed by Bömer, Cazzaniga and other commentators.

Ovidian variations.³ Sometimes, however, Ovid chooses not to retell a very familiar tale in its full form—either because it was hackneyed or because it could not be given a metamorphosis; instead, he focuses briefly on a particular aspect and then transfers other elements of the tale to a different episode somewhere else in the *Metamorphoses*. Thus, we may speak of a kind of *contaminatio*, with parts of one story being woven into another. This happens most noticeably with Medea, the Phaedra and Hippolytus affair, and the House of Atreus saga.

In the case of Medea, for instance, as Otis (172) points out, the heroine is introduced *via* the Argonauts. There is a brief monologue (7. 11–71)⁴ and then the Aeson and Pelias episodes are recounted in some detail, followed by an account of Medea's wanderings. These events were not treated in Euripides' play. The murder of the children, on the other hand, is mentioned only in passing (396 f.). Thus, Ovid avoids telling the well-worn parts of the story of Medea over again.⁵ Instead, he chooses to work them into a different tale altogether: the *Tereus* (6. 401–674).⁶ Significantly, though, the *Tereus* comes just before the *Medea* and the transfer of the child-killing motif through *contaminatio* makes an effective link between the two episodes.⁷

In the *Tereus*, the murder of Itys is described in considerable detail. Also, Procne's mental struggle over whether or not she should kill her son (624 ff.) is reminiscent of Medea's agonized soliloquy at 1042 ff. in the Euripidean play.⁸ The situations of Medea and Procne are indeed similar—a wronged wife gets back at her husband by killing their offspring. Otis (213) sees a difference: Medea kills her children because of Jason's infidelity,

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³ For the *Phaethon*, see Otis 389–95; Bömer I. 220–22; the survey (4 ff.) in Diggle's edition of Euripides' *Phaethon* (Cambridge 1970). For the *Pentheus*, see Otis 141; 400 f.; Bömer I. 570 f. For the *Hecuba*, see Bömer VI. 309 f.; P. Venini, "L'Ecuba di Euripide e Ovidio," *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere* 85 (1952) 364–77.

⁴ Some variation from the standard version is also achieved here by lightening the tone; the monologue is barely "tragic"—indeed, Otis (173) sees it as facile and parodistic. For a general discussion, see Otis 59–62; 172–73.

⁵ Cf. his own *Medea* and *Her.* 12: see Currie 2702–05; Jacobson 121 f.; P. E. Knox, "Ovid's *Medea* and the Authenticity of *Heroides* 12," *HSCP* 90 (1986) 207–23; F. Verducci, *Ovid's Toyshop of the Heart: Epistulae Heroidum* (Princeton 1985) 58–71. There are some verbal echoes nonetheless: *Met.* 7. 20 and *Med.* 1078 f.; *Met.* 7. 53 and *Med.* 256, 536 f.; *Met.* 7. 394 and *Med.* 1168 ff., 1187 ff.; and *Met.* 7. 396 and *Med.* 1236 ff. (see Bömer *ad loc.*).

⁶ Otis 209–15; 406–10; in fact, the *Tereus* is a patchwork of reminiscences from several tragedies, including Sophocles' and Accius' *Tereus*, Accius' *Atreus* (see below), Euripides' *Bacchae* and Pacuvius' *Pentheus* (see further, Cazzaniga II. 61; 69–72; Bömer III. 117–18; 159-61 (esp. *ad* 588, 591–93).

⁷ Otis 215-16: Ovid emphasizes the "difference in similarity" between the two stories ("the different motives of the similar child-murders") in order to produce a variation on the same theme. He uses the same technique elsewhere (see below), often to produce irony or parody.

⁸ Otis 213; verbal echoes: Procne's baleful glare at her son (*oculisque tuens immitibus*, 621) may have been inspired by *Med.* 92 (see Bömer *ad loc.*); Cazzaniga (II. 67 f.) also compares *Met.* 622 f. with *Med.* 29 f. and 93.

Procne kills Itys because of Tereus' cruel and libidinous nature. She is disgusted by the thought of their previous intimacy and thus by its product—the child Itys. The son reminds Procne of the father: *a quam es similis patri!* (621 f.). But Ovid probably still has Medea—and her motivation—in mind here: in *Her.* 12, when Medea speaks of her children to Jason she says (191): *et nimium similes tibi sunt* . . . Jacobson (122) notes the use of *nimium* and suggests that "Ovid mirrors in these lines a brilliant psychological insight into Medea's unconscious motivation in murdering her children. When she kills them, she sees herself killing Jason. In them, Jason dies." Thus, the *contaminatio* works well, producing an allusion to another famous child-killing in the Tereus story, and a smooth lead into the treatment of other aspects of the Medea myth immediately afterwards.

While the association of Medea with Procne was part of the literary tradition (it is possible, for instance, that Euripides' *Medea* was influenced by Sophocles' *Tereus*),[9] Ovid seems to have had a particular interest in the connections between the two stories: in the *Amores* (2. 14. 29–34) we find

> Colchida respersam puerorum sanguine culpant,
>   aque sua caesum matre queruntur Ityn:
> utraque saeva parens, sed tristibus utraque causis
>   iactura socii sanguinis ultra virum.
> dicite, quis Tereus, quis vos inritet Iaso
>   figere sollicita corpora vestra manu?

The blending of the two episodes in the *Metamorphoses*, moreover, goes far beyond the level of mere allusion and reminiscence and may well be the product of Ovidian originality; it is not likely, at any rate, that Sophocles' or Accius' *Tereus*—or, indeed any other tragedy—would have contained such a sustained interweaving of the two tales. In the *Metamorphoses* version of the Tereus story, the *contaminatio* produces a two-layered text, which also interacts on several levels with the *Medea* at the beginning of book 7.

For instance, the barbarian/Greek antithesis—an important theme in Euripides' *Medea* and, no doubt, in the lost *Tereus*—is subjected to some close scrutiny: Tereus' violent behaviour is related to his Thracian, barbarian origin (*Threicius Tereus*, 424; *innata libido*, 458; *barbarus*, 515). He is *crudelis* (534), *ferus* (549) and *saevus* (581). When she is raped, Philomela exclaims *o diris barbare factis! / o crudelis!* (533–34). These words have a somewhat ironic ring in retrospect, however, when Procne and Philomela, the sisters from Athens, wreak their barbaric revenge on Tereus. The similarities of the situations are made very clear: now Procne threatens

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[9] See, for example, I. Cazzaniga, "L'influsso della Medea di Euripide sul Tereo di Sofocle," *RIL* 68 (1935) 433–38, esp. 433–34; W. M. Calder III, "Sophocles, Tereus: A Thracian Tragedy," *Thracia* II, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica Primus Congressus Studiorum Thraciorum (Sofia 1974) 87–91. Calder suggests (91) that Sophocles' *Tereus* "certainly has what one may casually call 'Euripidean qualities'" and dates the play before the *Medea*.

to mutilate Tereus' tongue and *membra* with *her* sword. As Tereus *flagrat* (460), Procne *ardet* (610). The killing of Itys (*furiali caede*, 657) strikingly recalls Tereus' treatment of Philomela in the woods: Procne drags Itys off to a remote part of the house, like a tigress with a fawn, just as Tereus took Philomela into a secluded spot, like a wolf with a lamb or an eagle with a dove; Procne ignores the child's cries of "*mater, mater*" (640), just as Tereus paid no attention to Philomela's pleas to her father and the gods; Procne kills the child with a sword (*ense ferit*, 641) just as Tereus cut out his victim's tongue *ense fero* (557). Philomela then slits Itys' throat (643), an action which also recalls Tereus' crime—when he pulled out his sword, Philomela offered him her throat, hoping for death (543–44). Finally, Procne exhibits *crudelia gaudia* (653) at her triumph over Tereus (himself earlier described as *crudelis*). The implication of all these parallels is that the barbarian/Greek antithesis is of dubious validity. Procne and Philomela, from Athens, are not so different from Thracian Tereus after all. The dissolution of the antithesis produces more irony in the succeeding Medea story, when Medea, twice described as *barbara* (7. 144, 276), refers to her native-land as *barbara tellus* (53). Perhaps it is, in reality, no less *barbara* than her new home.

The conflation of the Medea and Tereus stories also allows Ovid to explore the theme of the manipulation of language. Tereus shares with both Athenian sisters a particular gift for dissembling and using "winning" words. Procne is described as *blandita* (440) when she asks her husband to bring her sister to visit her. Tereus in turn is *facundus* and manages to deceive Pandion. Philomela herself is *blanda* (476) as she persuades her father to let her go. Tereus employs his verbal skills to deceive Procne (563–66) and even Itys uses *blanditiis puerilibus* (626, cf. *blanditias*, 632) on his mother. Procne, finally, tricks Tereus into eating alone. In the *Tereus*, then, language is an instrument not for expressing, but, rather, for covering up true thoughts and intentions. This theme is picked up in the *Medea*: the heroine hides her real feelings as she speaks (171–72) and uses her words to trick the daughters of Pelias (325 ff.).

There are two other instances in the *Metamorphoses* of this kind of tragic *contaminatio* which are somewhat less obvious than the above-mentioned example: they are (1) the appearance of numerous elements from the House of Atreus saga in the *Tereus* and (2) the appropriation of Phaedra's speech of three sexually-charged wishes (*Hippolytus* 208 ff.) to the *Scylla*.

To take the House of Atreus first: the story of Thyestes' feasting on the flesh of his son is mentioned very briefly at 15. 462—obviously Ovid has no desire to offer yet another account of that well-known event. At least not in the original context. Instead, he transfers it to his *Tereus* and the description of the Itys-*cena*. Bömer and other commentators have noted numerous connections between Ovid's account of this banquet and parts of

Accius' *Atreus*[10] and Seneca's *Thyestes*.[11] If Seneca drew on Ovid's *Tereus* for his *Thyestes*, the two myths must have been linked in his mind, and this strengthens the case for Ovid's use of Accius' *Atreus* (or the house of Atreus tradition) in his *Tereus*. Whether or not he was the first to make the connection is impossible to tell (Sophocles' *Tereus*, for instance, may well have drawn on his *Thyestes*), but the tales of Thyestes and Tereus do exhibit certain structural and thematic similarities—the father unknowingly eats his child, tricked by a vengeful family-member whom he has outraged by an unlawful act of sexual intercourse. The father ends up eating his own son, and hence, himself, as punishment for his deeds. In each case, the under-evaluation of kinship- and marriage-ties leads to another under-evaluation of kinship-ties: Thyestes seduces Aerope, the wife of his brother Atreus, in revenge for which Atreus makes him eat his own children; Tereus rapes Philomela, the sister of his wife Procne, in revenge for which Procne makes him eat his son Itys.

So much for connections with the Thyestes story. It appears, however, that other elements of the House of Atreus saga are worked into the *Tereus*. In the dozen or so lines before the *Tereus* begins, Ovid mentions an earlier victim of an "atrocity-banquet"—Pelops—and refers glancingly to the story of how Tantalus killed his son and served him up on the dinner-table (6. 401–11). This is presumably not coincidental. Rather, we have here a clear link between the Pelops-*cena* and the Itys-*cena*; Ovid is not going to tell the story of Pelops (one which could conceivably provide a metamorphosis) again, but instead gives it the role of an allusion in the *Tereus*. Moreover, the mention of Pelops serves to link the story of Tereus with the House of Atreus right from the beginning.

But there is a third child-murder in the House of Atreus: that of Iphigeneia by Agamemnon. Ovid was undoubtedly familiar with the Euripidean versions of the story. At the beginning of book 12, Ovid tells how Iphigeneia was about to be sacrificed, but was replaced by a stag at the last minute. There are some indications, however, that Ovid had worked the other tradition about Iphigeneia—the Aeschylean one in which she was actually killed by her father—into his *Tereus*. There are pointed references to the Furies at the beginning and end of the episode (*Eumenides*, 430, 431; *vipereas sorores*, 662); these, of course, are not all that significant in themselves, but Ovid's description of the rape of Philomela has several affinities with the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis. The fates of the two women are somewhat analogous: Philomela is lured away to Thrace by the promise of seeing her sister, Iphigeneia to Aulis by the promise of marriage

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[10] Bömer III. 117 f.; *Met.* 645 f. and Fr. 187 W; *Met.* 665 and Fr. 190 W; *Met.* 648 f. and Fr. 181 W. Accius' *Atreus* seems to have dealt with the later parts of the story, including Atreus' revenge on Thyestes.

[11] Cazzaniga II. 69–72; Bömer III. 117; *Met.* 6. 618 f. and *Thy.* 269 f.; *Met.* 490 and *Thy.* 272; *Met.* 636 f. and *Thy.* 732; *Met.* 642 and *Thy.* 742; *Met.* 655 f. and *Thy.* 1030. See also H. L. Cleasby, *De Seneca Tragico Ovidii Imitatore* (Diss. Harvard 1907).

to Achilles. In each case, there is a contrast between brutal male violence, coupled with deceit, and defenceless female innocence. In each case, too, the immediate cry for vengeance is purposefully stifled—Iphigeneia's mouth is covered (cf. *Agam.* 234 f.), Philomela's tongue is cut out, 556 f.—but the victim is eventually avenged by the wife of the perpetrator of the crime in the family home.

More specifically, Ovid's comparison of Philomela to a hare caught in the talons of an eagle (516 f.)

> non aliter, quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis
> deposuit nido leporem Iovis ales in alto

is reminiscent of the omen of the hare torn apart by eagles, which is sent to the Greeks at Aulis in *Agam.* 114–20. In the Aeschylean lines, the hare, at least partially, represents Iphigeneia. In her distress, Philomela calls in vain upon her father (*clamato saepe parente*, 525), just as Agamemnon's daughter did (228). The general description of Philomela's distress (522 ff.) may also owe something to Lucretius' moving account of Iphigeneia's death (1. 92–6):

> muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat.
> nec miserae prodesse in tali tempore quibat
> quod patrio princeps donarat nomine regem.
> iam sublata virum manibus tremibundaque ad aras
> deductast, . . .

While there are similarities between the stories of Philomela and Iphigeneia,[12] however, the mirror distorts slightly: the situations are somewhat inverted, and it is this inversion of detail which lends a layer of peculiarly Ovidian irony and parody to the *Tereus*. For instance, Agamemnon sacrifices his daughter in order to be able to begin his voyage across the sea, while Tereus rapes Philomela after the voyage from Athens: Tereus' triumphant outburst when he gets Philomela on board ('*vicimus!*' *exclamat* '*mecum mea vota feruntur*,' 514) is in sharp contrast to Agamemnon's melancholy departure from Aulis.

It is perhaps insufficient here to talk of *contaminatio*, for in the *Tereus*, the House of Atreus saga forms a sustained subtext: not only Atreus and Thyestes, but also Pelops and Tantalus, and Iphigeneia and Agamemnon are recalled.[13] The stories interact continuously throughout the episode, with

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[12] There may have been a tradition linking the two: Tzetzes in his summary of the Tereus and Philomela story (Comm. on Hesiod, *Op.* 566) follows Ovid closely, but puts the rape "at Aulis in Boeotia" (see the text and discussion in Radt, *TGF* vol. 4, 435).

[13] A. Kiso, *The Lost Sophocles* (New York 1984) 70, compares Procne's luring of Tereus to the dinner-table to Clytemnestra's persuading Agamemnon to walk across the tapestries; although there is no direct verbal evidence for such a reminiscence, the presence of the House of Atreus subtext makes such a reading eminently valid: in a sense, Procne functions as a Clytmnestra to Tereus' Agamemnon, avenging the victim of his crime.

each thowing light on the other. Thus Ovid again achieves two things: he avoids having to re-tell a very well-known myth and he gives a multi-layered meaning to the *Tereus*.

Let us now consider the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus, widely known in Euripides' canonical version.[14] Ovid had dealt with the story in *Her.* 4[15] and it is perhaps partly for this reason that in the *Metamorphoses* (15. 479–621) he focuses on the chariot-ride which brings the hero to his death. In his description of the crash, Ovid appears to have the Euripidean messenger-speech in mind,[16] but the other important elements of the Euripidean tragedy—the "*pudor-amor*" conflict, the nurse's disastrous attempts to help and the overwhelming power of the pathological *libido*—are incorporated, again through a sort of *contaminatio*, into other episodes: the *Myrrha*, *Byblis* and *Scylla*.[17] Byblis' struggle between *pudor* and *amor* at 9. 514–16 recalls Phaedra's analysis of her position at *Hipp.* 375 ff.[18] Indeed, the whole plot is somewhat similar to that of the *Hippolytus*: Byblis is a kind of Phaedra, the victim of a powerful, but unnatural, passion, struggling to resist the urge to give in to it. Her messenger, the servant, is a go-between, like Phaedra's nurse. Caunus plays the part of Hippolytus: he violently rejects Byblis' overtures and the ferocity of his reaction stuns Byblis into a recognition of her folly.

[14] On the influence of Euripides' plays about Phaedra and Hippolytus on Roman literature in general, see B. K. Fenik, *The Influence of Euripides on Virgil's Aeneid* (Diss. Princeton 1960) 152–56.

[15] Ovid seems to have known both of the Euripidean plays called *Hippolytus*: see Jacobson 142–46; also, at *Tr.* 2. 381, the Hippolytus is the first play mentioned as dealing with *materiam amoris* (see above, n. 2).

[16] Otis 296 speaks of the "tragic, Euripidean character" of the story; more specifically, there are some linguistic echoes (see Bömer *ad loc.*): *Met.* 516 f. and *Hipp.* 1203 and 1218; *Met.* 517 f. and *Hipp.* 1230; *Met.* 518–21 and *Hipp.* 1219–24; *Met.* 522 f. and *Hipp.* 1232; *Met.* 524 f. and *Hipp.* 1236–39; *Met.* 527 and *Hipp.* 1246.

[17] Otis (205 ff.) includes these, together with the *Tereus* and the *Ceyx and Alcyone* among the "major pathos episodes" of the *Met.* Each story revolves around a pathological and destructive female *libido*, a motif first developed by Euripides and then taken up by the Alexandrians and Roman Neoterics. Otis sees the latter as the primary influence on Ovid's versions, but I am not entirely convinced of this: the choice of subject certainly shows Alexandrian and Neoteric influence (Byblis was treated by Nicaenetus, Aristocritus, Apollonius, Parthenius and Nicander, while Myrrha was the subject of Cinna's *Zmyrna*; some indication of Hellenistic versions of the Scylla story can be gained from the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris*). But there are also numerous verbal echoes of Euripides' *Hippolytus* in all three stories (see below) and there is ample evidence of Ovid's widespread use of the tragic tradition elsewhere, apparently based on direct reading of Greek plays and the Roman imitations. In other words, Euripidean borrowings in the *Met.* are as much a matter of direct influence as of indirect.

[18] Otis 218–25; linguistic echoes (see Bömer *ad loc.*): *Met.* 497 and *Hipp.* 451 ff.; *Met.* 508 and *Hipp.* 239 ff.; *Met.* 526 and *Hipp.* 183 f.; *Met.* 577 and *Hipp.* 589. Verducci (above, n. 5) 191–97, discusses the connections between Ovid's treatments of Phaedra, Byblis and Myrrha.

Likewise, Myrrha's struggle with her passion (in soliloquy 319–55) and the conflict between *pudor* and *amor* (371 f.) also recalls Phaedra's agonies.[19] Like Phaedra, although at a different stage of the story, Myrrha decides to hang herself as the only way out. As Otis points out (227), the nurse plays a pivotal role in the action. Like Phaedra, Myrrha is initially silent about her feelings, but the nurse gradually wears her down in her determination to find out the truth (*Met.* 389 ff.; *Hipp.* 297 ff., 507 ff.). In both cases, she wants to help: Myrrha's nurse suggests a cure with charms and herbs (395 ff.), Phaedra's something very similar (478 f., 509 f.). The process of revelation is also similar: Myrrha's first hint (401 ff.) is not picked up by the nurse, just as Phaedra's οἴμοι, at the mention of Hippolytus' name (310) is not fully understood by her nurse. Myrrha's outburst as she reaches the limit of her resistance (410–13) recalls Phaedra's words at 327 and 503 f. Finally, each nurse throws herself at her mistress' feet (*Met.* 415 f.; *Hipp.* 326) and the truth comes out, to her scandalized amazement (*Met.* 423 ff.; *Hipp.* 353 ff.). She resolves to help (*Met.* 429 f.; *Hipp.* 521). Myrrha's nurse is temporarily successful in her schemes: the daughter has intercourse with her father; but the end result is the same as in the *Hippolytus*: discovery of the truth by the object of the passion, a furious rejection of incest and the death (transformation, in Myrrha's case) of the protagonist.

Ovid's *Scylla* has several probable sources.[20] The *Ciris* indicates that Neoteric poetry is one likely area, but tragedy is another: in the list at *Tr.* 2. 381 ff. Ovid mentions Scylla as a tragic character:

> impia nec tragicos tetigisset Scylla cothurnos
> ni patrium crinem desecuisset amor.[21]

In the Scylla episode, the heroine's soliloquy at 8. 44–80 falls squarely into the tradition of the tragic "What shall I do?" speech of the kind uttered by Euripides' Medea or Phaedra. Scylla's speech, however, seems particularly reminiscent of Phaedra's words at *Hipp.* 208 ff.[22] In her delirium, Phaedra expresses her forbidden feelings in a series of three wild wishes to be in the places where Hippolytus is, and to do the things which he does: to lie in the grassy meadow and drink from the dewy spring (208–11), to go hunting in the mountains with a spear (215–22) and to tame horses on the sea-shore (228–31). Scylla likewise has three fantasies: to throw herself from a tower into the Cretan camp (39–40), to be taken hostage by Minos (47–48) and to fly down like a bird into the camp to confess her love (51–53). Like Phaedra, Scylla has drifted into a fantasy-world of wish-fulfillment.

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[19] Otis 226–29; Börner also notes connections with *Her.* 4 (*Met.* 497 and *Her.* 127 ff.; *Met.* 514 and *Her.* 156; *Met.* 526 and *Her.* 9).

[20] See the excellent discussion in Börner's introduction to the episode.

[21] A Euripidean play on the subject is a possibility, but no references or fragments survive; Sophocles' *Minos* appears to have dealt with the encounter between Theseus and Minos.

[22] See J. Glenn, "The Fantasies of Phaedra: A Psychoanalytic Reading," *CW* 69 (1976) 435–42.

Phaedra's language is pervaded by sexual symbolism: lying under a tree in a meadow and drawing water from a fountain, hunting, and taming horses have obvious sexual connotations. So too with Ovid's description of Scylla's words and thoughts. At 8. 30, for instance, Scylla admires Minos' skill with the bow and arrow:

> inposito calamo patulos sinuaverat arcus.

Apart from the obvious suggestiveness of the arrow,[23] the verb *sinuaverat* is erotically charged: as Minos bends the bow back, he pulls it into the shape of a *sinus*. Elsewhere Ovid uses this word of the vagina (*Fast*. 5. 256).[24] At 36 f., Scylla envies Minos' spear and reins because he touches them:

> ... felix iaculum, quod tangeret ille,
> quaeque manu premeret, felicia frena vocabat.

The *iaculum* is clearly a phallic symbol (cf. Phaedra's θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακα and ἐπίλογχον βέλος, 221 f.),[25] while the verb *premo* is used of the male role in sexual intercourse.[26] The *frena* are suggestive of yoking and subduing horses (cf. Phaedra's πώλους ... δαμαλιζομένα, 231). Taming horses is a very common sexual metaphor in antiquity;[27] we may compare another instance from Ovid: *Her*. 4. 21–24, which, as Glenn notes,[28] elaborates on Euripides' implicitly erotic elements:

> scilicet ut teneros laedunt iuga prima iuvencos,
>   frenaque vix patitur de grege captus equus,
> sic male vixque subit primos rude pectus amores,
>   sarcinaque haec animo non sedet apta meo.

These lines, coming as they do in *Her*. 4, the letter from Phaedra to Hippolytus, confirm that Ovid had the Euripidean text in mind and this, in turn, strengthens the case for direct imitation of Phaedra's speech in the Scylla episode in the *Metamorphoses*.

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[23] *Calamus*, literally "reed," is, of course, hollow; the choice of the word here over the other possibilities seems deliberate (the word is somewhat rare in the sense of "arrow": cf. *Met*. 7. 778; Verg. *Aen*. 10. 140). Note also a few lines earlier, *seu caput abdiderat cristata casside pennis* (25): Adams says (98) that *cristatus* was used of the penis—in which case, the punning *pennis* at the end of the line takes on an extra significance.

[24] See Adams 90–91; cf. the sexual symbolism of the *corneus arcus* at *Am*. 1. 8. 48.

[25] Adams 17, 19–22, 74; Glenn 439; it is difficult to believe that there is not also some sexual overtone at *Ars Am*. 3. 736: *iaculo fixa puella tuo est*.

[26] Adams 182; he compares Suet., *Cal*. 25. 1: *noli uxorem meam premere*.

[27] V. Buchheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum*, *Zetemata* 28 (Munich 1962) 104 and n. 6; see Adams 179, 207–08 on *iungo* and *iugum fero*.

[28] 441; cf. *Ars Am*. 3. 777–78: *parva vehatur equo: quod erat longissima, numquam / Thebais Hectoreo nupta resedit equo.*

Scylla is most affected when she sees Minos riding his white horse, decked in purple and pulling on the reins (33–36):[29]

> purpureusque albi stratis insignia pictis
> terga premebat equi spumantiaque ora regebat,
> vix sua, vix sanae virgo Niseia compos
> mentis erat . . .

The juxtaposition of the two colours in *purpureusque albi* is highly significant: *albus* is the colour of virginal innocence and *purpureus* symbolizes violence, especially of a sexual kind (note also *premebat*). Hence Scylla's wild excitement when she sees Minos on his white horse: she is thinking of sexual intercourse. The two colours purple and white are associated earlier in the *Met.* (6. 577 f.) in Philomela's tapestry:

> purpureasque notas filis intexuit albis,
> indicium sceleris

and at 5. 392, where Proserpina

> aut violas aut candida lilia capit.

In both cases, the combination of red/purple and white is connected with the act of rape: male aggression against a defenceless female. In Scylla's case, the difference is that she desires to be taken by the aggressor Minos. It is surely not without significance that the lock of hair she cuts from her father's head (79 f.) is coloured *purpura*:

>   . . . illa beatam
> purpura me votique mei factura potentem.

There is also a sustained use of sexual symbolism in Scylla's repeated references to the opening of the gates of the city (41 f., 61 ff., 69 f.).[30] At 69 f., she says:

>   . . . aditus custodia servat,
> claustraque portarum genitor tenet.

Thus, at last, Minos is directly linked to the opening of the gates both to the city and to Scylla: once this step has been taken, it is inevitable that she will cut off the purple lock and open the gates, in both senses, to Minos.

The *contaminatio* here is particularly effective, for there is, of course, a genealogical connection between Minos and Phaedra: she is his daughter. The Phaedra and the Scylla stories form a doublet of the kind Ovid

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[29] Adams 165–66 on riding; Glenn 440–42; E. M. Glenn, *The Metamorphoses: Ovid's Roman Games* (Lanham 1986) 103, notes Scylla's excitement and compares "Shakespeare's Cleopatra yearning to be Antony's horse" (the reference is to *Antony and Cleopatra* 1. 5. 21: "O happy horse, to bear the weight of Antony").

[30] Cf. Adams 89 on doors.

particularly likes: the stories are characterized by a similar basic plot. In the first, the Cretan Phaedra expresses her passion to Hippolytus, her son by the Athenian king Theseus; he rejects her, she kills herself and he is driven to death by his father. In the second, the Cretan Minos is the object of Scylla's passion, she being the daughter of the Megarian king Nisus; when she betrays her father, Minos rejects her and she is turned into a sea-bird, pursued by her father, now an eagle. Yet, there are also some significant "differences in similarity": Phaedra travels *from* Crete to mainland Greece, where her *libido* has disastrous results for all concerned; Minos returns happily *to* Crete after the fall of Megara—a result of Scylla's passion (disastrous for her and Nisus). There is also plenty of scope for irony: take, for instance, Minos' self-righteous words to Scylla at 99–100:

> certe ego non patiar Iovis incunabula, Creten,
> qui meus est orbis, tantum contingere monstrum.

To conclude: several highlights of the tragic repertoire—such events as Medea's infanticide, the cooking of Pelops' and Thyestes' children, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia and the writhings of the love-sick Phaedra—are not re-told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. There are two reasons for this: (1) the stories are too well-known and Ovid is aiming at *variatio* and novelty; (2) even with Ovid's ingenuity it is not possible to manipulate every tale so that it should include a metamorphosis. Nevertheless, these famous scenes *are* worked into the text, through a kind of *contaminatio*: they are transferred to other stories, such as the *Tereus* and the *Scylla*. These episodes thus become particularly rich and complex texts, through the numerous instances of allusion and linguistic echoes, and, moreover, of irony and parody, which are created as the stories interact.

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9

Some Ancient Histories of Literary Melancholia

PETER TOOHEY

In the pages to follow a survey will be made of several of the better-known characters and authors of the literature of antiquity who have been designated as melancholic. The provenance of this designation has been restricted largely to antiquity. The procedure will be first to outline the lineaments of the ancient classification of melancholy. Subsequently an attempt will be made to examine the characteristics of several of the more prominent ancient "literary melancholics." Do their symptoms match those described by the doctors? The first group of characters to be examined, representing the manic aspects of melancholy, comprise several of those designated as melancholic by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*. The second group, representing the depressive aspects of melancholy, are selected from later sources. The discussion has two main thrusts: first, to evaluate the usefulness of the psycho-social concept of melancholia for literary purposes; second, to suggest that the literary symptomatology of melancholia assumes greater significance in Hellenistic and particularly Roman imperial times.

I

As far as the ancients are concerned melancholia describes a psychological state which, most authorities seem to agree, resembles modern notions of depression and melancholia.[1] This can be illustrated briefly by surveying the more important of the ancient descriptions of the condition.[2] The

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[1] See generally on this assertion Stanley W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven and London 1986) passim.

[2] For the following survey I have relied upon Jackson (previous note) and Klibansky, Saxl and Panofsky, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London 1964). J. Starobinski, *History of the Treatment of Melancholy from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Basle 1962) was also helpful. More generally I have found useful R. D. Milns, "Attitudes towards Mental Illness in Antiquity," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 20 (1986) 454–62 (for which reference I am grateful to Dr. Ian Worthington), B. Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece: The Classical Roots of Modern Psychiatry* (Ithaca 1978) esp. 228–37 and G. Rosen, *Madness in Society* (London 1968) 71–136, esp. 92 ff. and 98. Simon 317 adds: H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in der medizinischen Theorie der Antike* (Berlin 1966), F. Kudlien, *Der Beginn des medizinischen Denkens bei den Griechen von Homer bis Hippokrates* (Zürich 1967) and "Schwärzliche Organe im

earliest of these may be found scattered unsystematically throughout the Hippocratic writings of the fifth and fourth centuries.[3] The disease was linked here with an "aversion to food, despondency, sleeplessness, irritability, restlessness." The same writers also note that "fear or depression that is prolonged means melancholia."[4] These writers appear to have based their explanation of the disease on an earlier version of the Galenic humoral theory.[5] It is probable that each of the four humours (blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm) was associated with a season (spring, summer, autumn and winter) and with a pair of opposites (blood with warm and moist, yellow bile with warm and dry, black bile with cold and dry, phlegm with cold and moist). Good health was the product of a proper mix (*eucrasia*) of these humours while bad health was the product of an ill-mix (*dyscrasia*). It seems likely, though impossible to demonstrate conclusively, that melancholia was associated with an excess of black bile and that such an excess, characterized by coldness and dryness, was particularly common in autumn.

Two points deserve stressing. First, melancholy is interpreted as a depressive disease.[6] Second, melancholy is the product of an excess of black bile. With minor variations these became the dominant medical opinions of antiquity.

The next piece of evidence comes from the text of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*.[7] The *Problema* 30. 1 addresses this problem: Why is there a correlation between political, philosophical and artistic ability and a temperament that is inclined to melancholia (and some to such an extent as to suffer the diseases associated with black bile)? The author of the *Problemata* answers that those gifted in these areas have a permanent excess of black bile in their nature. Thus they are subject to the various illnesses associated with this superfluity. Unlike the Hippocratics and those following Galen the author of this text conceives black bile as a mixture of

frühgriechischen Denken," *Medizin–historisches Journal* 8 (1973) 53–58, A. Lewis, "Melancholia: A Historical Review," in *The State of Psychiatry*, ed. A. Lewis (London 1967) 71–110 and W. Leibbrand and A. Wettley, *Der Wahnsinn* (Freiburg 1961) 43–89.

[3] W. Müri, "Melancholie und schwarze Galle," *MH* 10 (1953) 21–38 is very helpful on Hippocratic notions of melancholy and black bile. Useful generally on the Hippocratics is Wesley D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca 1979). For the larger view see Max Neuburger, *History of Medicine* I, trans. E. Playfair (London 1909).

[4] See Jackson (above, note 1) 30–31 quoting from W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington, *The Works of Hippocrates*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA 1923–31) I 236 and IV 185. Unless otherwise indicated translations henceforth are taken from the relevant volume of the Loeb Classical Library series.

[5] Jackson (above, note 1) 30 cites Jones (previous note) IV 3–41 in support of this view.

[6] Contra see Müri (above, note 3) 35. I do not find his citation of the evidence easy to follow.

[7] A reproduction of the Greek text with translation and comments may be found in Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 18–29.

cold and hot. Melancholics, accordingly, fall into two broad groups, those in whom the black bile becomes very hot and those in whom the black bile becomes very cold. Put coarsely this means that, where the black bile is hot, one would expect what we term the manic phase of this condition; where the black bile is cold one would expect the depressed phase.

The Roman writer Celsus provides the next account of melancholia.[8] Celsus, while not relying greatly upon the humoral theory, maintains that melancholia is the product of an excess of black bile. He epitomizes the condition thus (2. 7. 19–20): *at si longa tristitia cum longo timore et vigilia est, atrae bilis morbus subest* ("and the black bile disease supervenes upon prolonged despondency with prolonged fear and sleeplessness").[9] He does not appear to have associated mania with melancholia in the manner of the *Problemata*. Celsus appears to have been little concerned with the aetiology of the disease. His interest was in its treatment.[10]

Soranus of Ephesus,[11] who worked in Alexandria during the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods, also rejected the humoralist explanation of melancholy. Nor did he associate the disease with mania. Soranus characterized a melancholic as exhibiting "mental anguish and distress, dejection, silence, animosity towards members of the household, sometimes a desire to live and at other times a longing for death, suspicion . . . that a plot is being hatched against him, weeping without reason, meaningless muttering and . . . occasional joviality."[12] Soranus was not a humoralist and believed that the disease was so named because the patient vomits black bile.[13]

Soranus' contemporary, Rufus of Ephesus, is held by some to have been a key figure in formulating future notions of melancholia.[14] Like Celsus and Soranus he stresses the depressive aspects of melancholia. But

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[8] For a text see W. G. Spencer, *Celsus: De medicina*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA 1935–38).

[9] Spencer also refers to his volume III 18. 17 and to Hipp. IV 184 (see Jones, above, note 4)

[10] See Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 45 f. for a discussion of Celsus and a bibliography. They point out that Celsus bases his work on that of Asclepiades of Bithynia who came to Rome in 91 B.C. and went on to become a friend of Cicero. Jackson (above, note 1) 33 believes that Celsus may have been influenced by humoral theory.

[11] Soranus survives in a Latin translation made at the end of the fourth century by Caelius Aurelianus (*De morbis acutis et chronicis*). For a text see: I. E. Drabkin, ed. and trans., *Caelius Aurelianus: On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950).

[12] Drabkin (previous note) 19.

[13] Drabkin (above, note 11) 561. Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 48 quote the text: "melancholica dicta, quod nigra fella aegrotantibus saepe per vomitum veniant . . . et non, ut plerique existimant, quod passionis causa vel generatio nigra sint fella; hoc enim est aestimantium magis quam videntium veritatem, vel potius falsum, sicut in aliis ostendimus."

[14] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 49 make this statement as part of their general discussion (48–55) of Rufus of Ephesus. Rufus' work on melancholy is reconstructed from fragments and citations: see Klibansky et al. 49. The text for the remains of Rufus of Ephesus is now H. Gärtner, *Rufus Ephesius: Quaestiones Medicales* (Stuttgart 1970). Jackson (above, note 1) 407 refers to the following translation: C. Daremberg and C. E. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Ephèse* (Paris 1879).

he firmly believes that the source of the trouble is an excess of black bile. Melancholics were gloomy, sad and fearful. The chief signs of their illness were fear, doubting and a single delusional idea. Interestingly Rufus linked too much intellectual activity with melancholia, thus modifying the pseudo-Aristotelian position.[15]

It is, for the purposes of this essay, doubtful whether a consideration of the opinions of the medical writers of the second century is requisite. Their activity falls beyond the literary ambit of the present study. However, as Galen is one of these two writers, perhaps for the sake of thoroughness they ought to be included.

Aretaeus of Cappadocia, a contemporary of Galen, has a floruit of 150.[16] His discussions of the symptoms of depressive melancholia resemble those already outlined. He appears to have accepted the role attributed to black bile in the causation of melancholia. Like the writer of the *Problemata* he allows a manic side to melancholia and attributes this to the changeability of the disease. He does, however, distinguish an angry disposition from that of the true melancholic: the relevance of this will become apparent later. He states: "in certain of these cases, there is neither flatulence nor black bile, but mere anger and grief, and sad dejection of the mind; and these were called melancholics, because the terms *bile* and *anger* are synonymous in import, and likewise *black* with *much* and *furious*."[17]

Galen, as is well known, followed Hippocratic ideologies and seems to have formularized many of the aspects of their beliefs.[18] He was a humoralist and paired the four humours with the diadic qualities mentioned above. Illness was a result of an imbalance of the humours. He went on to characterize individuals according to the dominance of one or another of the humours: the sanguine, choleric, melancholic and phlegmatic personalities matched blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. In his scheme of things there were three types of melancholia:[19] in the first it is primarily a disease

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[15] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 49 quote a fragment of Rufus in Latin to support this: "illi qui sunt subtilis ingenii et multae perspicationis, de facili incidunt in melancolias, eo quod sunt velocis motus et multae praemeditationis et imaginationis."

[16] Jackson (above, note 1) 407 mentions the following translation: Francis Adams, *The Extant Works of Aretaeus, the Cappadocian* (London 1856), and discusses Aretaeus on pp. 39–41. The Greek text by Karl Hude is contained in *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* II (Berlin[2] 1958).

[17] The translation is drawn from Jackson (above, note 1) 40 who follows Adams (previous note) 298.

[18] For literature on Galen see the next note, Rudolph E. Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine* (Basel 1968) and O. Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca 1973). Smith (above, note 3) 66 ff. discusses the relation of Galen to the Hippocratic writings.

[19] Galen's comments on melancholy may be found in Book 3 of *On the Affected Parts*. The Greek text is contained in vol. VIII of C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 vols. (repr. Hildesheim 1965). For a translation see Rudolph E. Siegel, *Galen: On the Affected Parts* (Basle 1976). On Galen and melancholy see Jackson (above, note 1) 41–45 and "Galen—on Mental

of the brain; in the second the entire mass of the blood is infected with a resultant darkening of the skin; in the third—melancholic hypochondria—the disease is located in the upper abdominal area (the hypochondria) and resulted in indigestion and flatulence. Here is Galen's description of the manifestations of melancholy:[20]

Therefore, it seems correct that *Hippocrates* classified all their symptoms into two groups: fear and despondency. Because of this despondency patients hate everyone whom they see, are constantly sullen and terrified, like children or uneducated adults in deepest darkness. As external darkness renders almost all persons fearful, with the exception of a few naturally audacious ones or those who were specially trained, thus the colour of the black humour induces fear when its darkness throws a shadow over the area of thought [in the brain].

Galen does not appear to stress the manic sides of the illness.[21]

II

Having outlined the opinions of some of the more important of the ancient medical writers on the topic of melancholy, it is time now for the literary melancholics. The most useful place to begin is with the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* 30. 1. This offers a list and a valuation of several ancient melancholics. The most prominent is Heracles. The following are the relevant comments of the *Problemata*:[22]

Διὰ τί πάντες ὅσοι περιττοὶ γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες ἢ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἢ ποίησιν ἢ τέχνας φαίνονται μελαγχολικοὶ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς ἀρρωστήμασιν, οἷον λέγεται τῶν τε ἡρωϊκῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα; καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔοικε γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς φύσεως, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα τῶν ἐπιληπτικῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγόρευον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱερὰν νόσον. καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἀφανίσεως ἐν Οἴτῃ τῶν ἑλκῶν ἔκφυσις γενομένη τοῦτο δηλοῖ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται πολλοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς.

Mental Disorders," *J. Hist. Behav. Sci.* 5 (1969) 365–84, Siegel (previous note) 300–04 and Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 57 ff.

[20] Quoted by Jackson (above, note 1) 42 from Siegel (previous note) 93.

[21] See Siegel (above, note 19) 93.

[22] The passage is translated by Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 18 as follows: "Why is it that all those who have become prominent in philosophy or politics or poetry or the arts are clearly melancholics, and some of them to such an extent as to be affected by diseases caused by the black bile? An example from heroic mythology is Heracles. For he apparently had this constitution, and therefore epileptic afflictions were called after him 'the sacred disease' by the ancients. His mad fit in the incident with the children points to this, as well as the eruption of sores which happened before his disappearance on Mt. Oeta; for this is with many people a symptom of black bile."

Is there a correlation between such a medical evaluation of the psychology of Heracles and the depictions of his suffering and madness given by the various dramatic expositions?[23]

The first extensive literary depiction of Heracles' madness is provided by Euripides' *Hercules Furens*. In this dramatic context the contemporary medical views of melancholy are accorded very little importance.[24] Heraclean melancholia is, if anything, synonymous with madness exhibiting itself as anger, violence and destruction. Heracles' condition does not resemble the Hippocratic depressive illness. Its clearest analogue is in the manic phase of melancholia attributed by the *Problemata* to the exhalations of hot black bile. Heracles' melancholy, thus, is of a very specific kind and one which, outside the *Problemata*, does not receive widespread description in the medical tradition.

Depiction of this manic melancholia, furthermore, is constrained by the conceptual force of Heracles and his madness within the drama. One plausible type of interpretation for the play is to maintain that its logic is to exhibit the moral change which takes place within its hero.[25] Previously valuing an *aretê* based upon lineage and simple physical ability, Heracles learns, through the madness visited upon him by Juno, an *aretê* of the spirit. Heracles assimilates a spirit of perseverance and with this a type of internal heroism and fortitude.

As for the madness itself, its description in the play is indeed vivid (see lines 930–1008 and 867–70). It has been argued, perhaps correctly, that Euripides' portrait is "conventionalized and indistinguishable from the frenzy occasioned by physical pain."[26] Heracles' symptoms of rolling eyes, foam at the lips, bloodshot eyes and violence may suggest madness, but they are also used of Creon's daughter (*Medea* 1173 ff.) after the application of Medea's poison. She is no melancholic. Telling comparison with contemporary medical evidence is therefore not to be had. The reason for this may be that we are dealing with a stylized, stage madman. More likely,

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[23] The "incident with the children" is depicted in detail at least twice, the "disappearance on Mt. Oeta" twice. For the former there are Euripides' *Hercules Furens* and Seneca's play of the same name, for the latter Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*.

[24] Useful for this play and the Heracles-tradition generally is G. Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford 1972). More precisely on *Hercules melancholicus* is Wilamowitz' *Euripides Herakles* III (repr. Berlin² 1959) 92–95. For an interrelation of Hippocratic theories of black bile and of tragedy (and of Aristotle) see J. Tate, "Tragedy and the Black Bile," *Hermathena* 45 (1937) 1–25. My thanks to Prof. H. D. Rankin for this reference.

[25] Typical exemplars of this "humanistic" interpretation of the play are H. H. O. Chalk, "*Arete* and *Bia* in Euripides' *Herakles*," *JHS* 82 (1962) 7–18, D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* (Toronto 1967) 78–90 and Simon (above, note 2) 130–39. Conacher includes within this critical tendency the remarks on the play by Kitto in his *Greek Tragedy*. This position is criticized by Adkins, *CQ* 16 (1966) 193 ff. and implicitly by Bond, *Euripides: Heracles* (Oxford 1981) xxiii ff.

[26] So N. E. Collinge, "Medical Terms and Clinical Attitudes in the Tragedians," *BICS* 9 (1962) 43–55, 48. Bond (previous note) 309 seems to share this verdict. Wilamowitz' theories of "megalomania" may be equally wide of the mark. See Bond xix and xix n. 9.

however, is the symbolic nature of Heracles' illness. His madness, hardly an endogenous condition, is due to the hostility of the goddess Hera. Once this anger has played its symbolical course—however this symbol is interpreted—Heracles is again sane. The anger of Hera and the resultant madness are symbols.

Two conclusions may be drawn from this brief discussion of the characterization of Heracles in Euripides' *Hercules Furens*. First, if Heracles is melancholic at all then his condition may only be described as representing the manic phase to be outlined in the *Problemata*. Depression is hardly relevant. Second, because of the conceptualization of the illness (or, it could be said, its symbolic force) a strictly medical symptomatology or aetiology is rendered at best irrelevant, at worst confusing.

Seneca's version of the legend is also delimited by the same constraints. Hercules' condition, if melancholic, is to be interpreted as manic.[27] The function of the madness in the play is primarily of a symbolic nature. In Seneca's *Hercules Furens* Juno blights the hero, driven not by divine caprice, but by a resentment of the violence with which he pursues his claims (1–124), especially that of reaching heaven (89–91). In one sense Hercules represents the life of overweening ambition—to be contrasted with the life of tranquillity urged by the play's first choral ode (cf. 192–201). His madness, because of his violence and lack of Stoic calm, is in a sense but another example of his moral failing. It is, as Galinsky suggests, "the logical consequence of his will."[28] Hercules in this play contrasts dramatically with the eponymous hero of the *Hercules Oetaeus*.[29] In the *Oetaeus* there is a powerful portrait of the idealized Stoic hero who, like Seneca in Tacitus' description of his death, understands *bene mori*. The

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[27] Seneca's Hercules is related to that of Virgil. Virgil was certainly aware of the tradition of *Hercules melancholicus*: *Aen.* 8. 219–20, *hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro / felle dolor* (Hercules is setting angrily off in pursuit of Cacus). The *ater fellis* of this passage is usually taken to mean μελαγχολία. It is firmly within the pseudo-Aristotelian tradition of melancholia as mania. Seneca does not name Hercules' condition but when, at *Hercules Furens* 939 ff., madness comes upon the hero it is described in atrabilious terms (analogized with darkness, confusion etc.: so *tenebrae, obscuro nube, diem fugat, nox atrum caput* etc.). Compare Heracles' similar comments (867 ff.) in Euripides' play.

[28] See Galinsky (above, note 24) 170 and compare the similar views of Pratt to be outlined in the next note.

[29] N. T. Pratt, *Seneca's Drama* (Chapel Hill 1983) 24 f. neatly contrasts the two plays: "The Greek Heracles is a heroic figure whose life is blasted by the intervention of a vindictive divine force, and he becomes even more deeply a hero by understanding the nature of the force that has crushed him and by resolving to endure the pain. He has stood up to the unaccountable blows that are part of the human condition. Seneca's Hercules has fallen into the cult of belief in superhuman physical strength and has become a savage who considers himself strong enough to break the laws of nature and force his way to divinity. Juno's threat to turn Hercules against himself is a metaphor for the moral war within the great but arrogant hero. He has lost piety and virtue. He regains them when he rejects his arrogance by subjecting himself to the will of his father."

theme of madness is not, however, apparent in this play. Nor is there any reference to the sores mentioned in the *Problemata*.[30]

The madness of Heracles is as symbolic in Seneca as it is in Euripides. Melancholy is of the manic variety described in the *Problemata* in spite of the fact that current medical opinion—Celsus, for example—interpreted the condition as essentially depressive. Can it be assumed, then, that the determinants for Seneca's conception of Hercules are Euripides and above all the *Problemata*?

The literary history of Lysander, the next of the several individuals described as melancholic in the discussion of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, may bear out this contention. The following delineation of Lysander occurs at the end of the passage cited above concerning Heracles:[31]

καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἀφανίσεως ἐν Οἴτηι τῶν ἑλκῶν ἔκφυσις γενομένη τοῦτο δηλοῖ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται πολλοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς. συνέβη δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρωι τῶι Λάκωνι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς γενέσθαι τὰ ἕλκη ταῦτα.

Nearly five hundred years after the *Problemata* Plutarch, in the most useful source for Lysander's life,[32] repeats the claim that the Spartan general was a melancholic.[33] In the first instance he states (*Lysander* 2):[34]

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις ἀποφαίνων μελαγχολικάς, ὡς τὴν Σωκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῆι μελαγχολίαι περιπεσεῖν.

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[30] Nor does the final agony of Heracles in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* offer confirmation of the *Problemata*'s assertion.

[31] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 18 translate the passage as follows: "His [Heracles'] mad fit in the incident with the children points to this [his melancholia], as well as the eruption of sores which happened before his disappearance on Mount Oeta; for this is with many people a symptom of the black bile. Lysander the Lacedaemonian too suffered from such sores before his death."

[32] I mean for a psychological portrait of the man. For the present purposes little of value can be had from, for example, Xenophon's *Hellenica* or from the relevant books (11–15) of Diodorus Siculus.

[33] Plutarch's interest in humoral theory is to be observed elsewhere. In *Alexander* 4 Plutarch ascribes the pleasant odour of Alexander's body to the heat of his blood. This would also imply, under the humoral scheme of things, that Alexander was choleric. Plutarch does point this out.

[34] The passage is translated as follows: "And Aristotle, when he sets forth that great natures, like those of Socrates and Plato and Heracles, have a tendency to melancholy, writes also that Lysander, not immediately, but when well on in years, was a prey to melancholy."

Later (*Lysander* 28) and without absolute consistency Plutarch adds that:[35]

ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι χαλεπὸς ὢν ὀργὴν διὰ τὴν μελαγχολίαν
ἐπιτείνουσαν εἰς γῆρας, παρώξυνε τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ συνέπεισε
φῆναι φρουρὰν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
ἐξεστράτευσεν.

At no point, however, does Plutarch mention the sores nor does he catalogue other symptoms typically associated with the illness.

How is Plutarch's notion of Lysandrian melancholy to be understood? The second of the two passages is quite precise. Plutarch states of Lysander that he was χαλεπὸς ὢν ὀργὴν διὰ τὴν μελαγχολίαν.[36] The melancholy manifests itself, in other words, as *orgê* or anger. This is an interpretation of the word which seems to have had current medical usage.[37] For Plutarch melancholy seems to be inextricably associated with violent anger. Lysander is subject to this emotion in more than one place in Plutarch's life.[38] The anger, it also needs to be stressed, is inextricably confused with the subject's greatness.[39]

The Euripidean Heracles, as understood by the *Problemata*, is an obvious prototype for Lysander. These two characters, if indeed they are melancholics, are victims of an illness which manifests itself through violence and anger. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian understanding of melancholia Heracles and Lysander must both be subject to the exhalations of hot black bile and exhibit the illness in its manic phase. While analogies for Plutarch's understanding of melancholy may be found in contemporary literature, it seems safest to assume that his understanding of the psycho-dynamics of Lysander's character is reliant on the *Problemata*.

[35] The passage is translated as follows: "Since he was now of an altogether harsh disposition, owing to the melancholy which persisted into his old age, he stirred up the ephors and persuaded them to fit out an expedition against the Thebans."

[36] The phrase could be rendered clumsily as "being harsh as regards anger because of his melancholy." The implication is that he gives way readily to violent anger.

[37] An instance is offered by Plutarch's near contemporary, Aretaeus of Cappadocia—see the discussion of Aretaeus above. Cicero, *Tusc.* 3. 5 also supports this: *quem nos furorem, melancholian illi* [sc. *Graeci*] *vocant.*

[38] References from Plutarch to Lysander's anger and violence: *Lysander* 19 where his cruelty is referred to (χαλεπότης), 22 passim and 27 (to his anger). An interesting parallel for Lysander is provided by Diodorus Siculus' depiction of Dionysius of Syracuse (15. 7. 2–3). Dionysius, an enthusiast for poetry, had his own work performed at Olympia. This was received with derision. The experience seems to have unhinged him. Diodorus says that in his madness he came to suspect his friends of plotting against him. He slew many of them. (Diodorus describes him as μανιώδης and as suffering from an ὑπερβολὴ λύπης. The term μελαγχολία is not used however). Madness, therefore, is associated with extreme violence.

[39] I doubt that it is as simple as Plutarch having uncritically and uncomprehendingly taken over a description offered by an earlier historiographical authority. The Lysander of his life is not unlike in his violence Heracles or the Sophoclean Ajax.

The *Problemata* continues to discuss two further victims of the exhalations of hot bile, Ajax and Bellerophon. It states:[40]

ἔτι δὲ τὰ περὶ Αἴαντα καὶ Βελλεροφόντην, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκστατικὸς
ἐγένετο παντελῶς, ὁ δὲ τὰς ἐρημίας ἐδίωκεν, διὸ οὕτως ἐποίησεν
Ὅμηρος·

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ κεῖνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
ἤτοι ὁ καππεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἷος ἀλᾶτο,
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

Of Bellerophon little more can be said than is offered by the *Problemata* itself.[41] His literary depictions are not sufficiently common as to facilitate analysis here. Ajax is a different matter. There is the Sophoclean play.

Ajax has recently been the subject of a psychological analysis based upon modern criteria. Collinge,[42] with implicit approval by Stanford,[43] argues first "that Sophocles was more truly medical, more seriously and instinctively a devotee of the craft than any other literary figure of the fifth and fourth centuries except (if we can call him literary) Aristotle." Collinge and Stanford continue to list the frequency of medical terms in Sophocles' *Ajax* and, further, to demonstrate that Sophocles' play has detailed most of the symptoms of what would now be termed manic-depression. Stanford summarizes as follows:[44]

Sophocles has produced most of the symptoms of the manic-depressive syndrome in his portrait of Ajax: first (in the depressive phase) sadness, "psycho-motor retardation in the forms of difficulty of thinking . . . and of sitting in the same place for a long time" . . . fleeting delusions of persecution . . . and of mockery . . . The manic phase shows the opposite qualities: elation . . . brutal violence . . . persistent

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[40] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 18 f. translate the passage as follows: "There are also the stories of Ajax and Bellerophon: the one went completely out of his mind, while the other sought out desert places for his habitation; wherefore Homer says [*Iliad* 6. 200–02]:

And since of all the gods he was hated

Verily over the Aleian plain he would wander

Eating his own heart out, avoiding the pathway of mortals."

[41] Rosen (above, note 2) 98 offers an interesting New Testament parallel: "Aretaeus speaks of some madmen who 'flee the haunts of men and, going to the wilderness, live by themselves.' Also, in discussing melancholia, he refers to 'avoidance of the haunts of men' as characteristic of those severly afflicted with this condition. The Gerasene demoniac in the Gospels apparently belonged to this group. According to Luke, the demon who possessed him drove him into the desert after he had broken the bonds used to fetter him [Luke 8. 26, 29; Mark 5. 3; also Matthew 8. 28]."

[42] Collinge (above, note 26) 47. See too Simon (above, note 2) 124–30 who also cites (303): J. Starobinski, "L'épée d' Ajax," in *Trois fureurs* (Paris 1974) 12–71; M. Faber, "Suicide and the 'Ajax' of Sophocles," *Psychoanalytic Review* 54 (1967) 441–52 and R. Seidenberg and E. Papathomopoulos, "Sophocles' Ajax: A Morality for Madness," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 30 (1961) 404–12.

[43] W. B. Stanford, *Sophocles: Ajax* (London 1963) 237.

[44] W. B. Stanford (above, note 43) 237.

hallucinations . . . delusions of grandeur . . . irritability if thwarted or opposed . . . Collinge . . . concludes "Sophocles has, maybe instinctively or because he has observed people's behaviour with a clinical eye, put a traditional phenomenon, Ajax mad, into the correct and consistent framework of a well-observed psychosis."

However convincing such an analysis may be, it does not demonstrate whether the Sophoclean Ajax' symptoms would have been interpreted as melancholic or manic-depressive by a contemporary audience. To decide this requires contemporary medical parallels. These may indeed exist. They may be found in the same passage of the *Problemata* (30. 1) previously discussed (954a21). Here it argued that:[45]

καὶ ἡ χολὴ δὲ ἡ μέλαινα φύσει ψυχρὰ . . . οὖσα . . . ἀποπληξίας ἢ νάρκας ἢ ἀθυμίας ποιεῖ ἢ φόβους, ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερθερμανθῇ, τὰς μετ' ᾠδῆς εὐθυμίας καὶ ἐκστάσεις καὶ ἐκζέσεις ἑλκῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα . . . ὅσοις δὲ λίαν πολλὴ καὶ θερμὴ [ἡ μέλαινα χολή], μανικοὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς καὶ ἐρωτικοὶ καὶ εὐκίνητοι πρὸς τοὺς θυμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας . . . [καὶ] ψυχροτέρα . . . οὖσα τοῦ καιροῦ δυσθυμίας ποιεῖ ἀλόγους. . . ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μαραινομένου τοῦ θερμοῦ αἱ ἀθυμίαι γίνονται, μᾶλλον ἀπάγχονται. . . ὅσοις δὲ σβεννυμένου, ἐξαίφνης οἱ πλεῖστοι διαχρῶνται ἑαυτούς, ὥστε θαυμάζειν πάντας διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι σημεῖον πρότερον.

Ajax' condition seems to have a clear correlate in these passages. If, following the *Problemata*, it is correct to view him as melancholic, then his initial fit of madness (91–133) must be interpreted as the result of the overheating of the cold black bile. Thus he becomes "easily moved to anger." After the act of frenzy Ajax' predominantly atrabilious temperament begins quickly to cool. The result of this sudden extinguishing is a profound despondency (645 ff.) which leads him to take his life "to the astonishment of all, since [he has] . . . given no previous sign of any such intention." According to the symptomatology of the *Problemata* Ajax may indeed suffer a clinical condition. It does appear that in Ajax there is the literary history of a genuinely melancholic individual. As such he may be contrasted with Heracles or Lysander.

Naturally there is more to this madness than a mere clinical portrait. It does have a symbolic import. Winnington-Ingram, for example,

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[45] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 23 ff. translate the passage as follows: "black bile, being cold by nature . . . can induce paralysis or torpor or depression or anxiety . . . but if it is overheated it produces cheerfulness, bursting into song, and ecstasies and the eruption of sores and the like . . . those who possess much hot bile are elated and brilliant or erotic or easily moved to anger and desire . . . If it [sc. the black bile] is unduly cold . . . it produces irrational despondency . . . those who become despondent as the heat in them dies down are inclined to hang themselves . . . Most of those men in whom the heat is extinguished suddenly make away with themselves unexpectedly, to the astonishment of all, since they have given no previous sign of any such intention."

convincingly links Ajax' madness with a lack of mental balance, self-knowledge and *sophrosynê*.[46] It was the lack of these qualities, he argues, which nullified his preeminent *aretê*. In the imbalance between *aretê* and *sophrosynê*, highlighted by the madness brought on by Athena, consists Ajax' tragedy. Such symbolic understandings of the madness do nothing, however, to diminish the purpose and force of what may have been to contemporary eyes an accurate clinical portrait.

Sophocles' *Ajax*, therefore, presents a character which differs markedly from those previously discussed. Ajax appears to exhibit melancholia not just in the *Problemata*'s manic phase, but also—and this is unusual—in the *Problemata*'s depressive phase. Ajax' psychosis, however, (and here he does resemble the characters previously discussed) is subsumed into the more important conceptual concerns of the play. His madness, though medically accurate as far as the *Problemata* is concerned, is primarily symbolic.

There is a final trio of characters mentioned in the *Problemata*. These are Empedocles, Plato and Socrates. Here is what the text says (952a25):[47]

καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡρώων ὁμοιοπαθεῖς φαίνονται τούτοις.
τῶν δὲ ὕστερον Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ
ἕτεροι συχνοὶ τῶν γνωρίμων. ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ποίησιν οἱ
πλεῖστοι. πολλοῖς μὲν γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων γίνεται νοσήματα ἀπὸ
τῆς τοιαύτης κράσεως τῶι σώματι, τοῖς δὲ ἡ φύσις δήλη
ῥέπουσα πρὸς τὰ πάθη. πάντες δ' οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς εἰσί,
καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν.

There is little that can be profitably made of these assertions. The biographical tradition of these philosophers is too unreliable. It might be worth observing, however, that if Aristoxenus were correct in saying that Socrates, if contradicted, could fly into anger and violent language,[48] and that, if Diogenes Laertius were correct in stating that Empedocles perished by leaping into Mt. Aetna,[49] there may be some grounds for the speculation of pseudo-Aristotle.

Of the characters so far considered the common element was mania. Depression, except in Ajax' case, plays a relatively minor role in their conditions. Their illnesses—if they were that—were characterized above all

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[46] *Sophocles: An Interpretation* (Cambridge 1980) 11–56 (a chapter entitled "The Mind of Ajax").

[47] Klibansky et al. (above, note 2) 19 translate as follows: "Among the heroes many others evidently suffered in the same way, and among men of recent times Empedocles, Plato, and Socrates, and numerous other well known men, and also most of the poets. For many such people have bodily diseases as the result of this kind of temperament; some of them only a clear constitutional tendency towards such afflictions, but to put it briefly, all of them are, as has been said before, melancholics by constitution."

[48] This is alluded to by Guthrie, *Socrates* (Cambridge 1971) 70 (= *A History of Greek Philosophy* III [Cambridge 1969] 390). The ancient source is F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* II: Aristoxenos (Basle 1945) fr. 54.

[49] *Vita Empedoclis* 8. 2. 69.

by anger and violence. If they are to be considered instances of melancholia
then doubtless they conform to the *Problemata*'s understanding of the
sickness.[50]

The persistence of the tradition embodied in the pseudo-Aristotelian
account is worth stressing. In Cicero *Tusc.* 3. 5. 11 a variety of terms used
in Latin and Greek for insanity are being discussed. A definition of
melancholia is offered:

> Graeci autem *maniam* unde appellent non facile dixerim: eam tamen ipsam
> distinguimus nos melius quam illi; hanc enim insaniam, quae iuncta
> stultitia patet latius, a furore disiungimus. Graeci volunt illi quidem, sed
> parum valent verbo: quem nos furorem, *melancholian* illi vocant. Quasi
> vero atra bili solum mens ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel
> dolore moveantur, quo genere Athamantem, Alcmaeonem, Aiacem,
> Orestem furere dicimus.[51]

The important aspect of this passage is the correlation made by Cicero
between the Greek *melancholia* and the Roman term *furor*. The definition
offered by the *Problemata* included depressive illnesses. The subsequent
medical discussions ignored the element of mania in the illness. Cicero
appears to be in ignorance of the medical discussions. So indeed are
subsequent writers. The characterization in *Tusc.* 3. 5. 11 of Athamas,
Alcmaeon, Ajax and Orestes as *melancholici* or, in Roman terminology, as
furiosi is indicative. The depiction of these individuals by subsequent
Roman writers supports the Ciceronian diagnosis.[52]

There is, then, a consistency in the interpretation of melancholia as
meaning mania which stretches from Sophocles to at least Plutarch.[53] Such
an interpretation, it should be reiterated, runs increasingly in the face of
contemporary medical theory.

[50] For a discussion of the origins of the equation of *melancholê* with mania see Müri (above,
note 3) 34–38.

[51] The passage is translated as follows: "Now I cannot readily give the origin of the Greek
term *mania*; the meaning it actually implies is marked with better discrimination by us than by
the Greeks, for we make the distinction between 'unsoundness' of mind, which from its
association with folly has a wider connotation, and 'frenzy.' The Greeks wish to make the
distinction but fall short of success in the term they employ: what we call frenzy they call
melancholia, just as if the truth were that the mind is influenced by black bile only and not in
many instances by the stronger power of wrath or fear or pain, in the sense in which we speak of
the frenzy of Athamas, Alcmaeon, Ajax and Orestes."

[52] Athamas is characterized thus at Ovid, *Met.* 4. 416 ff. as is Ajax at *Met.* 13. 1 ff. Orestes
appears in this manner in Horace, *Satires* 2. 3. 137 ff. Varro wrote a *logisticus* entitled *Orestes
de insania* (E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* [London 1985] 179).

[53] Rosen (above, note 2) 92–94 has useful comments on the colloquial use of the term in
Greece and Rome. See too Müri (above, note 3) 38.

III

In the following pages three characters exhibiting the symptoms of depressive melancholia will be examined. Melancholics in different degrees, the condition of these persons exhibits none of the violence of an Heracles, Lysander or Ajax. Their problems, it could be conjectured, were due to the heavy and lugubrious nature of the black bile. Significantly these types belong to Hellenistic or imperial Roman times. Here the influence of contemporary medical theory is more readily discernible.

Apollonius Rhodius' hero Jason is not characterized by ancient writers as a melancholic. He has, however, been accused of a propensity for melancholia by some modern writers.[54] His melancholia, on the description of these critics, contrasts markedly with the type to which Heracles, Lysander or Ajax was said to be prone.[55] Jason's melancholia is of the depressive not the manic order. This propensity does indeed distinguish him from his companion Argonauts. This reading, if it were to be accepted, would render him one of the more singular protagonists of ancient epic.

Does Jason exhibit any of the symptoms normally associated with the illness?[56] Soranus of Ephesus, though post-dating Apollonius Rhodius by nearly four hundred years, produced a description of melancholia—typical of the tradition—which may assist in an analysis of Jason. Soranus characterized a melancholic as exhibiting "mental anguish and distress, dejection, silence, animosity towards members of the household, sometimes a desire to live and at other times a longing for death, suspicion . . . that a plot is being hatched against him, weeping without reason, meaningless muttering and . . . occasional joviality."[57]

There are character traits in Jason which, if they do not indicate outright melancholy, may have made Soranus raise an eyebrow. There is an insistence in many speeches on the mental anguish and distress which Jason suffers. At *Argonautica* 1. 460–61 Jason is depicted brooding over the enormity of the impending tasks (he is ἀμήχανος and κατηφιόωντι

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[54] So C. R. Beye, *Epic and Romance in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Carbondale and Edwardsville 1982) 81 who says of Jason that "his leave-taking is marked by a melancholia which distinguishes him from his exuberant fellow crewmen." Beye 183 n. 8 cites in support A. Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry under the first three Ptolemies*, trans J. Loeb (London 1931), claiming that melancholia is an "emotional attitude common to the poem." Couat 337 n. 2 cites the following passages as indicative of the emotional attitude: 1. 1172 ff., 2. 541 ff., 2. 1001 ff., 3. 291 ff., 3. 744 ff. and 4. 1062 ff. Couat states that his claim is based upon Hémardinquer, *De Apoll. Rhod. Argon.* (Paris 1872) 104 ff.

[55] Heracles' anger at the loss of Hylas is expressed by Apollonius in language redolent of the manic phase of melancholia. At 1. 1262 Heracles' κελαινὸν αἷμα is said to have boiled ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις.

[56] The description of the symptoms of Medea's infatuation (e. g. 3. 451 ff.), using the language of the humoralist, may also imply an excess of black bile. Love infatuation, it deserves noting, is a type of melancholy. See Jackson (above, note 1) 352 ff.

[57] See (above, note 12).

ἐοικώς). At 2. 410, after Phineus' painful predictions, Jason is ἀμηχανέων κακότητι. To Tiphys at 2. 622–23 Jason extravagantly states that he is grieving and that he is "distraught in wretched and helpless ruin"; a few lines later he is "wrapped in excessive fear and cares unbearable" (2. 267–68). Soon afterwards (2. 631–33) Jason protests to Tiphys that, rather than sleeping, he groans throughout the night worrying for the future. Shortly after the death of Tiphys Jason is again reduced to a state of helplessness (at 2. 885 he is ἀμηχανέων and at 2. 888 he and his companions are "vexed at heart," ἀσχαλόωσιν).[58] On their home voyage Jason and the Argonauts are forcibly beached on the Libyan coast. His reaction is despair (4. 1347, ἀνιάζοντι). Then nymphs (ἡρῶσσαι, Λιβύης τιμήοροι ἠδὲ θύγατρες, 1358) appear to provide assistance. Apollonius describes his hero's reaction to their appearance as not merely amazed but "distraught" or "grief stricken" (ἀτυζόμενον, 4. 1316–18). Such anxieties and dejections, while uncommon in an Homeric hero, are in Jason's case perhaps excessive, even for an Hellenistic hero. Do they point to a depressive nature?[59]

Other qualities which Soranus might have wondered at were Jason's silences.[60] At 1. 1286–89, after the disappearance of Heracles, Jason not only "sits heavy with grief eating his heart out" but would utter "never a word, good or bad."[61] After Aeetes assigns Jason his tasks (3. 422–25) the reaction is similar. Jason is also given to tears. He weeps as he leaves his homeland at 1. 534–35, and at 4. 1703–04 when he and his companions are trapped in darkness on the Cretan sea. Notice, furthermore, that Jason is seldom jovial. Rare instances occur at 1. 1104 (when Mopsus interprets a favourable omen for him), at 3. 1148 (after meeting Medea and declaring his love) and at 4. 93 (again in reaction to Medea).

An ancient leech may not have felt that Jason was, strictly speaking, classifiable as a melancholic. Yet his character attributes do seem to show some of the qualities associated with the mildly depressive phase of the condition. If this is the case—and it is far from certain that it is—Jason provides one of the first instances of the literary depictions of the solely depressive phase of melancholia. Hitherto it has been the manic phase (or in Ajax' case, the manic-depressive phase) which has interested.

[58] At 4. 1279 all of the Argonauts (Jason included) are said again to be in a similar state.

[59] Indecision and depressive behaviour on Jason's part are more pronounced in Books 1 and 2. In 3 and to a lesser extent 4 the focus is on Medea. This may have blurred the presentation of Jason's personality. And anyhow, he now has Medea's help, especially in the scene of the contests at the end of Book 3.

[60] Not all of Soranus' qualities are present. There is no animosity to members of household. Notice, however, the peculiar simile used of Jason's mother at 1. 268 ff. Nor are there conflicting desires to live and to die. Idmon, who often acts as a doublet for Jason, perhaps adverts to this theme at 1. 440–44. He is referring mournfully to the danger of death far away from home in a strange land.

[61] At 1. 638–39, interestingly, this type of description is used of the Lemnian women.

A clearer instance of the melancholic individual is provided by the addressee of Seneca's *De tranquillitate vitae*. It could be said that M. Annaeus Serenus, at least in the way Seneca addresses him, is the spiritual heir of Apollonius' Jason.

Seneca's dialogue begins innocuously with Serenus outlining a condition of irresolution which he terms *fluctuatio animi* (or *bonae mentis infirmitas* or even *nausea*).[62] Its symptoms in Serenus' case are a wavering between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with his own possessions (1. 4–9), between a desire for public and private life (1. 10–12) and, in literary matters, between the high style and the low style (1. 13–14). Serenus, who feels himself neither ill nor well, then requests Seneca's help. Seneca (2. 1–2) replies that Serenus' "illness" is not bad. Rather it is like the slight fits of fever following a serious illness or the ripples on a tranquil sea. Seneca continues to point out: *quod desideras autem magnum et summum est deoque vicinum, non concuti* ("what you desire is a great, noble and god-like thing, not to be shaken"). The Greek philosopher Democritus (2. 3–5) had a name for this condition of *non concuti*. This was *euthymia*. Seneca calls it *tranquillitas*.

Now follows the key section (2. 6–15). This provides a symptomatology, albeit one which goes well beyond the problems suffered by Serenus. A variety of colourful terms describe the illness (most of which do not match the condition of Serenus): nouns or noun phrases such as *adsidua mutatio propositi, cunctatio vitae, displicentia sui, sibi displicere, fastidium* [*vitae*], *fluctus animi, inertia, levitas, marcor, maeror, odium vitae* is implied, *oscitatio, residentis animi volutatio et otii sui tristis atque aegra paenitentia, taedium, tristitia,* and of individuals the adjectives *instabilis* and *mobilis* or the adjectival clause *inter destituta vota torpentis animi situs.*

Seneca maintains that Serenus' circumstances are representative of a much more widespread malaise. It is, he insists, all the same whether a person is plagued by fickleness, boredom, by shifting purpose (like Serenus) or whether they loll about and yawn (2. 6–9). Indeed, to these four types should be added those who flee *odium vitae* through change or, because of personal *inertia*, live their lives in the same inadequate circumstances in which they began. The result of all of these conditions is a type of dissatisfaction with oneself (*sibi displicere*). This ensues from the lack of mental poise. And this ensues from not daring to attain what one desires or by desiring more than can be attained. Thence comes a boredom and dissatisfaction and a mental state that nowhere finds repose. Further there is a sad and languid endurance of one's own leisure (2. 10–12). In section 2. 13–15 Seneca outlines the various antidotes which sufferers have set to work unsuccessfully against this condition: travel to remote places, to seaside resorts, to the city: such dissatisfaction has even led to suicide.

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[62] A discussion of this dialogue may be found in M. T. Griffin, *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford 1976) 321–27 and M. Walz, *Sénèque, Dialogues* IV (Paris 1950) 63–66.

The sections of the *De tranquillitate* to follow (3 ff.) are of less importance for the argument of this essay. They present a variety of cures for the condition.   Seneca recommends, amongst other things, an involvement in practical affairs, self-understanding, care in the choice of friends, circumspection in the use of wealth, equanimity in the face of fortune, adaptability, an avoidance of misanthropy and four final pieces of advice: to vary one's company; to use games for relaxation; to get adequate rest; to indulge in mild exercise and wine drinking.

Was Serenus a melancholic in the contemporary sense? To judge from his own statements the answer must be that he was not. However, Seneca's diagnosis links Serenus' mild sickness with something more serious. Seneca's generalized symptomatology, while at no point presenting a condition which matches, for example, Soranus' precisely detailed *morbus*, does exhibit elements in common with the more generally described conditions of Celsus (who links melancholia with prolonged despondency) or Rufus of Ephesus (whose melancholics were gloomy, sad, fearful and doubting). The condition being discussed in the *De tranquillitate vitae* might best be characterized as a secularized form of the illness. Serenus was indeed a depressive, but in the circumscribed world of literature.

The final instance of a depressed literary figure is to be drawn from Persius' third satire. The addressee of this poem suffers many of the symptoms of the *morbus* examined by Seneca in *De tranquillitate vitae* 2. 6–15. With Seneca's fickleness might be compared the irresolution of Persius' addressee on waking (3. 10–19). While there is no mention (though certainly there is an implication) of boredom, shifting purpose is an issue: compare 3. 60–62 and its accusation of purposelessness (*est aliquid quo tendis et in quod derigis arcum? / an passim sequeris . . . / securus quo pes ferat?*). And certainly the addressee lolls about and yawns (58–59: *stertis adhuc laxumque caput conpage soluta / oscitat hesternum, dissutis undique malis?*). There is no mention of the addressee attempting to flee *odium vitae* through change—Seneca's fifth symptom of a lack of *tranquillitas*. But there is a strong insinuation of the presence of the sixth symptom—because of personal inertia, the addressee of the poem lives his life in the same inadequate circumstances in which it began (so 24–33). Indeed many of the vivid terms used by Seneca to characterize the condition might be applied here (*adsidua mutatio propositi, cunctatio vitae, fastidium* [*vitae*], *fluctus animi, inertia, levitas, marcor, oscitatio, taedium, tristitia* and so forth).

Persius is more precise in his designation of the condition of his addressee than Seneca. In v. 8 of the poem of the sufferer it is said: *turgescit vitrea bilis.* The most recent gloss on this passage interprets *vitrea bilis* as an imitation, via Horace, *Odes* 3. 13. 1 (*splendidior vitro*), of Horace, *Satires* 2. 3. 141 which contains the expression *splendida bilis.*[63]

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[63] R. A. Harvey, *A Commentary on Persius* (Leiden 1981) 80.

Horace's expression has been convincingly explicated by Kiessling–Heinze as μέλαινα χολή. Such an interpretation of the addressee's illness accords well with two other passages in the satire. In v. 63 hellebore is suggested as a cure, not just for the analogized sufferer of dropsy, but for the addressee as well. Hellebore was a standard treatment for melancholy.[64] In the final line of the poem the connection with melancholia is again made explicit. The addressee is compared in his emotional state with Orestes. The comparison involves Orestes' madness which, as has been seen above, was normally interpreted as melancholia.[65] This is further reinforced by the alternation in 3. 115–17 between the extremes of hot and cold. Perhaps the best way to interpret this is by reference to the *Problemata*'s melancholic alternation between depression (cold) and mania (hot). Notice, however, that the symptoms of the addressee of this poem are primarily depressive rather than manic. The conception of melancholy here seems more reliant on contemporary medical theories than on those of the *Problemata*.

The three literary characters examined in this section of the essay were likely suffering from an illness which a contemporary doctor would have described as melancholy. The symptomatology, however, owes nothing or, in Persius' case, little to the tradition of the *Problemata*. Melancholy here has become a depressive illness, as indeed it has in contemporary medical literature. It corresponds very closely with what we would identify as depression. It is of considerable significance that the depressive melancholic has become a real literary type and that the condition appears to have been treated as of inherent concern. (This is something taken for granted in modern literature.) Contrast the supposed manic melancholic. Except for Sophocles' Ajax the imposition of medical diagnosis for the interpretation of this individual proved reductive or irrelevant.

The evidence is too incomplete and this survey too selective to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn. However, three observations might be made.

There appears to be, subsequent to the *Problemata*, a bifurcation between medical perceptions of melancholia and that of the literary lay person. At the time of the *Problemata* melancholy could be either manic or depressive. The examples provided by the pseudo-Aristotle, however, incline towards the former. Subsequent medical thought seems to have interpreted melancholy as a disease of depressive dimensions. Not so the

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[64] Of this Persius' near contemporary Celsus says (3. 18. 17): alterum insaniae genus est . . . consistit in tristitia, quam videtur bilis atra contrahere.—in hac utilis detractio sanguinis est: si quid hanc poterit prohibere, prima est abstinentia, secunda per album veratrum vomitumque purgatio ("There is another sort of insanity . . . It consists in depression which seems caused by black bile. Blood-letting is here of service; but if anything prohibit this, then comes firstly abstinence, secondly a clearance by white hellebore and a vomit."). The Latin word for hellebore is *veratrum*. Its Greek equivalent is *helleboros*.

[65] Persius is again relying on Horace *Satires* 2. 3. 137 ff. On medical references in Persius there is H. Lachenbacher, "Persius und die Heilkunde," *WS* 55 (1937) 130–41.

writers. Euripides, Cicero, Ovid, Seneca and Plutarch, inasmuch as they were concerned with the notion, interpret it as implying a manic personality or, simply, one prone to excessive anger. But this is not to say that they were not conscious of the condition of depression. It has been suggested that Jason, Serenus and the addressee of Persius' third satire conform to this type. An important point, except in the case of Persius, is that the bifurcation between medical and lay perceptions seems to have deprived the literary individual of a word to describe the illness.

There is a second observation. Depictions of and an interest in the depressive aspects of melancholia appear late in both Greek and Roman literature. In the earlier phases of both literatures it is the manic aspects which receive the most attention. The reasons for the shift in concern are beyond the scope of this paper. Obvious causes on the literary side are an increased interest in psychological or empathetic narrative and a focus directed more towards motives than actions; on the social side there is an increase in urbanization, autocracy, a growing disenfranchisement of traditional ruling and intellectual élites and a resultant sense of powerlessness. All of these conditions must have played a part.

A final observation. It has been noted elsewhere that the early empire in Rome seems to offer the first references to what could be termed a "spiritual" boredom or ennui.[66] The similarities between this emotion and depression are too obvious to need stressing.[67] Indeed, in later literature, the two are often confused. The aetiology may be common.

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[66] See Peter Toohey, "Some Ancient Notions of Boredom," *ICS* 13 (1988) 151–64.
[67] Was monastic acedia simple boredom or was it depression?

10

Tacitus' *Germania* and Modern Germany*

HERBERT W. BENARIO

This essay is based upon one of the slenderest volumes of Latin literature.
In the most recent critical edition it covers about twenty-five pages, a total
of some 750 lines.[1] And yet this tiny work, styled an *aureus libellus* upon
discovery in the Renaissance, has had an impact upon the life of a modern
people unrivaled by any other product of classical antiquity.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, who was to become Rome's greatest
historian, was born, in all likelihood, early in the reign of the Emperor
Nero.[2] His childhood was passed under that strange, debauched, and cruel
ruler, whose enforced suicide in the year 68 was followed by the rapid
succession of four emperors amid the horrors and cruelties of civil war. The
successful claimant to the throne, Vespasian, established a dynasty which
proved short-lived; he was succeeded by his two sons, Titus and Domitian.
Tacitus entered upon a public career under the father and was advanced by
each of the sons, until he ultimately reached the highest office open to a
member of the senatorial order, the consulate. But the principate of
Domitian proved to be a disastrous period for the upper classes of society,
when the emperor persecuted the best men and women and, so to speak,
virtue itself.

Tacitus was in his early forties when he published his first work, in the
year 98, the biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, who had gained fame
by his conquests of Britain. Although Tacitus' career had not been stymied
by Domitian, the emotional and intellectual cost had been high. He
described this period in despairing tones:

> What if, for a period of fifteen years, a great span of human life, many men
> perished by natural deaths, and all the most capable because of the

emperor's cruelty. We few indeed have outlived not only others but also, if I may use the expression, ourselves, with so many years plucked from the middle of our lives, years in which those of us who were young reached maturity, and the mature approached the very limits of extreme old age, in silence.[3]

The publication of the *Agricola* was followed almost immediately by that of the *Germania*, which seems best understood as an ethnographical treatise. We of course cannot know whether Tacitus had an ulterior motive in writing this work. Many scholars think that it contains veiled advice, or even a warning, for the newly-destined emperor, Trajan, who was then resident on the Rhine frontier, by underscoring the great threat from the Germans and suggesting that they were Rome's greatest potential danger. Coincidentally, he could belittle Domitian's claim to have pacified Germany. If this had been Tacitus' purpose, it proved unsuccessful, since Trajan preferred to retain the status quo in Germany and even echo Domitian's boast, in his first minting, by issuing coins with the legend *Germania pacata*, "the pacification of Germany." The emperor thought that his military operations and aspirations should be directed against Dacia, the modern Rumania, in order to stabilize the Danube frontier, and then, less than a decade later, against Parthia in the east, a campaign from which he did not return.

