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# GENERIC INTERFACES IN LATIN LITERATURE

## ENCOUNTERS, INTERACTIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

**Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature**

# Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

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## Volume 20

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**DE GRUYTER**

# Acknowledgments

# Contents

**Prose**

Stephen J. Harrison
# Introduction

The conference from which this volume is derived made a clear statement of its concerns in the programme and advance material. 'Neither older empiricist positions that genre is an abstract concept, useless for the study of individual works of literature, nor the recent (post-) modern reluctance to subject literary production to any kind of classification seem to have stilled the discussion on the various aspects of genre in classical literature. Having moved from more or less essentialist and/or prescriptive positions towards a more dynamic conception of the generic model, research on genre is currently considering "pushing beyond the boundaries", "impurity", "instability", "enrichment" and "genre-bending". The aim of the conference is to raise questions of such generic mobility. The papers will explore ways in which works assigned to a particular generic area play host to formal and substantive elements associated with different or even opposing genres; assess literary works which seem to challenge perceived generic norms; highlight, along the literary-historical, the ideological and political backgrounds to "dislocations" of the generic map.'

The key idea here, then, is that of contact between defined literary genres as a dynamic and creative force in Roman literature. Elsewhere I have pursued a particular aspect of this topic, generic enrichment, where a 'host' genre includes a 'guest' genre and expands its literary horizons, but still remains ultimately within the boundaries of its own original literary kind.[1] In this introduction I will set these themes against the background both of ancient genre theory and of more recent generic ideas, and then turn to a brief account of the individual papers within this framework.[2]

# Ancient literary criticism and generic boundaries in Rome

Ancient literary criticism attached considerable importance to literary genre, especially writings in the Aristotelian tradition; by the Roman period which is the subject of this volume, the generic self-consciousness and experimentation of

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1 See Harrison 2007.
2 In what follows I adopt and develop some elements from the introduction to Harrison 2007.

the poetry of the Hellenistic period, saturated in the post-Aristotelian concern with the classification of literature, had shown both how embedded generic concepts were in literary consciousness, and how innovative poets might exploit generic models and expectations by presenting works in which generic interaction and transgression was openly practised and indeed thematised.[3]

Though the relative vagueness and paucity of Graeco-Roman genre theory has been rightly emphasised,[4] it is possible to identify at least in general terms the key generic ideas and implicit theory which a Roman reader is likely to have known and applied.[5] As elsewhere in Western literary theory,[6] the history of ideas on genre begins effectively with Plato and Aristotle. In the well-known discussion of the morally enervating effects of poetry in the third book of the *Republic* (3.394b-c), Plato's Socrates divides literature into three types according to its mode of narrative presentation: that which presents only speech uttered by characters (e.g. tragedy and comedy), that which presents only the poet reporting events (e.g. dithyramb,[7] and lyric in general), and that which is a mixture of both (e.g. epic). This creates the tripartite generic taxonomy of epic, drama and lyric which has been so influential in the Western tradition, and which still figures prominently in generic theory.[8] Aristotle in the *Poetics* (1448a) adds the crucial further idea of appropriateness: each literary kind has a naturally appropriate medium (prose or verse, metre, music, harmony, kind of speech) and appropriate subject-matter (of fitting length, dignity, realism). Epic, for example, differs from tragedy not in its subject-matter (for it has everything that epic has, Ch.26, 1462a) but in length and metre (Ch.24, 1459b). Here as often in Aristotelian literary criticism the leading idea is τὸ πρέπον, *decorum*, or the notion that everything has its own appropriate place and function. This place is felt to be natural and intuitive; nature and experience teaches poets the naturally appropriate kind of metre for the subject (Ch.24, 1460a), implying that there is a fundamental connection between topic and type of metre.

The recent publication of more of the literary-critical work of Philodemus (first century BCE) suggests that generic issues were a lively source of debate in late Hellenistic scholarship, which itself had direct influence on Roman cul-

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**3** See Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004.

**4** See especially Rosenmeyer 1985.

**5** On implicit generic theory in antiquity see Farrell 2003.

**6** E.g. in narratology, cf. Genette 1980, 162–6.

**7** Genette (1992) stresses the narrativity of dithyramb and that the post-classical tradition has been wrong in assigning it to lyric. Of course lyric (and dithyramb) can include narrative and character-speech, but the stress on performing first persons is strong.

**8** E.g. in Genette 1992.

ture through Philodemus' presence and reception in Italy.[9] Philodemus himself seems to have upheld traditional Aristotelian views on the separation of poetic genres by appropriate content and style against the more radical theories of writers like Pausimachus and Heracleodorus, who suggested that generic categories were unimportant.[10] Perhaps our best source for late Hellenistic generic theory is the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, which seems to concur with Philodemus' ideas on genre in the previous generation in a number of ways. Whether or not this work relies in detail on the lost theories of Neoptolemus of Parium,[11] it is clear that it represents a consolidation in the Peripatetic tradition of the key ideas put forward by Aristotle in the *Poetics*.

The crucial passage on the topic of genre is *AP* 73 – 98, given by Brink in his commentary the heading of 'norms of diction in poetic genres': here we find the familiar Aristotelian idea of appropriateness (τὸ πρέπον, *decorum*), with the clear fitting of content to metrical and generic form: wars fit hexameters and epic, lamentations and offerings elegiacs, abuse iambics, tragic and comic dialogue iambics, and lyric a range of topics from epinician to sympotic (clearly looking here to Horace's own *Odes*). These forms are clearly deemed to be part of a natural, accepted and prescriptive generic taxonomy, *descriptas vices ... operumque colores* (86), the 'duly assigned functions and tones of literature' which the poet can recognise and should observe; similarly normative is the notion that 'everything must keep the appropriate place to which it was allotted' (*singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem*, 92). But two post-Aristotelian aspects stand out particularly too: the use of an inventor or chief exemplar (*auctor*) of a genre as part of its definition, and the admission that genres may incorporate elements from other genres for special effects.

The first idea, the search for an *auctor*, is a post-Aristotelian development which is likely to derive from the literary researches of Alexandria and its generation of the poetic canon, which naturally sought to attach ancient and authoritative names to literary forms.[12] By the Roman period it has clearly become standard in defining genres, something evident not only from this passage of Horace, where Homer and Archilochus are named as generic founders and the dispute about the *auctor* of elegy is highlighted, but also from the literary catalogue of Quintilian's tenth book, which proceeds by setting the *auctores* of Greek litera-

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**9** See Gigante 1995, Armstrong *et al.* 2004.
**10** cf. Janko 2000, 151 – 60, 417, 435.
**11** For the debate see e. g. Brink 1971, xii-xxi.
**12** See Zetzel 1980 and Vardi 2003.

ture against their Latin counterparts, and which plainly shows traces of Peripatetic and Hellenistic influence in the identification of its Greek exemplars.[13]

The second idea, that works in particular genres can incorporate elements of a different or opposing genre, is a key idea for this book. Once again, like the search for the *auctor* of a genre, this idea clearly derives from the Hellenistic period: the 'crossing of genres' (*Kreuzung der Gattungen*) famously identified by Wilhelm Kroll in Latin poetry has been repeatedly shown to be a major creative feature of Hellenistic poetry.[14] The Horatian examples (paratragedy in comedy, homely diction in tragedy) are relatively modest in scope; as we shall see in the analyses of this volume, the principle of incorporating elements from a different, 'guest' genre while retaining the overall framework of the primary, 'host' genre can be considerably extended.

The key Aristotelian idea of matching subject-matter to metrical form in generic choice is clearly standard in the Augustan period; it is regularly paraded in Augustan *recusationes*, passages in which another genre is rejected in favour of the one in which the poet is already writing, e. g. Propertius 2.1.39–42 and 3.3.15–24 and Ovid *Fasti* 2.125–6, all rejecting epic subject-matter as too 'big' for elegy;[15] or in other metagenerically reflexive moments where the subject-matter seems to be becoming inappropriate for the metre, e. g. Horace *Odes* 3.3.69 *non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae*, 'this will not suit my frivolous lyre', where the material is getting too 'heavy' for lyric; or in passages where the controversial choice of material in a previous work is defended by the argument that the subject-matter matched the generic form, e. g. Ovid's defence of his erotic topics at *Remedia Amoris* 371–388, ending with *si mea materiae respondet Musa iocosae, / vicimus*, 'if my Muse fits its frivolous material, victory is ours' (387–8), a wickedly triumphant assertion of Aristotle's doctrine of the matching of form and content. Such ideas are still standard at the end of the first century A.D. and form the basis of poetics in the imperial period. Quintilian (10.2.22), picking up Horace's argument in the *Ars Poetica* that paratragedy is possible in comedy and paracomedy in tragedy, opposes it with a more conservative view which nevertheless works within the same Aristotelian framework: 'each genre has its own rules and proprieties. Comedy does not rise high on tragic buskins, nor does tragedy stroll about in the slippers of comedy'.[16]

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**13** See e. g. Steinmetz 1964, Zetzel 1980, 97–99.

**14** Cf. Kroll 1924, 202–224, Rossi 1971, Fantuzzi 1980, Harder et al. 1998, Rossi 2000, Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 17–41.

**15** Wimmel (1960) remains the standard collection of Augustan *recusationes*; for a more compact account see Lyne 1995, 31–9.

**16** Tr. Winterbottom in Russell and Winterbottom 1972, 403.

Another key element of Aristotelian genre theory implicit in these ancient accounts, and crucial for the Roman context, as we shall see, is that of the hierarchy of genres. This notion, later to become even more influential through its role in the formation of the literary canon,[17] goes back once again to the *Poetics*, where the three main genres discussed (epic, tragedy and comedy) appear to be ranked according to three criteria (*Poetics* Ch.4.1448bff.): length, metre and the dignity of the characters represented (a particular way of looking at content). Epic is the most prestigious genre because of its length, its 'heavy' hexameter metre (see above), and the dignity of its characters; tragedy comes next, also describing dignified characters, but at lesser length and in a more conversational metre; and comedy comes last, with its treatment of lower characters. This kind of thinking clearly underlies the language of the passages of Horace and Quintilian (above) in describing comedy 'rising' to the heights of tragedy, and the order in which both these authors in fact treat the genres (beginning with Homer and epic).[18]

Moreover, the whole poetic careers of both Vergil and Horace can plausibly be constructed as generic 'ascents': Vergil's ascent is within the hexameter genres, beginning with the slightest in Theocritean pastoral (*Eclogues*), passing through the middle stage of Hesiodic didactic epic (*Georgics*), and concluding in the highest form of Homeric heroic epic (*Aeneid*).[19] Some of this is clear from the end of the fourth *Georgic* (4.559–566), where the poet marks off the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* as 'early' works by pointedly echoing the opening line of the *Eclogues* in the very last line of the *Georgics* (G.4.566 ~ *Ecl*.1.1); the two are thus segmented together as a propaedeutic for the epic work which has been (obliquely) sketched in the proem to the third *Georgic*, a passage which clearly uses the language of poetic ascent in envisaging the move into encomiastic epic. Horace, for his part, begins with satiric *sermo*, represented as not even poetry, passes through the transitional stage of iambus in the *Epodes*, a lowly first-person form, and rises to the loftier tones of lyric in the first three books of *Odes*.[20] This hierarchy comes out clearly in statements in the *Epistles*, which look back on the 'completed' Horatian poetic career: *Ep*.1.19 omits the *Satires* but claims originality in the *Epodes* and *Odes* (in that order: 1.19.23–4 *Parios ego primus iambos/ostendi Latio*, 32–3 *hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus/vulgavi fidicen*), while *Ep*.2.2 cites the three main Horatian genres, claiming that each finds its own enthusiasts, but in fact preserving generic hierarchy in

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**17** Cf. Zetzel 1980, Fowler 1982, 212–34.