Yet it seems unlikely that a mere senator, and one perhaps with little military experience, would have undertaken to offer advice to the renowned general. Nor does it appear probable that the monograph was a preliminary effort to bring together material about Germany to be used later in his larger works, in graphic detail and vividness. But, whatever the reason, Tacitus was clearly intrigued by this "noble" people to such a degree that he determined to pass on the results of his experiences and researches to the educated aristocracy of Rome.

There is no direct evidence that Tacitus ever saw Germany himself, but I think it by no means unlikely that he had seen the land and perhaps even commanded a legion there.[4] Beyond that, his prime source was Pliny the Elder's history of the wars in Germany. The historian also had at his disposal information circulated by merchants and travelers who had visited the north. Writing the ethnography of a country or people had a lengthy tradition, going back at least to the Greek historian Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. With this work Tacitus tried his hand at the genre.

As mentioned earlier, the work is very brief; its structure is comparably simple. It falls naturally into two halves of almost equal proportions; the first gives a general treatment of the land and its people, their customs and practices in chapters 1–27, the second, in chapters 28–46, describes the individual tribes.

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[3] *Agricola* 3. 2.
[4] See my "Tacitus, Trier and the Treveri," *Classical Journal* 83 (1987–88) 233–39.

But each of these main divisions can be further sub-divided. The general treatment devotes the first five chapters to the geographical description of the land and the origin of the people. The next ten chapters deal with public institutions, the following twelve with those of private life. These two sections are almost precisely identical in length.

Nor does Tacitus discuss the individual tribes randomly. Chapters 28–37 deal with the tribes of the west and northwest, generally following the line of the Rhine from south to north. The remainder of the work covers the Suebic tribes of the east and north, essentially following the line of the Danube from west to east before he jumps, as inevitably he must, to the almost fairy-tale lands of the far north. Again, both parts are almost identical in length, although the amount of detail that Tacitus can present gradually diminishes as he moves ever farther away from the parts of Germany well known to the Romans through warfare and commerce.[5]

There are three passages to which I wish to give particular attention, for they were destined to have enormous impact upon the descendants of those Germans in times much closer to our own time. They appear in chapters 4, 33, and 37.

The crucial sentence of chapter 4 is the first, which states, "I personally incline to the views of those who think that the peoples of Germany have not been polluted by any marriages with other tribes and that they have existed as a particular people, pure and only like themselves." In Tacitus' words, the Germans are a *propria et sincera et tantum sui similis gens*. These last words may strike some with a sense of foreboding.

In chapter 33, Tacitus describes the extirpation of a Germanic tribe by its neighbors, and the gods even allowed the Romans to gaze upon this spectacle as if watching games in the arena. He concludes with a prayer, "Let there continue and endure, I pray, among foreign peoples, if not affection for us, at least hatred for one another, since, as the destiny of empire drives us on, fortune can furnish us nothing greater than the discord of the enemy." Does Tacitus hereby express confidence in Rome's imperial destiny or fear and trepidation before the power of the Germanic peoples?[6]

Chapter 37 is a long excursus on Rome's two centuries and more of warfare and trial to conquer the Germans. Since the last years of the second century B.C., Tacitus says, they have tested Rome's mettle and fought on equal terms with her armies; the freedom of the Germans is a greater danger than the royal dynasty of the Parthians, and no other enemy in time past had proved so unconquerable. Indeed, although Tacitus only briefly mentions it and does not name the great enemy, it may well be that the defeat inflicted by Arminius upon Varus and his three legions in the Teutoburg Forest in

[5] This discussion of the *Germania* is based upon that in my book (above, note 2).

[6] The literature on this vexed question is enormous. See my "Tacitus and the Fall of the Roman Empire," *Historia* 17 (1968) 37–50, and "Tacitus' *Germania*—A Third of a Century of Scholarship," *Quaderni di Storia* 17 (1983) 227–30.

A.D. 9 was the most potent setback in Rome's history. Previous disasters had only delayed Rome's seemingly inevitable victory. But Varus' overwhelming loss fundamentally changed Roman foreign policy. Augustus became content, perforce, with the Rhine frontier. Future operations against the Germans were generally concerned rather with consolidation of this Rhine boundary than with expansion to the east.[7] The Roman biographer Suetonius tells the pathetic story of the aged emperor wandering around his home, repeating again and again, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions."[8] The effect upon all subsequent history of the reduction of Rome's German aspirations has been very significant.

Tacitus grants, at the end of this chapter, that, when in recent times the Germans have been beaten, "they appeared in triumphal processions rather than being actually conquered," *triumphati magis quam victi sunt*. Two hundred and ten years of struggle with only this to show. Are the Germans indeed unconquerable when matched with the power of Rome?

We do not know what impact, if any, the *Germania* had upon Tacitus' contemporaries, nor, indeed, whether it was widely read at all. Tacitus' coeval and admirer, the younger Pliny, wrote him about a decade later, "I believe that your histories will be immortal: a prophecy which will surely prove correct."[9] The work to which Pliny referred was that which we know as the *Histories*, a large undertaking which covered the years from the beginning of 69 to the death of the Emperor Domitian in 96 and which, together with the later *Annals*, which spanned the years from the death of Augustus in 14 to that of Nero in 68, furnished an examination of most of the principate's first century. But Pliny's enthusiastic forecast was not fulfilled. Tacitus was evidently little read in the years that followed, in part because his style was hard and his language often unusual, in part because the political realities changed, and in part because literary taste preferred simpler biography, as offered by Suetonius, to his more searching and penetrating narrative. There are few sources which suggest knowledge of Tacitus in later antiquity, only one of which shows that the *Germania* was being read.[10]

As with so many classical works, survival was extremely tenuous. Tacitus' three minor works owe their existence today to one manuscript, known as the *Hersfeldensis*, perhaps written at nearby Fulda in the tenth century (both Hersfeld and Fulda are in central Germany).[11] It was known in the 1420s and 1430s to some of the great Renaissance manuscript hunters and was brought to Rome in 1455. It soon played an important role in a

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[7] C. M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus* (Oxford 1972).

[8] *Divus Augustus* 23. 2: *Quintili Vare, legiones redde.*

[9] *Epistulae* 7. 33. 1: *Auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras.*

[10] R. Martin, *Tacitus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1981) 236–43.

[11] M. Winterbottom in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmissions* (Oxford 1983) 410–11, offers a somewhat different conclusion.

significant political controversy, invoked by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II.[12]

The occasion was his response in 1458 to a letter which Martin Mair, chancellor of the Bishop of Mainz, had written him on August 31, 1457, in which the chancellor accused the Roman church of causing the Holy Roman Empire to decline from its former position of power to the status of a servant, whose misery and poverty were exacerbated by the need to pay taxes. Mair compared the present day with centuries past, in the Middle Ages. In an essay entitled *De ritu, situ, moribus et condicione Germaniae descriptio*, based upon Tacitus' monograph, the only copy of which he now possessed, Piccolomini chose a different basis of comparison, namely the present opposed to the Germany of antiquity. It is here that Tacitus proves so valuable, for Piccolomini is able to show that it is the church which has brought the Germans from barbarism to their present level of culture.

"In this way he changed the situation fundamentally in his own favor. If one compares the past of the ancient Germans with Aeneas's Renaissance present, the Roman church, which Mair in his comparison had blamed for the decline, became an important factor of progress and cultural perfection. Thus, it is quite evident that Aeneas did not share Tacitus's fascination with the Germans; this would hardly have fitted in with his rhetorical approach. He was obliged to omit the sequence of positive statements Tacitus had made about the Germans. His task was instead to emphasize all those elements in the text that placed German life in an unfavorable light."[13]

Soon after this exchange of correspondence, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was elected Pope and took the name Pius II. His pontificate lasted six years, but his influence on relations with Germany and acceptance of the *Germania* as a document of contemporary import continued. In 1471, his nephew, Giovannantonio Campano, spent several months in Regensburg as representative of the Holy See to the Diet. Since the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the Roman Pontiffs had endeavored to persuade German cities and princes and, above all, the emperor to undertake a holy crusade against the infidel. The response was marked by a singular lack of enthusiasm, for reasons both financial and military. Campano undertook "to stir up this politically apathetic public and arouse its interest in a vigorous campaign against the Turks. To achieve this he painted a colorful picture of the military glory of the ancient Germans, who not only

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[12] M. Fuhrmann, "Einige Dokumente zur Rezeption der taciteischen 'Germania'," *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 21, 1 (1978) 39–49; L. Krapf, "The Literary Rediscovery of Tacitus's *Germania*," *Res Publica Litterarum* 5, 1 (1980) 137–43; and, for greater detail, Krapf, *Germanenmythus und Reichsideologie. Frühhumanistische Rezeptionsweise der taciteischen "Germania"* (Tübingen 1979); U. Muhlack, "Die Germania im deutschen Nationalbewusstsein vor dem 19. Jahrhundert," in H. Jankuhn and D. Timpe (eds.), *Beiträge zum Verständnis der Germania des Tacitus* (Göttingen 1989) 128–54.

[13] Krapf, "Literary Rediscovery" (previous note) 137–38.

kept foreign intruders away from their own country, but also invaded the territories of other peoples."[14]

Campano wanted his audience to identify with their famous and highly praised ancestors. Like his uncle, Campano compared past and present, but, unlike him, he showed the similarity between the two ages, not the differences. Above all, military prowess comes to the fore; he describes the ancient civilization as *bellica, militaria, castrensia*, "devoted to war, the army, and the camp," and undertakes to place his contemporaries in the same mold.

The *editio princeps* of the *Germania* appeared in Venice in 1470, three years before the first German printing in Nürnberg. In 1496 Aeneas Silvius' essay was published, and it was this event which gave an enormous impetus to enthusiasm for, and study of, Tacitus' monograph.[15] Numerous editions and books concerned with Germany, its peoples, and its history followed rapidly.

In the year 1492, Conrad Celtis delivered an inaugural address when he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Ingolstadt. This *oratio*, based upon the *Germania*, invoked the military prowess of the ancient Germans in support of the Empire against the Papacy.[16] Eight years later he presented the first series of lectures on the *Germania* when he had moved to Vienna.[17] The first of the German humanists, he represents a substantial body of men who concerned themselves with the Germans, not only in literature but also as revealed in history and tangible remains. They began the idealization of the Germans as well as research on them. Ulrich von Hutten, in his *Arminius* of 1519 or 1520, which was published only in 1529, established the cult of hero-worship of Arminius, the Cheruscan chieftain, which has continued into the present day.[18] Of him Tacitus wrote in the *Annals*, granting him a splendid obituary, "He was unquestionably the liberator of Germany, who attacked Rome not in her early days but in her prime. He fought indecisive battles but was unconquered in war."[19]

Keep in mind that this is the period of German opposition to the Roman church, with focus upon the great figure of Martin Luther. The Reformation, which established a church essentially Germanic, welcomed

[14] Krapf (previous note) 138.

[15] K. C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago 1976) 32–33.

[16] Schellhase (previous note) 34–37.

[17] L. W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis. The German Arch–Humanist* (Cambridge, MA 1957) 66–67; L. Franz, "450 Jahre Forschung über die Germania des Tacitus," *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 3 (1950) 61–64.

[18] Fuhrmann (above, note 12); R. Kuehnemund, *Arminius or the Rise of a National Symbol in Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC 1953); W. Laqueur, *Germany Today. A Personal Report* (London 1985) chap. 6: "Arminius or Patriotism Rediscovered"; A. Demandt, "Was wäre Europa ohne die Antike?," in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds.), *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift Karl Christ* (Darmstadt 1988) 120.

[19] *Annales* 2. 88. 2. The crucial words are *liberator haud dubie Germaniae . . . proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus.*

support from earlier days which represented their people as at least a match for the ancestors of the present-day Italians.

We now leave the period of humanism, which lasted for much of the sixteenth century and proved to be the first of two great eras which drew a sense of nationalism and pride from the *Germania*.[20] No other people of Europe could boast of an ancient literary text which described its prehistory; Caesar had written briefly of the Gauls and Germans, and Tacitus himself had devoted a brief section to the ancient Britons in the *Agricola*. No other ancient text so affected the outlook of a modern people, not yet a nation and not destined to become one for some three centuries. The disparate Germans could through Tacitus share a common heritage.

The second period in which the *Germania* played a major role in the intellectual and patriotic life of the Germans covered about a century and a quarter, from the end of the Napoleonic wars to the collapse of the Third Reich. The Wars of Liberation against Napoleon gave particular impetus to a sense of national feeling. This was exemplified by the desire for a national monument[21] and an emphasis upon the qualities and characteristics that made the Germans different, as they themselves thought, from other Europeans.

Monuments were erected in many places around Germany, above all in Bavaria. King Ludwig I built a German Hall of Fame in a replica of the Parthenon, high above the Danube east of Regensburg, called Walhalla, and then, upon its completion, began a monument to celebrate German victories over the French Emperor at Kelheim, southwest of Regensburg, the model of which, at least for the interior, was the Pantheon.

Neither, however, proved to be representative of Germany as a whole. But in 1875, four years after the establishment by Bismarck of the German Empire and five years after her crushing defeat of the French at Sedan, a monumental statue of Arminius was dedicated in the Teutoburg Forest. The greatest of all Rome's opponents, who stood for northern resistance to Latin mastery and who had been transformed into a genuine folk-hero by Ulrich von Hutten, now possessed tangible existence. He was more than a match for the statue of Vercingetorix constructed by the Emperor Louis Napoleon at Alesia, site of the last Gallic resistance to Caesar in the year 52 B. C. The French could celebrate a heroic but ultimately futile achievement; the Romans had conquered. The French had their Caesar to sing of the bravery of the ancient Gauls and could be reminded of it in central France. But the Germans of the First Reich could outdo their defeated and despised enemy on

[20] Fuhrmann (above, note 12); P. Burke, "Tacitism," in T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Tacitus* (London 1969) 149–71.

[21] T. Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968) 529–85 = *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Geschichte* (Göttingen 1976) 133–73, 432–39. See also my "IMPERIUM ROMANUM, DEUTSCHES REICH: The Evocation of Antique Symbolism," in R. F. Sutton, Jr. (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of R. V. Schoder, S. J.* (Wauconda, IL 1989) 29–39.

two counts: *their* hero had been victorious,[22] and they had Tacitus, whose *Germania* sang the praises of the liberty and courage of the Germanic tribes of old.

As the French Emperor had been responsible for the archaeological investigation of many aspects and sites of the battles and campaigns described by Caesar, so now students of Germanic antiquity undertook to check every one of Tacitus' statements against the evidence of archaeology. This produced some masterpieces of scholarship, almost monstrous in their bulk, such as Karl Müllenhoff's commentary,[23] which covered 751 pages. (I remind you that the *Germania* is about twenty-five pages long.) In an era of aroused nationalism, Tacitus offered a return to the origins of the German people. It was a fundamental text for understanding German aspirations in the period which saw the realization of national unity. It constituted an important basis for the development of "Deutsche Altertumskunde." It presented themes which aroused modern passions: affection for the primitive and the uncorrupted, idealization of a past which appeared more creative and poetic, the quest for the origins of the Germanic "Volksgeist," uniquely German characteristics. More and more emphasis was put upon the statement that the Germans were a race apart, *gens tantum sui similis*, which became dogma and represented the superiority of the Germans over the other peoples of Europe.[24]

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[22] On the two sides of the statue's uplifted sword are inscribed the words *Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke* and *Meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht* ("German unity is my strength, my strength is Germany's might."). This expression of unity referred rather to the modern era than the first century A.D.

[23] Karl Müllenhoff (1818–84) was the author of the *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, originally intended to cover six volumes. The commentary on *Die Germania des Tacitus* was the fourth, published posthumously only in 1900.

[24] G. L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York 1964) 67–68:

> The sense of a glorious past played a leading role in both the old and the New Romanticism. After all, the primary condition of a Volk was its rootedness in nature—an attribute not to be attained overnight. Rootedness implied antiquity, an ancient people set in an equally ancient landscape, which by now bore the centuries-old imprint of the people's soul. ... Where Tacitus was primarily concerned with contrasting the Germanic virtues of fresh strength and endurance with increasing Roman degeneracy, Volkish authors took the contrast at face value and extended the favorable descriptions of the Germans to their culture, their racial stock and purity, as well as to their religious outlook and mythology. ... (The Germans) had retained the distinction of being a special Volk.

See also M. Mazza, "La 'Germania' di Tacito: etnografia, storiografia e ideologia nella cultura tedesca dell'Ottocento," in F. Gori and C. Questa (eds.), *La Fortuna di Tacito dal Sec. XV ad Oggi* (Urbino 1979) 167–217; note particularly (p. 175):

> nell'era dei nazionalismi, il ritorno a Tacito ed ai Germani aveva un senso ben preciso: era il ritorno alle origini profonde della nazione tedesca. Sotto questo profilo la *Germania* tacitiana si può considerare un testo fondamentale per comprendere le aspirazioni del popolo tedesco nel periodo che vide la realizzazione dell'unità nazionale.

I wish now to leap over a period of about a half century, from the intoxicating age of glory and triumph exemplified by Bismarck to the despair and resentment of the first World War and its aftermath, when the revulsion with which her former enemies regarded Germany caused a resurgence in national feeling. It is a tale which, for my purposes, focuses upon one man, a member of the leading university.

At the end of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, Germany stood above all other countries in the study of classical antiquity, *Klassische Altertumswissenschaft*, and the crown jewel among German universities was Berlin. The professor for Latin studies was Eduard Norden, who came to Berlin in 1906 with a reputation gained by a superb study of Greek and Latin prose style and soon came to be recognized as one of the two or three most eminent Latinists in the world.[25]

As a youth, Norden had become interested in the antiquity of his land, but it was only after some thirty years had passed that he once again devoted himself to the study of Tacitus' *Germania*, stimulated by an excursion along some parts of the Roman *limes* which took place in 1913. The war which soon began incited both patriotism and enthusiasm as he undertook an examination of the essay not from an archaeological point of view but from a literary one.

In 1920 appeared his great book, the most significant yet produced on the subject, *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*.[26] It was, and remains today, a work of astounding acumen and control of all classical evidence which evoked some surprising responses, responses which dismayed Norden and can now be seen as precursors of the dreadful period of the thirties.

Norden examined the broad tradition of ancient ethnographic writing and thereby brought a new focus to study of the *Germania*. He showed that many of the characteristics and traits which Tacitus assigned the Germans could be found in earlier narratives: the description of individual German customs paralleled that of the Persians in the pages of Herodotus and the famous formula which set the Germans apart from other peoples, *gens*

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[25] This great work was *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig and Berlin 1898). For discussions of his life and ambiance see F. W. Lenz, "Erinnerungen an Eduard Norden," *Antike und Abendland* 7 (1958) 159–71 and "Eduard Nordens Leistung für die Altertumswissenschaft," *Das Altertum* 6 (1960) 245–54 (these articles were reprinted in Lenz's *Opuscula Selecta* [Amsterdam 1972] 214–26 and 251–60); W. Abel, "Studium Berolinense 1924–31. II: Eduard Norden (21. 9. 1868–13. 7. 1941)," *Gymnasium* 91 (1984) 449–84; W. Jaeger, "Classical Philology at the University of Berlin: 1870 to 1945," in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966) 47–74; and the essays on Norden and Berlin by E. Mensching in *Nugae zur Philologie–Geschichte* (Berlin 1987), *Nugae zur Philologie–Geschichte* II (Berlin 1989), and subsequently in *Latein und Griechisch in Berlin.* Norden's only rivals were A. E. Housman and Richard Heinze.

[26] Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner; subsequent editions with corrections appeared in 1922 and 1923. A fourth edition was issued in 1959 by Teubner, now located in Stuttgart, based upon the first, with addenda and corrigenda from the second and third grouped at the end.

tantum sui similis, had already been applied to the Scythians and the Egyptians.

What Norden attempted to do was to fit many of Tacitus' statements into a literary tradition that had antecedents well back in Greek literature and which owed a great debt to Posidonius, a Greek historian and philosopher of the age of Cicero, for its impact upon Latin literature and Roman history. He thereby removed the uniqueness of the *aureus libellus* from any discussion of the Germans as a people unlike any other. In the bitter years following the conclusion of World War I, when so many felt that the *Vaterland* had been stabbed in the back, such a challenge to tradition and German supremacy in historical dignity was almost certain to evoke opposition.

As early as November 1921, when Norden wrote the preface to the second edition of his book, only eighteen months after he had written the preface to the first, he felt compelled to devote about half his space to a defense against precisely these charges, and concluded:

> Also werden wir nicht aufhören, die Taciteische Schrift als ein Quellenwerk ersten Ranges zu betrachten, sie besteht auch in dem neuen Rahmen, den ich ihr zu geben suchte, die Probe auf Vollwertigkeit durchaus. Jede Angabe, die der sein Worte genau wägende Schriftsteller auf Grund besten Quellenmaterials macht, verträgt die Goldwage.[27]

Norden knew beforehand that his conclusions would not be popular. In a two-page digression he writes, "Die Folgerung, die sich aus den vorgetragenen Tatsachen ergibt, ist für die germanische Altertumskunde, soweit sie sich auf der Taciteischen Germania aufbaut, nicht besonders erfreulich."[28] For this he was rebuked a few years later by the author of the huge *Geschichte der Germanenforschung*, who wrote that the word "scheinbar" before "nicht besonders erfreulich" would have given the required sense.[29] Others too challenged Norden; his book had become a political football. It seems surprising, to one observer at least at a distance of some sixty years, that an eminent professor at Berlin should be exposed to the scorn of many of his peers, nay inferiors, scorn of a violence that even accustomed *odium philologicum* rarely mustered. It was explicable only by the political overtones which were involved. Those who clung to the concept of *Deutschtum* could not accept any cheapening of the coin which represented it.

In 1934 Norden published his second book on the ancient Germans, entitled *Alt-Germanien*,[30] which drew much more upon archaeology and anthropology than the earlier volume had done. It elicited even more violent

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[27] P. xiii.
[28] 56–57; quotation at the beginning.
[29] T. Bieder (Leipzig and Berlin 1925) III 211.
[30] *Alt-Germanien. Völker- und Namengeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1934; reissued Darmstadt 1962).

objections because of his treatment of the origin of the name *Germani*, the theme of the second chapter of the *Germania*.[31]

This scholarly approach to problems of an ancient text remained, or became, unacceptable to many. The new enthusiasm of the National Socialist era led some to pronouncements that read like bulletins from the Ministry of Propaganda. I offer brief excerpts from two such articles, from the years 1934 and 1936.

> We believe that Tacitus is correct when he speaks of the individuality of Germany within the boundaries of the West. We believe in the autochthony of the German race which he supports in three different ways and, at the end, anthropologically. We believe with him in this native origin as in the race itself with all the anthropological characteristics which he assigns to it.
>
> As has been said: it is not only the astonishing range of accurate details, not only the minimal number of gaps, but above all the extraordinarily true and proper tone and spirit which gain for this little book its unrivaled worth. . . . It has often enough in the past served a noble politization of our spirit. May it continue to fulfill this purpose.[32]

> Tacitus' assertions, which Norden claims are general characteristics used to describe the Germans, do indeed fit the Germans, as we can for the most part prove; this would be at least a strange coincidence, if we were actually just dealing with standard themes.[33]

As everyone is aware, the philosophic mélange of Nazi thought and propaganda made a great deal of the purity, uniqueness, and superiority of the German people. Tacitus' statement was exploited to the fullest:

> I personally incline to the views of those who think that the peoples of Germany have not been polluted by any marriages with other tribes and

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[31] For brief summary see 300–02.

[32] H. Naumann, "Die Glaubwürdigkeit des Tacitus," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 139 (1934) 21–33:

> Wir glauben, dass Tacitus recht hat mit der Eigenständigkeit Germaniens in den von ihm gezeichneten Räumen des Abendlandes. Wir glauben an die Eingeborenheit der germanischen Rasse in dem kleineren Ostseeraum, die er auf dreifache Weise und zuletzt anthropologisch begründet. Wir glauben mit ihm an diese Eingeborenheit wie an die Rasse selbst mit all den anthropologischen Merkmalen, die er ihr zuschreibt. (27)

> Wie gesagt: es ist nicht nur die überraschende Fülle der richtigen Einzelheiten, nicht nur die Geringfügigkeit der Lücken, sondern vor allem der so ausserordentlich wahre und richtige Ton und Geist der diesem Büchlein seinen unvergleichlichen Wert verleiht. . . . Einer edlen Politisierung unseres Geistes hat das Büchlein schon öfters gedient. Diesen Dienst möge es ruhig weiterfüllen. (27)

[33] F. Pfister, "Tacitus und die Germanen," *Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 9 (1936) 59–93:

> Denn die Angaben des Tacitus, die Norden als sekundär auf die Germanen übertragen anspricht, passen doch auf die Germanen wie wir meist noch nachweisen können; das wäre aber zum mindesten ein merkwürdiger Zufall, wenn es sich wirklich nur um 'Wandermotive' handelte. (74)

that they have existed as a particular people, pure and only like themselves.[34]

This sentence stands as the basis of the anthropology of the German people, German nationality, and German nationhood. Hegel exploited it for his theory of organicism, which states that a nation is properly understood as an organic unity, like a human body, but of greater import, having many separate organs that contribute to the general welfare. It has a larger interest, or general will, that is necessarily superior to the interest or will of any particular member or members. Under extreme conditions, the state has a super reality. Nothing may then obstruct it from liquidating those elements within it that interfere with the achievement of its objectives. The will of the state is generally identified with the will of its leader, whose character and physical person represent the essence of the nation. There is here at least a glance at the Tacitean chapters on the great chieftains and their followers, the *princeps* and the *comitatus*, the *Führer* and the *Gefolgschaft*,[35] whose concepts and expressions suited the needs of the present so well.

Linked with Tacitus' views of the Germans' racial purity is his military philosophy. Racial purity and military strength go hand in hand. In this virtuosity lies the basis of German military power; as he writes in chapter 33 of the *Germania*, "Fortune can give no greater boon than discord among our foes."

The thoughts of Tacitus on race and militarism were synthesized and updated in the writings of the three major ideologues of the German fascist movement, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Alfred Rosenberg, and Adolf Hitler. Their arguments need not be detailed; they are known to all by their consequences.

We have thus come full circle to some of the major points made by the historian in the *Germania*. The essay was enormously popular from the time of the Franco–Prussian War to the period of Nazism because it offered a paradigm of belief and action. It stressed the importance of the concept of racial purity, and Tacitus' testimony was at the foundation of "il delirio megalomane tedesco," to borrow a choice phrase of an Italian scholar.[36] The old myths and models of the *Germania* served so well because they were read for ideological and propagandistic purposes. Something like that may have been among Tacitus' purposes when he wrote; the result some eighteen and a half centuries later would have astonished, nay, repelled him, I think, for he would have seen a people who indeed "make a solitude and call it peace"[37] and who, unlike the Romans,[38] offered no advantage and no hope to those

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[34] *Germania* 4.

[35] *Germania* 7, 11–14.

[36] L. Canfora, *La Germania di Tacito da Engels al nazismo* (Napoli 1979) 48.

[37] *Agricola* 30. 4: *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

[38] For the clearest statement of the good that Rome's dominion brings to her subjects, see Tacitus, *Historiae* 4. 73–74.

who were trampled in the path of a mightier people who believed that they had been chosen to rule the world.[39]

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[39] Two articles, which appeared subsequent to the writing of the above paper, deserve mention here: V. Losemann, "Aspekte der nationalsozialistischen Germanenideologie," in *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift Karl Christ zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. P. Kneissl und V. Losemann (Darmstadt 1988) 256–84, and U. Muhlack, "Die Germania im deutschen Nationalbewusstsein vor dem 19. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zum Verständnis der Germania des Tacitus*, Teil I, Hrsg. H. Jankuhn und D. Timpe (Göttingen 1989) 128–54.

11

Fronto on the Christians

BARRY BALDWIN

Et de convivio notum est; passim omnes loquuntur, id etiam
Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. ad epulas sollemni die coeunt cum
omnibus liberis sororibus matribus, sexus omnis homines et
omnis aetatis. illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit et
incestae libidinis ebriatis fervor exarsit, canis qui candelabro nexus
est, iactu offulae ultra spatium lineae, qua vinctus est, ad impetum
et saltum provocatur. sic everso et extincto conscio lumine
inpudentibus tenebris nexus infandae cupiditatis involvunt per
incertum sortis, etsi non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter
incesti, quoniam voto universorum adpetitur quicquid accidere
potest in actu singulorum.[1]

That *Cirtensis nostri* is Fronto is certified by Minucius Felix himself in a
subsequent (31. 2) passage of the *Octavius* where he returns to the charge of
incestuous banqueting, saying *Sic de isto et tuus Fronto non ut adfirmator
testimonium fecit, sed convicium ut orator adspersit.* Fronto on the
Christians is a much discussed matter,[2] but three issues remain unresolved:
1) To what extent does Minucius preserve the actual words of Fronto? 2)
Was Fronto influenced by the fulminations of Cato and Livy on the
Bacchanalia and cognate sexual scandals? 3) Is the passage taken from an
entire speech against the Christians or an oration on another matter in which
the Christians were brought in as an aside or a paradigm of evildoing?

On the first point, both Clarke and Champlin are sensibly undogmatic.
The former rightly observes that (as with Cicero and Tacitus) Fronto could

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[1] Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 9. 6–7, reproduced in the Loeb edition of Fronto by C. R. Haines (II
282–84) and that of M. P. J. van den Hout (Leiden 1954) 242–43; cf. B. Baldwin, *An Anthology
of Later Latin Literature* (Amsterdam 1987) 42.

[2] The leading modern contributors (hereinafter referred to by name only) are: T. D. Barnes,
Tertullian (Oxford 1971) 161; E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (Cambridge, MA and
London 1980) 64–66 (with concomitant notes); G. W. Clarke, "Four Passages of Minucius
Felix," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Münster 1970) II 502–04; P. Frassinetti,
"L'orazione di Frontone contro i cristiani," *GIF* 2 (1949) 238–54; A. Henrichs, "Pagan Ritual
and the Alleged Crimes of the Early Christians," *Kyriakon* (details as above) I 18–35, esp. 24–
27; M. von Albrecht, "Minucius Felix as a Christian Humanist," *ICS* 12 (1987) 157–68.

have written in different styles for different occasions, and we have little of his oratory to go on. Champlin, remarking that "just how much of Fronto is embedded in the *Octavius* is very unsure, particularly with such a stylistic 'mosaicist' as Minucius Felix," feels that elements in the extract are "certainly" or "possibly" Frontonian, but does not elaborate. The vocabulary is unremarkable, and there is no particular phrase or conceit that catches the eye as distinctively Frontonian in the sense that it recurs elsewhere in his writing.[3] The one significant phenomenon is that a number of the words in the extract, plain as they are, occur rarely or nowhere else in Fronto, and when they do crop up outside this passage they tend to do so in the letter to Marcus Aurelius *De feriis Alsiensibus*. Shared words include *canis, convivium, dies, epulae, lumen, spatium* (accepting van den Hout's supplement at 218. 17), and *tenebrae*. In general terms, it is worth noting how infrequent these common words are in Fronto's extant pieces. The concordances between the letter and the extract are provided by the fact that they have something of a common theme in that there is much talk of banquets and other nocturnal pleasures in the *De feriis Alsiensibus*.

It is not always remarked that the business with the dogs and lamps also turns up in Tertullian, *Apol.* 7. 1, in similar but not identical words: *post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet tenebrarum, libidinum impiarum in verecundiam procurent.* What bearing (if any) this may have on the old question of chronological precedence between Tertullian and Minucius need not be gone into here.[4] The immediate point is, Tertullian does not credit Fronto or any individual with this particular canard. Rather, it is a common kind of accusation: *dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto*, etc. The eye-catching image of dogs as pimps is not in Minucius' extract, and nowhere in the rest of Fronto; *verecundia* turns up only in the *De feriis Alsiensibus*. It is clear both from Tertullian's *dicimur* and Minucius' *passim omnes loquuntur* that the accusations against the Christians had become as standardised in content in Latin as they had in Greek,[5] and standardisation of diction was bound to follow. This obviously makes it all the harder to determine the distinctively Frontonian ingredients. Since he is the only author explicitly adduced by Caecilius in the *Octavius*, one might infer that Fronto had notoriously set the tone for this sort of

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[3] These remarks are based upon the Indexes to Fronto brought out by F. Garrone, M. Mattea, and F. Russo (Hildesheim 1976) and by R. Fontanella, M. Olivetti, and M. R. Votta (Hildesheim 1981).

[4] Cf. von Albrecht (above, note 2) 157 for discussion and bibliography.

[5] For instance, Justin, *Apol.* 1. 26. Cf. the illustrative passages assembled by M. Marcovich to illustrate ch. 3 of the *Legatio pro Christianis* of Athenagoras in his new edition (Berlin 1990). I am grateful to Professor Marcovich both for letting me see this and for other valuable bibliographical guidance.

thing, but the proclivity of African authors for quoting other Africans[6] makes even this (by itself) an unsafe speculation.

However, there may be dividends to be had from here importing the second issue of Catonian-cum-Livian influence on the passage. This notion was put forward long ago by Frassinetti, but is now commonly overlooked, no doubt because the article was published after Haines' Loeb and made no impression on van den Hout, Fronto's two most influential modern editors.[7] Clarke scouts the idea on the reasonable grounds that common themes inevitably produce common language. Cato's speech *De coniuratione* does not survive, and Clarke even questions whether it had to do with the Bacchanalia scandal of 186. Still, the popularity of Cato amongst the literary circles of Fronto and Gellius is well attested, requiring no epexegesis here. As a point of comparison with the present extract, we may note the similar *epulantibus iis, cum iam vino incaluissent*, put into Cato's mouth as part of a moralising diatribe by Livy (39. 42. 10).

Livy's long account of the Bacchanalia episode (39. 8–19) contains a number of phrases similar to ones in Fronto. In view of Frassinetti's detailed scrutiny, two will here serve as easy illustration: *additae voluptates religioni vini et epularum, quo plurium animi illicerentur. cum vinum animos incendisset, et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus, discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent . . .* (39. 8. 5–6); *ex quo in promiscuo sacra sint, et permixti viri feminis, et noctis licentia accesserit, nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii praetermissum* (39. 13. 10). By themselves, such concordances prove nothing.[8] And Fronto never names Livy in his extant writings; neither does Aulus Gellius. But it is suggestive that Tertullian, in the section immediately preceding his mention of the orgies and the dogs (*Apol.* 6. 7), himself adduces in explicit terms the suppression of the Bacchanalia: *Liberum Patrem cum mysteriis suis consules senatus auctoritate non modo urbe, sed universa Italia eliminaverunt*. It seems reasonable to see Livian influence here, either first-hand or via Fronto. We know that Lactantius drew on Livy more than once for items from the history of Roman paganism.[9] Tertullian also (*De spect.* 10) couples Venus and Liber in various disreputable ways—an easy conjunction to be sure, but one found in Fronto's *De feriis Alsiensibus* (217. 24–25 van den Hout): *Venerem vero et Liberum multo maxime pernoctantibus favere*.

[6] See von Albrecht (above, note 2) 158, 161, on this feature.

[7] Champlin (above, note 2) 160 n. 21, refers to it only for its attempt to date Fronto's speech, dubbing the effort "imaginative," no doubt a tempered version of Barnes' dismissal ([above, note 2] 149 n. 6) of it as "pure fantasy."

[8] Cf. B. Baldwin, "Apuleius, Tacitus, and Christians," *Emerita* 52 (1984) 1–3, for cognate efforts on a cognate theme.

[9] Documented and discussed by R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978) 42.

Livian influence on Fronto has been detected in other passages.[10] We know that the historian was widely read in the first and early second centuries, either in full or in abridgement.[11] It seems more likely than not that Fronto would have known him well enough (at the very least) to exploit his account on the Bacchanalia for an attack on the Christians.[12] A pagan writing for a pagan audience would naturally be drawn to a similar episode in their own religious history. This point can be extended to a particular item in the anti-Christian dossier, namely the dogs and the lamps, a detail which at first blush seems more circumstantial than the vague nonsense about Thyestean banquets. But, on investigation, Fronto can be seen to be milking pagan literary motifs. Thus, for easy instance, Petronius (*Sat.* 64. 10) has a dog knocking over a lamp, his language being strikingly similar: *candelabrum etiam supra mensam eversum.* In Lucian, *Conv.* 46, a knocked-over lamp brings darkness as cover for disreputable deeds, including sexual ones. Fronto is clearly applying the conventional (and especially satirical) details of pagan symposia to those of the Christians.[13]

Both Haines and van den Hout took the extract to be from a lost speech against the Christians, and this view still tends to prevail.[14] However, Champlin[15] has recently argued that the item comes from a speech on an entirely different subject, finding a context in the lost *In Pelopem*, and concluding that the Minucian extract reflects "a learned and rhetorical simile

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[10] In addition to the notes of Haines and van den Hout, see T. Schwierczina, *Frontoniana* (Breslau 1883) 36.

[11] Martial 14. 190; cf. P. G. Walsh, *Livy, Greece & Rome* New Surveys in the Classics 8 (Oxford 1974) 32, for repertoire and discussion.

[12] A Frontonian dependence upon Livy adds a little to the historian's *Nachleben*, being unremarked by (e. g.) Walsh. Livy got through into the mediaeval world. His fortunes in the West are well enough known; cf. Walsh 32–33, with bibliography. Add for completeness' sake the Byzantine notions of him preserved by the *Suda* (Σ 1337 Adler, on Sulla; K 2098—a passage not in Adler's own index!—where Livy is one of the two great Roman historians, the other being Cornutus, the subject of the notice).

[13] Cf. the useful remarks and conspectus of references in J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 50, 367 n. 200.

[14] Clarke (above, note 2) does not question the idea of an anti-Christian speech; von Albrecht considers the notion of an incidental attack, but rejects it; by contrast, A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 2nd ed. (London 1987) 277 n. 47, apparently favours Champlin's view; J. Beaujeu in his Budé edition (Paris 1964) 88–89, inclines to Frassinetti's belief in a speech against the Christians to the senate between 162 and 166; Henrichs pointed to the trial of Justin between c. 165 and 167 and to the Lyons martyrs of 177 as possible contexts for a Frontonian attack on Christians, the latter involving an acceptance of Mommsen's date of 176 or later for Fronto's death, a view restated by G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 124–26, but rejected by Champlin 139–42 in favour of the common notion that the orator died around a decade earlier.

[15] Developing a suggestion of Barnes (above, note 2) 161 n. 2. It might be added that, although it seems most natural to take *oratio* as a speech, one does not have to go beyond the notices in *LS* and the *OLD* to see how flexible and varied was the use and nuance of that word. It is not, therefore, inconceivable that Fronto could have passed his animadversions upon the Christians in some other kind of literary production. Minucius' own distinction regarding Fronto (*non ut adfirmator testimonium . . . sed convicium et orator*) is vague rather than precise.

which in turn casually drew upon and embroidered popular contemporary accounts of Christian practices." Champlin develops the theory with his customary learning and verve, and I have no vested interest in wanting to disprove it. However, a couple of reservations should be stated, if only to provoke further discussion. First, would it be in the pagan manner to allude to Christianity in this paradigmatic way in a speech on pagan topics? Secondly, it might be thought odd that Minucius Felix does not adduce the mythological Pelops or any figure from Greek legend in rebuttal, except in the most general of terms; likewise Tertullian in *Apol.* 9, very similar throughout to Minucius.[16] Hoisting the pagans with their own literary and mythological petards was a favourite Christian device, and Pelops could easily and effectively have been reversed upon Fronto, had he supplied the context.

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[16] Though he brings up Oedipus and the disciples of Jupiter as mythological *exempla*.

Old Comedy, Menippean Satire, and Philosophy's Tattered Robes in Boethius' *Consolation*

JOEL C. RELIHAN

If one is convinced that Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* presents, in the face of death, a philosopher's heartfelt belief in the truths of the study to which he devoted his brief lifetime, then one is inclined, with Helm and Courcelle, to regard the Menippean form of the *Consolation* as something essentially irrelevant to its themes.[1] The work would merely exemplify a prosimetric form, and not participate actively in the traditions of Menippus and Varro.[2] But I am not convinced of this, and think that the *Consolation* questions the value of Classical philosophy in a debate that is inconclusive, never reaching its promised goal of telling the narrator, otherwise quite an adept in the definition of persons, who he really is.[3] The Middle Ages,

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[1] R. Helm, "Menippos 10," *RE* XV. 1 (1931) 893; P. Courcelle, *La consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris 1967) 17–28. Courcelle relates the *Consolation* to the genre of the apocalypse; but F. Klingner, *De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae*, Philologische Untersuchungen 27 (Berlin 1927) 155 is, I think, right when he suggests that apocalyptic became intertwined with the genre of Menippean satire before Boethius' time, so as to account for similarities between Julian's *Caesares*, Martianus' *De Nuptiis*, and Boethius. I would claim that apocalypse has always been part of the genre, which relies heavily upon supernatural revelations of truth; consider Menippus' vision of judgement in Lucian's *Necyomantia*.

[2] K. Reichenburger, *Untersuchungen zur literarischen Stellung der Consolatio Philosophiae*, Kölner Romanistische Arbeiten, N. F., 3 (Köln 1954) 34 and n. 1, notes also that the mixture of a range of literary forms within the *Consolation* (prose and verse, consolation and protreptic, Cynic and Platonic argumentation) may be assigned to the influence of Menippean satire.

[3] See H. Tränkle, "Ist die 'Philosophiae Consolatio' des Boethius zum vorgesehenen Abschluß gelangt?," *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977) 148–54, also available, with the author's *Nachtrag* of 1983, in M. Fuhrmann and J. Gruber, edd., *Boethius*, Wege der Forschung 483 (Darmstadt 1984) 311–19. I do not agree with Tränkle, however, that this shows that the *Consolation* is unfinished. Boethius' *Theological Tractates*, defenses of orthodox views of the Trinity, frequently define persons and natures with some degree of originality; cf. J. Mair, "Reflections Upon the Theological Tractates of Boethius," in A. Moffatt, ed., *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra 1984) 149–58; see also H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford 1981) 180–85, describing *Against Eutyches and Nestorius* as "among the most original pieces to come from Boethius' pen."

typically reverential in the face of the *Consolation*, saw its ironic potential; the poems, which present at times emotional objections to Philosophy's logic and which dramatize the narrator's fear of the dissolution of the bonds of the universe despite all of Philosophy's arguments, have their influence in the School of Chartres, and are of great consequence to Bernardus Silvestris in his *Cosmographia*;[4] Dwyer documents how the vernacular translations of the *Consolation*, expanding upon and Medievalizing their text, found it appropriate to insert details and stories that are occasionally obscene;[5] Payne, drawing both on Mikhail Bakhtin and Northrop Frye, draws parallels between a *Consolation* which has no figure of ultimate authority and a number of works of Chaucer which cite this text.[6] I wish to suggest here that these Medieval authors saw something in the *Consolation* that is really there, part of the legacy of Menippean satire.

Therefore, to the already considerable literature on the iconography of Philosophy in Boethius' *Consolation* I should like to add a few observations, pertaining primarily to her tattered robes, and to offer some suggestions as to the significance of such details for the Menippean interpretation of the work as a whole.[7] It is undeniable that there is an abundantly-attested Classical tradition which describes an allegorical Philosophy in honorific terms, and there are many reflections of such traditions in Boethius.[8] But I will attempt to locate the epiphany of philosophy within the traditions of Menippean satire, a genre in which motifs of Old Comedy are pressed into service in fantastic tales which abuse theory, learning, and those who preach the truth.[9] Varro's 150 *Saturae Menippeae* are the obvious intermediary for such devices in Late Latin

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[4] See W. Wetherbee, *Poetry and Platonism in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton 1972) 74–82 (a reading of the *Consolation*), 158–86 (*Cosmographia*).

[5] R. A. Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions: Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the Consolatio Philosophiae* (Cambridge, MA 1976) 31–32, on an anonymous Burgundian translation of the early thirteenth century that tells the tale of the rape of Callisto in the middle of 4 m. 6 (text given in Appendix I, pp. 89–90). As Dwyer observes (p. 87), "When a translator intrudes into a hymn of universal love a rape story, he may impede our comprehension of universal love;" though it should also be noted that Dwyer does not consider the *Consolation* to be Menippean.

[6] F. A. Payne, *Chaucer and Menippean Satire* (Madison 1981), with discussion of *Troilus and Criseyde* (86–158), *The Nun's Priest's Tale* (159–206), and *The Knight's Tale* (207–60).

[7] J. Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Texte und Kommentare 9 (Berlin and New York 1978) is now the primary source of such information. It is still worthwhile to consult his earlier article, "Die Erscheinung der Philosophie in der *Consolatio Philosophiae*," *RhM* 112 (1969) 166–86. For later traditions see Courcelle (above, note 1).

[8] P. Courcelle, "Le Personnage de philosophie dans la littérature latine," *Journal des Savants* (Oct.–Déc. 1970) 209–52.

[9] As, for example, in Lucian's tales of the adventures of Menippus in heaven and hell, *Icaromenippus* and *Necyomantia*. For motifs of Old Comedy in these and others of Lucian's works, see G. Anderson, *Lucian: Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic*, Mnemosyne Supplement 41 (Leiden 1976) 135–49, 182–86.

Menippean Satire;[10] Fulgentius' *Mitologiae* is the immediate source in such matters for the *Consolation*.

> Vestes erant tenuissimis filis subtili artificio indissolubili materia perfectae, quas, uti post eadem prodente cognoui, suis manibus ipsa texuerat; quarum speciem, ueluti fumosas imagines solet, caligo quaedam neglectae uetustatis obduxerat. . . Eandem tamen uestem uiolentorum quorundam sciderant manus et particulas quas quisque potuit abstulerant. (1. 1. 3–5)

> Cuius hereditatem cum deinceps Epicureum uulgus ac Stoicum ceterique pro sua quisque parte raptum ire molirentur meque reclamantem renitentemque in partem praedae traherent, uestem quam meis texueram manibus disciderunt abreptisque ab ea panniculis totam me sibi cessisse credentes abiere. (1. 3. 7)[11]

1. The parallels between the epiphany of Philosophy and that of Calliope to the narrator of Fulgentius' *Mitologiae* are documented by Helm, and have been found convincing.[12] But there is a parallel in the action of the two pieces as well which has not been noted. In the prologue, Fulgentius' narrator parodies the opening lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and thus proclaims himself an anti-Ovid, desiring to debunk pagan mythology by showing how it may submit itself to Christian analysis;[13] Calliope, clearly worried about her own status and existence under such circumstances, changes the nature of the *Mitologiae*; she presides over the interpretation of myths, and they do not reveal Christian truth.[14] Calliope, like the gods invoked at the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, has changed the genre of the work that Fulgentius' narrator intended to write, and he loses artistic control of his work.[15] So too in the *Consolation*; Philosophy's goal is to change the nature of the work which is about to be written.   The

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[10] D. Shanzer, "The Late Antique Tradition of Varro's *Onos Lyras*," *RhM* 129 (1986) 272–85, esp. 276 ff., on the survival of one of Varro's *Menippeans* into the sixth century to account for similarities between Martianus Capella (576–77, 807) and Boethius (1. 1. 1–4, 3. 1. 1) in the ways in which their respective Muses upbraid the narrators for their blindness and stupidity.

[11] The text is that of L. Bieler, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 94 (Turnhout, 2nd ed. 1984).

[12] R. Helm, "Der Bischof Fulgentius und der Mythograph," *RhM* 54 (1899) 119–21; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. by H. E. Wedeck (Cambridge 1969) 296 n. 8.

[13] *Mitologiae* 8. 4–5 (references are to the page and line of Helm's Teubner text): ad meum uetusta carmen / saecla nuper confluant, cf. Ovid *Met*. 1. 4: ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen; *Mitologiae* 11. 12–13: mutatas itaque uanitates manifestare cupimus, non manifesta mutando fuscamus, cf. Ovid *Met*. 1. 1–2: in noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora.

[14] I present this argument in "Ovid *Metamorphoses* I. 1–4 and Fulgentius' *Mitologiae*," *AJP* 105 (1984) 87–90.

[15] As pointed out by David Kovacs, "Ovid, Metamorphoses 1. 2," *CQ* 37 (1987) 458–65, the second line of the *Metamorphoses*, a hexameter, reveals that Ovid's genre has changed, and that the gods have compelled him to write epic rather than elegy.

banishment of the pagan Muses is not just a part of the cure of the narrator, but is first of all a redirection of the work from elegy to philosophy. Philosophy is not just the embodiment of philosophical truth, but appears first as the personification of a genre.

2. To this extent, the *Consolation* follows the lead of the *Mitologiae* in borrowing a device from Ovid in claiming that forces beyond the author's control changed the work he wanted to write. But it is within the tradition of Old Comedy and Menippean satire to present an author who is unable to write, arraigned by his genre for his ineptitude. Consider Cratinus' *Pytine* (The Chianti Bottle), which presents the spectacle of Comedy complaining about the author's drunkenness;[16] her complaint that Cratinus has found another wife who has alienated his affections may be paralleled in the *Mitologiae*, in Calliope's attempt to make Fulgentius' narrator abandon his (Christian) wife in favor of Satyra.[17] Lucian, who knows both Old Comedy and Menippean satire, also exploits this motif. In *Bis Accusatus* he is berated by Dialogue and Rhetoric for having written the comic dialogue of which they are constituents;[18] but Lucian allows his narrator to defend himself successfully, as he also does, in the presence of Philosophy, against the charges brought by the dead philosophers in the *Piscator*.[19] If we suppose that Varro's *Menippeans* are the channel by which this motif of Old Comedy reaches Fulgentius, we may say that Menippean satire works its influence in the *Consolation* as well. The extreme passivity of Boethius' narrator is Philosophy's greatest frustration: his tears as well as his words are dictated to him,[20] and Philosophy's first task, as is nicely demonstrated by Lerer, is to make the narrator speak, to help him to find a voice.[21] But she must also insult and abuse him, in order to rouse him from his lethargy;

[16] Frr. 193–217 Kassel–Austin.

[17] Cratinus, testimonia ii and iii, frr. 193–96; *Mitologiae*, 12. 9–13. 5. The fact that no physical wife appears in the closing scene of the *Mitologiae*, and the fact that the bishop never married, lead to the suspicion that the narrator's jealous wife (12. 16: tam etenim liuens zelo sortitus sum ex affectu coniugium) has only a metaphorical reality.

[18] Similar is the appearance of limping Elegy and violent Tragedy to Ovid at *Amores* 3. 1, though Elegy, Ovid's preferred genre, is not upset with him.

[19] Lucian's *Piscator* offers parallels to the *Consolation* that deserve further consideration: the narrator, whom philosophers briefly returned from the Underworld wish to drag down to death, is forced to give an account of his views of philosophy and philosophers before the very person of Philosophy. Lucian's narrator is, however, allowed to defend himself successfully and remain alive. Courcelle (above, note 1) does not mention Lucian; R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog: Ein literarhistorischer Versuch* (Leipzig 1895) II 347 and n. 2, provides some interesting parallels to the epiphany of Philosophy in the Greek tradition.

[20] I m. I. 3–4: ecce mihi lacerae dictant scribenda Camenae / et ueris elegi fletibus ora rigant; 1. 1. 1: haec dum mecum tacitus ipse reputarem querimoniamque lacrimabilem stili officio signarem astitisse mihi supra uerticem uisa est mulier . . .

[21] S. Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue: Literary Method in The Consolation of Philosophy* (Princeton 1985) 94–123 (Ch. 2, "The Search for Voice").

her concern for his well-being is mixed with contempt for his stupidity and outrage at being abandoned by him.[22]

3. But has Philosophy come only to reclaim the narrator as one of her own? At this point we must consider her appearance. Her epiphany seems a grand thing: her eyes flash fire, she possesses an aura of inexhaustible vigor and of incalculable age, and there are certainly many classical parallels for such a view of Philosophy's person.[23] But we must consider her as an actor in a drama, and many of the details which describe her appearance speak of a victim of abuse. In fact, Philosophy gains our sympathy as a victim of violence. Her clothes are torn and dirty and are compared to the ancestral death masks that adorn the halls of aristocratic families, covered with smoke after the passing of ages (*fumosas imagines*). I think that this pointed simile is to make us think that Philosophy herself is near death.[24] Gruber draws a parallel to Old Comedy: Pherecrates' play *Chiron* (ps.-Plut. *De Musica* 1141C ff. = fr. 145 Kock) has the defiled personification Μουσική lament before Δικαιοσύνη and Ποίησις her miserable treatment at the hands of the new musicians.[25] Philosophy's tattered robes are the result of the violent treatment that she has received from modern, false philosophers. Within the tradition of Old Comedy this pathetic presentation of an allegorical figure is quite at home. But the more immediate model is that of Calliope in Fulgentius' *Mitologiae*, who describes herself as only one step ahead of the Alexandrian vivisectionists.[26] What we have in the *Consolation*, I think, is another tradition of Menippean satire which has its roots in Old Comedy: an allegorical figure looking for a champion to right the wrongs which she has suffered at the hands of moderns.[27] So too in

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[22] Her insulting poem at 1 m. 2 concludes (24–27): nunc iacet effeto lumine mentis / et pressus grauibus colla catenis / decliuemque gerens pondere uultum / cogitur, heu, stolidam cernere terram. When Philosophy continues in prose she admits that her indulgence in abuse has been to no purpose (1. 2. 1): sed medicinae, inquit, tempus est quam querelae. For parallels between Philosophy's abuse of the narrator and Satyra's abuse of Martianus' narrator, cf. above, note 10.

[23] Courcelle (above, note 8).

[24] See Chadwick (above, note 3) 225–26, for a plausible interpretation of the Θ on Philosophy's gown as the mark of one condemned to death (θάνατος). See also the sensible emendations to this theory by D. Shanzer, "The Death of Boethius and the 'Consolation of Philosophy'," *Hermes* 112 (1984) 355–56.

[25] For a good discussion of the musical and technical difficulties in this famous passage, see E. K. Borthwick, "Notes on Plutarch De musica and the Cheiron of Pherecrates," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 60–73.

[26] 9. 10–15: Libebat me mea captiuitas, et licet nostrae uacuissent industriae, inueniebat tamen animus quibus inter mala arrideret, nisi me etiam exinde bellis crudelior Galeni curia exclusisset, quae pene cunctis Alexandriae ita est inserta angiportis, quo cirurgicae camificinae laniola pluriora habitaculis numerentur . . .

[27] For a reconstruction of the *Chiron* along these lines, see W. Suess, "Über den Chiron des Pherekrates," *RhM* 110 (1967) 26–31. Similar plots in Aristophanic comedy include Trygaios' rescue of Peace (represented by a statue: K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* [Berkeley and Los

Aristophanes' *Frogs*, though Dionysus and not Tragedy herself makes the descent, there is a journey to the Underworld to find such a champion.[28] These texts allow us to see at the beginning of the *Consolation* a bedraggled allegorical figure who, surprising though it may be, seems to come to Boethius for help.

4. The torn and dirty robes identify Philosophy not only as a victim of violence and neglect, but also as a philosopher. The picture of Eros son of Poros and Penia in Plato's *Symposium* (203cd), which is ultimately a picture of Socrates himself, lies behind any image of a philosopher in meagre clothing;[29] but specifically, her tatters and the dirt align Philosophy with the Cynic philosophers, particularly Diogenes, and, through Diogenes, with Menippus. Consider this description of Menippus and his tattered robes from the first of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*: Γέρων, φαλακρός, τριβώνιον ἔχων πολύθυρον, ἅπαντι ἀνέμῳ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ ταῖς ἐπιπτυχαῖς τῶν ῥακίων ποικίλον . . .[30] It is appropriate to an allegorical Philosophy who is in the Cynic tradition to be dressed in a tattered robe.[31] The fact that Boethius elsewhere in his writings shows no sympathy for Cynicism or Cynic philosophers does not argue against this identification. Within the *Consolation* itself we find a Cynic stance in Philosophy's first arguments, the negative assaults on fortune; as the narrator turns from his self-forgetfulness to the recognition of the divine order, Philosophy turns to positive instruction and adopts a more Platonic tone.[32]

Angeles 1972] 134–36) and Khremylos' restoration of sight to the blind old Ploutos, in *Pax* and *Plutus* respectively.

[28] Note too that the Chorus in *Frogs*, addressing Demeter, sings that it is dressed in rags (404 ff.): σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλωτι κἀπ' εὐτελείᾳ τόδε τὸ σανδαλίσκον καὶ τὸ ῥάκος . . .

[29] πρῶτον μὲν πένης ἀεί ἐστι, καὶ πολλοῦ δεῖ ἀπαλός τε καὶ καλός, οἷον οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἀλλὰ σκληρὸς καὶ αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἄοικος, χαμαιπετὴς ἀεὶ ὢν καὶ ἄστρωτος, ἐπὶ θύραις καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ὑπαίθριος κοιμώμενος, τὴν τῆς μητρὸς φύσιν ἔχων, ἀεὶ ἐνδείᾳ σύνοικος.

[30] It is likely that Lucian here is drawing upon the traditions of Diogenes and not upon specific knowledge of the habits of Menippus: see J. Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (New York 1981) 79. A convenient and amusing account of the clichés of Cynic dress and manner is found in Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 7–11, in which Diogenes is on the auction block.

[31] A poem of Agathias Scholasticus, *A. P.* 11. 354, presents a useful parallel to Boethius' Philosophy. The philosopher Nicostratus, described as the pinnacle of pagan philosophical thought (a second Aristotle and Plato's equal), is dressed as a Cynic, with a robe and a long beard (vv. 11–12), which he strokes before giving his trivial answer to a philosophical problem (13–15): if the soul has a nature, then it must be either mortal or immortal. For parallels between this sixth-century text and the *Consolation*, see my "Agathias Scholasticus (*A. P.* 11. 354), the Philosopher Nicostratus, and Boethius' *Consolation*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* (forthcoming).

[32] Klingner (above, note 1) 33–34.

5. Further, the torn robe is developed as a *comic* detail in the presentation of Philosophy, a detail whose importance is gradually revealed. When we first read of the robe, the description of its extremely fine threads and the delicate labor needed to weave them together suggests that a garment made of them is made of gossamer, of nothing: "perfectly constructed of the slenderest threads with minute craftsmanship in indestructible cloth."[33] To draw attention to the subtlety of philosophical argument is rarely complimentary.[34] The immediate inspiration in Menippean satire for the presentation of an allegorical figure with a deft comic detail is Martianus Capella, whose Seven Liberal Arts receive a fair share of abuse as they are grandiloquently introduced.[35] Certainly our suspicions are aroused by this description, and we then learn gradually that the very notion of the indestructibility of Philosophy's robes must be largely the narrator's invention: there is no reason to presume that this narrator is infallible, given the depiction of his intellectual and emotional failings through the course of Book 1. The narrator at 1. 1. 3 imports the fact which he learns

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[33] Tenuissimis filis subtili artificio indissolubili materia perfectae. While to be *subtilis* may be a positive attribute of an argument, to be *tenuis* is not so. Within the *Consolation*, the adjective appears a number of times to indicate what is almost beyond the grasp of the intellect; cf. 5 m. 3. 10: *rerum tenues nexus* (difficult to discover); 3. 3. 1: *tenui imagine* (difficult to comprehend); 2 m. 7. 17: *superstes fama tenuis* (obscure); 3. 9. 3: *tenui rimula intueri* (through a tiny crack); 3. 12. 15: *tenui licet suspicione prospexi* (a faint suspicion). The idea is that such things are practically incomprehensible, yet the robes are quite comprehensible, and have been seized and torn. For a similar sort of comic description of the nature of argument within the Menippean tradition, compare Ennodius' description of the fine mail of arguments, fashioned out of small links, that is worn by the wily Rhetorica in the so-called *Paraenesis Didascalica*, 14: vos . . . rhetoricis lituis evocat Mavors eloquentiae et quasi loricam hamis, ita conponit variis et conexis causarum munimenta particulis (text of F. Vogel, *MGH AA* Vol. VII, 313). Further, such fine material on Philosophy, a female actor in this drama, raises the possibility that her robes are diaphanous: this lies behind two of Boethius' possible sources, Ovid's description of Elegy, *Am.* 3. 1. 9 (*forma decens, uestis tenuissima, uultus amantis*) and Fulgentius' description of Calliope, *Mit.* 8. 8–10 (adstiterant itaque sirmate nebuloso tralucidae ternae uiragines edera largiore circumfluae, quarum familiaris Calliope . . .).

[34] One might also add that the description of Philosophy's great height, such that she cannot at times be seen by mortals (1. 1. 2: Nam nunc quidem ad communem sese hominum mensuram cohibebat, nunc uero pulsare caelum summi uerticis cacumine uidebatur; quae cum altius caput extulisset ipsumque etiam caelum penetrabat respicientiumque hominum frustrabatur intuitum) is not necessarily grand. The description has a number of positive parallels (cf. Gruber ad loc.), but Philosophy is also what the Greeks would call μετέωρος, and has her head in the clouds.

[35] Cf. Grammar's doctor-bag of cure-all potions at *De Nuptiis* 3. 223 ff.; Dialectic's hook and snake at 4. 328; Geometry's worn-out shoes at 6. 581. Urania and Philosophia in Fulgentius' *Mitologiae* (14. 6–20 Helm) are each described with one comic detail that mocks their grandeur: Urania, while contemplating the heavens, stubs her big toe on the narrator's door; Philosophia looks as if she were smelling something awful. Cf. also the appearance of the limping Elegy in Ovid, *Amores* 3. 1. 7 ff.

later from the mouth of Philosophy herself, that she has made her own garments (1. 3. 7).[36] But note that Philosophy herself never says that they are indestructible; to the contrary, she complains that they are torn. It is surely a paradox that Philosophy's curiously wrought robes, said to be made of unbreakable material, should be torn; and the modern, hopeful explanation that the robe may be torn though the material itself is indestructible (meaning that the teachings of Philosophy will never pass away) does not take into account the possibility that here we have a narrator who misinterprets what he sees.[37] Nor does this answer take into account the visual aspect of the scene. Very few of the medieval illustrations reproduced by Courcelle show Philosophy with her tattered robes, and she cuts quite a striking figure when she is so portrayed.[38] These comic details (the torn robe, the naive narrator's misunderstanding) draw the otherwise august Philosophy down into the real world: the undeniable physical fact is that Philosophy's robe has been torn, and she does say that philosophers had once dragged her away kicking and screaming. This is of course a pointed sort of humor: it tells of a difference in Philosophy's own person between theory and practice (remember the ladder from Π to Θ on her robe), of one of which the narrator is blissfully ignorant, yet of which Philosophy herself is painfully aware.

6.   The comic figure in strange clothing at the beginning of a Menippean satire may also be paralleled in the *Necyomantia* and *Icaromenippus* of Lucian. In the former, Menippus, just returned from a journey to the Underworld, is wearing Odysseus' cap, carries Heracles' club and bears Orpheus' lyre; in the latter, just back from a flight to heaven, he is wearing an eagle's wing and a vulture's wing. In these dialogues, the interlocutor is a straight-man who allows Menippus to unfold his fantastic and impossible stories. In the *Consolation*, the narrator functions as the interlocutor, and although it is not fair to say that he becomes a *muta persona* in the course of the *Consolation*, it is true that the work consists primarily of Philosophy's speeches before an incredulous audience. His preoccupations show that he will not prove to be Philosophy's champion; in fact, he is at first quite disbelieving, as are Lucian's interlocutors. Philosophy is horrified by the state in which she finds the narrator not only

[36] Behind this lies the Athena who in the *Iliad* (5. 734–35) is said to have made her own robes: thus Philosophy is identified with the goddess of wisdom. Athena's robes are discussed in the neo-Platonic tradition: Proclus *In Tim.* 1. 167; see R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1986) 199 n. 143.

[37] Gruber, *Kommentar*, ad 1 pr. 1. 3: "Das Gewand konnte zwar zerrissen werden (1 Pr. 1. 5), aber der Stoff ist unauflösbar, d.h. die Lehren der Philosophie sind unvergänglich."

[38] See Courcelle (above, note 1) illustrations 46, 2; 53, 1 and 2; 57; 90; 92. Illustration 46, 2 (Paris, B. N., *français* 1099, fol. 42ʳ, s. xv) shows a torn robe from which the pieces have not been torn off; one wonders if this may be an attempt to resolve the contradiction.

because it proves the narrator's diseased state of mind, but also because he is of no use to her while in this state. Similarly, in the *Mitologiae* the narrator considers himself free from the enticements of Calliope, and Calliope, in order to remain a living and vital thing, must dissuade the narrator from his plan of proving that all of Classical mythology is a lie. In both Fulgentius and Boethius the sorry allegorical figure must reanimate herself and explain her value to a narrator who does not at first accept her worth. In the *Mitologiae*, this takes the form of a seduction;[39] in the *Consolation*, it is a process of remembering.[40] But the point is this: Philosophy, looking for a champion, finds to her distress that she must defend herself and be the narrator's champion.

7. If we are then prepared to view Philosophy's thin, torn cloak as suggestive of something other than the perfection of her teachings, then the rending of this garment by philosophers may be something more than a symbol of barbaric attacks upon the personification of Truth. The image of a source of Truth physically divided by lesser beings who think that their individual portions are each the whole may be paralleled in a number of comic contexts. Closest to Boethius' time is the vomiting of Philology's learning in Martianus; her vomit is assiduously collected by the Arts and Disciplines at 2. 135–39, and this learning, which originally made Philology desirable to Mercury, is ultimately viewed as the ballast that she must jettison before she can be worthy of apotheosis and rise to heaven.[41] Aelian (*VH* 13. 22) tells of a painting by one Galaton depicting poets collecting the vomit of Homer; Helm thinks that Lucian's description of Charon, who learns Homeric Greek after Homer's seasickness during the crossing of the Styx forces him to vomit forth his poetry, goes back to an early Cynic source that is the origin of Galaton's painting as well.[42] Within a different comic philosophical tradition we have the violent image of Numenius that Plato was torn apart like Pentheus (fr. 24 Des Places, 71–73), this taken from the polemical and amusing *On the Unfaithfulness of the Academy to Plato*.[43] Gruber ad 1. 3. 7 gives a number of parallels to

[39] Relihan (above, note 14) 87–90.

[40] See, most recently, A. Crabbe, "Anamnesis and Mythology in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in L. Obertello, ed., *Atti, Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani* (Rome 1981) 311–25.

[41] For the implications of this for the understanding of the goals of the *De Nuptiis* as a whole, see my "Martianus Capella, The Good Teacher," *Pacific Coast Philology* 22 (1987) 59–70.

[42] *Charon* 7. See R. Helm, *Lucian und Menipp* (Leipzig and Berlin 1906) 172–73, though of course all of Helm's statements about Lucian's dependence on earlier literature need to be read with caution. His view that this is a parody of Aeschylus' statement that his dramas are slices of Homer's banquet (Athenaeus 347e; testimonia O. 112a Radt) and is directed against the adulation of Homer at Alexandria seems quite plausible.

[43] See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (Ithaca 1977) 361–62. As to Numenius' comic talents, Dillon (379) compares him to Lucian, "that other island of wit in this

passages in which Philosophy or Truth is said to be one and indivisible despite the depredations of the crowd. But certainly there is a great difference between the metaphor and the introduction of a character into a dialogue who has actually been torn to pieces. I think that Philosophy's divisible robe suggests that she is not the source of indivisible and ultimate truth.

8. Philosophy returns from the land of the Dead. I do not think it far-fetched to suggest that that is where the philosophers dragged her, kicking and screaming (1. 3. 7); this explains also the death images of *fumosas imagines* and *caligo quaedam neglectae uetustatis* (1. 1. 3). The narrator presumes that she has come from heaven, but he may, like the narrator in Fulgentius, be mistaken.[44] Her own experience is what she points to in order to appeal to the narrator to change his ways; in this she is like Menippus himself, who is also said to have dressed in bizarre clothing and to have claimed that he was an emissary from the other world. Menippus too portrayed himself as a strange mixture of the august, the comic, and the allegorical: he wore tragic boots, was dressed as a Fury (though with a great beard!), and had a hat with the signs of the zodiac woven into it.[45] The narrator in the *Consolation*, who, again, is not infallible, sees only her heavenly, but not her infernal, side.

Some Conclusions

Shanzer makes the excellent observation that one of the most important literary sources of the *Consolation* is Plato's account of the death of Socrates.[46] Shanzer concludes that Boethius knew that he was going to die as he composed the *Consolation*, and that the cup which Philosophy offers the narrator (the *ualidiora remedia* of 1. 5. 11; cf. also 1. 4. 1, 2. 1. 7) is

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sea of bores." Des Places, in his Budé edition of the fragments of Atticus (19–20), argues that Numenius is the source of Atticus' statement that Plato gathered up the limbs of pre-existing philosophy like the limbs of Pentheus. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1. 57. 1–6) similarly speaks of sects dismembering the unity of the Word as the Bacchants dismembered Pentheus.

[44] 1. 3. 3: Et quid, inquam, tu in has exsilii nostri solitudines, o omnium magistra uirtutum, supero cardine delapsa uenisti? In the narrator's poetic summons in the *Mitologiae*, the Muses are asked to come down from dewy hills (7. 9–14); but the narrator presumes that Calliope has gathered up her diaphanous gown in order to avoid the thorns of the wasteland through which the narrator himself had travelled (8. 8–16); he is oblivious to the fact that Calliope is trying to seduce him.

[45] Suda s.v. φαιός, "grey:" Μένιππος ὁ κυνικὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τερατείας ἤλασεν ὡς Ἐριννύος ἀναλαβεῖν σχῆμα, λέγων ἐπίσκοπος ἀφῖχθαι τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων ἐξ ᾅδου καὶ πάλιν κατιὼν ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐκεῖ δαίμοσιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἐσθὴς αὕτη· φαιὸς χιτὼν ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινικῆ, καὶ πῖλος Ἀρκαδικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ ιβ΄ στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοί, πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μελίνη. Diogenes Laertius (6. 102) gives this as a description of the Cynic Menedemus, but it seems to belong to Menippus. See my "Vainglorious Menippus in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*," ICS 12 (1987) 194 and n. 29.

[46] Shanzer (above, note 24) 362–66.

Socrates' cup of hemlock. Philosophy's consolation is the consolation which death itself provides; there is no question of consoling the narrator against the fear of death, and the *Consolation* offers no arguments for why death is not to be feared. But I think that the considerations given above allow us to emend this notion somewhat: Philosophy has come back from the Land of the Dead as one dead to claim the narrator, and there is bitter irony in the fact that only death can prove the philosopher. Philosophy is the practice of death (μελέτη θανάτου), but the *Consolation* asks us to see the limitations of this: all that Philosophy has to offer the narrator is death. Menipppean satire is at home with a questionable afterlife (Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, Lucian's *Necyomantia*, Julian's *Symposium*) and with questionable prophets; despite the quiet tones and introspection of the *Consolation*, Boethius' Philosophy ultimately belongs to this world. She must try to prove her own importance by taking the narrator with her to the Underworld. Although she claims that she wishes to take the narrator to his true homeland (4. 1. 9, 5. 1. 4), she cannot, and does not, take him anywhere else.

These conclusions fit into the re-evaluation of Boethius' *Consolation* which sees that Philosophy does not accomplish the work that she sets out to do, to teach the narrator who he truly is (1. 6. 14 ff.);[47] that the *Consolation* must be seen primarily as a literary creation, even if it is written in the face of execution;[48] that the *Consolation* presents an ironic view of the learning of Philosophy.[49] The introduction of the *Consolation* makes sense in the light of the traditions of Menippean satire. Philosophy is not shown as entirely grand and august, but, in some important aspects, as comic, weak, and in need of support. The narrator frustrates her because he does not understand what she really is and what she has to offer; and she must give aid, not receive it. Her tissue of arguments, suggested by the fine material so easily torn, may not prove to satisfy the narrator. To her, seemingly near death, the true philosopher is proved by death; the narrator himself, perhaps, would rather live.

I do not think that such considerations detract from the greatness of the *Consolation*, but accentuate the poignancy of the story of the difficult relations between a man and his philosophical guide, neither of whom is able to satisfy the other's needs, neither of whom can find solace or ultimate

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[47] Cf. Tränkle (above, note 3).

[48] E. Reiss, "The Fall of Boethius and the Fiction of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*," *CJ* 77 (1981) 37–47, goes too far in saying that there is no evidence that the work itself is actually Boethius' final work and written with death impending; Shanzer (above, note 24) counters Reiss' view that the historical data in the *Consolation* have only an allegorical value and points to the parallels of the *Phaedo* and the *Crito* to show that Boethius wrote this as a final work; but Reiss is quite correct to say that the *Consolation* is still to be read from within and not from

[49] Payne (above, note 6), esp. Ch. 3, "*The Consolation of Philosophy* as Menippean Satire," 55–85.

answers in theories, arguments, and words.[50] The frustrated search for truth
seems to me to be a hallmark of Menippean satire. Philosophy wants to
give the narrator wings and take him to his true home, but his persistent
questioning in Book 5 about the unanswerable question, the relation
between divine foreknowledge and free will, ultimately will not let her do
so.[51] Philosophy does not provide ultimate answers, and the dialogue ends
without a poem, on a bitter and inconclusive note.[52] A definition of
Northrop Frye's seems a particularly apt description of this conclusion:
"Irony without satire is the non-heroic residue of tragedy, centering on a
theme of puzzled defeat."[53] In the eerie silence of the dialogue's end I see
Menippean satire's quiet affirmation of common sense against the tyranny
of theory; but we may say that in the sixth century common sense is no
longer Cynic truth but Christian faith. In this light, I see no difficulty in
reconciling, if reconciliation is necessary, Boethius' faith and his final
work.[54]

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13

Constantine Manasses, *Itinerary* v. 160

R. D. DAWE

M. Marcovich has recently given us a fascinating paper (*ICS* 12 [1987] 277–91) on Manasses's *Itinerary*. May I suggest a postscript? The poet sees a beautiful girl in a dim chapel.

> ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἦν σύνηθες εἰσιόντι μοι
> αἴφνης ὁρᾶται χιονόχρωτος κόρη,
> καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς φεραυγοῦς λαμπάδος   160
> φωτὸς πυριμάρμαρον ἐκφέρει σέλας
> καὶ καταλάμπει καὶ διώκει τὸν ζόφον·

Marcovich diagnoses too many genitives in v. 160 and alters to τῆι φεραυγεῖ λαμπάδι; and he reads εἰσφέρει in 161: "and with her face as a light-bringing lamp she introduces a gleaming brightness into the chapel." The change of case is bold, and following εἰσιόντι μοι I would rather have expected a description of something unusual already there that greeted his eye rather than a description of someone bringing in something new into a gloomy ambiance. Although we are not talking of the girl bringing something in by entering the chapel, the choice of word is unfortunate in the context. I would also expect σέλας to be the subject of the verbs in 162. For these reasons I suggest ἐκφλέγει with no other change. For the corruption cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 513, and for the appropriateness of the verb Aesch. fr. 243. 1 νέας γυναικὸς . . . φλέγει ὀφθαλμός. "But on going in, as was my custom, a girl with skin white as snow suddenly greeted my eyes, and from the radiant lamp of her face a fiery gleam of light blazed out and lit up the place, chasing the darkness away." It is to be hoped Manasses himself would approve of this suggestion: it was after all he who penned the couplet

> τί ταῦτα τλήμων εἰς μάτην καταλέγω,
> τῆς Αἰσχύλου χρῄζοντα δραματουργίας . . .;
> (vv. 213–14)

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14

Homer in German Classicism: Goethe, Friedrich Schlegel, Hölderlin and Schelling

JOACHIM WOHLLEBEN

In 1869 Friedrich Nietzsche delivered his Inaugural Oration as Professor of Classical Philology in Basel. The address was entitled "On the Personality of Homer." In this famous address he remarked on the period of German Classicism: "On every side one feels that for almost a century the philologists have lived together with poets, thinkers, and artists. For this reason it has come about that that former heap of ashes and lava, which used to be called Classical Antiquity, has now become fertile, indeed thriving pasture land."[1]

"For almost a century"—by this he meant the period that extended from the middle of the eighteenth century through the middle of the nineteenth. In fact this period in Germany was notable because of its unusually narrow symbiosis between philology and belles-lettres. What had been handed down from classical antiquity was the common possession of the educated. The rise of German literature cannot be explained without notice of its intensive connection with Greek poetry. As part of the "Rediscovery" of the Greeks at the cost of the Romans there arose a particular interest in the Father of all European poetry, Homer. His epics aroused enthusiastic interest manifested in three ways: 1) the attempts to make ever more accurate translations a part of German literature; 2) attempts by poets to write German imitations; 3) attempts by scholars to solve the riddle of the

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[1] See *Nietzsche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by G. Colli and M. Montinari, II. 1, ed. by F. Bommann and M. Carpitella: *Philologische Schriften (1867–1873)* (Berlin and New York 1982) 267. For general treatments of the subject of this paper see: H. Clarke, *Homer's Readers: A Historical Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Newark, London, and Toronto 1981); C. Ephraim, *Wandel des Griechenbildes im achtzehnten Jahrhundert (Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder)* (Bern and Leipzig 1936); G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe: Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland* (Leipzig and Berlin 1912; repr. Hildesheim 1973); J. L. Myres, *Homer and his Critics*, ed. by D. Gray (London 1958); W. Rehm, *Griechentum und Goethezeit: Geschichte eines Glaubens* (Leipzig 1936); K. Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of the Early Greek Epic (1688–1798)* (Cambridge 1979); P. Szondi, *Poetik und Geschichtsphilosophie I: Antike und Moderne in der Ästhetik der Goethezeit*, ed. by S. Metz and H. H. Hildebrandt (Frankfurt am Main 1974).

early origin of the Homeric poems. That is poets, thinkers, and philologists were united in a common endeavor.

I shall say a word on the position of Germany in Europe at this time. The great "quarrel of the ancients and the moderns" at the time of Louis XIV had started with the poetry of Homer and had chosen the *Iliad* as the paragon of non-modern poetry. By now the quarrel was over. The modernists were the victors. In Germany there was general agreement that progress was possible in literature and in culture as well.

German writers and critics were inspired by the English, not the French. The books on Homer by Thomas Blackwell, Robert Wood, and Edward Young were all translated into German by 1770.[2] They aroused much interest and determined the direction of German research. The important question was no longer one of whether Homer had possessed the necessary decency and adequate court manners; rather the question was now: Is it possible by means of historical, ethnographical, archaeological, or other reconstructions of early Greece to gain an insight and understanding of Homer's time? Just how did the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* arise? The discovery of Homer, in so far as it grew at the expense of Vergil, was part of the rejection of French cultural superiority.

One never finds in German literature (with the possible exception of Kleist's *Penthesilea*) a creative reworking of Homer such as is found in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. There is a further point. German thinkers and theoreticians rarely took Homer as their model for the most lofty historical speculation on which to base a whole theory of the evolution of human culture, as for example Giambattista Vico did in 1725 with his *Scienza nuova*.

On the contrary the century of Homer's creative influence in Germany reveals a remarkable tendency toward highly subjective theories, indeed extremist approaches and interpretations. From Winckelmann (ca. 1760), the founder of modern historical archaeology, to Heinrich Schliemann, the notorious excavator of Troy and Mycenae (ca. 1870), there extends a phalanx of Homer-enthusiasts, each of whom drew his own picture of Homer, the first poet, the spirit of epic, the beginning of Greek culture, naive man and so on.

Winckelmann, for example, before his famous move to Rome led a wretched existence in the Mark Brandenburg and in Dresden as a village schoolmaster and librarian. He lived entirely in his books, indulging in a dream-world of Mediterranean beauty, physical and artistic beauty, and,

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[2] Thomas Blackwell, *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (London 1735), translated by J. H. Voss (Leipzig 1776); Robert Wood, *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (London 1769), translated by Chr. F. Michaelis (Frankfurt 1773); and Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London 1759), translated by H. E. von Teubern (Leipzig 1760).

driven by pagan instinct, during Protestant church-services read in the
Odyssey rather than the Gospels. "I prayed in Homeric similes," he said.

Winckelmann was the first one who, as part of his secularisation of
edifying pietistic ideas, raised up Homer to the level of Holy Writ and turned
Homer into a saint, who advocated the Gospel of the World's Beauty rather
than commandments to do or not to do something. He made a private
Homer for his own use, consisting of selected quotations from the poet.
This became his aesthetic catechism. A number of times, for example, he
cites *Odyssey* 20. 18:

τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

Endure, my heart; something more humiliating than this you once endured.

He also included citations that had to do with his despair and his often
hopeless situation, for example, the remark of the bard Phemios (*Od*. 22.
347 f.):

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας
παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

I am self-taught; a god has implanted in my mind all the pathways of song.

From now on it became privilege and ambition to read Homer in the
original. And in general Homer became the point of comparison for literary
criticism. Lessing used the description of the shield in *Iliad* 18 as the
starting point for his highly successful comparison of the visual arts and
poetry in his *Laokoon* of 1766. The young Herder replied to it with lively
engagement in his earliest publication (*Erstes kritisches Wäldchen* 1769).

The youthful group of "Sturm und Drang" and the Göttingen
"Hainbund" were inspired by the idea of a natural, primeval condition of
mankind which allowed them to avoid first the dry, rationalistic narrowness
of modern civilization (especially the exaggerated materialism of Holbach
and Helvetius) and also the old-fashioned Protestant admonitions that
encouraged contrition, denigration of the body, and the metaphysical
awareness of one's sinful state. In this context, along with the great
discovery of Shakespeare, these young men sought the liberation of body
and soul in the pure, uncontaminated state of mankind that they found in
Homer.

These young writers composed poems to Homer, the good father of
poets. Graf Leopold von Stolberg did, for example, as did J. H. Voss, to
whom Homer appeared in a dream and consecrated him to the task of
translation. In Goethe's epistolary novel, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*,
the hero with his impressionable mind loses himself in the primeval idyll of
the *Odyssey*, where the swineherd Eumaios tends his beloved, unrecognized
master. Under the open sky Werther prefers to read in "his Homer." As
soon as his melancholy spirit abandons Homer and turns to the mournful

gushing of Ossian, his fate is sealed and nothing can save him from self-destruction.

In the 1770's Homeric poetry became the common concern of bourgeois Protestant education in Germany. The problem of a definitive translation of Homer which preserved his hexameters and allowed them to be imitated more and more closely in German was successfully dealt with. This was a task to which Johann Heinrich Voss devoted many years. In 1776 appeared the flamboyant, youthful version of the *Iliad* by Stolberg (already in hexameters). In 1781 the first version of Voss' *Odyssey* was published. In 1793 his *Iliad* followed.[3]

It goes without saying that the great period of German literature, the so-called classical-romantic decades around 1800, had concentrated on Homer, mainly in an attempt at clarifying the question what the modern age in contrast to classical antiquity could really be and what genuine form of art and poetry was conceivable for that time. All the great men of the time shared in this discussion. Herder throughout his life was torn between his great love for Homer's poetry—in this he differed little from Winckelmann, whose emphasis on artistic beauty he was quite able to share—and a false, unhistorical conception of Homer, which could only deceptively grasp from far away the object of his sentimental desire across the abyss of epochal time. Because of this contradiction, Herder resisted every attempt to seek in Homer a model for modern poetry. His whole reluctant love for Homer, which he forbade himself, is expressed in a succinct phrase in the chapter about the Greeks in his masterpiece, *Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind*: "Homer sang, but not for us."[4] Important poets of the pre-classical and classical periods, such as G. A. Bürger, Wieland, Klopstock, and Voss, brooded over Homer. Schiller in his important essays on poetry treated Homer as an indispensable historical paradigm for the theory of genre. In Schiller's philosophical lyric as well, Homer the poet and his enigmatic works occasionally play a role. Wilhelm von Humboldt published in 1798 a voluminous study of Goethe's bourgeois epic, *Hermann und Dorothea*. On close reading it amounts to an analysis of Homeric epic. We read in Hölderlin's writings profound meditations and sublime ideas of the importance of Homer for all European culture.

It continues in this way in the generation of the Romantics as well. The philosophers of idealism created their own theories of Homer. Schelling's "Philosophy of Art" can serve as an example. There Homer is not only the first poet of Europe but also, strangely enough, the last. Obviously the central figure of the period, Goethe, thought profoundly about Homer. In the great congregation of Homer-enthusiasts he is perhaps

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[3] For Voss' translation of Homer see the authoritative study of G. Häntzschel, *Johann Heinrich Voss: Seine Homer-Übersetzung als sprachschöpferische Leistung*, Zetemata 68 (Munich 1977).

[4] *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by B. Suphan, XIV (Berlin 1877) 146.

the most striking in so far as he dared to compose Homeric poetry, something which, according to the theorists, should have been impossible. The case of Goethe is remarkable as well in regard to his reaction to a contemporary event which provided a great challenge to all those I have mentioned, from Herder on, especially the greatest critic of the epoch, Friedrich Schlegel. In 1795 appeared a pioneer work of modern philology. Friedrich August Wolf, Professor of Classical Philology in Halle, published his famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum sive de operum Homericorum prisca et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendandi* (Halle 1795).

Nietzsche's observation that the philologists had lived with poets and thinkers is best proven by the case of Wolf. He was the mentor and friend of Wilhelm von Humboldt at the beginning of the nineties. Toward the end of the decade he corresponded with and worked with Goethe, who in 1805 invited him to provide a chapter in a cooperative volume entitled *Winckelmann and his Age*. Wolf contributed a survey on philology in early eighteenth century Germany. Wolf's later treatise, "A Description of Ancient Studies" (1807), proves the influence by then of Humboldt's and Schiller's theories of Greek poetry and the relation in which it stands to modern German poetry. We have there an example of the fortunate symbiosis of philology with the poets and thinkers to which Nietzsche alluded.

But it was just for the poets that the *Prolegomena* became a great problem, indeed a provocation. One learned from Wolf about the gradual development of epic and the pre-literate transmission of the poetry, which led to the unwelcome conclusion rightly or wrongly (it is still undecided) that one author Homer, creator of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, had never existed. For the poets, inspired by Homer, that was a sort of sacrilege. For Wolf had exterminated the father of all poets. Who was now to receive all the reverence of the worshippers? From many varying examples I shall concentrate on four important reactions: Goethe, Friedrich Schlegel, Hölderlin, Schelling—two poets and two thinkers.

First Goethe. In his case philology and poetic creativity for a brief historical moment formed an unusual coalition. Initially Goethe reacted as it were instinctively with revulsion against Wolf's hypothesis as he understood it. For him as for so many contemporaries Wolf was the exterminator of Homer. Goethe after his first reading of the *Prolegomena* in May 1795 protested against the attack on the person of Homer. He accused Wolf of devastating "the most fruitful gardens of the kingdom of literature," and Wolf had done it from scholarly arbitrariness. He agreed with Schiller that it was an act of barbarism. He declared emphatically that as a poet he basically had other interests than those of a critic. A poet composes; a critic decomposes. But for no apparent reason a sudden change occurred. In a few months Goethe had changed sides to the party of the destructive critic. In his personal letters to Wolf his change is clearly documented. Goethe states

there that acquaintance with Wolf's work "marked a new era in his life and work." He wished "to become acquainted with Wolf's ideas" and remarked in somewhat elusive phrasing: "I shall treat and think through in my way this matter which is so very important."[5] Indeed, he goes so far as to welcome Wolf's discovery. How did this happen? The answer is that in thinking over Wolf's hypothesis Goethe was led to an entirely different conception of what he was capable of as a poet. He became an epic poet. He became a Homerid, composing his own bourgeois epic, *Hermann und Dorothea*. What is so remarkable is that earlier he was not a Homerid and that only after the ruin of Homer was he able to create Homeric poetry. This apparent paradox can be explained in the following way.

In the period of his classical poetry, that is between the return from Italy, with the outbreak of the French Revolution, and the death of Schiller, Goethe sought to introduce the great traditional genres into German literature. Thus he wrote German love elegies after Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid (*Roman Elegies* [1795]), Epistles in the style of Horace, Epigrams after the model of Martial. He planned an Aeschylean tragedy, a *Prometheus*. After the completion of his great novel, *The Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister*, he experimented with hexametric epyllia (*Alexis and Dora*) and stated that he had the intention of concentrating all his effort on epic poetry and, at the end of his career, of succeeding in composing one.[6]

We must however take notice of a second peculiarity of his creativity in order to understand his striking handling of the problem posed by Wolf. Many works of Goethe are motivated by a powerful response to an overwhelming impression which seemed almost a threat rather than an inspiration to him. He had to create in order to save himself. So for instance his first published work, his drama *Gottfried von Berlichingen*, was a response to his encounter with Shakespeare. In old age his *West-östlicher Divan* (1819) grew from his confrontation with the Persian lyrics of Hafiz. In this context we understand that his bourgeois epic, *Hermann und Dorothea*, derives from his impression of Homer. On the other hand he had been studying the Homeric epics for years before. In *Werther* the *Odyssey* plays a decisive role. But this never led him to the reproduction of Homeric poetry in German. How do we explain this? The very greatness of Homer discouraged imitation.

Now Wolf appeared and with incontestable arguments abolished an historical Homer who was greater than life. Goethe himself speaks of "the one and only." Here is what he writes to Wolf: "Possibly I shall soon send to you rather boldly the announcement of an epic poem in which I do not conceal how much I owe to your recent teaching. For a long time I was inclined to venture into this matter but I always felt overawed by the lofty conception of the unity and indivisibility of the Homeric poems. But now

[5] *Goethes Werke*, Weimarer Ausgabe IV. 10. 420 (June 1795).

[6] *Ibidem*, IV. 11. 233 ff. (17 October 1796, to F. H. Jacobi).

because you have made these works part of a family, it seems less audacious to share in that great society and follow the path which Voss has so beautifully traced for us in his *Luise*. Because I am not disposed to test your writing theoretically, I hope that you will not be unsatisfied with my concrete approval."[7]

In an elegiac poem with the title *Hermann und Dorothea*, Goethe spoke publicly of his conversion:

Here is to the health of the man who has finally boldly freed us from the glorious name of Homer, who encourages us to share in the contest! For who dared to struggle with gods? And who with the One? But now to be a Homerid, even if the last, is beautiful.[8]

So, the destruction of a great model was to be welcomed. In this case it was the precondition of being able to follow him. That is the paradox of Goethe's *Homeridentum*. Should we believe him? Certainly not entirely. The detour over the results of Wolf's research was rather a wilful self-deception. Surely of first importance was the will to attempt an epic. But Goethe was quite aware of the artistic risk of a violent modernizing of Homer. Nonetheless, we must have a modern epic. Today we detect in *Hermann und Dorothea* rather the sentimental and bourgeois character and miss the genuinely Homeric heroism and the role of the gods. Yet Goethe was dissatisfied with his newly discovered *Homeridentum*. He sought to become an even more authentic follower of Homer and designed an *Achilleis*. There he hoped to provide the narrative link between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But he failed with this violent classicism. His *Achilleis* never went further than a second book. Already in 1798 when Goethe read Friedrich Schlegel's first Homeric contribution, written in the spirit of Wolf, he again changed his conception of Homer. He returned to his earlier belief in the poetic unity of the *Iliad*. His intermezzo with Wolf was over. The point of this intermezzo had not been to provide a documented, philological view of Homer, but rather to create an Homeric work. Now again his reverence for the sublime unity of the *Iliad* prevailed. In May 1798 he confessed to Schiller: "I am more convinced than ever of the unity and indivisibility of the poem. Absolutely no man lives anymore, nor shall he ever be born, who will be capable of evaluating it."[9] Goethe stresses from now on the "indivisibility" of the epics. He rejects the Lay-theory or that of the rhapsodes as the obtuse pursuit of philologists. The man Homer appeared to him now to be less important. His later little poem "Homer

[7] *Ibidem*, IV. 11. 296 (26 December 1796, to F. A. Wolf).
[8] *Ibidem*, I. 1. 293 f.
[9] *Ibidem*, IV. 13. 148 (16 May 1798, to Schiller).

again Homer" is well known. In it he regrets his earlier Wolfian fall and
confesses his return to an unquestioning Unitarianism.[10]

> You have with ingenuity
> From any reverence set us free.
> And we confessed too liberally
> That *Iliad* but a patchwork be.
>
> May this defection raise no ire;
> For Youth can urge us with its fire
> Rather to think of it as One
> And so delight in One alone.

Goethe as a creative poet had replied to Wolf in an unusually indirect
way. The great literary critic of the period, Friedrich Schlegel, replied in a
quite different way. In 1796 appeared an essay, "On Homeric Poetry," with
the subtitle: With Reference to Wolf's Researches. Two years later he
expanded this as part of the first volume of his unfinished *History of the
Poetry of the Greeks and Romans*. Schlegel was inspired by Wolf not to
think about the man Homer, who scarcely interested him at all, but rather to
sketch a phenomenology of the Epic, which in its way could scarcely be
more radical. The instability of the epic narrative, which in fact had been
Wolf's theme and had led to his historical conclusions concerning its varied
transformations, seduced Schlegel to a special theory of the
"Unbestimmtheit," the vagueness, of the Epic. By this he did not mean the
boundless myths of the Cycle, from which epic narrative took its start; but
he defined epic as a so-to-speak formless form.

We must understand his intentions. First Schlegel struggled against
Aristotle. We can attribute that disagreement to youthful spirit. He
indicted Aristotle—with some justice—on the charge that he had brought the poetic
unity of the epic all too close to the principle of tight unity which held for
the drama. For example Aristotle stresses a central hero as a central
unifying factor, something which Schlegel vehemently discards. Schlegel
opposed the all too logical impulse to be found in Aristotle's *Poetics*.
Secondly, Schlegel liked paradoxes. He loved the paradoxical definition.
Therefore, he defined the epic as a form which has no limit. For him epic is
a form without end. "In epic poetry there is really no complex plot and no
denouement, as one finds in drama and even in lyric poetry. At every point
in the flow of epic narrative one finds tension and release." Further: "This
epic harmony is so very different from the closed world of drama, as a single
poetic action is from an indefinite mass of poetic events." He distinguished,
that is, between the *Handlung* of drama and the *Begebenheiten* of epic

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[10] *Ibidem*, I. 3. 159. The translation by M. Jacobs is taken from Myres (above, note 1) 86 n.
1. For details see J. Wohlleben, "Goethe and the Homeric Question," *Germanic Review* 42
(1967) 251–75. For a useful collection of Goethe's views on Homer see E. Grumach, *Goethe
und die Antike: Eine Sammlung* I (Potsdam 1949) 117–218.

narrative: between action and simple occurrences. In epic "every occurrence is a link in an endless chain, the consequence of earlier ones and the germ of those to come."[11]

What Schlegel thinks about Homeric epic in part derives from ancient tradition. Epic always begins *in mediis rebus* and really has no end. These sources he cites extensively. He even calls up Homer himself as witness and recalls the bards of the *Odyssey*: Demodokos at the court of the Phaiakians, Phemios at Ithaka, and the nameless bard at the court of Menelaos and what Homer said of their endless store of knowledge and tales. He recalls Odysseus' words to Alkinoos (*Od.* 9. 14):

τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;

What shall I say to you first? What last?

Or what Eumaios said about Odysseus' stories (*Od.* 17. 518 ff.):

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνὴρ ποτιδέρκεται, ὅς τε θεῶν ἒξ
ἀείδῃ δεδαὼς ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖσι,
τοῦ δ' ἄμοτον μεμάασιν ἀκουέμεν, ὁππότ' ἀείδῃ·

Even as when a man gazes upon a minstrel who sings to mortals songs of longing that the gods have taught him, and their desire to hear him has no end whensoever he sings.

Or Helen's remark in the palace of Menelaos (*Od.* 4. 240 ff.):

πάντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
ὅσσοι Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονός εἰσιν ἄεθλοι.

All things I cannot tell or recount, even all the labors of Odysseus of the steadfast heart.

All these citations are adduced to prove the consistent boundlessness of epic narrative, which stops nowhere and can start anywhere. One must see that his theory of a paradoxical aesthetic category for a work that has no boundaries was intended to provoke the fundamental classicistic assumptions of the Weimar Dioskouroi, Goethe and Schiller. Schlegel was in no way ready or even capable of sketching an objective poetics of epic. He limited himself to striking metaphors that illustrate his idea of the inherent endlessness of epic. He and his elder brother and ally, August Wilhelm Schlegel, chose for instance a bas-relief as a point of comparison. A. W. Schlegel writes: "The epic is the bas-relief of poetry. Here the figures are not arranged in order but they follow one another as far as possible in a series of profiles. The bas-relief by its very nature is endless. When we find a mutilated one from the frieze of a ruined temple or a section of one broken on both sides, we are able in our minds to extend it backwards and

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[11] *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (= *KFSA*) I, ed. by E. Behler: *Studien des Klassischen Altertums* (Paderborn, Munich, and Vienna 1979) 124 ff.

forwards without requiring a precise end."[12] The garden of Alkinoos can also serve to support the brothers Schlegel. There the fruits are forever ripening and seasons play no role.

This is what Schlegel concludes. Epic is a creation each of whose parts is of equal value with the whole, in the sense that in each part the plan of the whole structure is evident and realized. He says: "It is everywhere apparent that the innermost feature and the true essence of Homeric epic are that the smallest segment is formed and constructed precisely like the whole."[13] What he means becomes clear when one contrasts the law of classical drama, where every part, whether a scene or an act, is part of a rigid unity and can never be moved or replaced.

Friedrich Schlegel summarizes what he means in a succinct metaphor:

> The epic poem is, if I may so express myself, a poetical octopus, where every limb, whatever its size, has its own life and indeed possesses as much harmony as does the whole.[14]

Many experiments were made with the octopus (or polyp) around 1780, especially by Lichtenberg at Göttingen. He found that from the smallest part, when amputated, a new creature could grow. It was also learned that groups of octopi can join together to form one large one. This is a close natural analogy to the Homeric epic. Schlegel characterized a phenomenon that could be divided into endless parts but at the same time had the ability endlessly to combine. He formulated his aperçu epigrammatically: "The Homeric epithet is a small rhapsody and the rhapsody is a large epithet."

One can say that with his definition of epic Schlegel supplemented by his wilful poetic elucidations the historical and philological deductions of F. A. Wolf. Wolf, as an historian of literature, had postulated that epic arose from an aggregate of mythical tradition, no longer available to us, which was synthesized in a way not clear to us into the compilation and revision that we call Homer. This Schlegel sought through his analogy from nature to make plausible and understandable.

Something unclear and unsatisfactory nevertheless remains with Schlegel's definition of "Unbestimmtheit." In order to clarify the matter a bit, one must recall that Schlegel's ideal was not Homer but Sophoclean tragedy. It is conceivable that he had composed his history of Greek literature in such a way that it would culminate in tragedy as the absolutely "bestimmt" genre. Here, probably, is concealed speculation that he owed to Fichte. He stressed too strongly that Epic was an imperfect genre still without contour and too general for one to be able to write its history. Schlegel saw in Homer a form of poetic composition that was only

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[12] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Kritische Schriften und Briefe*, ed. by E. Lohner, III: *Geschichte der Klassischen Literatur* (1802) (Stuttgart 1964) 110.

[13] *KFSA* I. 521.

[14] *KFSA* I. 131.

objective, in lyric one that was only subjective, but in tragedy he saw the
successful fusion of these two extremes. The fact that his history of Greek
literature broke off after the first volume (1798) prevented the detailed
justification of a rather nebulous theory.

After the poet Goethe, who only occasionally and with a specific aim
entered the terrain of historical philology, and Friedrich Schlegel, who was
qualified to make a substantial contribution to Homeric scholarship, we
shall turn to two figures who purposely never became involved in the
revolutionary suggestions of Wolf, simply because they were such lovers of
Homeric poetry. I mean the poet Hölderlin and the philosopher Schelling.
The views of Homer shared by these two friends from the theological school
in Tübingen have much in common.

Hölderlin approached Homer, "the poet of poets," and his works with
deep reverence and boundless love. Already in an early version of his novel
Hyperion, Hölderlin brings his hero and his friends to a holy grotto
consecrated to Homer, whose statue is in the center of it. They bring
offerings to it and celebrate Homer in song. In these songs they sing of the
return of all that has been lost, of the eternal community of the human
spirit, and the reconciliation of all that has been separated. Homer, whose
unity with nature has now been lost and shaken, will be regained through
the purifying self-cleansing and perseverance of modern mankind. This
triadic structure of Hölderlin's conception of history is the legacy of a
secularized Christianity and was ultimately systematized by the third of the
three Tübingen student-friends, Hegel.

Hölderlin's love for Homer, whom he always treated as an historical
figure, was extended to love for his creation, Achilles. Hölderlin returned
again and again in his novel, poems, and essays to one favorite scene in the
Iliad. This is the meeting in the first book of Achilles with his divine
mother, silver-footed Thetis, at the seashore in Troy. There we have
Achilles' lament on his loss of honor and Thetis' consolation for the fate of
mankind. This scene best serves as proof of the unified structure of the *Iliad*
when one sees it in the following context. The action begins with
Agamemnon's humiliation of Achilles. This motivates the wrath of
Achilles, which is not assuaged until Book 24. His turning to his mother
raises a purely human incident to the level of the gods, for Thetis resorts to
Zeus, who thereby turns against the Greeks to favor the Trojan cause.

Hölderlin belonged without reservation to the Unitarians. For him the
character Achilles is the center of the poem. This character, "so tough and
tender," "so indescribably touching and then again a monster," he felt to be
close to him in the way the hero of a sentimental novel of his own day
might be.

Hölderlin once remarked in an essay: "People have wondered why
Homer, who wanted to sing of the wrath of Achilles, scarcely allows him to
appear in the poem." His solution was: "He was unwilling to profane the
divine youth in the turmoil before Troy. The ideal must never appear as

routine. And he really could not sing of him more impressively and tenderly than by concealing him so that the few moments, when the poet allows him to appear before us, glorify him all the more because of his absence."[15]

Hölderlin drew up a whole series of essays on poetics. He planned to edit a periodical on the model of Schiller's *Horen*. This plan was not realized and for this reason they exist only as archival documents. In these reflections on poetry Hölderlin started again from Homer and Achilles. The essays (none of which exists in final form) seem to form a series. Hölderlin began with observations on Achilles. He proceeded to questions about characters suited for other literary genres. He continued to a typology of characters and went further to a typology of different methods to compose poetry. Throughout these essays he combines a dualistic system with a triadic one of epic, lyric, and drama. On this he superimposes a second triadic system of so-called *Töne*, tones. He calls these ideal, heroic, and naive. As a result of this complex structure, his essays grow increasingly incomprehensible both for the unprejudiced reader and the specialist. Whenever—and this is rarely—a preserved poem is mentioned in these essays, it is the *Iliad*. His point of orientation, therefore, remains Homer.

We learn that every poem has a basic tone (*Grundton*) and an artistic character (*Kunstcharacter*). That is to say: a true work of art possesses an interior tension. Whatever that might precisely mean is possibly made a bit clearer by the most important document for Homer in Hölderlin's *Nachlaß*. This is a letter of Hölderlin to a poet-friend, Casimir von Böhlendorff, dated 4 December 1801. This letter has become famous in Hölderlin studies. It was first published in 1905 and is one of the few pieces of evidence for a coherent and concise theory of poetry by this great lyric poet. The principle theme of the letter is the leitmotiv of the epoch: the dichotomy that exists between the exemplary character and the inimitability of the Greeks for the moderns.

> Nothing is more difficult to learn than the free use of our inborn ability. And in my opinion, clarity of exposition is as much ours as heavenly fire belongs to the Greeks. Just because of this, they can be excelled in their passion for the beautiful rather than in that famous Homeric self-control and lucid description. It sounds paradoxical; but I state it again and offer it to you for criticism and use: that which really belongs to one will in the course of self-improvement become less and less of a priority. For this reason the Greeks are less masters of sacred pathos, just because it is part of their nature. Yet they are outstanding in lucid exposition from Homer onwards. This extraordinary man was inspired and profound enough to conquer for his Apollonine kingdom the Junoesque sobriety of the Occident. In this way he made the foreign his own. With us it is the opposite. For this reason it is dangerous to extract artistic rules

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[15] *Hölderlin: Sämtliche Werke*, Kleine Stuttgarter Ausgabe (= *KSA*), ed. by F. Beissner, IV (Stuttgart 1963) 235.

exclusively from Greek excellence. I have worked very hard on this and am convinced that apart from that which has to be the acme for the Greeks and us, namely that vital balance and dexterity, we are not permitted to be their equals. But what is one's own has to be so well learned as the alien. Precisely for that reason we cannot do without the Greeks. But we shall not equal them in that which is our own, because, as I said before, the unhampered use of one's own is what is most difficult.[16]

The terminology of this unusual document may appear overly subjective in details and therefore difficult to understand, but the tendency of this great thought is fully clear. Homer means for this interpreter of Greek poetry the historical place where the transformation from the world into poetry succeeded in an exemplary manner, in so far as it first attains concrete form. What he calls "heavenly fire" is the orgiastic inspiration that comes from God, which we ascribe to the Greeks. But that alone does not produce art. Only with the limitation and form imposed by sobriety in the shape of concrete works are great Greek art and poetry produced. It was Homer who first and best managed this, thinks Hölderlin, and when so considered he becomes a sort of messianic father of poetry. His person turns into a figure who forms human history, comparable only to Herakles, Moses, Sokrates, and Christ. Hölderlin's anticipation, one may add, of Nietzsche is obvious.

If Hölderlin was the one who detected in Homer a figure who created culture, Schelling was the one who at the same time designed a Homer for the future (*Philosophy of Art*, i.e. Lectures on Aesthetics held in Jena in 1802 and 1803, and repeated in Würzburg in 1804–05).[17] This may sound odd but it corresponds to his friend's theory in the following way. Already in the nineties Schiller first in his famous review of the poems of Gottfried August Bürger (1791), then in the famous essays of the *Horen*-period made a categorical distinction between the present century of the Enlightenment and the time of Homer. He pinpointed the isolation and splintering of human activities and intellectual potential—today we would say all forms of estrangement symptomatic of the modern world—and drew the following conclusions:

A folk-poet, in the sense that Homer or the troubadours were to their time, would be sought in vain today. Our world is no longer the Homeric, where all members of society shared more or less the same emotions and opinions. There they could recognize themselves easily in a poetry shared by them all.[18]

Here we have the point of departure for the passionate young philosopher Schelling. Schiller too had indicated the medium which might help to overcome modern self-estrangement. He believed firmly that "poetry

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[16] *KSA* VI. 456.

[17] F. W. J. Schelling, *Philosophie der Kunst* (1859; repr. Darmstadt 1966).

[18] *Schillers Werke*, Nationalausgabe XXII: *Vermischte Schriften*, ed. by H. Meyer (Weimar 1958) 245 f.

almost alone is capable of mending the split forces of our mind. Poetry has a harmonious concern for head and heart, for reason and imagination. Poetry restores the whole man in us." But how can it achieve this enormous reconciliation? By penetrating and integrating all the achievements of modern times, that means the insights of science, the political, moral, and practical experience of the epoch; by purifying them and, in the lofty words of Schiller, "by creating from an edifying art a model for the era out of the era." He thus paved the way for the consideration of Homer and his paradigmatic relevance to Schiller's own time. For if one observes the abyss which exists between Homer and the present with all its crass diversification and diffusion, it is understandable that the desire to see again the lost harmony of a divided world regained would result in a blessed future state of mankind. This Schelling called "Homeric." This vision of the progress of history did not necessarily require a person, that is a universal poet as the crown of the times; rather the new epoch itself he calls "the last Homer."

He had earlier prepared the way for this new mythology in the so-called "First Systematic Program" (1796). Although the ideas were Schelling's, this paper has survived in the handwriting of Hegel. In this paper he describes a poetry that surpasses all reason and he expresses his conviction that "the highest act of reason in which all ideas are encompassed will be an act of artistic imagination." Poetry will be in the end what it was at the beginning: the teacher of mankind. Although Homer is not named in this paper, Homer is certainly implied. For the Greeks Homer was precisely "the teacher of mankind." This leads us again to Schelling's major work, *The Philosophy of Art.* There he postulates a new mythology that will reestablish Homeric naivete and totality in a post-scientific era of mankind. This "new mythology" is intended to reconcile the ancient gods of nature with the historical gods of Christianity. Mythology finds its vehicle in epic. That is why Schelling speaks of a future epic and he ends up—to make an overly long story short—with the confident hope that "the Epic, that is Homer (in the etymological sense of the word the unifying one), who then was first, will now be last and will consummate the whole destiny of modern art."[19]

Obviously what I have been describing are the extremes of romantic speculation. Yet Schelling was by no means the only one to propound such theories. We find comparable ideas in the old Herder and even in Hegel's lectures on aesthetics. We might also, in conclusion, mention the last of the German Homer-enthusiasts, who died a hundred years ago and who exerted considerable impact on our view of Homer. I mean Heinrich Schliemann, whose literal, almost fundamentalist, belief in the text of Homer led him to the excavation of Troy and Mycenae.

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[19] Schelling (above, note 17) 457.

We began with the sceptic and anti-philologist Friedrich Nietzsche. It was he, so far as I understand, who brought to an end that German passion for Homer, some examples of which we have discussed. He did so by reprimanding the exaggerated, otherworldly German infatuation with the Greeks. All this occurred during the 1870's. Schliemann at the same time brought to the light of day the sacred walls of Troy, which thereby lost their mystery. The German idealization of Homer could not survive these two violent onslaughts.[20]

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FORTHCOMING

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Eumaeus and Odysseus—Covert Recognition and Self-Revelation?

HANNA M. ROISMAN

For Mordechai Gichon

When Odysseus first returns to Ithaca, he reveals his identity explicitly only to Telemachus. All the other members of the household see him only as a ragged beggar. Telemachus is probably granted this formal recognition not only out of paternal sentiment, or because Athena commanded it (16. 167–71), but because he is the safest confidant in the household. His youth, naiveté, and filial relation to Odysseus all favor his trustworthiness, and besides that he needs Odysseus to protect his life and property. Moreover, were Telemachus to violate Odysseus' confidence and reveal his identity to the suitors, Odysseus could readily deny it. Telemachus is the only character Odysseus meets at the beginning who cannot confirm his identity because he was a baby when his father left and has no memory of him.[1]

Yet despite Odysseus' insistence on withholding his identity, the leitmotiv of covert self-revelation runs through the epic. To get the help he will need in reestablishing his place in his home, Odysseus must obtain the support of key figures who are potentially less reliable than his son. He needs Eumaeus as a loyal servant in a distant farmstead with a footing in the palace. He needs Eurycleia as an ally in the house.[2] Since they are slaves, however, their loyalty cannot be taken for granted. As Eumaeus attests, the gods take half a man's *arete* the day he enters servitude (17. 322–23).

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[1] In fact, Odysseus appears to his son in a way that should have caused Telemachus to question his self-disclosure. If Telemachus had ever asked about his father's appearance, he could have been told, as the text informs us, that Odysseus was red- or fair-haired (13. 399, 431). Yet he appears to his son bald, with a thick black beard and dark complexion (16. 175–76, 13. 399, 18. 353–55).

[2] For the view that Odysseus reveals himself first to those whose assistance he needs in overcoming the suitors and, therefore, not to Penelope, see also Σ^N *Od.* 13 init. (= II 789–90 Dindorf), which starts with a citation from Aristotle (presumably from the *Homeric Problems*, see N. J. Richardson, "Recognition scenes in the *Odyssey*," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 [1983] 225–26): ἔστι φάναι, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἔδει ὡς ἂν μετέχειν μέλλουσι τοῦ κινδύνου εἰπεῖν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τούτων ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς μνηστῆρσι (fr. 176 R). See also W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford 1930) 75, for Odysseus' need of Eumaeus.

Slaves were notorious for changing allegiance. Thus with these characters Odysseus is cautious and circumspect. He reveals himself covertly.

This paper will focus on Eumaeus' covert recognition and his master's covert self-disclosures. Let me begin by pointing out that for all Odysseus' insistence on secrecy and disguise, on several occasions the poem implies that Odysseus can be recognized. Penelope, Eurycleia, and Philoetius are all struck by the beggar's similarity to Odysseus. Penelope orders Eurycleia to wash her master's "agemate" and makes a point of noting the beggar's similarity to Odysseus: "and Odysseus must by this time have the same hands and feet as he does" (καί που Ὀδυσσεὺς / ἤδη τοιόσδ' ἐστὶ πόδας τοιόσδε τε χεῖρας 19. 358–59), she tells Eurycleia in front of the guest. Eurycleia also notes the resemblance. "Many sore-tired strangers have come here," Eurycleia says as she is about to bathe the beggar, "but I say I have never seen one as like as you are to Odysseus in form, voice, and feet" (οὔ πώ τινά φημι ἐοικότα ὧδε ἰδέσθαι / ὡς σὺ δέμας φωνήν τε πόδας τ' Ὀδυσῆϊ ἔοικας 19. 380–81). Even Philoetius, who probably was not particularly close to Odysseus before his departure for Troy, compares the beggar's form to that of a royal prince (ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆϊ ἄνακτι). He tells the beggar that cold sweat covered him when he saw him, since he was immediately reminded of his long-absent master (20. 194, 204). Odysseus' awareness that his disguise can be penetrated is probably the reason why he takes so much care to appear before Penelope after sunset, when she would have a harder time making out his features (17. 570, 582).

Eurycleia and Odysseus

It is generally assumed that Odysseus does not want Eurycleia to recognize him. But Odysseus' attitude toward Eurycleia is ambivalent. On the one hand, he expressly asks for her to wash his feet—his description of the maid he wants for the task excludes everyone but Eurycleia, whom he sees sitting near Penelope. On the other hand, the text tells us that when Eurycleia rose to prepare the bath, he moved away from the hearth to avoid being seen in the firelight, and "immediately he thought in his heart that as she handled him she might become aware of the scar, and the whole story might come out" (19. 390–91).

W. J. Woodhouse attributes the contradiction to Homer's having based this encounter on different variants of the old tale. The saga material offered more than one means by which, and more than one person by whom, the hero could be recognized.[3] Woodhouse suggests that there might have been a story in which the maid, who knew her master better and longer than his wife, was the one who first revealed Odysseus' identity to Penelope. Jasper Griffin suggests that the poet sang different versions on different occasions, choosing the variant on the basis of an immediate effect rather than absolute coherence.[4] In either case, in the written version Odysseus clearly wishes Eurycleia to recognize him. Otherwise he could have rejected the bath as he rejects a soft bed. It is noteworthy that the Scholia also maintain that Odysseus reveals himself to Eurycleia as he does to Telemachus, Eumaeus, and Philoetius, since her help forms part of his plot in overcoming the suitors (διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῇ Εὐρυκλείᾳ ἐκκαλύπτει αὐτὸν χρησίμῳ ἐσομένῃ πρὸς τὴν θυρῶν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπαινίδων ἡσυχίαν).[5]

He chooses Eurycleia to wash him because he knows that she is the only one who can identify him by his scar. Other than Eurycleia, none of the people Odysseus encounters was sufficiently familiar with his scar to identify him by it. The scar was above the knee, where a boar, we are told, gashed the flesh (19. 450). Yet when Odysseus prepares himself to fight Irus, he girds his rags and shows his thighs (18. 67–68) without concern that he will be identified. The suitors marvel at the size and beauty of his limbs (18. 71), but no one remarks on the scar. Either they do not know that Odysseus has such a scar, or they do not notice it. Indeed, the text emphatically points out that Eurycleia identifies Odysseus by feeling the leg and touching the scar, which suggests that it was not noticeable to the eye (19. 390, 468, 475).[6]

Odysseus wants Eurycleia to recognize him but not to reveal his identity to Penelope nor to insist on having him acknowledge her recognition. When in Penelope's presence she drops his foot into the basin and, crying out, touches his chin, he throttles the old woman and checks the possible cry of joy on her lips (19. 469–81).

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[3] Woodhouse (previous note) 74–76. On recognition by a future accomplice as a standard feature of Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian songs, see A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (London 1960) 103–04.

[4] J. Griffin, *The Odyssey* (Cambridge 1987) 26–33, esp. 31.

[5] Σ^N *Od.* 13 init. (= II 789 Dindorf).

[6] Nor did Odysseus consider his scar ultimate proof of his identity, for in addition to showing Laertes his scar, he recounts the trees that his father had given him (24. 336–43). Woodhouse (above, note 2) 75 suggests that Penelope herself might have been altogether unaware of the adventure.

Eumaeus and Odysseus

When analyzing characters' encounters, we should carefully differentiate between the recognition of one's identity and the acknowledgment of this recognition. There is a difference between the two, and they are not necessarily simultaneous. A character can recognize the identity of another character who seeks to remain incognito and yet not make his discovery known, and vice versa, a recognized character might not wish to acknowledge another character's recognition of his identity. The tension between Eumaeus' recognition of his master and Odysseus' acknowledgment of this recognition adds depth to the encounter between the swineherd and his master, just as does the tension between Penelope's recognition of her husband and her intentionally postponed acknowledgment of this recognition in the final encounter of the royal couple.[7] The covert recognition also effects a very complex irony of the kind we witness explicitly in Book 17, where the audience, Telemachus, and Eumaeus all know the beggar's true identity, but none of the characters knows about the other character's awareness.[8]

There is no formal recognition (i.e., recognition and acknowledgment) between Odysseus and Eumaeus till very late in their encounter in Book 21, just before the bow contest, when Odysseus reveals his identity formally to both the swineherd and the neatherd. Yet throughout their encounter, which starts in Book 14, the two men operate with inner rapport and psychological sympathy. The text subtly confirms that inner rapport between master and slave, which is a vital factor in the upcoming recognition. When Odysseus sits down, frightened by Eumaeus' dogs, and his stick falls from his hand, the text notes: . . . σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός ("and the staff fell out of his hand" 14. 31). The language and metrical structure of the statement are picked up when Eumaeus, hearing the barking of the dogs, hurries out to the yard and drops the hide from his hand: . . . σκῦτος δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός ("and the hide fell out of his hand" 14. 34). The counterpointing of

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[7] See H. M. Roisman, "Penelope's Indignation," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 59–68.

[8] Cf. also *mutatis mutandis* the irony effected after Eurycleia recognizes her master, but Penelope remains unaware of this recognition (20. 129–43). The encounter between Eumaeus and Odysseus is commonly taken by scholars as effecting irony, bathos, and humor. E.g.,B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden 1974) *passim*. Since no recognition is assumed to have happened, the irony in question is a simple one based on the audience's knowledge of the beggar's identity and the slave's slowness in gathering what is happening. The covert recognition of Odysseus by Eumaeus does not preclude the presence of irony but it is of a different kind. The irony effected is not only between the poet/text and the audience at the expense of one of the two characters, but mostly between each of the characters at the expense of each other and the audience. Such an irony, which is more subtle, will become fully developed especially in the frequent slave asides in Roman comedy.

the statements suggests the accord between the two characters who meet after a long separation.[9]

Cedric Whitman stated that Odysseus starts his self-revelation with the lower ranks but not with Eumaeus.[10] Yet we cannot understand Eumaeus' behavior and his response to Odysseus' arrival, or Odysseus' thoughts and motivations during his stay in Eumaeus' hut, unless we take into account Eumaeus' covert recognition of Odysseus, which might initially be subconscious but gradually becomes conscious, even if not formally acknowledged.[11]

The theme of recognition is introduced when Odysseus approaches Eumaeus' hut in Book 14 and Eumaeus' dogs are about to attack him. The text says in 14. 30–31: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / ἕζετο κερδοσύνῃ. The use of the noun κερδοσύνη ("resourcefulness, ingenuity, shrewdness, wiliness") hints at the motif of recognition, for the only other occurrence of the noun in Homer is in Helen's tale about her recognition of Odysseus when he entered Troy, also disguised as a beggar. Helen says she was the only one who recognized and questioned him, but in his κερδοσύνη he sought to avoid her (4. 251). The noun seems to occur in association with the penetrability of Odysseus' disguise. Moreover, the base κερδ- also occurs in connection with Odysseus' unmasking. We find it in every scene in which Odysseus is recognized through his disguise. When upon his arrival at Ithaca he tries to hide his identity from the disguised Athena, the text marks his attempt as using πολυκερδέα (13. 255). When he reveals himself to his wife, Penelope accuses him of κακὰ κέρδεα (23. 217). Alcinoos tells him not to hide his identity with νοήμασι κερδαλέοισιν and proceeds to inquire who he really is (8. 548 ff.). When Eurycleia tells Penelope that she recognized Odysseus in the bath, she adds: "in his great shrewdness (πολυκερδείῃσι) he would not permit me to speak" (23. 77).

Eumaeus, who spent three days with Odysseus in his hut, had more opportunity than the other characters to recognize him. Like Eurycleia, Eumaeus knew Odysseus intimately. He was raised in Odysseus' family together with Odysseus' younger sister Ctimene, and he refers to Odysseus

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[9] One is reminded of a similar rapport between Odysseus and Penelope, in the incident in which Penelope thinks to herself that Odysseus' clothes are dirty but says nothing of it, while Odysseus expresses her thought (23. 115–16).

[10] C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA 1958) 302. For the importance of the swineherd and his close association with kingship in Irish and Welsh traditions, see A. and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage* (London 1961) 178–79.

[11] By subconscious recognition I mean a recognition which at first is not plain and clear to Eumaeus but motivates him to act in a certain way. For the Homeric ways of dealing with characters' levels of awareness, especially that of Penelope, see J. Russo, "Interview and Aftermath: Dream, Fantasy, and Intuition in *Odyssey* 19 and 20," *AJP* 103 (1982) 4–18. While in the case of Penelope, who is on the whole a passive persona in the epic, the subconscious comes out through her fears, hopes, and dreams, in the case of the swineherd we note it in the sequence of his interactions with Odysseus which logic cannot explain.

as ἠθεῖον, which denotes an older brother (or a close friend).[12] His recognition of his disguised master is thus plausible, and Odysseus has reason to expect it.

Nevertheless, the recognition is not straightforward or decisive at the very beginning. Moments when Eumaeus recognizes his master alternate with moments when he does not.

Odysseus is characteristically cautious about trusting Eumaeus or anyone else, including his wife. Although Agamemnon, Anticleia, and Athena all reassure him of Penelope's fidelity (11. 181–83, 444–46; 13. 336 ff., 378–81), he remains wary and reveals his true identity to her only after he kills the suitors. With regard to Eumaeus, he has even more cause for circumspection. Eumaeus could potentially inform the suitors of his arrival and so endanger him. Athena, it is true, vouched for Eumaeus' being well disposed toward Odysseus and his family (13. 404–06). Athena's recommendation, however, does not mean that Odysseus can trust the slave without question—certainly not if he did not trust Penelope, or even the gods.[13] After all, Teiresias has left unresolved the question whether Odysseus would attack the suitors by stealth or openly.

From the very beginning of their meeting, the text presents all sorts of hints that Eumaeus recognizes his master. Eumaeus' first address to Odysseus is introduced with the information: ὁ δὲ προσέειπε ἄνακτα. The listener is uncertain for a long moment whether these words are mere information provided by the poet or whether they suggest that Eumaeus addressed Odysseus knowing him to be his master.[14] After all, the listener learns from Athena that the disguise she provides for the hero will fool Penelope, Telemachus, and the suitors, but nothing is said of Eumaeus in this connection, even though the goddess mentions him right after her famous prediction (13. 402–05).[15]

Unlike all the characters who were close to Odysseus prior to his departure for Troy, Eumaeus does not make any statement when he sees his guest in regard to the guest's resemblance to Odysseus. And yet he was closer to his master than any of the other slaves. Could it be that he is the only one who does not notice the beggar's resemblance to the long-absent master? Or should we look for a different reason for his silence?

[12] Cf. Stanford *ad* 14. 147.

[13] For Odysseus' habit of distrust see Griffin (above, note 4) 83–84.

[14] For a similar uncertainty see 14. 192–95. Up to the late protasis, one may think that Odysseus, by suggesting that he and Eumaeus should be left alone while others work, will reveal himself.

[15] The emphasis in the text's comment in 16. 457–59, that Athena renewed Odysseus' disguise so that the swineherd would not know him by appearance and reveal the secret to Penelope, is in my view on the divulging of the secret. Exactly as Athena prevented Eurycleia from drawing Penelope's attention to the identity of the beggar, so she does it in this case. It says nothing of the covert recognition of Eumaeus or Eurycleia. The lack of disguise might have been understood by Eumaeus to mean that a formal revelation is forthcoming, and that there was no need of secrecy anymore. This would be an unwelcome sequence at the moment.

In his first words to Odysseus, Eumaeus addresses the supposed beggar with all the deference and respect one would show toward a superior (14. 56–61):

Ξεῖν', οὔ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε
γίγνεται ἡμετέρη· ἡ γὰρ δμώων δίκη ἐστὶν
αἰεὶ δειδιότων, ὅτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἄνακτες   60
οἱ νέοι.

Stranger, it is not right for me, even if one meaner than you would have
come, to slander a stranger. All strangers and beggars are under
Zeus, and the gift though small is dear
from us, for that is the way of us who are servants,
ever filled with fear when ruled by masters
who are new/young.

So long as Eumaeus proclaims his adherence to Zeus' laws, he might be addressing anyone who came to his door. As soon as he adds, incongruently, that it is the way of servants to fear "young" or "new" masters, he is on different ground entirely. If we read νέοι as "young," as Stanford does, the reference is to Telemachus and is based on the proverbial harshness of young masters. Indeed, there was no harsh punishment of which the women slaves thought Telemachus incapable (18. 338–42). In this reading, Eumaeus would be trying to tell the man he recognizes as Odysseus that he has been a faithful servant also to his son. If we read νέοι as "new," the reference is to Odysseus himself and implies that the newcomer is his new master, which would be appropriate only if Eumaeus recognizes the guest as his master. In either reading, Eumaeus, in this welcome speech, hurries to ensure the hearer that he has been a good servant and has taken good care of Odysseus' house.

Eumaeus also emphasizes the fact that he considers himself part of Odysseus' household. By stressing his adherence to the laws of hospitality (which he again mentions in 14. 388–89 and 402–06), he is saying that he is keeping the traditions of Odysseus' household. Both Penelope and Telemachus obey those laws, tacitly allowing the beggar into their home and providing him with the necessities of life (16. 44–45; cf. 1. 119 ff.). Eumaeus points out his adherence explicitly. Moreover, in so doing, he uses the first person plural of the possessive adjective: ἡμετέρη (14. 59), as if to affirm his place in Odysseus' home even more strongly.

Eumaeus also goes out of his way to relate to the visitor the misfortunes of Odysseus' household, without being asked or in any way encouraged. If he did not suspect that the beggar was Odysseus, the information would be entirely gratuitous. Nowhere in the *Odyssey* does a host disclose the misfortunes or blessings of his house before asking the stranger to identify himself, unless of course the situation calls for such a

confession.   This would be the case of Telemachus' apology to
Mentes/Athena for the suitors' conduct, which caused Telemachus to seat
her apart from them (1. 132–34, 158–68).[16]

Intermingled in his long and informative greeting, Eumaeus enumerates
the rewards he expects from Odysseus upon his return: possessions of his
own, a bit of land, and a wife sought by many suitors (14. 62–66). Those
are the rewards, Eumaeus says, that a master gives a slave who has made his
house prosper, and they are in fact the rewards that Odysseus promises
Eumaeus and Philoetius at his formal self-revelation (21. 214–16). Like the
greeting that preceded it, this codicil makes most sense if we assume that
Eumaeus knows, or at least guesses, the identity of the person he is
addressing.

Eumaeus' awareness at this stage seems less than certain and not
entirely conscious. Eumaeus seems to be responding instinctively to the
familiarity the stranger conveys. Being uncertain, and no less κερδαλέος
than his master, he does not show his awareness directly, but rather puts his
best face forward and angles for reward, in case what he suspects proves true.

He refrains from insisting on an open revelation but proceeds as though
the beggar were his master. In giving Odysseus a detailed account of the
suitors' exploitation of the hospitality of his household, he provides his
beloved master with important information. Then he takes particular care to
repeat his deep affection for his master. If the guest were actually an
unknown beggar, this emphasis would have been extremely unwise.
Beggars used to roam from one palace to another begging for food. A
roaming beggar on his way to the city could easily tell the story to the
suitors, who were unlikely to judge Eumaeus' care for Odysseus kindly and
who may have vented their wrath on him. One should remember their rage
at Telemachus when he dared to criticize their conduct openly at the
assembly. In taking such a risk, Eumaeus is attempting to tell Odysseus
that he knows who he is, but by an innuendo rather than explicitly.

Throughout most of his stay in Eumaeus' hut, Odysseus keeps careful
watch of the extent to which Eumaeus has guessed his identity or suspects it
and how he will react. To achieve his aim, Odysseus simultaneously hints
at his identity and denies it.

He had already played this game with the Phaeacians, as we are told in
Book 8, drawing attention to his identity first by crying, pulling his tunic
over his head, and sighing aloud when Demodocus sang of the quarrel
between him and Achilles (8. 73–75). He did so again by asking the bard to
sing about the wooden horse which Odysseus led up into the citadel. In that

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[16] The only similar instance is Menelaos' tale about Agamemnon to Telemachus and
Peisistratus (4. 78–112), but there again Menelaos had recognized Telemachus and did not need
to ask his identity (4. 141–50), or suspected the youngster to be Orestes and found it more
politic to voice his version of the past events. See F. Ahl, "Homer, Vergil, and Complex
Narrative Structures in Latin Epic: An Essay," *ICS* 14 (1989) 8–10. For additional anomalies
in the conventions of *xenia* in the scene, see Fenik (above, note 8) 30–31.

request he explicitly introduced his own name (8. 494) and again wept aloud, so that Alcinoos finally asked him for his name and lineage.

To clarify my statement let me digress. The text does not reveal this to us explicitly or directly, but by a succession of events and acts on the part of the hero, which I will analyze here but briefly.[17] One of the main questions that arises in the Phaeacian episode is why Odysseus is crying. After all, he is the man in the epic whose ability to conceal emotions is proverbial. There is no clear reason for his groaning and moaning in the episode. We do not know much about the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, but if anything, the text is clear that ultimately it was advantageous for the Achaeans, as we can judge from Agamemnon's rejoicing when the best of Achaeans were quarreling (8. 77–78).[18] Nor is it clear why he cries when being told the story about the Trojan horse, a story he himself asked for.[19] The text compares his tears to those of a woman who cries over the body of her husband slain fighting for Troy, as the victors drive her away to a life of slavery. Such a simile in which the "doer" is compared to the victim of the situation he effected is unparalleled in the epic. Recent Homeric scholarship agrees that at times similes give a deeper and more significant, understated meaning to a situation.[20] This simile, portraying the unemotional hero par excellence crying for the fate he imposed on the woman, borders on the improbable or unbelievable, especially on the part of the hero who is not moved by his father's misery when depicted movingly by Eumaeus and who succeeds in keeping a straight face in front of his wife, who melts in tears when he talks about her lost husband. Furthermore, while Odysseus' crying and self-pity during his stay with Calypso, with no hope of returning home, are well within the theme

[17] In spite of the common belief that the Homeric narrative is explicit and straightforward rather than implicit, we will do well to remind ourselves of Demetrius' words about a special part of "formidable speaking" (δεινότης). Demetrius gives an example from Plato, who along with Homer is a source for many illustrations of the formidable style among rhetoricians. In the *Phaedo* Aristippus and Cleombrotus are not explicitly criticized for feasting in Aegina when Socrates was lying for many days imprisoned in Athens. Instead, Plato makes Phaedo ask who was with Socrates. He enumerates the men one by one. Next, he is asked whether Aristippus and Cleombrotus were present. The answer is "No, they were in Aegina." Demetrius summarizes: "The passage is all the more forcible because its point is conveyed *by the fact itself and not by the speaker*" (*On Style* 5. 288). On the oral theory and implicity and subtlety in expression, cf. also M. Lynn-George, *Epos, Word, Narrative and the Iliad* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1988) 55–81, esp. 58, 66, 78–81. For Homer's technique leaning on the implicit and the subtle, especially in the second half of the *Odyssey*, see P. W. Harsh, "Penelope and Odysseus in *Odyssey* XIX," *AJP* 71 (1950) 1–21, esp. 2. For inferences about characters' motivations from their acts rather than from explicit statement in the text, see J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1983) 62–64.

[18] See the discussion by G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 23–25, 63–65.

[19] For additional oddities in Odysseus' reaction to the song about the Trojan horse, see G. B. Walsh, *The Varieties of Enchantment* (Chapel Hill 1988) vii, 3–6, 20–21, who seeks a psychological explanation and sees Odysseus as a close paradigm of the Homeric audience.

[20] Harsh (above, note 17) 2; M. W. Edwards, *Homer, Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore 1987) 106.

of an imprisoned hero, there is nothing in the entire Phaeacian episode that calls for a description of Odysseus as an emotional and empathic character. He already knows he is going to have a *pompe* home, and there is no need for this sentimentality, nor is it stressed anywhere else in the episode.[21] One should also note the careful strategy of Odysseus' crying. During the first song, he cries only during Demodocus' singing, stopping at intervals, thus connecting explicitly the song with his tears. Even if this can be seen again as a superb command of one's feelings as far as characterization is concerned, it still calls for an explanation of the tears, a clarification for which the Phaeacians remarkably refrain from asking. When asking for the song about himself partaking in the Trojan horse adventure, Odysseus must have known that he would be unable to control his tears again. It is noteworthy that Odysseus' reaction to the songs is marked as unusual by Alcinoos, who fails to understand why Odysseus cries over the fate of both the Achaeans and the Trojans. This is an important point; since during the games Odysseus identified himself as one of the Achaeans who fought at Troy (8. 216–28), his crying over the fate of the Trojans is unclear even to the host. The exhibition of emotionalism can hardly be seen as a goal of a hero who suffered as much as he did. His demand for the song can be understood, however, if he wishes to attain a goal which he failed to reach during the first song, namely, to be asked his identity, upon which a formal revelation followed.[22]

In the Eumaeus episode Odysseus similarly draws attention to his true identity but without revealing himself openly. We may see this first in Odysseus' response to Eumaeus' complaint that his master will never return. Odysseus answers Eumaeus on oath and insists that deceitful tales are hateful to him (14. 151–64). On the surface, he tells Eumaeus a deceitful tale—that Odysseus will return—implying that he has not yet come back. His statement that Odysseus νεῖται (14. 152, is in the very process of return) is in the present tense, not the future, indicating that Odysseus is the beggar, and making good his fervent oath.[23] Still, Odysseus refuses to reveal himself explicitly and even steers Eumaeus away from any identification.

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[21] On the contrary, Odysseus' straightforward and logical treatment of Euryalus' insult, when he repeatedly claims to be sore at heart, stands against it (8. 178–79, 205).

[22] Note the lack of attention of the banqueters to his covering of his head and tears during the first song. Alcinoos notices the guest's uneasiness but at first does not ask for its reason; rather, he changes the activity of the banqueters (8. 90–96). During the third song Odysseus' tears are once again ignored by the banqueters, but Alcinoos stops the song and asks Odysseus' identity and the reason for his crying (8. 531–35).

[23] Stanford (*ad loc.*) does not prove his claim that νεῖται regularly has a quasi-future sense. The tense emerges from the semantics of the verb. Here Odysseus does not use a clear future statement.

Eumaeus wavers momentarily and suggests that they leave the subject of his master and turn their thoughts to other matters (14. 168–70). Yet in the next verse he returns to that subject. He tells the beggar that along with Penelope, Laertes, and Telemachus, he wishes Odysseus would return. Thus the text shows us that inwardly and subconsciously something compels Eumaeus to dwell on the subject of Odysseus, even when rationally he wishes to drop it. Eumaeus now completes his account of the suitors' misconduct and informs his hearer of their scheme to kill Telemachus. Eumaeus' return to the subject of Odysseus gives the beggar a second chance to reveal himself. The warning of the threat to Telemachus' life, and with it to the demise of Odysseus' line (14. 179–84), can be considered a serious bait to Odysseus to reveal himself and help his son.

The beggar's response that he heard that Odysseus is about to return, either "openly or in secret" (14. 321–30), tells the swineherd that he is not going to reveal himself and that he prefers an incognito approach. At the same time, Odysseus once again covertly hints at his true identity. In telling Eumaeus of his escape from the Thesprotians' ship, he alters the formulaic phrase οἵ/μοι φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι το σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι (14. 355), thereby hinting at who he is.

Before I show how, it is necessary to digress to note the attributes that this formula generally possesses in the *Odyssey*.

1. With three exceptions, once in reference to a favor Peisistratus grants Telemachus (15. 204), once with reference to Phemius' decision to plead before Odysseus (22. 338), and once in the case of the Thesprotians, the formula refers to Odysseus (5. 474, 6. 145, 10. 153, 18. 93, 24. 239).

2. The formula always concludes a character's inner deliberation of two alternatives, which are either mentioned in the text or can be deduced from it. Odysseus ponders whether to stay at the riverbed or to climb the slope and find a resting place in the thick brushwood. He wavers between coming forward naked and clasping Nausicaa's knees or addressing her from a distance. In Aeaea, he ponders whether to go himself and search for the source of smoke he sees or to send his comrades. Should he kill Irus or just beat him up? And finally, should he reveal himself to his father with hugs and kisses or should he provoke him? Phemius ponders whether to flee to Zeus' altar or to clasp Odysseus' knees. Peisistratus debates whether to obey Nestor's order to return Telemachus to Pylos or to allow Telemachus to embark on his ship for Ithaca (15. 195–201).

3. The κέρδιον choice is the clever, shrewd choice that benefits the character involved. By shrewdly risking being attacked by a wild beast on the slope, Odysseus avoided freezing to death down in the riverbed. The text tells us this by describing the double olive bush, a partially cultured bush that can grow only in a civilized area where wild beasts are unlikely to live. By not clasping Nausicaa's knees, Odysseus avoided enraging the young maiden. Odysseus' decision in Aeaea to send his comrades to investigate the source of the smoke enabled him to avoid endangering himself (10. 203 ff.).

In his choice to deal Irus a light blow rather than kill him on the spot, Odysseus avoided drawing the suitors' attention to his might (18. 94). (For Odysseus' calculations and advantage in his treatment of Laertes, see below). Peisistratus earned Telemachus' friendship. Phemius, by touching Odysseus' knees, forced him to hear his plea.

4. Κέρδιον decisions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* never benefit an anonymous group.[24]

5. Κέρδιον decisions are generally marked by a divergence from the natural or expected course of events. Odysseus' resolution to climb up the slope and rest in the thick brushwood seems the riskier one, for whereas he has some knowledge of the riverbed, which he sees and can examine, he has no information about the upper wood. Odysseus' decision not to clasp Nausicaa's knees but to address her in an ingratiating way from a distance is a divergence from the socially accepted way of assuring a positive answer to one's wish. Phemius' decision to clasp Odysseus' knees instead of running and sitting on Zeus' altar for safety seems the riskier one, since just a moment earlier Odysseus killed Leiodes while he was clasping his knees and begging to be spared. Social convention would have required that Peisistratos obey his father's order to bring Telemachus back to Pylos. In all of these cases, however, the κέρδιον decisions prove to be the correct ones.

In short, the resolutions called κέρδιον deviate from the common practice; they are the result of deliberation within a certain situation and are the suitable and correct response to the situation. The term κέρδιον thus not only indicates that the decision is the more advantageous one but also points to the shrewdness and resourcefulness of the character, whose judgment of the situation at hand proves to be right.

Odysseus' version of the term in the Thesprotians' incident diverges in several important respects from the standard formula. (1) The base κερδ- does not refer to Odysseus. This makes the application of the word one of the rarer applications in the *Odyssey*.[25] Moreover, it refers not to an individual but to a group. (2) The Thesprotians stand to gain no personal advantage from their κέρδιον decision, which will in fact cost them a valuable slave. (3) Although the formula points to an unpredicted or unusual, yet successful, course of action, the Thesprotians' decision to abandon the search for Odysseus is most natural in their eagerness to continue their voyage. (4) The Thesprotians' decision to stop looking for Odysseus in the bushes involves no shrewdness or guile. Indeed, in his use of the verb φαίνω with no indication for the use of φρήν, Odysseus

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[24] For *Iliad* 19. 63, one should note that Hector is mentioned specifically and carries most significance in the sentence. For this instance and for Antenor's words in *Iliad* 7. 352, see my "*Kerdion* in the *Iliad*, Skill and Trickiness," forthcoming in *TAPA*.

[25] Out of 38 occurrences, in 5 cases it is used for known individual characters outside of Odysseus' family, 22 times for Odysseus, 7 times for Telemachus, and 4 times for Penelope.

explicitly omits the standard acknowledgment of the role of the mind in deciding what is κέρδιον.[26]

This awkward use of κέρδιον is significant especially in the attribution of the base κερδ- to unknown characters. In a clear majority of its ocurrences the base is used in reference to Odysseus and his family, or to known figures. This deviation can be seen as Odysseus' way of drawing attention to himself and hinting to his κερδαλέος slave that the "beggar" is not what he seems to be, but going no further in his revelation.[27]

Eumaeus' answer that he does not believe that Odysseus will return so soon and his refraining from further probing lets his listener know that he understands the hint and will act accordingly. Eumaeus explains his conduct by telling of a bad experience he had with an Aetolian who claimed he had seen Odysseus in Idomeneus' house and said that Odysseus would be back by harvest time (14. 361–89). Eumaeus is not clear as to why this episode should discourage him from questioning the beggar further. After all, Penelope was lied to often and did not refrain from inquiring further. But the tale serves to emphasize his acquiescence to his master's wishes. In so indicating, Eumaeus seems to be acceding to the general disapproval of forced identification which runs through the epic. The poem indicates that no formal recognition (acknowledgment) should be offered to Odysseus unless the master starts it formally. Whoever offers such a revelation risks his life. Argus, who recognizes his master and is about to show it, dies before he can strip Odysseus' disguise; Eurycleia almost loses her life (19. 479–81). It can be inferred, however, from the text that Eumaeus makes a distinct connection between the person he addresses and his master, introducing a subtle criticism of the way he is being treated by using the base θελγ-.

Throughout the poem the base is used almost exclusively in connection with Odysseus in a variety of contexts. Calypso tries to charm him with words (1. 56–57), Circe is unable to bewitch him with her herbs as she does other men (10. 212–13, 290–91, 317–18), the Sirens try to charm him with their voice and song (12. 39–40, 43–44), Telemachus claims that his father is but a *daimon* who tries to bewitch him (16. 194–95), Odysseus promises Telemachus that Athena and Zeus will steal the suitors' minds during their attack upon them (16. 297–98), Eumaeus tells Penelope that the stranger

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[26] The base κερδ- is usually used with the derivatives of φρην-. Telemachus' slip in 2. 320 (ὕμμιν ἐείσατο κέρδιον εἶναι) is also an intentional divergence from the common use, pointing to the misuse of language on the part of the growing youth, who tries in his great excitement to apply the language of grown-ups but fails. Similarly in 16. 311 Telemachus uses κέρδος in the singular. This is the only place in the *Odyssey* where it is not used in the plural.

[27] When raising an argument on the basis of common or uncommon usage of a phrase, we will do well to remember that what we, the readers/audience, view as formula is a means of natural communication of the characters as far as the epic diction is concerned. What we judge as bizarre or customary usage on the basis of meticulous examination and analysis of various occurrences of a phrase must have sounded the same to the characters on the basis of their usage of the language within the epic diction.

stole his heart by his stories (17. 513–14, 520–21), and Odysseus rejoices that Penelope charmed the souls of the suitors by setting the bow contest and requesting gifts (18. 281–82).

The basic meaning of the base is the utter emotive helplessness of the person upon whom θελγ- is being used, followed by the incapability of rational judgment which results in hurting one's own interests. The notion of helplessness becomes clear when one thinks of Hermes' wand, which can make one sleep or wake up. No will or human power can withstand its effect (5. 46–47, 4. 2–3; cf. *Iliad* 24. 342–43; cf. also the derivative θελκτήρια). Telemachus feels he cannot fight his inner wish to believe his father has returned, even though there is no logical or critical proof that the newly arrived stranger is his father.[28] Whoever happens to listen to the Sirens gives up all former plans and stays to listen to them forever. The secret of the charm is in the content and the arrangement of the words.

Of more significance is the contextual setting of the base. Θελγ- is associated with lies, deceits, or purposes that are not in the interest of the person upon whom θελγ- is being used. Thus in the only usage of the base not in reference to our hero, it describes the way Aegisthus succeeded in "persuading" the virtuous Clytaemnestra to betray her husband; he "charmed her with words" (θέλγεσκ' ἐπέεσσιν); her subsequent deed is described as ἔργον ἀεικές, "a shameful deed" (3. 264–65). Calypso is using θελγ- to make Odysseus stay with her against his will. Circe wants to turn him into an animal. Telemachus is afraid of an impostor. Zeus and Athena are about to spread havoc among the suitors so they will be killed. And Penelope, according to Odysseus, promises the suitors what they wish to hear but in fact has different plans.

In his address Eumaeus tells the beggar in a straightforward manner, μήτε τί μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζεο μήτε τι θέλγε ("do not try to please me nor charm me with lying words" 14. 387). The narrative's use of a base connected closely to the persona of Odysseus and his whereabouts is significant and points to the swineherd's growing confidence as to the identity of his guest, confidence that might fade again. But for now, Eumaeus tells his master he has recognized him and no more lies need to be invented to charm his ear. Thus in a subtle way, Eumaeus criticizes Odysseus' treatment of him, hinting that it would be in Odysseus' interest to reveal his identity to him, but yet fulfills his master's desire to keep his secret.[29]

[28] For Telemachus' ardent wish to see his father's return see 1. 113–18.

[29] For the Odyssean technique of describing emotions by inference from the characters' words rather than stating them explicitly, see Harsh (above, note 17) 10. For Eumaeus' careful but indicative use of words see also his prayer in 14. 424, where he does not merely pray for Odysseus' return, but would like to see him return to Odysseus' own house (ὅνδε δόμονδε) that is to say, to have him regain the authority and power he once had.

Despite his conceding to Odysseus' wishes for anonymity, Eumaeus becomes increasingly sure of the beggar's identity—and increasingly explicit in the symbolics he uses to express that awareness. When Odysseus first arrived, Eumaeus offered him a meal of a young pig, apologizing that this is the only meat slaves have to give because the suitors eat the fatted hogs (14. 81–82). For their second meal, however, Eumaeus orders the *best fat hog* slain for the stranger (14. 414–17), as is fitting for the master of the house. White-tusked boars were served only on special festive occasions and to the suitors. Furthermore, Eumaeus gives him the best long chine of the meat. The text asserts that this sign of respect κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἄνακτος ("exalted the heart of his master" 14. 438). Although Odysseus overtly takes the good portion as exceeding his lowly status—Αἴθ᾽ οὕτως, Εὔμαιε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο / ὡς ἐμοί, ὅττι με τοῖον ἐόντ᾽ ἀγαθοῖσι γεραίρεις ("Eumaeus, may you be as dear to father Zeus as you honor me now in spite of my condition" 14. 440–41)—the implication is that he appreciates Eumaeus' treatment.[30] The usual explanation for this improbability in Eumaeus' behavior along with others is to see them as plain irony or pathos. In such a case we have to make several assumptions. We were told from the start that it is the young sucklings that are the common food of slaves, presumably because they have not yet entered the inventory (14. 73–84). A white-tusked boar is taken into account in the inventory, and we were told that the number of hogs was far less than the number of female swine because of the suitors' consumption (14. 16–20). The slaughtering of a white-tusked boar with no particular reason except to entertain a personal guest not only gives the guest for no clear reason the status of the suitors, but diminishes the number of highly valued hogs in the sties and should be viewed as Eumaeus' misuse of his position as supervisor of his master's herds. In short, we must see the swineherd as committing a wanton felony and Odysseus' genuine joyfulness over such a waste remains a mystery.[31]

The next significant exchange occurs when the beggar, feeling cold in the swineherd's hut, tells Eumaeus a fantastic story about how "Odysseus" succeeded in getting a cloak for him while they were lying in ambush below the Trojan walls. His tale is preceded by the following thought (14. 459–61):

τοῖς δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς μετέειπε, συβώτεω πειρητίζων,
εἴ πώς οἱ ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι, ἤ τιν᾽ ἑταίρων
ἄλλον ἐποτρύνειεν, ἐπεί ἑο κήδετο λίην.

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[30] Cf. a similar serving of a chine of a white-tusked boar to Odysseus in Phaeacia just before he formally comes forward and reveals his identity to Alcinoos (8. 474–75), having already clearly indicated his participation in the Trojan war (8. 216–20).

[31] Yet the text is explicit about Odysseus' keen interest in the way Eumaeus watches over the flocks and Eumaeus' awareness that Odysseus would be interested in knowing how his herdsmen tend the flocks (14. 526–27, 17. 246).

Odysseus spoke among them making trial of the swineherd,
to see whether he would take off his cloak and give it to him, or tell one of
his comrades to do it, since he cared for him so greatly.

Odysseus' speculation that Eumaeus would provide him with a cloak "since
he cared for him so greatly" has no basis unless Odysseus realizes that
Eumaeus has guessed his true identity and will treat him as the Odysseus he
has claimed to love.[32] As a mere *xenos*, a beggar would have no grounds for
expecting such special treatment. Eumaeus had not revealed any special
affection for the "beggar" and only a short time earlier had told Odysseus
that the only reason he was treating him so kindly was that he pitied him
and feared Zeus (14. 388–89). Since Eumaeus did not reveal any special
affection for the beggar per se, but talked repeatedly and at length about his
love for his master, Odysseus' expectation is based on his awareness that
Eumaeus intimates his true identity. Odysseus' roundabout request for
Eumaeus' cloak is a way both of hinting yet again at his identity and of
testing the slave's awareness of it and allegiance to him.

Eumaeus answers (14. 508–09):

Ὠ γέρον, αἶνος μέν τοι ἀμύμων, ὃν κατέλεξας,
οὐδέ τι πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες·

Old man, the story you told is blameless,
nor have you uttered an unmannerly or unprofitable word.

The base κερδ-, as already claimed, is used in the text mainly for the royal
family or people closely attached to it. Eumaeus' use of the word would not
have been proper reference to a strange vagabond and tells Odysseus in a
manner well disguised from the other attendants, and in a structure of a
powerful litotes, that he, Odysseus, displayed his characteristic κέρδεα in
this tale.[33] It is noteworthy that this is the sole use of the word in the epic.
When Eumaeus lends Odysseus the extra cloak, he tells the beggar that he
expects it back in the morning. In a veiled way, he is telling Odysseus that
he recognized him, will oblige him, and yet in the morning will continue to
pretend he is a beggar (14. 510–17).[34]

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[32] A subconscious recognition implicit in the tunic scene was suggested by S. Murnaghan,
Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey (Princeton 1987) 108, who accepts the notion that the
loan of the cloak can be a covert expression of recognition and sees the loan as a part of the
social institution of hospitality, which, in turn, serves as a substitute or alternative for a
recognition of identity (91–117). Murnaghan believes, however, that Odysseus reveals himself
to Eumaeus and is recognized by him only in Book 21, see 13 n. 19, 20–21, 38–39, 74, 107,
151–52.

[33] For a summary of the uses of the base κερδ- in the *Odyssey*, especially in the noun form,
see Roisman (above, note 7) 66–67.

[34] I find unconvincing Murnaghan's assertion (above, note 32) 167, that Eumaeus is *moved*
(my emphasis) by the account of how Odysseus cleverly arranged the loan of a cloak to the
beggar. Nor does the text support any sentimentality here. The message is simply that
Eumaeus understood the hint in the story and is going to arrange for a cloak for the
beggar/Odysseus.

Having established Eumaeus' affection, Odysseus enlists him in his struggle against the suitors. The first thing the following evening, Odysseus again tests his faithful slave (15. 304–06):

τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσεὺς μετέειπε, συβώτεω πειρητίζων,
ἤ μιν ἔτ' ἐνδυκέως φιλέοι μεῖναί τε κελεύοι
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ σταθμῷ, ἦ ὀτρύνειε πόλινδε.

Odysseus spoke among them making trial of the swineherd,
to see whether he would show him kind affection and invite him
to stay on his farm, or would urge him to go to the city.

In making this trial of Eumaeus, Odysseus is testing whether the swineherd φιλέοι him, despite the latter's declaration to the beggar in 14. 388: οὐδὲ φιλήσω. Here Odysseus wants to know whether Eumaeus will be loyal to him as the master of the house when it comes to fighting the suitors, not merely whether Eumaeus is benevolent as such.[35]

Odysseus continues by telling Eumaeus his plans and draws from the loyal slave the counsel and information he needs to launch a successful repossession of his property. Odysseus begins the process in 15. 309–24 by asking Eumaeus to get him a ἡγεμὼν ἐσθλός to lead him to the city. Behind the request are the assumptions that Eumaeus will both carry out his bidding and correctly interpret his wishes, as would a slave faithful to his master (16. 272, 17. 185–96). Even though Odysseus here asks merely for "the best guide," he later tells Telemachus that the swineherd will lead him (16. 272), indicating that he is now sure of Eumaeus' recognition.

Odysseus' increasing certainty of Eumaeus' presumptive loyalty to him, as his master, is also indicated in this incident where he informs Eumaeus that he intends to see Penelope and offer the suitors his services in tending the fire and pouring wine. Odysseus is here prompting Eumaeus for information and advice, as one would a person close to one. In giving the advice, warning him of the danger of the plan, since the suitors do not employ beggars for those tasks, Eumaeus contrives to prove his fidelity to his master. Toward the end of this incident Eumaeus passes the test Odysseus had made by suggesting that Odysseus stay with him and await Telemachus, who will give him a cloak and send him wherever he wishes.

Nonetheless, Odysseus remains careful not to make any remark or reveal any information that might lead to a formal recognition. Rather, he continues his play of teasing self-revelation against explicit denial, which Eumaeus, as always, goes along with. After being satisfied that Eumaeus has passed the test, Odysseus asks him about his (Odysseus') parents, an odd question for a passing beggar and one that strongly hints at his identity (15. 346–50). Yet shortly after that, when, pretending ignorance, he asks

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[35] For the significance of a positive sentiment in the compound social value of loyalty, see H. Roisman, *Loyalty in Early Greek Epic and Tragedy*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 155 (Königstein/Ts. 1984).

Eumaeus about the slave's past, he avoids referring explicitly to Laertes as Eumaeus' master and instead refers to the master in an anonymous ὅδε ἀνήρ (15. 388 τοῦδ' ἀνδρός).

Eumaeus, true to form, does not try to force Odysseus to be more explicit. In line 429 he answers Odysseus' ambiguous reference to his owner with his own τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, waiting 60 verses, till 483, to state explicitly that Laertes had bought him.[36] Eumaeus offers Odysseus repeated assurances of his goodwill and fidelity. In response to Odysseus' question about his life, Eumaeus tells the story of the Phoenician slave woman who had kidnapped him as a child and was struck dead, presumably for her betrayal (15. 410–84). In this apt and highly moral tale Eumaeus seems to be trying to let Odysseus know that he, unlike the treacherous Phoenician maid, has no intention of betraying his master.

In return, as Odysseus becomes increasingly sure of Eumaeus' loyalty, his hints as to his true identity become increasingly strong and overt. Before leaving for the city, and before formally revealing his identity to Telemachus, the beggar boasts that if he were Odysseus he would fight the suitors. Even before Telemachus tells him about the suitors' mischief, the beggar proclaims in self-dramatizing indignation that if only he were as young as Odysseus' son, or Odysseus himself, he would prove himself the suitors' bane. He would rather be slain, he exclaims, than see his home despoiled so shamefully (16. 99–111). Here, as in his stay with the Phaeacians and his request for a cloak, he conspicuously introduces his own name. Moreover, this passage is highly emotional, and the entire tone of the beggar's outburst makes it difficult to avoid suspicion of his very personal interest in the affair.

In response to Odysseus' increasing overtones, Eumaeus becomes somewhat more assertive in his call for a more explicit affirmation from his evasive master. In 16. 137–45 Eumaeus suggests to Telemachus that Laertes should be notified of his safe return from Pylos, since the old man stopped eating and drinking after his (Telemachus') departure for Pylos. The previous evening he had told the beggar/Odysseus of the old man's misery. Now, by giving Telemachus this advice in his father's presence, he seems to be calling for Odysseus to support his suggestion, thereby admitting his concern for his old father and thus his true identity. Since nowhere in the epic does the beggar refrain from speaking when he has something to say, Eumaeus can reasonably expect him to speak on his father's behalf.

Odysseus, however, does not give Eumaeus the proof he wants. He refrains from interfering and so revealing beyond any doubt who he is. Nevertheless, from this point on, Eumaeus' actions all indicate that his doubts have been satisfied and he knows the beggar's true identity. When Odysseus, leaving for the city, asks Eumaeus for a ῥόπαλον, a shepherd's

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[36] I doubt whether one should see lines 388 or 429 as interpolations. The lines are meant to be ambiguous. But see Stanford *ad loc.*

staff, to lean on, Eumaeus provides him with a σκῆπτρον (17. 195–99), which of course marks Odysseus' noble stance and identity.[37] Only Athena, besides Eumaeus, knowing well the identity of her hero, provides Odysseus with a σκῆπτρον. Eumaeus' dogs, on the other hand, who do not know the long-absent master, cause Odysseus to drop his σκῆπτρον (13. 436–37, 14. 30–31). Then, although Telemachus ordered Eumaeus not to allow the beggar to beg at his palace (16. 85–89),[38] Eumaeus leads Odysseus straight there (17. 260–71), inferring that this is his master's wish. Eumaeus also contrives to act as a good scout by providing his master with vital information. When they meet the abusive Melanthius, for example, the swineherd makes sure that his master knows that this shepherd had purposefully destroyed Odysseus' herds (17. 246). A similar offer of help is found when Eurycleia recognizes Odysseus. She offers to name all the treacherous maids when the time comes (19. 495–98).

By the time they reach the palace, their bond, based on Eumaeus' knowing who the beggar is and Odysseus' knowing that he knows, is solid and confirmed. In the palace, Odysseus tells Antinoos a different story about his arrival in Ithaca than the one he told Eumaeus, even though the swineherd is present in the hall and participates in the conversation. He had told Eumaeus he arrived in Ithaca from the Thesprotians (14. 315–16; cf. 16. 65–66). He now tells the suitors he came from Cyprus (17. 442), a more conventional place of arrival than the Thesprotians. Here Odysseus uses a more convenient story knowing he can rely on his faithful slave not to give him away.

In all of these exchanges, Odysseus hints at his true identity and expects Eumaeus to confirm his comprehension, but then goes no further. He neither reveals himself explicitly nor confirms Eumaeus' guess explicitly. Eumaeus remains cautious.

When meeting Penelope after bringing Odysseus to the palace, Eumaeus uses ambivalent diction in referring to his master. Penelope asks him to bring the stranger to her so she will inquire about her husband. Eumaeus says (17. 513–21):

Εἰ γάρ τοι, βασίλεια, σιωπήσειαν Ἀχαιοί·
οἷ' ὅ γε μυθεῖται, θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ . . .
ὡς ἐμὲ κεῖνος ἔθελγε παρήμενος ἐν μεγάροισι.

The use of the term Ἀχαιοί in Eumaeus' words is significant. It is commonly taken to refer to the suitors. But is this understanding correct?

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[37] See 2. 36–37, 79–80, 3. 411–12, 11. 90–91, 568–69, and finally 18. 103, where Odysseus' planting a σκῆπτρον in the hands of half-conscious Irus marks the sarcasm of the scene. Odysseus consistently refers to the staff Eumaeus gave him as a ῥόπαλον, 17. 236. For a ῥόπαλον as shepherd's staff, see Iliad 11. 558–61. Cf. M. N. Nagler, Spontaneity and Tradition (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974) 124–25.

[38] That it was possible for Odysseus to go and beg in other houses is confirmed by the abusive Melanthius, who says that there are feasts not only in Odysseus' house (20. 182).

The term is used to identify the suitors only 19 times out of 133 occurrences. Mostly in narrative passages, where the term is used as a general qualifier of the Greek men feasting at Odysseus' house, their courting is not emphasized. In speeches it occurs in the addresses of a suitor to his companions and renders the speech an elevated and respectable tone.[39] Otherwise it is used as a signifier for ethnic and geographic purposes, or in reference to Ithacans who participate in the assembly. In fact, in many cases the text makes clear that the term 'Aχαιοί includes other Ithacans than the suitors, and the latter are mentioned separately (e.g., 2. 87–88, 111–12, 115, 265–66, 3. 216–17, 220, 4. 343–44, 16. 76–77). The most common use of the term by far (62 times) is to denote the Greek heroes who fought at Troy.

When Eumaeus wishes the "Achaeans" to be silent, he is certainly not referring to the suitors. They are not noisy at the moment; when they are making a loud havoc it is mentioned expressly in the test (e.g., 1. 365–71, 18. 399–400). Eumaeus' subsequent explanatory sentence, "for the things he is telling could indeed charm the heart," makes clear that it is not the suitors he is talking about but the beggar/Odysseus, whom Penelope wishes to invite to appear before her. The suitors do not have to be silent in such a case. 'Aχαιοί here is a collective term for all the Greek heroes who fought in Troy. The term emphatically sets the beggar apart from the more lowly vagabonds and beggars like Irus and places him among the glorious heroes. After all, none of the passersby who previously reached Ithaca claimed they participated in the war or met Odysseus at Troy. All of them claimed to meet or hear about the hero. In the immediate situation Eumaeus' bold wish that the returning Trojan heroes keep silent can be seen as an innocent remark, but for the queen it is a pregnant message. The emphasis is rather on the verb σιωπάω, used nowhere else in the text. After all, Penelope is just over an excruciating worry concerning her son, who left Ithaca without telling her, in search of other returning Greeks hoping to gain some new information about his father. The subject of stories retold by the heroes who once fought at Troy haunts the queen. In this context Eumaeus' remark is characteristic of a slave close to his queen, who knows what she is experiencing and is allowed to express it openly. Yet in the larger context of Eumaeus' encounter with his master, this remark is carefully structured.

The beggar's telling Eumaeus that he fought in Troy did not contradict the common knowledge that there are no more "Achaeans" who survived the war and the sea but have not reached their home (1. 11–12, 285–86) because Odysseus placed the continuation of his wanderings after having reached his home in Crete and says he set out on more adventures voluntarily (14. 118, 199–256). Eumaeus' reference to the beggar as one of the "Achaeans" not

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[39] 2. 90, 105–06, 2. 203–04, 18. 285–86, 20. 270–71, 24. 140–41; for a similar attempt at deference and respect (ironical?) in Odysseus' and Telemachus' words, see 17. 415, 18. 61–62, 21. 427–28.

only sets him among the heroes who fought in Troy but marks his identity. Only Odysseus from all those who fought in Troy and survived has not returned safely home, and his whereabouts is unknown (4. 182, 496–98, 551–55). If this most subtle hint may be questioned as to its intentional purpose, and may indeed be no more than a slip of the tongue on the part of the swineherd, whose reaction to the homecoming of his master borders belief and disbelief, his next remark makes it clear that he recognized his master's persona. Again and repeatedly he uses the base θελγ-, which unequivocally in the epic identifies Odysseus. Thus he not only reveals his awareness of the identity of the beggar but also calls for Penelope's attention and warns her that while conversing with this former hero she should beware because his words will probably baffle her, and the encounter might not be entirely beneficial to her. In short, she should be suspicious of anything he tells her.

If we assume a covert recognition on Eumaeus' part, one last question arises as to what to make of the statement that Eumaeus prayed for Odysseus' return, repeated in 20. 238–39 and 21. 203–04:

Ὣς δ' αὔτως Εὔμαιος ἐπεύξατο πᾶσι θεοῖσι
νοστῆσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὅνδε δόμονδε.

So Eumaeus also prayed to all the gods
that they would grant that the thoughtful Odysseus might return to his home.

On the surface at least, those prayers seem to be a clear assertion that Eumaeus is longing for Odysseus' return.[40] These are not silent prayers, but stated aloud. They are made, it should be noted, in the presence of Philoetius, who, in response to Odysseus' question, clearly exclaims his wish for Odysseus' return (20. 236–37):

Αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τελέσειε Κρονίων·
γνοίης χ' οἵη ἐμὴ δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται.

How I wish, stranger, that the son of Kronos would fulfil your word;
then you would see what kind of strength my hands have.

Eumaeus' response matches Philoetius'. Its purpose is to keep the secret that he and his master have between them. Any other response would give away Odysseus' identity prematurely. The text subtly implies the difference between the statements of the two slaves. Whereas Philoetius, who does not yet know of his master's return, proclaims his ardent wish in a direct exclamative statement, Eumaeus' prayer is conveyed in the less enthusiastic manner of indirect speech, which is generally not favored in the epic.[41] The claim that he prayed to "all the gods," without a specific address, also

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[40] This is in fact their purpose in Book 14 (423–24) during Odysseus' first evening in Eumaeus' hut, when Eumaeus keeps trying on the one hand to assure Odysseus of his affection for him, and on the other hand to follow his master's wish of anonymity.

[41] For the *Odyssey*'s preference for direct speech, see Griffin (above, note 4) 59.

emphasizes the moderation of the statement. The temperateness of Eumaeus' tone here hints that the prayer is necessary and meant for Philoetius, not for Odysseus, whom he has already and repeatedly told of his care and loyalty.