**18** Cf. Fowler 1982, 219–21.

**19** Cf. Farrell 2002 and Hardie and Moore 2010.

**20** See Harrison 2010.

inverse order, with *sermo* as the climax since it is the form in which he is actually writing these lines (2.2.58–60): 'Then, not everyone admires or likes the same works: you rejoice in lyric, another delights in iambic, yet another in the *sermones* in the style of Bion and their dark biting humour'.

Thus the conception of genre available in the Roman period was clearly Aristotelian, and was especially concerned with the appropriateness of subject-matter to metrical and literary form and with the demarcation and relative hierarchy of the individual genres. Poets clearly played with these expectations, which formed a clear basis for the strategies of generic mixture and interaction.

# Modern genre theory and the interpenetration of generic boundaries

The development of literary theory on genre has shown considerable interest in the general idea of generic interaction. In recent times there is perhaps some sense that traditional boundaries between genres, the demarcations which go back ultimately to the Aristotelian model outlined above, have in some sense finally broken down or are the objects of continual interpenetration, that we are at the end of coherent generic history. This view is buttressed by the tendency of modern literary texts themselves to break down and subvert generic boundaries; hence the deconstructive inclination of much (post-) modern critical discourse to liberate texts from the hermeneutic restraints of classification. In its most extreme form, this can extend as far as Derrida's claim that generic systems are in effect meaningless in the analysis of modern literature,[21] and the kindred notion that an individual text is a unique artefact which resists any significant kind of generic classification (implicit in much New Criticism) in fact goes back to Croce's view that genres are purely nominal labels which make no meaningful statements about the character of individual works of literature, since 'every true work of art has violated some established kind and upset the ideas of the critics'.[22]

On this key issue of the importance of genre for interpretation, I would agree with Jonathan Culler that genre classification is vital for meaning in providing 'a set of literary norms to which texts may be related and by virtue of which they become meaningful and coherent',[23] and of E.D. Hirsch that it is generic bounda-

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[21] Derrida 1980/1992.

[22] Croce 1922, 37, and Duff 2000, 25–8; cf. further Croce 1922, 436–449.

[23] Culler 1975, 145.

ries which in fact make the critical reading of a work possible by providing a matrix against which to set an interpretation.[24] At least in a Roman context, a generic label is usually informative and applicable to a literary work and helps to generate part of its interpretation, by creating generic norms and expectations on the reader's part: to cite the most recent and most helpful book on Graeco-Roman genre, 'genre in antiquity is a matter of authorial positioning and readerly conditioning with regard to a coherent tradition'.[25]

As we shall see, modern genre theory offers a number of interesting views of the ways in which literary genres interact and develop to creative and enriching effect.[26] It also offers encouraging support for those who want to argue for the importance of this phenomenon in Greek and Latin literature, since some of the most effective contributions to the modern theory of generic interaction actually treat distinctly pre-modern texts from the medieval and Renaissance periods,[27] showing that the tendency to innovate and enrich by breaking or compromising generic boundaries goes back a long way. As this shows, the two concepts of generic interaction and generic enrichment development are crucially interconnected. It can indeed be argued that any significant literary work adds to or enriches the present and future possibilities of its own literary category: as Alastair Fowler puts it, 'to have any artistic significance, to mean anything distinctive in a literary way, a work must modulate or vary or depart from its generic conventions and consequently alter them for the future'.[28] Within the Aristotelian literary universe of the first century BC, as we shall see, the primary form of such departure from convention is generic interaction, confrontation with and incorporation of 'guest' elements which are then absorbed into the 'host' genre; this is a vital source of creative expansion of literary genre.

One key idea which has been raised in theories of generic development is that of generic evolution. The nineteenth-century work of Brunetière sought to trace the development of literary genres as (essentially) a process of Darwinian natural selection, with genres coming into being, modifying through interbreeding, and passing away according to the needs and requirements of differing cultural circumstances.[29] This positivistic, biological model was a primary target for the opposition to genre as a 'pseudo-concept' famously advanced by Croce, but

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**24** Hirsch 1967, 68 – 126.
**25** Depew and Obbink 2000, 2 – 3.
**26** For overviews of genre theory see e.g. Duff 2000.
**27** E.g. Jauss 1982, 76 – 109, Colie 1973.
**28** Fowler 1982, 23.
**29** Brunetière 1890.

also (as Barchiesi has recently stressed)[30] provided the intellectual underlay for the classical work of Wilhelm Kroll in the celebrated chapter 'Die Kreuzung der Gattungen' ('The Crossing of Genres') in his *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*.[31] For Kroll, as for Brunetière, the potential problem of generic exhaustion is obviated by a continuing renewal of literary genres though a process of cross-fertilisation which creates new hybrids. This idea has been more recently picked up by Ralph Cohen, who has argued that literary genres are basically collocations of various features that shift in relative importance as literary purposes alter over time;[32] both see the development of literary genre as comprising rearrangement within existing generic systems. A different view of evolutionary generic development was highlighted in turn by the Russian formalists, who in the 1920's argued that literary genres were renewed not by cross-breeding or endogamic exchange within the existing generic system, but by exogamy, by the inclusion of themes previously deemed to be non-literary, the 'minor branches' of the textual 'family': the 'new blood' of marginal and subliterary material was infused into obsolescent traditional genres, thus revivifying them for a new generation.[33]

All these views have as their common feature the notion that generic structures develop and evolve creatively in response to a range of literary stimuli. Creativity must be in some sense the product of authorial activity, but many find it an easier task to attempt the reconstruction of the cultural horizons of the collective model readership[34] of a classical text than of the mental processes of its single historical author. Here a central role is played by reader-response theory, with its notions of the reader's 'horizon of expectation' or 'repertoire', what structuralist theory has called 'literary competence',[35] the knowledge which a model reader needs to bring to a text in order to achieve a full or effective interpretation. The perception of genre in a newly experienced literary work, and of its variation or evolution, depends to a large extent on readerly repertoire and expectation, and is built up through the reception of a succession of related texts: as Jauss has put it, 'the relationship between the new text and the series of texts formative of a genre presents itself as a process of the continual founding and altering of horizons. The new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon

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**30** Barchiesi 2001.
**31** Kroll 1924, 202–224.
**32** Cohen 1987.
**33** See Duff 2000, 6–8 and 29–49.
**34** I.e. the readership constructed or imagined by the text in its original context: cf. e. g. Conte 1986, 30.
**35** Culler 1975, 113–30.

of expectation and 'rules of the game', familiar to him from earlier texts, which as such can then be varied, extended, corrected, but also transformed, crossed out, or simply reproduced'.[36] This naturally entails that genres will develop and enrich themselves over time and lead eventually to changed horizons and expectations: as Ruurd Nauta has put it in his discussion of Jauss from a classical perspective, 'a genre changes over time: a literary work is always received within existing generic expectations, but the reception of this work also always changes these generic expectations'.[37]

This historical aspect of reader-response theory is entailed by its focus on the particular reader, or reading/interpretive community,[38] in the construction of meaning. It seems especially useful for dealing with texts more than two millennia old and with issues of literary history. If we can reconstruct enough of the cultural horizons and expectations of a particularly situated group of readers, we can begin to analyse what might then have been perceived as generic evolution and change. Of course, our own responses and repertoires as twenty-first century readers are also inevitably involved here, and it is impossible to claim that any reconstruction of the cultural horizons of an original, implied readership of an ancient text is a purely historical or scientific enquiry independent of our own contemporary concerns, or indeed that it is the only route to seeking its interpretation; but in what follows an implied original readership, reconstructed through a range of evidence on Roman literature and culture, will be the primary point of reference.

Finally, I turn to the mechanics of generic interaction and the issue of how it be identified in texts by readers, ancient or modern. One useful distinction here is that between genre and mode. In his chapter on 'Mode and Subgenre',[39] Alastair Fowler argues that 'mode' can usefully be employed for the situation where a text which belongs fundamentally to one genre includes a limited number of elements from another genre, the situation which in fact pertains in almost all the examples discussed in this book. Genres, or 'kinds' as Fowler also calls them, show a more or less complete range of the appropriate generic repertoire; modes, argues Fowler, 'have always an incomplete repertoire, a selection only of the corresponding kind's features, and one from which overall external structure is absent'. While genres can be described by nouns ('tragedy'), modes can be described by adjectives ('tragic'). Much the same idea is argued by Hans-Robert

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**36** Jauss 1982, 88.

**37** Nauta 1990, 119 [my translation].

**38** On reading / interpretive communities see Fish 1980; for their role in the contemporary interpretation of classical literature see Harrison 2001, 11–12.

**39** Fowler 1982, 106–129.

Jauss in his distinction between 'a generic structure in an independent or consti-tuitive function, and one in a dependent or accompanying function':[40] the first is the dominant element which sets the specific generic framework, while the second varies and broadens that framework. Both these formulations refer to what one might call the evocation in a 'receiving' genre, which constitutes the domi-nant generic framework of a text, of another 'visiting' genre, an evocation ach-ieved by using enough of the features of the 'other' generic repertoire to achieve readerly recognition that another genre is in play. In this sense the dominating genre of the text is the 'host' which entertains the subordinate genre as a 'guest'. The 'guest' genre can be higher or lower than the 'host' in the conven-tional generic hierarchy (e.g. tragic elements in lyric or epigrammatic elements in epic), but the 'host' in all cases retains its dominant and determining role, though the 'guest' enriches and enlarges its 'host' genre for now and for the fu-ture.

Francis Cairns' important work on what can now safely be called 'genres of content'[41] (general rhetorical types applied to poetry rather than conventional la-bels of literary kinds) offers the useful concept of 'inclusion' here.[42] He points to many examples of ancient poems where more than one genre of content (*pro-pemptikon*, etc.) can be identified, where 'material from different genres can be found within the boundaries of single poems which are not epics or dramas'.[43] This he calls 'inclusion', and can cover examples of the same genre as well as of different genres. In my 2007 book I should have acknowledged that Cairns' inclusion provides an analogous framework for my 'generic enrichment', since both can cover the use of a 'guest' genre within a 'host' genre which retains its predominant generic identity.

A key aspect of generic interaction as perceived by modern readers of Roman literature is the way in which generic issues are thematised in the texts and themselves become the subject of poetic discourse. A major contribution has been made here by Gian Biagio Conte, whose analyses of scenes of metageneric confrontation and debate have been deservedly influential.[44] A good example is his analysis of Vergil's tenth *Eclogue*, arguing that the evocation of love-elegy in this pastoral poem is not simply an example of Krollian generic fusion, but en-ables a confrontation and exploration of the two distinct literary kinds and their boundaries: 'the sense of the tenth *Eclogue* is actually founded on a display of

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**40** Jauss 1982, 81.
**41** For this expression see Cairns 1992, 65.
**42** See Cairns 1972, 158–76.
**43** Cairns 1972, 158.
**44** See especially Conte 1986.

the difference between these two genres'.[45] But I would go further than Conte here: the separation of the two genres cannot ultimately be maintained, and there are clear textual signals that some sort of generic mixture is at issue here.[46] Conte's analysis is crucial, however, in identifying intergeneric confrontation and tension as the source of the poem's literary energy: 'the confrontation between two adjacent genres makes their relationship come to life, rescuing both from the conventionally static nature of literary institutions'.[47] I would add that this clearly expresses the ambivalence between the entertainment of a 'guest' form and the resulting expansion of the 'host' form, my notion of generic enrichment; love-elegy is indeed not pastoral (and the love-poet Gallus thus symbolically renounces his supposed ambitions for the pastoral life by returning to it), but the pastoral book of the *Eclogues*, at its climactic point of closure, is expanded and indelibly enriched by imported elegiac material.