In Book 24, Amphimedon tells in the underworld that Eumaeus was privy to the beggar's true identity (24. 150–62). Aristarchus queried the passage on the grounds that Amphimedon did not know about the meeting of Odysseus and Eumaeus before Odysseus arrived at his palace. Stanford answered that any intelligent suitor might have gathered as much from the alliance between Odysseus and the slave in the palace (*ad* 150 ff.). One may note too that the suitor made no similar suggestion about Philoetius, who helped Odysseus no less than Eumaeus in his fight against the suitors.

Odysseus and Laertes

Odysseus reveals himself to Laertes because within the social context of the Homeric epic it is only with Laertes' approval that he can resume his inherited political position as head of Arcisius' *oikos* and as a king of Ithaca.[42] The problem is that when Odysseus sees his father, he realizes how old and grief-stricken he has become (24. 234–35) and has reason to doubt whether he remembers him. Indeed, nothing in Laertes' behavior indicates that the old man recognizes Odysseus. Although Odysseus is no longer in his beggar's disguise, Laertes addresses him as "stranger" (24. 281). Odysseus realizes that the direct and dramatic self-revelation that was effective with the young Telemachus is out of place with the aged and apparently somewhat senile Laertes. Pondering whether to come up and kiss his father or to withhold his identity for a while, Odysseus chooses the latter and decides to try his father.

The text says: ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,/ πρῶτον κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι (24. 239–40). These verses contain two apparent anomalies. One is Odysseus' decision to provoke his father with "biting words." Agathe Thornton, in my view, is correct in rejecting the understanding of κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσιν as "teasing" or "bantering words," which do not exclude friendliness, pointing out that in other occurrences this adjective indicated distance and alienation (9. 474, 20. 177, 263).[43] A. Heubeck, more recently, has shown that the use of κερτομ- in the Homeric epic suggests means of provoking a reaction.[44] Indeed,

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[42] Cf. Whitman (above, note 10) 296, 305. For the emphasis put in the episode on Laertes' inheritance, see also C. Moulton, "The End of the *Odyssey*," *GRBS* 15 (1974) 164. For what it most probably meant to be a king in and of Ithaca see D. Wender, *The Last Scenes of the Odyssey*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 52 (Leiden 1978) 45, 54.

[43] A. Thornton, *People and Themes in Homer's Odyssey* (Dunedin 1970) 116.

[44] A. Heubeck, "Zwei Homerische πεῖραι (ω 205 ff.—B 53 ff.)," *Ziva Antika* 31 (1981) 78–79; see also J. T. Hooker, "A Residual Problem in *Iliad* 24," *CQ* 36 (1986) 32–37, esp. 35; P. V. Jones, "*Iliad* 24. 649. Another Solution," *CQ* 39 (1989) 247–50.

Odysseus chooses to provoke his father. He taunts Laertes with looking uncared-for, squalid, and ill-clad and adds insult by asking whose slave he is. Further on, Odysseus says that he is looking for a man by the name of Odysseus, son of Laertes, whom he once entertained in his house. It is not the insertion of his own name that is uncharacteristic. Similar insertions are found in both former incidents in which he tries to hint at his own identity. He does it during the banquet in Phaeacia and while trying to give some advice to Telemachus in Eumaeus' hut, before his self-revelation to his son. Yet here it is different. Not only does he mention the name of a lost son to a bereaved father, but he exacerbates the poor old man's misery by saying that he is looking for Odysseus, that is, he expects Odysseus to be there, and thus pinpoints the absence of the beloved and longed-for son.[45]

The second difficulty lies in the use of the κέρδιον formula, which on the surface marks even further the lack of propriety within the relationship of a father and a son. Yet, as noted above, the formula points in the *Odyssey* to a breach of the expected and natural course of events and is generally associated with guile, which proves right and successful, and to the hero's advantage in the circumstances. The formula tells that Odysseus' conduct, however unusual and cruel it may seem, serves his goals. The deviation stems from Odysseus' ability emotionally to withstand the misery of his father, his well-known ability to conceal his feelings.

Given Laertes' condition, Odysseus could not reveal himself immediately as he had to Telemachus. To do so might prove too great a shock.[46] Nor could he rely on Laertes' remembering him or guessing who he was, as did Eumaeus. By using "biting words" and mentioning his own name to the distraught old man, Odysseus attempts to rouse him out of his stupor and so pave the way for his formal self-revelation. Thornton suggests that Odysseus wishes to make Laertes angry and arouse his feelings. Her point can be extended by suggesting that he wishes to make his father intellectually active.[47] Even after Odysseus reveals himself to his father, he needs to give two proofs of his identity, showing the old man his

[45] Scholars are usually uneasy about the "inconsiderate" treatment of Laertes by Odysseus; see for example D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 112, who refers to the scene as an "aimless and heartless guessing-game."

[46] The Scholia also say that Odysseus addresses Laertes with a deceptive speech "lest the old man should die of sudden joy, as the dog also died" (ἵνα μὴ αἰφνιδίῳ χαρᾷ ἀποψύξει ὁ γέρων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύων ἀπώλετο, ΣQ 24. 240). For a response to Fenik's characterization of this explanation as "amusingly fatuous" (above, note 8) 47 n. 58, see Richardson (above, note 2) 228–29.

[47] Thornton's proposal (above, note 43) 118–19, that the importance of Laertes' "recovery" lies within the place of the kin in the Homeric world seems to me too broad. There is no indication that Odysseus is overtly concerned about Laertes or other family members. Instead, when Telemachus forbade Eumaeus to go and tell the old man, who had stopped eating and drinking since his grandson had left for Pylos, of his safe return, Odysseus does nothing to support Eumaeus. For the opposed view that Laertes' highly emotional reaction takes Odysseus by surprise, see Moulton (above, note 42) 163–64.

scar and recounting the trees that his father had given him when he was a boy, noting their name and exact number (24. 336–41). To everyone else Odysseus had given only one proof.[48] Odysseus' rather brutal approach spurs the old man to accept his revelation, while in concealing his feelings, an ability that sets him off from all the other characters in the two epics, he provides further proof to the old man of who he is.[49] No impostor is likely to assume such an extraordinary method of further annoying an old man.

In summary, Odysseus covertly revealed his identity to the key members of the household who had the means of recognizing him: Eurycleia and Eumaeus. To those who did not have the means, both Telemachus and Laertes, he revealed his identity overtly.[50]

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[48] Laertes' bluntness of intellect born out of his grief for his son is marvellously picked up in the case of the old man of Onchestus in the *Hymn to Hermes*. See S. C. Shelmerdine, "Odyssean Allusions in the Fourth Homeric Hymn," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 59–60; J. S. Clay, "Hermes' *Dais* by the Alpheus," Μῆτις 3 (1988) 230–31.

[49] For the possible nonphysical clue that can prompt recognition, see P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca 1987) 90–94; for Odysseus' ability to withstand emotional stress, see Griffin (above, note 4) 96–97.

[50] As must be clear by now, I have not included Penelope in my discussion. Harsh (above, note 17) has claimed that Penelope recognizes Odysseus even though he does not deliberately reveal himself and that she keeps her recognition a secret. Cf. Russo (above, note 11); A. Amory, "The Reunion of Odysseus and Penelope," in *Essays on the Odyssey*, ed. by Ch. H. Taylor, Jr. (Bloomington, IN 1963) 100–21; Whitman (above, note 10) 303; S. Mumaghan (above, note 32) 47–52, have noted a possible subconscious recognition of Odysseus by Penelope. It is plausible that the Trojan tales had a model of a recognition between the returning husband and his faithful wife and not with other members of the household. Agamemnon's elaborate compliments to Penelope in Book 11 can support such a possibility.

2

Aischylos *Eumenides* 858–66

C. Carey

The acquittal of Orestes in *Eumenides* is followed by an epirrhematic exchange in which the chorus of Erinyes, robbed of their prey, turn their anger against the city whose representatives have (they believe) deprived them of their power and prestige. In answer to the choral songs of menace and complaint, Athene utters four speeches in iambic trimeters. The third and longest of these (848–69) presents problems of structure, scale and content which have led either to deletion of 858–66 or to somewhat desperate attempts at defence. However, discussion has been cursory. The aim of the present paper is to discuss the problems presented by lines 858–66 in some detail, and to argue that the third speech as presented by the tradition is not only the work of Aischylos but is also an integral and important part of the development and resolution of the problem of the administration of justice which the Erinyes represent. For convenience I reproduce here the whole of the speech:[1]

> ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ,
> καὶ τῶι μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
> φρονεῖν δὲ κἀμοὶ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.   850
> ὑμεῖς δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα
> γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε. προυννέπω τάδε·
> οὑπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος
> ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε, καὶ σὺ τιμίαν
> ἕδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως   855
> τεύξηι παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων
> ὅσ' ἂν παρ' ἄλλων οὔποτ' ἂν σχέθοις βροτῶν.
> σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάληις
> μήθ' αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας
> νέων, ἀοίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν,   860
> μήτ' ἐκζέουσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων
> ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἱδρύσηις "Αρη
> ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρών,
ἐν ὧι τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως·   865
ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.
τοιαῦθ' ἑλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,
εὖ δρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσαν, εὖ τιμωμένην
χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

The problems, as presented succinctly by Dodds,[2] are as follows: i) if
lines 858–66 are omitted, Athene's speeches to the chorus assume a roughly
uniform length, 14 lines (794–807), 13 (824–36), 13 (848–57, 867–69), 11
(881–91);[3] ii) τοιαῦτα in 867 looks back to the privileges promised in
lines 854–57, ten lines before, a remarkable interval; iii) the Erinyes have
made no explicit reference to civil war, and yet that is what Athene takes
them to be threatening. These difficulties have been met in two ways. A
number of scholars over the last century have simply deleted the verses in
question as an interpolation, thus solving the problems at a single stroke.[4]
An alternative solution, proposed by Dodds and accepted recently by
Sommerstein,[5] is to regard the problematic passage as an interpolation by
Aischylos himself: "the poet himself . . . at some moment when the threat
of civil war had grown acute inserted [the verses] into an already completed
draft."

Before considering the merits of these solutions, we should first note a
fact which has gone unremarked. In Athene's other three speeches there is
an explicit request not to damage Athens alongside promises of honours to
the Erinyes (deprecation of damage 800–03, 830–32, 888–89, promise of
honours 804–07, 833–36, 890–91). This balance between the speeches is
clearly intentional. It demands a request not to cause damage in the speech
which begins in 848 alongside the promise of honours in 854–57. We
cannot solve this problem by excising 861–66 and retaining 858–60, for
quite apart from the presence of μήθ' in 859, which calls for an answering
particle, lines 858–60 clearly envisage a danger which consists in incitement
to violence. If the passage is intrusive, probably we are dealing not with

[2] E. R. Dodds, *PCPhS* 6 (1960) 23 f. (= *The Ancient Concept of Progress* [Oxford 1973] 51 f.).

[3] Cf. also 903–15 (strictly outside the epirrhematic sequence), 13 lines.

[4] N. Wecklein, *Aeschyli Fabulae* (Berlin 1885) 458 says of the verses in question: "hoc loco alieni videntur," and more fully in *Äschylos Orestie* (Leipzig 1888) 311: "Die V. [858–66] unterbrechen den Zusammenhang. Die stark hervortretende politische Tendenze und der manierte Stil kennzeichnen sie als Interpolation." The verses are also rejected by J. F. Davies, *The Eumenides of Aeschylus* (Dublin 1885), and suspected by O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977) 407 n. 1 and C. W. MacLeod, *JHS* 102 (1982) 130. H. Weil, *Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Leipzig 1884) transposed 858–66 to follow 912. But it makes no sense for Athene to answer a question from the chorus concerning the benefits to be prayed for (902) with (in part) a prolonged request not to cause destruction; the request is anyway otiose after 900, where the Erinyes explicitly abandon their anger.

[5] Dodds (above, note 2), A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus Eumenides* (Cambridge 1989) 251 f.

simple insertion but with the replacement of at least two or three trimeters urging the Erinyes not to blight Athens with a lengthy request that they should not cause civil war.

It may perhaps be felt that such a substitution would come more naturally from Aischylos himself than from an actor–writer (or a scribe incorporating a passage from the margin of his exemplar) who was apparently influenced by considerations neither of length nor of appropriateness of context, and who might therefore be expected merely to append a passage on civil war to a reference to physical blight rather than substitute the former for the latter.[6] This is however the most that can be said in favour of Dodds' solution. There is much to be said against it. Firstly, there is the fact that the play elsewhere shows a desire for political stability.[7] Though surprising in its context, the passage is not so isolated in the play as a whole that we should look for a separate explanation; indeed, the presence of other passages urging stability argues strongly against the need for a hurried insertion of the sort envisaged by Dodds. Secondly, other contemporary political references in the play[8] arise naturally from the dramatic situation, irrespective of any reference to the world outside the play, while the passage in question as viewed by Dodds is inserted in defiance of the dramatic context. The contrast with lines 976 ff. is particularly illuminating in this regard. There we have a prayer averting stasis in the context of a number of prayers for the well-being of Athens; the prayer is entirely at one with its context. It is striking that the parallels for the supposed procedure adduced by Sommerstein are from comedy, a genre which readily responds to contemporary events irrespective of the

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[6] In favour of Aischylos as author Sommerstein (previous note) argues: "[the lines] were written at a time when (a) there was a serious danger of civil war and (b) an abundance of external war could be regarded as a blessing (cf. 864). Both these conditions were satisfied in 458 B.C." As to the second point, external conflict would *at any period* be preferable to civil war (cf. MacLeod [above, note 4]; incidentally, Sommerstein assumes that the ambiguous οὐ μόλις παρών in 864 means μηδὲ μόλις παρέστω, "let there be no lack," but it could mean ὃς οὐ μόλις πάρεστι, "of which there is no lack"). The first point is highly subjective. We do not in fact know that there was a grave risk of civil war in the spring of 458. There was certainly an oligarchic plot at the time of the battle of Tanagra (Thuc. 1. 107. 4–5), but if A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1945) I 412 is correct to place the Tanagra campaign at the end of 458/7, the plot postdates the play by a year. Of course, the atmosphere in spring 458 *may* have been tense. But we do not know this, and we certainly cannot assume it. Violent reaction to the reform of the Areiopagos had been limited to the assassination of the democrat Ephialtes. A contemporary might well feel that the reforms had been carried through with a remarkable lack of violence and see this as evidence of the inherent stability of Athenian society. In view of the optimistic close of the play it is at least as easy to see in *Eumenides* a celebration of Athens' capacity for peaceful change as it is to see anxiety in the face of political uncertainty.

[7] Cf. 526–39, 696 ff., 976 ff.

[8] Specifically the Argive alliance 289–91, 669 ff., 762 ff. and the founding of the Areiopagos 681–707. For a general discussion with some bibliographical data (to which add Sommerstein [above, note 5] 25 ff., A. J. Podlecki, *Aeschylus Eumenides* [Warminster 1989] 17 ff.) see D. J. Conacher, *Aeschylus' Oresteia: A Literary Commentary* (Toronto 1987) 197 ff.

demands of the immediate context. It would moreover have been easy enough for Aischylos to insert a reference to civil war in the Erinyes' songs of rage in order to achieve an obvious harmony between Athene's speech and its surroundings. Finally, Dodds' suggestion rests on an unverifiable conjecture, that at the time of the Dionysia of 458 the political situation had suddenly become critical. We cannot rule out this possibility absolutely, but clearly an interpretation which relies on guesswork starts at a disadvantage. It appears therefore that the choice lies between deletion and an interpretation which seeks to solve the problems with reference to the immediate context of Athene's speech and the broader context of the dramatic situation.

I turn therefore to the problems summarized by Dodds. Firstly, the questions of scale. At *Pers.* 256–89, *Th.* 203–44, 686–711, *Suppl.* 736–63 and *Ag.* 1072–1113 the trimeter utterances in epirrhematic exchange are exactly equal in number; at *Ag.* 1407–47 the trimeter speeches are of nearly equal length (14, 17); likewise the herald's trimeters in the sequence at *Suppl.* 866 ff. (3, 3, 2, 2). We might therefore expect the speeches of Athene in the epirrhematic exchange in *Eumenides* to be at least roughly equal. However, at *Suppl.* 348–417 we have an epirrhematic exchange in which the trimeter utterances are all exactly equal with the exception of the last, 407–17 (the figures are 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 11). The aim there is clearly to create a climax as the king articulates fully the imperative presented by the chorus' role as suppliants. In *Eumenides* likewise one might expect any dislocation in the balance of speeches to come at the end, but one possible reason for dwelling at length on the danger in the penultimate speech of the sequence is a desire to articulate most vividly (by the juxtaposition of Athene's most sustained attempt at persuasion with a choral response in 870 ff. which as before reiterates verbatim complaints already uttered) the apparent insolubility of the crisis and intractability of the Erinyes in preparation for their sudden capitulation after Athene's final speech in 881 ff. Also relevant perhaps (though not in an epirrhematic sequence) is *Cho.* 315–404, in which choral anapaests three times follow a run of three lyric stanzas; the anapaestic utterances consist of 5, 8 and 5 verses (340–44, 372–79, 400–04).[9] Thus the imbalance is neither unique in Aischylos nor inexplicable.

The second problem, the interval which separates τοιαῦτα from its antecedent, rests on the assumption that τοιαῦτ' looks back only to 854–57. However, this is by no means certain. εὖ δρῶσαν in 868 has more point if it takes up the request to refrain from inciting violence (858–63), in which case τοιαῦτ' vaguely resumes both request and promise.[10] If τοιαῦτ'

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[9] I owe this reference to Dr. A. F. Garvie.

[10] I owe this point to Dr. Malcolm Campbell. There is a close parallel at *Eum.* 480–81, where τοιαῦτα resumes both the imperative presented by Orestes' position as suppliant (473–74) and the menace presented by the chorus (476–79); because the second of these is developed at

looks back only to the promise of 854 ff. εὖ δρῶσαν has no point of reference within the speech, for there is no hint in 854 ff. of any benefit the Erinyes can bestow in return; but we expect 868–69 to resume points already made in the speech. If we accept for the sake of argument that τοιαῦτ' looks back only to 854 ff., one obvious solution to the problem is to transpose lines 867–69 to follow 857. This would be linguistically unexceptionable. Though retrospective τοιοῦτος is commonly used by Aischylos in closing summary at or near the end of a speech (as e.g. *Ag.* 315, 348, 580, *Eum.* 197, 638, 913), it is also used simply to round off a section within a speech (as e.g. *Ag.* 593, *Eum.* 480, *Pers.* 823, *Th.* 195, 279, 384, 590). However, this solves one problem by creating another. As presented by the manuscripts all Athene's speeches in this epirrhematic sequence end with promises of honours for the Erinyes. This parallelism is destroyed if the closing lines of her penultimate speech are transposed, and the rhetorical force of the speech itself is weakened, for the purpose of the parallelism is to end each speech with an appeal to the self-interest of the Erinyes which simultaneously reinforces her claim that they have not been dishonoured. It is indeed unusual in Aischylos for retrospective τοιοῦτος not to follow its antecedent immediately as common sense dictates. However, at *Eum.* 912 τοιαῦτα looks back not to the preceding line but to 904–10.[11] The interval between 857 and 867 is of course far greater, and if 867 stood alone a reference to honours described ten lines before would be intolerably obscure. However, since the content of 854–57 is resumed in εὖ πάσχουσαν κτλ. (868–69) there is in fact no real obscurity.

The third problem is the most serious. The Erinyes have spoken of their destructive influence as a poison drop (σταλαγμόν 783, 813) which creates a wasting disease (λειχήν 785, 815) destroying vegetable and human life (785–87, 815–17). One naturally supposes from this description that the menace presented by the Erinyes is purely physical,[12] especially given the similarity to the effects of the plague in Sophokles' *OT* 26 ff., 168 ff. Furthermore, lines 938 ff., in which the Erinyes pray for fertility, make more sense as a reversal of their earlier attitude if their threats included physical corruption of life in Attica. Yet Athene clearly sees a threat of civil war. Either Athene is correct or the passage is alien to its context. But if Athene is correct, the poison of the Erinyes is not only physical but psychological, corrupting the minds of men as well as their bodies and their crops, and the description of the drops issuing from the Erinyes has both a literal and a metaphorical aspect. The country will become depopulated and

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some length, τοιαῦτα is expanded in 480–81 (cf. 868–69), which resumes the whole sequence 473–79.

[11] Another such postponement perhaps is 638, which (if referring to Klytaimestra) must look back to 635. However, in view of the textual uncertainty both in 638 and its immediate context its value as corroborative evidence is limited. The same is true of τοιάδε at *Cho.* 1005.

[12] At *Cho.* 1058, *Eum.* 54 the drops from the eyes of the Erinyes are literal.

infertile not only because human and plant growth will wither but also because civil war will cause widespread death and the abandonment of agriculture.[13] There are in fact a number of arguments which may be advanced in support of this view.

Firstly, in the epirrhematic exchange which follows the conversion of the Erinyes they offer prayers averting stasis (856, 976 ff.). Although those verses offer an acceptable sense if we suppose merely that the chorus prays for civil concord as part of a general benediction upon the state (as at *Suppl.* 679 ff.), they gain considerably in effect if the chorus is transforming an earlier curse into a blessing. This is what the textual tradition offers in lines 858 ff. This view of the relationship between those two passages receives support from the other blessings for which the chorus prays in 921–26 and 937–47, which contrast with the threat in 780–87, 810–17 and Athene's words in 801–02. Athene's comment on their prayers for blessing (988 f.) underlines the reversal in their attitude (contrast 830). If the second strophe and antistrophe in the following exchange like the first strophe and antistrophe reverse earlier threats, the result is a more pointed contrast between the attitudes of the chorus before and after they are persuaded by Athene.

Secondly, there are a number of expressions in the general context which hint at a certain ambiguity in the malign effects of the Erinyes. At 476–79 Athene, anticipating the wrath of the Erinyes if they are balked of their prey, says:

αὗται δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμπελον,
καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσαι πράγματος νικηφόρου,
χωρεῖ μεταῦθις ἰὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων
πέδοι πεσὼν ἄφερτος, αἰανὴς νόσος.

At 782–83 (812–13) the poison is described as καρδίας σταλαγμόν. Neither description suggests a literal discharge of poisonous drops. Athene in urging them to do no harm in 829–31 says:

σὺ δ' εὐπιθὴς ἐμοὶ
γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ 'κβάληις ἔπη χθονί,
καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.

ἔπη does not suggest a direct, physical infusion of poison. All of these expressions can of course be explained in physical terms, if we take φρονημάτων in 478 and καρδίας in 782 as expressing the emotion which causes the Erinyes to blight Attica and 830 as metaphorical. But both alone and more especially when taken together with 858 ff. these passages do

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[13] Cf. (in the context of the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica in the Archidamian War) Ar. *Ach.* 971–99, *Pax* 562–97, 706–08, 1316–57.

suggest that there is more to the malign power of the Erinyes than a poisonous discharge, and the terms used in 831 seem by their vagueness to look beyond physical wasting.

Thirdly (and, it may be felt, less subjectively), the proposed ambiguity is entirely in line both with the portrayal of the Erinyes in the trilogy as a whole and with Greek conceptions of divine beings. Having watched the all too corporeal vampires pursuing Orestes earlier in *Eumenides* it is easy for the viewer/reader to forget that they have only acquired this role in the last play of the trilogy.[14] With the exception of Apollo's threats to Orestes (*Cho.* 278 ff.), to which I shall return later, and the invisible pursuit of Orestes at the close of *Choephoroi*, wherever the text in the first two plays of the trilogy allows us to discern the mode (and not merely the fact) of the operation of the Erinyes, they are seen overdetermining events,[15] that is, not intervening physically but operating on or through human psychological processes. They are predominantly a force operational within and through the vendetta. In *Eumenides* the balance is altered as the Erinyes become involved in the action in a direct, physical way. This ambiguity (as both physical beings and immanent forces) is entirely in accordance with Greek conceptions of divinity. Thus Aphrodite is a beautiful female, but she is also the reproductive force in human and animal life (e.g. *h. Hom. Aphr.* 2–6, 69–74, Soph. *Ant.* 781–801, *Tr.* 497 f., Eur. *Hipp.* 1268–81). In Euripides' *Hippolytos* Aphrodite is both an anthropomorphic deity jealous of her τιμή (8) and a force at work in Phaidra. The same is true of Dionysos in *Bacchae*. Unlike Aphrodite, Dionysos is visible throughout the play as an anthropomorphic figure who has been offended (23–54); but he is also a power at work within the human mind, as can be seen clearly in the "toilet scene" (912–70), where he both toys with Pentheus from without and possesses him from within (cf. 849–53).

Even in *Eumenides*, despite the move towards direct physical involvement in the action on the part of the Erinyes, there remains some ambiguity about the scope and the nature of their activity. At *Eum.* 210 the chorus is quite explicit about its function. The Erinyes pursue those who attack their mother. Quizzed by Apollo, they insist that they would not intervene in the case of a woman who kills her husband because this does not involve kindred slaughter (212). They identify themselves in 417 as "curses" ('Αραί), that is, embodiments of Klytaimestra's anger. This agrees with the conception of the Erinyes at *Cho.* 283 f., 924, 925, 1054, where it seems that each victim of homicide has his or her own Erinyes.[16] However, at *Eum.* 421 the Erinyes claim that they pursue homicides in general. In

[14] See A. L. Brown, *JHS* 103 (1983) 14.

[15] Cf. *Ag.* 59, 749, 1119, *Cho.* 577, 651; see also *Th.* 70, 723, 791, 886, 977, 988, 1055.

[16] For the Erinyes linked to a specific victim (though not in the context of homicide) cf. also *Th.* 70, 723, 791, 886, 977, 988, 1055 and see K. Reinhardt, *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* (Bern 1949) 154.

the choral odes their role appears to be even broader, since at 269 ff. and 538 ff. they speak of the punishment of wrongs against god, guest or parent. The Erinyes we see in *Eumenides* have a specific function, the punishment of Orestes for the murder of his mother; they are individual beings. At the same time, they represent the principle of the vendetta, which though a crude mechanism for the administration of justice nonetheless reinforces basic rules essential for the survival of society, and it is in the latter capacity that they speak more generally about justice and about duties to god, guest and parent. The nature of their attack is likewise ambiguous. At *Eum.* 264 ff. they are vampires; they will drain Orestes dry of blood and take him down to Hades; in the same spirit they describe their binding song as "a withering of men" (αὐονὰ βροτοῖς 333, 346).[17] But they also see their effect as psychological, for they describe their song as inducing madness (329–32, 341–45).

A fourth, and related, argument concerns the similarity between the threats against Orestes in *Choephoroi* and those against Athens in *Eumenides*. At *Cho.* 275 ff. Apollo threatens Orestes, in the event of his failing to punish his father's killers, with punishments which include madness (288 f.) physical disease (279 ff.) and isolation from all human intercourse (289 ff.). That is, unless Orestes avenges his father's murder he is to receive the punishment which would befall the killer.[18] Similarly, at 924–25 he apparently faces the same punishments for failing to avenge his father and for killing his mother. In the former case the punishments are explicitly connected with the Erinyes, in the latter implicitly. The same pattern of transferred anger is seen in *Eumenides*. Having agreed to the trial, the Erinyes have forfeited the right to punish Orestes. But as in *Choephoroi* they must still have a victim. The victim is Athens, the city whose citizens and patron goddess have between them allowed the murderer to go unpunished. The wasting disease (785 λειχήν) is the counterpart of the diseases with which Orestes was threatened (*Cho.* 281 λειχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν). The madness of civil strife which (as interpreted by Athene) the Erinyes threaten against Athens (*Eum.* 858–60 σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάλῃς / μήθ' αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας / νέων, ἀοίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν) finds its counterpart in the madness with which Orestes was threatened, and which descends on him at the close of *Choephoroi* (1021 ff.) as a result of his mother's murder.

Thus in perceiving a psychological/metaphorical aspect to the poison of the Erinyes as well as a biological/literal aspect Athene is not introducing an idea which is alien to the immediate context, the play or the trilogy. If as has been argued the passage is genuine, its purpose is clearly to bring out the ambiguity of the choral threats. As well as urging the Erinyes not to

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[17] Cf. 138–39.
[18] Cf. A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus Choephori* (Oxford 1986) 116.

destroy Attica, it is Athene's role in this exchange to clarify through trimeters menaces which the chorus expresses through the more suggestive medium of lyric.

The conclusion that 858–66 are genuine, implying as it does an ambivalence to the Erinyes, has consequences for our understanding of the course of events after Orestes' acquittal. Firstly, we are witnessing a widening of the menace presented by the vendetta. In *Agamemnon* the vendetta claims individual victims; by the end of the play however (1530 ff., 1565 ff.) and for the whole of the *Choephoroi* it is the survival of the family which is at issue; in *Eumenides* it is the survival of society as a whole. In *Agamemnon* the Erinyes were associated with stasis within the family (1117–20). In *Eumenides* stasis threatens the whole state.[19] We have already seen the potential for social fragmentation in the system of justice which obtains in the *Oresteia*. Apollo in his first confrontation with the chorus denies that they have a place in a civilized society (185 ff.). They belong where justice consists in acts of mutilation. From the exchange which follows it is clear that the Erinyes *are* a threat to order. They profess loyalty only to the mother–son bond (210–21) and ignore the man–wife bond (213 ff.). The narrow loyalty to one vital relationship subverts another, equally valid relationship. This impression of social fragmentation is reinforced by the trial scene, where Apollo in championing the importance of the father subverts the mother–son bond (652 ff., 657 ff.). Though Apollo despises the Erinyes, his idea of loyalty is as limited as theirs. What we have in these passages is not a change in the problem caused by violent retributive justice but a broader perception of the problem. This expanded focus is implicit in the use of gods rather than human beings as the central participants in the play. The issues are seen in general terms as a clash of rights and functions rather than of individuals, and the emphasis is on principles. We see marriage bond set against blood bond, mother–son against father–son relationship. There is inevitably a potential for social disintegration where loyalties are thus reduced to the minimum, and where violent action is the only conceivable response to violence. It is this destructive force which the Erinyes threaten to let loose in Attica.

This broadening of the issues raised by the vendetta finds expression in the image of fluid dripping to the ground. Throughout the trilogy the relentlessness of the bloodshed in the house of Atreus has found expression in the image of blood spilled on the ground which demands fresh blood.[20] Elsewhere in the trilogy this image relates to the individual or the family,

[19] Cf. A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia: A Study in Language and Structure* (Cambridge, MA 1971) 87.

[20] Cf. *Ag.* 1019–21, 1509–12, *Cho.* 48, 66–67, 400–04, 520 f., *Eum.* 261–63, 647–48. For the connection between the flow of blood and the flow of poison cf. Lebeck (previous note) 87 f.

but in *Eumenides* the poison which drips from the Erinyes threatens the whole of society; it is an imperative to kill operating throughout the state[21] rather than within the confines of one family.

A second consequence concerns the nature of the confrontation between Athene and the Erinyes. From the transference of their anger from Orestes to Athene and Athens it is clear that the Erinyes have not abandoned their commitment to revenge in its crudest form. They have simply exchanged one victim for another. This is as one would expect. The audience has seen the chorus pursue Orestes relentlessly, denying that even death brings any release for their victim.[22] It is incredible that they would blandly accept the acquittal of their victim. However, this relentless pursuit of violent revenge is not merely an aspect of the Erinyes as corporeal beings, nor is it new to *Eumenides*. The impression of relentless and inescapable destruction is present in the two preceding plays as an aspect of the system of justice through which the Erinyes exert their influence in human life.[23] If the Erinyes remain an immanent force in human conduct in the confrontation with Athene, the crisis engendered by the acquittal of Orestes concerns more than the wrath of these vengeful creatures whose τιμή has been curtailed. This crisis has another aspect. The founding of the Areiopagos has solved only the specific problem of Orestes; it has not put an end to the principle of violent, unreflecting retributive justice which the Erinyes represent. The persuasion of the Erinyes by Athene is thus a vital counterpart to her foundation of the Areiopagos. Athene must induce the force which previously had operated through the vendetta to operate through the court which enshrines the positive principles which are at work in the vendetta.[24] It is important however to bear in mind that this force works through human decisions. The Erinyes are therefore used to express an important truth relating not to the gods but to mankind; here as elsewhere in Aischylos divine intervention is used to describe a phenomenon recognizable in human life.[25] It is a fact of life that in a free society an institution comes into being or survives only with the agreement of those subjected to its authority. This is why Athene's persuasion is necessary. The founding of a lawcourt to settle violent disputes does not in itself put an end to violence; this can only happen when those with a grievance accept the right of a court to decide the issue irrespective of whether the decision is in their favour. Aischylos could have enacted this development in purely human terms, by having Orestes prosecuted by a mortal.[26] But the universal significance of

[21] The connection of stasis with the vendetta is indicated by ἀντιφόνους 982.

[22] Cf. 267–68, 339–40.

[23] *Ag.* 1117, 1186, 1479–80, 1484, 1530–34, 1565–66, *Cho.* 400–04, 1065–76.

[24] For this aspect of the confrontation cf. A. J. Podlecki, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy* (Ann Arbor 1966) 77 f., and for the Areiopagos as enshrining the positive principles which underlie the violence of the vendetta cf. 518–30, 690–99.

[25] Cf. P. E. Easterling, *G & R* 20 (1973) 6.

[26] Cf. Brown (above, note 14) 33.

the gesture would be less pointed.[27] By shifting the dispute to the divine plane, and placing the emphasis on the power which inspires violent revenge rather than on the individual human avenger, Aischylos ensures that the act of forgoing revenge will have a universal significance. The use of the Erinyes to represent the revenge imperative enables Aischylos to enact a phase in the development of a whole society within the limitations of the Greek theatre.[28] He expresses this phase in a typically Greek way, not in evolutionary terms but through the concept of the πρῶτος εὑρέτης, and he makes this πρῶτος εὑρέτης a god, significantly the goddess of wisdom. But within these terms, and within the limits of a scene played out entirely between superhuman powers, Aischylos' representation of this development corresponds to human experience.

Thus the presence or absence of 858–66 affects more than the formal balance of a single scene or the fluency of a single speech. It affects the nature of the danger presented by the Erinyes and the nature of the process which Aischylos is seeking to represent in the confrontation between Athene and the Erinyes. If the verses are genuine, then we see in the scene following the acquittal of Orestes the centrifugal force of the vendetta, which has divided and nearly destroyed the house of Atreus, threaten to divide and destroy Attica through stasis generated by mutual acts of violent revenge. The imperative to take life for life still operates. Through the medium of the Erinyes, the embodiment of the revenge principle, Aischylos enacts the agreement of mankind, previously bound by this imperative, to accept the transfer of the right to punish to a state-appointed tribunal and forgo the claim to violent action, with the result that punishment no longer provokes further violence. The result is a more cohesive society in which violence is both deterred and (where it does erupt) contained; aggression can therefore be directed outward to the benefit of the state rather than inward to its destruction.[29] The climax of *Eumenides* is not therefore, as is sometimes

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[27] Likewise, Euripides could have presented *Hippolytos* entirely in empirical (human) terms, without recourse to Aphrodite and Artemis at beginning and end; the play would lose nothing in psychological plausibility, but it would not provide the same impression of universal and insuperable forces at work, nor the irresolvable clash of values.

[28] Brown (above, note 14) 34 suggests that by presenting a solution on the divine plane Aischylos evades the difficulties presented by the irresolvable conflict witnessed throughout the trilogy. If we are correct in seeing the Erinyes as (in part) an aspect of human behaviour Aischylos does not evade the issue but rather transcends the physical limitations of his theatre. There is an excellent parallel in *Agamemnon*, where the act of walking on precious fabrics is used to express the essence of Agamemnon's conduct within the physical limits of the theatre; the single act encapsulates crimes separated in time and space and perpetrated on a scale beyond the resources of the theatre of Dionysos.

[29] Cf. 864, 986. Despite the change from menace to benediction on the part of the Erinyes, it is clear from Athene's comments at 930–37 (cf. 310 f., 367 f., 561) that the Erinyes have not changed their nature. They are still a source of dread (as in 518 ff.) and therefore a deterrent against wrongdoing; but now that the mechanics of their intervention have changed at the physical level (from direct action by the aggrieved party to punishment by a tribunal) the

erroneously stated,[30] the acquittal of Orestes. It is the persuasion of the Erinyes; for this is the action which will determine the future of Athens, and indeed of the human race.[31]

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administration of justice ceases to be a destabilizing force. The stable society which results can channel violence against the external enemy.

[30] Cf. T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Art of Aeschylus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982) 349: "Athene's position as reconciler and innovator means that the Furies are merely hanging on to prolong the tensions of the play a little longer, rather than opening another valid round of conflict."

[31] I wish to thank Dr. Malcolm Campbell of St. Andrews and Dr. Alex Garvie of the University of Glasgow for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

3

Dreams and Poets in Lucretius

CHARLES SEGAL

The power of the dead to visit us in dreams and visions haunts the Western imagination from Homer's Achilles to Shakespeare's Hamlet and Macbeth, and beyond. Although as early as Homer the ancients distinguish between true and false dreams (Zeus' deception of Agamemnon by οὖλος ὄνειρος in *Iliad* 2 is a famous instance of a deceptive dream), there is a strong belief that dreams are prophetic, that they have a divine source, and that they contain a privileged knowledge to which we would not otherwise have access. Many of the dreams in Virgil and Ovid, for example, are of this latter type.[1] Even today Freud's *Traumdeutung* remains an accepted tool of psychoanalysis, founded on the theory that dreams speak a hidden language of truth that is closed off to our conscious mind.

Accounting for dreams is central to Lucretius' ethical purpose because they feed our fears about the afterlife and about monstrous creatures like centaurs and chimaeras. Like all mental phenomena, however, they have a rational explanation. All bodies are continually throwing off an external film of atoms; these impinge on the *anima* through the pores of the body as we sleep and set the fine, sensitive soul-atoms into motion, thus creating the visions and the sensations that we experience as dreams. The same process also accounts for waking visions, which Lucretius frequently pairs with dream-visions. He sets forth his detailed explanation in Book 4 (722–1036),[2] where, of course, the basic theory closely follows Epicurus, who in turn is deeply indebted to the atomistic psychology of Democritus.[3]

At the beginning of Book 4 Lucretius brings together the fear of nocturnal visions and the fear of death and the afterlife (4. 33–41):

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[1] For example, Aeneas' dreams of Hector (*Aen.* 2. 270 ff.), or the elaborately designed dream of Alcyone in Ovid, *Met.* 11. 583–695, in which she learns of the death of her husband Ceyx. But cf. the dangerously emotional dream of Turnus, *Aen.* 7. 413 ff. Even before Artemidorus' handbook, dream-interpretation is of course well developed in the Greek world: e.g. Soph. *OT* 980–82 or Hdt. 6. 107, 7. 12–18, especially 7. 16β. 2.

[2] For recent discussion and bibliography see P. H. Schrijvers, "Die Traumtheorie des Lukrez," *Mnemosyne* 33 (1985) 128–51, especially 133 ff., 138 ff.

[3] See Epicurus, *Letter to Herodotus* in D.L. 10. 51; also 10. 80 and Epicur. fr. 326 Usener; Democritus 68 A 77 (= Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 734 f); also 68 A 136–37 Diels-Kranz.

atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
terrificant atque in somnis, cum saepe figuras
contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum,   35
quae nos horrifice languentis saepe sopore
excierunt, ne forte animas Acherunte reamur
effugere aut umbras inter vivos volitare
neve aliquid nostri post mortem posse relinqui,
cum corpus simul atque animi natura perempta   40
in sua discessum dederint primordia quaeque.

This concern with the emotional disturbance caused by dreams recurs in the
detailed discussion later, particularly in the explanation of how these images
(*simulacra*) continue to impinge on the soul even when we are asleep (4.
757–61):

nec ratione alia, cum somnus membra profudit,
mens animi vigilat, nisi quod simulacra lacessunt
haec eadem nostros animos quae cum vigilamus,
usque adeo, certe ut videamur cernere eum quem   760
relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast.

Lucretius' ethical aims, in his humanitarian concern for mankind's
well-being, however, also pervade his poetics. The theory of dreams, like
everything else in Epicureanism, is absorbed and transformed by the poetic
imagination of a great literary artist. This combination of ethical concern
and imaginative transformation is particularly clear in the poem's first
account of dreams, namely Ennius' vision of Homer early in Book 1. Here
Lucretius associatively shapes a complex of themes—poetry, dreams, sleep,
death, the afterlife—which help him to link the moral content of his
philosophy to the traditions of hexameter poetry that stretch from Homer
through Ennius.

Ennius' vision of Homer evokes the two major literary points of
origin, one Greek, one Roman, in which the dead have a shadowy existence
after death and visit us in dreams. As the most famous poetic dream in
Latin letters hitherto, Ennius' poem is important for Lucretius' view of his
place in the history of epic and didactic poetry. But viewed in its context, it
is also of a piece with his Epicurean explanation of the nature of dreams. It
forms part of a careful progression in which specific *exempla* from the
Greek and Roman literary past introduce some of the main points of
Epicurean moral philosophy. Placed at the beginning of the work, it
suggests how pervasive and erroneous is the poets' influence and how
beneficial will be Lucretius' antidote. Indirectly, it enables Lucretius to
assert his superiority over his poetic predecessors—a superiority that rests
on superior knowledge of dreams, visions, and death. He overcomes his
"anxiety of influence," to use Harold Bloom's term, by defeating the anxiety
about death that his poetic "fathers" have bequeathed to their "sons" and
heirs.

First, Lucretius shows us the victorious journey of Epicurus himself, both hero and *triumphator*, to the limits of the world, crushing the *religio* that oppresses mankind (1. 62–79).[4] The next tableau reveals the crimes that were perpetrated in the name of just that *religio*, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (1. 82–101). Finally, in the third passage, Lucretius turns to the fears that may disturb human life. These include the *somnia* (1. 105) that men make up because they lack the truth about life's limits and so are a prey to the *religionibus atque minis . . . vatum* (1. 109). Those who are ignorant of the atomic theory, and thus of the materiality and mortality of the soul, imagine a possible survival in the afterlife. This mistaken notion is then exemplified in Ennius' vision of Homer in tears, as the Greek bard returns from Hades to lament over his miserable existence there (1. 112–27). Lucretius thus mingles praise of his great poetic predecessors with criticism of their false doctrine.

Viewed as moral illustrations, the two latter passages complement one another. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia shows the folly into which the fear of the gods leads men. The account of Homer and Ennius exemplifies the fear of the traditional, poetic views of Hades, which in turn leads men to fear death. *Somnia* in 1. 105 does not just mean "silly tales," as Bailey and others take it;[5] it also implies the false "visions" that men "imagine" for themselves because they are "overcome by the fear-speaking utterances" of *vates*, here probably "poets" as well as "prophets" (*vatum terriloqua dicta* 1. 102 f.).[6] These *somnia* thus prepare for and are analogous to the visions that Ennius had of Homer in the proem of the *Annales* (1. 115–26). In both cases the fear can be dispelled by the superior perspective of Epicurus' grandiose vision (1. 72–79).[7] Hence the transition between the two passages echoes Epicurus' journey (cf. *religionibus atque minis obsistere vatum* 1. 109, and *obsistere contra . . . minitanti* 1. 66–67).[8] As Epicurus stands to ordinary, unenlightened men, so Lucretius stands to the

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[4] For the triumphal imagery of this passage see V. Buchheit, "Epikurs Triumph des Geistes," *Hermes* 99 (1971) 303–23.

[5] C. Bailey (ed.), *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* (Oxford 1947) *ad loc.* For the *somnia* and the connection of poet and prophet see J. J. O'Hara, "*Somnia Ficta* in Lucretius and Lucilius," *CQ* 37 (1987) 517–19, with further bibliography.

[6] This double reference to both poetic and prophetic vision is all the more likely because of the notion of poetry that may be implied in the *-loquis* of *terriloquis* (103) and *fingere somnia* of 1. 104–05. Cf. also Lucretius' scornful reference to the poets, especially the Greek poets, elsewhere: 2. 600 and 655–60, 3. 629–30, 4. 590–94, 5. 405–06.

[7] It is a further connection between these passages that the people, obedient to the *vates* (= prophet of *religio*) "pours forth tears" (*lacrimas effundere civis* 1. 91), while in the equally false and harmful vision of another *vates* (= poet) a shade seems to "pour forth tears" (*lacrimas effundere salsas* 1. 125). The former scene of submission to *religio* (*muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat*, of Iphigeneia, 1. 92) recalls Epicurus' victory over *religio* (*pedibus subiecta* 1. 78; cf. also 1. 63 *in terris oppressa*). *Horribili super aspectu* in 1. 65 may also be taken up in the submissive fear of the weeping citizens, *aspectuque suo* 1. 91.

[8] *Victus* in 1. 103 also harks back to the triumphal language used of Epicurus in 1. 62–79 (*pervicit, victor, victoria*).

unenlightened poets who preceded him, for, like Epicurus, as 1. 102–35 imply, he understands the true nature of the soul and hence the true origin of dreams.

The intervening sacrifice of Iphigeneia is also relevant to this complex of themes, for she is not only pressed down to earth, on her knees, like "human life" generally in 1. 62 f., but is also struck dumb in terrified silence. The poets and prophets here have "speech" (1. 102 f.), while their human victim is mute with fear: *muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat* (1. 92). The passage ends with *religio*'s persuasive power (*potuit suadere* 1. 101). In the next lines, Lucretius is now continuing Epicurus' work in the realm of language, replacing this evil persuasion and the terrifying utterances it breeds (*vatum terriloqua dicta* 1. 102 f.) with a discourse of truth and peace. In this way he also brings Epicurus' *victoria* to the reader who has been *victus* by words (1. 79, 103).

Ennius, for all his fame among the peoples of Italy, nevertheless perpetuated in his "eternal verses" the fears of "eternal punishments" that destroy happiness (cf. *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst* 1. 111 and *Ennius aeternis exponit versibus edens* 1. 121). Venerable as he is, he lends credence to the deleterious belief in *simulacra modis pallentia miris* in Hades, from which the shadowy image (*speciem* 1. 125) of Homer appeared to him in tears and expounded on "the nature of things in his words" (*rerum naturam expandere dictis* 1. 126). To correct such views, Lucretius will himself give the true account of things human and divine, of the nature of the soul, and of the visions that men have both by day and by night, in dreams (1. 132–35):

> et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
> terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
> cernere uti videamur eos audireque coram,
> morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa.   135

The language of this last passage anticipates the direct discussion of fearful visions and dreams in Book 4, cited above. We may note particularly the resemblances between this passage of Book 1 and 4. 33–37:

> *atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis*
> *terrificant atque in somnis,* cum saepe figuras
> contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum,   35
> quae nos horrifice *languentis saepe sopore*
> excierunt . . .

Lucretius returns to the same point in fuller detail later in his exposition of dreams (4. 760 f.):

> usque adeo, certe ut videamur cernere eum quem
> relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast.

The language of 1. 134 f., especially *quorum tellus amplectitur ossa*, is an appropriately "poetic" equivalent, using Homer's own diction, of the more prosaic *relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast* in 4. 761, and for the still more prosaic *quem mens vivum se cernere credit* in 4. 767.[9] The phrase *figuras / contuimur miras simulacraque* in 4. 38 f. stresses the same "wondrous" quality of these visions as Ennius' *simulacra modis pallentia miris* in 1. 123; and Lucretius loses few opportunities to make fun of these miraculously moving or living *simulacra* (especially 4. 788 ff.; cf. also 4. 455 ff., 721 ff., 768 ff., 980 f.).[10]

His own task is to expose the falsehood behind the terrors that dreams inspire. Thus his transition to Ennius stresses the absence of true knowledge about the soul, which will be balanced later by his own positive determination to provide just that understanding (*ratio*):

110:      nunc *ratio nulla* est restandi, *nulla* facultas;

127 f.:   quapropter bene cum superis de rebus habenda
          nobis est *ratio* ...

The other side of his task is obviously to provide an alternative explanation. This he does, for example, not only in the case of ghosts from Hades but also for the real gods enjoying tranquil eternity in the spaces between worlds. Modern man's false visions, both awake and in dreams, of the dead contrast with early man's true visions of the gods that gave rise to religion (5. 1169–82). Men saw the extraordinary forms of the gods both awake and in sleep: *egregias animo facies vigilante videbant / et magis in somnis mirando corporis auctu* (5. 1170 f.). These divine movements, the sign of the gods' extraordinary powers and their freedom from effort, are calmer than the extravagant gestures of the *simulacra* of ghosts: cf. *membra movere videbantur* (5. 1173); *et simul in somnis quia multa et mira videbant / efficere et nullum capere ipsos inde laborem* (5. 1181 f.). The true images of the gods are not necessarily a source of superstitious fear (cf. 5. 1165); such fear arises only because men attribute human passions to the gods, out of their own ignorance of the real causes of natural phenomena (cf. 5. 1183–1240).

Even a brief examination of these passages reveals how closely Lucretius connects dreams with the falsehoods of the poets, religious superstition, and the fear of death. In Book 1, as elsewhere, Lucretius anticipates in imagistic, poetical terms arguments that he will later develop

[9] Lucretius repeats 1. 135 also just before his explanation of dreams in Book 4, where he accounts for the related phenomenon of false imaginings of monstrous creatures like Centaurs, Scyllas, Chimaeras (4. 722 ff.). He includes in this group of waking visions *simulacraque eorum / quorum morte obita tellus amplectitur ossa* (4. 733 f.). This last phrase, *tellus amplectitur ossa* (= 1. 135) is modelled on Homeric formulas like ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα (*Il.* 2. 699) or κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει (*Il.* 6. 464, etc.). Cf. also 3. 1035 *ossa dedit terrae*.

[10] See P. H. Schrijvers, *Horror ac divina Voluptas. Etudes sur la poétique et la poésie de Lucrèce* (Amsterdam 1970) 101.

with more technical Epicurean arguments.[11] Thus Ennius' dream of Homer receives its full "scientific" explanation only in Book 4. But the allusive, literary approach to dreams here, through the vivid narrative of Ennius' vision, shows how deeply rooted are men's false and disturbing notions of what dreams are and what truths, if any, they contain.

Just as the preceding account of Iphigeneia is carefully framed by the repetition of the word *religio* (*religio scelerosa* 1. 83; *religio . . . malorum* 1. 101), so here the detailed account of the visions of the underworld is framed by "fictions" or "figments" of the mind, whether from poet or dreamer: *vatum / terriloquis victus dictis . . . fingere possunt / somnia* 1. 102–05; *terrificet . . . somno sepultis* 1. 133. By thus framing the passage on Ennius and Homer with the repeated terms for "fear," "dream," or "sleep," Lucretius associates the empty fears from dreams with the fearful *somnia* that come from *religio*.

The full significance of the framing device becomes clear only in the light of the following verses, which describe the kind of nights that an Epicurean poet will enjoy. The hoped-for pleasure of Epicurean friendship, he says,

> . . . inducit noctes vigilare serenas
> quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum
> clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
> res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis. (1. 142–45)

This passage, to be sure, uses the conventions of literary patronage (cf. *amicitia* here and the *philia*-motif of Pindar); but it is none the less reflective of central philosophical issues in the poem.[12] Unenlightened men, victims of the poets, spend troubled, fearful nights of bad dreams; the philosopher, on the other hand, enjoys *serenas noctes* of meditation on the truth—an activity that, Epicurus says at the end of his *Letter to Menoeceus*, gives man a life like to that of the blessed gods (D.L. 10. 135). In place of the darkness of the poets' Hades (*tenebras Orci . . . vastasque lacunas* 1. 115), Lucretius sets the luminous vision of truth that will enable his reader to see what has previously been hidden, *res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis* (145). This vision will, once more, dispel "fear" (*terrorem animi* 146; cf. *terriloquis* 103 and *terrificet* 133):

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[11] See in general C. Bailey, "The Mind of Lucretius," *AJP* 61 (1940) 278–91. Schrijvers (above, note 2) 141 f. remarks, "Alle Phänomene, die irgendwo in De rerum natura als sekundäre Exempla im Dienst einer anderen Beweisführung angewendet sind, werden selbst zu gelegener Zeit primäre Objekte einer selbständigen Auseinandersetzung."

[12] On the language of patronage here see the sensible remarks of D. P. Fowler, "Lucretius and Politics," in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society* (Oxford 1989) 121.

hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest
non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque. (1. 146–48)[13]

Lucidly and reassuringly, the poet's "true vision of nature," *naturae species
ratioque* (1. 148), counters that misleading and potentially frightening
"vision of Homer," *Homeri . . . species*, that Ennius reported in his dream
of 124 f. This luminous truth, better than the *lucida tela diei*, will be
particularly effective against the *simulacraque luce carentum* that may terrify
us in our bad dreams of the life after death (4. 38 ff.).

A later passage in Book 4 confirms the thematic significance of this
contrast between troubled nights of false dreams and the philosopher's serene
nights. In explaining dreams as the result of our occupations during the
day, Lucretius cites his own case.[14] While lawyers, generals, and sailors
dream of their respective activities, he dreams of expounding Epicurean
thought in his Latin poem (4. 969–72):

nos agere hoc autem et *naturam quaerere rerum*
semper et inventam *patriis exponere chartis*.   970
cetera sic studia atque artis plerumque videntur
in somnis animos hominum frustrata tenere.

The Epicurean's dreams of his philosophical work contrast both with the
troubled activities of which the general and the sailor dream here (4. 967–68)
and with Ennius' misleading dream of Homer's shade (cf. 1. 126 *rerum
naturam expandere dictis* and 4. 969 f., above).[15]

Lucretius does not explicitly label Ennius' vision of the shade of
Homer a dream, which is rather surprising in the light of his close verbal
imitation of Ennius throughout this passage.[16] Lucretius calls Homer's
shade *semper florentis Homeri / speciem* (1. 124–25). The flower-imagery
may derive from Ennius, but *species* is probably Lucretius' own word,
chosen to emphasize the immateriality of this vision. The contrast between

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[13] Lucretius repeats these lines several times: 2. 59–61, 3. 91–93, 6. 39–41. Cf. also the
related passage on the analogy of what children fear in the dark and what we (adults) fear "in the
light": 2. 55–58 = 3. 87–90 = 6. 35–38. On the clear vision of "hidden things" in Epicurus see
also Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 1. 18. 49.

[14] This explanation of dreams is not original with Lucretius, or Epicurus: cf. Hdt. 7. 16β. 2.

[15] The echo between 1. 126 and 4. 969 is noted by Schrijvers (above, note 2) 141, though for
a different purpose. The immediate juxtaposition of the generals' battles and the sailors'
struggles (4. 967 f.) with Lucretius' philosophical dreams probably also strengthens the
contrasts in the *content* of the dreams, especially when one compares the account of the general
in the midst of a storm in 5. 1226–32.

[16] For the echoes see the discussion in O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford
1985) 147–57, with the bibliography, p. 150 n. 12; also P. Aicher, "Ennius' Dream of Homer,"
AJP 110 (1989) 227–32. The surviving fragment of Ennius' proem does not explicitly mention
a dream (*visus Homerus adesse poeta* 6 Vahlen = 2 Skutsch); but cf. schol. ad Pers. 6. 9–11:
Ennius *in Annalium suorum principio . . . dicit se vidisse in somnis . . .* So too fr. 5 V = 2 Sk
somno leni placidoque revinctus, echoed by Lucr. 1. 133, *somnoque sepultis*. See
Skutsch 155 f.

"ever-flowering" and "appearance" suggests the seductive but insubstantial
quality of this "vision"; it is like the *simulacra* of the previous line (123).
The unreality of a *species* that "rises forth" and "pours out salt tears" thus
serves as an antidote to Ennius' account of the *Acherusia templa* of Hades
where only "certain wondrously pale images" of the dead dwell (*quaedam
simulacra modis pallentia miris* 1. 120–23).

Lucretius' own comment on Ennius' vision is to point out the need for
"seeing whence the nature of soul and mind exists" so that we are not
frightened by visions of the dead in illness and in dreams (1. 131–35):

> unde anima atque animi constet natura videndum
> et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
> terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
> cernere uti videamur eos audireque coram,
> morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa.   135

As we have noted, this point is repeated even more clearly in Book 4. The
propaedeutic function of the passage here is, once more, enhanced by a
framing device. Lines 130–35 answer 112–16, the introduction to Ennius'
vision:

> ignoratur enim quae sit natura animai,
> nata sit an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
> et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta
> an tenebras Orci visat vastasque lacunas   115
> an pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se,
> Ennius ut noster cecinit . . .

In both cases, understanding the nature of the soul is necessary to free us
from "fear" in dreams, and specifically dreams of the dead that may give us
erroneous and terrifying ideas about a life after death (cf. also *terrificet* 133
and *aeternas . . . poenas in morte timendumst* 111).

Lucretius clearly means us to recognize the literary genealogy of
Ennius' vision. The adversative structure of the sentence that introduces it,

> quo neque permaneant animae nec corpora nostra,
> sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris, (1. 122 f.)

may also go back beyond Ennius to the most famous dream in epic,
Patroclus' appearance to the sleeping Achilles in *Iliad* 23. 103 f.:

> ὢ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀίδαο δόμοισι
> ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν.

Indeed, Lucretius' phrase for such images of the dead in Book 4, *simulacra
luce carentum* (4. 39), may be indebted to Patroclus' description of the dead
as εἴδωλα καμόντων in this passage (23. 72), possibly via Ennius' own
"translation" of Homer. And of course Lucretius' passage is a complex

intertextual allusion to another famous literary dream, Callimachus' dream in the proem to the *Aitia*, which Ennius had adapted in his *Annales*.[17]

The poetic fame of Ennius and the hold of that continuous tradition that his vision of Homer embodies obviously constitute a provocation for Lucretius' own work. By recreating the epic tradition about the afterlife, therefore, Lucretius gives an even clearer justification for his poem, with its "correct" views of dreams, the soul, and death.[18] His *dicta* and his *Latini versus*, he suggests, are more useful than Ennius' (cf. 126 and 143, 121 and 137). As the "second proem" will imply, he is in fact more worthy of the fame that Ennius has won (1. 921 ff., especially 928–30). The contrast between Ennius' "eternal verses" and their content of "eternal punishments" (111, 121) is replicated in the ironical contrast between the life-filled *effect* of Ennius' poetry, with its *perenni fronde coronam* (118) and its *content* of frightening darkness, ghosts, and punishments forever. Later in the poem, Lucretius will show not only that Hades does not exist (3. 978 ff.) but also that nothing is in fact "eternal" except atoms and void. For the purpose of the individual human life, only death is eternal, the *mors aeterna* that ends Book 3 (1091).

Ennius' poetic assimilation of Greek lore—Homer, Pythagoras, Callimachus—to which Lucretius alludes in 1. 117–26 is presumably one reason for his fame *per gentis Italas* (119). Lucretius answers this claim with his own struggles to put the "Greeks' dark discoveries" into "Latin verses" (1. 136–39). In the proem to Book 3 he offers a very different mode of assimilating Greek poetry, adapting the Homeric Olympus to the serene life of the Epicurean gods (3. 19 ff.; cf. *Odyssey* 6. 42–46). This true vision, like Epicurus' in Book 1, out over the limits of the universe counterbalances Ennius' false vision of the underworld there. It specifically disproves the existence of those Homeric *Acherusia templa*:

etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templa, (1. 120)

at contra nusquam apparent Acherusia templa. (3. 25)

Thus Lucretius fulfils his promise there to give a "good" treatment of the things above (bene *cum superis de rebus habenda / nobis est ratio* 1. 127 f.).

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[17] Callim. *Aitia* I, fr. 2, with the schol. Flor. and testimonia in R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949) I 11. The importance of Callimachean elements in Lucretius has often been noted: see, e.g., E. J. Kenney, "Doctus Lucretius," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970) 366–92; R. D. Brown, "Lucretius and Callimachus," *ICS* 7 (1982) 77–97, with the bibliography, p. 92 n. 16; J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison, WI 1986) 108–15. See also my "Poetic Immortality and the Fear of Death: The Second Proem of the *De Rerum Natura*," *HSCP* 92 (1989) 193–212.

[18] Lucretius' use of Ennius' dream may also allude to mistaken philosophical views too, if he means us to think of the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis that Ennius seems to have incorporated into his dream.

At the conclusion of Book 3, refuting the possibility that the soul can survive the body at death, Lucretius returns to Homer and the poets (3. 1036–38):

> adde repertores doctrinarum atque leporum,
> adde Heliconiadum comites; quorum unus Homerus
> sceptra potitus eadem aliis sopitu' quietest.

Homer, along with the other poets, has a very "unHomeric" death, a peaceful Epicurean death, in repose (*sopitu' quietest*).[19] This tranquil quietus, in turn, takes up the comforting recognition, shortly before, that death is but a quiet sleep (3. 910 f., 977). In Book 1 Homer's shade "wept salt tears" (*lacrimas effundere salsas*), presumably at its unhappy fate in the gloomy underworld. Such weeping is chastized and rebuked, at least indirectly, by the view of death set forth in Book 3:

> . . . quid sit amari
> tanto opere, *ad somnum* si res redit *atque quietem*,
> cur quisquam *aeterno* possit *tabescere luctu*. (3. 909–11)

> numquid ibi horrible apparet, num triste videtur
> quicquam, non omni *somno securius* exstat? (3. 976 f.)

Had Homer known the peaceful end that awaits him, he would have expounded his *rerum naturam* not in sadness (1. 125 f.) but, like Lucretius, in joy (*voluptas* 1. 140, 3. 28, 6. 94, etc.).

Epicurus' death, mentioned almost immediately after Homer's, belongs completely to the philosophical, not the epic world. It follows on the end of Democritus, which comes entirely as an intellectual act, a decision of mature wisdom and mind (3. 1039–44):

> denique Democritum postquam matura vetustas
> admonuit memores motus languescere mentis,   1040
> sponte sua leto caput obvius obtulit ipse.
> ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine vitae,
> qui genus humanum ingenio superavit et omnis
> restinxit stellas exortus ut aerius sol.

Epicurus' end, furthermore, is glorified in lines that are adapted from an epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum in honor of Homer (3. 1043 f.; *Anth. Pal.* 9. 24).[20] His "rising like the sun of the heavens" here (*exortus* 1044)

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[19] We may also compare 3. 904, in which the foolish man addresses the dead relative: *tu quidem ut es leto sopitus*, but does not fully grasp the implication of what it is to be *leto sopitus*.

[20] On other aspects of this passage see my *Lucretius on Death and Anxiety* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming), chap. 10. The Homeric borrowings throughout this passage, of course, add to the contrasts of philosophical and epic death: see, e.g., G. B. Conte, "Il trionfo della morte e la galleria dei grandi trapassati in Lucrezio III, 1024–1053," *SIFC* 37 (1965) 114–32.

reminds us again of Ennius' false vision of Homer's shade that "rose forth" (*exortam*) from Hades (1. 124).[21] As the peaceful death of Lucretius' Homer in 3. 1037 f. replaces Ennius' weeping shade of Homer in Book 1, so the fame of Epicurus that eclipses all other mortals absorbs and replaces the fame of Homer. Lucretius thus continues his Epicurean assimilation of poetic fame and poetic conventions that he began in Book 1.[22]

The following lines, however, extend Epicurus' "superiority to the whole human race" (3. 1043) in a slightly different direction, for Lucretius adapts the heroic encounter between Homer's Achilles and Lycaon in *Iliad* 21 to a philosophical encounter between the sage and the ordinary man. This person, addressed in the second person, after the manner of the diatribe, "spends the greater part of his life in sleep" and never "ceases to see dreams," whether waking or sleeping, so that his mind is always disturbed by "vain terror" (3. 1045–49):

> tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?   1045
> mortua cui vita est prope iam vivo atque videnti,
> cui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi
> et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas
> sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem.

We thus return from heroic epic, parody, and diatribe to the association of dreams, death, and fear that Lucretius will treat in the following book. The notion of both waking and sleeping dreams here in 3. 1048, *et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas*, is repeated in the introduction to the formal treatment of dreams in Book 4 (37 f.):

> atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
> terrificant atque in somnis . . .

It harks back, in turn, to the first mention of this theme in 1. 132 f.:

> et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
> terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis.

Lucretius has not only replaced these dangerous *somnia* with the truth; he also makes the old epic material speak to the man in the street, as it were. This ordinary, somnolent person of 3. 1045 ff. has nightly visions that may not be those of poets or heroes, like those of Ennius or of Homer's Achilles, but they are no less real to him and no less a source of the fear that troubles his life and destroys his happiness (cf. also 3. 1066 *aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit*).

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[21] Note too that the following line, 3. 1045, *tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire*, is an intentional echoing of a famous Homeric verse, *Il.* 21. 106.

[22] The device is analogous to Epicurus' claim to divinity and heroic status in 5. 7–54.

The contrast between the dream-visions of the poetic tradition and the truth of Lucretius' Epicurean poetry early in the poem thus emerges as part of a larger, programmatic contrast wherein Lucretius is challenging the entire course of Graeco-Roman poetry, from Homer through Callimachus and Ennius. He takes over conventional literary motifs from Callimachus and Ennius, but bends them to his ethical aims as an Epicurean poet. When Ennius tells how Homer's shade expounds the "nature of things" (*rerum naturam expandere dictis* 1. 126), we know that it is only a living man, i.e. Lucretius himself, not a ghost, who writes the true poem *de rerum natura* (1. 25).[23]

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4

Conjectures in Ovid's *Heroides*

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"Which text of the *Heroides* am I to use?" asks the student of Ovid, and "Which text of the *Heroides* am I to prescribe?" asks the teacher. These are very good questions, and ones which it was exceedingly difficult to answer before the year 1977; and even after that date there remains nowhere for the student or teacher to go who needs accurate information about what the manuscripts say. In 1971 appeared Heinrich Dörrie's elaborate edition with full apparatus criticus; but, lamentably, that apparatus is not critical nor is it to be trusted for what it says or implies, and the constitution of the text itself leaves everything to be desired. 1977 saw the very welcome arrival on the Ovidian scene of G. P. Goold's revision of Grant Showerman's Loeb edition of 1914; but, while Professor Goold has effected improvements at practically all points where he has deviated from Showerman, the limitations inevitably imposed on what in his words is "essentially a corrected reprint" mean that a lot remains in the Loeb which in any other circumstances would have been replaced by something quite new. And Loebs of course have space only for a very small amount of critical information. While therefore we must all welcome what Professor Goold has been able to do for the *Heroides*, the need for a critical edition remains. For a number of years, I and others had been looking forward with the greatest anticipation to an OCT from Professor E. J. Kenney, but sadly, he has now abandoned that project. A new Teubner (Leipzig) edition being deemed desirable, I have found myself unable to resist the challenge presented by this formidably problematical collection of poems, and I have every intention of producing an edition (which I guarantee now will at all events have an accurate apparatus criticus, whatever people may think about my constitution of the text) within the next five or six years. The present paper will give those interested in Ovid a foretaste of the kind of text which I shall produce.

For the purposes of this paper I have regularly consulted the following editions: Burman (Amsterdam 1727); Palmer and Purser (Oxford 1898); Dörrie (Berlin and New York 1971); and Goold (Cambridge, MA and London 1977). As the reader will observe, I have been at pains to indicate where the new or revised Loeb edition differs from the old; hence the proliferation of phrases such as "the old Loeb edition," "the new Loeb

edition" (where the two editions go their separate ways), and "the Loeb translation" and "the Loeb edition" (where there are no differences between the new and the old). In the case of each passage discussed, I cite the text according to the revised Loeb edition, which is the best text currently available in print.

Finally, before coming to my notes on individual passages, I must say something on the question of authenticity in the *Heroides*. Much has been written on this subject over the years (see the bibliography provided by Dörrie in his edition), and much of what has been written has the validity of objective statement, with which no one can quarrel: it is, for example, fact that the double epistles contain locutions exampled nowhere else in Ovid, and it is fact that the passages 16. 39–144 and 21. 145–248 are not found before the Parma edition of 1477. In the end of the day, however, the objective invariably gives way to the subjective, and final decisions about authenticity are based on nothing firmer than the instinct and intuition of each individual scholar. In *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979) 394–431, there appeared a splendid paper by E. J. Kenney entitled "Two Disputed Passages in the *Heroides*," and I am happy to say that I find myself in complete agreement with Kenney's main conclusion, which is that the two passages mentioned above, and indeed the double epistles as a whole, are the work of P. Ovidius Naso. I have myself read the disputed texts repeatedly with the question of authenticity in the forefront of my mind, and always have found myself ending with a reinforced conviction that this is the genuine article. Quite simply, I cannot believe in the existence of a second, unknown Ovid who was fully as consummate an artist as the first, known one. In the light of this conviction I approach the disputed texts with the same critical attitudes that I bring to bear on the undisputed, and apply the yardstick of Ovidian usage universally throughout the twenty-one epistles.

1. 3–4

> Troia iacet certe, Danais inuisa puellis;
> uix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit.

Variation in the punctuation of the hexameter apart (Palmer, for instance, has no comma, while Dörrie places one after *iacet*, not after *certe*), this is how the couplet has stood for centuries, but not without some reservations on the part of critics. Burman, for example, had jibbed at *certe* (which, if right, would surely be less ambiguously placed at the start of the line?), for which he suggested *per te*, and before him Heinsius had written: "Ut tamdiu absis nimirum. Frustra igitur se exercent hoc in loco viri eruditi. Fuit cum et ego versum unum alterumque excidisse suspicarer, sed nullus excidit." The word *nimirum* in Heinsius' first sentence is to my mind rather nervously brusque, for there is in these verses no hint of *ut tamdiu absis*. What they appear to be saying is, "Troy has fallen: the whole of Troy was hardly worth it," and one is then entitled to ask, "Worth what?" Now

approach the verses from another angle, and consider the sentiment, "Troy
has fallen: Priam was scarcely worth it." What kind of sense is this? Add
then the adjective *tota*, attached as it is to the second occurrence of *Troia* but
not the first, and enquire what may be its point. Unless I am very much
mistaken, there is a deep corruption in the hexameter, and a lesser one in the
pentameter, and the sense called for here may be expressed in the following
words (for which various alternatives no doubt might be canvassed):

> ut mora nectatur (*or* sic fieret) Danais inuisa puellis,
> uix Priamus tanti uictaque Troia fuit.

1. 13–14

> in te fingebam uiolentos Troas ituros;
> nomine in Hectoreo pallida semper eram.

Another poet might operate differently, but I cannot believe that if Ovid had
written *in te* and *nomine in Hectoreo* he would have intended *in* to have a
different function in the two phrases; but so it must, for *te* is accusative in
the hexameter, and *in* accordingly seems to be governing now the
accusative, now the ablative. This is clumsy writing, I suggest, and the
attractions of *et* for *in* in the pentameter I find compelling. Now back to the
hexameter, which is, if anything, still more clumsy, with *uiolentos*, surely
almost adequate in itself to explain *in te*, followed almost immediately by
the almost superfluous *ituros*. Could even a juvenile Ovid ever have written
so feeble a line? Unless something now very remote lies concealed here,
there may be something to be said for:

> in te fingebam uiolenter Troas ituros,

or, alternatively:

> in te fingebam Troas uiolenter ituros.

It is pertinent to note that Planudes has βιαίως.

2. 9–10

> spes quoque lenta fuit; tarde, quae credita laedunt,
> credimus. inuita nunc es amante nocens.

In the hexameter I would much prefer *fugit* for *fuit*, and then either *lenta . . .*
lente or *tarda . . . tarde*. In the pentameter *es . . . nocens* is no doubt
possible (for exemplification of the so-called periphrastic conjugation see
K.–S. I 159, where Lucr. 3. 396 *est coercens* and Ov. *Her.* 18. 55 *nox erat*
incipiens are cited), but *inuita* I should say was quite the wrong word for
Phyllis to be made to use: of course she does not "will" Demophoon's ill-
usage. Perhaps:

> . . . inuicto nunc es amore nocens,

or, as I should myself prefer:

> . . . inuicto nunc in amore noces.

2. 35–36

> per mare, quod totum uentis agitatur et undis,
> per quod nempe ieras, per quod iturus eras.

Nempe is Bentley's conjecture for the manuscripts' *saepe*, which is manifestly wrong since Demophoon had travelled that way but once before; but I have to say that I do not see the force here of *nempe*, which is only tolerable if toned down in translation to something like "over which you had indeed sailed" (so G. P. Goold in the revised Loeb ed.); but did the assertion that Demophoon had come from Troy to Thrace in fact need confirmation or strengthening? It is notorious that *nempe* is often corrupted to *saepe*, but this is not, I think, one of the cases where that corruption has happened. Let me propose, then, for consideration the form of words:

> per quod ut ante ieras rursus iturus eras.

2. 61–62

> speraui melius, quia me meruisse putaui;
> quaecumque ex merito spes uenit, aequa uenit.

" . . . the hope—whatever it be—that is grounded in desert, is just" (so Showerman). Yes, that is doubtless a true sentiment, but is it Phyllis' sentiment? Is not the point here that her hope, while abundantly justified (as she sees it), was justifiably abundant? I fancy that Ovid here wrote, not *aequa*, but *ampla*.

2. 85–86

> exitus acta probat." careat successibus, opto,
> quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

I should like to think that Ovid wrote either *probat . . . probanda* or *notat . . . notanda*.

2. 91–92

> illa meis oculis species abeuntis inhaeret,
> cum premeret portus classis itura meos.

And where, one may ask, was Demophoon's fleet in the period preceding its imminent departure if not (somewhere) in the area of Phyllis' harbour? There would be far more point in a pentameter which read:

> cum fremeret portu classis itura meo.

2. 105–12

> iamque tibi excidimus, nullam, puto, Phyllida nosti.   105
>   ei mihi! si, quae sim Phyllis et unde, rogas—
> quae tibi, Demophoon, longis erroribus acto
>   Threicios portus hospitiumque dedi,
> cuius opes auxere meae, cui diues egenti
>   munera multa dedi, multa datura fui;   110
> quae tibi subieci latissima regna Lycurgi,
>   nomine femineo uix satis apta regi, . . .

It may be that there is no problem here, but it is noteworthy that as the lines stand at present, *quae* in 107 and 111 refers to Phyllis, but *cuius* and *cui* in 109 to Demophoon, and such an oscillation I should have said was clumsy (and, to the extent of the three words *cuius opes auxere*, misleading). I accordingly propose:

> cuius opes auxere tuas, quae diues egenti . . . ,

a form of words which keeps the focus firmly on Phyllis.

2. 113–18

> qua patet umbrosum Rhodope glacialis ad Haemum,
>   et sacer admissas exigit Hebrus aquas,
> cui mea uirginitas auibus libata sinistris   115
>   castaque fallaci zona recincta manu!
> pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululauit in illis,
>   et cecinit maestum deuia carmen auis; . . .

Lines 113–14 were pronounced suspect by Sedlmayer, but in truth there is nothing un-Ovidian about them, nor are they in any way to blame except perhaps for their irrelevance; let them, therefore, be regarded, or even punctuated, as a parenthesis. With 115 I return to the previous note, and come to the main point of this one; for those who object to *tuas* and *quae* in 109 are sure to claim support in the *cui* of 115, which must refer to Demophoon. Must, that is, if it is right, for I fancy I discern a broken connexion between 115–16 and 117–18, and would suggest *cum* for *cui* in 115 to repair that break; but even if *cui* is right, it does not stand on a par with the pronouns of 109, being separated indeed from the previous sequence by the topographical parenthesis introduced by *qua*.

2. 145–46

> inscribere meo causa inuidiosa sepulcro.
>   aut hoc aut simili carmine notus eris.

The parataxis of these clauses is arguably jagged, and the coupling of *aut . . . aut* ("either . . . or") a shade too emphatic. Perhaps *atque hoc*?

3. 1

> Quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera uenit, . . .

Rapta is factually untrue, except with reference to Briseis' original capture at Lyrnesus, which is surely irrelevant here, where her present position in the Greek camp is what matters. The heralds came to Achilles and asked for her (7), and her complaint is that she was given up (7 *tradita*, 10 and 21 *data*) without a fuss. Although in 99 Briseis is made to say that she did not behave as Achilles' wife, there are a number of places in the poem (5–6, 37, 52, 101) where she views herself, or presents herself as viewed, as *coniunx* or *domina* to Achilles as *uir*. Much more apt than *rapta*, therefore, would be *pacta*, referring (it may be) as much to her quasi-matrimonial status as to the allocation of prisoners which had brought her to Achilles in the first place.

3. 3–4

> quascumque adspicies, lacrimae fecere lituras;
> sed tamen et lacrimae pondera uocis habent.

Sed tamen is very heavy. Perhaps *sic tamen*?

3. 13–14

> differri potui; poenae mora grata fuisset.
> ei mihi! discedens oscula nulla dedi.

If Briseis gave no kisses on her departure, that is her fault, and she has no one to blame but herself. *Ei mihi*, however, suggests rather that she was blameless in this respect, and so she would be if the original read, not *dedi*, but *tuli*.

3. 17–18

> saepe ego decepto uolui custode reuerti,
> sed, me qui timidam prenderet, hostis erat.

Is there not something of a contradiction between the hexameter and the pentameter? If Briseis "wanted" to trick the guard and return, she was hardly "timid," and I consequently find it impossible to believe that Ovid wrote *timidam*. What he did write, I know not, but it could have been *refugam*. *Timebam* in line 19 lends no support to *timidam*—though it may well explain its genesis—for capture by the Trojans outside the camp would be a quite different matter from being apprehended while sneaking from one Greek tent to another.

3. 29–33

> Laertaque satus, per quos comitata redirem
> (auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces)   30
> uiginti fuluos operoso ex aere lebetas,

> et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares;
> addita sunt illis auri bis quinque talenta, . . .

In 30 most of the manuscripts (including the Puteaneus) have *blandas . . . preces*, and that is what the sense calls for, since it is gifts that enhance entreaties rather than the other way around. The problem then presents itself in stark terms: on that interpretation of 30 the phrase *grandia dona* is in the nominative, but the particularised gifts of 31–32 are in the accusative. In the new Loeb I have to say that I find a breakdown of syntax between 29 and 31, which the parenthesising of 30 does nothing to remedy; nor indeed is this parenthesis to my mind at all credible. Various conjectures designed to deal with this problem may be found in Burman's edition and in that by Palmer, but the only one of these which I wish to explore is Madvig's:

> auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces,
> uiginti fului operoso ex aere lebetes
> et tripodes . . .

Lebetes and *tripodes* are indeed found in manuscripts, as Heinsius had noted, and the new departure, unfortunately in the direction of a metrical solecism not to be attributed to Ovid, comes in the introduction of *fului* for *fuluos*. A brave attempt, and wrong, but suggestive of what may be right, and that is:

> uiginti fuluo pretiosi ex aere lebetes.

This is, I must add, no more than a variation on an earlier idea by Palmer:

> uiginti fului pretioso ex aere lebetes,

which I have no recollection of registering before I came to my own conclusion.

3. 93–94

> res audita mihi, nota est tibi. fratribus orba
> deuouit nati spemque caputque parens.

Is this indeed the way of it, that Briseis had heard the story of Meleager—which Homer in *Iliad* 9 has Phoenix narrate to Achilles—while Achilles knows of it? Quite what the distinction is between *audita* and *nota* in this passage, I am not clear, but, whatever it is, I should have thought that the natural sequence was:

> res audita tibi, nota est mihi,

the Asiatic Briseis' knowledge of a Peloponnesian tale presumably coming to her via Achilles.

3. 97–98

> sola uirum coniunx flexit. felicior illa!
> at mea pro nullo pondere uerba cadunt.

Madvig's *pro*! (recorded by Goold), in which he had been preceded by Gruter,
is best forgotten, but the diagnosis which led up to it should be
remembered, and acted on. Daniel Heinsius' comment was: "Sane nec
Latinum est, nec sensum explet," and while Nicolaus worked diligently to
accumulate evidence against his father's contention, *pro* remains a problem.
My suggestion is:

> at mea non ullo pondere uerba cadunt,

in which case it may be that *pro* was interpolated to mend the metre after
non ullo had been closed up to *nullo*. Not dissimilarly, perhaps, at *Tristia*
3. 2. 24 Ovid might, I think, have written *ianua non ullo tempore aperta
fuit*, where the manuscripts have *sed nullo* or *sub nullo*, but Housman's
learned defence of *sub* (*Classical Papers* [Cambridge 1972] III 1274) should
act as a deterrent to conjectural intervention.

3. 103–04

> per tamen ossa uiri subito male tecta sepulcro,
> semper iudiciis ossa uerenda meis; . . .

"Bones ever to be held sacred in my eyes" (so Showerman) is inoffensive
enough, but Briseis is talking about the bones of her husband, slain in war,
and *iudiciis . . . meis* properly means something like "in my opinion" (so
Shuckburgh), a totally heartless expression in so poignant a remembrance.
I do not know what Ovid wrote here, but two possibilities readily suggest
themselves in the shape of:

> semper ab (*or* in) officiis ossa uerenda meis,

and:

> semper cum lacrimis ossa uerenda meis.

4. 7–8

> ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit
> lingua, ter in primo restitit ore sonus.

The first two occurrences here of *ter* relate to *lingua*, but the third, according
to the manuscripts, accompanies another noun altogether, and that, I
submit, is not elegant. Perhaps the pentameter should read:

> lingua, ter in primo restitit orsa sono.

4. 9–10

> qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amori;
> dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor.

Nobody, I suspect, is entirely happy with *et sequitur*, and such a translation
as "Wherever modesty may attend on love, love should not lack in it" (so
Showerman), while it sounds very well, does not really meet the needs of
this case: with Phaedra, *pudor* is opposed to *amor*, and while it must
perforce be conjoined with love, it is not so obliging as to "follow" love.
What Phaedra was ashamed to say, love has bidden her write, and, "as far as
possible," shame must be made to come to terms with love. How is this
possible? Lines 7 and 8 had told us that her tongue had ceased to function,
and achievement of the fusion of *pudor* with *amor* is only possible without
a tongue, without speech, on the silent page. No one word springs to mind
as the mot juste, so let me simply suggest various possibilities: *elingui*
(not otherwise found in Ovid, I know), *et mutae*, *et tacitae*, *hoc scripto*, or
even *absque sono*.

4. 15–16

> adsit et, ut nostras auido fouet igne medullas,
> figat sic animos in mea uota tuos!

As the sequel shows, Phaedra has been burned and wounded by love, yet the
action of *fouet*, I should have said, was a gentle one, and one, moreover, at
variance with the adjective *auido*. Better suited to conveying the sense
required here would be *domat*.

4. 81–82

> seu lentum ualido torques hastile lacerto,
> ora ferox in se uersa lacertus habet.

"*Ferox* applied to *lacertus* is in itself strange, and coming so soon after
ferocis in ver. 79 is offensive. Heinsius proposes with inferior MSS. to
read *fugacis* there. I should prefer to strike out ver. 81, 82, or 82, 83, for
there is no real distinction between *hastilia* and *uenabula*." So Palmer, here,
as often, both right and wrong: wrong about the need for deletion; right
about the strangeness of the adjective *ferox*. Perhaps *sequax*, with
something of the force of *lentus*, as Leander (19. 48) has *lenta bracchia*; see
also Purser's note on 19. 12.

4. 85–86

> tu modo duritiam siluis depone iugosis;
> non sum militia digna perire tua.

Militia is Palmer's conjecture for the manuscripts' *materia*, which Heinsius
("Non sum digna, quae peream te praebente ac suppeditante caussam &

materiam mortis. eleganter & Latine dictum.") and Burman ("Locus hic obscurior, & quidquid adferant interpretes, non efficient, ut *perire alicujus materia*, sit, caussa alicujus. *Materies* hominis vero eleganter dicitur, indoles, & ingenium ejus . . .") were vainly at pains to vindicate. Tanaquil Faber had earlier hit on the expedient of writing *duritia* in the pentameter (for which he earned Heinsius' incredulous censure), but he seems to have missed the opportunity of completing the emendation by, conversely, writing *materiam* in the hexameter. All that has happened here is that metrically equivalent words, set at the same point in consecutive lines, have exchanged places and terminations.

4. 87–88

> quid iuuat incinctae studia exercere Dianae,
>   et Veneri numeros eripuisse suos?

Not *numeros*, surely, but *neruos*?

4. 91–92

> arcus—et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae—
>   si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.

It is all very well for modern editors to introduce marks of parenthesis, as is the case here, but I cannot bring myself to believe that in antiquity the sequence *arcus et arma* . . . would have been understood otherwise than as "the bow and weapons . . . ," in other words, as a double subject, when what follows shows clearly that while *arma* governs one verb, *arcus* governs another. Heinsius, not surprisingly, disliked *et*, and proposed replacing it with *ut*; but I am not sure that this expedient makes it clear that *arcus* and *arma* are shortly to move away from one another to different verbs. Perhaps *ita*?

4. 93–96

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

Cephalus (so the manuscripts here tell us) was a great hunter, but yet he did not do a bad thing in letting Aurora love him. That, perhaps, is one interpretation of the pentameter, and it holds out to Hippolytus an example of cynical self-interest. Surely that could not be what Ovid intended? Palmer, following a different approach, understood *male* to mean "reluctantly," and that would give the sense: "but yet he did not reluctantly give himself to Aurora to love." But Hippolytus has not given himself to Phaedra to love at all. And when all is said and done, these interpretations, and any variations on them that might be devised, lay an almost verbal force

on *male*, while leaving *praebebat* as a colourless irrelevance after the opening *nec tamen*. If *nec tamen* is to have any particular force in this line, what is needed, I suggest, is not *praebebat*, but *prohibebat*; and if that is right, *amandum* will have to be changed to *amari*.

5. 15–16

> saepe super stramen faenoque iacentibus alto
> defensa est humili cana pruina casa.

Why the change of construction in the hexameter? Was there anything to be gained by not writing *faenumque . . . altum*?

5. 35–36

> qua (*sc.* die) Venus et Iuno sumptisque decentior armis
> uenit in arbitrium nuda Minerua tuum.

These lines are translated as follows by Showerman: "when Venus and Juno, and unadorned Minerva, more comely had she borne her arms, appeared before you to be judged." If Minerva really was "more comely" in full armour, why was she such a fool as to appear in the nude before Paris? Or why did she not insist on appearing in full armour-plating, if that was what made her "more comely"? I find it hard to believe that *sumptis* is right, when *positis* would restore some common sense to these lines.

5. 109–12

> tu leuior foliis, tum cum sine pondere suci
> mobilibus uentis arida facta uolant;
> et minus est in te quam summa pondus arista,
> quae leuis adsiduis solibus usta riget.

The ear of corn has already by implication in 111 been described as light-weight, and *quae leuis* in 112 accordingly seems pointless. Add also that *riget* is perhaps not the most appropriate verb to use of *arista*. I suspect that what Ovid wrote in the pentameter was:

> cui leuis adsiduis solibus hasta riget.

6. 93–96

> et quae nescierim melius. male quaeritur herbis
> moribus et forma conciliandus amor.
> hanc potes amplecti thalamoque relictus in uno
> inpauidus somno nocte silente frui?

In this conformation of the text, the first clause of 93 forms an appendix to the catalogue of Medea's fell deeds previously mentioned; then follows a generalised statement about winning love by herbs, not by character and by looks, which is only by implication to be referred to Medea. Somehow this is a rather uncoordinated couplet, in part retrospective, in part unrelated,

except by implication, to what follows. Making use of the variant *quod* for *quae* in 93, let me propose, at least as food for thought, this form of words:

> huic, quod nescierim melius, male quaeritur herbis,
> moribus et forma conciliandus, amor.

The love of 93–94 now being clearly described as Medea's, the next couplet comes in much more smoothly, and proceeds unobjectionably as far as *somno*, which stands in jarring juxtaposition to *nocte*. Why not therefore *inpauidus somni*, a construction for which Silius (7. 128) provides exemplification?

6. 115–16

> Bacchus auus; Bacchi coniunx redimita corona
> praeradiat stellis signa minora suis.

Perhaps *signis . . . suis*, or *signo . . . suo*?

7. 33–34

> aut ego, quae coepi, (neque enim dedignor) amorem,
> materiam curae praebeat ille meae!

The trouble with this form of words (in which *amorem* is Madvig's conjecture for the manuscripts' *amare*) is that the couplet changes direction spectacularly in the pentameter, where a new subject, *ille*, takes over from *ego*, which no candid reader would say he did not expect to continue into the next line. Nor is this problem at all alleviated by punctuating after *aut* rather than after *ego*. The older editors opted for:

> aut ego, quem coepi (neque enim dedignor) amare,

approved by Ciofanus and Heinsius, and retained, against his better judgement, it seems, by Burman ("Nondum tamen video sensum, cum suspensa sit oratio."), but this version is open to the same strictures as the other, punctuate the hexameter how you will. The difficulty, to be precise, consists primarily in the position of *ego*, and some means of indicating that it belongs firmly to a clause subordinate to that of the pentameter needs to be found. Would that means be found, I wonder, if we were to write:

> aut, ut ego hunc coepi (neque enim dedignor) amorem?

Hunc for *aut* is given by the Eton MS Bk. 6, 18, and *ut* could obviously have dropped out after *aut*.

7. 75–76

> haec minus ut cures, puero parcatur Iulo!
> te satis est titulum mortis habere meae.

Haec minus ut cures is Housman's conjectural restoration.   Most manuscripts have *nec mihi tu curae*, while others weave variations with *tibi*, *tu*, *sum*, *non*, and *sim* in place of *mihi tu*, with *care*, *parcas*, and *parce* in place of *curae*, and with *parcatur* for *tu curae*. As so often in the *Heroides*, we are faced with a total mess in the transmission. From a Cambridge manuscript E. J. Kenney elicited *nec tibi sim curae*, which in point of sense is adequate, but lacks the emphasis which only *mihi* can give, as it is indeed given in the version preferred by the older editors, *nec mihi parcatur*; but here the repetition of *parcatur* is a little dull. Many manuscripts have *parcas* instead of *curae*, and *mihi non* is available (in the Eton manuscript cited in the previous note, and in Treuirensis bibl. ciu. 1088). Invert *tu*, therefore, let me suggest, and write:

> ut mihi non parcas, puero parcatur Iulo.

For the pentameter to stand, *meae* would have, as Palmer spotted, to be emphatic ("not of the death of Iulus as well"), but alas! the emphasis has already been laid on *te*: it is enough that you (and no one else) should have the credit for my death. Perhaps it might be better to write:

> sat tibi sit titulum mortis habere meae,

where *meae* can bear the emphasis that Palmer envisaged for it.

7. 177–78

> pro meritis et siqua tibi debebimus ultra,
> pro spe coniugii tempora parua peto.

Dido has nearly done now, and hope of marriage is not compatible with learning "the strength to endure my sorrows bravely" (180). Not therefore *pro spe coniugii*, but *non spe coniugii*.

8. 35–36

> cum tibi nubebam, nulli mea taeda nocebat;
> si iungar Pyrrho, tu mihi laesus eris.

Showerman's translation makes my point for me: "When I was wed to you . . . if I wed with Pyrrhus . . ." *Cum tibi nubebam* calls for a corresponding *si nubam Pyrrho*.

8. 89–92

> parua mea sine matre fui, pater arma ferebat,
> et duo cum uiuant, orba duobus eram.
> non tibi blanditias primis, mea mater, in annis
> incerto dictas ore puella tuli.

89: Would anyone say that there was any point in *mea*, which bears no emphasis, nor adds a jot to the sentiment? Better by far would be *etiam*.

91: Precisely the same criticism may be levelled at *mea* in this line
too. I should like to think that Ovid wrote either *male mater*, or *mala
mater*.

92: *Dictas* strikes me as too articulate a verb for the blandishments
which Hermione's "tripping tongue" endeavoured to utter. Perhaps *fictas*?

9. 19–20

> quid nisi notitia est misero quaesita pudori,
> si cumulas turpi facta priora nota?

At *Tristia* 3. 13. 3 (on which see his note) Burman took the opportunity of
correcting *miseros* to *seros*, and I can only express surprise that he did not
propose the same expedient here, where *facta priora* would be neatly
complemented by *serus pudor*.

9. 33–34

> uir mihi semper abest, et coniuge notior hospes,
> monstraque terribiles persequiturque feras.

"My lord is ever absent from me—he is better known to me as guest than
husband—ever pursuing monsters and dreadful beasts." So Showerman. If
that is the sense of the couplet, as it surely is, *ut* would be better than *et*.

9. 41–42

> aucupor infelix incertae murmura famae,
> speque timor dubia spesque timore cadit.

I do not believe that the pentameter, as the manuscripts give it, is logical:
if hope is wavering, it will not bring down fear, nor will wavering fear
bring down hope. Fear will only be brought down by hope if fear is
wavering, and only if hope is wavering will it be brought down by fear.
Logic will be restored if *dubius* is written for *dubia*.

10. 23–24

> et quotiens ego te, totiens locus ipse uocabat.
> ipse locus miserae ferre uolebat opem.

With *locus ipse* first governing *uocabat*, and then, as it seems, on its return
visit forming the subject of *uolebat*, this is not the most elegant of
couplets. I wonder if *uocanti* would improve matters?

10. 37–38

> haec ego; quod uoci deerat, plangore replebam;
> uerbera cum uerbis mixta fuere meis.

Thus punctuated, the hexameter presents no problem, for, as Palmer reminds
us, "the verb is often omitted" after *haec ego*. Quite so, it is indeed omitted;

but not one of the cases he cites by way of illustration is at all ambiguous, whereas here, if there were inept punctuation (as e.g. in Weise's *haec ego, quod uoci deerat, plangore replebam*), or no punctuation at all (as in every ancient manuscript), the reader might well not understand. If, however, Ovid wrote, not *haec*, but *hic* or *hinc*, there would be no problem.

10. 67–70

> non ego te, Crete centum digesta per urbes,
>   adspiciam, puero cognita terra Ioui,
> ut pater et tellus iusto regnata parenti
>   prodita sunt facto, nomina cara, meo.

Terrae has preceded in 61, *terra* in 64, and *tellus* is found in 69; a further occurrence in 68 is not needed, nor indeed does *terra* there add anything to the sense. What would add something to the sense, particularly in the light of *iusto* and *prodita*, would be *fida*: Jove experienced the fidelity of Crete, and Crete has experienced the infidelity of Ariadne.

10. 141–44

> non te per meritum, quoniam male cessit, adoro;
>   debita sit facto gratia nulla meo.
> sed ne poena quidem! si non ego causa salutis,
>   non tamen est, cur sis tu mihi causa necis.

It may be that all is well here, but I find myself slightly disturbed by the lack of balance between the second halves of 143 and 144. Proper balance would, I suggest, be restored if 143 ended:

> . . . tibi non sim ego causa salutis.

11. 1–2

> Siqua tamen caecis errabunt scripta lituris,
>   oblitus a dominae caede libellus erit.

Tamen is very abrupt, and has bothered editors since the time of Micyllus. If it is right, it must, as Palmer suggests, refer "to an implied thought that she was doing all in her power to avoid blots"; but the abruptness remains, and citation of Prop. 4. 3. 3–4, which is after all the second couplet of that poem, serves only to underline the present difficulty. Heinsius ventured a bold reconstruction in the shape of:

> siqua latent caecis errantia scripta lituris,

but neither he nor Burman noticed that this is prosodically solecistic: if *latent* (but might not *manent* have been easier?) . . . *errantia* were right, *scripta* would also have to be changed, and that is going too far, I think. Showerman's translation begins: "If aught of what I write is yet blotted deep and escapes your eye . . . ," and "escapes your eye," while not in the

Latin of the manuscripts, might yet have been in the Latin of the author, if *tamen* stood for an original *tibi*.

11. 107–08

> quid puer admisit tam paucis editus horis?
> quo laesit facto uix bene natus auum?

The phrase *uix bene natus* is peculiar: the child was only a few hours old, and *uix natus*, it is true, but *bene* does not square with the fact of his being "completely" born. Well and truly born he indeed was, but not *uix bene notus*; and it was the fact of his "scarcely being fully known" to his grandfather that enabled Canace to ask these rhetorical questions.

12. 59–60

> ante oculos taurique meos segetesque nefandae,
> ante meos oculos peruigil anguis erat.

Meos in 59 is indeed the reading of most manuscripts, but if it is right, it leaves *tauri* with no adjective, whereas the two other nominatives, *segetes* and *anguis*, are both qualified. This, Heinsius felt, was inelegant writing, and I am sure that he was right to accept *taurique truces* from two Medicean manuscripts. If he was right in so doing, he ought to have taken steps also to remove *meos* from 60. One way in which this may be done is to write:

> ante oculos uigili peruigil anguis erat.

As the snake is sleepless, so is the distraught Medea.

12. 62–64

> mane erat, et thalamo cara recepta soror
> disiectamque comas aduersaque in ora iacentem
> inuenit, et lacrimis omnia plena meis.

Omnia is an extravagant generalisation. Perhaps *stramina*?

12. 97–98

> ipsa ego, quae dederam medicamina, pallida sedi,
> cum uidi subitos arma tenere uiros, . . .

Since *pallida* could refer to *medicamina*, there is, it seems to me, a manifest ambiguity here. Did Ovid, I wonder, write *medicamen*?

12. 111–14

> uirginitas facta est peregrini praeda latronis;
> optima cum cara matre relicta soror.
> at non te fugiens sine me, germane, reliqui!
> deficit hoc uno littera nostra loco.

The verb forms *relicta* (112) and *reliqui* (113) are translated, respectively, as "I have left behind" and "I did . . . leave behind" in the Loeb edition, while Palmer, previously, had rendered *sine me* (113) as "behind me." Why, one may accordingly ask, does *sine me* appear in the one place but not in the other, and is it really necessary at all? Is it not, moreover, an odd way of expressing the idea "behind me"? "Suspectum hoc est & duriter dictum," said Burman of *sine me*; and he was right, I think, so to do. He was not, however, right, I think, in his solution, which was to write:

> at cur non fugiens sic te germane reliqui?

since *sic* is not clear, and a question not necessary. A simpler way out of the difficulty might perhaps be to write:

> at non te fugiens, miser a! germane, reliqui.

12. 143

> turba ruunt et "Hymen," clamant, "Hymenaee!" frequenter.

At *Tristia* 4. 7. 25 *frequenter* does indeed appear at the end of a line, but the tone there is almost colloquial. Here the tone is anything but colloquial, and *frequenter* at the end of this line has for me more than a touch of bathos. The older editors favoured *frequentant* (here in the sense of "ingeminare, repetere," as Burman suggests, and not, it must be added, otherwise attested with this force in Ovid), and if that is right, *clamant* must surely be wrong. Did the original conceivably read:

> turba ruunt et "Hymen" clamore "Hymenaee" frequentant?

12. 155–58

> ire animus mediae suadebat in agmina turbae
>   sertaque compositis demere rapta comis;
> uix me continui, quin dilaniata capillos
>   clamarem "meus est!" iniceremque manus.

Demere is slightly incongruous beside *rapta*, and one may well wonder why the poet did not write *deripuisse*, if that was all that he wished to say. I think that he wished to say more, and propose for consideration *scindere rapta*. It is not, I think, irrelevant that the participle of 157, *dilaniata*, like the participle of 156, *rapta*, is indicative of violent action on Medea's part.

12. 163–64

> serpentis igitur potui taurosque furentes;
>   unum non potui perdomuisse uirum.

At lines 62, 103 and 198 of this poem the serpent is singular; and it would be an absurdly exaggerated flourish for Medea here to be made to multiply

him. *Vnum* in 163 is not an objection, since the sense of that word is "alone." Perhaps one might contemplate:

> ergo serpentem potui taurosque furentes.

12. 185–86

> tam tibi sum supplex, quam tu mihi saepe fuisti,
> nec moror ante tuos procubuisse pedes.

Was Jason "often" a suppliant of Medea, and is she "often" a suppliant of him? Surely he was but once a suppliant, when Aeetes set him those dreadful tasks; and surely she is but once a suppliant, on this occasion, when she writes begging *redde torum* (193)? I cannot help feeling that *nempe* would be right here, as it is on other occasions where the manuscripts conspire in reading *saepe*.

12. 201–02

> aureus ille aries uillo spectabilis alto
> dos mea, quam, dicam si tibi "redde!", neges.

Alto is the reading of a minority of manuscripts, including the Puteaneus, while the majority offers *aureo* or *auro*. It may be that the combination of *aureus* with *alto* is what Ovid intended, but I should have thought that what made the ram *spectabilis* was not the thickness of its fleece but the fact of the fleece being golden. If, therefore, *aureo* were right as the final word of the line, the first word as given by the manuscripts must be wrong; and for *aureus* the obvious word to restore is *Phrixeus*.

12. 203–04

> dos mea tu sospes; dos est mea Graia iuuentus!
> i nunc, Sisyphias, inprobe, confer opes!

"My dowry is yourself—saved; my dowry is the band of Grecian youth!" So the Loeb translation; but we are not told in what sense the "band of Grecian youth" is her dowry. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of *mea* and *Graia* is harsh: the last thing that Medea would want now is to be identified with Greeks! Both of these problems would disappear if the original read:

> dos mea tu sospes, sospes tibi Graia iuuentus.

13. 9–10

> raptus es hinc praeceps, et qui tua uela uocaret,
> quem cuperent nautae, non ego, uentus erat.

"*Vocaret* and *cuperent* in 10 are descriptive subjunctives," says Palmer, inviting us to compare 81 *deceat*; so how then is Showerman able to render 9–10 as: " . . . and the wind that invited forth your sails was one your seamen longed for, not I," where a clear enough distinction is drawn between

the type of the two verbs? Answer: the translator was aware what sense was required, but not aware that what was required in the Latin to convey that sense was one imperfect indicative, *uocabat*, to identify the wind, and one imperfect subjunctive, *cuperent*, to tell us what kind of a wind it was.

13. 37–40

> scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice lanas,
>   bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille geret?
> ipsa comas pectar, galea caput ille premetur?
>   ipsa nouas uestes, dura uir arma feret?

Lanas (37) is the reading of three manuscripts, according to Dörrie, the vast majority having *uestes*, an unwelcome repetition of line 40. Even with *lanas*, however, the contrast between the hexameter and pentameter is not at all exact: there is nothing in common between *geram . . . lanas* and *bella . . . geret* except the repetition of the verb, for the nouns conduct us to quite different types of action. As a mere shot in the dark, let me suggest that behind *lanas*, on which *uestes* is a gloss, stands a further word on which *lanas* is a gloss, namely *telas*, and that behind *bella* stands *tela*. I fancy it was a subconscious recollection of Claudian 18. 273–74 (of the eunuch consul Eutropius) *tu potes alterius studiis haerere Mineruae, / tu telas, non tela, pati*, which prompted this idea. If, as I hope, it is right, this passage will be yet another of many in Ovid which have given inspiration to Claudian.

In line 40 *nouas* is out of keeping with *dura*. Here I am rather inclined to think that the *uestes* were originally *leues*.

13. 71–72

> si cadere Argolico fas est sub milite Troiam,
>   te quoque non ullum uulnus habente cadet.

Cadet appears as a variant reading in Cantab. Trin. 598, and was also proposed conjecturally by Bentley and Madvig; but I see no merit in it. *Cadat*, the majority reading of the manuscripts, on the other hand, is absolutely apt to the required sense: if it is fated that Troy shall fall, let it fall without your being wounded. The new Loeb edition, however, favours *cadet*, and translates as follows: "If it be fated Troy shall fall before the Argive host, it will fall without your taking a single wound!" But where in this translation, I ask, is *quoque*? Palmer makes an attempt to do justice to it ("you, as well as others, being unwounded"), but the attempt is footling: Laodamia is not in the least concerned about others, only about Protesilaus. Of earlier critics, only Francius, so far as I can see, was aware of the problem, but I am not vastly attracted by his two alternative suggestions, *te uoueo nullum*, and *te modo non ullum*, although the first is on the right lines. In *quoque* I fancy I see one of the interpolator's favourite stopgaps, and suggest that the original form of words was:

> te certe nullum uulnus habente cadat.

Compare the note above on 3. 97–98.

14. 31–33

> in thalamos laeti—thalamos, sua busta!—feruntur
>   strataque corporibus funere digna premunt.
> iamque cibo uinoque graues somnoque iacebant, . . .

To my mind the epanalepsis of 31 is rather overdoing things, and I would have expected a somewhat quieter form of words. It may be that nothing more is needed here than to replace the second *thalamos* with one or other of the variants *fratres* and *iuuenes*, but I find myself wondering whether the original might have read:

> in thalamos laeti, iuuenalia busta, feruntur.

In 32 *corporibus* seems oddly otiose, and *strata . . . funere digna* is surely the last phrase to be put in the mouth of Hypermnestra.

> strataque nequaquam funere digna premunt

is what she should be made to say.

14. 59–60

> si manus haec aliquam posset committere caedem,
>   morte foret dominae sanguinolenta suae.

Caede for *morte*?

15. 7–16

> flendus amor meus est—elegiae flebile carmen;
>   non facit ad lacrimas barbitos ulla meas.
> uror, ut indomitis ignem exercentibus Euris
>   fertilis accensis messibus ardet ager.   10
> arua, Phaon, celebras diuersa Typhoidos Aetnae;
>   me calor Aetnaeo non minor igne tenet.
> nec mihi, dispositis quae iungam carmina neruis,
>   proueniunt; uacuae carmina mentis opus.
> nec me Pyrrhiades Methymniadesue puellae,   15
>   nec me Lesbiadum cetera turba iuuant.

In lines 5–6 Phaon is represented as enquiring why Sappho, uncharacteristically, is writing in elegiacs, and the answer he receives is that her love is matter for tears, and for tears the appropriate verse form is the elegiac couplet (7–8). Would someone now explain to me why much the same point is made again five lines further on (13–14), in a context unrelated to the matter of the choice of metre? Not quite the same point, however, since 13–14 seem to be saying that Sappho cannot write lyrics (the formulaic *carmina neruis* refers to that kind of writing) because they

require an untroubled mind. This is a very pedestrian sentiment, and long-winded too, after the concise *flendus amor meus est* of line 7. I am strongly inclined to pronounce it a spurious insertion. If it is genuine, its appropriate place would be after line 8.

15. 21–22

> est in te facies, sunt apti lusibus anni—
>   o facies oculis insidiosa meis!

As it stands, 21 is identical with *Am*. 2. 3. 13, and that is unlike Ovid, whose normal practice is to incorporate variations, however slight they may be. But the 21 of our manuscripts is not, I suggest, the 21 that Ovid left behind him. To be sure, Phaon may well be endowed not only with looks but also youthful years, but line 22 dwells only on the looks, and the years are forgotten. Then there is the absence in the hexameter of anything corresponding to *oculis . . . meis*; and *oculis*, one notes, has appeared four lines earlier. All in all, there is a lack of balance between the hexameter and the pentameter which is somewhat jarring. Let me therefore suggest for consideration the wording:

> est in te facies, in me apti lusibus anni.
>   o facies annis insidiosa meis!

15. 35–38

> candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo
>   Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae.
> et uariis albae iunguntur saepe columbae,
>   et niger a uiridi turtur amatur aue.

In 36 *fusca* completely gives the game away, leaving *patriae . . . colore suae* with very little to add to the sentiment. Rather than *fusca*, what is needed is *picta* or *tincta*, or at all events, a neutral adjective or participle.

In 37 there is no colour contrast with *albae* provided by *uariis*, and if anyone cared to argue that the line originally began *et fuscis albae*, the argument would surely find its supporters. There is more, however, I think, to be said for:

> et rauis albae iunguntur saepe columbae.

15. 39–40

> si, nisi quae facie poterit te digna uideri,
>   nulla futura tua est, nulla futura tua est.

This may be right, but I find the presence of two ablatives, *facie* and *te*, in the hexameter slightly jarring. There is, however, a variant *facies*, from which may be elicited:

> si, nisi cui facies poterit te digna uideri.

15. 45–48

> haec quoque laudabas, omnique a parte placebam—
>   sed tum praecipue, cum fit amoris opus.
> tunc te plus solito lasciuia nostra iuuabat,
>   crebraque mobilitas aptaque uerba ioco, . . .

Phaon praised Sappho's kisses, and she pleased him in every way, but above all when they made love. Then indeed her wantonness pleased him "more than usual"—what, pray, is the sense of "usual" in this context? And when else did her *lasciuia* please him? Is not what is required something like:

> tunc te plus modico lasciuia nostra iuuabat?

15. 113–14

> postquam se dolor inuenit, nec pectora plangi
>   nec puduit scissis exululare comis, . . .

On line 113 Palmer comments: "The bad caesura is decisive that the line is not Ovidian: no example exists of a hexameter with a caesura after the second and fourth arsis, and the first foot a spondaic word"; his own attempt at curing the line, however, is not attractive (*se dolor inuenit postquam*). Perhaps:

> postquam sede dolor uenit, . . .

15. 201–02

> Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae,
>   desinite ad citharas turba uenire mea.

Mea is Housman's conjecture for the manuscripts' *meas*, and for Purser "*mea* introduces real poetry into the line." That is as may be, but I am not happy with Housman's expedient, first because *citharas* seems to me to need the epithet *meas*, and second because of the position of *mea*, coming after, not before, the noun it qualifies. Let me therefore propose another solution, and that is to write:

> Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis, amata,
>   desinite ad citharas, turba, uenire meas.

16. 1–2

> Hanc tibi Priamides mitto, Ledaea, salutem,
>   quae tribui sola te mihi dante potest.

Tribuo for *mitto*?

16. 21–22

> hac duce Sigeo dubias a litore feci
>   longa Phereclea per freta puppe uias.

Theseus' path through the labyrinth was indeed "doubtful" (10. 128), and so was Leander's over the Hellespont (18. 154), but Paris has Venus for his guide, and, as he himself points out in 29, *neque tristis hiemps neque nos huc appulit error*, so how can he here be made to talk of *dubias . . . uias*? At 7. 116 Heinsius and Burman animadvert to the frequency of the confusion of *dubius* with *durus*, but *duras* here would hardly comport with *faciles auras uentosque secundos* of line 23. Did metre and Ovidian usage permit, one might have contemplated *indubias*; that word being impermissible, however, I am inclined to suspect that what Ovid wrote here was *certas*.

16. 31–32

> nec me crede fretum merces portante carina
> findere—quas habeo, di tueantur opes!

If the newly landed Paris has wealth, as the pentameter says he has, he evidently must have arrived with it, and the contrast with the hexameter is greatly weakened. I suggest that what he originally said in the pentameter was:

> . . . quas adeo, di tueantur opes!

with a graceful compliment to the wealth of beauty that he has arrived to find in his promised Helen.

16. 43–44

> matris adhuc utero partu remorante tenebar;
> iam grauidus iusto pondere uenter erat.

Two nouns in the ablative juxtaposed in the hexameter is not at all elegant, and *partum* would, I suggest, be a distinct improvement.

16. 45–46

> illa sibi ingentem uisa est sub imagine somni
> flammiferam pleno reddere uentre facem.

Two attributive adjectives, *ingentem* and *flammiferam*, attached to one noun, *facem*, is not in Ovid's manner, and Palmer's *urgentis*, for all that he did not regard the double epistles as Ovidian, reveals an appreciation of the problem. *Vrgentis* could well be right (as Palmer notes, Heinsius had made a similar correction, of *ingenti* to *urgenti*, in a fragment of Calvus), but I am not convinced that it is appreciably superior to *ingesti*, which I now propose for consideration.

16. 219–20

> hostibus eueniant conuiuia talia nostris,
> experior posito qualia saepe mero.

No doubt *posito* is possible, but *posita . . . mensa* has occurred just three lines before (217), and Menelaus' boorish conduct is better explained if the company has already been drinking. *Poto* for *posito*, therefore?

16. 257–58

> et modo cantabam ueteres resupinus amores,
> et modo per nutum signa tegenda dabam.

I doubt if Helen would have been much pleased by Paris' singing of "old amours," since, as far as the Latin goes, those amours might have been his own! He would have been better advised—as Ovid, I am sure, advised him—to sing *ueterum . . . amores*.

In 258 *legenda*, which he attributes to the "excerpta Gallicana" and as a conjecture to Slichtenhorst, is scouted by Burman with a reference to 17. 82 *tecta signa*. The two cases, however, are only superficially comparable, since "covert signs" may be read, but "signs which should have been kept hidden" betoken at best a very timid passion—and was Helen expected to warm to that?!

16. 261–62

> quae mihi non aliud, quam formidare, locutae
> orantis medias deseruere pruces.

Mihi does not sit comfortably in the proximity of *orantis*, and *formidare* could use a subject. *Se* for *mihi*, therefore?

16. 301–04

> non habuit tempus, quo Cresia regna uideret,
>   aptius—o mira calliditate uirum!
> "res, et ut Idaei mando tibi," dixit iturus,
>   "curam pro nobis hospitis, uxor, agas."

If *calliditate* is right, it must be intended ironically, for, on an objectively factual assessment of Menelaus' conduct, the appropriate word (and form) would be *credulitate*, just as at 312 the word *commoditate* is used of the absent king, and then, in 316, *simplicitate*.

If, as I think possible, 302 has ironic intention, that may I think help us to determine what the original opening dactyl of 303 was. *Esset et, esset ut,* and *iuit et* say the manuscripts, and conjectures abound. The one here printed is by Madvig, and it requires us to believe, if we can, that *mando* has two direct objects, *res* and *ut Idaei curam pro nobis hospitis agas.* Did it never occur to Madvig to consider the demands of style in formulating his conjecture? *Haesit et, risit et, restat ut, cessit et*—the propounders of other conjectures seem determined to add a verb to *dixit iturus* (in the same way as

other scholars support *iuit et*). Let me propose a different solution. If *calliditate* is right, the next couplet might aptly begin:

> scilicet "Idaei mando tibi" dixit iturus.

17. 195–98

> tu quoque dilectam multos, infide, per annos
>   diceris Oenonen destituisse tuam.
> nec tamen ipse negas; et nobis omnia de te
>   quaerere, si nescis, maxima cura fuit.

All that Paris had said in his letter (16. 95 ff.) was that he had been sought after by many women, among whom he had admired Oenone the most; he was economical enough with the truth not to say that he had loved and left her. *Nec tamen ipse negas* thus seems to be at variance with what Paris himself has told Helen. Her enquiries in this respect, moreover, would appear to have been time wasted, if he had already confessed to her that he had betrayed Oenone. More apt to the sense required would be:

> ne tamen ipse neges, et nobis omnia de te ...

18. 3–5

> si mihi di faciles, si sunt in amore secundi,
>   inuitis oculis haec mea uerba leges.
> sed non sunt faciles ...

With Palmer's *si* (in the second place, for the manuscripts' *et*, *ut*, *uel*, *qui*, and *tibi*), we are almost home and dry; but *sunt* is wrong, as line 5 makes clear, and it is necessary to adopt *sint* from a number of manuscripts.

19. 1–2

> Quam mihi misisti uerbis, Leandre, salutem
>   ut possim missam rebus habere, ueni!

Missam is no more than an empty verbal flourish, and it is unsurprising that Showerman's translation ignores it altogether. "That I may enjoy in very truth the greeting . . ." is how that translation runs, and for it to have a properly corresponding form of words in the Latin, *missam* should give place to *ueram* or *plenam*.

19. 115–16

> o utinam uenias, aut ut uentusue paterue
>   causaque sit certe femina nulla morae.

Purser and Palmer combine here to produce a lengthy note speculating on the possibility, or impossibility, of *ut* here having the sense of *utinam*; and the possibility is tacitly given reality by Showerman's translation (" . . . or did I only know that . . ."); the usage, however, remains dubious, and I for

one do not believe that Ovid would have contemplated it. What to do then?
Dispose of *ut*, for a start, and after that do something about the ungainly
sequence *-que . . . certe . . . nulla*. The required form of words might
perhaps be this:

> o utinam uenias, aut sit uentusue paterue
> causa, sed incertae femina nulla morae.

Since writing these words, I have seen a very recent paper by W. S. Watt
entitled "Notes on Ovid, *Heroides*," which came out in *RIFC* 117 (1989)
62–68. On p. 67 of that paper Watt proposes to read *ferus aut* (that at all
events is what his wording leads me to suppose, but did he not rather intend
ferus ut?), but I am not taken with his suggestion that the hexameter has
lost "an adjective ending in *-us*."

19. 121–22

> me miseram! quanto planguntur litora fluctu,
> et latet obscura condita nube dies!

Et is a stylistic disaster, nor is Heinsius' tentative *ut* much better. Listen to
Showerman's translation, and spot the difference between it and the Latin
text as transmitted: "Ah, wretched me! with what great waves the shores are
beaten, and what dark clouds envelop and hide the day!" Precisely; and what
is needed in the pentameter here is:

> quam latet obscura condita nube dies!

19. 197–98

> stamina de digitis cecidere sopore remissis,
> collaque puluino nostra ferenda dedi.

Nostra is utterly pointless: of course it was her own head that Hero laid on
the pillow. Far better would be *lassa* or *fessa*.

20. 15–18

> quique fuit numquam paruus, nunc tempore longo,
> et spe, quam dederas tu mihi, creuit amor.
> spem mihi tu dederas, meus hic tibi credidit ardor.
> non potes hoc factum teste negare dea.

Hic (17) is left untranslated in the Loeb edition, nor do I see what particular
point the pronominal adjective would have here (the adverb, I take it, would
be no less pointless). Perhaps *hinc*, which would have some point: you
gave me hope, and because of that "my ardent heart put trust in you."

20. 55–58

> tu facis hoc oculique tui, quibus ignea cedunt
>   sidera, qui flammae causa fuere meae;
> hoc faciunt flaui crines et eburnea ceruix,
>   quaeque, precor, ueniant in mea colla manus.

Tu facis does not seem in place in a context where Acontius' audacity (represented by the *hoc* of 55 and 57) is described as prompted by a variety of physical attributes possessed by Cydippe. Perhaps 55 originally began:

> hoc facies oculique tui . . . ,

with *facies* picking up *facie* of 54, and *hoc* looking forward to *hoc faciunt* of 57.

20. 89–90

> ipsa tibi dices, ubi uideris omnia ferri:
>   "tam bene qui seruit, seruiat iste mihi!"

Most manuscripts have *iste*; one or two have *ille* or *ipse*, with which *iste* is often enough confused; and all three pronouns alike are totally superfluous to the sense of the pentameter. Something would be added to the sense if what Ovid in fact wrote was *usque*.

20. 161–62

> hic metuit mendax, haec et periura uocari;
>   an dubitas, hic sit maior an ille metus?

The only consideration which makes me wonder about the authenticity of this form of words, in which *metuit* is neatly complemented by *metus*, is the fact that in the context (160, 164) there is a pairing of *haec* (Cydippe) and *ille* (her father), whereas here we have *haec* and *hic*. It seems that the Puteaneus (before correction) had *ille timet*, and this opening is given also by a couple of later manuscripts, according to Dörrie. If *ille timet* is right at the start of the couplet, then *metus* at the end should be replaced by *timor*. Should anyone then be troubled by a further appearance of *timor* in 166, there is a variant, *metus*, available for adoption in that line.

20. 177–78

> quem si reppuleris, nec, quem dea damnat, amaris,
>   tu tunc continuo, certe ego saluus ero.

The pentameter was thus translated by the old Loeb edition: "Then straightway you—and I assuredly—will be whole." The reader may well wonder what the force is of that "assuredly." The new Loeb edition, while retaining the Latin wording of the old, offers a different translation: "Then straightway, thanks to you my welfare will be secure." The reader may well wonder where "thanks to you" is in the Latin and what has become of *certe*,

now not translated at all. If *certe ego* is right, it surely implies a contrast with *tu*, and that contrast might perhaps best be represented by:

> fors tu continuo, certe ego saluus ero.

Let it be noted that *fors* as an adverb is not found elsewhere in Ovid, and, while occurring a few times in epic, makes only one appearance in Propertius (2. 9. 1) but none in Tibullus.

20. 185–86

> nil opus est istis; tantum periuria uita
> teque simul serua meque datamque fidem!

You need not have recourse to such treatments as steel and fire and bitter juices, Acontius assures Cydippe; "only shun false oaths, preserve the pledge you have given—and so yourself, and me!" (such is Showerman's translation, retained by Goold). In the pentameter as transmitted, however, we have no less than three instances of *-que*, and the first of these has disappeared altogether from the translation, which also arranges the three objects in an order different from that of the Latin. What the Latin should, I suggest, be saying, but is not now saying, is: "simply avoid perjury, and you will save . . . ," and that requires *seruabis*. What will Cydippe then save? Surely herself, in the first instance, and the pledge she gave. The Latin now reforms itself to read:

> seruabisque simul teque datamque fidem.

I do not doubt that the devoted Acontius would be unconcerned at his not being mentioned in this line.

20. 189–92

> admonita es modo uoce mea cum casibus istis,
> quos, quotiens temptas fallere, ferre soles.
> his quoque uitatis in partu nempe rogabis,
> ut tibi luciferas adferat illa manus?

Cum is Housman's conjecture for *modo* of the manuscripts, but is there really anything amiss here with *modo . . . modo*? The admonition which Cydippe receives comes now from Acontius' lips, now from the frequent setbacks to her health that beset her. In 191, however, I see no point whatsoever in *quoque*, and some form of contrast with *in partu* would be welcome. I suggest:

> his nunc uitatis, in partu nempe rogabis, . . .

20. 197–201

> non agitur de me; cura maiore laboro.
> anxia sunt causa pectora nostra tua.
> cur modo te dubiam pauidi fleuere parentes,

> ignaros culpae quos facis esse tuae?
> et cur ignorent? . . .

Cur in 199 is just not credible. The answer to the question, "Why did your parents weep for you when you were poised between life and death?" is immediate, and obvious: because they were her parents, and concerned about her, and that makes the question a very silly one to ask. Sense will be restored to 199 if it begins: *quin modo . . .* , and the question mark is removed at the end of 200.

20. 235–36

> quod si contigerit, cum iam data signa sonabunt,
> tinctaque uotiuo sanguine Delos erit , . . .

For the second half of 235 the Loeb translation offers "when the sounding signals will be given," which does not offend. Follow the Latin more closely, however, translating "when the given signals will sound," and offence will surely be taken at the purposeless "given." I think that the original had *rata signa*, a phrase for which Ovid had something of a liking, employing it also at *Met.* 14. 818 and *Ep.* 15. 90.

21. 7–8

> omnia cum faciam, cum dem pia tura Dianae,
> illa tamen iusta plus tibi parte fauet.

"Though I do everything" (so Showerman) is a very flabby thing for Cydippe to be made to say; and when she is then made to add, "though I offer duteous incense to Diana," "everything" does not seem to amount to very much at all. She would be saying something entirely pertinent if her words originally ran:

> uni cum faciam, cum dem pia tura Dianae, . . .

21. 33–34

> haec nobis formae te laudatore superbae
> contingit merces? et placuisse nocet?

Haec . . . formae te laudatore superbae . . . merces is a strangely overladen subject phrase. Perhaps *superbis*?

21. 163–66

> cum tetigit limen, lacrimas mortisque timorem
> cernit et a cultu multa remota suo,
> proicit ipse sua deductas fronte coronas,
> spissaque de nitidis terget amoma comis.

The main clause, so the Loeb translation assumes, begins with *proicit*, but this assumption involves supplying "and" between the first and the second clause of 163: "When he has touched the threshold, *and* (my italics) sees tears and dread of death . . ." The simplest way that I can see of confining 163–64 in subordination to 165–66 is to begin:

> cum tetigit limen, lacrimasque necisque timorem . . .

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5

A Sallustian Echo in Tacitus

BARRY BALDWIN

"Even a slight modification in the form of a familiar term may lack parallel.
Nobody else thought of varying 'bella civilia' with 'bella civium.' That
being so, it may not be fanciful to suppose that some of the unusual
expressions that emerge for the first time in Tacitus, and seldom or never
again, might be of his own creation. He conjures up these striking
locutions when an especial emphasis is required: for example, Nero is
labelled as 'incredibilium cupitor.' When such turns occur (especially in
character sketches or obituary notices) they suggest Sallust, himself the
great 'novator verborum.'"

Thus Syme,[1] writing on the style of the *Annals*. In a footnote to this
passage, he glosses *cupitor* by observing that "the word has been employed
effectively" in *Ann.* 12. 7. 2, *repertus est unus talis matrimonii cupitor*.
On this latter case, Furneaux remarked with singular inaccuracy that the
noun (outside Tacitus) could only be found once in Apuleius (giving no
reference).

Oddly enough, Syme did not notice, either here or in his subsequent
(728–32) appendix on Sallustian language in Tacitus, what was surely the
inspiration for *incredibilium cupitor*, namely Sallust's description (*Cat.* 5.
5) of Catiline with its culminating *vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia,
nimis alta semper cupiebat*. Tacitus here both varies and echoes his model
in a recognisable way, achieving novelty and compression by use of *cupitor*,
either his own coinage or a rarity he had unearthed somewhere (the *Historiae*
of Sallust might be a fair bet). This conclusion accords with Syme's
general doctrine on the subtle technique of Tacitean use of Sallust in the
Annals.

Elsewhere (723), Syme includes *cupitor* in a list of nouns ending in *-or*
in the *Annals* which he claims "recur in writers of late antiquity." This is
misleading to the point of error.[2] True, two late writers do employ the
term, namely Martianus Capella 6. 589 and (more to the point) the
anonymous composer of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, who (45. 5)

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[1] R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) I 342.

[2] For the statistics that follow, I draw on the *TLL* (4. 1435) and the *Index Apuleianus* of W.
A. Oldfather and others (Middletown, CT 1934) 97.

stigmatises the emperor Valentinian as *infectus vitiis maximeque avaritiae*; *cuius cupitor ipse fuit acer . . .* This may establish the author (or his source) as both word fancier and devotee of Tacitus. But the writer most addicted to *cupitor* was Apuleius, hardly a representative of late antiquity. Some might infer a touch of *Africitas* from this. At all events, Apuleius has the word at *Met*. 3. 19 and 7. 11, at *Fl*. 17. 8, and at *Pl*. 2. 2. 11 and (accepting[3] Thomas' emendation for the mss. *cupidior*) also *Pl*. 2. 18. 16.

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[3] The *Index Apuleianus* adduces the passage without qualms; in the *TLL* (which provides the bibliographical reference to Thomas), it is left open.

6

Paralipomena Lexicographica
Cyranidea*

GEORGE PANAYIOTOU

The *Cyranides*[1] (referred to hereafter as Cyran.), from which the last word of the title of the present article derives, is a curious *farrago* of ancient medico-magical lore in Greek. It consists of six books or divisions of unequal length and is a work of considerable antiquity; according to both the compilers of *LSJ* (*LSJ Suppl.* vii) and those of the *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*[2] the work is dated to the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. It is a manual containing, *inter alia*, information on the various properties of herbs, plants, land animals, fishes, birds and stones as well as medico-magical recipes utilizing those properties. In terms of content, cultural aspects and "sciences" involved, the components of Cyran. are diverse and quite often incongruous: mythology, sciences of the occult (astrology, divination and magic), folklore, mineralogy, medicine, botany, and zoology including ichthyology and ornithology. The tone varies immensely, ranging from solemn, pious and mystic to didactic, scholarly, quasi-scientific, to facetious, humorous and frivolous. The work is in prose with an admixture of a few verse passages in dactylic hexameter and iambic trimeter; neither the prose nor the verse shows any signs of craftsmanship and literary pretentions on the part of the anonymous author(s). The importance of Cyran. then lies not in its artistic-literary merits, which are non-existent, but elsewhere, namely in its value as (a) a source of Hellenistic and oriental science, pseudo-science and folklore; and (b) a rich mine of classical and Hellenistic lexical (including grammatical and syntactical) material which has not been preserved by any other written source. The importance of Cyran. as a valuable text for the knowledge of

the Greek language was grasped already by the compilers of *LSJ*, who regarded it a lexicographical source that rightly falls under the purview of a classical Greek lexicon and drew, therefore, substantially upon it in the compilation of their monumental work. Quite a few of the words and meanings recorded in that lexicon from Cyran. are *hapax legomena*.

The first lexicographical harvest in Cyran. by the compilers of *LSJ* proved, however, to be far from exhaustive. Consequently, *LSJ Suppl.*, which appeared in 1968, had to draw more extensively and thoroughly on that text. According to my calculations, the citations from Cyran. in *LSJ Suppl.* are twice as numerous as in *LSJ* and, as was the case with *LSJ* earlier, quite a few of those citations document the existence of words and meanings known from nowhere else up to now. However, even this second lexicographical harvest in Cyran. failed to record all pertinent material that occurs only in the work in question. Quite a few such lexical items in Cyran. have been neglected, or, to a lesser extent, incorrectly or inadequately treated by the lexicographers involved in the compilation of *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* This fact along with the realization that most of those items that still wait to be noticed and given their proper place in a Greek lexicon are extremely important both for the reconstruction of the thesaurus of the Greek language as well as for the study of Hellenistic science and culture (since they are to a large extent scientific technical terms), has been the *raison d' être* of the present article. Many such items are no doubt much older than the period to which Cyran. is dated and must have been employed in numerous literary and scientific works prior to that period which no longer exist.

The present article contains entries which belong to the following categories: new words, new meanings, new forms, and new constructions and usages of familiar words. Even though several lexical items recorded in *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* as *hapax legomena* might receive additional documentation and illustration with citations from Cyran., this article has deliberately and systematically avoided incorporating and discussing such ancillary lexicographical material.[3] The only instances in which this article presents entries already recorded in the lexica are when:

    A.   the entry in the lexica is documented by only one citation in which the word in question is, according to the lexica themselves, *varia lectio*, conjecture, *dubia lectio*, or *falsa lectio*;

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[3] I would like to mention here only by way of *praeteritio* just a few "*hapax legomena*" entries in *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* which might be further documented and illustrated with citations from Cyran.: ἄγλυφος 1. 10. 89, ἀγχίλωψ 1. 16. 15, ἀκρόπρωρον 1. 21. 56, ἀντιπελάργωσις 3. 36. 29, ἀρσενική 2. 11. 24, βατραχίτης 1. 21. 10, γυναικομανία 3. 9. 32, ἔγκρυφος 1. 1. 134, θηριόπληκτος 5. 12. 8–9, ἰχθυοειδής 1. 5. 2, κατάχρισμα 1. 12. 36, κουβαρίς 4. 47. 2, κρινόμυρον 4. 24. 4, λαμπυρίς 3. 26. 2, λιθουρία 3. 46. 5, μυρμηκολέων 2. 25. 7, ὁλοκίτρινος 6. 2. 2, παραθιγγάνω 1. 4. 40, προεκτέμνω 4. 40. 2, πυργίτης 3. 32. 2, φωκίς 4. 33. 2, χρύσαφος 4. 74. 2.

    B.   the entry in the lexica has come down to us from antiquity only through glossaries, lexica, etymologica and grammatical treatises, all of which have in most of the cases preserved words as isolated lexical items out of context;

    C.   the only citation substantiating the existence of a word, meaning, form, construction or usage recorded in the lexica comes from a later source or a Christian author;

    D.   the lexica document only the literal or only the figurative meaning of an entry;

    E.   LSJ or *LSJ Suppl.* has incorrectly treated a particular entry.

The vast majority, however, of the entries in this article are entirely absent not only from *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* but also from the other lexica, as well as from Robert Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones*, Hypomnemata 45 (1975) and 74 (1982).[4]

    With very few exceptions, all the entries, including those designated by me as "text. gloss" have been drawn from the text of Cyran. itself. By the term "text(ual) gloss" I do not mean words added later by another person, for example a glossator or a scholiast, in the margin or between lines or as a part of a separate body of work of interpretive nature, designed to assist the reader in the understanding of the Cyranidean text; by this term I have designated entries which, while forming an integral part of the text, were written by the author(s) of Cyran. as either synonyms or more familiar names for various objects, in order to enable the user to identify the object under discussion more easily. In addition to words that come directly from Cyran., I have also admitted to this article as entries a few words drawn from the Cyranidean Scholia, marginalia and supralinear glosses; entries of such provenance I have designated as just "gloss" or "gloss on word X in Cyran." On account of their formation and function as, at least in the case of some of them, technical terms in various branches of science, I felt that such words must not be denied admission to a lexicon of classical Greek, especially since the scholia on so many ancient authors have been most profitably utilized by modern lexicographers and philologists in general.

    The edition of the text used for the composition of this article and to which the Cyranidean references are made is the most recent one, namely that by Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 76 (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). The edition appeared comparatively recently, after the appearance of the 9th edition of *LSJ* and

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[4] The only lexicon other than *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* which has included citations and entries from Cyran. is the *Diccionario Griego-Español* (in progress). I have compared this article against the two fascicles of *DGE* that have appeared up to now. The entry ἀμπέλιον of this article is recorded in the lexicon in question *s.v.* I. 2 with its single citation coming from a papyrus source which is later than my source by a century. Three other entries, ἀγριολάχανον, αἱμοστολίς and ἀμέθυσος, are incorrectly explained or treated in *DGE*, as I demonstrate under each entry.

LSJ Suppl., whose compilers used the earlier edition by C. E. Ruelle in F. de Mély, *Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, tome II: *Les lapidaires grecs* (Paris 1898), which they cite by page.

ἄβρωτος, ον, adj., *immune to tooth decay* or *caries*: Μύλας δὲ ἀσήπτους καὶ ἀκινήτους ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀβρώτους Cyran. 1. 1. 70. New meaning. For the verb βιβρώσκομαι in the sense "to decay," of teeth, cf. βιβρώσκω in *LSJ* and Cyran. 1. 12. 2.

ἀγνώστως, adv., *unawares, unknowingly*: ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνώστως φορέσῃ (*sc.* τὸν ἱμάντα), μαλακισθήσεται Cyran. 1. 10. 65. The adv. ἀγνώστως as recorded in *LSJ s.v.* ἄγνωστος I. 3 from Procl. *in Alc.* p. 52C, and II. from Phld. *Lib.* p. 290 has different meanings, the meaning in the latter citation being "inconsiderately."

ἀγριολάχανον, τό, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἡ ἥμερος = δρακοντία, ἡ, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἴδη εἰσίν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ ἥμερος ἡ καὶ οἰνοβίκη, ὅ ἐστιν τὸ ἀγριολάχανον ἢ καὶ ἀρμενολάχανον Cyran. 1. 4. 3–5. Stephanus and *LSJ* record only the plural form ἀγριολάχανα from Schol. Theoc. 4. 52 but with a different meaning, "*olera agrestia*" and "wild pot-herbs," respectively, but not as the name of any particular plant. *DGE* cites Cyran. for the meaning "*verdura silvestre*," rather than for the specialized meaning I have given above.

ἄδηκτος, ον, adj., *proof against the bites* of poisonous serpents, *serpent-proof, incapable of being bitten* by poisonous serpents: ἄδηκτον ἀπὸ ἑρπετῶν διαφυλάττει Cyran. 5. 18. 3. The adj. is recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*, from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

ἀδρύζω, *to appear bulky*: Γαλαϊκὸς λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος, ⟨παρ⟩έχων ὅρασιν πυκνὴν ἀδρύζουσαν Cyran. 6. 9. 3. *LSJ* and *DGE* record only the verb ἀδρύνω.

ἀδωροδόκητος, ον, adj., *deprived of gifts, without being given gifts, having no share in gifts*: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ θεία φύσις . . . ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσιν ἀερίοις τε καὶ καταχθονίοις ζῴοις, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδωροδόκητον καταλείπῃ (*scribendum* καταλίπῃ) τῷ βίῳ Cyran. 4. 78. 7–8. The word is recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*, from sources other than Cyran., but with a different meaning, "incorruptible."

ἀειθαλής, ές, adj., in the phrase ἀειθαλὴς βοτάνη, the plant *houseleek*, Bot. *Sempervivum tectorum*, a plant with pink flowers and thick succulent leaves growing on walls and roofs; it is also called ἀείζωον, of which the Latin equivalents *semperviva herba, semperviva* (subst.), and *sempervivum* (subst.), are a literal translation. It is to be noted that the word *aithales* < Greek ἀειθαλές does occur in Latin with the same meaning as the

headword above, *houseleek* (Apul. *Herb.* 123): ταύτης (*sc.* τῆς θύννης) ἡ
χολὴ σὺν ὀπῷ ἀειθαλοῦς βοτάνης ἐγχεομένη Cyran. 4. 23. 2–3; cf. 4.
39. 12. A casual reader will unsuspectingly take ἀειθαλοῦς as a generic
adj. signifying any kind of *evergreen* plant, whereas the nature of the text
makes it clear that only a particular kind of plant is referred to here, the one
known by the name ἀειθαλὴς βοτάνη. Our explanation above is based
both on Schol. marg. ad Cyran. *loc. cit.*, ἥπερ (*sc.* βοτάνη) καὶ ἀεὶ ζῶον
(*scribendum* ἀείζωον) λέγεται καὶ ἀμάραντον, and on the meaning of
the Latin *aithales*, for which see J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la
Rome antique* (Paris 1985) 8.

ἀερόεις, εσσα, εν, adj. = ἠερόφοιτος, *of the air, living in the air*: ὄρνεα
ἀερόεντα Cyran. prol. p. 19. 4. New meaning.

ἀερόθεν, adv., *from on high*: ὦ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατε . . . ἀχθεῖσ᾽ ἀερόθεν
Cyran. prol. p. 19. 8. Cyran. antedates by some centuries the authors cited
for this word in the lexica.

ἄζυγος, ον, adj., of eggs laid by chickens without impregnation: ᾠὰ
ἄζυγα Cyran. 3. 55. 23 = *wind-eggs, unfertilized eggs incapable of
producing chickens*. None of the three words recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*,
ἀζυγής, ἄζυγος, and ἄζυξ, has this meaning, which, it seems, is
completely new and unattested in the lexica.

αἱματίζω, intrans., *to be of blood-red color, to be blood-red*: ψηφὶς
αἱματίζουσα μᾶλλον τῷ χρώματι Cyran. 1. 20. 8. New meaning.

αἱμοστολίς, -ίδος, ἡ [Liter. *blood-wrinkles, blood-folds*], medical techn.
term, *wrinkles* or *folds* near the anus *swollen with blood*: ὁ δὲ ἐγκέφαλος
αὐτῆς (*sc.* τῆς χηνός) . . . προστεθεὶς ῥαγάδας καὶ αἱμοστολίδας καὶ
πᾶσαν φλεγμονὴν δακτυλίου θεραπεύει Cyran. 3. 51. 9. The second
component of the word is στολίς not σταλίς. The word στολίς is a medical
techn. term employed by various Greek medical writers; for its meaning see
LSJ s.v. II. *DGE* records our word with a single citation, namely the one
from Cyran., but incorrectly explains it as "*inflamación o tumor.*"

ἀκόνιτον, τό, subst., a kind of *poison* extracted from any of the poisonous
plants of the genus *Aconitum* as e. g. *leopard's bane* or *wolf's bane*: ὁ δὲ
ζωμὸς αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ χηνός) ποθεὶς . . . βοηθεῖ τοῖς
πίνουσιν . . . ἀκόνιτον Cyran. 3. 51. 25. New meaning, unattested in the
lexica, which record the word, from sources other than Cyran., but only as a
plant name, not as the name of the poison extracted from it.

ἄκρον, τό, subst., *penis*: τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ (*sc.* ἀλώπεκος) περιαφθὲν
μεγίστην ἔντασιν ποιεῖ Cyran. 2. 2. 13. The reference is to the use of the
aforementioned anatomical part of a male fox as an aphrodisiac amulet.
New meaning.

ἀλγέω, intrans., *to cause pain*: κεφαλαλγίας τε ἀπαλλάσσει ἀλγούσας βραχύ Cyran. 1. 4. 25. *LSJ* and *DGE* cite two instances of this use of the verb, but in the passive voice: Hp. *Coac.* 273 and Dsc. *Eup.* 1. 66.

ἀλείφομαι, passive, *to be applied as an ointment, to be used as a salve*: ὁ δὲ μυελὸς αὐτοῦ (*sc.* καμήλου) σὺν ῥοδίνῳ ἀλειφόμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ . . . Cyran. 2. 18. 13; cf. 2. 29. 4. This peculiar use of the verb ἀλείφω in the passive voice is completely new and unattested in the lexica. Even the active construction ἀλείφω τι and the middle ἀλείφομαί τι in the sense *to apply a substance as an ointment*, with τι standing for the ointment applied, are either non-existent or, if the word λίπα in the unique Homeric usage λοέσσατο καὶ λίπ᾽ ἄλειψεν (*Od.* 6. 227) is indeed accusative, are extremely rare. The word λίπα, however, is used normally as an adverb in Homer in the formulaic phrase ἀλείψασθαι λίπ᾽ ἐλαίῳ, with ἐλαίῳ, in the dative case, indicating the substance applied to the skin; the only exception in which the dative ἐλαίῳ is omitted is the one cited above. This dative appears also in post-Homeric writers in the construction of this verb, with a few exceptions in which the dative is omitted: χρίεσθαι λίπα Hp. *Mul.* 1. 35; λίπα ἀλείψασθαι Thuc. 1. 6 and 4. 68. But, again, there is no indication that λίπα in these instances is acc. sing. denoting the substance used as ointment and not an adverb meaning "richly," as *LSJ* takes it to be *s.v.* λίπα. (For a detailed discussion of λίπα from the morphological and semantic points of view the reader is referred to M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* [Basel 1950] 309–10.) However, there is in Cyran. at least one instance of the use of the verb ἀλείφω in the middle voice *cum accusativo* of the person applying the ointment to himself, with the accusative denoting the ointment: τὸ δὲ ἀποτηγάνισμα . . . ἐὰν ἀλείψηταί τις, ὅσας πληγὰς ἂν λάβῃ οὐ μὴ αἰσθήσεται 2. 22. 6.

ἀμέθυσος, ον (I) = ἀμέθυστος, ον *LSJ s.v.* I., adj., *not drunken, not affected by the consumption of liquor*: οὗτος (*sc.* ὁ ἀμέθυσος λίθος) . . . οἰνοφλυγοῦσι φρένας ποιεῖ καὶ ἀμεθύσους Cyran. 6. 3. 3. New form. (II) ἀμέθυσος, ὁ, subst. = ἀμέθυστος, ὁ *LSJ s.v.* II., *amethyst, a precious stone of a violet-blue color*: ἀμέθυσος λίθος ἐστὶ πορφυροῦς τῇ ἰδέᾳ Cyran. 6. 3. 2. *LSJ* records with this meaning only the neut. subst. form ἀμέθυσον, τό, and only as a *varia lectio* the fem. subst. ἀμέθυσος, ἡ from J. *AJ* 3. 7. 5 but not the masc. form, ἀμέθυσος, ὁ. (The passage in Josephus to be sure does not indicate whether the gender of the word is masc. or fem.) *DGE* records the word in this form as a feminine with the same meaning and with three citations, one of which is Cyran. 6. 3. 2, but in doing so *DGE* has failed to notice that the gender of the word in Cyran. in this sense is not fem. but masc.

ἀμπέλιον, τό, dimin. of ἄμπελος, ἡ, but without any diminutive force = ἀμπελών, *vineyard*: Cyran. 4. 67. 11. Meaning attested in *DGE s.v.* I. 2, with a citation from *PStrassb.* 29. 39, a source which is later than mine by a century.

ἀνάβρωσις, εως, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the corner of the eye*, a kind of *eye disease*: περὶ δὲ τοὺς κανθούς, ψωροφθαλμία, ξηροφθαλμία, ἄργεθμον ... ἀνάβρωσις Cyran. 1. 16. 16. New meaning.

ἀναζεύγνυμι, trans., *to join* something to a thing as an accompaniment, *to couple* something with something else. The construction of the verb in Cyran. is with accus. and ἐν + dative: ἀναζεύξας ἐν δυνάμεσι λίθους Cyran. prol. p. 19. 2–3; cf. prol. p. 17. 73. New construction and meaning.

ἀνδροκέφαλος, ον, adj. The word ἀνδροκέφαλος (*sc.* μύρμηξ), ὁ, in Cyran. is used to designate a particular species of *ant* of black color.: τῶν δὲ μυρμήκων εἴδη εἰσὶν ἑπτά . . . οἱ δὲ ἀνδροκέφαλοι καλοῦνται Cyran. 2. 25. 4. Prof. D. Sansone has kindly pointed out to me that the word ἀνδροκέφαλος is an error for ἁδροκέφαλος, "with large head." At my own risk, I have chosen to disagree with Prof. Sansone, for the following reasons. The word ἁδροκέφαλος occurs nowhere in texts, glossaries or lexica as a name for a particular species of *ant* "of black color," or as a name for any animate or inanimate object for that matter; it does not even appear as a *varia lectio* in Cyran. *loc. cit.*, the only variant offered by two of the mss. (I, O) being μακροκέφαλοι, "with long head," a reading of which the corresponding analytical description "*longi capitis*" in the Latin version of Cyran. (to be found in the Ruelle edition, p. 68. 6) is a precise rendering. But the reading μακροκέφαλοι, if adopted, militates against Prof. Sansone's ἁδροκέφαλοι just as much as it does against ἀνδροκέφαλοι, which has been preserved by all the mss. except the aforementioned two, and has been retained in his critical edition by Kaimakis. As recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., the word ἁδροκέφαλος is attested only as adj. "with large head," literally and *sensu obscaeno*, only. The reading ἁδροκέφαλοι in Cyran. was proposed by Ruelle in his edition of the text. His proposed emendation has not been accepted. Admittedly, the use of ἁδροκέφαλοι to signify a species of *ant* seems *prima facie* odd. But what about another species of ant with an "odd" name, the μυρμηκολέων "ant-lion," attested both in the *Septuagint* (see *LSJ s.v.*) and in the same paragraph of Cyran. as the ἀνδροκέφαλοι? What about so many "odd" names of insects, birds, fishes, land animals and plants in the Greek language? The oddity of a name in itself is not a sufficient reason for eliminating it. In the present case, I believe that the reading ἀνδροκέφαλοι must be retained not only for the reasons advanced above but also because it receives, as I will explain below, some support from mythology. In Greek mythology the soldiers of Achilles, the

formidable Myrmidons, or, more precisely, their grandfathers were said to have been originally *ants* (μύρμηκες), which were changed into men (Μυρμιδόνες) by Zeus in response to a prayer from Aeacus, Achilles' grandfather and king of Aegina, to repopulate his island (Hesiod, Fr. 205 West; Ovid, *Met.* 7. 523 ff. and 614 ff.; Strab. 9. 433). Thus, it may well be that this mythological connection between men and ants combined with an imaginary resemblance of the head of ants (belonging to a particular species) to that of men suggested the use of the word ἀνδροκέφαλοι. New word.

ἀνέντατος, ὁ, adj., of male humans, *incapable of attaining an erection, impotent*: Τῆς δὲ σάλπης τοῦ ἰχθύος ὁ δεξιὸς τοῦ κρανίου λίθος περιαπτόμενος ἔντασιν ποιεῖ, ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος ἀνεντάτους Cyran. 1. 18. 51; cf. 2. 25. 16. The word is recorded in *LSJ* from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

ἀνύω or ἀνύτω, trans., *cum accusativo et dativo*, *to dip* something *into* a liquid substance: ἐὰν . . . τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ὀρνέου ἀνύσῃς τὸν λίθον Cyran. 1. 23. 14. With double accusative: 1. 23. 16. New meaning and construction.

ἀπειθέω, *cum infinitivo*, *to defy a command to*, *to refuse to obey an order to*: ἐξελαύνει καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐξελθεῖν δαίμονας Cyran. 1. 24. 51. Construction unattested in the lexica.

ἀποσπερματόω, intrans., *to emit semen*, *to ejaculate*: ποιεῖ (*sc.* τὸ μύρον) αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἡδονῆς ἀποσπερματῶσαι Cyran. 2. 38. 21. Lexica record only the middle-passive form with the meaning "to be converted into semen" (*LSJ*).

ἀποτηγανίζω, *to extract* oil or fat *from* meat or fish *through frying*. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice, with the oil obtained functioning as the subject of the verb, ἀποτηγανίζομαι, *to be extracted through frying*: τούτου τὸ ἀποτηγανιζόμενον ἔλαιον Cyran. 4. 45. 3. New meaning.

ἀποτηγάνισμα, ατος, τό, *fat* or *lard extracted* from meat *through frying*: τὸ δὲ ἀποτηγάνισμα τοῦ κροκοδείλου ἐὰν ἀλείψηταί τις Cyran. 2. 22. 6; cf. 2. 29. 4. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* but, unfortunately, it is not properly and adequately explained; the explanation "fat, lard" is too vague and imprecise. Steph. *Thes.* does, however, record the word with the meaning "*decoctum*" from ms. Paris 2286 (= Kaimakis' "K").

ἀποφράττω, trans., *to remove the obstacles* (e.g. mud, clay, mortar) *that block an opening*, *a hole* or *an entrance*: εἰ μὲν γὰρ πηλῷ (*sc.* σφηνώσῃ τις τὴν νοσσιὰν τοῦ δενδροκολάπτου) ἀποφράττεται ὁ πηλὸς καὶ πίπτει Cyran. 1. 4. 38. In Cyran. the verb is used in the passive voice. The significance of this entry consists in two points: (a) the novelty of the

meaning, which is quite different from that recorded in *LSJ*; (b) the novelty of the usage in which the verb is used in the passive voice, with the obstacle blocking the opening, hole or entrance, rather than the opening or hole itself, functioning as the subject of the verb.

ἀραιάκις, adv., *infrequently, seldom, rarely*: βάλλε εἰς γάστραν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ σπέρμα. πότιζε δὲ ἀραιάκις Cyran. 1. 7. 93. The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but only as a probable reading in Hesychius *s.vv.* ἀδράκις, ἀρβάκις.

ἀράχνιος, α, ον, adj., = ἀραχναῖος or ἀραχνήεις, *of* or *belonging to a spider*: τὰ δὲ ἀράχνια ᾠά Cyran. 2. 47a. 18. New word.

ἀρθρογονάγρα, ἡ, medical techn. term, *gout in the joints of the knee*: εἰς ποδάγρας, χειράγρας, ἀρθρογονάγρας Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 18. 2. New word.

ἀρμενίζω, intrans., *to sail*: οὗτος (*sc.* ὁ ναυκράτης ἰχθῦς) ἐὰν κολληθῇ πλοίῳ ἀρμενίζοντι, οὐκ ἐᾷ αὐτὸ κινηθῆναι ὅλως Cyran. 1. 13. 12; cf. 3. 6. 3, 4. 18. 3. The verb is recorded in the lexica either as a *hapax* from glossaries, which have preserved the word but without a context, or from much later, Christian sources.

ἀρμενολάχανον, τό, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἥμερος in Cyran. = δρακοντία, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἴδη εἰσίν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἐτέρα δὲ ἡ ἥμερος ἡ καὶ οἰνοβίκη, ὅ ἐστιν τὸ ἀγριολάχανον ἢ καὶ ἀρμενολάχανον Cyran. 1. 4. 5. New word.

ἀρρενοτόκος, ον, adj., *associated with the birth of male children*: γάλα γυναικεῖον ἀρρενοτόκον, milk obtained *from a woman who has given birth to male children*, Cyran. 2. 11. 23; cf. 2. 31. 14. New meaning.

ἀρσενόθηλυ, τό, subst. = ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, *a male and a female* considered together: ἐὰν δὲ μιγνυμένας (*sc.* ζαύρας) δύο ἀρσενόθηλυ ἀγρεύσῃς Cyran. 2. 14. 10. This is an instance of the *dvandva*-type compounds referred to by Ed. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* I 452 f. as *kopulative Komposita*. Such formations are rare in classical Greek according to the same scholar, who cites the word νυχθήμερον as the only instance of a compound noun made of substantives. *LSJ* records the word ἀρσενόθηλυς, υ, but only as an adj. and with a different meaning, "hermaphrodite, of both sexes."

ἄσβεστος, ἡ, subst. = τίτανος, *lime*: βάλλε δὲ καὶ γαλλικὸν οὐγ. δ´ καὶ τὴν ἄσβεστον ζῶσαν Cyran. 1. 21. 27. The word was originally an adj. modifying the word τίτανος, ἡ, and meaning *unslaked lime*; the subst. τίτανος was later omitted and the adj. ἄσβεστος came to be used as a noun with the same meaning. Two of the citations in Steph. *Thes. s.v.*, Galen,

De comp. medicam. gener. 4, p. 366 ed. Basil. and Procop. *De aedific.* I, 1, illustrate the substantivization of the adj. ἄσβεστος. My citation above from Cyran. shows beyond doubt that later on ἄσβεστος assumed a new, more general meaning, *lime*, whether slaked or unslaked. And so just as τίτανος was combined with the attributives ἐσβεσμένη and ζῶσα to indicate whether it was *slaked* or *unslaked*, so was ἄσβεστος, as one may see in the citation from Cyran. above. *LSJ* does record the word, from various sources other than Cyran., but only in the sense "unslaked lime," *s.v.* ἄσβεστος II., not as a general term. For this general meaning of the word, i.e. *lime*, cf. also Procop. *Goth.* 2. 27.

ἀστράγαλα, τά, subst., heterocliton, plur. of ἀστράγαλος; a collateral form of ἀστράγαλοι, οἱ, *knucklebones*: τὰ ἀστράγαλα τούτου (*sc.* τοῦ ἄρρενος βοός) καυθέντα Cyran. 2. 6. 18. New form.

ἀσύλληπτον, τό, subst., *a means preventing conception, a contraceptive device*: ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος ὄρχις (*sc.* τῆς γαλῆς) . . . ἀσύλληπτόν ἐστι Cyran. 2. 7. 16; cf. 2. 15. 4. This is the first known instance in which the word is used as a subst. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj.

ἀτονία, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the pupil of the eye*: περὶ δὲ τὴν κόρην . . . πλατυκορία, σύγχυσις, ἀτονία Cyran. 1. 16. 19. New meaning.

αὖγος, εος, τό, neut. subst., *brightness, radiance, sheen*: ἔστι δὲ (*sc.* ὁ Βαβυλώνιος λίθος) ὡς ἄνθραξ καιόμενος, ἢ ὡς αὖγος ἀνατολῆς ἢ δύσεως πυραυγής Cyran. 6. 8. 3. New meaning.

ἀυπνία, ἡ, figur., *wakefulness, vigilance, restlessness*; *state of constant motion*: σφαῖρα κυλινδομένη ἀπὸ ἀντολίης ἐπὶ δυσμὰς / δινεῖ ἀυπνία ἀνέμων, κινοῦσα ἄπαντα Cyran. p. 51. 23 (cf. also 1. 7. 37). The word as recorded in *LSJ* from sources other than Cyran. means "sleeplessness" and is used there only in a literal sense.

ἀφλέγμων, ον, adj. = ἀφλέγμαντος, *free from inflammation, not liable to inflammation*: ἡ δὲ ἀράχνη αὐτῆς . . . ἀφλέγμονα τὸν τόπον διατηρεῖ Cyran. 2. 16. 11. New word.

ἀφροδισία, ἡ, subst. = ἀφροδίσια, τά, *sexual pleasures, sexual intercourse*: οἱ δὲ ὄρχεις (*sc.* τοῦ ἀλέκτορος) σὺν οἴνῳ ποθέντες ἀφροδισίαν παρορμῶσι Cyran. 3. 3. 17. Unrecorded in the lexica except in Steph. *Thes.*, which towards the end of the lemma ἀφροδισιασμός says: "ita scribendum apud Galen. vol. 10, p. 636 (14, p. 488L): αἰδοῖον κατάχριε τῷ μέλιτι πρὸ ἀφροδισίας." The word is also recorded with the same meaning in *Etym. Gud. s.v.* συνουσίαν: "τὴν ἐν λόγῳ ἀφροδισίαν δὲ τὴν μίξιν."

ἀφροδίτη, ἡ, *the shell* of molluscs and crustaceans: καὶ κατακλείσας βράθυος βραχὺ καὶ ὀλίγον τῆς καρδίας τοῦ πτηνοῦ καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀφροδίτην τοῦ καράβου Cyran. 1. 2. 22. New meaning.

ἀχειμάστως, adv., *so as not to be vexed by storms:* ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀχειμάστως κυβερνήσει τὸ πλοῖον Cyran. 3. 2. 13. Only the adj. ἀχείμαστος is recorded in the lexica.

βαβουτζικάριος, ὁ, subst., text. gloss on λυκάνθρωπος, *werewolf, man-wolf:* ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ λύκου) ... λυκανθρώπους (τοὺς καὶ βαβουτζικαρίους) ... θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 23. 18. New word, of non-Greek origin, unrecorded in the lexica, except in Soph. *Lex.*, which records the word from Suidas *s.v.* ἐφιάλτης. Etymology unknown.

βαβυλώνιος, ὁ, subst., λίθος σάρδιος, *a kind of precious stone, the Sardian stone,* and specifically the transparent-red kind known as *carnelian:* ἔστιν ἕτερος (*sc.* λίθος) ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων καλούμενος Βαβυλώνιος Cyran. 6. 8. 2. New meaning.

βαλάνιον, τό, subst. = βάλανος, ἡ, *acorn:* τὸ δὲ αἷμα αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ τράγου) ξηρὸν μετὰ κικίδων καὶ βαλανίων ἐν βρώματι ποθὲν Cyran. 2. 38. 4. Recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

βάλσαμος, ἡ = βάλσαμον, τό, *costmary,* Bot. *Chrysanthemum balsamita:* βάλσαμος βοτάνη ἐστί. ταύτης ὁ καυλός ... Cyran. 5. 2. 2. *LSJ* records only the neuter form. But in Cyran. it is clear that a collateral fem. form does exist. Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex.* do record the fem. form, from Pallad. *Laus.* 1025C, but with a different meaning, "balsam-tree."

βαμβάκινος, ον, adj., *made of cotton:* περιαπτόμενος (*sc.* ὁ λίθος) ἑρπετίῳ βαμβακίνῳ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον Cyran. 1. 19. 16–17. *LSJ* records only the subst. βαμβάκιον, the adj. βαμβακοειδής, and the subst. παμβακίς, ίδος, ἡ "= βαμβάκιον ..." Soph. *Lex.* records, in addition, the adj. βαμβακερός and βαμβακηρός. The adj. is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* with the same meaning as in Cyran., but without any citations, for which the reader is referred to Ducangius *Gloss.*, which draws them from the late Byzantine author Georgius Gemistus Pletho.

βασίλειον, τό, subst. = λόφος, the *crest* or *tuft* on the head of birds: Γλαῦκός ἐστι πτηνόν ... βασίλειον ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πτερωτόν Cyran. 1. 3. 6–7. In this sense the word occurs quite frequently in Cyran.: 1. 7. 49–50, 1. 7. 102, 1. 22. 23, 3. 10. 3, 3. 13. 3–4. New meaning. Apparently the birds' crest owes its name to the fact that it resembles a diadem or a king's crown. In Cyran. 3. 10. 3 this crest is called στέφανος, *q.v.* in this article. [For another new meaning of the

word (= kingdom), see my "Addenda to the *LSJ* Greek-English Lexicon: Lexicographical Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Oracula Sibyllina*," *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 38 (1987) 62–63.]

βασιλικόν, τό, subst., *basil*, Bot. *Ocimum basilicum*; text. gloss on ὤκιμον, τό: "Ὤκιμον φυτὸν ἐδώδιμον, λαχανῶδες . . . αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη βασιλικόν Cyran. 1. 24. 4. Recorded in *LSJ* from a much later source, Suidas (10th cent. A.D.), which has preserved the word without a context. The word is also preserved by Hesychius as a gloss on ὤκιμον: "βοτάνη εὐώδης, τὸ λεγόμενον βασιλικόν."

βατραχίτης, ὁ, another name for the plant φρύνη, ἡ, *ranunculus*, by which name various plants of the family *Ranunculaceae* are known: Φρύνη βοτάνη ἐστίν, ἣν καὶ βατράχιον καλοῦσιν ἢ βατραχίτην Cyran. 1. 21. 3. New meaning.

βελονίς, ίδος, ἡ, text. gloss on ῥαφίς: *garfish*, *Belone acus*, a fish characterized by a long spearlike snout of the genus *Belone*: Ῥαφὶς ἰχθῦς ἐστι θαλάττιος ἡ καλουμένη βελονίς Cyran. 4. 55. 2. The fish in question is known in mod. Greek as βελονίδα or ζαργάνα. See also the entry ζαργάνη in this article and the entry βελόνη II in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, pp. 31–32. The word as a fish name is recorded in *LSJ* from Sch. Opp. *H*. 3. 577, *s.v.* βελονίς II, but the meaning given, "a little fish," is vague and inadequate.

βηχικός, ὁ, subst., *a person who suffers from cough*: ἡ δὲ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ ἀετοῦ) . . . ἀρτηρικοὺς καὶ βηχικοὺς . . . μεγάλως ἰᾶται Cyran. 3. 1. 52–53. *LSJ* records only the adj. βηχικός, but the only instance of the use of the word in this meaning, Hp. *Epid*. 7. 105, is according to that lexicon itself a *falsa lectio*.

βιβάζω, intrans., of animals, *to copulate*: καὶ ὅταν βιβάζωσιν (*sc.* αἱ ζαῦραι), ἐὰν ῥίψῃς ἐπάνω . . . Cyran. 2. 14. 11–12. New meaning.

βολβός, ὁ, the *eye-ball*: περὶ δὲ ὅλον τὸν βολβόν, πτερύγιον, λεύκωμα, ῥῆξις Cyran. 1. 16. 16. The eye-ball was called βολβός in Greek, evidently, because of its globular, bulb-like, shape. The word is recorded with this meaning only in Steph. *Thes*. from the medical writer Paulus Aegineta 6. 17 and other sources.

βορός, ὁ, subst. = κορώνη, the bird *crow*: Βορὸς ὄρνεόν ἐστι πᾶσι γνωστόν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ κορώνην ὀνομάζουσι πάντες Cyran. 3. 7. 2. New word. The word is, of course, etymologically related to the words βιβρώσκω, βορά, and the adj. βορός, and the Latin *vorare*; the literal meaning of the headword here, then, is *voracious*, and the word itself is the result of a substantivization of the adj. βορός in the phrase βορὸς ὄρνις and a simultaneous omission of the subst. which had thus been rendered redundant. Absent also from Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

βοῦφος, ὁ, the bird *owl*, *the great horned owl*: βοῦφον λέγουσίν τινες ὄρνεον φιλάγρυπνον Cyran. 3. 8. 2. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* from this passage, but the explanation given, "name of a night-bird," is too vague and far from satisfactory. Schol. marg. *ad loc.* "τὸν βούβονα (*scribe* βουβῶνα)," and the heading of the section in one of the mss. (O) "ὀρνέου λεγομένου βούβονος (*scribe* βουβῶνος)" make it clear that the bird in question is the same as the Lat. *bubo*, *the great horned owl*; the form βούβων of the Schol. marg. above is a loan word from Latin, concerning which *v.s.v.* βουβών II. in *LSJ*.

βρύσις, ἡ, = κορώνη, the bird *crow*, specifically *the hooded crow*, *Corvus cornix*: βρύσις κοινὸν ζῷόν ἐστιν, ἡ κορώνη, ζῶν ἕως ἐτῶν φ′ Cyran. 1. 2. 5; cf. 1. 2. 1. Unrecorded in the lexica, but included in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 66, where Cyran. constitutes the only citation.

βυσμός, ὁ [Liter. *plugging*], medical techn. term, *an eye disease*, specifically *a disease afflicting the eyeball*: περὶ δὲ ὅλον τὸν βολβόν, πτερύγιον . . . σταφυλίς, βυσμὸς σταφυλῶν Cyran. 1. 16. 17. As one may see, the word βυσμός in Cyran. forms one phrase with the word σταφυλῶν which, if the reading is sound (which is extremely doubtful), must be an objective genitive. But the reading βυσμός σταφυλῶν does not make much sense for other reasons and also because there is not any part of the eye which is called σταφυλή or σταφυλαί. The accepted reading σταφυλῶν should be discarded in favor of the *varia lectio* σταφύλωμα, which is the name of a well-known eye disease. Etymology: βυσμός < βύω *to stuff*, *to plug*. Only one other derivative from this root is known, the neut. subst. βύσμα. New word.

βύσσα, ἡ, explained by the Auctor Cyran. as κάραβος θαλάσσιος, namely the *lobster*: βύσσα ὁ καὶ κάραβος θαλάσσιος. ἐκλήθη δὲ βύσσα διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν βυσσάλων Cyran. 1. 2. 7. The word κάραβος is explained by *LSJ* as meaning, "a prickly crustacean, *crayfish*," a lobster-like freshwater crustacean, a meaning which is indeed applicable in the citations given by that lexicon. But the citation here refers specifically not to a freshwater crustacean but to a marine crustacean which is, evidently, the *lobster*. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*.

Γαλαϊκός, adj., in the phr. Γαλαϊκὸς λίθος, a kind of precious stone, apparently the same as the *Gallaica gemma* referred to by Pliny *HN* 37. 59. 163: Γαλαϊκὸς λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος Cyran. 6. 9. 2. Recorded in Steph. *Thes.*, from sources other than Cyran., but not in *LSJ* or the other lexica. Etymology uncertain. Steph. *Thes. s.v.* κάλαϊς derives the word καλλάϊνος, and the collateral forms γαλάϊνος, καλλαϊκός and γαλαϊκός from καλλαῖον (*scribe* κάλλαιον): "principale est καλλαῖον. Unde καλλαϊκόν et καλλάϊνον." I would be inclined to derive the word from *Gallaicus* and *Callaicus*, collateral forms of *Gallaecus*

denoting the inhabitants of Gallaecia (the Καλλαικία in Zos. *HN* 4. 24), a region in western Hispania Tarraconensis, on the assumption that the stone in question was either first discovered in, or imported from, that area. For this reason, I believe that the correct spelling of the stone in Greek is Γαλλαϊκός.