Thus generic interaction is a key critical term in the analysis of Roman literature, and can be a creative tool in both the creation and the reception of Roman literary works.

## The papers in this volume

These papers confront a wide range of issues concerning the dynamic interactions of genre in Latin literature, and also the larger question of generic definition itself in the classical world. On the level of theory and general definition, Gregory Hutchinson argues that we should use the model of 'super-genres' on the basis of metrical identity (hexameter, elegiacs, lyric, dramatic forms), large sets with interacting sub-sets such as didactic and oracle in hexameter and New and Old Comedy in drama, while Ahuvia Kahane proposes a model for genre drawn from the natural sciences and evolutionary biology, in which we can find material and chronological continuities on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a creative discontinuous potential. A further pair of papers looks at the possibilities of creating new genres under the Roman Empire: Carole Newlands asks whether poems of architectural ekphrasis such as those of Statius *Silvae* can be counted as a new poetic kind, combining encomium with elements of private life, while Therese Fuhrer considers similarly whether Christian literary works from late antiquity that seem to be experimenting with new forms (pas-

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**45** Conte 1986, 126.
**46** See further Harrison 2007, 59–74.
**47** Conte 1986, 128.

sion literature, hagiographical literature, Prudentius' corpus of poems, Bible poetry, sermons, Bible commentaries, Augustine's *Confessions* or the *City of God*), concluding that their common focus on a new base text, the Bible, must mean that they break the boundaries of the old genre system.

On particular genres, one substantial group of papers looks at the flexibility of the hexameter form at Rome in its epic and didactic kinds. Katharina Volk argues that that Cicero's much-maligned poem about his consulship was a highly original work that challenged the boundaries of the epic genre, incorporating elements of political autobiography and didactic poetry and raising interesting questions about poetic voice and persona, while Robert Cowan points to echoes in Lucretius of the quintessentially tragic theme of the Thyestean feast, rejected as unreal, a form of 'anti-allusion' to tragedy which seems to be more widely spread in the *De Rerum Natura*. Andrew Zissos considers the interaction of epic with prose in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, arguing for a link between Lucan's obsessive reflexivity and his poetic 'response' to Caesar's *commentarii*, treating the latter as a provisional and transient literary form whose purpose was to give rise to texts in loftier genres (such as epic). Moving on to the Flavian period, Marco Fantuzzi considers the influence of Ovid's elegiac *apostrophai* to Achilles in cross-dress at Scyros (*Ars am.* 1.681–704) on hexameter in Statius' *Achilleid* 1.619–639 (Achilles' dialogue with himself in the night he rapes Deidameia) and 1.514–535 (*apostrophai* to Thetis and Achilles by Calchas, who is asked by the Greeks at Aulis to divine where Achilles is hidden), while Stephen Hinds looks at the late antique epic of Claudian's *De Raptu* as a form of the genre determined not only by centuries of poetic tradition but also by the peculiar pressures and circumstances of his own end-of-fourth-century life and times. Finally, Philip Hardie takes us to the Renaissance and examines generic polyphony in Renaissance Neolatin epic, with special reference to the incorporation of pastoral in Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis*, and to an Alcaic psalm-paraphrase in Abraham Cowley's Latin epic *Davideis*.

Another hexameter genre, pastoral, is the topic of three further papers. Theodore Papanghelis points to the importance of the fiction of orality in Vergil's *Eclogues* for matters of generic identity and demarcation, especially in the dialogue of elegy and pastoral at *Ecl.* 10.52–4. Eleni Peraki-Kyriakidou scrutinises the close of *Eclogue* 4, arguing that at both the opening and the close of the poem the poet tries to keep his work within the frame of bucolic poetry, especially Theocritean poetry, while at the same time accommodating traditional pastoral to the new cultural environment in Rome, while Evangelos Karakasis reads the third *Eclogue* of Calpurnius Siculus as a characteristic instance of 'generic interaction' between pastoral and elegy, through the systematic imitation of Vergilian

pastoral passages marked by clear elegiac qualities; he also points to some features linked with comedy here.

In treatments of a further range of Latin poetic genres, Stavros Frangoulidis discusses how in the opening scenes of *Curculio*, Plautus draws on paraclausithyron (a form of lyric song), but alters all of its key features, making it so fully integrated within the host genre that it subverts expectations. Two papers look at satire, famously claimed by Quintilian as a Roman invention: Frances Muecke combines discussion of why satire seems more problematic generically than other Roman literary genres with a particular issue of literary history, satire's original relationship with Roman comedy, while Kirk Freudenburg considers the ancient division of satire into its two main types, the formal verse satire of Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, and the 'mixed' variety of Ennius, Pacuvius and Varro, and their flexible interactions in the extant remains of Varro's Menippean satires and Horace's second book of *Sermones*. In a pair of papers on elegy, Richard Hunter examines the engagement of Latin poets with archaic Greek elegy, both as a stage in literary history, represented for us best in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and as material to be reworked in their own poems, focussing especially on Mimnermus (popularised for Rome by Callimachus), while Stratis Kyriakidis considers Ovid *Tristia* 1.7 in detailed structural and generic terms, showing how its elegiac diction is related to the epic of the *Metamorphoses*. Finally in this section, Stephen Harrison looks at the impact of two didactic poems, one a generation old (the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius) and one very recently published (the *Georgics* of Vergil), on the second book of Horace's *Odes* in the 20 s BCE.

Prose genres should not be forgotten in this context, either, and these are addressed in a further group of papers. Roy Gibson examines the 'generic mobility' of the ancient *epistula* and in particular the tendency of ancient letter collections to be transformed into works of history and autobiography through chronological ordering, perceived by moderns as a distinctive generic marker in these genres. Christina Kraus explores the separation of *historia* from other prose genres, especially oratory, and the various subgenres which *historia* itself comprises, showing how a given historiographical work either claims or resists generic identities, with Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.24–25 as a demonstration text. Rhiannon Ash considers the idea that Tacitus frequently endows his Tiberius with the distinctive voice of the Roman satirist, as well as himself serving as a satirical target for other characters in the narrative: a reading of *Annals* 3.53–4 offers a fruitful example of this fusion of the genres of satire and historiography. Finally, David Konstan considers how the *Historia Apollonii*'s theme of sexual desire on the part of an older man for a younger woman, contrasting with the reciprocated youthful love-pairs of the Greek novels, may derive from Greek New Comedy and in particular from Diphilus.

Thus these papers cover an impressive range in both chronology (Plautus to Cowley) and literary kind (epic to comedy) in Roman literature, and provide a series of studies and explorations of the ways in which different literary genres can interact, and of the more general frameworks within which we should consider such interactions.

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# General

Gregory Hutchinson
# Genre and Super-Genre[*]

**Abstract:** Besides crossing and enrichment, the internal productivity of genres needs more exploration. Our model should be large sets—here 'super-genres'—with numerous interacting subsets. This enables us to use what are clearly significant entities in ancient generic conceptions: hexameters, elegiacs, lyric. The super-genre of hexameters (not 'epic') has subsets or genres which include didactic poetry and oracle, both important e. g. for the narrative hexameter poetry of Lucan. The subsets of elegiacs include epigram and elegiac inscriptions. For Horace's lyric poetry post-Pindaric lyric is important. Drama seems a necessary super-genre, though less prominent in ancient discussion; the subset of comedy itself has the subsets of Old and New Comedy. Plautus causes these to interact; his exploitation of Aristophanes is made probable by detailed connections. The conception of super-genres helps us to think further about genre.

**Keywords:** Super-genres, oracles, inscriptions, Lucan, Virgil, Horace, Plautus

## I General

This piece is a 'Short Ride in a Fast Machine'. Not, like John Adams's work, a fanfare for orchestra; more a quiet coda to approaches which emphasize crossing and enrichment. It suggests that, in addition to those rewarding approaches, we could gain more from considering a different sort of generic interplay. In this conception, hexameter poetry, say, or elegiacs provide a large entity within the boundaries of which many subsets exist and interact. Whether we call the large entities 'genres' or 'super-genres' does not greatly matter. 'Super-genre' is chosen here: firstly, it strains usage to think of, say, didactic, hexameter satire, and oracle as all the same genre; secondly, this designation for the more inclusive category helps to remind us that the less inclusive category—the subsets or 'genres'—can be richer in connotations and more important. Recent discussion of metaethics is suggestive here: some talk of 'thick' concepts like 'tactfulness'

or 'lewdness' as opposed to more general 'thin' concepts like 'rightness' or 'badness', and stress their significance.[1]

Whatever we call them, there is no doubt that super-genres form some kind of entity in ancient conceptions—apart from drama, to which we shall return. So the *Ars* of Dionysius Thrax supposes there is a proper way to read each type aloud: τὰ ... ἐλεγεῖα λιγυρῶς, τὸ δὲ ἔπος εὐτόνως, τὴν δὲ λυρικὴν ποίησιν ἐμμελῶς (2 p. 6 Uhlig). Callimachus' last *Iambus* presents a metrical division of poetry: τίς εἶπεν ... 'σὺ πεντάμετρα [i.e. elegiacs] συντίθει, σὺ δ' ἡ[ρῶιο]ν ... '; (fr. 203.30–31 Pfeiffer). Aristotle, in advancing his extreme view that metre does not matter, supplies evidence for the usual view: πλὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποί γε, συνάπτοντες τῶι μέτρωι τὸ ποιεῖν, ἐλεγοποιοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐχ ὡς κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν ποιητὰς ἀλλὰ κοινῆι κατὰ τὸ μέτρον προσαγορεύοντες (*Poet.* 1447b13–16). There is much more evidence; we shall see some as we proceed. Since the notion holds such a strong place in ancient ideas, we should see where it leads us, even if the interaction of subsets seems less exciting than the transgression of boundaries. Is there any real difference, though (it may be asked), or are we just dealing in pointless abstractions? This sort of interaction within a super-genre differs tangibly from other interaction: the large conceptual and metrical cohesion makes the interactions more intimate, and allows them to present things which this poet could go on to do, or which this poem could become now. And they are not less interesting than other types in a more general way: the very cohesion directs precise attention to more narratological or philosophical distinctions between the subsets. But let us explore.[2]

## II Hexameters

Our first super-genre is hexameters. It may be thought that there is nothing novel here. Has it not become common to speak of 'didactic epic'? Such use of 'epic', however, is not ideal if we are thinking of the super-genre. It would stretch things to call oracle or satire 'epic'; and even the term 'didactic epic' makes us concen-