γαλλικόν, τό, subst. = σάπων, *soap*, owing its name to the country where it originated, Gaul: βάλλε δὲ καὶ γαλλικὸν οὐγ. δ' Cyran. 1. 21. 26. The word is recorded in this meaning in Soph. *Lex.* from the Byzantine chronographer Theophanes. The form γαλλικόν leads one to postulate the existence of a Latin form *Gallicum*. Not recorded in the other lexica.

γλαῦκος, ὁ, subst. = γλαῦξ, a kind of *owl*, a bird sacred to the goddess Athena: Γλαῦκός ἐστι πτηνόν· τοῦτο τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ ἀναγράφεται Cyran. 1. 3. 6. The word is evidently a collateral form of the more common γλαῦξ. Absent from Soph. *Lex.*, *LSJ* and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

γλεύκινον, τό, subst. = γλεύκινον ἔλαιον: Ψύλλος . . . ἐψηθεὶς ἐν ῥοδίνῳ ἢ γλευκίνῳ ὠταλγίαις ὠφελεῖ Cyran. 4. 76. 3. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj. and only from Latin authors.

γλῶσσα, ἡ, subst., of the leaves of sprouting seeds, *tongue-shaped leaf*: κριθὰς βεβρεγμένας . . . ἕως ἂν βλαστήσωσι καὶ ἔξω τὰς γλώσσας ἔχωσιν Cyran. 1. 21. 115. New meaning.

γόμφος, ὁ = κεστρεύς, *mullet* or, according to Thompson (*v. infra*), the *grey mullet*: Γόμφος ἰχθῦς ἐστι θαλάσσιος πᾶσι γνωστός Cyran. 4. 11. 2. *LSJ* does record the word in this meaning, but only from glossaries which have preserved the word without a context. Absent from the other lexica, but included in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, p. 50.

γοναγρός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person who suffers from gout in the knee*: θεραπεύει ποδαγρούς, γοναγρούς, χειραγρούς Cyran. 2. 40. 54. New word.

γοργόνιος, ἡ (*sc.* βοτάνη) = ἠρύγγιον, *eryngo, sea-holly*, Bot. *Eryngium creticum*: 'Ηρύγγιος βοτάνη ἐστίν, ὡς κάλαμος φυομένη, ἀκανθώδης, ἢ καὶ γοργόνιος λέγεται Cyran. 1. 7. 4. *LSJ* has the entry Γοργονιὰς βοτάνη, which it literally explains as "Gorgon-like plant," but without identifying it with any known plant. There is no doubt that the headword here (which is unrecorded in *LSJ* and the other lexica, including even Carnoy, *Diction. étym. des noms grecs des plantes*) is the same as the Γοργονιὰς βοτάνη and Γοργόνιον, both recorded in *LSJ*.

δαύς, gen. δαός, ἡ, text. gloss on ὠμίς = μαίνη, *Maena vulgaris*, "a small sprat-like fish, which was salted" (*LSJ s.v.* μαίνη): Ὠμὶς ἰχθῦς ἐστι θαλάσσιος, ἡ καλουμένη δαύς Cyran. 4. 77. 2. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*. For the accent, see the anonymous grammarian in *Etym. Mag.* 604. 57 (1720F).

δεδώνη, ἡ = κορώνη, *crow*, but it is impossible to determine with certainty which kind of *crow* is here meant: Κορώνη καὶ δεδώνη καλουμένη, ὄρνεόν ἐστι πᾶσι γνωστόν Cyran. 3. 22. 2. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

δενδροκολάπτης, ὁ = δρυοκολάπτης, *woodpecker*, a bird of the family *Picidae*: Δενδροκολάπτης πτηνόν ἐστι πᾶσι γνωστόν ... κολάπτει δὲ τὰς δρῦς Cyran. 1. 4. 10; cf. 1. 4. 36, 45, 47, 3. 12. 2. This is the first instance of the occurrence of the word in context. Up to now the word was known to us through glossaries, which have preserved it as an isolated lexical item.

δηλητήριος, ον, *cum genitivo objecti*, *harmful*, *noxious*: τὸ δὲ αἷμα αὐτοῦ δηλητήριόν ἐστι τριχῶν Cyran. 2. 42. 4. The word is recorded in *LSJ* with this meaning but not in this construction, namely with objective genitive.

διακλύζομαι, passive, *to be used as a lotion for washing out the mouth*: ὠφελοῦσι (*sc.* βάτραχοι) καὶ ὀδονταλγίας συνεψόμενοι ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει καὶ διακλυζόμενοι Cyran. 2. 5. 31; cf. 4. 41. 10–11, 5. 11. 5, 5. 20. 6. Such usage is completely new and unattested in the lexica. The only citation for the use of this verb in the passive (Arist. *GA* 11. 839) documents a usage in which the subject of the verb is the person or area which is washed out, not the lotion used for washing out.

διαχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied* as a salve *by smearing*: ἡ δὲ κόπρος αὐτοῦ διαχριομένη ἀλφοὺς ἰᾶται Cyran. 3. 29. 6; cf. 4. 47. 5. New usage.

διφυής, ές, adj., of the hyaena, *alternately belonging to both sexes*, *alternating from male to female sex and vice-versa* (The hyaena was believed to undergo a change of sex every year.): Ὕαινα ζῷόν ἐστι τετράπουν ... διφυές. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦτο γεννᾶται θῆλυ καὶ μετ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν γίνεται ἄρρεν. εἶτα πάλιν κ.τ.λ. Cyran. 2. 40. 2. New meaning.

διωκτικόν, τό, subst., of amulets, *a means of chasing* somebody or something (e.g. enemies, spirits, dogs, etc.) *away*: διωκτικὸν κυνῶν Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 29. 5; cf. 1. 7. 5, 2. 23. 5. New meaning.

δορύκνιον, τό, a kind of *poison* extracted from the plant στρύχνον μανικόν, *thorn apple*, a poisonous solanaceous plant of the genus *Datura* (The plant is also called δορύκνιον: *LSJ s.v.* 4.): Ὁ δὲ ζωμὸς αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ χηνός) ποθεὶς ... βοηθεῖ τοῖς πίνουσιν ... δορύκνιον Cyran. 3. 51. 25. New meaning. *LSJ* does record the word, but only as a plant name, not as the name of the poison extracted from it.

δρακόντιος, α, ον (I) adj., in the phr. δρακόντιον αἷμα, *juice extracted from the seeds of the plant* χολοβοτάνη, which is a variety of δρακόντιον with broad leaves: ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος δὲ τῆς βοτάνης ταύτης (*sc.* τῆς χολοβοτάνης) ἐκθλίβεται ὀπός, ὃν καλοῦσι δρακόντιον αἷμα διὰ τὸ ἐρυθρὸν εἶναι Cyran. 1. 4. 8. New meaning. (II) δρακόντιον, τό, subst., the fish *dragonet*, Lat. *dracunculus*, a spiny fish of bright color belonging to the family *Callionymidae*: ἄλλα τὰ γινόμενά ἐστι δρακόντια μικρὰ .. . εἰς ὕψος ἰχθυῶδη πιπρασκόμενα Cyran. 1. 4. 30. There is little doubt that the δρακόντιον here signifies the same kind of fish as the Lat. *dracunculus* in Pliny *HN* 32. 53. 148. *LSJ* does record the word δρακόντιον as a fish name, but the only citation is according to that lexicon itself a "varia lectio for δράκων III." Not in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*.

δυνάστρια, ἡ, fem. of δυνάστης = *female ruler*: Μάκαιρα βοτάνη ... πᾶσιν ἐν φυτοῖς δυνάστρια Cyran. 1. 1. 130–31 (see also p. 29. 2). New form.

δυσουρητικός, ὁ, subst., *one who has difficulty in urination*: δυσουρητικοὺς αἷμα οὐρεῖν παρασκευάζει Cyran. 1. 2. 10. *LSJ* records the adj. δυσουρητικός as a *hapax*, but the only citation comes from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context.

δυσπορία, ἡ, *difficulty in obtaining* something: Ἵνα οὖν μὴ πλανώμεθα πρὸς τὴν δυσπορίαν τοῦ μεγάλου δράκοντος Cyran. 1. 4. 29. *LSJ* does record the word, from sources other than Cyran., but with a different meaning.

ἔγκαυσις, εως, ἡ = ἔγκαυμα, *an eye disease*, specifically *ulcer in* (the corner of) *the eye*: περὶ δὲ τοὺς κανθοὺς ψωροφθαλμία ... ἔγκαυσις, αἰγιλωπία Cyran. 1. 16. 15. New meaning.

ἐγκυανίζω, intrans., *to be of a bluish color*: βήρυλλός ἐστι θαλασσόχρους ἐγκυανίζων Cyran. 6. 7. 1. For other similar verbal formations in -ίζω signifying the color of stones, cf. ἀμεθυστίζω Pliny *HN* 37. 25. 93 and αἱματίζω, ἐμφλογίζω, λευκίζω, πυραυγίζω in this article.

ἐκπίεσμα, ατος, τό = the act of *removing the skins of* boiled *seeds by squeezing the seeds out*: Τῆς οὖν βοτάνης τοῦ σπέρματος οὐγ. γ΄ ... καὶ εἰλήσας ἐν ῥάκει τὸ μὲν σκύβαλον τοῦ ἐκπιέσματος ῥίψον Cyran. 1. 23. 10. New meaning.

ἐκτρίτωσις, εως, ἡ, of magical or medicinal decoctions, *to boil down to one third*, *to reduce to one third by boiling*: ἐὰν δέ τις μύρμηκας καθεψήσῃ σὺν ὕδατι ἕως ἐκτριτώσεως τοῦ ὕδατος Cyran. 2. 25. 13. New word.

ἐμφλογίζω, intrans., *to be flame-colored*, *to be fiery-red*, *to be of flame-red color*: οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος ... ἐμφλογίζων λαμπρῶς Cyran. 6. 8. 4–5. For similar verbal formations in -ίζω signifying the color of stones, see ἐγκυανίζω in this article. New word.

ἐνάμαρτος, ον, adj., *faulty*, *sinful, prone to sinning*: ὡς θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔφρασσε / σώμασι δὲ θνητοῖσι κυβερνᾶν καὶ σ' ἐναμάρτοις / στέργειν ... Cyran. p. 19. 10. Cf. prol. p. 18. 81. Recorded in *LSJ* with the meaning "faulty," but the only citation comes from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context. Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex.* record the word in this sense, but from late sources, Christian authors and legal texts.

ἐνηδόνως, adv., *with pleasure, enjoyably*: λαμπρῶς ἐσθίειν καὶ ἐνηδόνως παρασκευάζει Cyran. 4. 39. 5. *LSJ* records only the adj. ἐνήδονος. Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex.* record the word with this meaning from D. S. 4. 78 and Ioannes, the author of the *Climax*, but in the first citation the word is a *varia lectio* whereas the second comes from a much later, Christian source (6th cent. A.D.).

ἐνθουσιάζομαι = ἐνθουσιά(ζ)ω, *to be possessed by a god*: ἐνθουσιάζεσθαι ποιεῖ τοὺς ὀσφραινομένους ... τοὺς μυκτῆράς σου χρῖε μύρῳ δυνατῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐνθουσιασθήσει τὸ καθόλου Cyran. 1. 14. 29–31. New form. *LSJ* records only the active ἐνθουσιάζω.

ἔντασις, εως, ἡ (I) of male human beings, *erection, state of sexual arousal*: τοῖς παραλυθεῖσι τὸ αἰδοῖον πολλὴν ἔντασιν παρέξει Cyran. 1. 1. 23; cf. 1. 1. 13, 1. 18. 46, 57, 58 and elsewhere. (II) of both men and women, *state of sexual excitement and arousal*: οἱ δὲ δεξιοὶ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ κροκοδείλου) ὀδόντες ... ἔντασιν μεγίστην τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ εὐώνυμοι ταῖς γυναιξίν Cyran. 2. 22. 9; cf. 1. 18. 22 and elsewhere. Recorded in Steph. *Thes.*, from sources other than Cyran., but not in *LSJ* or the other lexica. The word also occurs, with the same meaning, in Greek medical writers, e.g. Oribas. *Libr. ad Eunap.* 4. 105 (*CMG* VI. 3 p. 484. 19 and 26).

ἐπιχρίω (I) active, *to anoint, to besmear* a surface with an ointment. Construction: with double accusative, the one accus. indicating the surface besmeared and the other the ointment which is applied: ἐπιχρισάτω τὸ μόριον αὐτοῦ αἷμα λαγωοῦ Cyran. 2. 24. 40. New construction. (II) ἐπιχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied* as a salve or ointment: ὁ δὲ ἐγκέφαλος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ συάγρου) . . . ἐπιχριόμενος ποδαλγικὰς ὀδύνας παραμυθεῖται Cyran. 2. 35. 7; cf. 2. 36. 12, 3. la. 5, 3. 9. 23, 3. 18. 6, 4. 23. 9, 4. 31. 4 and elsewhere. This usage is recorded only in Steph. *Thes.*, from Galen and Dioscor., but not in *LSJ*.

ἑπτάπολος, ον, adj., *of the seven celestial spheres*: ἑπταπόλοις ἄρκτοις δυσὶ συγκινούμενα πάντα, i.e. "all things being set in motion together with the constellations of the two Bears of the seven celestial spheres," Cyran. p. 51. 11; cf. also 1. 7. 28–29. New word.

ἑπτάχρωμος, ον, adj., *of seven colors*: Ζῷόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀέρι πετόμενον ὃ καλεῖται ἔποψ, ἑπτάχρωμον (*v.l.* ἑπτάχροον) βασίλειον ἔχον Cyran. 1. 7. 49. New word.

ἐργάζομαι, *cum accusativo et infinitivo, to make* or *cause* somebody to do something, *to effect that*: συλλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἐργάσεται Cyran. 1. 18. 18; also Geop. 15. 2. 17. Construction attested only in Soph. *Lex.*

ἑρπέτιον, τό, subst., *string* or *thread twisted like a serpent*: περιαπτόμενος (*sc.* ὁ λίθος) ἑρπετίῳ βαμβακίνῳ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον Cyran. 1. 19. 16. New word. It is worth noting that the Latin word *dracunculus* is attested with the same meaning: Inscr. Orell. 1572.

ἑτεροφρονέω, *cum dativo*, also with πρός + accus., *to disagree with* somebody, *to quarrel with*: καὶ γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἑτεροφρονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἢ ὁ ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον Cyran. 3. 7. 7–8. New meaning.

εὐάκουστος, ον, adj., passive, *eagerly listened to, to whom others are inclined to give ear*: θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ἔσται ἠγαπημένος καὶ εὐάκουστος Cyran. 1. 4. 50. New meaning.

εὔζωμος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἡ, *rocket*, Bot. *Eruca sativa*: Εὔζωμος βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐσθιομένη ὡς λάχανον, παρὰ πᾶσι γνωστόν Cyran. 1. 5. 1–3. *LSJ* records with this meaning only the neuter form εὔζωμον. New form.

εὔοινος, ον, *pleasantly affected by wine, enjoying wine without unpleasant after-effects*: εὐοίνων φρενῶν τήρησον εὐωχίαν Cyran. 1. 1. 141. This new meaning is borne out by the context, which is a magic formula or incantation which the host, in order to prevent any undesirable effects of wine-consumption on his guests, solemnly pronounces before he pours wine into their cups. Cf. also 1. 1. 161–69.

εὐπέπτως, adv., *digestibly*, *with good* or *easy digestion*, *in a manner in which something edible is easily digested*: πολλὰ ἐσθίειν ποιεῖ εὐπέπτως Cyran. 1. 9. 15. New meaning.

εὐστομαχία, ἡ, *easy digestion, digestibility, healthy condition of the stomach*: ἡ δὲ γαστὴρ (sc. τῆς αἰθυίας) . . . πέψιν εἰς ἄκρον καὶ εὐστομαχίαν παρέχει Cyran. 3. 6. 7; cf. 4. 41. 7. The entry in *LSJ* gives a different meaning, "*wholesomeness*" of food." The word is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* with the same meaning as in Cyran., but the only citation given there, Dioscor. 2. 18 (*lege* 2. 16), is only a *varia lectio* which has been rejected by Max Wellmann, the best editor of Dioscorides, in favor of εὐστομία.

εὔστοχος, ον, causative, adj., of amulets, *capable of enabling* somebody *to hit the mark, capable of making* somebody *successful, conducive to success*: τούτου (sc. τοῦ βούφου) ὁ ὄνυξ εὔστοχός ἐστι καὶ φυλακτικός Cyran. 3. 8. 4. New meaning.

εὐσύλληπτος, ον (I) adj. = συλληπτικός, *conducive to conceiving, facilitating* or *promoting conception*: ἔστι γὰρ ξηρίον ἡδονικὸν καὶ εὐσύλληπτον Cyran. 1. 18. 15. (II) εὐσύλληπτον, τό, subst., of amulets and substances possessed of magical properties, a *means conducive to conceiving, a means promoting conception*: ἐὰν οὖν βούλῃ εὐσύλληπτον ποιῆσαι μέγιστον καὶ ἀπαράβατον, ποίει οὕτως Cyran. 2. 9. 3. New meaning. For antonyms of εὐσύλληπτον in the latter meaning, cf. ἀσύλληπτον in this article, and ἀτοκεῖον and ἀτόκιον in *LSJ*; also R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes*, Hypomnemata 45 (1975) 42–43.

εὐτόκιον, τό, subst., of an amulet, *a means conducive to easy* or *painless childbirth*: ἔστι δὲ (sc. ὁ ἀετίτης λίθος) καὶ εὐτόκιον Cyran. 3. 1. 93. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj. in this sense (εὐτόκιον φάρμακον Aet. 1. 115).

ζαργάνη, ἡ, text. gloss on ῥαφίς, *garfish*, *Belone acus*, a fish characterized by a long, spearlike snout of the genus *Belone*: Ῥαφὶς ἰχθὺς ἐστι θαλάττιος ἡ καλουμένη βελονίς, ἣν καὶ ζαργάνην οἱ πολλοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν Cyran. 4. 55. 3. See βελονίς in this article. It is tempting to suspect an etymological connection between the word σαργάνη, explained by the glossographer in *Anecd. Graec.* (Bekker) 1. 301. 23–24 as a "plaited receptacle for fish made of rope," and my headword, especially if one considers that the letters σ and ζ are used interchangeably at the beginning of certain words, e.g. ζμάω, ζμάραγδος, ζαύρα (Cyran. 2. 14. 1–3 and elsewhere). However, such a connection might be difficult to prove. But it is almost impossible to deny that ζαργάνη is etymologically related to the following fish names: σαργῖνος, "a kind of gregarious fish" (*LSJ*), σαργίον and σαργός, "a sea-fish, the *sargue*, *Sargus Rondeletti*" (*LSJ*). The word ζαργάνη occurs also in the Schol. Oppian. *Hal.* as a gloss on three

different fish names: ταινία *(Hal.* 1. 100), σφύραινα (1. 172, 3. 117), and ῥαφίς (1. 172). The word as a fish name is absent both from Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (who, however, mentions the mod. Greek forms ζαργάνα, σαργώνη, σαργῶννος) and from the lexica, whether in the form σαργάνη or ζαργάνη.

ζώνη, ἡ, subst., *a vein, streak,* or *stripe of different color on stone, marble* etc.: Οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος . . . ζώνας ἔχει Cyran. 6. 8. 4. New meaning. The present entry can be incorporated into *LSJ's* lemma ζώνη III.

ζώννυμαι, passive, *to be worn as a girdle* or *belt*: 'Η δὲ δορὰ (sc. τῆς φώκης) ζωννυμένη νεφροὺς καὶ ἰσχία θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 41. 19. This usage is unattested in the lexica.

ζωογονέω, trans., *to revive, to resuscitate, to bring back to life*: τὰ δὲ αἵματα στάζοντα ἐπὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . . ζωογονεῖ αὐτά Cyran. 3. 39. 10. New meaning.

ἡγέομαι, in a passive sense, copulative verb, *to be regarded as*: τὸ δὲ στέαρ αὐτοῦ εἰς πολλὰ ἡγείσθω σοι χρήσιμον, "let its fat be regarded by you as useful in many respects," Cyran. 2. 33. 31. New usage.

ἡγήτρια, ἡ, fem. of ἡγητής = ἡγήτειρα, *female leader*: Μάκαιρα βοτάνη τῶν θεῶν ἡγήτρια Cyran. 1. 2. 130; cf. also p. 29. 1. New meaning.

ἡδύλαλος, ον, adj., in a passive sense, *sweetly spoken of* or *pleasingly spoken to*: καὶ ἔσῃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φιλητὸς καὶ γνωστὸς καὶ ἡδύλαλος Cyran. 1. 5. 30. The word is proparoxytone and, therefore, of passive sense; it is not the same as the paroxytone ἡδυλάλος, recorded by *LSJ* as a *hapax*, which is of active sense. New word.

ἡλιακός, ή, όν, adj. [Liter. *of the sun, solar*], ἡλιακή, ἡ (*sc.* σαύρα or ζαύρα), a species of *lizard*: ζαυρῶν δέ εἰσι γένη τρία. ἡ μὲν ἡλιακὴ λέγεται . . . Cyran. 2. 14. 2. New meaning. It is worth noting that the distinction of three kinds of lizards which we see in Cyran. is not mentioned in the lexica.

ἥλιος, ὁ, in the phr. ἡλίου ζῷον, τό = φοινικόπτερος, the bird *flamingo, Phoenicopterus antiquorum*: ἡλίου ζῷον ἢ φοινικόπτερος Cyran. 1. 7. 1; cf. 1. 7. 13, 1. 7. 18. New meaning, unattested in the lexica either under ἥλιος or ζῷον.

ἡλιοφανής, ές, adj., *visible by the sun, exposed to sunlight*: προϊόντα οὖν (*sc.* τὰ γῆς ἔντερα) καὶ ἡλιοφανῆ γενόμενα χειμῶνας καὶ ὄμβρους προμηνύει Cyran. 2. 8. 57. New word.

ἡμικότυλον, τό, subst. = ἡμικοτύλιον, *half*-κοτύλη: τοῦ δὲ ἐρίφου τὸ αἷμα ὅσον ἡμικότυλον σὺν ὄξει πινόμενον Cyran. 2. 4. 24. New form.

ἧπαρ, ατος, τό, a kind of a slow-moving, soft *fish* with a big liver (precise identification impossible; a collateral form of ἥπατος, ὁ, *q.v.* in *LSJ* and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*): ῏Ηπαρ ἰχθῦς ἐστι μαλακός, ἀργός, ἧπαρ μέγα ἔχων Cyran. 4. 21. 2. The word is recorded in *LSJ s.v.* ἧπαρ III as a *hapax*, but the only citation comes from Plin. *HN* 32. 149.

ἠρύγγιος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἡ = ἤρυγγος, *eryngo*, Bot. *Eryngium creticum*: 'Ηρύγγιος βοτάνη ἐστίν . . . ἢ καὶ γοργόνιος λέγεται Cyran. 1. 7. 3. *LSJ* records only the forms ἠρύγγιον and ἤρυγγος.

ἡφαιστίτης, ὁ (*sc.* λίθος), explained in Cyran. as πυρίτης: εἰς δὲ τὸν ἡφαιστίτην λίθον τὸν καὶ πυρίτην λεγόμενον Cyran. 1. 7. 17; cf. 1. 7. 2. The πυρίτης, however, of Cyran. is not the same as the πυρίτης λίθος recorded in *LSJ s.v.* πυρίτης II: "a mineral *which strikes fire, copper pyrites* . . . ; other varieties of uncertain nature . . . : of a zinc ore . . ." The words 'Ηφαιστίτης (*sc.* λίθος) and πυρίτης as they are used in Cyran. signify a very hard siliceous *stone that emits a spark when struck against* steel, i.e. *flint*. This stone is also called πυρεκβολίτης λίθος, concerning which see *Anecd. Graec.* (Bachm.) 2. 321. 21 and *LSJ s.v.*, and πυρέκβολος λίθος in *Zonarae Lexicon* (Tittmann) c. 1598 *s.v.* πυρεῖον. New word.

θαλασσόμικτος, ον, adj. = θαλασσομιγής, *mixed with seawater*, *connected with the sea*: ἐν λίμναις θαλασσομίκτοις Cyran. 4. 16. 3. New word.

θαλασσόχρους, ουν, adj., *of sea-green color*: βήρυλλός ἐστι θαλασσόχρους ἐγκυανίζων Cyran. 6. 7. 2. Absent from *LSJ* and the other lexica except Steph. *Thes.*, which explains: "*Qui colore marino est*," with citations from the 11th cent. Byzantine writer Psellus and from "cod. Paris. ap. Boiss. ad Herodiani Epimer. p. 43."

θεόγονος, ἡ (*sc.* βοτάνη), subst., mystical name of a plant otherwise unknown: θεογόνου ῥίζης (ἐν ἄλλῳ γράφει θεόπνου) οὐγ. δ´ Cyran. 2. 3. 21. Apparently the ancient editor saw in another ms. of Cyran. the *varia lectio* θεόπνου, again as a plant name. New meaning.

θεραπευτής, ὁ, *healer, curer*: μεγίστων δὲ παθημάτων θεραπευταί Cyran. 4. 36. 3. The word, with this meaning, occurs quite often in Christian authors, from whom it is recorded in Soph. *Lex.* and Lampe.

θερμαγωγός, όν, adj., *conveyor of heat, calorific, capable of heating*: ὁ δὲ καρπὸς αὐτῆς (*sc.* τῆς βαλσάμου βοτάνης) λεπτομερὴς ὢν καὶ θερμαγωγός Cyran. 5. 2. 6. New word.

θηρευτής, ὁ, subst., a species of *carnivorous bird* (The scantiness of the text does not allow precise identification.): θηρευτὴς πτηνόν ἐστιν ὃ καὶ πάνθηρ καλεῖται Cyran. 3. 17. 2. According to Cyran. the bird in question is also known as πάνθηρ (see below *s.v.*). New meaning.

θηριόδηκτος, ον, adj., of wounds or sores, *caused* or *inflicted by the bite of serpents*: ἰοβόλα ἕλκη θηριόδηκτα ἰᾶται (*sc.* ἡ πυτία τοῦ λαγωοῦ) Cyran. 2. 24. 22–23; cf. 5. 4. 7. For the semantic capabilities of such compound formations, i.e. with -δηκτος as the second component, cf. κυνόδηκτος. New meaning.

ἰνάριον, τό, subst., dimin. of ἴς, *a vein, streak*, or *stripe of different color in stone, marble* etc.: ὡς ἰνάρια ἔχει ὁ λίθος καθ᾽ αὑτόν Cyran. 6. 5. 6, used without any diminutive force. For a synonym in Cyran., see above, *s.v.* ζώνη.

ἰόβολος, ον, adj., *caused by venomous animals*: οἱ δὲ νεοσσοὶ . . . ἐπιτιθέμενοι θερμοὶ τοῖς ἰοβόλοις ἕλκεσιν Cyran. 3. 34. 15. New meaning.

ἰσοκάρδιος, ον, of the twigs of the mulberry tree, *shaped like a heart, in the form of a heart*: Τῆς οὖν μορέας οἱ κλάδοι οἱ μὲν ἄνω βλέπουσιν, οἱ δὲ κάτω ἔχουσιν τὸ ἄκρον, ἰσοκάρδιον καὶ δυοειδές Cyran. 1. 12. 19. For compound formations with ἰσο- as the first component in the sense "similar, like," cf. ἰσοδαίμων, ἰσόδουλος, ἰσοθάνατος, ἰσόθεος, ἰσολύμπιος etc. Strangely enough, *LSJ Suppl.* records from the same chapter two other words that share the same second component as the present headword, ἀνακάρδιον and κατακάρδιον, but not ἰσοκάρδιος. New word.

ἰύγγιον, τό, ἰύγγιον ἀττικόν = ἴυγξ, κιναίδιον, the bird *wryneck, Iynx torquilla*: κιναίδιος πτηνόν, ὃ καλεῖται ἴυγξ . . . οἱ δὲ ἰύγγιον ἀττικόν Cyran. 1. 10. 4–7. The word is a diminutive of ἴυγξ, but without any diminutive force. New word.

καπνέλαιον, τό [Liter. *smoked oil*], *naphtha*: τὸ δὲ καλούμενον καπνέλαιον ἡ νάφθα ἐστίν Cyran. 4. 18. 19; cf. 4. 18. 5, 7, 11, 15. New meaning.

καπνίζομαι, passive, *to be used as a fumigation substance*: ἡ δὲ δορὰ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ ἐρίφου) καπνιζομένη ληθαργικοὺς διεγείρει Cyran. 2. 4. 36; cf. 2. 4. 38, 2. 6. 15, 2. 33. 13; also: Geop. 12. 10. 11 and 13. 4. 8. This usage is unattested in the lexica.

καρδία, ἡ = καρδίδιον, *the heart-shaped twig* of a mulberry tree: Εἰ δὲ τὴν κάτω βλέπουσαν καρδίαν (sc. τῆς μορέας) ὑποκλείσῃς, ἔσται φυλακτήριον πρὸς αἱμοπτοϊκούς Cyran. 1. 12. 42. Elsewhere (1. 12. 21, 24, 39) Cyran. uses the synonym καρδίδιον. New meaning.

κάρη, ἡ, *a metal container,* most probably shaped like a human head and used in magic ritual: τὸ δὲ αἷμα ψῦγε ἐμβαλὼν εἰς κάρην Cyran. 3. 1. 31. Most probably, the word is etymologically connected with κάρα, "head," presumably because of the head-like shape of the vessel in question. New word.

καστόριον (or, more correctly, **καστόρειον), τό,** subst., *the testicles of the beaver,* used in magical potions and for medicinal purposes: τούτου (sc. κυνοποτάμου ἤτοι κάστορος) οἱ ὄρχεις, τὸ καλούμενον καστόριον, εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι Cyran. 2. 19. 3. This new meaning is borne out not only by our citation but also from Pliny *HN* 32. 13. 26: *spectabili naturae potentia, in iis quoque, quibus et terris victus est, sicut fibris, quos castoras vocant et castorea testes eorum,* cited by Steph. *Thes.* with the note, *"ubi nota hoc* καστόρεια *pro* καστόρεια ὀρχείδια." The same lexicon adduces Galen (= 12. 337. 3 Kühn) to the effect that the beaver's testicles are called καστόριον.

κατάβρωσις, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *disease afflicting the nose*: Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀζαίνας καὶ ὄχθους καὶ πολύποδας καὶ ἀναβρώσεις τε καὶ καταβρώσεις . . . καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοὺς μυκτῆρας Cyran. 1. 1. 62; cf. 1. 20. 16. New meaning.

κατάρτιν, τό = κατάρτιον, the *mast* of the ship: Ἐὰν δὲ τὴν καρδίαν . . . περιάψῃς εἰς κατάρτιν πλοίου Cyran. 1. 21. 54; cf. 4. 67. 9 (κατάρτιν). The form κατάρτιν is absent from *LSJ*, but even the form κατάρτιον which is recorded in that lexicon is documented only with a citation from *Etym. Mag.*, which has preserved the form without a context.

καταχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied as a salve* or *ointment*: τὸ δὲ λευκὸν τοῦ ᾠοῦ . . . καταχριόμενον φλεγμονὴν παρηγορεῖ Cyran. 2. 47a. 6; cf. 2. 5. 28, 3. 17. 5, 3. 30. 11, 3. 34. 6, 5. 19. 3, 5. 24. 5 etc. New usage.

κατενστάζω, trans., *to instill* a liquid *upon* or *into* a part of the body (The construction is κατενστάζω τί τινος. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice, the genitive denoting the surface upon which the liquid is instilled.): ὄνυξ δὲ ὄνου κεκαυμένος, σὺν γάλακτι . . . κατενσταζόμενος ὀφθαλμῶν αἴρει τραχώματα Cyran. 2. 31. 14. New word.

καυκοειδῶς, adv., *in the shape of a cup*: ῥάφανος καυκοειδῶς γλυφείς Cyran. 5. 17. 10. New word. The headword leads one to postulate an adj. *καυκοειδής, which is not listed in the lexica either. The word evidently derives from the word καῦκος, "a kind of *cup*" (*LSJ*), a word that has come down to us only through glossaries. The dimin. καυκίον seems to be a little more common. Cf. Lat. *caucus* and *caucula.*

κέχεδρον, τό or κέχεδρος, ἡ, gender indeterminate = ἄμπελος λευκή, *bryony*, Bot. *Bryonia cretica*: ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἄμπελος λευκή, ἥν τινες βρυωνίαν καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὄφεως σταφυλήν . . . οἱ δὲ κέχεδρον Cyran. 1. 1. 108. New word. Etymology uncertain.

κηρόω, trans., *to convert* something *into a wax-salve, to reduce to cerate*: οὗτος ὁ ἰχθῦς ὅλος . . . ἑψηθεὶς ἕως κηρωθῇ . . . ποδάγρας θεραπεύει Cyran. 1. 13. 13; cf. 2. 3. 20. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice. New meaning.

κηρύκιον, τό, subst., a generic name for various kinds of molluscs including trumpet-shells and purple-fish (murex): Πορφύρα θαλασσία ἡ καὶ κογχύλη λεγομένη, κηρύκιόν ἐστι μικρόν Cyran. 4. 53. 2. New meaning, unrecorded in the lexica, except in Steph. *Thes.*, which records the word from Alex. Trall. Neither κηρύκειον nor κηρύκιον in *LSJ* is used as a fish name. Only the word κῆρυξ (*LSJ s.v.* II) is recorded as a fish name, but it is doubtful whether κῆρυξ in this sense and the headword here mean the same thing. For another instance of κηρύκιον in this sense, see Schol. in Arist. *Vesp.* 968 cod. V (Dübner) p. 457: ἔστι δὲ ὀστράκιόν τι βραχὺ τελέως, παραπλήσιον τοῖς κηρυκίοις.

κιναίδιος (For the gender and meanings, see below. *LSJ Suppl.* does record the word from Cyran. 1. 10. 1–22, but the explanation given is vague and inadequate: "name of a plant, a fish, a bird, a stone." Moreover, contrary to what is indicated in *LSJ Suppl.*, the gender of the word in Cyran. is not always masculine; when the word is used as a plant name, it is evidently feminine in gender so as to agree with the subst. βοτάνη.) (I) κιναίδιος, ἡ, in the phr. κιναίδιος βοτάνη = περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος, *holy vervain*, Bot. *Verbena supina*: κιναίδιος βοτάνη, ἥτις ἐστὶ περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος Ἀφροδίτης Cyran. 1. 10. 3. (II) κιναίδιος (*sc.* ὄρνις), ὁ = ἴυγξ, *wryneck, Iynx torquilla*: κιναίδιος πτηνόν, ὃ καλεῖται ἴυγξ Cyran. 1. 10. 4. The word is a collateral form of κιναίδιον, τό, which is preserved by Hesychius and Photius and recorded from them in *LSJ*. Another collateral form is κίναιδος (*LSJ s.v.* III). (III) κιναίδιος (*sc.* ἰχθῦς), ὁ, a kind of little sea-fish whose size, according to Cyran., is the breadth of six fingers; it is flat-headed, of a round shape and transparent body, so that its spine can be seen through its flesh as clearly as if it were in front of a mirror: κιναίδιος ἰχθῦς θαλάσσιος· τὸ μέγεθος ἔχει δακτύλους ἕξ Cyran. 1. 10. 10. There is no doubt that the fish in question is the same as Lat. *cinaedus*, referred to by Pliny *HN* 32. 53. 146, even though precise identification is not possible. (IV) κιναίδιος (*sc.* λίθος), ὁ = ὀψιανὸς λίθος, a black stone of two varieties, sacred to Cronos, believed to have magical properties, prob. *obsidian*: ὁ δὲ κιναίδιος λίθος εὔγνωστος ὢν ⟨ὅμως δύσγνωστος ὑπάρχει, ὃς καλεῖται ὀψιανός Cyran. 1. 10. 18. This stone is not the same as *cinaedia* and *cinaedium*, referred to by Pliny *HN* 37. 56. 153 and 29. 38. 129, respectively.

κισσόφυτον, τό = κισσός, *ivy*, Bot. *Hedera helix*: Ζμῖλάξ ἐστι βοτάνη ἰσχυροτάτη ὡς κισσόφυτον (*v.l.* χρυσόφυτον) Cyran. 1. 6. 3. New word.

κλύζομαι, passive, *to be used as a lotion for washing out* or *rinsing out* (of a kind of ξηρίον, i.e. desiccative powder, mixed with wine and used as a liquid for rinsing out the mouth): καὶ εἰς ὀδονταλγίας ὠφέλιμον γίνεται σὺν οἴνῳ κλυζόμενον Cyran. 3. 1a. 14; cf. 3. 9. 50. New usage.

κνίφη, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the eyelids*: ἀπόκειται ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν βλεφάρων, κνίφη, κονιδισμός, φθειρίασις . . . Cyran 1. 16. 11. New word. *LSJ* records from the grammarian Herodian the verbs κνίφω and κνιφιάω (2. 949). Neither Herodian nor *LSJ* explains the meaning of these verbs. I venture to suggest that the meaning of κνίφη as given above helps to define these two verbs, namely "to suffer from κνίφη, a disease that afflicts the eyelids." Steph. *Thes.*, Soph. *Lex.*, and *LSJ* have the entry κνήφη, with the meaning "itch," which seems to be a variant of the same word.

κογχύλη, ἡ = πορφύρα, *purple-fish*, any of the genera *Thais*, *Purpura* and *Murex*, from which the purple dye was extracted: Πορφύρα θαλασσία ἡ καὶ κογχύλη λεγομένη Cyran. 4. 53. 2. Meaning attested in Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex*, from sources other than Cyran., but absent from *LSJ*. That the word did signify *inter alia* "purple-fish, murex," can be seen from the following derivatives: κογχυλευτής   "murex-fisher" (*LSJ*), κογχυλιαβάφος "purple-dyer" (*LSJ*), κογχύλιος "purple" (*LSJ*), κογχύλιον "= κόχλος II" (*LSJ*), κογχυλιωτός "dyed with purple" (*LSJ*), κογχυλεύς "purple-worker" (*LSJ Suppl.*).

κολέντερον, τό, subst., anatomical techn. term, *colon, the greater part of the large intestine, from the caecum to the rectum* (In Cyran. it refers to the corresponding digestive organ of fowls and specifically of the bird ζῶκος.): τὸ δὲ κωλέντερον (*sic*) τοῦ πτηνοῦ ἐὰν δῷς λεῖον πιεῖν, ἢ ὀπτὸν φαγεῖν κωλικῷ τελείως σωθήσεται Cyran. 1. 6. 15. What we have here is the fundamental principle of magic and primitive medicine "*similia similibus*," concerning which cf. R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica Graeca Latina* (Leipzig 1892) 484 ff. In Cyran. the force of this underlying principle is exemplified in the simple prescription that the κολέντερον of the bird ζῶκος, if given as a solid food or as a liquid to a person suffering in the κόλον, i.e. from colic, will cure it of its ailment. It is not, however, unlikely that the anatomical part meant by my headword here with reference to fowls is the *gizzard*. The word is extremely rare. Steph. *Thes.* and *LSJ Suppl.* record the word as a *hapax*, from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context. Besides, the meaning of the word as given in those two lexica, "= Lat. *longao*," makes it uncertain whether the word means what our entry does, i.e. *colon* (of fowls: "gizzard"?) or a kind of *sausage*; for the Lat. *longao* has both meanings. The word occurs as an anatomical

term for the human body in at least one more author, the Byzantine writer
Petrus of Antioch, from which source it was recorded in Soph. *Lex*. The
word is spelled κωλέντερον in Steph. *Thes*., Soph. *Lex*. and the Kaimakis
edition of Cyran. This spelling seems to have as strong a claim to
correctness as the spelling κολέντερον, especially if one considers the
spelling of such words as κωλῆ, κωλήν, κωλικεύομαι, κωλικός, Lat.
ælice, κῶλον, Lat. *co̅lon* and *co̅lum*, all of which are semantically
associated with colon, rectum or thigh. To be sure, *LSJ s.v.* κῶλον II. 6
says, "incorrect form for κόλον." But if the spelling κῶλον in the sense
colon is incorrect, then it goes without saying that the spelling of such
entries in that lexicon as κωλικεύομαι, "suffer from colic," and κωλικός,
"suffering in the colon, having colic," must be accordingly corrected in the
lexica. In fact, I believe that the spelling of this word and its derivatives
fluctuates between κωλ- and κολ-.

κολοστόμαχος, ὁ, subst., anatomical techn. term, *the colon, the straight
gut, the greater part of the large intestine, from the caecum to the rectum*:
τοὺς τὸν κολοστόμαχον ἀλγοῦντας Cyran. 3. 1. 80. The word in the
Kaimakis edition (where it is designated a *"vox nova"*) is spelled
κωλοστόμαχος. Concerning the spelling, see previous entry. New word.

κολωνός, ὁ, subst., *a kind of stone* (precise identification impossible):
γαλαϊκὸς λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος Cyran. 6. 9. 2. New
word.

κοπανίζω, trans., *to bray, to grind*: καρκίνον καύσας καὶ
ἀριστολοχίαν καὶ κνίδας κοπανίσας Cyran. 4. 28. 25. The word is
listed in *LSJ* with this meaning, but only in the passive voice; our citation
gives the first known occurrence of the verb in the active voice.

κοσμικός, ή, όν, in the phr. αἷμα κοσμικόν, a mystical, magical, name of
a kind of *small, black, ant-like insect* (?) *with short wings found in the
center of the flower of the plant* χρυσάνθεμος βοτάνη: κατὰ μέσον τοῦ
ἄνθους (*sc.* τῆς χρυσανθέμου) ὡσεὶ μυρμήκια μικρά, μέλανα, βραχέα
πτερὰ ἔχοντα. ταῦτα καλεῖται αἷμα κοσμικόν Cyran. 1. 22. 9; cf. 1.
21. 32. New meaning. Concerning my reservations in explaining as above
the meaning of the phrase αἷμα κοσμικόν, see below under μυρμήκιον.

κροκοδιλία (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ, a kind of plant, most likely *sea-holly*:
αἷμα δὲ ζῶντος ὄνου μετὰ κροκοδιλίας βοτάνης Cyran. 2. 31. 15. New
word. *LSJ* records two similar forms as the names of two plants:
κροκοδίλειον, "sea-holly, *Eryngium maritimum*," and κροκοδιλιάς, "=
foreg... ἀρτεμισία κ." It is impossible to determine whether my
headword here signifies sea-holly or ἀρτεμισία or some other kind of plant.

κροτών, ῶνος, ὁ [Liter. *striker*] = κύων, *a young dog*: ζῶντος δὲ τοῦ κροτῶνος ἀνατμηθέντος καὶ ἔτι θερμοῦ ὄντος Cyran. 2. 20. 23. New meaning. Etymology: < κροτέω *to strike*. I have arrived at this meaning on the basis of both the heading (περὶ κυνὸς μικροῦ) of Cyran. 2. 20 and its content, which deals entirely with the medicinal qualities of a puppy. Nevertheless, I have serious doubts about the soundness of the reading.

κροῦσμα, ατος, τό = δῆγμα, *bite* or *sting* of insects, as for example bees and wasps: πρὸς μελισσῶν καὶ σφηκῶν κρούσματα Cyran. 2. 20. 18. New meaning. Etymology: < κρούω *to strike*.

κυκλίσκω, trans., *to set* something *in a circular motion*: κυκλίσκων τάδε πάντα ἀπ' ἀντολίης ἐπὶ δυσμάς Cyran. p. 51. 10; cf. also 1. 7. 28. New word.

κυμβαληφόρος, ον, adj., *associated with cymbals* (epithet of the vine which, apparently, derives from the fact that the vine was associated with the orgiastic cult of Dionysus, which included the playing of cymbals): ἄμπελος λευκὴ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν βοτανῶν εὔδιε κυμβαληφόρε γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἡ πρώτη Cyran. 1. 1. 163. New word.

κυνογάλεος, ὁ, subst., *dog-fish*, or a kind of small shark resembling the *hammerhead*: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα (*sc.* τῆς ζυγαίνης) ὅμοιον κυνογαλέῳ Cyran. 4. 19. 3. This fish is also known as κύων γαλεός: Opp. *Hal.* 1. 373, Ael. *HA* 1. 55. New word.

κωδωνίζω, intrans., *to sound*, *to ring*, *to produce a bell-like sound* (of a stone which, if held to the ear while being shaken, creates the illusion of producing a bell-like sound): ἀκούσει κωδωνίζοντος (sc. τοῦ ἀετίτου λίθου) Cyran. 1. 1. 7. New meaning.

κωλικός, ὁ or κωλικόν, τό, gender indeterminate, subst., *colic*, *severe spasmodic griping pain in the belly*: κοχλιάριον α΄ δίδου μεθ' ὑδρομέλιτος . . . τῷ ἔχοντι κωλικόν Cyran. 2. 11. 13. The word is a substantivized adj. resulting from the phrase κωλικὸς πόνος or κωλικὸν νόσημα. New word. This word supplies the etymological and semantic origin of English "colic" through the intermediate stage Lat. *colica passio* and med. Lat. *colica* (subst. fem.); cf. *OED s.v.* "colic." *LSJ* records κωλικός, but only as an adjective and with different meanings.

λαζοῦριν, τό (< λαζούριον), a kind of pigment used in painting and prepared from the stone σάπφειρος, *lapis lazuli*: ἀφ' οὗ (*sc.* σαπφείρου λίθου) ποιοῦσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὸ λαζοῦριν τὸ ἄριστον, ὃ καλοῦσιν φυσικόν Cyran. 1. 18. 10. This pigment is also known to us from the

papyri by the names σαπφείριον, σαππείριον or σαππίριν. New word.
Formation: the word is a direct Greek borrowing from Arabic, *la⁻zuward* or
la⁻zaward, which, however, goes back to Persian *la⁻zward*. The medieval
Latin form *lazulum*, from which the genitive in the phrase *lapis lazuli*
comes, is a loan word from the Greek λαζούριον or perhaps the unattested
form *λάζουρον. The text of Cyran. contains also the adj. ὑπολαζούριος
(cf. below).

λευκασία, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *skin disease* which causes
whitening of the skin, a kind of *leprosy*: Πρὸς οὖν τὰς ἀληδόνας τῆς
κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐλεφαντιάσεως . . . καὶ λευκασίας τὰς περὶ τὸ
σῶμα γιγνομένας Cyran. 1. 4. 33. New meaning.

λευκίζω, intrans., *to be white in color*: οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος γίνεται
ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος λευκίζων Cyran. 6. 8. 4. New word. For similar verbal
formations signifying the color of stones, see above on ἐγκυανίζω.

λευκομέτωπος, ὁ, subst. = φαλαρίς, the aquatic bird *coot, Fulica atra*:
Φαλαρὶς πτηνὸν ὁ λεγόμενος λευκομέτωπος. ὅλον γάρ ἐστι μέλαν, τὸ
δὲ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνον ἔχει λευκόν Cyran. 3. 48. 2. It is to be
noted that λευκομέτωπος in Cyran. is a rendering of φαλαρίς
(< φάλαρος) into a more precisely descriptive form in the vernacular. *LSJ*
does record the word, from sources other than Cyran., but the meaning given
is vague and unsatisfactory ("as Subst., name of a bird"), no identification of
the bird being given. Recorded, from sources other than Cyran., and
correctly identified in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

λύσις, εως, ἡ, magical techn. term, *counterspell, spell-breaker*, (magic or
medicinal) *antidote*: ἐὰν δέ τις λειώσας (*sc.* τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν τῆς ἀηδόνος) δώῃ τινὶ πιεῖν λάθρα, ἄυπνος ἀποθανεῖται·
λύσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχει Cyran. 1. 5. 23; cf. 1. 24. 113, 2. 31. 25. New
meaning.

μάργα, ἡ, text. gloss on νάρκη, *torpedo, electric ray*: Νάρκη ἰχθῦς ἐστι
θαλάσσιος, ὃν οἱ πολλοί φασι μάργαν Cyran. 4. 44. 2. New word. The
word is etymologically related to the words μάργος, μαργάω, μαργότης,
μαργοσύνη, with the basic notion of "madness, fury, rage."

μάργαρος, ὁ, subst., *eye-ball*: οἱ δὲ μάργαροι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ
φορούμενοι ὀφθαλμίαν παύουσι καὶ ἡμικρανίαν Cyran. 4. 39. 6. New
word. The word is etymologically related to the nouns μάργαρον,
μαργαρίτης and μάργαρος, the first two signifying "pearl" and the latter
"pearl-oyster." The use of the word in the sense "eye-ball" is a figurative
one based on the pearl-like appearance of the object signified.

μαχαιρία, ἡ, subst., text. gloss on the plant ξίφιος (*sc.* βοτάνη) =
ξίφιον, φάσγανον, *corn-flag*, Bot. *Gladiolus segetum*: Ξίφιος βοτάνη ἐστὶ
πληθύουσα ἐν πάσῃ γῇ . . . ἥν τινες μαχαιρίαν καλοῦσιν Cyran. 1. 14.

5. New word. *LSJ* records the word μαχαιρίων along with the *varia lectio* μαχαιρώνιον with the same meaning.

μελάνθραξ, ακος, ὁ, medical techn. term = δοθιήν, *small abscess*, *boil*: καταχριομένη δὲ ἡ κόπρος (*sc.* τῆς κατοικιδίου ὄρνιθος) μυρμηκίας καὶ μελάνθρακας ἰᾶται Cyran. 3. 34. 5. New word. Some lexica record similar forms with the same meaning, μελανθράκη and μελανθράκιν. That the word ἄνθραξ signifies *inter alia* some kind of disease can be seen from *LSJ s.v.* II. 2: "*carbuncle*, *malignant pustule* (acc. to some *small-pox*)."

μελανῖτις, ιδος, ἡ, adj., *black* (attributive of γῆ: μελανῖτις γῆ = northwestern Africa, in particular Mauritania and Numidia): Πορφυρίτης λίθος, γνωστὸς μάλιστα ἐν τῇ μελανίτιδι γῇ Cyran. 1. 16. 6; cf. 1. 14. 17–18, 1. 15. 16, 2. 37. 2–3. New word. The phrase μελανῖτις γῆ signifies exactly the same thing as the noun Μαυρουσιάς, occurring in Dioscor. *Mat. Med.* 2. 66, and Μαυρουσία, preserved by Vitruvius (8. 2. 6). Both forms (neither of which is recorded in *LSJ*) mean "the country of the Mauri," i.e. Mauritania. Indeed, according to Vitruvius *loc. cit.*, Μαυρουσία was the Greek name of Mauritania. Now, given the meaning of the word μαῦρος, "dark," the literal meaning of the words Μαυρουσιάς and Μαυρουσία must be "the country of the black people," which means that they are synonyms for μελανῖτις γῆ. One more argument for identifying Mauritania with μελανῖτις γῆ is the reference to the animal σκίγγος by both Cyran. (2. 37. 2–3) and Dioscor. (*Mat. Med.* 2. 66, spelled σκίγκος) with the information that this animal can be found ἐν τῇ Μελανίτιδι γῇ according to the former source and ἐν τῇ Γαιτουλίᾳ τῆς Μαυρουσιάδος according to the latter.

μελισσολόγος, ὁ, gloss on μέροψ in Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 3. 30. 2, the bird *bee-eater*, *Merops apiaster*. New word. Its etymological connection with bees can be seen both in its Latin name, *apiastra*, and in its names in mod. Greek, μελισσουργός and μελισσοφάγος.

μηδικός, ή, όν, adj., in the phr. μηδικὸς λίθος, *Persian stone*, a kind of stone sacred to Aphrodite: μηδικὸς λίθος, οὗτος ἀνήκει τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Cyran. 1. 12. 5; cf. 1. 12. 33 and 38. Hesychius *s.v.* μήδιος reads as follows: μήδιος· μαλακός, καὶ βοτάνης εἶδος καὶ λίθος τι μηδιάτης. From this it seems certain that these two stone names, μήδιος and μηδικὸς λίθος, signify the same kind of stone. New meaning.

μοιρικός, ή, όν (I) adj. = μοιρόκραντος, *ordained by the Fates, determined by one's destiny, inescapable*: ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς μοιρικὰς ἀνεπιτυχίας, ἀπραξίας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Cyran. 1. 22. 15. (II) μοιρική, ἡ, subst., *success* or *happiness ordained by fate*: μεγίστην μοιρικὴν καὶ μεσιτείαν ἕξεις Cyran. 1. 24. 31; cf. 2. 31. 19. New meanings.

μοναvδρία, ἡ (used figuratively of animals and, in particular, of birds) *the state of mating with only one male companion*: Τρυγὼν στρουθίον πᾶσι γνωστόν, μονανδρίαν ἀσκοῦν Cyran. 3. 43. 2.   New word.

μοῦλα, ἡ, Lat. *mula, a female mule*: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἀνδρῶν βουρδών, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικὸς μοῦλα Cyran. 2. 15. 13.   New form; *LSJ* records only the forms μουλάριον and μούλη. Recorded in Soph. *Lex.*, but from a later source.

μυρμήκιον, τό, subst., dimin. of μύρμηξ, *small ant*: κατὰ μέσον τοῦ ἄνθους ὡσεὶ μυρμήκια, μικρά, μελανά, βραχέα πτερὰ ἔχοντα. ταῦτα καλεῖται αἷμα κοσμικόν Cyran. 1. 22. 8.   The precise meaning of the form (neut. plur.) μυρμήκια and its synonym αἷμα κοσμικόν is elusive and uncertain.   The context is quite ambiguous in the sense that it leaves it unclear whether αἷμα κοσμικόν and μυρμήκια mean "ant-like insects," as I reluctantly believe (see above on κοσμικός), or just parts of the flower itself (as e.g. stamens or stigmas) that resemble little, black, winged ants.   This meaning is attested in Soph. *Lex.*, but from a much later source.

μύωψ, ωπος, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *ailment affecting the pupil of the eye*: περὶ δὲ τὴν κόρην, νεφέλιον, ἀχλύς . . . νυκτάλωψ, μύωψ Cyran. 1. 16. 20; cf. 1. 11. 11.   New meaning.   For similar compound formations with -ωψ signifying various kinds of eye diseases, cf. ἀγχίλωψ, αἰγίλωψ, νυκτάλωψ.

νεκροτοκία, ἡ, medical techn. term, *extraction of a dead embryo*: εἰς νεκροτοκίαν Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 2. 24. 21.   New word.

νεογέννητος, ον, adj., *newly born*: κύων ἐστὶ ὃ παρ' ἡμῖν κυνάριον λέγεται, μικρός, νεογέννητος, ἔτι θηλάζων Cyran. 2. 20. 2.   The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but the only citation comes from Photius, who has preserved it as a gloss on νεογιλός.

νεφέλιον, τό = ἱππομανές, *a small black membrane on the forehead of a new-born foal*, used as a powerful love-charm or love-potion: τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ (*sc.* ἵππου γεννηθέντος) νεφέλιον Cyran. 2. 17. 3.   New meaning.

νεφρικός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person suffering from a kidney disease*: ἐσθιόμενος δὲ ὁ ἰχθῦς . . . νεφρικοὺς καὶ δυσουρίαν ἰᾶται Cyran. 4. 49. 4–5.   *LSJ* does record this word in this meaning from Dsc. 1. 6, but according to that lexicon it is a "*falsa lectio* for νεφριτικός." My citation here, therefore, is the first to document the existence of such a word.

ξεράχωμα, ατος, τό, medical techn. term, a kind of *disease that damages the skin* or *the hair of the head*: τὸ δὲ ἔριον αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ προβάτου) . . . χρήσιμόν ἐστι ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ξεραχώματα Cyran. 2. 33. 27.   New word. The word is etymologically related to the base ξηρ-, "dry."   That the long

vowel η came to be pronounced as short ε in Hellenistic and Roman times can be seen both from the entry ξερεύω in *LSJ Suppl.* and from the vernacular mod. Greek, in which ξηρός and its derivatives have been replaced by ξερός, ξεραίνω etc.

ξίφιος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ = ξίφιον, *corn-flag*, Bot. *Gladiolus segetum*: Ξίφιος βοτάνη ἐστὶ πληθύουσα ἐν πάσῃ γῇ . . . ἥν τινες μαχαιρίαν καλοῦσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ φάσγανον Cyran. 1. 14. 3. New form.

ξύθος, ὁ, a kind of small fish, namely the *Smaris vulgaris*, of the *Maenidae* family: ξύθος ἐστὶν ἰχθῦς, ἣν ἔνιοι ζμαρίδα καλοῦσιν Cyran. 4. 46. 2. New word.

ξυλάλοχον, τό, subst. = ξυλαλόη, ἀγάλοχον, *eagle-wood*, Bot. *Aquilaria malaccensis*: Ξυλάλοχον, οἱ δὲ ξυλαλόην φασί, ξύλον ἐστὶν ἰνδικόν Cyran. 5. 14. 2. New word.

ξυλοβάτης, ὁ, subst., a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: ξυλοβάτης . . . εἶδός ἐστι κορκοδείλου μικροῦ Cyran. 2. 29. 2. For similar compound formations, cf. ἀκανθοβάτης, δενδροβάτης, σκωλοβάτης, τοιχοβάτης. New word. The same creature is also known by the name τοιχοβάτης (see below).

οἰνοβίκη, ἡ, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἥμερος = δρακοντία, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἴδη εἰσίν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ ἥμερος ἡ καὶ οἰνοβίκη Cyran. 1. 4. 4. New word.

οἰνοφλυγέω, intrans., *to be addicted to drinking, to be given to drunkenness*: ὁ οἶνος λάθρα δοθεὶς οἰνοφλυγοῦντι παύσει αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ οἴνου ἐπιθυμίας Cyran. 4. 16. 7. New meaning.

ὀλιγοστός, ή, όν, adj., in the positive degree, of quantity, *little*: μετὰ οἴνου καὶ νάρδου ὀλιγοστοῦ Cyran. 2. 26. 14. Formation: on the analogy of πολύς > πολλοστός, which in turn is formed on the analogy of the ordinal numerals εἰκοστός, etc. Cf. *LSJ s.v.* πολλοστός. New meaning.

Ὀλύμπιος, α, ον, adj., *associated with those dwelling on Olympus, divine* (predicative of ἄμπελος, *vine*): Ὀλυμπία . . . συντήρησόν μου νοὸς φρένας Cyran. 1. 1. 165. New meaning.

ὁμοσάρδιον, τό, subst., *Sardian stone of the same kind* (the Sardian stone was of two kinds, cf. *LSJ s.v.* σάρδιον): πάλιν δὲ ἄλλους β΄ λίθους . . . ὁμοσάρδια γλυφὴν ἔχοντας ἀμφότερα Cyran. 1. 10. 80. New word.

ὀνειριάζω, intrans. = ὀνειρώσσω, *to have an emission of semen during sleep*: τὸ μὲν γὰρ χλωρὸν εὔζωμον ψύχει τὰς συνουσίας καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ πολλὰ συνουσιάζειν, οὔτε πυκνῶς ὀρθιᾶν οὔτε ὀνειριάζειν Cyran. 1.

5. 13. New form, not recorded in the lexica, except in Soph. *Lex.* with the meaning "to have salacious ὀνείρατα."

ὀνόθουρις, ιδος, ἡ, subst., the plant *marsh mallow, wild mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: Ὀνόθυροις βοτάνη ἐστίν· οἱ μὲν ὀνόθουριν καλοῦσιν οἱ δὲ ὀνομαλάχην Cyran. 1. 15. 3. It is described by the Auctor Cyran. as having leaves resembling those of a cultivated mallow, a tree-mallow. It therefore signifies a kind of plant different from the ὀνοθήρας and ὀνόθουρις recorded in *LSJ* as meaning "oleander, *Nerium oleander*." It signifies at least three different plants and the juice of a fourth one: (I) *oleander*, Bot. *Nerium oleander*. (II) *buglossum* (citations in Ducangius *Gloss.*). (III) = χαλβάνη, *the* resinous *juice of all-heal*, Bot. *Ferula galbaniflua*, see "Glossaires de botanique" XIII p. 425. 13 in Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.* II. (IV) = ἀλθαία, *marsh mallow, wild mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*. The last three meanings are absent from *LSJ*. Moreover, it is a philological crux to determine with certainty the orthography and original form of the word. The following forms (variants or distortions of the original form?) have been preserved in various authors and mss.: ὀνόθουρις, ὀνοθήρας, ὀνοθήρα and ὀνόθηρα, οἰνοθήρας, ὀνούθορος, ὀνοθουρίς and ὀνοθοῦρις, ὀνοθοῦριν, ὀνοθύριον, ὀνόθυρσις. However, the forms ὀνόθουρις and ὀνόθυρσις seemed perfectly correct and acceptable to the anonymous Auctor Cyran.

ὀνόθυρσις, ιδος, ἡ, the plant *marsh mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: Cyran. 1. 15. 3 (see previous entry). New word.

ὀνομαλάχη, ἡ [Liter. *donkey's mallow*], *marsh mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: Cyran. 1. 15. 3 (see previous entries). New word. For other plant names with ὀνο- as the first component cf., besides the two preceding entries, ὀνόβλιτον, ὀνοβρυχίς, ὀνοκάρδιον, ὀνόκλεια, ὀνόπορδον, ὀνόπυξος, ὀνόρυγχος, ὀνόφυλλον, ὀνοχειλές.

ὄνος, ὁ, in the phr. ὄνος θαλάσσιος, the *sea polypus, octopus*: Ὄνος θαλάσσιος, ὅν τινες πολύπουν, οἱ δὲ ὀκτάπουν λέγουσιν Cyran. 4. 48. 1–2. New meaning.

ὀπισθότονος, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *one who suffers from* ὀπισθοτονία (the latter explained in *LSJ* s.v. as "disease in which the body is drawn back and stiffens, tetanic recurvation"): πινόμενον δὲ (*sc.* τὸ καστόριον) στομαχικούς, σπληνικούς, ληθαργικοὺς καὶ ὀπισθοτόνους ἄκρως ἰᾶται Cyran. 2. 19. 8–9. New meaning.

ὁράω, trans., *to experience, to undergo*: εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῖς γόνασι γυνὴ αὐτὴν φορεῖ, οὐδόλως συλλήψεται, οὔτε ἔμμηνα ὁρᾷ Cyran. 2. 36. 10. New meaning. For a similar use of the verb βλέπω, cf. the phrase καταμήνια βλέπει Schol. ad Aesch. *Prom.* 134. 15 (Dindorf).

ὁρμητικός, ή, όν, causative adj., *cum genitivo objecti, inducive of, incitive of*: ἔστι δὲ τὸ στέαρ (*sc.* τοῦ κυπρίνου) συνουσίας ὁρμητικόν Cyran. 4. 37. 5–6. New construction.

οὐλοποιέω, intrans. = (ἐπ)ουλόω, *to scar over, to cause cicatrization*: εἰς οὐλοποιῆσαι πᾶν ἕλκος Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 17. 4. New word. The entries οὐλοποίησις and οὐλοποιός in *LSJ* are not related to the present headword.

ὀφέα, ἡ = νυκτερίς, *bat*: ὀφέα πτηνόν ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη νυκτερίς Cyran. 3. 33. 2. New word. Etymology unknown.

παμμήτωρ, ορος, ὁ, adj., *source of creation of all, origin of all*: ταῦτ' αἰώνια ἔργα θεοῦ παμμήτορος ἔσται Cyran. prol. p. 19. 18. Recorded in *LSJ*, but only as a fem. adj., whereas in Cyran. the word is used as a masc. adj., modifier of θεός.

πάνθηρ, ος, ὁ, subst. [Liter. *hunter of everything*], a kind of *predatory bird* (The text, scanty as it is, does not allow precise identification of the bird in question.): Θηρευτὴς πτηνόν ἐστιν, ὃ καὶ πάνθηρ καλεῖται Cyran. 3. 17. 2. See above, *s.v.* θηρευτής. New meaning, unattested in the lexica and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

πατέω, trans. = ὀχεύω, of male animals, especially of the rooster, *to mount the female, to cover*: ἀλέκτορι δὲ ἐὰν δῷς μετὰ ἀλφίτων οὐ πατήσει θήλειαν Cyran. 1. 10. 27; cf. 1. 19. 9. New meaning. It seems, however, that this meaning was quite common, since certain ancient grammarians derived the word πατήρ from πατέω in this sense: "πατήρ· παρὰ τὸ πατεῖν ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων" *Etym. Mag.* 655. 56. It might be worth pointing out the same figurative use of the English verb "to tread" (*OED s.v.* B. 8) and Latin *calcare* (*OLD s.v.* 9).

πελεκᾶνος, ὁ, subst., a bird: Ῥάμφιος πτηνόν ἐστι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον ἱπτάμενον, λεγόμενον πελεκᾶνος Cyran. 3. 39. 3. It is extremely difficult to determine with certainty what bird is meant, since Cyran. here seems utterly confused and confusing; unsuspectingly and uncritically, he blends the features and descriptions of three different birds into one. First of all, the mention of the bird's habitat, i.e. the river Nile and the Lake of Egypt, leads one to identify it with the aquatic bird *coot*, Lat. *fulica*, whose Greek name, as we learn from glossaries, from which it is recorded as a *hapax* in *LSJ*, is πελεκανός (*scribe* πελεκᾶνος). But, as one can see from my citation above, the word in Cyran. is a text. gloss on ῥάμφιος, which is a descriptive name emphasizing a major feature of the bird, namely its *bill, beak*; the bird referred to here, therefore, must be one equipped with a strong or big beak, which, according to one of the two alternative explanations given by Schol. marg. *ad loc.* (πελεκὰν ὁ

δρυοκολάπτης ἤτοι ὁ δενδροκόλαφος) must be one of the species of *woodpecker*. In fact, one of the names for woodpecker in mod. Greek is πελεκᾶνος, a bird name which appears to be of considerable antiquity, and is obviously a collateral form of the classical πελεκᾶς, which denotes the same bird. *LSJ* does record ῥάμφιος as a *hapax*, from Cyran. *loc. cit.*, and explains it as "= πελεκανός," which it defines as "*coot*." But its identification of ῥάμφιος with *coot* without any qualification does not seem either correct or satisfactory; the reference to, and account of, the bird's parental *pietas*, in particular that of the mother who revives her dead young offspring with her own blood (Cyran. 3. 39. 4–11), makes it certain that the bird in question is the famous πελεκάν, *pelican*, which is also an aquatic bird (see Arist. *HA* 9. 614b27). To conclude: any lexicon recording in the future ῥάμφιος or πελεκᾶνος with citations from Cyran. must take into account this confusion that renders the identification with this or that bird inaccurate; the confusion resulted because Cyran. has conflated into one the accounts of three different birds, namely the *coot*, the *woodpecker* and the *pelican*.

περιάπτομαι, passive, *to be hung around, to be worn as an amulet*: τῆς δὲ ἀηδόνος οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἡ καρδία περιαπτόμενοι Cyran. 1. 5. 21; cf. 2. 7. 15, 2. 8. 54, 2. 47. 9, 3. 1. 52, 3. 1. 71. New usage.

περιλαμβάνομαι, passive, *cum dativo, to be afflicted by*: δυσεντερίᾳ περιειλημμένῳ Cyran. 1. 1. 12. This use is not recorded in the lexica.

περιπηλόω, intrans., see next entry.

περισπιλόω, *vox nihili*. Recorded in *LSJ* from Cyran. 2. 42. 10 and explained as "subject to heat." The reading περισπιλόω, however, evidently appeared doubtful to the compilers of that lexicon themselves who added the proviso *si vera lectio*. The context in which this word seemingly occurs reads as follows: ἐὰν δὲ τὸν φρῦνον βάλῃς εἰς χύτραν καινὴν καὶ περισπιλώσῃς ἕως ἂν ἀπανθρακωθῇ τούτου ἡ τέφρα. The verb περισπιλόω, which does not occur elsewhere, seems extremely suspicious in this meaning; neither the verb σπιλόω nor the noun σπίλος has any semantic or etymological connection with a Greek word for *heat*. A close examination of this citation in conjunction with Cyran. 3. 36. 35 will shed light on the status of this word: ἐὰν δὲ νεοσσὸν μικρὸν πελαργοῦ λαβὼν βάλῃς εἰς χύτραν καινήν, καὶ περιπηλώσας δώῃς εἰς φοῦρνον ὀπτᾶσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀπανθρακωθῇ ἄρας τὴν τέφραν. Clearly περισπιλόω is a ghost word, the result of scribal corruption of the correct reading περιπηλώσας. One can easily understand how and why the compilers of *LSJ* were misled into believing that the non-existent verb περισπηλόω means to "subject to heat"; the words signifying "subjecting the pot to heat by placing it into an oven," something like δώῃς εἰς τὸν φοῦρνον ὀπτᾶσθαι, which we read in Cyran. 3. 36. 35, were inadvertently

omitted by the scribe. These words then need to be inserted into the text at Cyran. 2. 42. 10. The whole passage will read as follows: ἐὰν δὲ τὸν φρῦνον βάλῃς εἰς χύτραν καινὴν καὶ περιπηλώσας <δῴης εἰς φοῦρνον ὀπτᾶσθαι> ἔως ἂν ἀπανθρακωθῇ: "if you put a toad into a brand-new earthen pot and, after sealing the pot all around with mud, place it in an oven to be baked until it burns to a cinder." As for the verb περιπηλόω, it is recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., but the meaning "encase in clay" does not seem adequate as far as the use of this verb in Cyran. is concerned. The verb means *to smear all over with mud*, with reference to cooking utensils; such vessels, whether of clay or metal, were smeared all over with mud before they were placed on the fire, for the purpose of washing them easily afterwards and preventing heat and soot from damaging their sheen. Such practice still persists in many villages of Greece, Southern Europe and the Middle East. However, in Cyran. the verb refers to the practice of hermetically sealing a pot around its rim and lid by smearing them with mud before placing the pot on fire, in order to prevent fumes, vapors, medicinal or magical qualities from escaping from the pot. See also προπηλόω below.

περισσοσαρκία, ἡ, the state of *having excess fat* or *flesh*: ἡ δὲ κόπρος αὐτῆς (*sc.* τῆς φώκης) περισσοσαρκίαν ἀποτήκει Cyran. 2. 41. 27. New word.

περιχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied around as an ointment* or *salve*: σὺν ὕδατι δὲ περιχριομένη (*sc.* ἡ τοῦ μυὸς κόπρος) λέπρας καὶ λειχῆνας θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 26. 12; cf. 3. 9. 7, 3. 22. 5, 4. 40. 2. New usage.

πληθύνω, intrans., *to be found in abundance*, *to abound*: πληθύνει δὲ (*sc.* ὁ κιναίδιος ἰχθὺς) ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Cyran. 1. 10. 13; cf. 1. 14. 8. New meaning.

πνιγάς, άδος, ἡ, subst., medical techn. term, in the phrase ὑστερικὴ πνιγάς, ailment afflicting women = ὑστερικὴ πνίξ, *hysterics, hysterical fits* or *convulsions*: τὰ δὲ πτερὰ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ ἀετοῦ) . . . ὑστερικὴν πνιγάδα καὶ φρενιτικὴν ἰῶνται Cyran. 3. 1a. 7; cf. 3. 51. 21–22. (From the former citation it becomes clear that the ancient physicians distinguished also a second kind of πνιγάς, the φρενιτικὴ πνιγάς, which must mean a kind of *delirium* or *frenzy* associated with *phrenitis*.) New word.

πορφυρίς, ίδος, ἡ = πορφύρα, *purple-fish* (see κογχύλη in this article): περὶ πορφυρίδος Cyran. 4. 53. 1. New meaning.

ποτίζομαι, passive, of drinks and liquids in general = πίνομαι, *to be consumed as a drink, to be given as a drink*: ὁ δὲ ζωμὸς (*sc.* τῶν καρίδων) . . . ποτιζόμενος γάλα ταῖς γυναιξὶ πολὺ ἐπιφέρει Cyran. 4. 30. 8; cf. 1. 3. 21, 1. 7. 8. Usage unattested in *LSJ*. Such a usage,

however, occurs not only in Cyran. but also in Dioscor., from whom the word is cited in Soph. *Lex.* Commenting on the existence of such a usage, Steph. *Thes.* *s.v.* ποτίζω says: "Nonnumquam et id ipsum quod potui praebetur s. potatur, ποτίζεσθαι dicitur . . ."

πράξιμος, ον, adj., of (love-) charms, *efficacious, operative*: ἔστι δὲ καὶ πράξιμον φίλτρον Cyran. 2. 29. 5. New meaning. The word πράξιμος in this sense is semantically related to πρᾶξις in the sense of *LSJ s.v.* II. 4: "magical *operation, spell.*"

προεκσπάω, trans. = προεκτίλλω, *to pluck out before*: τὰς προεκσπασθείσας τρίχας Cyran. 4. 61. 7. New word.

προκρίνω, trans., medical techn. term, of diuretic substances = προτρέπω *LSJ s.v.* III., *to cause increased excretion of* urine, *to induce* urine *to flow*: τὸ δὲ ἀπόζεμα . . . οὖρα προκρίνει Cyran. 4. 32. 5. New meaning.

προπηλόω, trans., *to smear with mud in advance*: ἐάν τις τοὺς νεοσσοὺς αὐτῆς βάλῃ εἰς χύτραν καὶ προπηλώσας ὀπτήσῃ Cyran. 3. 50. 4. New word. See περισπιλόω above.

προποτίζω, trans., of ceramic pots, *to saturate* with water *in advance, to soak* with water *before*: βαλὼν εἰς προπεποτισμένον ἀγγεῖον . . . τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν ᾧ ἀπεθεώθη ὁ ἱέραξ Cyran. 1. 21. 112. New meaning.

πυραυγίζω, intrans., *to be of a fiery bright color*: ἄνθραξ λίθος ἐστὶ πολύτιμος, καθαρός . . . πυραυγίζων Cyran. 6. 1. 4. New word. For similar verbal formations signifying the color of stones, see ἐγκυανίζω above.

πυριάζω, trans., medical techn. term, *to bathe* a wound *with warm medicated lotion, to give a vapor bath, to foment*: λειώσας τὴν βοτάνην σὺν οἰνελαίῳ ἐν τηγάνῳ ἀφέψει καὶ μετ' ἐρίων . . . πυρίαζε τὴν πληγήν Cyran. 5. 6. 7. New form, unrecorded in *LSJ*, which records in this sense the verb πυριάω.

ῥάφανον, τό = ῥαφανίς, including both *radish* (Bot. *Raphanus sativus*) and ῥάφανος ἀγρία, *charlock, wild mustard* (Bot. *Raphanus raphanistrum*): Ῥάφανον ἐδώδιμός ἐστι βοτάνη . . . ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄγριος (*sc.* ῥάφανος) ὃς καὶ ῥαφανὶς λέγεται Cyran. 5. 17. 2. Form unrecorded in *LSJ* and Steph. *Thes.*, but attested in this sense in an anonymous medical author who supplies the only citation in Soph. *Lex. s.v.* From the above citation it becomes clear that there existed a masc. variant ῥάφανος, which is also absent from the lexica.

ῥοῦκα, ἡ < Lat. *eruca* = εὔζωμον, *rocket*, Bot. *Eruca sativa*: τουτέστιν βότανον λεγόμενον ῥοῦκα, gloss on εὔζωμος βοτάνη in Cyran. 1. 5. 3 (cod. O). Unrecorded in the lexica, except in Ducangius *Gloss.*

σάκκος, ὁ, text. gloss on χερσαῖος βάτραχος, *the land-frog*, believed to emit a poisonous breath: ὁ δὲ χερσαῖος βάτραχος ὁ καλούμενος σάκκος Cyran. 2. 5. 18. New meaning, unattested in the lexica, which do not record the χερσαῖος βάτραχος either.

σαλαμίνθη, ἡ = φαλάγγιον, *a venomous spider*: θήραφος ἢ ἀράχνη ὃ καὶ φαλάγγιον λέγεται . . . παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ σαλαμίνθη Cyran. 2. 16. 3. Most probably, the word is etymologically related to the word σαλάμανδρα. The word is absent from *LSJ*, but is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* and Ducangius *Gloss.* with a citation from an unpublished text which is either identical with Cyran. or strikingly similar. For a detailed discussion, see Ian C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter 1988), who cites Cyran. (p. 36).

σαμαμύθης, ὁ or σαμαμύθη, ἡ or σαμαμύθιν (< σαμαμύθιον), τό, gender indeterminate, text. gloss on ξυλοβάτης and τοιχοβάτης, a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: Cyran. 2. 29. 2. New word.

σαπῶνιν, τό (< σαπώνιον), dimin. of σάπων, *soap*: μῖξον σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ σαπῶνιν Cyran. 4. 28. 26. The form has no diminutive force. Unrecorded in *LSJ*.

σηπεδονώδης, ες, adj., medical techn. term. (I) *associated with putrefaction*, in the phr. σηπεδονώδη βοηθήματα, *remedies against wounds or sores which are inclined to putrefaction*: πρὸς ψωρικὰ βοηθήματα ἔτι δὲ καὶ λεπρικὰ καὶ σηπεδονώδη τὴν τοιαύτην κόνιν μιγνύουσιν Cyran. 2. 36. 14. (II) σηπεδονώδης, ὁ or ἡ, of a *person whose wounds or sores are in a state of putrefaction*: καυθέντες γὰρ (sc. οἱ κοχλίαι) καὶ ποθέντες δυσεντερικοὺς ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς μήπω σηπεδονώδεις Cyran. 4. 36. 4. New meanings.

σηπόστρακον, τό, subst., *the internal shell of the cuttle-fish, cuttle-bone*: οὗ (sc. κυνὸς θαλασσίου) . . . ἡ τέφρα σὺν σηποστράκῳ οὐλας (*scribendum* οὐλα) θεραπεύει Cyran. 4. 29. 2. New word (as noted already by Kaimakis). I believe, however, that the form σηπόστρακον is corrupt and that it must be emended to σηπιόστρακον (from σηπία).

σιτοφόρος, ον, adj., in the phr. σιτοφόρος ἀρουραῖος, a kind of *mouse that carries off wheat* from storehouses: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ σιτοφόροι ἀρουραῖοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν Cyran. 2. 25. 11–12. New meaning.

σιφούκιον, τό = ἐχῖνος, *gizzard, bird's second stomach for grinding food mixed in the first with gastric juice*: Τῆς δὲ κοιλίας (sc. τοῦ ἀλέκτορος) ἔσωθεν ὑμὴν . . . ὃν καλοῦσιν ἐχῖνον, οἱ δὲ σιφούκιον Cyran. 3. 3. 20; cf. 1. 18. 42. New word. The word, of non-Greek origin, comes from Arabic صِفَاق ṣifāq, plur. صُفُق ṣufuq, *dermis, underskin*; *peritoneum*; cf. H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edit. by J. M. Cowan (Repr. Wiesbaden 1980).

σκευή, ἡ = σκευασία, *preparing, recipe, prescription* (of magic substances or concoctions): Ἡ δὲ σκευὴ τοῦ ξηρίου ἐστὶν αὕτη Cyran. 1. 18. 25; cf. 1. 18. 30, 1. 24. 71, 1. 24. 80, 2. 3. 18. For the meaning, cf. κατασκευή and παρασκευή. New meaning.

σκνιπή, ἡ, subst., a kind of thin *ant* of yellow color: οἱ δὲ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἰσχνοὶ καὶ ξανθοί (*sc.* μύρμηκες), οἵτινες λέγονται σκνιπαί Cyran. 2. 25. 5. New word.

σκυτίς, ίδος, ἡ, *a leather container for amulets*: ἐὰν δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἐνθήσῃ εἰς σκυτίδα μέλαιναν Cyran 2. 28. 6. New meaning.

σπεκλάριον, τό, subst. = κάτοπτρον, Lat. *speculum, mirror*: ἰχθύδιον στρογγύλον, διαυγὲς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὡς φαίνεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥάχιν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὡς διὰ σπεκλαρίου Cyran. 1. 10. 12–13. New meaning. *LSJ* does record the word, but with a different meaning, namely "= Lat. *lapis specularis*, i.e. *mica* or *talc*." *LSJ Suppl.* records the word from Cyran. and Zos. Alch. 139. 2, without indicating that the word in Cyran. has a completely different meaning; obviously, *LSJ* derives the word from the Lat. *specularis* (*sc. lapis*), which = *mica* or *talc*. However, in Cyran. the word is actually a diminutive-looking morphological development in Greek from the Lat. *speculum* (> σπέκουλ-, σπέκλ- + dimin. suffix -άριον; cf. παιδάριον); the meaning of the word in Cyran. is that of the Lat. *speculum* and the Greek κάτοπτρον (a word which does in fact appear written as a supralinear gloss in cod. I of Cyran.).

στάκτη, ἡ, subst. = σποδός, *ashes*: μετὰ στάκτης συκίνης ἢ δρυΐνης καὶ ἐλατίνης Cyran. 2. 33. 5. New word. Cf. also the derivative στακτώδης, "ash-coloured, ashy."

σταφυλίς, ίδος, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the eyeball*: περὶ δὲ ὅλον τὸν βολβόν, πτερύγιον, λεύκωμα . . . σταφυλίς Cyran. 1. 16. 17. New meaning. It is very probable that σταφυλίς signifies the same thing as σταφύλωμα, "a defect in the eye inside the cornea."

στέφανος, ὁ, text. gloss on βασίλειον = λόφος, the *crest* or *tuft* on the head of birds: Γλαὺξ ὄρνεόν ἐστι πτηνόν . . . ὃς ἔχει δισκοειδὲς βασίλειον, ἤτοι στέφανον, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου Cyran. 3. 10. 3. New meaning.

στηθιαῖος, α, ον, adj. = Lat. *mammosa, big-breasted, with swelling breast*: ἔχει δὲ γλυφὴν Σελήνην ὡς στηθιαίαν Cyran. 1. 10. 94. The adj. with this meaning is recorded in *LSJ*, but it was known to us up to now only through glossaries, which have preserved it without a context.

σύγκαυσις, εως, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *eye disease, inflammation of the eye*: περὶ δὲ ὅλον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, φλεγμονή . . . σύγκαυσις Cyran. 1. 16. 22. New meaning.

συληγούδιν, τό, text. gloss on ξυλοβάτης and τοιχοβάτης, a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: ξυλοβάτης οἱ δὲ τοιχοβάτην ὃ οἱ πολλοὶ συνήθως σαμαμύθην λέγουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ συληγούδιν Cyran. 2. 29. 3. New word. Non-Greek word of unknown origin. Ducangius *Gloss*. records with the same meaning the forms σιλλιγούδι and συλίγουρδον.