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**1** So McNaughton and Rawling 2000; cf. Dancy 2004, 84 f. The present piece skims over so much territory that only brief bibliographical hints are offered, mostly recent.
**2** D. T. 2 is usually assumed to be genuine, since S. E. *Math.* 1.57 and 250 refer to 1; 1 appears in PSI I 18 (5th cent. AD; Cribiore 1996, no. 405), with the heading (?) περὶ γραμματικῆς, preceded by part of 'Supplement' III on metre. Later Doxapatres on Aphthonius, ii.197 Walz (11th cent. AD), refers to 2. Dionysius worked in the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC. Iambic in particular is omitted from what follows, in view of Cavarzere, Barchiesi, Aloni 2001 and Rotstein 2010.

trate on features from narrative hexameter poetry in didactic hexameter poetry rather than the reverse. We should allow that the fame of Homer can affect the terminology of hexameter poetry in general; but references to 'the heroic metre' are often fossilized. Thus Gel. 4.17.3 refers casually to the requirements of the *uersus heroicus* in Lucilius (XV 4 Charpin); by contrast, Servius indicates that the *Georgics*, written in the middle style, are not a *heroum* **carmen** (*G.* 1.391).[3]

The cohesion of the super-genre is in any case clear. Thus when Manilius sets out his tradition in the prologue to Book 2, he includes Homer, Hesiod, Aratus (unnamed), and Theocritus. Quintilian's presentation is similarly broad: *Inst*. 10.1.46–56 Homer, Hesiod, Antimachus, Panyassis, Apollonius, Aratus, Theocritus (*admirabilis in suo genere*), Pisander, Nicander, Euphorion (D. H. *Imit.* fr. VI.II (Epit.) p. 204 UR gives Homer, Hesiod, Antimachus, Panyassis); 85–92 Virgil, Macer, Lucretius, Varro Atax, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Cornelius Severus, Serranus, Valerius Flaccus, Saleius Bassus, Rabirius, Albinovanus Pedo, Domitian. He separates satire, perhaps for rhetorical reasons (two sentences on elegiacs come between; Greek tragedy is put between Old and New Comedy, 10.1.65–72). Nicander refers to Hesiod at the beginning of the *Theriaca* (10–12); at the end he calls himself Ὁμηρείοιο … Νικάνδροιο (957). When Statius declines to write in hexameters on Lucan because *hexametros meos timui* (*Silv.* 2 *pr.*), he is presenting *Silvae*, *Thebaid*, and *Bellum Ciuile* as part of one entity.[4]

The Greek tradition had been multiple. The eighth and seventh centuries saw much invention—or the rising of hexameter genres to prominence. There was a tradition both old and extensive only, it seems, for poems like the *Iliad*; there is little sign of a comparable but distinct tradition for hymns. It appears to be relatively recent contact with Near Eastern poetry that gives rise to Hesiod's expanded list-poems. The Delphic oracle makes a leap in celebrity with the late eighth century: the sanctuary now shows dedications not just local but from

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**3** Cf. on styles his prologue to the *Eclogues*. ἡρωϊκῶν ϲτίχων already Plat. *Lg.* 12.958e9–959a1 (of inscribed hexameters); explanation from Homer's telling of heroes: D. T. *Suppl.* III p. 122.11–12 Uhlig, Ter. Maur. 1646–1648 *GLK* vi.374. A rapid and experimental sketch of Greek literature using 'hexameter', 'elegy', and other such large divisions: Hutchinson 2010; but I now prefer, as nouns for the super-genres, 'hexameters' and 'elegiacs'. 'Hexameter' could be defended by the use of the singular ἔποϲ or *epos* 'hexameter' to denote a poem in hexameters or hexameter poetry, a use connected with or suggested by that of ἴαμβοϲ or *iambus* (thus with Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.7.6 ἔποϲ (hexameter poem) cf. *Att.* 16.11.2 *iambus*); 'elegy' could be defended by the feminine ἐλεγεία or *elegia* (*Elegia*) instead of ἐλεγεῖα, ἔλεγοι, *elegi*. But the plurals so commonly employed confront us more effectively with less familiar ways of thought.

**4** I take him to mean that he feared to write in hexameters, though they were his metre (or super-genre). Cf. Morgan 2010, 103; Newlands 2011, 64.

all over Greece. Among later developments, the *œuvre* of Theocritus can be singled out: this hexametrist innovates and explores in the super-genre with remarkable range. Some of the innovations involve crossing with other super-genres, but internal interaction is important too, not least the interplay with Homer.[5]

The most daring Latin hexametrist is Lucan. The didactic element in his narrative poem is very considerable—as is the oracular. A long inset in direct speech (10.194–330) treats the source of the Nile. The passage is notably set against the martial theme of the main narrative: if I could see the source of the Nile, *bellum ciuile relinquam*, says Caesar (192); they were considering the matter *uelut in tuta securi pace* (331)—but meanwhile Pothinus was plotting. Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the foundation of didactic, is commonly considered *pacis opus*, by contrast with Homer (Man. 2.24 (*arma* even in *Odyssey* at line 6); *Certamen* 205, Vell.1.7.1). The episode on the snakes at 9.604–949 turns didactic into narrative. The digression there on Perseus (619–699) is introduced with such thoroughly didactic reflection (619–623) that it is made to resemble the mythical inset in a didactic poem (so Orpheus in the *Georgics*, Andromeda in Manilius). This happens although the digression derives from Apollonius and brings us into the world of more normal narrative hexameters, with fantastical happenings and physically intervening gods. We thus have an epicizing insertion into a didactic insertion into an abnormal epic.[6]

Virgil's *Eclogues* bubble with possibilities for hexameters beyond the genre from which the young hexametrist is beginning. The fourth *Eclogue* rises into the hexameter genre of oracle. It plays, among other things, with the song of the Parcae from Catullus' mini-epic; that song is itself a combination of oracle (64.326 *ueridicum oraclum*) and Theocritean song. Catullus and Lucretius should be seen in the *Eclogues* not just as recent Latin poets but as: some versions of

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**5** The narrative which forms the main part of the Homeric hymns does not have a different tradition from Homeric epic; it has little to connect it with such narrative as there is in the Rigveda. Cf. West 2007, 313–315.

**6** Housman's transposition of Man. 2.18 means that writing on the stars in particular is *pacis opus*; but his justification from 1.13, etc., is uncharacteristically weak. Manilius and Germanicus can write their poems because the *princeps* has brought peace; but that does not link peace with astronomy as such, or provide an explanation that embraces Hesiod. For Luc. 9.619–623 cf. Nic. *Ther.* 8–12; Man. 1.751–754; Tac. *Ger.* 9.1 (*nisi quod*); contrast Apollonius' straightforward introduction of the story at 4.1513. The claim of Schol. Luc. (Bern.) 9.701 that Lucan took the names of the snakes from Macer or the Marsi does not amount to evidence (cf. Hollis 2007, 108) that he used Macer rather than Nicander: we can see the names in Nicander too. But 9.711 *tractique uia fumante chelydri* does seem to show use of Macer, cf. *FRP* 57.2 †*terra*† [*tractus* Nisbet] *fumat* of the chelydrus; both Nicander and Macer would probably be present in the episode for the educated reader.

hexameters. The sixth *Eclogue* twists the Callimachean gesture into a new point as it renounces the most famous option for hexameters, martial epic, and asserts its pastoral genre. It then veers unpredictably, via post-Theocritean pastoral, into Hesiodic catalogue, Lucretian didactic, neoteric mini-epic, Gallus' version of Euphorion's hexameters. Wandering is the key verb in this dizzying poem (40, 52, 64; cf. 58). The play across super-genres happens chiefly in the last poem, which also reaches the summit of pastoral song in Pan's Arcadia; the book's own super-genre is a much more dominating concern of the *Eclogues*.[7]

At the core of the *Aeneid* come two insets: the speeches of Anchises in Elysium (6.724 – 751, 756 – 853). The first is didactic; its generality and scope, and its understanding of death, challenge the form and vision of the main poem. The second is a prophecy, which ends with very marked oracular language; its future narrative, and its catalogue form, contrast with and illuminate the work as a whole.[8]

At the core of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the whole edifice of narrative is exposed to explicit scrutiny as it is asked whether the gods can effect metamorpho-

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**7** For *Eclogue* 4 and Sibylline oracles, see Harrison 2007, 37 – 42; Lightfoot 2007, 118 n. 90, 192, 198 f., 235 – 237. The narrative Theocritus 24 is also important; cf. Bernsdorff 2011, which includes new work on the papyrus. Oracles are of course strongly connected with hexameters: cf. e. g. S. *Ph.* 839 – 842. Lucretius' assertion that he will produce *fata* in a more certain fashion than the Delphic oracle (5.110 – 112) is a point within the super-genre; the metrical kinship plays at least some part in 1.736 – 739 (principally Empedocles, but also his inferiors). There is much play with oracles in Latin hexameters; note Cowan 2011. Lucr. 1.737 *ex adyto ... cordis* joins with Luc. 9.565 *effudit dignas adytis e pectore uoces*; Cato's speech in the poem replaces an oracle from Jupiter Ammon. Luc. 5.64 – 236 makes elaborate play with the Delphic oracle; though the oracle has long been silent, its utterances now are evidently conceived of as in verse (cf. 92, 105, 136 – 138). For Silenus in *Eclogue* 6, cf. P. Vindob. Rainer 29801 (3rd/4th cent. AD), with Bernsdorff (1999). *transtulit in sermonem Latinum* (Serv. *Ecl.* 6.72; 10.1 = *FRP* 139 (*a*)) sounds like a literal assertion that Gallus translated Euphorion, unlike *Aen.* 4.1 *inde totus hic liber translatus est*, cf. *G.* 3.293 *hic autem locus totus de Lucretio translatus est*, Serv. Dan. *Aen.* 1.198 *et totus hic locus de Naeuii belli Punici libro* (<*primo*>?) *translatus est*, Macr. *Sat.* 6.2.31. In that case, the metre of the original would be expected; see Hollis (2007, 230 – 231) for Euphorion writing only hexameters. Parth. ΕΠ *pr.* εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν is unlikely to have been said in this context if Gallus never composed hexameters (cf. μάλιστα σοὶ δοκῶν ἁρμόττειν).