συνδρομή, ἡ, astrological techn. term, of stars, *assembling*, *gathering together*: ἰδίας ποιήσει συνδρομὰς πάντων τῶν φαινομένων ἀστέρων Cyran. 1. 24. 61. New meaning.

συνταριχεύω, trans., *to preserve together by drying* or *salting*: ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ ἧπαρ καὶ οἱ νεφροὶ καὶ ἡ καρδία καὶ ὁ πνεύμων συνταριχευθέντα τὰ αὐτὰ ἰῶνται Cyran. 2. 13. 14–15. New word.

συντυχία, ἡ, accidental *encounter, meeting, social intercourse*: ἀξιόλογον καὶ προσφιλῆ συντυχίαις δυναστῶν . . . χάριν παρέξει Cyran. 1. 1. 173–74. New meaning.

Συριάς, άδος, ἡ, *from Syria, Syrian*: δευτέρα βίβλος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ἀρχαϊκῆς Συριάδος οὖσα Cyran. prol. 71 and 77 (p. 17). This is a poetic formation concerning which cf. Ἀχερουσιάς, Ἑλικωνιάς, Ἰλιάς (adj.) and Αἰγυπτιάς, the last not recorded in *LSJ* but dealt with in the present author's "Addenda to the *LSJ* Greek-English Lexicon: Lexicographical Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Oracula Sibyllina*," *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 38 (1987) 55.

συστέλλω, trans., *to protect something from exposure to* open air, sunlight, etc., opposite of αἰθριάζω (see above): διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας συστέλλειν αὐτὸ (*sc.* τὸ φυτὸν) καὶ νυκτὸς αἰθριάζειν Cyran. 1. 24. 16. New meaning.

τεκνοσπορέω, intrans., of women, *to conceive, to become pregnant*: ἀναξηραίνει γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ποιεῖ τεκνοσπορῆσαι Cyran. 1. 18. 23–24. New word.

τετράχρωμος, ον, adj., *of four colors*: αὐτὸ δὲ (*sc.* τὸ ζῷον ἔποψ) τετράχρωμον (*v.l.* τετράχροον) ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς τέσσαρας τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Cyran. 1. 7. 51. New word.

τμητήριον, τό, subst., *a cutting instrument*, e.g. a knife: λαβὼν τμητήριον σχίσον τὴν κορυφήν Cyran. 4. 65. 11. New word, unrecorded in the lexica; nor is there in the lexica any adj. τμητήριος.

τοιχοβάτης, ὁ, a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: ξυλοβάτης οἱ δὲ τοιχοβάτην . . . λέγουσιν, . . . εἶδός ἐστι κορκοδείλου μικροῦ Cyran. 2. 29. 2. For similar compound formations, see ξυλοβάτης above. Not in *LSJ*. Ducangius *Gloss*. and Steph. *Thes*. record the forms τοιχοβαύστης and τοιχοβάτης in the above sense but from a late source.

τριφύλλιος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἡ = τρίφυλλον, *clover*, Bot. *Trifolium fragiferum*: τριφύλλιος βοτάνη ἐστὶν γνώριμος πᾶσιν Cyran. 1. 19. 3. New form. Hesychius records only the form τρίφυλλος (*s.v.* βάλλαρις).

τριχαῖος, ὁ, subst., a kind of *sea-fish* (precise identification impossible): τριχαῖος ἰχθῦς ἐστι θαλάσσιος Cyran. 4. 63. 2. New word, unrecorded in the lexica except in Steph. *Thes.*, which records it *s.v.* τριχίς. Two other fish names deriving from the same base are recorded in *LSJ*, τριχίς and τριχίας. It is likely that τριχαῖος is a variant of one of these forms, signifying the same kind of fish ("anchovy").

τριχοποιέω, *to cause hair to grow*: καὶ τριχοποιεῖ αὕτη (*sc.* ἡ ἡλιακὴ ζαύρα) Cyran. 2. 14. 34. The single citation for this meaning in *LSJ*, Alex. Trall. 1. 1, is according to the same lexicon a *varia lectio* for τριχοφυεῖ. Thus our citation here is the first certain documentation of the use of the word with this meaning.

τριχοφυέω, *to cause hair to grow*: αἱ δὲ τρίχες αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ λαγωοῦ) . . . τοῖς πυρικαύστοις ἕλκεσι καθαρὰν οὐλὴν ἐμποιοῦσι καὶ τριχοφυοῦσι Cyran. 2. 24. 28. Meaning absent from *LSJ*. Recorded, in this sense, in Soph. *Lex.* with a citation from Dioscorides.

τρωγλίτης, ὁ, subst. = στρουθός, *sparrow*: Ξοῦθρος, οἱ δὲ στροῦθον, ἢ πυργίτην, ἢ τρωγλίτην τοῦτον καλοῦσιν Cyran. 3. 32. 2. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, who does not include Cyran. among his citations *s.v.* τρωγλίτης (p. 292), is undecided between the meanings "wren" and "sparrow." In addition to the fact that Cyran. provides the definitive answer to the question, one may point out against Thompson's reservations that (a) not only the wren, but also the sparrow lives in τρῶγλαι, which the latter, however, invariably digs into the external walls of houses in rural areas; (b) the sparrow is an edible bird and as such is referred to in Cyran., whereas the wren is not; (c) the sparrow was always regarded as a bird of Aphrodite and as such was associated with lasciviousness; for this reason it must be the *sparrow*, and not the *wren*, whose roasted flesh Cyran. (3. 32. 5) recommends as an aphrodisiac. The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but that lexicon is uncertain about its precise signification: "a bird, prob. = τρωγλοδύτης II . . .". But the meaning *s.v.* τρωγλοδύτης II, "*wren, Troglodytes europaeus*," is not applicable to the word τρωγλίτης, which, as Cyran. explicitly says, is the same as στροῦθος and πυργίτης, i.e. *sparrow*. The explanation, therefore, in *LSJ s.v.* τρωγλίτης must be accordingly corrected.

ὑδρίτης, ὁ = βάτραχος ὑδρίτης, a kind of *frog*, a *water-frog* (different both from the amphibious, common frog and the χερσαῖος βάτραχος referred to also as σάκκος, for which see above): Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων γινόμενα δήγματα ἰᾶται βάτραχος ὑδρίτης ζῶν Cyran. 2. 30. 15. New word.

ὑποθυμιάω, trans., *to burn something for fumigation*: ἐὰν οὖν τις βραχὺ τῆς βοτάνης μετὰ κόπρου γυπὸς ὑποθυμιάσῃ ὑπὸ περσικίαν, φυλλοροήσει Cyran. 1. 10. 23. This construction, with the accusative denoting the substance burnt for fumigation, is new and unrecorded in the lexica. The regular construction is with accusative of the thing fumigated and dative of the substance with which the fumigation is performed. The verb occurs also with double accusative (Cyran. 3. 9. 29), another construction absent from the lexica.

ὑποκαπνίζομαι, passive, *to be used as a fumigation substance, to be burned for the purpose of fumigation*: ὑποκαπνιζόμενον δὲ καὶ καταχριόμενον μελισσῶν καὶ σφηκῶν δήγματα ἰᾶται Cyran. 2. 6. 25; cf. 2. 17. 11–12, 2. 30. 12–13. New construction.

ὑπολαζούριος, ον, adj., *rather bright-blue*: Ἀλκυὼν στρουθίον ἐστὶν εὔμορφον πάνυ, ὑπολαζούριον Cyran. 3. 2. 2. New word. For the origin of the word, see λαζοῦριν above.

ὑποπικρίζω, intrans., of herbs, *to have a somewhat bitter taste*: Ζώηχος βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐδώδιμος, ὑποπικρίζουσα Cyran. 5. 6. 2. New word.

ὑπορράγιον, τό, subst., medical techn. term, *sore under the surface of the flesh* as a result of injury, *ruptured subcutaneous tissue*: καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ βοτάνη (*sc.* ἄμπελος μέλαινα) ἁρμόδιος ἐπιληπτικοῖς ... ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ὑπορρωγίων λόφους ἡλκωμένους Cyran. 1. 1. 122. New word.

ὑπόστυφος, ον, adj., *rather astringent*: Νάρθηξ βοτάνη ... θερμαντικὴ μετρίως καὶ ὑπόστυφος Cyran. 5. 13. 2–3. New word.

φιλάγρυπνος, ον, adj., *fond of staying awake*: βοῦφον λέγουσίν τινες ὄρνεον φιλάγρυπνον Cyran. 3. 8. 2. The word is used here in its literal meaning, whereas the meaning in *LSJ* is figurative, "wakeful."

φιλτροποιός, όν, adj., *functioning as a love-charm*: τὰ δὲ ᾠὰ αὐτῆς (*sc.* τῆς κορώνης) ... ἡδονικά ἐστιν ἄγαν καὶ φιλτροποιά Cyran. 3. 22. 8; cf. 3. 43. 8–9, 3. 55. 16. New meaning.

φλέβιον, τό, subst., dimin. of φλέψ, *a vein, streak*, or *stripe of different color on stone, marble* etc.: σάπφειρος λίθος ... ἔχων καὶ φλεβία (*scribe* φλέβια) χρυσᾶ Cyran. 1. 18. 9. The word is used here without any diminutive force. Recorded in *LSJ*, but with different meanings.

φυλακτόν, τό = φυλακτήριον, *amulet*: εἰ καὶ ὄνυχα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἐμβάλλῃς τῷ φυλακτῷ Cyran. 1. 21. 45; cf. 2. 23. 26. Recorded in Steph. *Thes.*, Soph. *Lex.* and Ducangius *Gloss.*, but not in *LSJ*.

φώκειον, τό, subst., *seal skin*: καὶ παῖδας τοὺς εἰς τὸ φώκιον (*scribe* φώκειον) ἐπαγομένους Cyran. 2. 41. 17. *LSJ* records only the adj. φώκειος.

φωκικός, ἡ, όν = φώκειος, *of a seal*: φωκικὸν φυλακτήριον Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 2. 41. 29. New word.

φωλεόκοιτος, ον, adj., of wild animals, *living in dens*, *sleeping in lairs*: πτηνῶν καὶ νεπόδων πάντων καὶ φωλεοκοίτων Cyran. 1. 7. 43 (= p. 51. 31). Poetic coinage. New word.

χαλκοῦς, ῆ, οῦν, adj., in the phr. χαλκῆ σαύρα, a kind of *lizard*, evidently owing its appellation to its copper-like color: ζαυρῶν δέ εἰσι γένη τρία. ἡ μὲν ἡλιακή λέγεται, ἡ δὲ χαλκῆ, ἡ δὲ χλωρά Cyran. 2. 14. 3. New meaning. Regarding the three kinds of lizards distinguished by Cyran., see ἡλιακός above.

χαριέντης, ὁ, adj. = χαρίεις, *graceful*, *charming*: ἀλλ᾿ ἔσται ἐν πᾶσι χαριέντης καὶ ἡσύχιος Cyran. 3. 1. 11. New word (as noted already by Kaimakis).

χαριτήσιος, α, ον, adj., of amulets, *conducive to winning favor*, *conducive to making someone charming*: οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . χαριτήσιοί εἰσιν Cyran. 2. 1. 11–12. New word. *LSJ* records only the neuter substantive form χαριτήσιον, in the sense "spell for winning favour." Cyran. uses both the adj. and the subst.: 2. 14. 12, 4. 67. 18.

χαριτόω, trans. = χαριτοποιέω, *to make* someone *graceful* or *charming*: ἡ δὲ χολὴ τῆς καμήλου . . . κοσμεῖ . . . καὶ χαριτοῖ Cyran. 2. 18. 5. New meaning.

χειραγρικός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person who suffers from gout in the hand*: τούτου (*sc.* τοῦ ἰκτίνου) ἡ κεφαλὴ ξηρανθεῖσα . . . ποδαγρικοὺς ὠφελεῖ καὶ χειραγρικούς Cyran. 3. 19. 4. *LSJ* does record χειραγρικός, but only as an adj., and its only citation is actually a conjecture.

χειραγρός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term = χειραλγός, *a person who suffers from gout in the hand*: ποδαγρούς καὶ χειραγρούς βοηθεῖ Cyran. 3. 1. 16; cf. 2. 24. 31, 2. 40. 54, 3. 1. 74, 3. 36. 42. The word was known up to now through glossaries, which have preserved it without a context. Note that the word is oxytone (cf. χειραλγός, ποδαγρός, ποδαλγός, γοναγρός), contra *LSJ*.

χελιδονία, ἡ, in the phr. χελιδονία βοτάνη, a plant name, *swallowwort*, *the greater celandine*, Bot. *Chelidonium majus*: μετὰ χυλοῦ χελιδονίας βοτάνης Cyran. 3. 3. 12. Apparently, this plant is the same as χελιδόνιον τὸ μέγα mentioned by Dioscor. *Mat. Med.* 2. 180 and cited in *LSJ s.v.* New meaning.

χελιδών, όνος, ἡ = χελιδόνιον, *bryony*, Bot. *Bryonia cretica*: ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἄμπελος λευκή, ἥν τινες βρυωνίαν καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ χελιδόνα Cyran. 1. 1. 107. New meaning.

χηλός, ὁ, a kind of *sea-fish*: χηλὸς ἰχθῦς ἐστι θαλάσσιος Cyran. 4. 71. 2. New word. Etymological connection between this word and χηλή, χηλός is doubtful.

χλέμα, ατος, τό, a kind of *fish* (precise identification impossible): χλέματος ὀφθαλμοί Cyran. 4. 70. 2. New word.

χλωρός, ά, όν (I) χλωρά (*sc.* ζαύρα), a kind of *lizard* owing its appellation to its greenish-yellow color: ζαυρῶν δέ εἰσι γένη τρία. ἡ μὲν ἡλικακή λέγεται, ἡ δὲ χαλκῆ, ἡ δὲ χλωρά Cyran. 2. 14. 3. New meaning. The χλωρὰ ζαύρα is, of course, the same as the χλωροσαύρα, which occurs in the Scholia recentiora of Theocritus (2. 58, 7. 22) and is recorded from there in *LSJ*. (II) χλωρός (*sc.* ὄρνις), subst., a kind of bird known also as φρῦνος and ἴκτερος (Pliny *HN* 30. 94 identifies ἴκτερος with the bird *galgulus*, the *golden oriole*. The bird in question is most probably the same as χλωροστρουθίον, or better χλωροστρούθιον, known to us through glossaries.): Φρῦνος πτηνόν, οἱ δὲ ἴκτερον, οἱ δὲ χλωρὸν λέγουσιν Cyran. 1. 21. 6. New meaning.

χολοβοτάνη, ἡ, a kind of δρακόντιον, namely a kind of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*, from the seeds of which a red juice is extracted: αὕτη δὲ λέγεται κρείττω ἡ χολοβοτάνη, ἥτις ἔχει φύλλα πλατέα ὅμοια πλατάνοις Cyran. 1. 4. 6. New word.

χρηματικός, ή, όν = χρηματιστικός, *oracular*, *prophetic*: πολύχρηστον καὶ χρηματικόν ἐστι τὸ ζῷον Cyran. 3. 46. 5. New meaning.

χύμωσις, εως, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *eye-disease*: περὶ δὲ ὅλον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, φλεγμονή, φίμωσις, χύμωσις Cyran. 1. 16. 21. New meaning.

ψευδοδίκτειον, τό, subst. = ἐλελίσφακος, the aromatic herb *sage*, Bot. *Salvia triloba*: ψευδοδίκτειον ἤτοι ἐλίφασκον (*scribe* ἐλελίσφακον) ἢ βίκιον ῥωμαϊκῶς σάλβια Schol. marg. ad Cyran 1. 23. 16. New word. For other Greek plant names with ψευδο- as the first component, cf. ψευδοβούνιον, ψευδοδίκταμνον, ψευδοκάρπασος, ψευδοκύπειρος, ψευδόναρδος, ψευδοσέλινον.

ψυαλγία, ἡ, medical techn. term = Lat. *lumbago*, *lumborum dolores*, i.e. *ailment afflicting the male genital organs*: τὸ δὲ ἀπόζεμα . . . ψυαλγίαις βοηθεῖ Cyran. 5. 15. 6. New word.

ψύδραξ, ακος, ὁ, subst. = ψυδράκιον, *pimple*, *pustule*: γίνεται ἡ κόπρος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ ψάρου) ῥυπτικὴ ὥστε καὶ ἐφήλεις ἀποσμήχειν καὶ φακοὺς καὶ ψύδρακας ὄψεως Cyran. 3. 53. 5. *LSJ* does record this

word, but only from *Etym. Mag.*, which has preserved it as an isolated lexical item without a context. Cf. also *Zonarae Lexicon* (Tittmann) c. 1875 and S. Epiph. *De Duodecim Gemmis* V p. 297 (*PG* XLIII). Soph. *Lex.* does record the word, with a citation from Galen.

ψύλλιος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἡ = ψύλλιον, *flea-wort*: ψύλλιός ἐστι βοτάνη πᾶσι γνωστή Cyran. 1. 23. 3. New form.

ψυχρίς, ίδος, ἡ, subst., a plant growing in the country of the Chaldaeans and possessed of cooling properties. Identification uncertain: ψυχρὶς βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐν γῇ Χαλδαίων φυομένη Cyran. 5. 23. 1. New word.

ὤκιμος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἡ = ὤκιμον, the aromatic herb *basil*: ὤκιμος βοτάνη Cyran. 1. 24. 1; cf. 1. 24. 26 and 48. New form. The fem. form is attested also in Latin, *ocimos* (Ps.-Apul. *Herb.* Interpol. 120. 20), which *TLL* incorrectly regards as masculine.

ὠκύπτερος, ὁ, subst., *swallow*: ὠκύπτερος πτηνόν . . . ὅ ἐστιν ἡ κοινῶς λεγομένη χελιδών Cyran. 1. 24. 5. New meaning.

ὠκυτοκία, ἡ, of women in labor, *speedy delivery*, *quick childbirth*: ἐσθιόμενοι δὲ (*sc.* οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς χελιδόνος) . . . ὠκυτοκίαν παρέχουσι Cyran. 3. 50. 19–20; cf. 4. 28. 5. Recorded as a *hapax* in *LSJ* from Rhetor. in *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 8 (4). 133, as a "conjecture for ὀξυτοκία." Thus the present lemma provides the first certain documentation of the existence of the word.

ὠμίς, ίδος, ἡ = μαινίς, a tiny, edible sprat-like fish which was salted and dried, *Maena vulgaris*: Ὠμὶς θαλασσία . . . ὃ καλοῦσι μαινίδα Cyran. 1. 24. 7. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* from Cyran., but it defines it only as "a sea fish." Moreover, it incorrectly states that the genitive is "not known." The genitive is found at 1. 24. 53 and 60, and the accusative at 1. 24. 70.

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Acedia in Late Classical Antiquity

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The sudden appearance during the fourth century of the enervating spiritual condition sometimes termed acedia[1] evokes abiding fascination.[2] Its appearance, however, raises more questions than can be satisfied: What was acedia? Was it a spiritual or psychological condition? Why was it so dangerous? Why was it treated as a sin rather than as a dangerous illness? Why does it so suddenly appear? Why did it become so contagious? Does it have classical antecedents?

The issue, for better or worse, has narrowed in on definitions: Does the condition represent a form of depression, or (without canvassing the grades in between) does it represent, simply, a type of boredom? Starobinski[3] and the influential Kristeva[4] see it as a type of depression. For Kuhn[5] and Bouchez[6] acedia is an enervating form of boredom, albeit one with

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[1] The following works are cited by author's name and date of publication: M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing, MI 1952) (= Bloomfield 1952); O. Chadwick, *John Cassian*[2] (Cambridge 1968) (= Chadwick 1968); S. W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven 1986) (= Jackson 1986); R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London 1964) (= Klibansky 1964); R. Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature* (Princeton 1976) (= Kuhn 1976); G. Rosen, *Madness in Society* (London 1968) (= Rosen 1968); J. Starobinski, *History of the Treatment of Melancholy from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Basel 1962) (= Starobinski 1962); F. Wemelsfelder, "Boredom and Laboratory Animal Welfare," in *The Experimental Animal in Biomedical Research*, ed. by B. E. Rollin (Boca Raton, FL 1989) (= Wemelsfelder 1989), and "Animal Boredom: Is a Scientific Study of the Subjective Experiences of Animals Possible?" in *Advances in Animal Welfare Science 1984*, ed. by M. W. Fox and L. S. Mickley (Boston 1985) 115–54 (= Wemelsfelder 1985); S. Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC 1967) (= Wenzel 1967).

[2] And in the most unexpected of places. See, for example, Aldous Huxley, *On the Margin: Notes and Essays* (London 1923) 18–25, or Evelyn Waugh's comments reproduced in D. Gallagher (ed.), *The Essays, Articles and Reviews of Evelyn Waugh* (London 1983) 538–41 and 572–76, or Alan Judd's recent novel, *The Noonday Devil* (London 1986), rev. *TLS* (June 26, 1987) 697.

[3] Starobinski 1962, 31–34.

[4] J. Kristeva, *Soleil noir: Dépression et mélancholie* (Paris 1987) 17.

[5] Kuhn 1976, 39–64.

[6] M. Bouchez, *L'ennui de Sénèque à Moravia* (Paris 1973) 31–34.

psychological ramifications. Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky,[7] after seeming to describe acedia as a severe form of depression, refuse to name the state. Following their lead Jackson,[8] who delivers the latest treatment of the problem, steers the middle course. Finally there is Siegfried Wenzel who, concentrating on the word "acedia" itself, maintains that there is no single definition.[9]

We cannot hope to cover all of the issues raised by the appearance of this strange mental state. It may be possible, however, to reexamine and to adjudicate some of the problems. I would like to concentrate here on two related questions: first, the difficulties involved in identifying and defining this condition (which will require a brief survey of the evidence), and second, the possibility of identifying classical antecedents for the condition.[10]

I

In 382 Evagrius (A.D. ?346–399)[11] quit Constantinople for the deserts south-west of Alexandria. Here he joined the hermit colonies gathered at Nitria, Scete, and the "Desert of Cells." During the seventeen years that Evagrius passed in these hermetic communities he developed a formulation of acedia which, to some extent, remains canonical. It is also a formulation which may respond to the conditions of this "Desert of Cells."

Acedia for Evagrius represents a "psychic exhaustion and listlessness."[12] On the face of things it seems probable that acedia was the product of the extreme monotony, the harshness, and the solitude of anchoritic life.[13] Consideration of the conditions in which these North African monks lived gives a better idea of the likelihood of this contention. On Mount Nitria, for example, there were nearly 5,000 monks. Through the heat, the lack of sleep (acedia was the "demon of noontide"), the paucity of food, they lived in their separate cells. Their spiritual programme lacked elaboration. They practised a common form of work, probably shared meals, and on Saturday and Sunday shared worship. But apart from work and meals the day was silent, especially in Cellia and Scete.[14] Small wonder that they fell into a state which produced symptoms of dejection, restlessness, dislike of the cell, resentment of fellow monks, a desire to quit the cell to seek salvation

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[7] Klibansky 1964, 75–78.

[8] Jackson 1986, 67.

[9] Wenzel 1967.

[10] Some attempt at this may be found in Toohey, "Some Ancient Notions of Boredom," *ICS* 13 (1988) 151–64, and "Some Ancient Histories of Literary Melancholia," *ICS* 15 (1990) 143–63.

[11] Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν πρὸς ᾿Ανατόλιον (PG 40. 1271 ff.). The best discussion is by Wenzel 1967. See also R. Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum* and Greek Patristic Exegesis," *Traditio* 14 (1958) 17–31.

[12] Wenzel 1967, 5.

[13] The discussion of acedia in the Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν is quite explicit on this.

[14] Chadwick 1968, 22–23.

elsewhere, and even a rejection of the value of anchoritic practices (PG 40. 1273). Wenzel, perhaps the best commentator on Evagrian acedia, observes that "in the end *acédia* causes the monk either to give in to physical sleep, which proves unrefreshing or actually dangerous because it opens the door to many other temptations, or to leave his cell and eventually the religious life altogether."[15]

Counter-measures for acedia existed. Endurance, patience, a resolute refusal to quit one's cell, insistent prayer, the reading and recitation of psalms, the remembrance of, and meditation on relevant verses from Scripture, keeping to the fore the thought of one's death and heavenly rewards, even the shedding of tears were all felt to be helpful practices. Above all manual labour was believed to be a most powerful measure against the sin. In spite of the dangers there were decided benefits to be derived from an onslaught of acedia. The monk who was capable of withstanding it grew immeasurably in strength.[16]

In its earliest formulations, therefore, acedia gives the appearance of being the disease par excellence of the hermit. Indeed, the very conditions in which the hermit lived would be conducive to the illness. St. John Chrysostomos (A.D. ?347–407), also a North African but an erstwhile hermit, provides us with another important outline of the illness. In his *Exhortations to Stagirius*[17] St. John attempts to assist an anchorite, Stagirius, who suffers a destructive spiritual condition. Although this is termed *athumia*, the condition is usually interpreted as acedia.[18] Stagirius, after his entry into monastic life, began to suffer frightening nightmares, bizarre physical disorders, and a despair that bordered on suicide (PG 47. 425–26). What interests most in St. John's discussion is the extremity of the illness. The description of Stagirius suffering an attack is startling. Stagirius' symptoms were "twisted hands, rolling eyes, a distorted voice, tremors, senselessness, and an awful dream at night—a wild, muddy boar rushed violently to accost him."[19]

St. John's description modifies the Evagrian portrait in two important ways. First, *athumia*, or acedia, was far more violent than anything described by Evagrius. The second important modification concerns the epidemiology of acedia. The disease is not restricted to the anchoritic community. He compares the attack suffered by Stagirius to those suffered by individuals living *delicate* (in Greek they are τρυφῶντας) in the world: "Many, while they live in a debauched fashion, are taken by this plague. But after a little time they are freed from the illness, and regain perfect

[15] Wenzel 1967, 5.

[16] Qualities listed by Wenzel 1967, 5 f.

[17] Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Σταγείριον ἀσκητὴν δαιμονῶντα (PG 47. 423 ff.), written in A.D. 380 or 381.

[18] Klibansky 1964, 75.

[19] PG 47. 426. See also Kuhn 1976, 47.

health and marry, and have many children, and enjoy all the benefits of this life" (PG 47. 425).

Acedia became the eighth of the vices in the famous list of John Cassian (A.D. c. 360–435). Cassian, born in Bethlehem but finally resident in Transalpine Gaul, is the key figure for the Western tradition of acedia.[20] In his work discussing monastic habits, *De institutis cenobiorum*, he stresses its dangers. He links it especially with the hermetic life: it is characterised by laziness and inertia, by an unwillingness to pursue spiritual exercises, by a desire to escape present circumstances, by tiredness, hunger, the slowing of time, by a desire to escape oneself through sleep or company (PL 49. 366–67). His cure is labour—which discussion occupies the largest part of *Instituta* 10.[21] Cassian's use of the word acedia in *Instituta* 10 evinces a shift away from anchoritic dejection or depression to something more closely resembling idleness (*otium* or *otiositas*), even sloth.[22] The reason for this, implies Chadwick and argues Wenzel, is the changed circumstances in the lives of the religious for whom he wrote.[23] Ascetics such as those addressed by Evagrius lived harsh lives, in spite of their community clusters in the North African deserts. Acedia, in their cases, is exacerbated by solitude and deprivation. Cassian created a new audience. After a period of wandering from Palestine to Constantinople to Egypt and finally to Marseilles, he established his own cenobitic community. Here the ascetic individualism of the North African hermit was tempered by the demands of a religious community. The individual must contribute to the whole. Idleness, therefore, is a particular danger. Work is of paramount importance—hence the stress of the *Instituta*. "It was basic to the cenobitic life," maintains Wenzel, "that the individual monastery be a self-sustaining unit for whose support the individual monk had to contribute his share."[24] Laziness endangered its existence.

Cassian's acedia may be described as a type of sloth. Another monkish vice, described in Book 9 of the *De institutis cenobiorum*, is *tristitia*. It bears a slight resemblance to Evagrius' and Stagirius' illnesses.[25] Cassian outlines the origins of this state as follows (cap. 13, PL 49. 360–61): it could arise from past anger, a loss of money, an unspecified disappointment,

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[20] Cassian wrote *De institutis cenobiorum* (PL 49. 53 ff.), published in 425, a description of monastic life as he knew it from Palestine and Egypt; Books 5–12 treat the eight vices; Book 10 (PL 49. 359 ff.) is written "de spiritu acediae." Translations are: E. C. S. Gibson (trans.), in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., XI (New York 1894) and Jean-Claude Grey (trans.), *Jean Cassien, Institutions cénobitique* (Paris 1965). Cassian also wrote the *Collationes patrum* (CSEL XIII—pretended reports of "conferences" with the most famous desert fathers). This was published about 426–28. Generally on Cassian there is Chadwick 1968.

[21] Kuhn 1976, 50–54 provides a useful discussion of Cassian.

[22] Wenzel 1967, 22.

[23] Chadwick 1968, 46; Wenzel 1967, 22.

[24] Wenzel 1967, 22.

[25] Cassian seems to have adapted Chrysostomos PG 47. 489. On the relation of Chrysostomos and Cassian, see Chadwick 1968, 9.

an unprovoked injury, irrational confusion of the mind, or the sorts of things such as cause one to despair of salvation and life itself (Cassian compares Judas). *Tristitia* can be cured simply by directing one's attention steadfastly on the afterlife. Cassian's category is, however, a jumble. That it was not well thought through is indicated, perhaps, by the brevity of this ninth book. *Tristitia* may signify mental derangement, although Cassian is more concerned with the other categories. These might best be characterised as frustration, although they may represent a frustration that can become so extreme as to be lethal. In general *tristitia* has none of the severity of Stagirius' *athumia*.

Rutilius Namatianus was a pagan, a contemporary of Cassian and also a Gaul.[26] In A.D. 416 or 417 he made his famous voyage home to a ravaged Gaul. North of Corsica, near the island of Capraria, he mentions passing a community of monks. He remarks (*De reditu suo* 1. 439 ff.): "As we crossed the ocean Capraria reared up in front of us. The island is polluted by a plenitude of men who flee the light. They give themselves the Greek name of *monachi* [monks] because they want to live alone, without a witness . . . Perhaps they seek their cells [*ergastula*] as punishment for their actions? Perhaps their mournful hearts are swollen with black gall? A superfluity of black bile was the cause Homer assigned to the troubles of Bellerophon [*Iliad* 6. 200 f.], for the human race is said to have displeased the young man after he was made ill by the attacks of cruel depression [*saevi post tela doloris*]."

It is uncertain whether Rutilius is describing a monastic community or a loose confederation of anchorites. He identifies the psychological state of these men as depression or, as he would have termed it, melancholia. The *nigra fellis* to which Rutilius refers is black bile (indicated in the next line also by *bilis*). This substance was believed in humoralist medicine (into which class falls Galenic medicine) to have been responsible for the condition of melancholia. Bellerophon, whose malaise is compared to that of the *monachi*, is said to have suffered from melancholia (Aristotle, *Problemata* 30. 1). For Rutilius, then, these monks were the victims of a clinically defined condition, melancholia. Even allowing for hostility and exaggeration, Rutilius' remarks test the veracity of Wenzel's East–West schema. Rutilius' descriptions seem to present us with an acedia of a destructiveness of the Evagrian or Stagirian type. Its context may as well be Cassianic as Evagrian.

St. Jerome (A.D. c. 348–420) gives us some idea of how severe was the malady alluded to by Rutilius. An inhabitant, as Cassian had been, of Bethlehem, Jerome observes amongst cenobites what can only be termed acedia. He is describing a community which more resembles that of Cassian than of Evagrius. But the acedia he speaks of matches that of Evagrius or Stagirius. Jerome does not use the circumlocutions of Rutilius.

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[26] J. Vessereau and F. Préchac (edd.), *Rutilius Namatianus: Sur son retour*[2] (Paris 1961) v ff.

He defines the acedia as melancholia. It is, he avers, best treated by a physician: "There are those who, because of the humidity of their cells, because of excessive fasting, because of the tedium of solitude (*taedio solitudinis*), because of excessive reading, and because day and night they talk to themselves, become melancholic (*vertuntur in melancholian*). They need Hippocratic treatments (*Hippocraticis . . . fomentis*) rather than our advice" (*Ep.* 125. 16 "ad rusticum").[27]

Cassian seems to underestimate the force of acedia. This is surely indicated by the independent testimony of Rutilius and St. Jerome. Is it not likely that the acedia within Cassian's two monasteries may compare to that described by Chrysostomos—doubtless the severe melancholia which is discussed repeatedly in medical literature? A recent observation made of Stagirius' illness may also be made of that described in Cassians' *De institutis cenobiorum* 10: Stagirius' condition is termed *athumia* (despondency), "but quite apart from the fact that despondency had always been the main symptom of melancholy illness, both the aetiology and semeiology in this case (which gives us a deep insight into early Christian asceticism) agree so completely with the definitions in medical literature on melancholy that Johannes Trithemius was fully justified in rendering the expression *athumia* as it occurs in the epistle to Stagirius by 'melancholische Traurigkeit.'"[28]

Why should Cassian have underestimated the force of the illness? At a guess there is more to the *Instituta* than mere practical advice for monks. Cassian, for personal reasons, may have been keen to advertise the salubricity of his own establishments. But perhaps too Cassian was selective in which attacks he sketched. An attack of acedia, that is, may have varied in intensity like many another viral onslaught. Cassian may have only been cognisant of or, more likely, have chosen to be cognisant of the milder forms.

Later witnesses to the *morbus* suggest that this second explanation is probable. Their sketches of the sickness veer wildly between the extremes of the Stagirian and the domesticity of the Cassianic. For example, Abba Isais (died c. 480)[29] believed that acedia was the most dangerous of all vices (PG 40. 1148). Yet elsewhere he could change his mind and nominate

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[27] Elsewhere (*Ep.* 130. 17 "ad Demetriadem") St. Jerome discusses the mental derangement which arises from poor surroundings: "novi ego in utroque sexu, per nimiam abstinentiam cerebri sanitatem . . . fuisse vexatam . . . ita ut nescirent quid agerent, quove se verterent, quid loqui, quid tacere deberent."

[28] Klibansky 1964, 75 f. For discussion of medical knowledge in the early church see S. D'Irsay, "Patristic Medicine," *Annals of Medical History* 9 (1927) 364–78. Wenzel 1967, 191–94 provides a useful compilation of links between acedia and the Galenic humoral theories of the origin of illness; cf. p. 193: "That *acedia* is sometimes related to melancholy (1), sometimes to a phlegmatic disposition (2), illustrates the fact brought out repeatedly in our survey of its history: that by 1200 *acedia* comprised two essentially different vices, grief and indolence."

[29] Bloomfield 1952, 54 and 346 n. 87 has some useful comments on acedia in Isais.

avarice (PG 40. 1143).[30] Isais, like Evagrius, lived in the hermetic tradition. The comments of Nilus (died 450?), an early fifth-century abbot of a monastery near Ankara and an erstwhile pupil of St. John Chrysostomos, seem also to reflect both traditions. In one letter he responds to Polychronius, who requests advice on how to overcome demonic attacks of acedia and *athumia* (PG 79. 449: 3. 142). But Nilus can urge another young man to persist like a soldier, "for even those who have been wounded by the enemy, as long as they will not grow weary [verb ἀκηδιᾶν] of the hardships of penance . . . will finally triumph" (PG 79. 112: 1. 67).[31] Elsewhere he urges persistence and an avoidance of negligence in prayer (PG 79. 537: 3. 319). The verb used for "negligence" is ἀκηδιᾶν.

Gregory the Great (A.D. c. 540–604) dramatically modifies the position of even Isais and Nilus. He may mark a new phase in the history of acedia. In Gregory's scheme of things, to judge from his language, acedia is an unimportant evil—notwithstanding his certain knowledge of it from Cassian. There were now only seven vices, likely, *vana gloria, ira, invidia, tristitia, avaritia, gula,* and *luxuria.* In the *Morals on the Book of Job* Gregory seems to have lumped together *tristitia* and acedia to call them the diseases of the solitary.[32] Wenzel argues against simple merging or mere name changing: "It is possible, if Gregory knew Cassian at all, to think of his *tristitia* as a combination of traces from both the *tristitia* and the acedia of the Cassianic–Evagrian scheme of eight vices. The new concept should, however, be considered, not as the result of a simple fusion, following the mathematical rule that two and two make four, but rather a new creation from parts of the old vices."[33]

Gregory offers the impression that acedia, though well known in theory, had as an illness lost its virulence. The disease has reached an epidemiological balance. Commentators subsequent to Gregory bear out this contention. For example Eutropius, a near contemporary of Gregory, provides a sin sequence which seems to blur the Cassianic and Gregorian tradition. Both *tristitia* and *acedia* appear. In his *De octo vitiis* the list is: *superbia, acedia, vana gloria, ira, tristitia, avaritia, gula,* and *luxuria.*[34] Similarly Isidore of Seville (born c. 560–70).[35] In the *De differentiis verborum et rerum* 2. 40 he reverts to the Cassianic octad: "The inclusion of *invidia* and the merging of *tristitia* and *acedia* under the former name,

[30] Kuhn 1976, 45.

[31] The translation is from Wenzel 1967, 10.

[32] *Moralia* 31. 87. Kuhn 1976, 54.

[33] Wenzel 1967, 24.

[34] Bloomfield 1952, 73. The text is PL 80. 10 ff. See also Bloomfield 1952, 358 n. 50 where, quoting Chadwick on Cassian, he notes that Eutropius may depend for his listing on Cassian's *Collationes* 5. 2. 10–16.

[35] According to Klibansky 1964, 76 n. 23, a discussion of his views on acedia may be found in F. Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*[7] (London 1896) 8 ff.

however, reveal the Gregorian influence."[36] Johannes Climacus[37] approves of Gregory's list of seven vices, but in all cases bar one follows the Cassianic octad.[38]

II

Several conclusions may be drawn from this brief survey. First, acedia seems to have represented something of an epidemic.[39] The *morbus*, we could speculate from St. John Chrysostomos and from Gregory the Great, seems to have had an outbreak, a period of intense affectivity, then an increasingly dormant period. Acedia varied in intensity. It could range from a severe clinical depression to a milder form which more resembled boredom. Acedia (though not always designated by that name) seems in this early period to have been understood in at least two, possibly three ways. First there was the Evagrian condition—a specific, perhaps mildly depressive illness brought on by an excess of solitude and physical deprivation. This malaise seems not unlike an acute form of frustration (compare Cassian's *tristitia*). Second there was the state of—what we might term—malicious boredom. This is represented by the Cassianic conception of *otiositas*. Third there was the formulation of St. John Chrysostomos,[40] Rutilius Namatianus, and St. Jerome—acedia here was linked with the clinically defined notion of severe melancholia. It also appears probable that Cassian was correct in maintaining that the solitary life-style of the hermit exacerbated the malady.

But it is of crucial importance to note that acedia was not confined to the monastery. Monks were not alone in the predisposition to the illness. This is indicated by an aside of St. John Chrysostomos. He states that acedia is a condition also suffered by those living outside monasteries. But for them it was less dangerous (PG 47. 426). Thus the malady suffered by Stagirius has its parallel even in the comfortable world beyond the cave or the monastery. It is hard not to conclude that acedia represented something of a pandemic. It affected lay and religous, hermit and monk alike. The

[36] Bloomfield 1952, 77. The text is PL 83. 95–98.

[37] *Scala paradisi*, PG 88. 631 ff. (also translated: C. Luibheid, *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent* [New York 1982]). Step 13 (PG 88. 857–61) provides an extended treatment of "despondency." According to Klibansky 1964, 76 n. 23, a discussion of his views on acedia may be found in F. Paget (above, note 35) 8 ff. Wenzel 1967, 18 maintains that although Climacus gives long descriptions of the vice, they are "mostly borrowed from earlier desert fathers."

[38] Bloomfield 1952, 76–77.

[39] John Chrysostomos calls it a λοιμός (or *pestis*) and an ἰός (or *virus*, PG 47. 491) and compares it to a fever (πυρετός or *febris*, PG 47. 489).

[40] Chrysostomos, however, did not see it that way. He lists *melancholici* along with a variety of other sinners at PG 47. 451.

viral analogy of St. John Chrysostomos is indeed a useful one.[41] It makes comprehensible that the force of the attack, like that of many diseases, could vary in intensity (Evagrian acedia blurs into a clinical melancholia; Rutilius' melancholia blurs into Cassian's *otiositas*), and that the disease had periods when it was dormant (the Gregorian era) and periods when it was widespread (Chrysostomos' era).

Definitions, the first of the concerns of this essay, are therefore not easily formulated. Because the intensity of acedia could vary from region to region, from sufferer to sufferer, and from era to era no single set of symptoms will accurately sum it up. The disease is best represented on a sliding scale. Acedia could vary from a harmless, though debilitating frustration (Evagrius or Cassian's *tristitia*), through oppressive boredom (Cassian's acedia), to an acute, delusory melancholia (Chrysostomos). Acedia represents a continuum. It encompasses the conditions we would describe as frustration, boredom, and depression.[42] It is also apparent that, as Wenzel suggests, the physical conditions of the sufferers may have some importance in regulating the severity of the malady.[43] But that will not explain why the pestilence broke out in this particular era. Explanation for that would require more knowledge of shared psychological states than we possess.[44]

III

Were there classical precedents for the deadly condition of acedia? The claim is sometimes made, but frequently implied, that acedia lacked a parallel within the classical world—as if it sprang to birth fully formed in the deserts of North Africa, rather like Athena from Zeus' head. If, however, we adopt the type of definition I have urged above—that acedia represents a continuum embracing frustration, boredom, and depression—it will be apparent that the various aspects of the condition have ample parallels within the literature of classical antiquity. What was new in North Africa was a proper term for this *morbus*. The invention of this label, I suspect, is an indication of the ferocity of the onslaught.

[41] W. M. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Harmondsworth 1976) is very helpful on the notions of pestilential infection and spread. For the viral analogy applied to psychological conditions there is E. Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (London 1985).

[42] The continuum is probably the result of the interconnection of the emotions themselves. This has been demonstrated with great force in the work of the Dutch researcher into animal behaviour, Dr. Françoise Wemelsfelder. Wemelsfelder convincingly explains the connections between frustration, boredom, and depression (termed "helplessness") in animal behaviour. The human analogy seems inevitable. See Wemelsfelder 1985 and 1989.

[43] So too St. Jerome (*Ep.* 125 "ad rusticum" and 130 "ad Demetriadem"), who alludes to the melancholy which arises from poor surroundings.

[44] Perhaps the incidence of acedia has parallels in such bizarre phenomena as Maenadism?

Precedents for the depressive condition suffered by Stagirius, or that described by Rutilius Namatianus and St. Jerome have been amply documented by Jackson, by Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky, and by Starobinski.[45] There is, in the classical period, a reasonably large medical literature on melancholia, depression, and related problems. For the sake of thoroughness I will mention a few outstanding examples.

Melancholia was the ancient medical term for depression.[46] In the earliest Hippocratic writers[47] it seems to be linked with "an aversion to food, despondency, sleeplessness, irritability, restlessness." (The Evagrian parallel suggests itself at once.) Sometimes it is also added that "fear or depression that is prolonged means melancholia."[48] These theorists were probably humoralists and believed that melancholy was the result of an excess of black bile.[49] (Thus the comments of Rutilius Namatianus.) Such an interpretation was followed, with only small modifications, by most of the later medical writers. Celsus interpreted it as such;[50] so did Rufus of Ephesus (who worked during the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods),[51] Aretaeus of Cappadocia (fl. A.D. 150),[52] and Galen (fl. A.D. 160).[53] The

[45] Respectively Jackson 1986, Klibansky 1964, and Starobinski 1962.

[46] The popular conception of melancholia seems to have followed a position first outlined by pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata* 30. 1. According to the *Problemata* there are two kinds of melancholics: those in whom the black bile becomes very hot and those in whom the black bile becomes very cold. Where the black bile is cold one would expect depression. Where it is very hot one would expect mania (anger, volatility, violence, and destruction). The authority of the Aristotelian version seems to have held sway, in non-medical circles, as late as Plutarch.

[47] W. Müri, "Melancholie und schwarze Galle," *MH* 10 (1953) 21–38, is very helpful on Hippocratic notions of melancholy and black bile. Useful generally on the Hippocratics is W. D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca, NY 1979). For the larger view see M. Neuburger, *History of Medicine* I, trans. E. Playfair (London 1909).

[48] See Jackson 1986, 30–31, quoting from W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington, *The Works of Hippocrates* (Cambridge, MA 1923–31) I 236 and IV 185.

[49] Jackson 1986, 30 cites Jones (previous note) IV 3–41 in support of this view.

[50] Klibansky 1964, 45 f. for a discussion of Celsus and a bibliography. Klibansky et al. point out that Celsus bases his work on that of Asclepiades of Bithynia, who came to Rome in 91 B.C. and went on to become a friend of Cicero. Jackson 1986, 33 believes that Celsus may have been influenced by humoral theory.

[51] Klibansky 1964, makes this statement as part of the general discussion (48–55) of Rufus of Ephesus. Rufus' work on melancholy is reconstructed from fragments and citations: see Klibansky 1964, 49. The text for the remains of Rufus of Ephesus is now H. Gärtner, *Rufus Ephesius: Quaestiones medicales* (Stuttgart 1970). Jackson 1986, 407 refers to the following translation: C. Daremberg and C. E. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d' Ephèse* (Paris 1879).

[52] Jackson 1986, 407 mentions the following translation: F. Adams, *The Extant Works of Aretaeus, the Cappadocian* (London 1856) and discusses Aretaeus on pp. 39–41. The Greek text by K. Hude is contained in *CMG* II² (Berlin 1958).

[53] Galen's comments on melancholy may be found in Book 3 of *On the Affected Parts*. The Greek text is contained in vol. VIII of C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, (repr. Hildesheim 1965). For a translation see R. E. Siegel, *Galen: On the Affected Parts* (Basel 1976). On Galen and melancholy see Jackson 1986, 41–45 and "Galen—on Mental Disorders," *J. Hist. Behav. Sci.* 5 (1969) 365–84, R. E. Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine* (Basel 1968) 300–04, and Klibansky 1964, 57 ff.

contemporary of Rufus, Soranus, agreed on the symptomatology, but differed on aetiology.[54] He rejected the humoralist interpretation.

An examination of some of the ways in which depression seems to have been depicted in classical texts indicates reasonable similarities between it and some of the versions suffered under the banner of acedia. Compare, for example, the following descriptions of melancholia (the first drawn from Aretaeus of Cappadocia, the second from Soranus) with those of St. John Chrysostomos or Evagrius above: "In certain of these cases, there is neither flatulence nor black bile, but mere anger and grief, and sad dejection of the mind; and these were called melancholics, because the terms *bile* and *anger* are synonymous in import, and likewise *black* with *much* and *furious*,"[55] or "mental anguish and distress, dejection, silence, animosity towards members of the household, sometimes a desire to live and at other times a longing for death, suspicion . . . that a plot is being hatched against him, weeping without reason, meaningless muttering and . . . occasional joviality."[56]

Also of considerable significance may be the traditional link between the desert (the haunt of the early anchorite), uninhabited places, and melancholia and madness. This nexus has a distinguished medical parentage. In the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* 30. 1 it is stated: "There are also the stories of Ajax and Bellerophon: the one went completely out of his mind, while the other sought out desert places [τὰς ἐρημίας] for his habitation; wherefore Homer says [*Iliad* 6. 200–02]:

> And since of all the gods he was hated
> Verily over the Aleian plain he would wander
> Eating his own heart out, avoiding the pathway of mortals."[57]

Aretaeus of Cappadocia, according to Rosen,[58] makes a similar parallel and links madness with the desert: "Aretaeus speaks of some madmen who 'flee the haunts of men and, going to the wilderness, live by themselves.' Also, in discussing melancholia, he refers to 'avoidance of the haunts of men' as characteristic of those severely afflicted with this condition." It is also doubtless correct to adduce the Gerasene demoniac in the Gospels. According to Luke, the demon who possessed this individual drove him into the desert after he had broken the bonds used to fetter him.[59]

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[54] Soranus survives in a Latin translation made at the end of the fourth century by Caelius Aurelianus (*De morbis acutis et chronicis*). For a text see: I. E. Drabkin (ed. and trans.), *Caelius Aurelianus: On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950).

[55] The translation is drawn from Jackson 1987, 40.

[56] See Drabkin (above, note 54) 19.

[57] The translation is that of Klibansky 1964, 18 f.

[58] Rosen 1968, 98.

[59] Pointed out by Rosen 1968, 98. The New Testament references are *Luke* 8. 26 and 29, *Mark* 5. 3, and *Matthew* 8. 28.

Melancholics of the depressive variety, therefore, are not uncommon in ancient medical literature.[60] There seems to be every reason to assume that early Christian writers were familiar with the medical traditions,[61] and, further, when they attempted to describe or to formulate aspects of acedia, that they utilised, consciously or unconsciously, these traditions.

There was more to acedia than melancholia. In the Cassianic scheme of things it resembles boredom. Does Cassian's formulation of acedia as *otiositas* have classical parallels? References to the notion of boredom are less easy to isolate than those to melancholia.[62] (The difficulty is partly lexical. A variety of terms—nearly all of them metaphorical—may be used to describe the condition. Even then it is not easy to be sure whether unambiguous "boredom," "annoyance," or even "socially inept" is intended.) The use, however, of one of the Greek words for boredom, ἄλυς, may offer some insights. In its earliest uses (nominal and verbal) it seems to mean "distracted" or "grieved." It can also, in its verbal forms, mean to wander. The first unambiguous use[63] of ἄλυς with which I am familiar, to suggest "boredom," comes from Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13. Pyrrhus, after becoming regent of Epirus and later of Macedonia, withdrew from the latter possession in disappointment at the disloyalty of his subjects. Ἄλυς or boredom—to the point of nausea—did not allow him to enjoy his retirement. He was content, according to Plutarch, when doing or receiving mischief. To alleviate the boredom Pyrrhus launched himself on a new round of military activities at the end of which he lost his life. This is not quite Cassianic, perhaps, but the restlessness and dissatisfaction may offer some similarity. So too Pyrrhus' cure—activity, the very prescription of Cassian. Comparable references occur in Diogenes of Oenoanda (fr. 25 Chilton), Aelian (*VH* 14. 12), and Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 2. 7). Aelian repeats the theme of activity as a remedy for boredom—he mentions the king of Persia who, to avoid boredom when travelling, kept a knife and a piece of linden wood for whittling.

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[60] Depressives in literature are less common. The first mild depressive with whom I am familiar is M. Annaeus Serenus, the addressee of Seneca's *De tranquillitate vitae*. While Serenus' condition is perhaps too mild to be described as full-blown depression, his symptoms do seem to match. Some of the terms describing his illness are: *displicentia sui, fastidium* [*vitae*], *fluctus animi, inertia, maeror, oscitatio, taedium, tristitia*, and so forth. The addressee of Persius' third satire may suffer real depression. His condition, designated in v. 8 as *vitrea bilis*, may be interpreted as μέλαινα χολή. The cure, given in v. 63, is hellebore, a standard treatment for melancholy.

[61] For discussion of medical knowledge in the early church see D'Irsay (above, note 28).

[62] For a partial discussion of the history of the notion see Toohey, "Some Ancient Notions of Boredom" (above, note 10).

[63] The earliest uses of the word as "boredom" may be Hellenistic. But these could just as easily be taken to mean "annoyance." See Toohey, "Boredom" (above, note 10) 155.

An important aspect of Cassianic acedia is *horror loci*, a restless dissatisfaction which drives monks from their cells to annoy and to harass (and to pass on the infection to?) others.[64] There are ample references to this condition: in Lucretius 3. 1060–67 and in Horace, *Sat.* 2. 7. 28–29, *Ep.* 1. 8. 12, 1. 11. 27, and 1. 14.[65]   Horace, however, does not seem to see anything especially sinister in this emotion. Seneca repeats this theme in *Ep. Mor.* 28 and at *ad Helv.* 12. 3. 4. Indeed it is Seneca who provides, as with depression, many of the most useful references to this emotion. He could almost be said to have "spiritualised" it. Typical of this tendency are comments such as those at *Ep. Mor.* 24. 26: of the sufferers he notes *multi sunt qui non acerbum iudicent vivere, sed supervacuum.* "Spiritualised" boredom verges on fully fledged acedia.[66]

<div align="center">IV</div>

The conclusions to be drawn from my discussion ought now to be apparent. The variety of definitions for acedia in scholarly literature is symptomatic of the actual nature of the affliction. Depending on the era, depending on the sufferer, depending on his or her health acedia could vary in intensity. It could resemble a mild form of frustration, a deeper form of boredom, or a psychotic type of depression. The disease affected religious and lay people alike. Its severity, however, seems to have been predicated upon historical, geographical, and physiological peculiarities. Perhaps the best analogy for acedia is that of a severe viral illness.

The variety of the forms which acedia could take, furthermore, allows a more satisfactory examination of its antecedents. The depressive manifestations of the illness and those manifestations exhibiting symptoms of boredom appear to have ample parallels in the literature of pagan antiquity. There was, then, little that was new in acedia, except perhaps the name itself. Its formulation may be the result of the severity of the epidemic in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

There remains one aspect of the problem which I have avoided. What is the aetiology of acedia? No satisfactory answer can be provided for this query. It may not be unreasonable, however, to offer a few tendentious speculations. There appears to be some scientific evidence for claiming that the emotions of frustration, boredom, and depression result from circumstances of confinement.[67]   That such circumstances manifest

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[64] *Instituta* 10, cap. 2: "qui [*sc.* acedia] . . . horrorem loci . . . gignit."

[65] This topic is discussed in Kuhn 1976, 23.

[66] There remains a third aspect of acedia for which I have not offered parallels. This is frustration. It has been argued by Wemelsfelder 1989 that frustration precedes boredom. As far as the literary condition is concerned this is a less easy concept to pin down. To avoid the attendant imprecision I have omitted its consideration. It could be observed that *horror loci* may be as good an example of frustration as one is likely to find.

[67] Wemelsfelder 1989 and 1985.

themselves in the anchoritic and cenobitic world is obvious, notwithstanding the fact that the confinement was freely chosen: it cannot have been easy to abandon Rutilius' island of Capraria. But such an explanation, though useful for the religious, is less so in the example of the lay victim. My suggestion in this case is based upon a not entirely subjective observation that, in the classical period, boredom and depression, the congeners of acedia, seem particularly prevalent in the post-Senecan lay world. The "confinement" of that world is less physical (although we ought not ignore the dramatic increase in urbanisation within the period) than emotional (for the traditional elite in the early empire options, traditional certainties, and even physical freedoms were severely curtailed). Perhaps it was so for the lay person in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Was "confinement," of an emotional variety, ascendant in this era? The experience of Rome in 410 offers one corroboration. The rapid spread of Christianity itself may offer another.[68]

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[68] My thanks to Dr. John Dearin for a variety of assistance.

8

Alchemy in the Ancient World:
From Science to Magic

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"Alchemy" is the anglicised Byzantine name given to what its practitioners referred to as "the Art" (τέχνη) or "Knowledge" (ἐπιστήμη), often characterised as divine (θεία), sacred (ἱερά) or mystic (μυστική).[1] While this *techne* underwent many changes in the course of its life of over two thousand years (and there are traces of it even in modern times, as I will discuss), a recognisable common denominator in all the writings is the search for a method of transforming base metals (copper, iron, lead, tin) into noble (electrum, gold or silver).[2] There is unfortunately no modern critical edition of any of these writings (the extant editions being old or uncritical or both), though the Budé has begun the process.[3] In this essay I sketch the background and origins of the ancient alchemy, as well as its later transmutation into a mystical art of personal transformation. Finally I turn to the modern period and briefly examine the influence of this mystical tradition in our own world-picture.

Background

I begin with the first evidence of human chemical technology, which takes us back, well before the ancient period of merely 2,000 years ago, to the Palaeolithic Middle Pleistocene of 200,000 years ago—and the mastery of fire.[4] The achievement of this first controlled chemical reaction marks a

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[1] W. Gundel, "Alchemie," *RAC* I (1950) 239–60, esp. 240–41; E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin 1919) I 293–314; E. Riess, "Alchemie," *RE* I (1894) 1338–55, esp. 1338–39.

[2] See for example Zosimus 3. 11 = M. P. E. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (= *CAAG*) II (Paris 1888) 145–48 Greek, 148–50 French; F. S. Taylor, "A Survey of Greek Alchemy," *JHS* 50 (1930) 109–39, esp. 127; Riess (previous note) 1351–52; Gundel (previous note) 249–50.

[3] For the judgement on the editions see Gundel (above, note 1) 239; the Budé begins with an edition of the Stockholm and Leiden papyri by Robert Halleux: *Les alchimistes grecs* I (Paris 1981); see H. D. Saffrey (therein) xiv–xv for their plans.

[4] S. R. James, "Hominid Use of Fire in the Lower and Middle Pleistocene: A Review of the Evidence," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989) 1–26; M. Barbetti, "Traces of Fire in the Archaeological Record, Before One Million Years Ago?," *JHumEvol* 15 (1986) 771–81; C. K.

radical break with prior technology, the significance of which remained part of human memory down to the first millennium B.C. as revealed in the Prometheus Myth of the Greeks (Hesiod and Aeschylus) and the fire-worship of the Persians.[5]

Fire was and still is used in religious and magical rites; it is also the source of the second major advance in chemical technology: the production of an artificial substance. No doubt (though we lack positive proof) fire was used for cooking food and hardening wood—themselves important and mysterious processes (why after all should destructive heat make things harder and more durable?). But 26,000 years ago (one cycle of the precession of the equinoxes), south of what is now Brno in Czechoslovakia our ancestors first produced a new material having properties entirely dissimilar to those of the parent material—I mean baked clay.[6] But this new material was not to be used for pottery until a period more than twice as long as all of recorded history had passed—the people at Dolni Vestonice seem to have been chiefly interested in causing their molded animal figurines to explode on firing. This is relatively easy to accomplish with a sufficiently wet and thick clay body (though harder with loess, the raw material at Dolni)—potters must be taught (as I know by experience) to build or throw thinly. These explosions were probably ritualistic (the archaeologists often interpret the unknown as the sacred: *omne ignotum pro sacro*)—I am reminded of the fire-cracked Chinese oracle bones.

Fire hardened clay, and this miracle material came to be more common than stone, in the form of pottery vessels (the original form of which was probably clay-lined baskets). After the Agricultural Revolution fire was used not only to cook but to *bake*.[7] This again marks a decisive step—that fire hardened and preserved wood, bone, clay and food had long been known. The new magic was leaven—the invisible yeast preserved by bakers in sourdough (as fire was in fennel-stalks)—which transformed clay-like dough into raised bread. Again the symbolism was powerful enough after millennia to lodge at the core of Christianity.

Doubtless Neanderthals like jackdaws collected shiny rocks. Among these were pyrites, the most valuable, the fire-stone, the fire-starter, as well as bits of copper and gold of no apparent value (*we* have come so far that pyrites is now called "fool's gold").[8] At some point it was discovered that

Brain and A. Sillen, "Evidence from the Swartkrans Cave for the Earliest Use of Fire," *Nature* 336 (1988) 464–66. I am indebted to Stan Ambrose (University of Illinois, Anthropology) for these references.

[5] Cp. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (= *SAT*) VI (Leiden 1966) 1–13.

[6] P. B. Vandiver, O. Soffer, B. Klima and J. Svoboda, "The Origins of Ceramic Technology at Dolni Věstonice, Czechoslovakia," *Science* 246 (1989) 1002–08.

[7] Cp. Forbes, *SAT* VI (1966) 58–67; W. Krenkel, "Vom Korn zum Brot," *Das Altertum* 11 (1965) 209–23.

[8] Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 8–28, 157 and IX (1972) 29–34.

the latter stones were soft enough that they could be carved like tough wood or bone, later still that they could like stiff dough or clay with difficulty be pounded into shapes. This hammering hardens the copper. The thought must have soon occurred—perhaps this stuff could be further hardened like clay, wood, bone in the fire? It was tried—and the failure was a source of wonder. Copper does not, like clay or bone, fracture if heated and quenched, nor does it harden—but rather it becomes softer! This made it easier to hammer. These early discoveries seem to have occurred in Armenia or North Iran, about seven thousand years ago.[9]

The earliest copper finds in Mesopotamia are at Tepe Gawra (4000–3500 B.C.)—a site to which I will refer again.[10] Just a bit later we have the earliest dated smelted copper (and copper slag) from Tepe Yahya in Iran (3800 B.C.), and at about the same time there is evidence of copper smelting in Egypt.[11] Smelting was probably discovered accidentally in a pottery kiln (kilns are first recorded by archaeologists at this time)—green malachite was reduced to red copper.[12] This was a magical transformation, like the firing of clay and the baking of bread, and represents the first artificial production or imitation of a natural substance—specifically the production of a valuable metal from something to which the metal has *no* resemblance or known connection.

Near Ur of the Chaldees at Al 'Ubaid have been found the earliest examples (from ca. 3500–3200 B.C.) of the deliberate production of tin-bronze.[13] It is not clear just how this was done, but from an alchemical point of view the most significant fact is that it *was*. This was probably a Sumerian discovery, as only their language distinguishes clearly between copper and bronze: copper is *urudu* and bronze *zabar*.[14] By doing something to a red metal the Sumerians produced a yellow metal (which was more

[9] A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*[4], ed. J. R. Harris (London 1962) 199–217 and Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 20 and IX (1972) 29–34 on annealing of copper; R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy* (London 1976) 1 and Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 17–25 on locale.

[10] Tylecote (previous note) 9.

[11] Tylecote (above, note 9) 5–9; see R. F. Tylecote and H. McKerrell, "Examination of Copper Alloy Tools from Tal Y Yahya, Iran," *BullHistMetallGroup* 5 (1971) 37–38.

[12] Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 28; Tylecote (above, note 9) 5–6; H. H. Coghlan, "Some Experiments on the Origin of Early Copper," *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* 39 (1939) 106–08; idem, "Prehistoric Copper and Some Experiments in Smelting," *TransNewcomenSoc* 20 (1939/40) 49–65; A. Lucas, "The Origin of Early Copper," *JEA* 31 (1945) 96–97; H. H. Coghlan, *Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze in the Old World*, Pitt Rivers Museum, U. of Oxford, Occasional Papers on Technology 4 (Oxford 1951); George Rapp, Jr., "Native Copper and the Beginning of Smelting: Chemical Studies," in *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus 4000–500 B.C.*, ed. J. D. Muhly et al. (Nicosia 1982) 33–38.

[13] Tylecote (above, note 9) 9.

[14] Forbes, *SAT* IX (1972) 89, 115—cp. the Egyptian words, p. 55; see also M. P. E. Berthelot, "Sur le cuivre des anciens," *Annales de chimie et de physique* (6) 12 (1887) 141–43.

easily cast and could be made far harder).[15]   The further successes of prehistoric metallurgy cannot detain us here,[16] though lead,[17] tin,[18] antimony[19] and iron[20] were extracted and brass was invented.[21]   Two processes for producing gold and silver I must mention. Silver was rarer than gold in Egypt; by about 2000 B.C. it was being produced in the Near East from argentiferous galena by cupellation—that is the galena was roasted to produce lead, which was oxidised in a fired clay crucible leaving only the silver.[22]   By the fifth century B.C. the Egyptians had learned the long-known cementation process by which impure gold or electrum is heated with clay, sand and salt in a closed vessel to produce refined or purified gold. Both processes must have seemed magical and arbitrary.[23]

I have discussed prehistoric and early metallurgy—the connection to alchemy is clear. Now I must make a detour into Egyptian and Sumerian chemistry—also connected with alchemy—to mention two other important artificial substances: glass and beer.

The first artificial stone was fired clay. The Egyptians were using a gypsum mortar (similar to our cement or concrete) from predynastic times, and it is they who invented faience (a fired ground-quartz paste).[24]   We do not

[15] T. T. Read, "Metallurgical Fallacies in Archaeological Literature," *AJA* 38 (1934) 382–89; J. R. Partington, "The Discovery of Bronze," *Scientia* 60 (1936) 197–204.

[16] A. Neuburger, *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (London 1930) 8–27; Lucas (above, note 9) 195–257; Forbes, *SAT* X (1972) 152–66; J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978).

[17] Lead was smelted from galena: see Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 196–266.

[18] Tylecote (above, note 9) 14–29 and Forbes, *SAT* IX (1972) 134–52, 166 ff. discuss tin; W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi* (Cambridge 1936) 171–73, 215, Pl. XXV records an EBA pure tin bracelet (object 30. 24).

[19] Cp. Pliny, *HN* 33. 33. 101–34. 104; Diosc. *MM* 5. 84 (99); M. P. E. Berthelot, "Métaux et mineraux provenant de l'antique Chaldée; sur les origines de l'étain dans le monde ancien," *Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Sciences* 104 (1887) 265–71 and "Sur quelques métaux et mineraux provenant de l'antique Chaldée," *Annales de chimie et de physique* (6) 12 (1887) 129–40, esp. 134–36 records the antimony bowl from Tello; for other antimony objects see: L. Cambi, "Sul metallo dei monili delle tombe del sepolcreto di Ponte S. Pietro," *Rend. Ist. Lombardo. Sci., Classe sci. matem. e natur.* 92 A, pt. 2 (1958) 167–72 "neolithic" (2500–2000 B.C.) antimony beads; L. Cambi and F. Cremascoli, "Sul metallo dei bottoni della tomba preistorica di Monte Bradoni presso Volterra," ibid. 91, pt. 2 (1957) 371–77 antimony buttons of "bronze age"; R. Virchow, "Neue Erwerbungen aus Transkaukasien, insbesondere eine Fenterurne und Schmücksachen aus Antimon," *Verh. Berl. Gesell. Anthropol. Ethnol. Urgesch.* (1884) 125–31.

[20] On iron see Read (above, note 15); Tylecote (above, note 9) and Forbes, *SAT* IX (1972) 187–305.

[21] See E. R. Caley, "Orichalcum and Related Alloys," *ANS NNM* 151 (1964). Zinc itself (alloyed with copper to make brass) was apparently also known: Str. 13. 1. 56 (610) calls it ψευδάργυρος and cp. M. Farnsworth, C. S. Smith and J. L. Rodda, "Metallographic Examination of a Sample of Metallic Zinc from Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) 126–29, Pl. XVI.

[22] Tylecote (above, note 9) 38; Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 196–266.

[23] Forbes, *SAT* VIII (1971) 180–81; Lucas (above, note 9) 224–35.

[24] Lucas (above, note 9) 74–79 mortar, 156–78 faience.

know where or when glass was first made, but it has been found in Egypt from 2500 B.C., in Mesopotamia a bit later, usually in the form of beads.[25] Popular in Egypt primarily during the New Kingdom, glass long remained a fixture of Mesopotamian technology—in fact the oldest extant glass recipe, from the seventeenth century B.C., is a Sumerian–Babylonian cuneiform tablet.[26] The writer "anticipates" the deliberate obscurity of later alchemical texts, but the recipe is recognizably that for a green glass. Later seventh-century B.C. recipes produce soda glass and crown glass equivalent to our modern glasses—but the recipes include the building of human embryos into the furnace walls. One of the Egyptian recipes found its way into the Greco-Roman tradition as *caerulium*: sand, green malachite, chalk and salt were fused at just the right temperature to produce a sky-blue glassy stone[27]—without any embryos.

The fermentation of sweet fruit juices—wine—probably goes back to the Palaeolithic and occurs spontaneously due to the presence of the yeast of the mold family found on the fruit skins.[28] This miracle too was long remembered as such—the Greeks worshipped Dionysus as the bringer of wine, wine is symbolic of the blessings of God in the Hebrew Scriptures and wine is, with bread, one of the sacred substances of the Christian religion. The connection of wine specifically with alchemy I will address shortly. The invention of beer is often credited to the Egyptians—the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (1. 20. 4) credits it to the god Osiris. The process of malting (soaking grain in water till it begins to sprout) generates the sugar necessary for fermentation—the whole process is far more complex than the production of wine.[29] A neo-Babylonian tablet of the fifth–fourth century B.C. preserves the Sumerian beer recipe:[30] we even know how the Sumerians and Egyptians drank it—through straws (Fig. 1). This beer process is also recorded for us in Greek writings—in the

[25] Lucas (above, note 9) 179–84; J. R. Partington, *The Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London 1935; repr. New York 1975) 119–32; Neuburger (above, note 16) 152–64; A. C. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1908); M. L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass*, U. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 13. 3–4 (1928) 231–436.

[26] C. J. Gadd and R. C. Thompson, "A Middle-Babylonian Chemical Text," *Iraq* 3 (1936) 87–96; R. C. Thompson, "Assyrian Chemistry," *Ambix* 2 (1938) 3–16; idem, *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford 1936) xxi–xxxvi, 194–97.

[27] Pliny *HN* 33. 57. 161–64; Vitr. 7. 11. 1; Theophr. *De Lap.* 70, 98–100; Diosc. *MM* 5. 91 (106); see Partington (above, note 25) 117–19; Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 224–25.

[28] Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 62–64, 72–74; Neuburger (above, note 16) 105–09; Lucas (above, note 9) 16–24.

[29] Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 65–70; J. P. Arnold, *Origin and History of Beer and Brewing* (Chicago 1911) 41–184.

[30] L. F. Hartmann and A. L. Oppenheim, "On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JAOS* Suppl. 10 (1950). The figures of the beer-drinkers are drawn from their Plates I and II.

encyclopedia of alchemy written ca. A.D. 300 by Zosimus[31]—where it is explicitly connected with the alchemical transformation of base metals to gold.[32]

Origin

The techniques of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians represent the foundation stones of the edifice we call alchemy. Built onto this *techne* was the Greek philosophy of nature. So far as we know these Near Eastern peoples were not inclined to seek explanations for these processes. But from the times of Thales (seventh century B.C.) the Greeks began to develop a natural philosophy, seeking to understand the world not in terms of the actions of anthropomorphic deities alone but also in terms of "natural" forces. The earliest of these thinkers were hylozoistic monists—they explained everything in terms of one thing, which was some material endowed with life-like properties. Thus Thales thought everything was originally water, out of which earth and living things grew; others suggested air or fire.

Empedocles, Plato and Aristotle contributed to the development of the "Four-Element" Theory which persisted down to the seventeenth century A.D. (Shakespeare and Milton). In this model everything was made of some combination of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, Earth), related as in Fig. 2.[33] In this theory the two pairs of primary opposites Hot/Cold, Dry/Wet—themselves like our modern quarks never separately observable—combine to produce the four elements. Each element has its natural place and a natural motion towards that place (up/down). To explain the perpetual circular motions of the seven planets Aristotle added a separate and distinct material "first body" which he called *aither*, and a non-material "fifth substance" to explain the soul. Later in the third century B.C. these two concepts were blurred and merged under the name "quintessence."[34]

To this last point I shall return, but first I must explain the chemical theories which result from this four-element model. First, elements (*stoicheia*) may transform into one another by a change in their constituent opposites—thus Water becomes Earth when the Wet leaves and the Dry comes, a mixture of Fire and Water may become Earth plus Air by a kind of double decomposition reaction (Cold/Wet + Hot/Dry → Cold/Dry +

[31] Lucas (above, note 9) 14; Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 70 and Arnold (above, note 29) 85, all from Chr. G. Gruner, *Zosimi Panopolitani de zythorum confectione fragmentum* (Sulzbach 1814) *nondum vidi.*

[32] See Berthelot, *CAAG* I. 2 (1887) 7 Greek (*s.v.* ζύμη) = 7 French (*s.v.* levain); Riess (above, note 1) 1352–53. Cp. n. 72 below.

[33] See esp. J. E. Bolzan, "Chemical Combination According to Aristotle," *Ambix* 23 (1976) 134–44.

[34] P. T. Keyser, "Horace *Odes* 1. 13. 3–8, 14–16: Humoural and Aetherial Love," *Philol.* 133 (1989) 75–81, esp. 76–77. Fig. 2 is taken from this article.

Hot/Wet), and (hardest of all) Water may become Fire if both Cold and Wet
pass away and Hot and Dry come to be. So much for atomic physics—
chemistry involves mixtures or blends of the four elements. Ever since
Anaximenes had postulated that the elements transform into one another by
rarefaction and condensation, the notion that mathematics might enter
chemistry was about. Plato in the *Timaeus* tries to construct the elements
from fundamental triangles grouped into four of the five "Platonic" solids
(thus betraying his Pythagoreanism). Aristotle too allows arithmetic—there
are differences in degree of the four elements and a compound will exhibit a
certain ratio of combination: this is effectively Dalton's "Law of Definite
Proportions" of 1808.

   This theory remained not without application.[35] For example we read
that substances made of Earth plus Water are solidified by heat because it
drives off the water, and by cold which drives out the natural heat—in this
case (if Earth predominates) heat will again liquify them. The example of
iron is given—it can be melted by extraordinary heat (and this is part of the
making of χάλυψ, steel).[36] Again, gold, silver and other metals are
composed of water for they are all melted by heat. Aristotle wisely
refrained, however, from assigning specific numbers to the compounds (cp.
Meteor. 4. 10 [389a7–23]). Plato (who also made metals of water) did
assign definite numerical ratios to the elemental transformations: 2 Fire = 1
Air, 2.5 Air = 1 Water (*Tim.* 56e).

   Aristotle does not mean that ordinary water and earth combine to form
substances such as gold or iron. In fact both stones and metals are formed
by the agency of an ill-defined pair of "exhalations" (ἀναθυμιάσεις)—
metals primarily by the moist exhalation, stones primarily by the dry. But
all metals are affected by fire and contain some earth (from the dry
exhalation)—only gold is not affected by fire.[37] Presumably the baser the
metal the more earth or "dry exhalation" it contained. Plato too indicates
that the water which forms metals is a special kind of which the best is gold
(*Tim.* 58d, 59b): Pindar had already proclaimed water as best, together with
gold which shines out (*Oly.* 1. 1, cp. *Isthm.* 5. 1–3).

   Aristotle was president and chairman of his own university—his
successor Theophrastus wrote a number of books in which he ventilated
difficulties with the four-element theory (without suggesting a competing
theory). For example he points out that fire is self-generating yet requires
fuel, can be created but mostly by violence (i.e., not naturally: *De Igne* 1–
5). More important for the rise of alchemy, he records a number of recipes
for preparing artificial stones. He knows that yellow ochre (ὤχρα) when
heated in closed airtight pots turns to red ochre (μίλτος: *De Lap.* 52–54).

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[35] See I. Düring, *Aristotle's Chemical Treatise: Meteorologica Book IV* (Göteborg 1944).

[36] Forbes, *SAT* IX (1972) 218.

[37] D. E. Eichholz, "Aristotle's Theory of the Formation of Metals and Minerals," *CQ* 43
(1949) 141–46.

Again he gives recipes for making white lead (ψιμύθιον) and green verdigris (ἰός) by exposing lead and red copper to vinegar (to make the acetates: *De Lap.* 56–57). Finally from red cinnabar is made quicksilver (χυτὸς ἄργυρος) by pounding the red sandy substance mixed with vinegar in a copper mortar with a copper pestle (*De Lap.* 60). I draw attention to the interest in the color transformation as well as to the transformations between stony or earthy substances (cinnabar, white lead, verdigris) and metals (lead, copper, quicksilver). This is the sort of thing in which the alchemists were greatly interested. Singled out for remark is the method of producing brass (with a beautiful color) by mixing a certain earth with copper (*De Lap.* 49)[38]—Aristotle himself had already remarked of bronze production that the tin seems to disappear into the copper leaving only the color of the tin (*GC* 1. 10 [328b13–14]).

Physical Matters of Alchemy

Such scientific speculations contined throughout antiquity—theories were modified and reiterated. Alchemy proper began when a neo-Pythagorean writer applied magical notions of sympathy and antipathy to the Egyptian techniques sketched above.[39] This was the obscure but influential Bolus, who wrote under the name of Democritus about 200 B.C.[40] His treatise, *Physical and Mystical Matters*, is partly preserved in various alchemical MSS and contains recipes for imitating purple dye and a mystical vision whose message is, "Nature delights in nature, nature conquers nature, nature controls nature," followed by recipes for the imitation of gold.[41] These notions of sympathy were for the era very scientific—the Stoics believed in an all-pervasive *pneuma* (spirit) which bound the universe together in sympathy and this was used to justify astrology. The planets had been associated with metals by the Babylonians: Gold/Sun, Silver/Moon, Lead/Saturn, Electrum/Jupiter, Iron/Mars, Copper/Venus, Tin/Mercury (Fig.

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[38] See the commentaries of E. R. Caley and J. F. C. Richards, *Theophrastus on Stones* (Columbus, OH 1956) and D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus: De Lapidibus* (Oxford 1965).

[39] See in general the references in note 1 above, and L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* I (New York 1923) 193–99; H. Diels, *Antike Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1924; repr. Osnabrück 1965) 121–54; A. J. Hopkins, *Alchemy, Child of Greek Philosophy* (New York 1934); F. S. Taylor, *The Alchemists* (Oxford 1949); E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth 1957); R. J. Forbes, *SAT* I (1964) 125–48; J. Lindsay, *The Origins of Alchemy in Greco-Roman Egypt* (New York 1970).

[40] Diels (previous note) 121–54; M. Wellmann, "Bolos (3)," *RE* III (1897) 676–77; idem, "Die Georgika des Demokritos," *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1921) no. 4; idem, "Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaus von Larissa," ibid. (1928) no. 7; idem, *Der Physiologus, Philologus* Suppl. 22. 1 (1930) esp. 81–111; W. Kroll, "Bolos und Demokritos," *Hermes* 69 (1934) 228–32; idem, "Sympathie und Antipathie in der antiken Literatur," *F&F* 10 (1934) 111–12; W. Burkert, "Hellenistische Pseudo-pythagorica," *Philol.* 105 (1961) 16–43, 226–46; J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* II (1954) 502–08.

[41] Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 41–56 Greek, 43–60 French.

3, upper right). Later texts make Tin/Jupiter and Mercury/Mercury.[42] The association of the planets with certain divinities is Babylonian, as the *Epinomis* attributed to Plato tells,[43] although Plato already in the *Timaeus* builds on the (probably universal) belief in the divinity of the planets (*Tim.* 38c–40d). And astrology is connected with alchemy from the beginning, for almost the earliest astrological text of which we have traces, that called Nechepso–Petosiris after the two Egyptian kings who allegedly wrote the thing (it is probably second century B.C.), quotes Bolus' mystical message, "Nature delights in nature, ... "[44] (note that the order of the planets in Fig. 3 is the astrological order). Much discussion has been generated over the place where alchemy originated—probably it was indeed Alexandria in Egypt.[45] In any case all our earliest traces of it come from Alexandria. While the number of recipes preserved is too vast easily to survey, a few high points must be mentioned.

Bolus gives recipes using arsenic, antimony or mercury for transforming copper to silver (*Phys. Myst.* 4)—thus coloring the surface— gold is produced by tinting silver with sulfur (*Phys. Myst.* 7). But we often do not understand just what the alchemist was about—obscurity seems to have been paramount for him—or *her*. Two of our earliest extant treatises are by women. One is very obscure indeed although we know the authoress, Cleopatra (not the queen) sought to make gold: Fig. 4.[46] Note the symbolism of the Ouroboros (tail-eating) snake, and the inner circle of Greek (εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἔχων τὸν ἰὸν μετὰ δύο συνθήματα) "one is the snake which has the *ios* (rust?) after two compositions"; note as well the

[42] Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 73–85, 92–106; for the later text see II (1888) 24–25 Greek, 25–26 French.

[43] *Epin.* 987a–d; J. R. Partington, "The Origins of the Planetary Symbols for the Metals," *Ambix* 1 (1937/38) 61–64; M. P. Nilsson, "Die babylonische Grundlage der griechischen Astrologie," *Eranos* 56 (1958) 1–11; G. L. Huxley, *The Interaction of Greek and Babylonian Astronomy* (Belfast 1964); B. L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening* II (Oxford 1974) 186–87; cp. also J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (New York 1953) 169.

[44] E. Riess, *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica* I (Bonn 1890), II = *Philol.* Suppl. 6 (1891–93) 325–94; cp. also Forbes, *SAT* I (1964) 134; Taylor (above, note 39) 51–56 and R. Halleux, *Le problème des métaux dans la science antique*, Bibl. Fac. Philos. et Lettres. Univ. Liège 209 (Paris 1974) 149–60. The other early astrological text is that of Berossus: P. Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonische-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig 1923; repr. Hildesheim 1968).

[45] On Babylonian influence, see J. Bidez, "Les écoles chaldéenes sous Alexandre et les Séleucides," *Brussels, Université Libre. Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales. Annuaire* 3 (1935) 41–89; for Babylonian origin see R. Eisler, "L'origine babylonienne de l'alchimie," *Rev. Synth. Historique* 41 (1925) 5–17 and idem, "Der babylonische Ursprung der Alchemie," *Chemiker Zeitung* 49 (1925) 577–78. For China see H. H. Dubs, "The Beginnings of Alchemy," *Isis* 38 (1947) 62–86 and J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* V. 2 (Cambridge 1974) 8–36. For Egypt, see the authorities cited in notes 1 and 39 above, and G. Goldschmidt, "Der Ursprung der Alchemie," *CIBA Zeitschrift* 5 (1938) 1950–80, 1983–85, 1987–88.

[46] Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 132.

symbols for (L to R) mercury, silver (with the "filings" squiggle below?) and gold. But what does it all mean?

In the lower right is a distillation apparatus, to which I will return after mentioning the second female writer on alchemy: Maria the Jewess after whom the bain-marie (or double-boiler) is named.[47] Note the bain-marie just below the mystic circle; the τρίβικος, "three-armed still," is explicitly given as Maria's invention.[48] Apparently numerous pieces of apparatus were her inventions, but it seems that the bain-marie itself was known to Theophrastus (*De Odor.* 22).[49] It is not impossible that she made some modification or improvement—stills had been known for ages as well (to this point I shall return). One of her procedures involved the use of "our lead" or "four-body" (*tetrasoma*), an alloy of copper, iron, lead and tin which is "killed," corrupted and then whitened and yellowed to produce gold; another involved "salting" the base metal (this procedure was called *taricheia*, which is the ordinary word for mummification). The notion of preliminary corruption and later ennobling is consistent with Aristotle's doctrine of elemental change (as noted already). She also mentions the standard alchemical "divine water" usually interpreted as sulfuretted water (i.e. a solution of hydrogen sulfide or calcium sulfides) which was used in the yellowing stage.