**8** For Lucretian language in the first speech cf. Norden (1976, 309 f.), and add e. g. for 6.728 *uitaeque uolantum* Lucr. 2.1083 *corpora cuncta uolantum*. In the second, 759 *expediam dictis* probably evokes Lucretius, cf. 5.113 (and 2.66); but note also *Aen.* 3.378 (Helenus' prophecy). For 6.851 – 853 cf. Phleg. *FGrHist* 257 F 36.216 – 217 ἴσχεο νῦν, Ῥωμαῖε ... μή σοι ἐφορμήσηι Παλλὰς πολὺ φέρτερον Ἄρη, 37.133 – 134 μεμνῆcθαι, Ῥωμαῖε, καὶ εἰ μάλα λήσει ἑαυτόν, | μεμνῆcθαι τάδε πάντα ... , Liv. 5.16.9 (Delphi) *Romane ... memor ...* , and *Aen.* 7.126 *memento* (prophecy from Anchises). Book 6 as a whole described as the 'heart' or 'central piece' of the *Aeneid:* Hardie 1998, 53; Kyriakidis 1998, 42.

sis (8.614–619). The somewhat doubtful proof is furnished by a close adaptation of Callimachus' mini-epic in the episode of Baucis and Philemon (cf. e. g. 8.630 *parua quidem* with Call. *Hec.* fr. 26 Hollis ἐλαχὺν δόμον and *Dieg.* x.29 οἰκίδιον, and 644–645 *ramaliaque arida tecto | detulit* with Call. *Hec.* frs. 31–32 παλαίθετα κᾶλα καθήιρει; δανὰ ξύλα < … > κεάcαι). Small and enormous interact. The debate is continued through the episode of Mestra and Erysicthon, which combines Callimachean hymn and Hesiodic catalogue (fr. 43 (a).2–69 Merkelbach-West = 69.2–93 Most). The *Catalogue* is so reworked that metamorphosis springs from divine power; but the uniting of the hymn and catalogue means that divine power is affirmed as a truth about the universe, not as a ground to praise the single god of a hymn. In this environment, though, the truth within the narrative of the poem furthers outside it the game with the massive architecture of its fiction.[9]

# III Elegiacs

The Greek super-genre of elegiacs is bewilderingly diverse. One development may be noted here. In inscriptions elegiacs gain increasing predominance over the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and establish themselves as the usual form for inscribed poems. This convention, together with shortened versions of symposiastic elegy, leads at the end of the fourth century or beginning of the third to the new genre of epigram. A related development in inscriptions starts in Latin from the later second century BC onward: elegiacs become, with hexameters, one of the two standard metres for epigraphic poetry (early examples: *CIL* i².15 for Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus *pr.* 139 BC; 2662 on deed of 102 BC). Recent examples add to the evidence for elegiac inscriptions in the first century BC (*CIL* i².3449d and g, from Cartagena). A significant instance of such inscriptions is *CIL* i².1221, *c.* 80 BC (fig. 1). On this tombstone husband and wife stand in the centre; she holds his hand to kiss. Elegiacs spoken by the husband are placed beside him on the left, elegiacs spoken by the dead wife beside her on the right. One may contrast the monophonic genre of love-elegy.[10]

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**9** In [Hes.] fr. 43 (a).55–57 Merkelbach-West (= 69.79–81 Most) divine power overcomes the human shape-changer, καίπερ πολύιδριν ἐοῦcαν (cf. Hes. *Th.* 616 of Prometheus). *iuris* at Ov. *Met.* 8.739 is a significant word. But it looks as though Philodemus already ascribes Mestra's abilities to Poseidon ([Hes.] fr. 43 (c) Merkelbach-West = 71 Most, contrast (b) = 70). On the exploitation of hymns in the *Metamorphoses*, cf. Barchiesi 1999; Fuhrer 1999.
**10** *CIL* i².3449d comes from the later part of the 1st cent. BC; g has one extra hexameter, which disturbs the pattern of indentation. See also 1222–1223 (and 1217, set out as if elegiac); x.2971 is

Fig. 1: Tomb-relief, *c.* 80 BC, London, British Museum, Sculpture 2274; © Trustees of the British Museum

In his fourth book, Propertius engages extensively with inscribed poetry; that naturally includes inscribed elegiacs. The dialogue between texts on stone and papyrus continues in an elegantly carved Tiberian inscription, *CIL* vi.12652 (= *IGUR* 1250; fig. 2). Here the dead wife speaks in Greek elegiacs on the front; on the right-hand side, we have Latin elegiacs spoken by the wife and the passer-by, on the left, Latin elegiacs spoken by the husband and the wife. In these last, the husband is restrained from suicide by the wife. The different sides of the object give us different angles: the visual form is again imaginatively exploited. The elegiacs draw on book-poetry in language and conception. It would be artificial entirely to separate inscribed elegiac poetry of such quality from elegiac poetry circulating on papyrus: both are part of the same super-genre. This is the left-hand side, with / to mark the end of lines in the inscription:

> 'si pensare animas / sinerent crudelia fata,
>     et posset redimi morte / aliena salus, /
> quantulacumque meae / debentur tempora uitae /
>     pensassem pro te, cara / Homonoea, libens. /

probably from *c.* 50 BC. The date of i².1732 is now disputed. For another image of 1221 (fig. 1), see Degrassi 1963, 215.
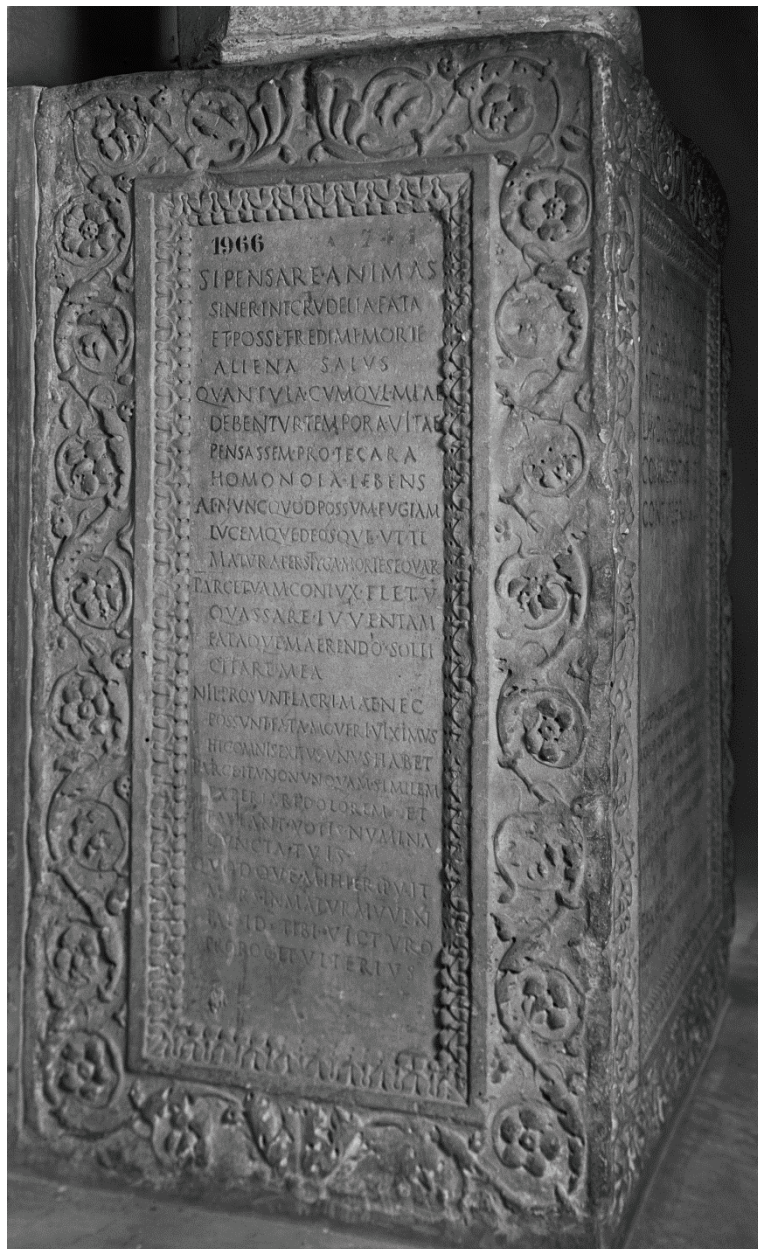
Fig. 2: Funerary altar, 1st cent. AD, Rome, Capitoline Museums inv. 1966; image D-DAI-ROM 57.1494, by permission of Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut

> at nunc, quod possum, fugiam / lucemque deosque
>     ut te / matura per Styga morte sequar.' /
> 'parce tuam, coniux, fletu / quassare iuuentam /
>     fataque maerendo solli/citare mea. /
> nil prosunt lacrimae nec / possunt fata moueri.
>     uiximus: / hic omnis exitus unus habet. /
> parce: ita non unquam similem / experiare dolorem
>     et / faueant uotis numina / cuncta tuis. /
> quodque mihi eripuit / mors immatura iuuen/tae,
>     id tibi uicturo / proroget ulterius.'[11]

The cohesion of the super-genre is seen in Catullus' elegiac book (as I think it to be). The book embraces in its two halves both epigram and longer poems in elegiacs. Callimachus, the highest-ranking Greek poet in each, appears at beginning and end (65.16 *carmina Battiadae*, i.e. poem 66, the translation of the last poem in the *Aetia*; 116.2 *carmina … Battiadae*). At 10.4.11–12 Martial tells Mamurra, who does not want to read the truth in Martial's all-too-real poems, to read Callimachus' *Aetia* instead. The injunction does not make adequately pointed sense unless both *Aetia* and epigrams are part of the same super-genre. There exists a complication, however, by the time of Martial: the combination of Catullus' two books has expanded the metres of epigram. Thus, though elegiacs are still much the commonest metre, epigram and elegiacs are now what mathematicians would call intersecting sets.[12]

To concentrate elegiacs on love is a striking move within the super-genre. The poets who make it are exploiting one aspect of Hellenistic elegiacs; each poet also breaks free of these self-imposed confines, most notably Propertius and Ovid. An analogy (not necessarily an inspiration) for this sort of generic move may be seen in Menander's treatment of comedy, especially as it is later

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**11** Particularly notable here are links with Ovid's exile poetry. Cf. e. g. with lines 7–8 above *Tr.* 3.3.51 (to wife) *parce tamen lacerare genas*, 3.11.32 *parce, precor, manes sollicitare meos*. On the inscription cf. Boschung 1987, no. 904; Hanink 2010, 24–25 with n. 44. *latere lapidis dextro* and *sinistro* seem to be put the wrong way round in *CIL* vi, if one is looking from the front, though the arrangement on the page is correct (one can see this from the photographs on Arachne: http://www.arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne; negatives Mal 167–07 and 08). For the exploitation of the sides, cf. e. g. *CIL* xiv.3565 = *Inscr. It.* iv.1².66 (mostly hendecasyllables). For Propertius and inscribed poetry, cf. Hutchinson 2006.

**12** The *Priapea* combine elegiacs, hendecasyllables, and choliambics, with a lower proportion of elegiacs than Martial. Mart. 6.65–66 illustrate the normal bounds by presenting a 32-line epigram in hexameters, followed by comments in elegiacs (6.65.1 '*Hexametris epigramma facis!*'; 4 *si breuiora probas, disticha sola legas*). On 10.4 cf. Hutchinson 1993, 23–24; Watson and Watson 2003, 96–99; Damschen and Heil 2004, 49–53; Hunter 2008a, i.543–545. For Catullus' books, cf. Hutchinson 2008, 109–130; Hutchinson 2012.
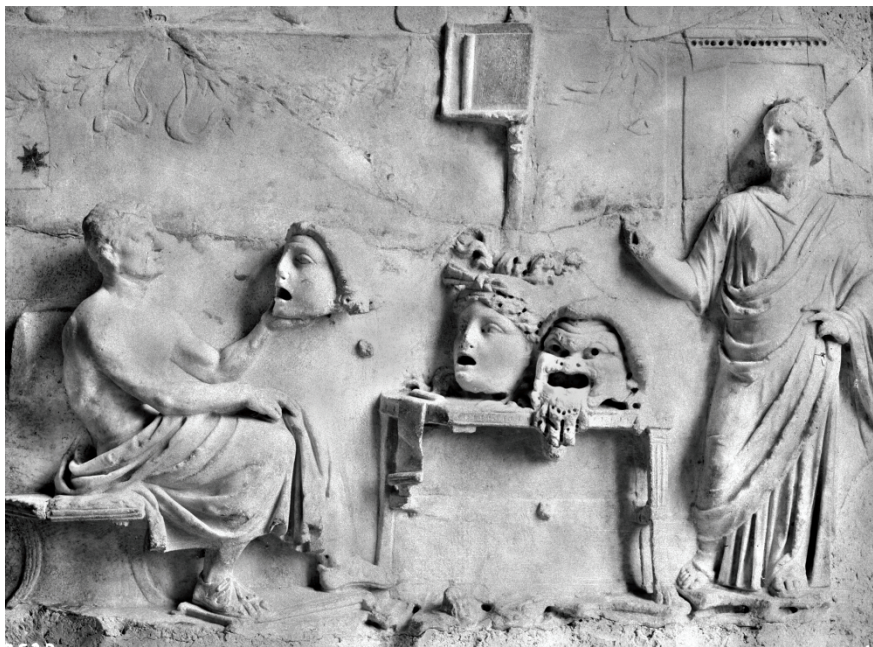
Fig. 3: Relief, AD 20 – 40?, Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9985; image D-DAI-ROM 7529, by permission of Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut

perceived and mythologized. Menander, the most gifted of the devisers of New Comedy, is thought to make his plays entirely about love (so Plut. fr. 134 Sandbach τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων ὁμαλῶς ἓν συνεκτικόν ἐστιν, ὁ ἔρως, οἷον πνεῦμα κοινὸν διαπεφυκώς. ὄντ' οὖν μάλιστα θιασώτην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὀργιαστὴν τὸν ἄνδρα συμπαραλαμβάνωμεν εἰς τὴν ζήτησιν). His plays are linked with his love-life (cf. Mart. 14.187; Alciphr. 4.2.5, 18.10, 19.20); a marble relief from Italy probably shows his mistress Glycera as his Muse (Vatican, Mus. Greg. Inv. 9985; AD 20 – 40?, original Late Hellenistic?; fig. 3).[13]

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**13** The female is taken simply as a Muse e. g. by Zanker 1995, 136; but Sinn 2006, 140 – 141 makes a strong case for Glycera as Muse. Both Comedy and Glycera appear with Menander on the mosaic from the House of Menander, Daphne (c. AD 250 – 275; Art Museum, Princeton 40.435; see Kondoleon 2000). On Thaïs, cf. Iversen 2011. For Plu. fr. 134 see Kassel-Austin on Menander T 107. On elegiacs and love, cf. Hutchinson 2006, 8 – 10; 2008, 102 – 103, 106; and note Plaut. *Merc.* 405 – 409 ... *impleantur elegeorum meae fores carbonibus.* For the particular case of Ovid's elegiac didactic, see Hutchinson 2008, 264 n. 8 and 2009, 210. Harrison 2002, 79 f. talks of elegy becoming a 'supergenre' when developed by Ovid (but not before).

# IV Lyric

Lyric poetry is an extremely diverse super-genre in Greek: diverse in dialect, metre, and mode of performance. However, it has some metrical cohesion: most lyric presents a combination of single-short and double-short movement within the same metrical unit. Horace undertakes the genre of Lesbian lyric. Yet he affects to wander accidentally into other genres, such as the Simonidean lament (*Carm.* 2.1.37 – 40). He claims that he will not attempt to imitate Pindar in his many genres; he is just a bee (4.2.25 – 32). But the bee is of course Pindaric (*P.* 10.53 – 54), and *Odes* 1.12 resoundingly opens with a rendition of Pindar's *Second Olympian*. Here it is to appear for a teasing moment that he may be evoking the single-short metre of the original: cf. 1.12.1 *Quēm uĭrum aūt hērŏă* with *O.* 2.2 τῐ́νᾰ θεὸ̄ν, τῐ́ν' ἥ̄ρωᾰ, with *heroa* and ἥρωα similarly placed; but naturally the metre emerges as sapphics.[14]

Horace's range within the super-genre extends even to post-canonic lyric. After Pindar, Greek lyric shows remarkable innovation with regard to what had been textually a defining feature: composition in stanzas. Timotheus and others break out in one direction, with vast astrophic structures, Callimachus and others in the opposite direction, with purely stichic poetry. The latter has its basis in some poems of Sappho and Alcaeus; it forms Theocritus' version of Lesbian lyric. In the first poem of his first lyric book, Horace makes as if to follow this stichic tradition, with a poem entirely in a single asclepiad line repeated. Asclepiad patterns are the favourite for high Hellenistic stichic and non-stichic lyric. But *Odes* 1.1 turns out to be in stanzas of four (or two?) lines; these will probably have been marked on the papyrus. The end of the poem stresses his ambition to write Lesbian lyric.[15]

No less intricate is the toying with post-classical lyric in the treatment of the bee. P. Tebt. I 1 and 2 (late 2nd cent. BC) offer a piece which describes bees in a country scene. The description is closer to Horace than other pictures of bees (cf. especially *laborem ... operosa ... carmina fingo* with ἐργατίδες ... ἔριθοι ... πηλουργοί [κηρ- Herwerden], and Horace's own country scene at Tibur). This

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**14** On the metre of *Olympian* 2 see Itsumi 2009, 154 – 168.
**15** 1.1 is in lesser asclepiads; the complications increase with 3.30 and 4.8. Hellenistic greater asclepiads: Theocritus 28 and 30 (25 and 32 lines), Call. *Epigr.* fr. 400 Pf. (2 lines extant); related extensions Call. fr. 229 – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –, Philicus *SH* 677; cf. also Simias' *Axe* and *Wings*. Lesbian greater asclepiads: Sapph. frr. 53 – 56, 57.3 Voigt (55 – 56: clearly in series of such lines); Alc. fr. 50 Voigt (presented on the papyrus in two-line stanzas), 340 – 349 (344 – 347 and 348: clearly in series of such lines). Lesbian lesser asclepiads: Alc. frs. 350 – 352 (350: clearly in series of these lines).

piece or others like it give the moment in Horace a touch of post-Pindaric lyric, and complicate with further play Horace's Pindaric separation of himself from Pindar. The connection with a relatively random find is notable; the other main piece on both papyri, a lyric lament by an amorous mythological heroine (Helen), has looser links with the parodic lament of Europa near the end of Book 3 (27.33 – 68).[16]

# V Drama

Drama is not so clearly seen as an entity as the other super-genres considered so far. Callimachus and Dionysius Thrax in the passages mentioned under I above make tragedy (and comedy) parallel to hexameters and elegiacs. Nor is drama exactly a metrical entity, despite all the metrical common ground between tragedy, satyr-play, and comedy. But particular plays are often referred to simply as δρᾶμα or *fabula*, and general points can be made on δράματα and *fabulae* too (e. g. Arist. *Poet*. 1448a28 – 29; Gel. 17.21.42). Herodas' dream seems to show his work as a mixture of Dionysus and Hipponax, that is, drama and choliambic (8.40, 67– 68). There is no doubt that tragedy and comedy are seen as forming a pair. The evidence is superabundant; but one could single out comedy's joking name for itself, τρυγῳδία (Ar. *Ach*. 499 – 500, etc.), and Plato's conception of life and τοῖς δράμασι as mingling tragedy and comedy (*Phlb*. 50b1– 4). Quintilian dwells on Menander's great debt to Euripides (*Inst*. 10.1.69 *hunc* [sc. Euripides] *et admiratus maxime est, ut saepe testatur, et secutus, quamquam in opere diuerso, Menander*; the separation of the genres is thus stressed). Plautus' comedy clearly has important connections with tragedy: so his *cantica* derive from, and sometimes recall, tragic song, and his *Amphitruo* calls itself a *tragicomoedia* (59, 63). Possibly we should talk of drama as a super-super-genre; but at any rate the cohesion is manifest.[17]

Since it is manifest, we can perhaps close with a much more speculative aspect; this aspect will at any rate serve to illustrate conceptually the frequent in-

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**16** Note 27.45 – 48. The two pieces are Lyr. Adesp. 6 and 7 Powell. Cf. further Pordomingo 1998; Hutchinson 2008, 11– 12. For the non-mythological lament *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* see Esposito 2005.

**17** On *Amphitruo*, see recently Christenson 2000, 50 – 55; Schmidt 2003; Hunter 2008*b*; De Melo 2011, 6 – 7.59 – 61 ... *faciam ut commixta sit; <sit > tragicomoedia. | nam me perpetuo facere ut sit comoedia, | reges quo ueniant et di, non par arbitror* ... could conceivably play with Call. fr. 1.3 – 4 Massimilla εἵνεκ⌋εν οὐχ ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκὲς ἢ βασιλη[η  ] ... ἤνυσα ... ; cf. (on Terence) Sharrock 2009, 79 – 83.

tricacy of the generic phenomenon: the interaction of subsets of a subset, of circles within a circle within a circle. The history of Greek drama shows the productivity of the super-genre. Tragedy emerges first into literary prominence, with its own humorous relief of satyr-play. Comedy so emerges later, at any rate in Athens (Sicilian comedy reaches prominence earlier than Attic). Comedy develops in its different periods, Old, Middle, and New. Old and New are certainly viewed later as if each were a sort of sub-genre. So Velleius says of Menander and his colleagues *nouam … inuenere* (1.16.3). The speculation pursued here will be to suggest that Plautus causes these sub-genres to interact, that he uses the Old to colour and modify the New.[18]

The period is full of obscurity; but we can at least preclude the objection that Plautus could not have had access to plays of, say, Aristophanes. Many texts of Athenian drama were read; Ennius could read the *Achilles* of the fifth-century Aristarchus of Tegea (2 Jocelyn, Plaut. *Poen.* 1–2). Old Comedy continued to be performed in South Italy after it had ceased to be written. Even in earlier times, it had not been difficult for vases from Athens to reach Central Italy in large numbers; if someone in third- and second-century Rome wanted rolls of an Athenian classic, no doubt they could be sent.[19]

Close textual connections can be found. The nature of the original for the *Persa* is disputed; but although the plot has a New Comedy shape, the treatment of the pretend Persian's name (700–705) has notable connections with the Pseudartabas of the *Acharnians*, both in his first name Vaniloquidorus, and in the financial bad news that peeps through his supposed Persian words (in the names *Argentumexterebronides | Quodsemelarripides Numquameripides* 703, 705, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 104 οὐ λῆψι χρυςό, χαυνόπρωκτ᾽ Ἰαοναῦ). It is still more striking for our purposes that the five or eight names in –*ides*, including names placed at the end of two or three lines, call to mind a passage later in the same play where Dicaeopolis like Vaniloquidorus is asked his name: Λαμ. ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ; | Δι. ὅςτις; πολίτης χρηςτός, οὐ ςπουδαρχίδης, | ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ὅτουπερ ὁ πόλεμος,

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**18** At Vell. 1.16.3 *neque imitandam reliquere*, *imitandam* means, in my opinion, 'not to be matched', cf. 1.5.2. Later we see Vergilius Romanus treating Old and New Comedy as sub-genres: he has already written examples of New Comedy, and *nunc primum se in uetere comoedia, sed non tamquam inciperet, ostendit* (Plin. *Ep.* 6.21.4–5; for composition, not translation, cf. *CIL* ix.1164.6–7 *Menandri paucas uorti scitas fabul[as | et ipsus etiam sedulo finxi nouas*). One can see similar exploration of comic sub-genres in, say, Alexis Solomos's *Κακοβελόνης ο Ισόθεος* (1943) and *Ο τελευταίος Ασπροκόρακας* (1944); see Solomos (1991). Aristophanes may well have had an impact on the former, in view of Solomos's preoccupation with that playwright.
**19** The import of Attic vases into Italy actually continues through the fourth century and beyond, despite changes in pottery and centres of production: cf. Kopcke 1964; Roos 2001, 130. On Old Comedy in fourth-century vase-painting at Tarentum and elsewhere see Taplin 1993.