Maria's *tribikos* was based on earlier stills. Since it is not usually realised how early is the evidence of distillation, allow me to digress a moment. Earlier I warned that Tepe Gawra would be mentioned again. It is from this site that the world's oldest still comes—a 3500 B.C. Sumerian device (Fig. 5). This seems to have been used to distill botanical essences—which would collect in the double rim and would later be sponged out, so the texts tell us.[50] The stages in the evolution of the alchemical still are shown in Fig. 6.[51] In the first century A.D. Greco-Roman writers record the distillation of mercury (Diosc. *MM* 5. 95 [110]) and pitch (Diosc. *MM* 1. 72. 3 [96]). Experiments have shown that the ancient styles of stills could easily have distilled the water off from vinegar to concentrate acetic acid, and, as well, could have been used to distill alcohol.[52] Maria's early stills (the *tribikos*) were made of copper—late in the first century A.D. blown glass was invented and she preferred glass for her later apparatus. From the first century A.D. we have reports of flaming wine, which cannot

[47] R. Patai, "Maria the Jewess: Founding Mother of Alchemy," *Ambix* 29 (1982) 177–97.

[48] Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 139.

[49] Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 32; Lippmann (above, note 1) 50.

[50] M. Levey, "Evidences of Ancient Distillation, Sublimation and Extraction in Mesopotamia," *Centaurus* 4 (1955) 23–33.

[51] F. Sherwood Taylor, "The Evolution of the Still," *Annals of Science* 5 (1945) 185–202, Fig. 14, repr. in Taylor (above, note 39) Fig. 43.

[52] A. R. Butler and J. Needham, "An Experimental Comparison of the East Asian, Hellenistic, and Indian (Gandhâran) Stills in Relation to the Distillation of Ethanol and Acetic Acid," *Ambix* 27 (1980) 69–76.

happen unless it is distilled, i.e. brandy (Pliny, *HN* 14. 6. 62–63 and Suet. *Aug.* 95. 4: the report of Suetonius is localised to Thrace, the home of Dionysus god of wine).[53] Studies of the available literary evidence indicate that it *was* sometime in the first century B.C. or A.D. that alcohol was first distilled.[54] The recipe is preserved by an early Christian writer "exposing" the tricks of the Gnostics, and these tricks have been traced to the magician and neo-Pythagorean Anaxilaus of Larissa (in Thessaly near Thrace) who was expelled from Rome in 28 B.C.[55] (Another recipe of Anaxilaus is preserved in one of the two alchemical papyri we have.)[56] Bolus, the original alchemist, wrote under the name of Democritus[57] of Abdera, which is also in Thrace. Why are Thessaly and Thrace so often mentioned? Thrace was, in Greco-Roman thought, the land of the magicians,[58] as was Thessaly.[59]

[53] M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I[3] (Munich 1967) 564–68; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* VII (London 1913) 2–3.

[54] H. Diels, "Die Entdeckung des Alkohols," *Abh. K. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1913) repr. in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Burkert (Hildesheim 1969) 409–41; and C. A. Wilson, "Philosophers, Iōsis, and Water of Life," *Proc. Leeds Philos. Lit. Soc., Lit. Hist. Sect.* 19 (1984) 101–219.

[55] Wellmann 1928 (above, note 40) 56–62; cp. Wilson (previous note) 152–54 and Diels 1913 (previous note) 21–35 (427–41 of reprint).

[56] *PStock* 2; see E. R. Caley, "The Stockholm Papyrus," *JChemEd* 4 (1927) 979–1002 and "The Leyden Papyrus," *JChemEd* 3 (1926) 1149–66, and the recent edition of both papyri by Halleux (above, note 3).

[57] For Democritus as a magician, see Pliny *HN* 24. 99. 156, 102. 160, 25. 5. 13 and 30. 2. 8–11. For modern comment, see M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* II[3] (Munich 1974) 534–35; J. E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Roman Literature* (Oxford 1929) 7 and E. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (New York 1916) 20 n. 101, 56 n. 321.

[58] For Thrace as land of magic, see Cratinus Θρᾷτται (frr. 73–89 Kassel-Austin), Eupolis Βάπται (frr. 76–98 Kassel-Austin), Plut. *De def. orac.* 10 (415a), Horace, *Epode* 17. 56 (on Cotytto see A. Rapp, "Kotys," *LexikonGRM* II. 1 [1890–97] 1398–1403), and Pliny *HN* 30. 2. 7. For modern comment, see G. Kazarov, "Thrake (Religion)," *RE* VI A (1936) 472–551, esp. 548–51, Lowe (above, note 57) 10 and A. M. Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1976) 142. Tupet 156, suggests Hekate was Thracian—she seems to be following L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896–1909) II 507–09, who adduces Str. 10. 3. 21–22 (473), but J. Heckenbach, "Hekate," *RE* VII. 2 (1912) 2769–82, esp. 2780. 38–47 doubts and prefers SE Asia Minor on the evidence of the distribution of the cult sites.

[59] For Thessaly as land of magic, see: Menander, *Thettale* (cp. Pliny *HN* 30. 2. 7 and Kock, *CAF* III, Menander frr. 229–34); Plautus, *Amph.* 1043; Horace, *Epode* 5. 41–46, *Ode* 1. 27. 21–22, *Epistle* 2. 2. 208–09; Tib. 2. 4. 55–60; Prop. 1. 5. 4–6 and 3. 24. 9–10; Ovid, *Amores* 1. 14. 39–40 and 3. 7. 27–30, *Ars Amat.* 2. 99–104, *Rem. Am.* 249–52; Sen. *Phaedra* 420–23 and 790–92, *Medea* 787–811, *Her. Oet.* 465–72 and 523–27; Lucan 6. 413–830, esp. 434–91; Val. Fl. 1. 735–38, 6. 445–48, 7. 198–99, 7. 325–30; Pliny, *HN* 30. 2. 6–7; Statius, *Theb.* 3. 140–46 and 557–59, 4. 504–11; Mart. 9. 29. 9; Juv. 6. 610–12; Apul. *Met.* 2. 1; *Anth. Pal.* 5. 205. For modern comment, see W. H. Roscher, "Mondgöttin (Zauberei, Magie)," *LexikonGRM* II. 2 (1894–97) 3165–66, Tavenner (above, note 57) 20 n. 98, Lowe (above, note 57) 6–8 (she is a believer: "The spirit world is an established fact for all intelligent people; the desirability of communicating with it . . . is another matter," p. 2), and Tupet (previous note) 143, 163, 196, 210.

Distilled vinegar probably comes into another device, found in a burial site in the first century A.D. Mesopotamia, and associated with magicians. This object consisted of a sealed copper tube down the middle of which was suspended an iron rod: Fig. 7. The tube once contained a liquid, probably vinegar, and seems to have been an ancient wet-cell or battery. Modern tests show that it could generate about one half volt at a few milliamps. What could the device have been used for? The first publication suggested electroplating and even the physicist George Gamow agreed, but the technological context is absent. I have suggested a connection to the attested use of living electric rays (*torpedines*) in the first century A.D. as a local analgesic in cases of gout and headache, and modern clinical practice (transcutaneous electrical nerve stimulation) confirms that about one half volt at a few milliamps is effective.[60]

The plating of metals *was* practised in antiquity, by various more or less mechanical or thermal means: for example in Roman times a gold or silver amalgam was applied and the mercury boiled off (Vitr. 7. 8. 4; Pliny, *HN* 33. 20. 64–65, 33. 32. 100, 33. 42. 125, 34. 48. 162–63; *PLeydenX* 27 and 57). A more chemical process, called cementation or surface leaching, in which a base alloy of gold or of silver is attacked by substances which corrode away the base metal near the surface so that the object appears nobler, was also used: our earliest recipe for this is in Bolus, *Physical and Mystical Matters* 12.[61] Archaeological evidence suggests that this or some similar method of coloring metals was practised from a very early date in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Two Egyptian examples are especially instructive. In King Tut's tomb were found numerous gold rosettes which were colored purple. The American physicist Wood was called in to solve the problem and he determined that the gold contained 1% iron and traces of orpiment (native arsenic sulfide: As_2S_3) and that when such an alloy is cold worked and then heated a bit below red heat, a purple or violet color is produced.[62] To the empurpling of gold I will return in a moment. The second example concerns an Egyptian bowl and ewer of the V Dynasty in the Metropolitan Museum which have been shown to be arsenic plated, as well as an Anatolian bull figurine of the late third millennium B.C. similarly plated.[63] The alchemical texts speak of arsenic (or antimony) plating as a way of producing silver from copper: *PLeydenX* 23.

[60] P. T. Keyser, "The Purpose of the Parthian Galvanic Cells," *AJA Abstracts* 13 (1989) 46 and submitted. Fig. 7 is taken from this article.

[61] Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 46; cp. *PLeydenX* 15, 25 and 69. See H. Lechtman, "Ancient Methods of Gilding Silver—Examples from the Old and the New Worlds," in *Science and Archaeology* (Cambridge 1970) 2–30, and L. H. Cope, "Surface Silvered Ancient Coins," in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, edd. E. T. Hall and D. M. Metcalf (London 1972) = *RNS Spec. Pub.* 8 (1972) 261–78, Pll. XIX–XX.

[62] R. W. Wood, "The Purple Gold of Tut'ankhamun," *JEA* 20 (1934) 62–66, Pl. XI.

[63] C. S. Smith, "An Examination of the Arsenic-Rich Coating on a Bronze Bull from Horoztepe," in *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, ed. W. J. Young

One widespread use of precious metals in antiquity was for coinage, a monopoly of the state.[64] Now it seems that in the first century B.C. the incidence of coin forging rose, judging by the Roman law passed against it.[65] The method of fakery in view seems to have been producing pewter (tin-lead alloy) coins. Either plated base metal or substitute alloys could be detected by their lower density, especially if gold was to be imitated. In the case of imitation silver, for which the alchemists give numerous recipes, including at least one involving arsenic,[66] the density problem would not have been so severe—though anyone willing to use Archimedes' method could detect the forgery. Yet coins of very low density made not only of pewter but even of an arsenic or antimony alloy have been found—the earliest examples are from Macedonia, not far from Thessaly and Thrace.[67] Perhaps these developments in the production of imitation silver by the alchemists prompted Menelaus to write his book on the density of alloys in the late first century A.D.[68]

To the alchemical writers (Cleopatra, Maria, Zosimus, etc.) the most important aspect, even of the "scientific" alchemy I have been describing, was the production or imitation of gold. There are numerous recipes, some incomprehensible, some involving merely coloring the surface or debasing the gold with both copper and silver, to preserve the color. By far the most interesting involves another apparatus attributed to Maria the Jewess, the κηροτακίς.[69] Originally a device used by encaustic painters to keep their colored waxes soft, it was used by the alchemists to produce alloys, especially their most successful imitation of gold—a 13% mercury in copper alloy, used until recently by jewelers as a substitute gold. This alloy

(Boston 1972) 96–102, esp. 102 n. 5; and C. G. Fink and A. H. Kopp, "Ancient Antimony Plating on Copper Objects," *Met. Mus. Studies* 4 (1933) 163–67: Smith explains their error.

[64] Cp. T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985).

[65] P. Grierson, "The Roman Law of Counterfeiting," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to H. Mattingly*, ed. R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (Oxford 1956) 240–61; p. 242: Sulla's "lex Cornelia de falsis," of 81 B.C. from Ulpian 48. 10. 9.

[66] *PLeydenX* 85 for arsenic; for imitation silver see *PLeydenX* 5, 6, 8–12, 18, 19, 27, 30, etc.

[67] I. A. Carradice and S. La Niece, "The Libyan War and Coinage: A New Hoard and the Evidence of Metal Analysis," *NC* 148 (1988) 33–52, Pll. 7–12 (3rd century B.C. arsenic-alloy Libyan coins); Macedon: *SNG ANS* 8. 86 of Pausanias (ca. 399–93 B.C.) and *SNG ANS* 8. 89 of Amyntas III (ca. 393–69 B.C.) from an unpublished paper by W. S. Greenwalt (ANS, Summer 1987); my own work on the coins in the University of Colorado collection revealed a coin of specific gravity 6.933 ±0.004, which turned out (on microprobe examination) to be composed of a 38% Sb, 60% Sn alloy; the coin is No. 18 of the catalogue of W. and M. Wallace, "Catalogue of Greek and Roman Coins at the University of Colorado," *U. Col. Studies* 25 (1938) 237–80, a triobol of Philip II. Detailed results I hope to publish elsewhere.

[68] J. Würschmidt, "Die Schrift des Menelaus über die Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen," *Philol.* 80 (1925) 377–409.

[69] See Taylor 1930 (above, note 2) 130–38; idem 1949 (above, note 39) 46–50; A. J. Hopkins, "A Study of the Kerotakis Process as Given by Zosimus," *Isis* 29 (1938) 326–54.

cannot be produced by direct amalgamation, but if copper is heated on the palette of the *kerotakis* with mercury vapors below, it first blackens with oxide then whitens as the mercury amalgamates and finally yellows as the heat drives the alloying to completion.[70] In the alchemists' descriptions of the *kerotakis* procedure four changes of color are insisted upon: blackening, whitening, yellowing and "*iosis*." To the final stage I will return in a moment. Another variation, mentioned above, involved the use of tetrasomy ("four-body"), a copper–iron–lead–tin alloy (on which Maria improved by substituting a simpler copper–lead alloy), which was heated over sulfur. This produced a complex black sulfide. A similar process was known in Egypt from New Kingdom times, for making niello—a fused black copper–silver sulfide known to Pliny the Elder in the first century A.D.[71] In any case the reduction of base metal to non-metallic "matter" was necessary, as Aristotle had taught, before any upward transformation was possible. I have mentioned Zosimus' interest in fermentation—this may be explained by reference to alchemical theories in which the black mass was converted to silver then gold by "divine water" whose action is explicitly compared to that of yeast.[72] To this water I would compare Plato's water from which gold forms. Instead of mercury or sulfur, orpiment was sometimes used to act as the yellowing agent.[73]

The final stage, after the yellowing to gold, was *iosis*—which word could mean corruption/rust or purpling. Usually commentators prescind from giving a precise chemical explanation, but the purple gold (containing orpiment) of Tutankhamon perhaps provides a parallel. Is it possible the alchemists were in fact trying to produce purple gold?

Mystical Matters

But we must turn to the *iosis* of alchemy itself—its mystical stage. Why did this occur? As humans we are distinct from the animals by our Faustian urge for the unattainable of which greed is the excess and contentment the defect. Again we are distinguished by our individuality—ape and dog packs show the evolutionary priority of the State (as Eduard Meyer has shown). Mysticism seems to me to be, as religion is, our attempt to deal with our helplessness (to borrow an epigram of Arthur Darby Nock), and in particular it is our ever-vain search for unity both internal and external. We seek the

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[70] Cp. Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1887) 146 Greek, 148 French (= Zosimus 3. 1. 1 ff.) and see Taylor (above, note 2) 128, 132–33.

[71] Pliny, *HN* 33. 46. 131 gives the recipe; for discussion see K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects* I (London 1929) 227; Lucas (above, note 9) 249–51 and A. A. Moss, "Niello," *Studies in Conservation = Etudes de conservation* 1 (1953) 49–62.

[72] Cp. Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 145, 248 Greek, 147, 238 French (= Zosimus 3. 10. 5 and 52. 4). Cp. note 32 above.

[73] Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 67, 238–39, 264; II (1888) 44 Greek, 47 French (= Bolus, *Phys. Myst.* 7); II (1888) 163–64 Greek, 163 French (= Zosimus 3. 16. 11).

inner integration of our personality (as Freud and Jung meant) and the outer integration of our selves into society (the subject of countless works of sociology and the subtext of the Herodotean story of the tyrant knocking off the heads of all the oustanding grain: 5. 92. ζ. 2–η. 1)—that is we seek an impossible return to our bestial past. The current of this feeling is part (perhaps even one of the chief parts) of the transformation which overwhelmed Mediterranean culture between 180 and 280 A.D.—I mean (with Peter Brown, Alexander Demandt, Hans-Peter L'Orange and Samuel Sambursky) the change from the Classical or Greco-Roman world to the Late Antique world.[74] The Late Antique Period runs roughly from 280 to 640 A.D. and is characterised by the ascendancy of the transcendant. One can see this change in all aspects of life—religion (and Christianity did not cause but suffered from this change), philosophy (I need only mention neo-Platonism), government (the reforms of Diocletian imposed ca. 285 A.D. laid the foundation of the Middle Ages), architecture (the use of vast internal space in the basilica churches), and art. Perhaps in sculpture it is most clear: though I am not an art historian, I follow L'Orange here. Classical statues and busts are balanced and confident and gaze forthrightly at the viewer; one can sense their humanity. In the famous Delphic Charioteer of the early fifth century B.C. the face is modeled naturally, the lips are parted as if about to speak, the eyes are forward, focused on what must have been the horses. The portraits of Constantine are well known for their Late Antique characteristics and mark in a way the culmination of the trends: note the stark planes of the face, outlined with pure curves at the eyebrows and the face itself suffused with an otherworldly look while the eyes are directed towards heaven. Busts of the second and third centuries A.D. show pure curves in the face; all such seem to portray figures unaware of the viewer or his world.

I have tried to convey all too briefly an impression of this overwhelming paradigm shift in the ancient world—alchemy too underwent this shift and transformed from a scientific (if erroneous) search for transmutation into a mystical search for personal transformation. What were the internal roots of this, what background can we find for understanding chemistry as mysticism?

Democritus, the pre-Socratic philosopher to whom is attributed the ancient theory of atoms, the same under whose name Bolus wrote, connected the atoms making up the soul with those of fire or of the sun.[75] While

[74] H.-P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo 1933) and *Civic Life and Art Forms in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton 1965); S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1962); P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA 1978); A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike* (Munich 1989).

[75] D. L. 9. 44, Democr. frr. A74, A135 D–K. See also W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. Edwin L. Minar, Jr. (Cambridge, MA 1972) 357–68; P. Boyancé, "La religion astrale de Platon à Cicéron," *REG* 65 (1952) 312–50; and F. Cumont, "Les noms des planètes et l'astrolâtrie chez les Grecs," *Ant. Class.* 4 (1935) 1–43.

Democritus was no atheist (they were a great rarity in the ancient world), other Greeks saw "danger" in Democritus' attempt to explain the world atomistically (it seemed to remove the gods too far). Yet this particular point was something of a commonplace—Plato in the *Timaeus* explicitly connects human souls and the stars[76] putting them into one-to-one correspondence, while other philosophers including Aristotle put forward hypotheses about the substance of souls and stars such that by the first century B.C. they were more or less equated.[77] Hipparchus the great astronomer who discovered the precession of the equinoxes in about 130 B.C. was praised because he proved that the stars are kindred with man and our souls are part of the heavens.[78] Instead of being made of this quintessence, the mind or soul could also be thought of as the mixing of the elements or atoms, and the perfection of the soul as the proper mixing or balancing by means of the stellar substance, the quintessence. In any case, the philosophic notion of perfecting the soul was that the soul's true divine nature must be brought out.

Plato had already compared the soul to gold in a famous passage in the *Symposium* (216d–17b)—the soul, that is, of a good man, Socrates. Gold was, since Babylon, the metal of what even Pindar had called the warmest star (*Oly.* 1. 6)—and most ancient Greeks knew that the stars are fiery. Thus it was only logical—the perfect soul is purified, made heavenly, made golden, as even Pindar in that same Victory Song had sung (*Oly.* 1. 1). The idea must be nearly universal, as it is even found in the Hebrew Scriptures, in the *Psalms*, where the Law of God, which perfects the soul, is better than gold, even much fine gold.[79] In *Proverbs* and in the prophets God working on the soul is compared to a refiner seeking to cleanse the noble metal of its dross.[80] And this salvation is explicitly compared to purification of gold and silver by fire when Paul writes to the Corinthians:[81] "If anyone's work is burned up having been penalised he will be saved, but just as through fire."[82] The prevalence of the worship of the Unconquered Sun[83]—which went so far that Christians adopted the birthday of the Sun (the Winter Solstice) as the birthday of the Son of God—may have had an influence, since the Sun is the planet whose metal is gold. There is also no doubt some original connection to the Golden Age of Hesiod, from which the human race has subsequently declined through Silver (and Copper) to Black

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[76] *Tim.* 41–43; see A. E. Taylor, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford 1928) 255–58.

[77] See above, note 34.

[78] M. P. Nilsson, *Rise of Astrology in the Hellenistic Age* (Lund 1943); Pliny, *HN* 2. 24. 95.

[79] *Psalm* 119; cp. also *Psalm* 66. 10.

[80] *Proverbs* 17. 3, 27. 21, *Wisdom* 3. 6; and *Isaiah* 1. 25, *Jeremiah* 6. 27–30, *Ezekiel* 22. 17–22, *Malachi* 3. 2–3. I am indebted to C. G. Estabrook (U. of Illinois, Religious Studies) for finding some of these passages for me.

[81] I *Corinthians* 3. 11–15.

[82] Cp. also II *Peter* 3. 10.

[83] See F. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," *Mémoires. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 12. 2 (1909) 448–79; cp. even Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis* 4.

Iron.[84] Not surprisingly the alchemists, as had their philosophical forebears, sought to reverse this: black, white silver, yellow gold—and even to outdo it—with the transcending *iosis*.

In any event the transformation happened: what had begun as an experimental science founded on the best scientific thought of the age— Aristotle's four-element theory—became a search for personal transformation. Let me cite some highlights.

Zosimus in his vision sees the Man of Copper becoming the Man of Silver and thence the Man of Gold: again immortality is promised to souls capable of entering into the secrets of heaven.[85] Contemporary with Zosimus are two alchemical papyri, really recipe books (cited above), and found in a grave with other magical and Gnostic papyri.[86] A bit earlier the Christian Bishop Hippolytus had associated alchemical recipes, including that for distilled alcohol, with the magical tricks of the Gnostics. One group of Gnostics is even credited with obtaining gold from bronze.[87] Gnosticism was the first successful Christian heresy, in which the essence of salvation lay in learning the secret Gnosis—just as for the alchemist—by which the immortal and spiritual soul could shrug off the merely physical dross of the body and rejoin the purely spiritual Logos.[88] Usually this Gnosis is revealed in some vision or ritual—note the vision of Zosimus and the ritual enacted by Bolus to attempt to gain the secret knowledge of his dead master.[89] I have already suggested how some of these apparently alchemical ideas are to be found in the New Testament; later Christian thought was also sometimes influenced—in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (15. 2) we read how when he was burned he seemed as if he were gold in the refiner's fire (or bread baking). We may also note the prominence in both Gnosticism and alchemy of the snake Ouroboros.

Later we have writers who are explicitly Christian and explicitly alchemists—Stephanus of Alexandria in the seventh century A.D., for example.[90] He writes:[91]

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[84] Hesiod, *W&D* 106–210; cp. *Daniel* 2. 31 ff.

[85] Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 229 ff. (= Zosimus 3. 51. 8); cp. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig 1904) 103 ff.

[86] Forbes, *SAT* I (1964) 141; H. J. Sheppard, "Gnosticism and Alchemy," *Ambix* 6 (1958) 86–101, esp. 93–98.

[87] Wilson (above, note 54) 164.

[88] K. Rudolf, *Gnosis* (New York 1983) 55–56, 113–18; Thorndike (above, note 39) 360–84.

[89] A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste* (Paris 1950) I 217–82; Sheppard (above, note 86) 86; idem, "The Redemption Theme and Hellenistic Alchemy," *Ambix* 7 (1959) 42–46; J. Scarborough, "Gnosticism, Drugs and Alchemy in Late Roman Egypt," *Pharmacy in History* 13 (1971) 151–57; M. Mertens, "Une scène d'initiation alchimique: La 'Lettre d'Isis à Horus'," *RHR* 205 (1988) 3–24 (a reference I owe to Maryline Parca).

[90] F. S. Taylor, "The Alchemical Works of Stephanos of Alexandria," *Ambix* 1 (1937) 116–39, 2 (1938) 38–49.

[91] Taylor 1937 (previous note) 129.

"For the emanation of it is the mystery hidden in it, the most worthy pearl, the flame-bearing moonstone, the most gold-besprinkled chiton, the food of the liquor of gold, the chryso-cosmic spark, the victorious warrior, the royal covering, the veritable purple, the most worthy garland, the sulphur without fire, the ruler of the bodies, the entire yellow species, the hidden treasure, that which has the moon as couch, that which in the moon is gnostically seen as [here follows a series of 10 incomprehensible symbols] . . ."

What does this mean? Elsewhere Stephanus writes as a Pythagorean (Lecture 2):[92]

'The multitude of numbers compounded together has its existence from one atom and natural monad; this which exerts a mutual tension comprehends and rules over the infinite as emanating from itself. For the monad is so called from its remaining immutable and unmoved. For it displays a circular and spherical contemplation of numbers like to itself, I mean a completion of the five numbers and of the six."

And (Lecture 1):[93]

"You the whole are the one nature, the same by which the whole becomes the work. For by an odd number [preferred by the Pythagoreans] thy all-cosmos is systematised. For then you shall understand . . . then you shall discover . . ."

and so on. Elsewhere he writes as a Gnostic (Lecture 1):[94]

"Put away the material theory so that you may be deemed worthy to see with your intellectual eyes the hidden mystery. For there is need of a single natural thing and of one nature conquering the all. Of such a kind, now clearly to be told you, that the nature rejoices in the nature and the nature masters the nature and the nature conquers the nature."

And he exhorts his hearers to a Christian alchemy (Lecture 1):[95]

"Alone we are made friends with him by Love, and we receive from him the wisdom springing forth as an abyss from the abyss [so a Gnostic would say] that we may be enabled by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to gush forth rivers of living water."

The connection is that "copper like a man has both soul and spirit"—air gives us our spirit, fire gives it to the copper.

A bit later the poet-philosopher Theophrastus (*fort.* eighth century A.D.) writes that the object of alchemy is to pour the unchangeable matter from the form of lead into the form of gold—he compares a sculptor working bronze, but I am reminded also of Paul's image in the letter to the

[92] Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 127.
[93] Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 123.
[94] Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 123.
[95] Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 125.

Romans of the divine potter molding souls, and of the image of Plato in the *Timaeus* of the craftsman molding golden statues.[96]

So much for mysticism—what has all this to do with us? We live in a scientific and post-Christian age, do we not? Not entirely—there is much pseudo-science about, and three great figures were heavily influenced by alchemy: I mean Newton, Goethe and Jung. Newton regarded alchemy as a part of his intellectual life as important as his work on gravitation, and tested recipes for obtaining gold from sulfur and mercury.[97] Goethe, though living in the age of Lavoisier and Priestley at the dawn of modern scientific chemistry, believed in alchemy in the sense of obtaining mystical substances with transmutative powers.[98] Goethe's belief was that "as Nature works in particular things, so also does she work in universal things," that there is a symmetry in all parts of Nature animated by one Spirit—this is wholly Stoic. Within this there are pairs of polar opposites and the goal of alchemy is to produce an incorruptible permanence embracing all opposites, achieved by a descent to death and corruption, followed by an ascent—the links to ancient (and medieval) alchemy are plain, but all that is left is the magical and mystical aspect. Jung's interest in alchemy and Gnosis extended to the purchase of one of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic codices; in his seventeen volumes of collected works, fully three are devoted to alchemy (only one to the collective unconscious). He translated and commented on the Visions of Zosimus cited above—he connects the symbolism of alchemy and the structure of the unconscious.[99] I do not pretend to understand it.

All three of these men have influenced our modern world, which itself shows evidence of mankind's continuing fascination with the mystical.[100] Not long ago an article appeared in the prestigious scientific journal *Nature* in which it was claimed that solutions of certain antigen-proteins diluted by such a factor that it was not possible that even one molecule of the protein

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[96] C. A. Browne, "The Poem of the Philosopher Theophrastus Upon the Sacred Art: A Metrical Translation with Comments Upon the History of Alchemy," *Scientific Monthly* 11 (1920) 193–214; for date see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* II (Munich 1978) 280.

[97] Most recently, R. L. Gregory, "Alchemy of Matter and Mind," *Nature* 342 (1989) 471–73; see also: I. B. Cohen, "Newton," *DSB* 10 (1974) 81–83, 100; P. M. Rattansi, "Newton's Alchemical Studies," in *Science, Medicine and Society*, ed. A. G. Debus (London and New York 1972) II 167–82; J. E. McGuire, "Transmutation and Immutability," *Ambix* 14 (1967) 69–95; D. Geoghegan, "Some Indications of Newton's Attitude Towards Alchemy," *Ambix* 6 (1958) 102–06; A. R. and M. B. Hall, "Newton's Chemical Experiments," *AIHS* 11 (1958) 113–52; F. S. Taylor, "An Alchemical Work of Sir Isaac Newton," *Ambix* 5 (1956) 59–84; R. J. Forbes, "Was Newton an Alchemist?," *Chymia* 2 (1949) 27–36.

[98] I depend for Goethe's alchemy on R. D. Gray, *Goethe the Alchemist* (Cambridge 1952).

[99] See *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* XIII: *Alchemical Studies* (New York 1968) 59–108 for Zosimus (vols. XII–XIV are concerned with alchemy).

[100] Cp. T. Hines, *Pseudo-Science and the Paranormal* (Buffalo, NY 1988); A. G. Debus, "Science vs. Pseudo-Science: The Persistent Debate," in *Chemistry, Alchemy and the New Philosophy* (London 1987) 1–18.

was present in a liter of solution yet continued to display antigen activity. This "naturopathic" claim was soon refuted (it seems the naturopath on staff had "subconsciously" fudged the statistics), but new naturopathic clinics spring up like mushrooms. Activists oppose the use of animals in research on the grounds that "a rat is a pig is a dog is a boy"—this is a Pythagorean argument. Belief in reincarnation, a cardinal Pythagorean tenet, is widespread (as Herodotus did in another connection, I omit to mention the name of the Californian well known for this). Alchemy, palm-reading, tarot cards and the like are no longer so popular—but "channeling" is, and need I mention that every newspaper feels obliged to publish horoscopes, read religiously by millions?

Our age has witnessed the old dream of the alchemists become a reality. Transmutation is possible, and I myself have used one such artificial element in my scientific chemical research—Technetium, element 43, with a half-life of some 200,000 years. It is unnerving, to say the least, to discover that American foreign policy has been directed by astrology in an age enlightened by nuclear fires, fires produced by the transmutation of Uranium (named after the first new planet to be discovered) into Plutonium (named after the third new planet). In such a context the scientific study of ancient alchemy may be very enlightening indeed. And so I end where I began, with the Promethean fire for having which the gods damn us, and:

> "What shall I build or write
> Against the Fall of Night?"[101]

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[101] A. E. Housman, *More Poems* 45. 11–12. I am indebted to Sarah Wissemann for discussions on the history of metallurgy and several references (Rapp [above, note 12], Tylecote [above, note 9] and Vandiver et al. [above, note 6]), and to W. M. Calder III for critical readings and stylistic advice.

Fig. 1
Sumerian and Egyptian Beer-drinking (note straws).
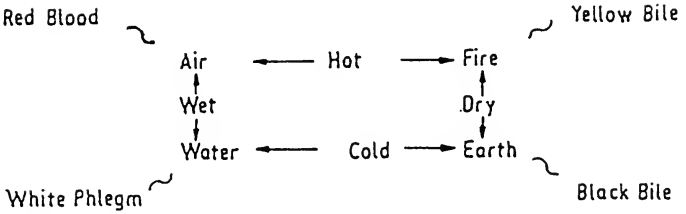(After Hartmann and Oppenheim, *JAOS* Suppl. 10 (1950) Pll. I.1, II.2)

Fig. 2
Table of the Four Elements and Humors.
(After Keyser, *Philol.* 133 [1989] 79)

Fig. 3
Planetary Symbolism in Alchemy (*MS Marcianus* 2327, f. 6).
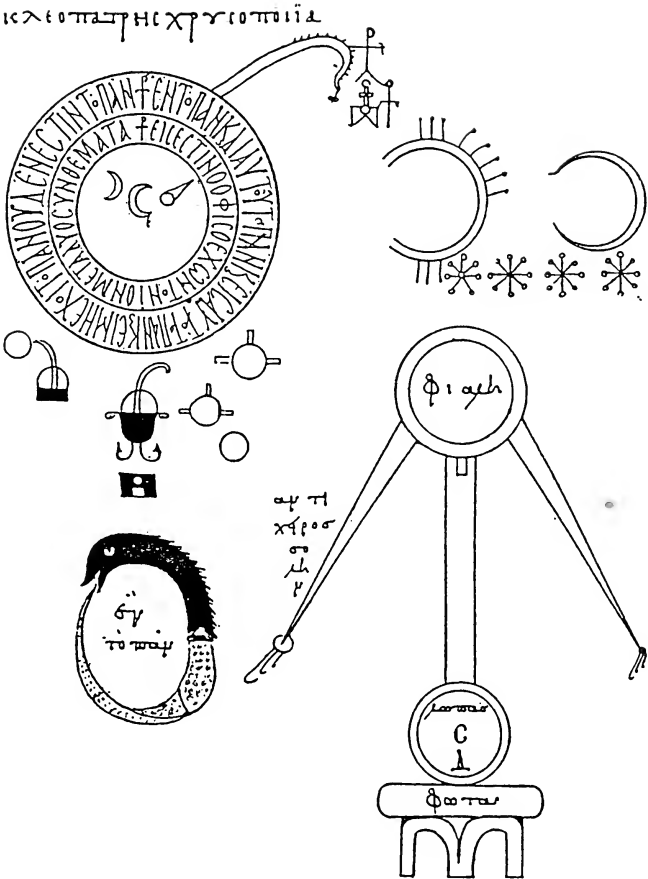(After Berthelot, *CAAG* I [1887] 104)

Fig. 4
Chrysopoeia of Cleopatra (*MS Marcianus* 2327, f. 188ᵛ).
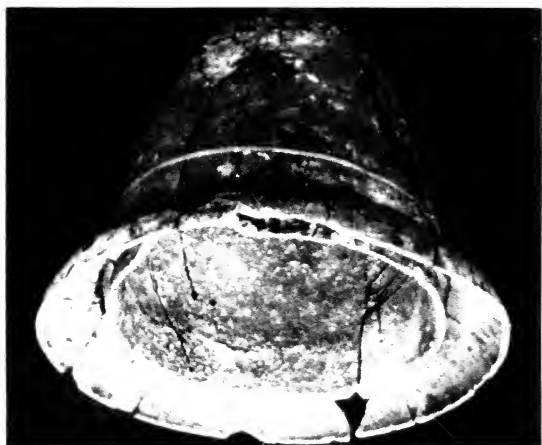(After Berthelot, *CAAG* I [1887] 132)

Fig. 5
Sumerian Still from Tepe Gawra (ca. 3500 B.C.).
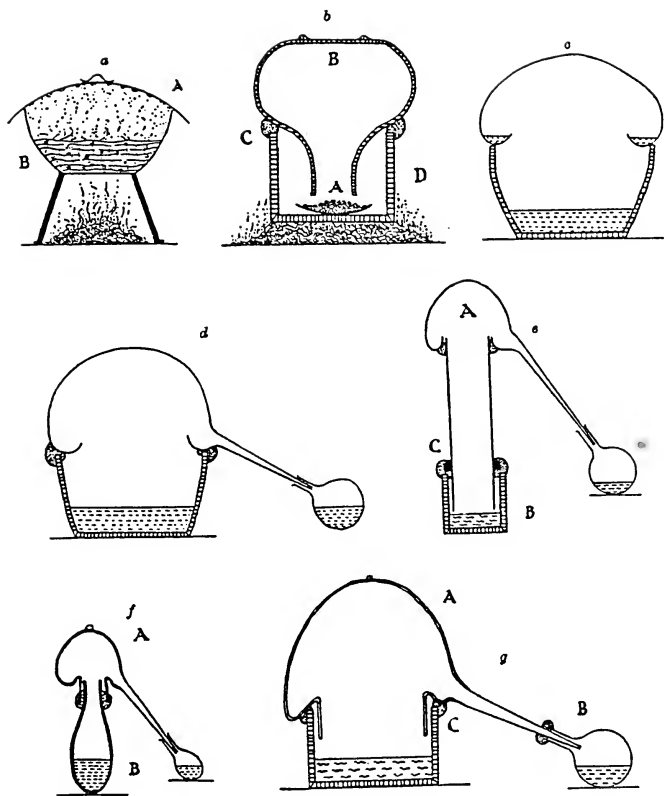(After Levey, *Centaurus* 4 [1955] Pl. facing. p. 24)

Fig. 6
Stages (a through g) in the Evolution of the Still.
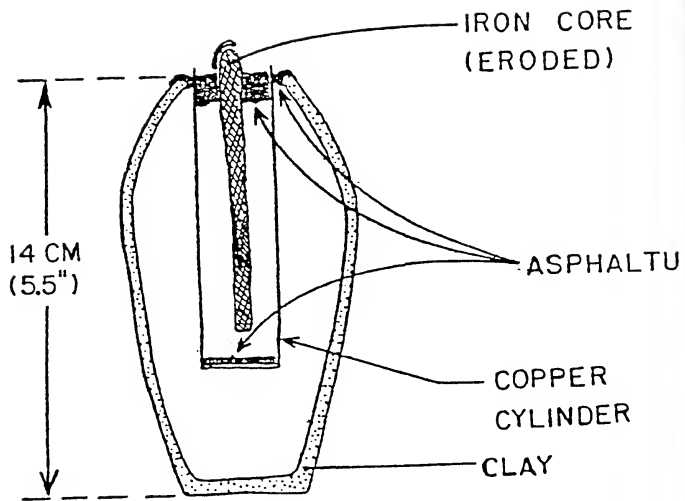(After Taylor, *Annals of Science* 5 [1945] 201, Fig. 14)

Fig. 7
Parthian Electric Battery (Copper–Iron Wet Cell).

9

Milton and the Pastoral Mode:
The *Epitaphium Damonis*

J. K. NEWMAN

The fates of Boethius and Thomas More alike have familiarized us with the picture of the scholar and humanist on the gibbet at the behest of some implacable despot.[1] John Milton (1608–74), who acclaimed the execution of Charles I in 1649, reversed these roles. Brilliantly gifted though he was, he is not therefore easily thought of as a humanist, certainly not as anything in the Erasmian mold, since he was too violent a partisan. Even claims that Milton was a "Renaissance" writer ring a little hollow. In the mid-seventeenth century, over a hundred years after the deaths of Leonardo (1519) and Raphael (1520)? Nevertheless, this article argues that the poet, even if an epigone, is not to be understood apart from the Classical tradition, and to that extent he is a humanist and even—perhaps—"Renaissance" author.[2] But the Classical tradition must not be interpreted in some woolly way. It offers a very precise yardstick against which deviations may be measured. Here, our concern is with the poet's epic ambition.

Et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem! Lucan is supposed to have said (cf. Statius, *Silvae* 2. 7. 73), meaning perhaps that he had already attained brilliant success, while Virgil was still engaged on what were thought to be his *opera minora*—and perhaps more modestly that what he had done so far scarcely measured up to Virgil's *juvenilia*. If Virgil established a pattern for the development of the European literary epic that was to become paradigmatic, it is clearly important to know what it was.

Virgil did not come to epic by an easy route. The *Life* by Donatus informs us (§19) that originally he toyed with a theme from Roman history. But he found it impossible to repeat what Ennius had done before him. He turned away—oddly, to a modern taste—to the pastoral. *Mox cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit.* He dropped these early epic plans, we also learn in one version of these remarks, because he was *offensus nominum asperitate*. It seems a curious reason, although since it is the reverse of what Quintilian (12. 10. 33) says about the *dulcedo* of

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[1] *Io fei giubetto a me delle mie case*, says Dante's Piero delle Vigne, *Inferno* 13. 151.
[2] English insularity should never be forgotten. Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, completed in a version of Gothic in the year of Leonardo's death, is an amazing example.

Greek names, perhaps it is some indication that the exquisitely sensitive
Roman felt again the incommensurability of the historical and the mythical
already established by Aristotle in Chapter 9 of the *Poetics*.

Odd though this may be to modern taste, there is already here a
replication of the precepts of Callimachus, who at the beginning of the
Aetia (Book 1, fr. 1. 3–5 Pf.) had rejected the bombastic epic of war and
history, and put forward instead the example of Hesiod, but of a Hesiod who
was a shepherd (*Aet.* 1, fr. 2. 1–4):

> ποιμ]ένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου
> Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἑσμὸς ὅτ' ἠντίασεν
> μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
>]ἐπὶ πτέρνης ὑδα[

To the shepherd tending his flocks by the hoofmark of the swift horse,
Hesiod, when the swarm of the Muses met him . . . to him the origin of
Chaos . . . of heel . . . water.

1. Cf. μῆλα νέμοντι, Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthom.* 12. 310. Even though
scholars find that Quintus was a shepherd at Smyrna (!), all the conventional passage
means is that, by this time, even the pseudo-Homeric manner has to take on the color
of the Hesiodic/Callimachean if it is to enjoy literary respectability.

2. ἑσμὸς here appears to compare the Muses implicitly with bees: cf. Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ
ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι . . . *Hy.* 2. 110; μελιχρότεραι *Aet.* 1,
fr. 1. 16; ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον *Epigr.* 27. 2; *VRBANVM
. . . mellifluis animatum Apibus, . . . fluent te mella canente*, Guidiccioni, *Ara
Maxima Vaticana* (below, note 8) pp. 29–30; *As Bees / In spring time* etc, Milton,
P.L. 1. 768–69.

Callimachus recommends therefore to the epic aspirant, not the versification
of history to the glory of kings and great heroes which would become too
common as the Hellenistic period advanced, but an epic under the patronage
of Hesiod which would celebrate the origin of the world.

The stories of David and Amos show that there is already something
religious about a shepherd who receives a revelation, as there is about the
title Αἴτια; witness the many *aetia* dotting the Pentateuch. But "Hesiod"
was also a stalking-horse, covertly enabling Callimachus to introduce a
novel version of the Homeric. The first "Callimachean" epic we have, the
Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, looks therefore like a conventional
heroic tale, but its conventionalism is only apparent. It follows
Callimachus' own example in the *Hecale* of exploring the flip side of the
heroic ideal, and it even shows some debt to the philosophical tradition.[3]
And what could Callimachus' other epic, the *Galatea* (frr. 378–79 Pf.),
have made of the attack of the Gauls on Delphi in 279–78?—a heroic theme, but
hardly handled conventionally, if we judge by its list of exotic fish. But

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[3] Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison 1986) 78.

there was always room in this manner for the more obviously Hesiodic, even for a *Theogony*. This explains Callimachus' strong defence of Aratus (*Epigr*. 27), the Callimachean allegiance of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, the plaintive admissions of *Georgics* 2. 475–84, and Book 6 of the *Aeneid*.

For Virgil then to adopt Callimachus' view of epic was no simple change of literary plan. The programmatic sixth *Eclogue* allows us to eavesdrop on the young poet's problems. In the poem, three points are relevant:

(a) It opens with a *recusatio*. This must be quoted:.

> cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
> vellit et admonuit: 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
> pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.'   5
> nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
> Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)
> agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

When I wanted to sing of kings and their battles, Apollo plucked my ear, and added this advice: "A shepherd, Tityrus, should feed fat sheep, but thin-spun should be his song." For now I—since you will have a superfluity, Varus, wishing to celebrate your doughty deeds and fearful wars—I will rehearse my country music on the slender reed.

3. Cf. βασιλ[ήων (πρήξιας? δήριας?) Callimachus, *Aet*. 1, fr. 1. 3–4; *proelia / victas et urbes*, Hor. *Odes* 4. 15. 1–2.

4. τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον *Aet*. 1, fr. 1. 23; παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν Call. fr. 398; *pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter / ingenium*, Hor. *Sat*. 2. 6. 14–15; *pingui nil mihi cum populo, Catal*. 9. 64.

5. *deducta tunc voce leo*, Lucilius, 985 M.; *deducta mihi voce garrienti*, Cornificius, Buechner, *Frag. Poet. Lat*., fr. 1, p, 116; *deducta . . . voce*, Prop. 2. 33. 38.

6. *super . . . erunt*: τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι *Aet*. 1, fr. 1. 25; οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ / χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει Callimachus, *Epigr*. 28. 1–2; οὕτοι ὡς ἐν δη- | μοκρατίᾳ· ἐξουσία γ(άρ) (ἐστι) | πολλῶ(ν), Schol. Lond. ad *Aet*. 1, fr. 1. 44, Pfeiffer, I, p. 7, 59–60.

8. Μοῦσαν . . . λεπταλέην *Aet*. 1, fr. 1. 24; λεπταὶ ῥήσιες *Epigr*. 27. 3–4; *Callimachi Manes . . . exactus tenui pumice versus eat*, Prop. 3. 1. 1, 8.

(b) It outlines a theory of epic (31 ff.) so deeply dependent on metamorphosis that we seem to be hearing a sketch of Ovid's later poem rather than of anything Virgil himself actually carried out. This impression is deceptive. The *Aeneid* is also Virgil's *Metamorphoses*, a flickering, umbrageous screen (*fugit indignata sub umbras*) on which nothing is ever one thing long.

(c) It concludes with allusions to Hesiod and Orpheus (65, 70–71).

What we must not do therefore is think of the Virgil that we know as abandoning Alexandrianism for heroic poetry, since he had already abandoned such poetry (*res Romanae*) for the Alexandrianism of the *Eclogues*, and was unlikely to retrace his steps (how could he?). Virgil moved towards the *Aeneid* while profoundly modifying, but still in some sense remaining faithful to, these original ideas. The *Georgics* exorcised some of his preoccupation with the Hesiodic, and even, if we think of the concluding episode, Orphic, although the theme of heroic anthropomorphism in that poem is not yet sufficiently explored. In the *Aeneid* itself, metamorphosis, transposed into the tragic key, triggers a whole complex polyphony of literary allusion. Book 6 allows Anchises to develop a cosmology (724 ff.).

But, although the pastoral plays some role in the epic, for example in Books 7 and 8, its thematic is never dominant. Aeneas in Libya is what Aeschylus calls a κακὸς ποιμήν (*pastor agens telis* 4. 71), but he is never a love-lorn swain of Theocritean or Bionian vintage. He has too strong a sense of his own destiny for that.[4]

* * *

As a student of the Classical tradition, the Milton of *Paradise Lost* naturally exemplifies the Virgilian pattern, but his is a case of what may be called arrested development. This explains the unease which has been felt with his great epic ever since its publication in 1667. The elements which, in Virgil, are presented in clear and orderly succession, in Milton, are inchoate and commingled. We expect:

1. The abandonment of the pastoral, or at the very least its assumption into and transformation within a larger epic mold. It is this progression which enables the Hesiodic/Callimachean poet to relate the story of the origin of the world from Chaos, or to launch into cosmogony of some kind (Lucretius). This is why the supreme poet of this apocalyptic tradition is Dante, but a Dante who had defended his poetic program in an eclogue[5] and who had been guided precisely by—Virgil.

2. The elevation of the satiric (comic, iambic) into the vatic. This was a sequence followed in lyric by Horace, and explains the satiric elements persisting, but not undigested, in the *Odes*. The Augustan poets' allegiance to the vatic ideal has been explored by me elsewhere. It is evident, for example, how much this side of their achievement appealed (again) to Dante.

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[4] An interesting study might be made of the elevation (and ultimately therefore disappearance) of the pastoral convention in the *Aeneid* into that of the Homeric/Stoic ποιμὴν λαῶν.

[5] *La corrispondenza poetica di Dante e Giovanni del Virgilio* etc., edd. G. Albini and G. B. Pighi (Bologna 1965) 40–44.

3. The musical and tragic evocation of an inconstant world in which the hero, driven by destiny, pursues his stormy course towards a shadowy victory. The last word of the *Aeneid*, as of the penultimate line of the *Eclogues*, is *umbras/umbrae*. This epic tradition (the only genuine tradition of such poetry to survive from antiquity other than as a mere fossil) is inherently incapable of carrying a univocal message. This explains the tensions we feel in Lucretius.

But in Milton we find the impossible attempt to make the Hesiodic/Callimachean epic do duty as the purveyor of unchanging truths (to "justifie the wayes of God to men"). Since the means are incommensurate with the end, certain awkward consequences follow from the attempt to square the circle:[6]

1. The pastoral persists into epic, so much so that its model of ill-starred swain and inconstant nymph twists awry the Pauline theology of the Fall.

2. The satiric is pursued for its own sake (e.g. 3. 494, "the backside of the World;" cf. 10. 867 ff., on women, and below on the Barberini bees).

3. The inconstant world, which this style cannot allow itself to reflect as a mirror of the way things are, is treated at a comic level, in spite of assurances we receive (*P.L.* 9. 5–6) that tragedy is intended.[7] Here, Milton's debt to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and to Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* must be given full value.

Finer tuning picks up from the poet many inconsistent voices, as if at one moment he understood fully the polyphonic instruments he has at his disposal, and then again believed they could be played to deliver an unambiguous message. Milton is often and rightly praised for his music. But it was Thomas Mann who defined music as "systematic ambiguity" (*die Zweideutigkeit als System*).

To understand all this, one has to begin with Milton's beginnings. Just like Virgil, he was early drawn to the pastoral and, predictably, his *Lycidas* (1637) contains a *recusatio*. But this is a refusal which sets, not the epic against lowlier poetic ambition, as in Virgil's allusion to *reges et proelia*, but pastoral against amorous dalliance:

> Alas! What boots it with uncessant care
> To tend the homely slighted Shepherds trade,   65
> And strictly meditate the thankles Muse,
> Were it not better don as others use,
> To sport with *Amaryllis* in the shade,
> Or with<e> the tangles of *Neæra*'s hair?
> *Fame* is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise   70

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[6] The metaphor is drawn from *Paradiso* 33. 133–35.

[7] Scholars sometimes note Milton's comedy, e.g. in Book 9, without troubling about the flagrant contradiction this implies with the "tragic" of 9. 6. This will not do for the reader who cares about theology, as Milton did.

> (That last infirmity of Noble mind)
> To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes;
> But the fair Guerdon when we hope to find,
> And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
> Comes the blind *Fury* with th' abhorred shears,   75
> And slits the thin-spun life. But not the praise,
> *Phoebus* repli'd, and touch'd my trembling ears;
> *Fame* is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
> Nor in the glistering foil
> Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies,   80
> But lives and spreds aloft by those pure eyes,
> And perfet witnes of all judging *Jove*;
> As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
> Of so much fame in Heav'n expect thy meed.

66. Virgil, *Ecl*. 1. 2: *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena*; 6. 8: *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam*.

68. *Ecl*. 2. 14: *Nonne fuit satius tristes Amaryllidis iras* etc. Corydon is disappointed by Alexis, and wonders if he would not have done better to stay with Amaryllis. The English poet has reversed the image, while retaining the Virgilian structure.

71. Tacitus, *Hist*. 4. 6: *quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur*. This allusion to Helvidius Priscus seems rather to anticipate the anti-royalist sentiments of the mature politician.

77. Virgil, *Ecl*. 6. 3–4: *Cynthius aurem / vellit et admonuit*.

78. Virgil had courted some sort of poetic fame (*Geo*. 3. 8–9), but closer to Milton is perhaps a programmatic elegy of the Roman Callimachus (Prop. 3. 3. 17–20):

> non hic ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:
>   mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis,
> ut tuus in scamno iactetur saepe libellus,
>   quem legat exspectans sola puella virum.

But, if Propertius is encouraged by Apollo to abandon epic for love elegy which will be a partner in the erotic game, the Christian poet is encouraged to pursue pastoral, rather than a life of dalliance, in hope of fame in heaven. What we expect if we follow the Virgilian analogue is that he would be encouraged to see pastoral and the Hesiodic as a stage on the road to epic. Already the Miltonic reluctance to abandon the pastoral mode, considered as somehow superior, less corrupt, is plain. Its alternative is outside literature altogether.

A fresh impulse towards the epic came when Milton visited Italy (1637–39), for which he had prepared carefully by learning Italian. This was no doubt part of the reason for his close friendship with Carolo Diodati, son of an Italian Protestant family who had migrated to London. Because of this excellent preparation, and the desire of Urban VIII to re-establish old ties

with England now that Charles I had succeeded to the throne,[8] the poet was warmly welcomed.

Disturbed by the trial of Galileo, scholars are not always kind to seicento Italy, although Milton himself never doubted its central importance for him. The greatness of French classicism, as it would mature later in the century, is undeniable, but, in spite of the dazzle exercised by the Sun-King, it would be as foolish to conclude that the extraordinary creative power of the Italians had waned when Milton was among them as it would be to conclude that post-Augustan Rome had no aesthetic. Sometimes the imagination soars above and beyond the written page. Milton was the contemporary of Gianlorenzo Bernini, who, in succession to Maderna, completed work on the Palazzo Barberini in 1633, and who, when later invited by Louis XIV to work on the Louvre, is reported to have answered: "Non mi parlare delle cose piccole" ("Do not trouble me with little things"). By comparison with St. Peter's, it was *una cosa piccola*.[9] He was the contemporary of Borromini, of Guarini. In painting, the varied holdings of the Palazzo—though not all of them of course could have been seen by the poet—give some notion of the widespread use in the art of the day of chiaroscuro, and, in Caravaggio's (†1609) *Narcissus*, of a mirror effect pleasing to the Mannerist. In music, the rich polyphony of Palestrina (†1594) was rivalled by new theories of operatic, dramatic monody, thought to be the revival of the Greek theatre. Monteverdi's *Orfeo* was produced in 1606, his *L'Adone* in 1639, the very year Milton visited Venice. The Barberini in fact were considerable patrons of music, and Domenico Mazzocchi's *La Catena d'Adone*, drawn from Marino, was produced under their auspices in 1626. Roman opera also drew upon the epics of Ariosto and Tasso. If a parallel for Milton's poetry were to be sought in contemporary art, it would be with these works and their essential staginess that he should be compared, as already his *Comus* and the eulogy of the London theatre in his *elegia prima* (27–28) suggest:

> Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,
> Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.

> Next I wend my weary way towards the pageantry of the rounded theatre,
> and the voices from the stage call my attention to the applause they
> stimulate. (tr. N. G. McCrea, adapted)

[8] Especially evident in the poem of Lelio Guidiccioni, *Ara Maxima Vaticana* (Rome 1633) 22: *Sed non ulla frequens magis, aut reverentior, Vrbi . . . quam . . . Anglia . . .* etc.

[9] Bernini was also a literary artist. In 1644, while in Rome, the English diarist John Evelyn wrote: "Bernini . . . gave a public opera, wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the music, writ the comedy, and built the theatre"; cf. R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London 1955) 1.

The whole passage to v. 46 deserves study. It is here, and not in the Italian occasional poetry of the day, that we should seek poetic congeners even for his epic. "Renaissance," if provisionally acceptable as a catch-all term, is ultimately quite inadequate for this complexity, as it is, for example, for the poetry of Giambattista Marino (†1625), whose old patron Milton met and impressed.

Milton was entertained in Rome by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the Papal *nipote*, whose epitaph is still seen on the right by the visitor to the *sagrestia* in St. Peter's,[10] and the poet relates in a letter to the librarian Lucas Holsten[11] that, when it was announced that he had arrived at the door of the Palazzo to attend an evening reception, the Cardinal himself went out to escort his guest to join the party, a signal honor conferred by a Prince of the Church on a Protestant foreigner barely thirty years old. Milton paid repeated tribute to an Italian singer, "Leonora," whom he heard, and one may imagine what the effect of her arias and other *musica da camera* amid the candlelight of some splendid, frescoed *salone*, perhaps that on whose ceiling we still contemplate Pietro da Cortona's glorification of the Barberini family (1633–39), surrounded by the richly garbed audience of ladies, churchmen, diplomats, poets, scholars and soldiers, might have been on the impressionable and musically gifted poet. A *teatro* was attached to the Barberini Palace, where productions were noted for their spectacular effects. Bernini himself designed the sets for Rossi's *Erminia sul Giordano*, produced there in 1633.[12] Landi's pious *Sant' Alessio*, with libretto by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, later Clement IX, was put on in 1632. The year 1634 witnessed the same author's *Vita di Santa Teodora*. Milton himself attended Rospigliosi's comedy *Chi soffre, speri* in the Barberini theatre in 1639.[13] Was it here that *Samson Agonistes* began to take shape in his mind? Is it a libretto for a score that was never written?

Elsewhere in Italy too he had enjoyed singular courtesy. The Florentine Antonio Francini wrote, for example:

[10] Set up in 1682, it praises the Cardinal, *inter alia*, for his *beneficentia in omnes / etiam remotissimorum* [sic] *nationum homines*. Its mistake in gender has therefore endured in this public place for over three centuries.

[11] D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London 1875) 634; cf. L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* XIII. 2 (Freiburg im Br. 1929) 909. The energetic efforts devoted by Urban VIII to improving the accessibility of the Vatican Library are still appreciated by the scholars who use the Barberini Catalogue.

[12] The title-page of the 1637 edition of this work is reproduced in *Heritage of Music* I, edd. Raeburn and Kendall (repr. Oxford–New York 1990) 82, where a number of relevant remarks about the Barberini contribution to the development of Roman opera may be studied.

[13] Von Pastor (above, note 11) 953.

Nell'altera Babelle
Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,
Che per varie favelle
Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano:
Ch'ode oltr' all'Anglia il suo più degno Idioma
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia e Roma.

In proud Babel, so far as you are concerned, Jove confounded tongues to no
purpose—Babel that, because of its different languages, fell to the plain as
a trophy to its own defeat. Not only England, but Spain, France, Italy,
Greece and Rome hear their most worthy utterance.

Here, we read *inter alia* a tribute to Milton's knowledge of Spanish. Naples
was a Hapsburg (Aragonese) domain. Has the poet's possible debt to
Spanish literature ever been investigated?

The epic ambition, or at least potential, must have been clearly visible
to contemporaries. The Roman Ioannes Salsillus (Selvaggi) wrote:

Graecia Maeonidem, iactet sibi Roma Maronem,
    Anglia Miltonum iactat utrique parem.

Let Greece boast of Homer, and Rome of Virgil. England boasts of Milton,
a match for both.

What had Milton done in 1639, what was he showing to fellow poets and to
the world of letters in general that could possibly justify this kind of praise?
Is something lost or suppressed—something in Italian?

Count I. B. Mansus, the former patron of Tasso and Marino, echoes the
famous remark of Pope Gregory the Great:

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
    Non Anglus, verum hercle Angelus ipse fores.

If only your religious beliefs matched your intellect, your beauty, your
grace, your appearance, your demeanor! You would be not an Angle but an
Angel.

Milton's interest in Italian epic is clear. He translated Dante on the
Donation of Constantine. At some point he came to admire Ariosto enough
to quote from him at the start of *Paradise Lost* (1. 16, "Things unattempted
yet in Prose or Rime" = "cosa non detta in prosa mai ne in rima," *O.F.* 1.
10), and he stayed with Manso in Naples. A Latin poem (1639) is evidence
both of the admiration he felt for the old man, and of the epic pull:

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum
Phoebæos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,   80
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem;
Aut dicam invictae sociali fœdere mensae,
Magnanimos Heroas & (o modo spiritus adsit)
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges.

> Oh, if only my fate would grant me such a friend, who knows so well how
> to honor inspired poets, if ever I shall come to sing of my country's kings
> and Arthur who stirs war even beneath the earth; or to tell of the knightly
> fellowship of the unconquered Table and, if inspiration lasts, show the
> Saxon armies yielding to British arms.

83. *modo vita supersit*, *Geo.* 3. 10. See *Epitaph. Dam.* 168, quoted below. The
relevant point is that this is the language of a *recusatio* used also by Tasso: *forse un dí
fia, Ger. Lib.* 1. 4. 7.

In this poem, his epic thoughts are still centred on history, on *reges et
proelia*. Perhaps he was thinking of Tasso's two epics on the Crusades.

But Tasso was also the author of the pastoral *Aminta*, and Manso was
also the former patron of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), once the most
famous poet in Europe. Marino's *Adone*, dedicated to Louis XIII of France
and his queen Maria de' Medici,[14] tells the story of the adventures of Adonis
and Venus. Adonis is a countryman, a huntsman, a denizen of the Arabian
forests (1. 45–46), reminiscent, when we first meet him, of the Aeneas of
the first book of Virgil's epic. But Marino adds to the *Aeneid* a long
rhapsody about his hero's physical beauty, a rhetorical topos with a lengthy
history.[15] It is in these elaborate personal descriptions that we find so much
anticipated of this quite un-Virgilian aspect of Milton.

Adonis, who was worshipped with the offering of κῆποι ("gardens,"
"flowerpots;" cf. *P.L.* 9. 440), is part of the Alexandrian pastoral
(Theocritus 15, Bion, the Εἰς νεκρὸν Ἄδωνιν), and this aspect of the story
explains why it had already attracted the youthful Shakespeare. Did it attract
the youthful Milton, who certainly relates the tale in *Paradise Lost* (1. 446–
53)? Is the possibility left out of account because the structural role of the
pastoral in the lead-up to European epic (or, in the case of Shakespeare, epic
drama) is ignored by critics unfamiliar with the Classical tradition—and
with the crucial importance of Italian literature?

The invocation of Book 10 of the *Adone* is noteworthy:

> Musa tu che del Ciel per torti calli
> infaticabilmente il corso roti,
> e mentre de' volubili cristalli
> qual veloce, e qual pigro, accordi i moti,
> con armonico piede in lieti balli   5
> de l'Olimpo stellante il suol percoti,
> onde di quel concento il suon si forma
> ch'è del nostro cantar misura e norma:

[14] It was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* by Urban VIII in 1627 and 1628, but
this does not seem to have had much effect on its influence. For Milton, it might have been an
extra attraction.

[15] Cf. Call. *Hecale*, fr. 274 Pf.

tu divina Virtù, Mente immortale,
scòrgi l'audace ingegno, Urania saggia,   10
ch'oltre i propri confin si leva e sale
a spaziar per la celeste piaggia.
Aura di tuo favor mi regga l'ale
per sì alto sentier sì ch'io non caggia.
Movi la penna mia, tu che 'l Ciel movi,   15
e detta a novo stil concetti novi.

Muse, you turn the course of heaven unwearying through complex paths,
you reconcile the movements of the luminous planets, one fast, another
slow, and with rhythmic foot in joyful dances strike the ground of starry
Olympus,[16] giving rise to the sound of that harmony which is the measure
and norm of our singing. Divine Virtue, Immortal Mind, guide the bold
spirit, wise Urania, which above its ordinary bounds rises and ascends to
walk through heaven's expanse. May the breeze of your favor guide my
wings along so high a path, that I may not fall. Move my pinion-pen, you
who move the heaven, and dictate to a new style new thoughts.

10. "Sing Heav'nly Muse . . . I thence / Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song, /
That with no middle flight intends to soar . . . ", *P.L* 1. 7, 12–14.

14. "Least . . . I fall," *P.L.* 7. 27, 29.

15. "If answerable style I can obtaine / Of my Celestial Patroness . . . , " *P.L.* 9.
20–21.

In general, although the poet is clearly also thinking of Horace's
Descende caelo . . . Calliope (*Odes* 3. 4. 1–2), one may compare:

Descend from Heav'n *Urania*, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
Following, above th' *Olympian* Hill I soare . . . (*P.L.* 7. 1–3)

But, quite apart from all this, Marino's whole habit of resuming his Italian
predecessors, and notably Boccaccio, his display of erudition, his Joycean
(and Callimachean) awareness of language as a calculated instrument of
fantasy and make-believe, his allegorization, his intrusion beneath the
surface of the poem of his own personality coloring the narrative—these
features put us in the presence of Milton, even if his leisurely, Ariosto-like
pace does not. In general, it seems impossible to believe that this long
conjurer's mantle wrapped by the Italian around the story of the seduction of
a young and handsome hero in a garden of delights by the goddess of love
had no influence on Milton's ultimate epic thought and conception.

While staying with Manso in Naples, Milton planned to visit Sicily. The
visit never took place. It is alleged that he was forced to abandon his
plans by news of the imminent Civil War in England, and there were stories
that, if he lingered in Rome on his way back, the English Jesuits were

[16] *Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum*, Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1 Sk.

plotting to assassinate him. But he did linger in Rome, quite safely, for
another two months, and then went on to visit Florence, Bologna, Ferrara,
Venice, eventually to return by way of Geneva.[17] Perhaps then these excuses
about the imminence of the Civil War are quite false, and there was a
psychological reason hindering Milton from visiting Sicily. If he had
confronted the reality, he might have been less able to treat it as a country
of the mind which he did not need to visit because he was trapped there
already. "Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it."

On his return to London, never to leave England again, he found
Diodati dead. The *Epitaphium Damonis* which he wrote to commemorate
his friend still lingers with the pastoral and because of that still reveals a
preoccupation with conventional epic heroics:

> Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes
> Dicam, & Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae,
> Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
> Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;   165
> Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Jögernen
> Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlöis arma,
> Merlini dolus. O mihi tum si vita supersit,
> Tu procul annosa pendebis fistula pinu
> Multum oblita mihi aut patriis mutata camœnis   170
> Brittonicum strides, quid enim? omnia non licet uni
> Non sperasse uni licet omnia, mi satis ampla
> Merces, & mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in aevum
> Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)
> Si me flava comas leget Usa, et potor Alauni,   175
> Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantae,
> Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, & fusca metallis
> Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.

I myself will tell of Trojan ships in Richborough's waters, of the ancient
kingdom of Imogen, Pandrasus' child, of Brennus and Arviragus, our
champions, of old Belinus, and at long last of the Armoric settlers adopting
British laws. Next will be the tale of Igraine, Arthur's mother by fateful
guile, the false disguise and assumed weapons of Gorlois, the trickery of
Merlin. If life but lasts, my pipe, long forgotten by me, will hang from
yonder old pine tree, or changed to native music will celebrate a British
strain. Yet why, not all things are possible to one man, not all things one
man may hope. Big enough my reward, great my glory—and then let me be
unknown for ever, and wholly without fame in the world abroad—if fair-
haired Ouse read me, the drinker of the Alan, the eddying Humber, all
Trent's woods, and before all else my own Thames, the Tamar dark with
ore, and if the Orkneys study me amid their distant waves.

168. *dolus* in the nominative has no construction: the poet is coasting rather than thinking. With the end, cf. *o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae*, *Ecl.* 4. 53; *modo vita supersit*, *Geo.* 3. 10.

169. *hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu*, *Ecl.* 7. 24.

171. *non omnia possumus omnes*, *Ecl.* 8. 63.

175. *Rhodanique potor*, Horace, *Odes* 2. 20. 20;].ου πίνοντες ἀφ' ὕδατ[ος Callimachus, fr. 186. 21 Pf.

One wonders what in fact contemporary Europe would have made of Trojan ships at Richborough (*Rutupium*), although in 1633, displaying an extraordinary knowledge of pre-Norman history (perhaps derived from Richard White's *Historiarum Britanniae Libri* XI, 1597–1607)), Guidiccioni had certainly congratulated English kings on their loyalty to Rome (*Ara Maxima Vaticana*, p. 21):

> Quot veniunt uno peregrino ab litore reges,
> Linquentes Thulen? Hoc arsit Osuvius aestu,
> Cnutus, Etelstanusque, Odoardus, Cedual, Ina,
> Richardusque, aliique. Simul patria arva Britanno,
> Arva Caledonio linquuntur . . .

How many kings came from a single foreign shore, abandoning Thule? This passion inspired Osuvius, Canute, Ethelstan, Edward, Cedual, Ina, Richard and their company. Briton and Scot together leave their native lands . . .

It is in reading some of these Latinized British and Norse names that one begins to understand *offensus nominum asperitate* in the young Virgil's misgivings about historical epic.

But Milton's poem also shows something else. It begins as follows:

> Himerides nymphae (nam vos et Daphnin & Hylan,
> Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis)
> Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen.

Nymphs of Himera, for you recall the tale of Daphnis and Hylas, the long-wept fate of Bion, sing a song of Sicily by the towns of Thames.

1. *Sicelides Nymphae, paulo maiora canamus*, *Ecl.* 4. 1.

2. *et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis*, *Aen.* 7. 645 (repeated by the codex Romanus at 9. 529). This form of *memini* does not occur, for example, in Ovid or Lucan, making the Virgilian allusion all the more obvious.

3. *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen*, *Geo.* 2. 76.

The *reges et proelia* in the background of line 2 are quite outflanked by the reminiscences of the pastoral and of Hesiod.

There is a jarring false quantity at the end of line 1 here. Milton knew as well as any man that *Hylas* has a short first syllable, if for no other

reason than because the word occurs three times in two consecutive lines of the *Eclogues* with the right quantity.[18] An easy correction would have been to write *nam vos et Daphnin Hylanque*. This is not open to metrical objection. But in Milton's mind *Hylas* has become confused with ὕλη, "wood," which does have an initial *longum*,[19] and that is evidence of a preoccupation with the "wild wood" (Marino's "Arabiche foreste") that may be traced all the way from *Comus* (312) to *Paradise Lost* (9. 910). Because the poet cannot get his relationship to the pastoral ("sylvan") straight, it even corrupts his memory of classical prosody.

In Milton's proem, *Daphnin* and *Himerides* are also telling. Daphnis occurs of course both in the *Eclogues* and in Theocritus, but his first introduction to Greek poetry seems to be owed to Stesichorus,[20] born at Matáurus in Italy, and later active at Himera in Sicily. *Himerides* is not in fact found in any classical Latin author.[21]

The poet therefore, inventing an adjective to do so, evokes an ultimately Sicilian lyric predecessor, whom Quintilian (10. 1. 62) describes as *maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*. This predecessor sang the story of the shepherd Daphnis who was struck blind for infidelity (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18):

βουκολῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Δάφνις, ἠράσθη αὐτοῦ νύμφη
μία καὶ ὡμίλησε καλῷ ὄντι . . . συνθήκας δὲ ἐποίησε μηδεμιᾶι
ἄλληι πλησιάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπηπείλησεν ὅτι πεπρωμένον ἐστὶν
αὐτὸν στερηθῆναι τῆς ὄψεως ἐὰν παραβῆι. καὶ εἶχον ὑπὲρ
τούτων ῥήτραν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. χρόνωι δὲ ὕστερον βασιλέως
θυγατρὸς ἐρασθείσης αὐτοῦ οἰνωθεὶς ἔλυσε τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ
ἐπλησίασε τῆι κόρηι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη πρῶτον
ἤισθη καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
αὐτοῦ. καὶ Στησίχορόν γε τὸν Ἱμεραῖον τῆς τοιαύτης
μελοποιΐας ὑπάρξασθαι.

[18] *Ecl.* 6. 43–44; cf. *Geo.* 3. 6. The Neapolitan poet J. Sannazaro has it right: *et vetus amissi cesserat ardor Hylae* (*Opera omnia latine scripta*, ed. Aldina [1535] 50). Giovanni Boccaccio, who certainly lived as a young man in Naples, and who in poem VI ("Alcestus"), line 148 (p. 60 in Janet Smarr's translation [New York 1987]) of his *Bucolicum Carmen* writes at the beginning of the hexameter *Ylas Spartanus*, is confusing Hylas, Hercules' squire, and Hyllus, Hercules' son and the ancestor of the Dorians. But who can believe that in scanning Hylas' name Milton followed Boccaccio rather than Virgil? However, when in this same passage Boccaccio tells the story of the two cups allegedly given to Meliboeus by Hylas, he says a great deal relevant to the two cups which Milton says he got from Manso (*Ep. Dam.* 181 ff.). Scholars have looked for these in his baggage rather than in the poems of Theocritus and Virgil. More on this in Bush (above, note 17) 318–19, who however overlooks this passage of Boccaccio. But if this was already a Renaissance topos? Manso after all was Neapolitan too.

[19] As is shown in medieval Latin poetry, for example, where it enjoys its Aristotelian sense of "matter": Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 4. 182, 10. 11.

[20] D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1967) fr. 279.

[21] It is not listed, for example, by D. C. Swanson, *The Names in Roman Verse* (Madison 1967).

When Daphnis was a shepherd in Sicily a nymph fell in love with him and became his mistress since he was so handsome. She made a covenant that he was to have no dealings with any rival, and threatened him with the doom of losing his eyesight if he should transgress. They had a mutual agreement about this. But later the king's daughter fell in love with him and in a drunken fit he broke his word and had intercourse with her. This led to the invention of pastoral song, whose theme was his loss of sight. It was Stesichorus of Himera who was the author of this genre of lyric.

But more than this. Stesichorus himself was also struck blind—for impiety, and for this tale Milton needed to look no further than Plato's *Phaedrus* (243a) or Horace's *Epodes* (17. 42–44):

> infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
> fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
> adempta vati reddidere lumina . . .

Castor, once offended by the fate of Helen besmirched, and mighty Castor's brother, yielded to entreaty and gave back to the poet the eyes he had lost.

So, although at the official, conscious level in his *Epitaphium Damonis* Milton speaks of his prospective epic in conventional terms, his vatic psyche knew something much more relevant to what he actually would do. Like Stesichorus, he would write an epic that was profoundly lyricized. Like Stesichorus, and like Stesichorus' pastoral hero Daphnis, he would go blind. Like Apollonius Rhodius' Hylas (*Arg.* 1. 1207 ff.), he would get into deep waters in a *hyle* (wood). And is it too cheap to add that some sort of personal confusion about sex (Mary Powell) would have something to do with it?

The pastoral eventually inspires much of the imagery associated with Milton's Eve. Milton is especially poignant when comparing Eve with Proserpina, raped by the infernal Pluto while busy with her flowers. In the famous passage, the introductory negative is fraught with *psychologisches Moment* (14. 268–72):

> Not that faire field
> Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathring flours
> Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis*
> Was gatherd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain
> To seek her through the world . . .

Negative comparisons are old, but dare one suggest that part of the heart-rending effect of the negative here reflects Milton's own failure to visit (to come to terms with) Sicily when he had the chance? An epic in which "pain" is a key word is not an epic of heroic action, but of profoundly subjective disquiet.

We can see how a Sicily held at mythopoeic level supplies in this way all the ingredients for a paradise that would be lost, even the fiery volcano (though Naples has its volcano too) that, already in Greek poetry, was the

everlasting punishment of a rebel against the divine will. But there is one drawback. In the pastoral, the lovelorn shepherd betrayed by the inconstant nymph is essentially innocent. In Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*, for example, Damon (!) loses Nysa, with whom he fell in love as she was gathering apples:

> Saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala
> (dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem.
> Alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,
> iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos: 40
> ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!

In our orchard when you were little I saw you (I was your guide) gathering dewy apples with your mother. Already my twelfth year was upon me, already I could touch the brittle branches from the ground. I saw, and was lost, carried away by desperate amazement.

The English poet reshapes his Adam along Aristotelian[22] and pastoral lines. He is not a scoundrel, but a man who makes a big mistake (Virgil's *malus error*). But how then in theology can he be responsible for the condemnation of the human race? This question is never very clearly answered in the poem, particularly not when Adam reproves Eve in language borrowed from Euripides' chaste Hippolytus and his rejection of incestuous Phaedra's advances (10. 888 ff. = *Hippol.* 616 ff.: cf. *Medea* 573–75).

Daphnis went blind because of infidelity, seduced by a king's daughter when he was drunk. To that extent he was a type of Adam, unfaithful to God's command, seduced into drunkenness by Eve. Stesichorus was blinded because he was unjustly critical of Helen's morals. Are women guilty or not, and if so what are they guilty of? In Milton's own relationships with women there was perhaps a failure to look things in the face which finds its outcome in these confusions. *Paradise Lost* seems to show, not that disobedience, but that Eve's sexual sin is the root of all our woe.[23] But this sexual emphasis is far too narrow for הָאִשָּׁה in *Bereshith* 3. 13. Yet the poet knew that this narrowness was contrary to his basic theology, that the root sin was man's disobedience, not woman's weakness.

In any case, the opening lines of the *Epitaphium Damonis* are far more relevant to Milton's epic ambition, when their subtexts are correctly explicated, than any later bluster in the poem about the heroic epic of British history never actually written. But Milton was able to appreciate this future only in a confused way because he was dodging the issue about pastoral. His confusion persisted into *Paradise Lost*, which is the story of the invasion of a garden by a devil disguised as a serpent who seduces the

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[22] Μὴ διὰ μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην *Poetics* 1453a15–16.

[23] "But still I see the tenor of Mans woe / Holds on the same, from Woman to begin" (*P.L.* 11. 632–33). This pun ("woman" = "woe man") is as old as the Chester mystery plays of 1500, according to the *OED*.

woman and leaves the man to follow her action in a desperate act of love. But how can an act of love be the disobedience that ruins the human race?

In his French introduction to the *Adone*, Marino's contemporary Chapelain defends the poem as an epic of peace, rather than war, a thesis likely to be of interest to Milton,[24] even though the English poet takes rather a different view of the role in peace of the heroic. Chapelain also mentions Nonnus. The debt of Milton's seduction scene to Nonnus may now be re-emphasized. Two passages are particularly relevant:

> Παρθένε Περσεφόνεια, σὺ δ' οὐ γάμον εὗρες ἀλύξαι,   155
> ἀλλὰ δρακοντείοισιν ἐνυμφεύθης ὑμεναίοις,
> Ζεὺς ὅτε πουλυέλικτος ἀμειβομένοιο προσώπου
> νυμφίος ἱμερόεντι δράκων κυκλούμενος ὁλκῷ
> εἰς μυχὸν ὀρφναίοιο διέστιχε παρθενεῶνος,
> σείων δαυλὰ γένεια· παρισταμένων δὲ θυρέτρῳ   160
> εὔνασεν ἰσοτύπων πεφορημένος ὄμμα δρακόντων,
> καὶ γαμίαις γενύεσσι δέμας λιχμάζετο κούρης
> μείλιχος· αἰθερίων δὲ δρακοντείων ὑμεναίων
> Περσεφόνης γονόεντι τόκῳ κυμαίνετο γαστήρ,
> Ζαγρέα γειναμένη, κερόεν βρέφος, ὃς Διὸς ἕδρης   165
> μοῦνος ἐπουρανίης ἐπεβήσατο, χειρὶ δὲ βαιῇ
> ἀστεροπὴν ἐλέλιζε, νεηγενέος δὲ φορῆος
> νηπιάχοις παλάμῃσιν ἐλαφρίζοντο κεραυνοί. (6. 155–68)

Ah maiden Persephoneia! You could not find how to escape your mating! No, a dragon was your mate, when Zeus changed his face and came, rolling in many a loving coil through the dark to the corner of the maiden's chamber, and shaking his hairy chaps: he lulled to sleep as he crept the eyes of those creatures of his own shape who guarded the door. He licked the girl's form gently with wooing lips. By this marriage with the heavenly dragon, the womb of Persephone swelled with living fruit, and she bore Zagreus the horned baby, who by himself climbed upon the heavenly throne of Zeus and brandished lightning in his little hand, and newly born, lifted and carrried thunderbolts in his tender fingers. (tr. W. H. D. Rouse)

158: "Curld many a wanton wreath in sight of *Eve*, " *P. L.* 9. 517.

Since in Milton's epic Eve is compared with Persephone, Persephone's seduction by Zeus in the form of a serpent may have particularly worked on Milton's imagination.

The child of this union is Bacchus ("Zagreus"), son of Zeus, who, as Nonnus' story progresses, is done to death by the Titans and then rises again. But later in the poem, Bacchus discovers the intoxicating juice of the grape with the help of the serpent (12. 319–28):

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[24] "Peace hath her victories / No less renownd than warr": *To the Lord Generall* Cromwell, *May 1652*.

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σκολιῇσι δράκων δινωτὸς ἀκάνθαις
λαρὸν εὐρραθάμιγγος ἀμέλγετο νέκταρ ὀπώρης   320
καὶ βλοσυραῖς γενύεσσι ποτὸν Βακχεῖον ἀμέλξας
βότρυος οἰνωθέντος ἐπιστάζων πόμα λαιμῷ
πορφυρέῃ ῥαθάμιγγι δράκων φοίνιξεν ὑπήνην.
καὶ θεὸς οὐρεσίφοιτος ὄφιν θάμβησε δοκεύων
οἰνωπῇ ῥαθάμιγγι πεφυρμένον ἀνθερεῶνα·   325
καὶ στικταῖς φολίδεσσι μετάτροπον ὁλκὸν ἑλίξας
πετραίην βαθύκολπον ἐδύσατο γείτονα χειήν,
Εὔιον ἀθρήσας, ὄφις αἰόλος . . .

A serpent twisted his curving backbone about the tree, and sucked a strong
draught of nectar trickling from the fruit; when he milked the Bacchic
potation with his ugly jaws, dripping the draught of the vine onto his
throat, the creature reddened his beard with purple drops. The hillranging
god marvelled, as he saw the snake and his chin dappled with trickling
wine; the speckled snake saw Euios, and went coiling away with his spotty
scales and plunged into a deep hole in the rock hard by. (Rouse, adapted)

327: "Back to the Thicket slunk / The guiltie Serpent," *P. L.* 9. 784–85.

Dionysus then makes wine, and the satyrs get drunk on it. Here is the
parallel with Eve's act in pagan mythology. The ancient motif of the
serpent coiled around the tree, found in the classical world, for example, in a
bronze fountain from the gymnasium at Herculaneum (Cardo V) showing a
five-headed snake wound around a tree trunk, is still visible on the ceiling of
the Sistine Chapel. In general, it may be urged that no proper understanding
of Milton's epic is possible without a detailed study of the *Dionysiaca*
(reprinted 1569, 1606). But can there be a *Dionysiaca* which justifies God's
ways to man? At the start of Book 7, Milton had banished "the barbarous
dissonance / Of *Bacchus* and his Revellers" (32–33), that is to say, the
komos he had tried to assimilate in his early masque of that name. But, like
all these suppressed ghosts, did *das Verdrängte* then return in unassimilated
form to haunt him?

Tristi fummo ne l' aere dolce . . . (*Inferno* 7. 121–22). The
unassimilated satiric and comic ("carnival") to which reference has been
made, caused by the inability consistently to move beyond the pastoral
mode into epic, is shown by the fact that even the bees, with which in *P.L.*
1. 768 ff. the devils are compared, are a hit at the Barberini device,[25] sculpted
repeatedly on Bernini's canopy in St. Peter's, the model for Milton's
Pandaemonium.[26] In Milton, we seem really to be on the track of a negative
satirist rather than a *vates*. Dante, who made no bones about calling his own

[25] A book of poems dedicated to Urban VIII is entitled *Apes Romanae*, and is called by
Masson "450 bees of the Barberini" (above, note 11) 630.

[26] Parker (above, note 17) 172. Some believe more charitably that Milton was thinking of
the Flavian Amphitheatre: A. P. Quennell, *The Colosseum* (New York 1981) 110. But we must
beware of ascribing motivations like this to Milton.

titanic poem a *commedia*, had addressed Virgil as "anima cortese mantovano" (*Inferno* 2. 58). Bees had been for Callimachus a positive symbol.

Milton, who read Apollonius' *Argonautica* with his English pupils, might have written a different kind of epic. He knew Italian well enough to compose poetry in it, and it is those poems that show a more humane side to his genius, less censorious of women, of popish trumpery, less right about everything. If only he had settled down in Naples with Manso! But these might-have-beens, like the closer study of the Italian poems, are matter for another time.

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