στρατωνίδης· | σὺ δ’ ἐξ ὅτουπερ ὁ πόλεμος, μισθαρχίδης (594–597). The endings in -ίδης are not mere suffixes, but play with personal names, as is shown by the context and by the name Stratonides (e.g. *IG* ii².4373.4 (mid-4ᵗʰ cent. BC)); in any case, Plautus’ transformations of Old Comedy are wild and imaginative. His use of patronymic forms here could indeed draw on the usage of Old Comedy beyond the *Acharnians* (so Ar. *Ra.* 842–843 στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη | ... ῥακιοσυρραπτάδη |); what it would be hard to imagine is this sort of game with language in New Comedy.[20]

We know the original of the *Bacchides*, and even have a portion: Menander’s *Dis Exapaton*. Plautus infuses the New Comedy play with material derived from Old Comedy, especially the *Clouds*. So the passage on the deleterious new gods that dwell in the girls’ house shows various such links in a short space (*Bac.* 114–124). It is not just the new gods (cf. Ar. *Nu.* 247–274, 356–381, 423–424). Lines 121–124 *o Lyde, es barbarus; | quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem, | is stultior es barbaro poticio, | qui tantus natu deorum nescis nomina*, addressed to the old teacher, nicely adapt the amazement of Strepsiades that the young Pheidippides should believe in Zeus at his age. See Ar. *Nu.* 818–819 ἰδού γ’ ἰδοὺ Δί’ Ὀλύμπιον. τῆς μωρίας· | τὸν Δία νομίζειν ὄντα τηλικουτονί (i.e. he is already old enough to know better; cf. Σ 819b Holwerda (RVEM) ἀντὶ τοῦ τελείαν ἔχοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ὀφείλοντα πάντα εἰδέναι). The mention of Thales also connects with *Nu.* 180 τί δῆτ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θαλῆν θαυμάζομεν; Admittedly, Thales is so used elsewhere in both Aristophanes and Plautus (*Av.* 1009; *Capt.* 274–275, *Rud.* 1003); but it is somewhat less likely that he should appear in New Comedy, where no Presocratics are visible. Lydus’ account of education in the good old days (*Bac.* 419–434) resembles more broadly the account by the Κρείττων Λόγος (Ar. *Nu.* 961–999). The sexual rejuvenation of the old men at the end could bring other Aristophanic closes to mind; the image of them as shorn sheep (*attonsae*, *Bac.* 1125) and as rams (1148) may be a more specific, and zany, transformation of the reference at *Nu.* 1356–57 to a poem by Simonides in which a man called Κριός was fleeced.[21]

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**20** For *Per.* 705 cf. also *Poen.* 998–999, with Leo (1912, 137): ‘Poen. 994 sq. erinnert unverkennbar an den Pseudartabas der Acharner . . .’. P. Oxy. VI 856 (3ʳᵈ cent. AD) fr. (*a*) col. ii.56–58 gives ancient notes on Ar. *Ach.* 595–597, such as Plautus could also have used. For play on patronymic forms cf. also Aristophanes’ lost comedy Γηρυτάδης; Eup. fr. 248 KA; Adesp. 930 ἀρχογλυπτάδης (presumably Old Comedy; so too 437). Leo 1912, 137–140 presents other connections with Old Comedy, e.g. Plaut. *St.* 630 *nunc ego nolo ex Gelasimo mihi fieri te Catagelasimum* and Ar. *Ach.* 606 τοὺς δ’ ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κἀν Γέλαι κἀν Καταγέλαι. His explanation—that Plautus’ originals were borrowing from Old Comedy—often looks implausible, now that we know more of New Comedy.

**21** On the Simonides itself see Poltera 2008, 306–311.

This discussion of various super-genres may perhaps indicate the value of the conception, and make us think further about what the term 'genre' involves. But after so giddying a trip, it is time to descend from the machine.

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Ahuvia Kahane

# The (Dis)continuity of Genre: A Comment on the Romans and the Greeks

**Abstract:** This paper considers some aspects of generic literary practice in Rome in relation to its Greek precedents. The paper proposes a model, drawn from the natural sciences and evolutionary biology, for characterizing genre and generic development within literary traditions. The model highlights the possibility of coexisting material and chronological continuities on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a somewhat more disjointed or discontinuous potential. The paper offers the example of Livius Andronicus in an attempt to illustrate how the model might operate, with brief emphasis, here, on the notion of translation (*vertere/exprimere*). The paper further considers principles underlying continuity of development in other, distinctly Roman texts and contexts, including Cicero commenting on a translation in the Twelve Tables and Pliny writing on death masks and the representation of ancestry (the latter – a kind of material / visual 'translation'). The paper suggests that '(dis)continuity' is significantly marked even within these distinctly Roman examples, even as they contain stronger, seemingly 'mono-cultural' and 'mono-lingual' traditions (the Tables as the foundation of a Roman juridical experience; *imagines* as a material representation of genealogical continuity among Roman elites, etc.).

**Keywords:** genre, evolution, Homer, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, *vertere*, *imago*, Pliny, Twelve Tables, translation

## 1 Introduction

This paper begins by suggesting a model, drawn from the natural sciences and evolutionary biology, for characterizing genre and generic development. This model, I submit, can highlight the possibility of coexisting material and chronological continuities and a somewhat more disjointed or discontinuous potential within literary traditions. I will invoke the example of Livius Andronicus in an attempt to illustrate how the model might operate within a reading of Roman generic practice and some of its relations to Greece, with brief emphasis, here, on the notion of translation (*vertere/exprimere*). The idea of translation is of basic importance to the relation between the cultures and literary outputs of any two languages and those of Greece and Rome in particular, where it has received wide comment. The paper will follow its initial argument by briefly considering

principles underlying continuity of development in other, distinctly Roman contexts. I will consider the example of a comment by Cicero on a translation in the Twelve Tables, and, further afield, a comment by Pliny, concerning death masks and the representation of ancestry, which—inasmuch as the creation of an imprint is a kind of basic, material transfer or 'translation'–bear relevance for our question. I wish to suggest that (dis)continuity (as we might call it for brevity's sake) is significantly marked even within these distinctly Roman examples, indeed, even as they contain stronger 'mono-cultural' and 'mono-lingual' traditions (the Tables as the foundation of a Roman juridical experience; *imagines* as a material representation of genealogical continuity among Roman elites, etc.).

I should stress that what follows constitutes only brief preliminary reflections on the reading of prototypical forms and generic traditions. I make no attempt to shift the ground in heated debates, for example about the degree to which early Roman literature, is, or is not, Hellenized, or about perceptions of cultural superiority or inferiority or other 'anxieties of influence' in the context of the emergence and formation of Latin literature. I do, however, want to draw attention to the possibility of a 'third way' which, as I shall explain, may allow for the existence of both a heightened awareness of generic continuity and the absence of continuity in Roman contexts.[1] The point is that these can exist in a distinct, simultaneous manner rather than in either mutually exclusive or amalgamated options. Within the possibility of a third way lies the prospect— which may be attractive to some but perhaps disappointing to others—of sidestepping at least some of the divisive choices we are currently required to make when approaching the question of Roman genre.[2]

## 2 A Parable from the Natural Sciences

Drawing on scientific discourse in discussions of culture, literature and literary genre is a long established tradition.[3] In the *Poetics*, for example, Aristotle famously invokes the notion of the magnitude of natural organisms in relation to the observer in developing a phenomenology of poetry in general and of

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**1** Beyond the scientific argument which is offered here lie wider, more-recent discussions, for example in so-called 'post-continental' philosophy (see, e.g., Mullarkey 2006). These later discussions are important, but lie outside the scope of our essay.
**2** For comments and further references on genre in ancient literature and in Rome, see recently Farrell 2005. For the term 'literature' and important caveats, see Feeney (2005, 228) and Goldberg (2005, 41) (following Foucault 1970, 299–300, etc.). For genre more generally, see below, n. 7.
**3** See Moretti 2007 for overviews in literary contexts.

the form of tragedy in particular.[4] Aristotle and various later authors likewise grasp historical development in terms of organic, often teleological processes of incremental change, for instance, in the case of tragic poetry, as it rises from the dithyramb, evolves into a chorus and a single actor, and eventually into its three-actor form. In this essay, I nevertheless wish to invoke somewhat different views of nature, ones that place greater emphasis on discontinuous contingency.

My case from science relies on the following, greatly condensed example: Living organisms are the result of evolutionary change. Thus, the morphology of the African dung beetle, for instance, has evolved considerably in the course of time. The insect we are familiar with resembles a mass of dung. This resemblance gives the beetle, in Darwinian terms, a certain survival advantage. Of course, to understand the history of the species, we need to examine the insect's earlier forms and the manner in which these fit into earlier environments. We also need to understand how the beetle's present form, its functions and advantages, relate to its ancestral origins. Herein lies a problem, which I shall, a little apologetically, rephrase, in the provocative, but exact words of the eminent palaeontologist and evolutionary biologist Stephen J. Gould: '... can there be any edge,' asks Gould as he considers the dung beetle's evolution, 'in looking 5 per cent like a turd?'[5] The question is rhetorical and the point is very serious indeed. Gould's argument is that at the '5 per cent' evolutionary stage there was, in fact, no 'mass of dung'. The organism will have interacted with its environment in a different way. At this early stage of evolution it may have looked to its predators like a leaf, a clod of earth, or a poisonous fruit. At, say, the 6 per cent level, the organism's nature or function or 'meaning' may have been different again. It will have interacted with its environment, not as a slightly-changed leaf or clod of earth, but as something else. It may have blended in with the texture or colour of rotting vegetation underfoot. The rule, Gould suggests, is that small-scale changes in morphology can coincide with relatively far-reaching changes to function and meaning.[6] We are, in other words, dealing with two different,

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**4** Janko (1987, 89) on Aristotle, *Poetics* 50b37: '"magnitude": As at 49a19, this has the positive connotations of "grandeur". Thus at *Politics* VII 1326a25 ff. The finest city is the most populous that is not too large to be managed. In the case of animals the right size is relative to the ideal observer. So too for plots—one must be able to take it in as a whole. Memory in the case of plot corresponds to the observation in the analogy from biology.'

**5** Gould 1977, 104.

**6** This forms part of the argument against so-called 'phyletic gradualism' which states that evolution generally occurs uniformly and by the steady and gradual transformation of whole lineages (anagenesis). See Eldredge and Gould 1972.

but overlapping, modalities, or types of development within the same object. These modalities are diametrically opposite to each other, yet they are synchronous and compatible. The first is a gradual, incremental evolutionary process wherein changes are small and characterized by continuity. The second is a series of discontinuous functions and mutations characterized by abrupt, contingent change.

# 3 Parable and Literary Genre

This model can, it seems to me, be useful when considering literary organisms, too. In literary history, as in biological history, we are, on the one hand, dealing with elements of a tradition in which we can identify continuous, incremental changes and the evolution of a kind of cultural DNA. Greek hexameters and Roman hexameters, for instance, both have six beats. Yet, on the other hand, even within the most tightly defined literary traditions we often also find works which can only be understood in terms of radical innovation that would make no sense except in a contingent, specific social context. Many literary histories present the relations between tradition and innovation as a kind of amalgam, as a mix in different proportions of different characteristics and cultures. The Gouldian model suggests another possibility. We can, for example, speak of intertextuality or indeed of allusion in a manner that allows for contact and continuity of form, yet does not necessarily imply or require a continuity of thought or function. This, we should note, is a slightly different view of intertextuality or allusion from the one originally proposed by Kristeva on the one hand or Gentili on the other, and which has had extensive influence in the field of classics and on the study, specifically, of Roman poetry. 'Gouldian' intertexts or allusions can demonstrate close affinity and can incorporate the intention of authors to mark such affinity or the perceptions of readers or audiences that identify affinity, yet keep the function or meaning of each reference within its own domain and in this sense far apart, perhaps even totally separate. The result, again, can be a diametrically polarized yet co-existent state of both tradition and innovation. This idea meshes with some existing notions of genre, but can provide more significant explanations in specific problem areas. For instance, the idea of incremental morphological development can accommodate formal conceptions of genre while usefully sidestepping the difficulty, in formal approaches, of accounting for differences in function. Our model may likewise suit 'Crocean' approaches which stress the unique character of every literary work in context, while nevertheless theorizing those elements of continuity without which we would be forced to describe literature as a universe of monads.

Continuous morphological changes in an evolutionary model work well with generic ideas based, for example, on (Wittgensteinian) 'family resemblance,' or, from another perspective, with notions of 'model criticism' ('model' here being used to describe a single source rather than a structured sequence or a rule) in antiquity. The idea of morphological continuity in the model can accommodate essentialist approaches to literary form that insist on the independent external reality of a text (an ontological 'essence,' e. g., the hexameter as an objective rhythmical characteristic independent of interpreters and interpretation), while allowing these to co-exist with what are often incompatible intentionalist approaches and, particularly, hermeneutic or phenomenological approaches, as well as arguments about the social construction of perspectives, values and objects. Considered within a performance approach to genre, an evolutionary model can provide a theoretical underpinning to the primacy of performance contexts. From a different angle, Kroll's influential idea of a *Kreuzung der Gattungen* can be re-described as a 'crossing' of morphological families or generic sets of attributes while, since, according to the model, every function is unique to its context, the idea of a generic set of functions, whether belonging to one genre or to two or more, can be left essentially un-determined, and thus receptive to specific contingent contexts.[7] In any case, we need to stress a point well-elaborated elsewhere, that, looking at literary histories, we must not conflate retrospective after-the-fact patterns with a generic capacity to determine future form or function.

## 4 Livius Andronicus' *Odusia*

Our subject, of course, is not genre in general, but Roman genre in particular, and its unique relation to the Greeks. As Denis Feeney, for example, says, 'It is worth reminding ourselves that, on the available evidence, no society in the ancient world other than the Romans took over the prototypical forms of the institution of Greek literature as the basis for a corresponding institution in their own vernacular.'[8] Consider, then, the case of epic and the much discussed exam-

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**7** The literature on genre, pointed and general, practical and theoretical, is vast. In the context of antiquity, basic bibliographies can be found in Laird (2006, 474–475) and Rosenmayer (2006, 437–439). Kroll (1924), Cairns (1972), Russell (1981), Gentili (1988), Conte (1994), Barchiesi (2004), Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) are a few of the many influential works. More generally, see recently Duff 2000. Moretti (2007) is useful. Herandi (1972) is older but serviceable.
**8** Feeney 2005, 230, also citing also Fantham (1989, 220) and comments by Don Fowler in the unpublished *Unrolling the Text*.

ple of Livius Andronicus' *Odusia* and Homer's *Odyssey*. The *Odusia* is a good point of departure because it stands (almost) at the beginning of many historical narratives of Latin literature, because, *pace* satire, epic is the emblematic genre of Rome, and because epic in Rome especially bears out the capacity of genre to perform more than one function at a time. As Sander Goldberg says:[9]

> ...even when the practice of epic was at its lowest ebb, the *idea* of epic never lost its status. It was always the most prestigious, however under-achieving, poetic genre of Roman antiquity and by a kind of scholarly metonymy became the very symbol of literature itself [emphasis in the original].

Andronicus is a clear example of this principle, inasmuch as his *Odusia* is later famously brushed aside, for example by Cicero as 'quaint' (*Brutus* 71.12, *opus aliquod Daedali*), or by Horace, who complains about the rough movement of Saturnian verse (Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.157–8, *horridus ille // defluxit numerus Saturnius*) and the tedium of having to read Andronicus (*Odes* 2.1.71–73, cf. also *Epist.* 2.3.141–42), by the way Ennius reverts to the Muses in *Annles* 1, and so on.[10] Being 'first' in a manner that conflates chronological precedence and qualitative priority is an important characteristic of Greek epic and of Homer as its avatar. Ignoring this 'generic' epic conflation, as was the case among some of Andronicus' important Roman readers (he was considered 'first' but not 'best'), without damage to the Roman idea of epic (the 'best' Roman epic is not 'first') is in itself good indication that Roman genre, at least in relation to the Greek model, can be characterized by something other than coherence. We can here already see that the otherwise undisputed *idea* of the Romans following or taking over prototypical forms of the institutions of Greek literature does not necessarily bind us to any particular set of values or interpretive practice.[11]

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**9** Goldberg 2005, 22.

**10** *Epist.* 2.3.141–142 are a revised translation of Homer's *Odyssey* 1–2, which, e.g., Sciarrino (2006, 456) describes as 'a corrective commentary on Livius's translation.'

**11** If the idea of following Greek epic values had been required, Andronicus' scanty remains and name could probably have been elided from the tradition, perhaps in the same way that Homer's predecessors, of which there certainly were many, were elided from the history of Greek epic. Broadly speaking this may suggest siding with e.g. Feeney (2005) against, e.g. Rüpke, Suerbaum, and Habinek in their several ways, and against the argument of a movement in Rome from orality and *carmina convivialia* to script. It is unimportant for the purposes of this essay to decide what precisely was the form of Greek epic verse before Homer (see differing views and approaches, e.g. in Hoekstra [1981]; West [1988]; Nagy [1997], etc. – the debate is wide and open).

The *Odusia* is, of course, a translation of Homer's *Odyssey*. Furthermore, as Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter suggest, '"[t]ranslation" and its discontents had been a (perhaps *the*) central theme of the Roman engagement with Greek literature from the very beginning.'[12] In other words, translation can be regarded as a key trope of Roman literary history and of Roman genre, too. Because of its explicit, close contact with a source text and its special idea of equivalence, translation is seen to embody (rightly or wrongly, both in practice and in theory) a continuity which resonates particularly well with the idea of an evolutionary transfer of 'poetic DNA' from one literary organism to another.[13]

Here, then, is the *Odusia*'s famous first line:[14]

Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum

Tell me, Camena, of the clever man

which corresponds, of course, to the first line of Homer's *Odyssey*:

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον ὃς μάλα πολλὰ

Tell me, Muse, of the man of many ways who greatly...

The key is Andronicus' translation of πολύτροπος as *versutus*. Stephen Hinds suggests that Odysseus is here[15]

characterized by the "turn" which he has undergone from the Greek language into Latin. *Vertere* is the technical term *par excellence* for "translation" in early Latin literature (as in *Plautus vortit barbare*); and here in this programmatically loaded context our poet introduces a Ulysses whom the very linguistic switch to which he owes his textual existence has been made part of his proverbial versatility, has been troped into his *polytropía*.

There is an unambiguous referential link between the Greek and the Latin: both πολύτροπος and *versutus* denote the poem's eponymous hero who has wandered far and who has many ways of thinking and speaking. Andronicus knew his Homer, like any other literate Greek. Yet, as we know, the practice of translation, especially the translation of canonical work as opposed to ad hoc texts, is largely

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**12** Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 467.

**13** Many modern theories of translation, for example those influenced by Walter Benjamin's work, disagree in various ways. For readings see Venutti 2000. Overviews in Steiner (1992), Barnstone (1993), Ballard (1995), etc.

**14** For the text see recently Kruschwitz 2008. Bibliography in Flores 2011, 49–66.

**15** Hinds 1998, 61–62.

alien to Greek culture.[16] Greek literature, including the poetry of Homer, did not emerge out of thin air. Some of its sources can be traced outside the Greek tradition (for example, in early Indo-European, Near-Eastern and Semitic traditions). But the pre-Christian Greek literary tradition did not acknowledge the literatures of other languages, and certainly not in the way that Roman literature looked back to the Greek canon. No Greek in the classical or Hellenistic period ever thought of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, the work of the tragedians, the orators, the lyric poets, etc., as 'intertexts' of non-Greek works or in terms of allusion to non-Greek texts, let alone as texts that are wholly or partially translated. A prominent exception which proves the rule is the Septuagint, which was and remained separate from the canon of pre-Christian Greek literature.[17] In performative terms, that is with regard to Andronicus' (or the text's) act of translation *qua* speech act, the *Odusia*'s Ulysses has not at all been 'troped' (as Hinds suggests) into the plurality of polytropy. The translation, as an act, constitutes, in performative terms, a radical break with Greek tradition rather than any act of evolutionary continuity.[18] *Vertere* as an index of the act of translation is here better viewed as a complete, almost solipsistic 'turnaround' or change of one function, Greek, into a different one, Roman, which leaves the past interlocutor silent in all ways except the nominal.[19] Indeed, the closer we look at the Latin translation and the Greek original, especially if we take into consideration formulaic style, whether in the context of non-literate cultures or (once Homer is scripted and the monumental *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are canonized) as 'repetition,' the more we realize that Andronicus' translation is alien to Homer – regardless of our views concerning preceding 'oral' traditions in Rome. There is, for example, no evidence of early Roman formulaic style comparable to that of the systematic discursive structure of early Greek epic or its preceding Greek lyric forms. Formulaic style, we must stress, is not an external ornament, nor a merely 'formal' or 'aesthetic' characteristic – it is the verbal affect of an inherent performative tradition that nevertheless remains long after the contingent performative conditions that created or required it have disappeared. Thus, to take one specific if very prominent example, the *Odyssey's* first word, *andra,* as has often been

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**16** See Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 471.

**17** For the Septuagint see Rajak 2009.

**18** In other words, it is not a question of the level of sophistication we attribute to Andronicus (cf. Hinds 1998, 61, n. 18) nor a matter of authorial intention.

**19** Reconstituted phenomenologically and with due caution concerning reductive medial (e.g. 'oral' vs. 'written') approaches and ethical ('primitive' vs. 'cultivated' or 'advanced') judgements, Bowra's (1952) idea of 'primary' and 'secondary' epic here deserves reconsideration. See some discussion in Martin 2005.

pointed out, is part of a proemic Greek epic pattern that relies on verse-initial localization and other formal features. This pattern is inherent to the discursive style and poetics of Homer, to Homer's 'traditional referentiality' (as John Foley has called it), its embedded character as tradition, as a discourse of 'imperishable fame' and thus of both its thematic and performative values.[20] Formally speaking, *virum*, which just about fits in verse-initial position in Andronicus' Saturnians, is metrically unsuitable (*vi-* is short) for similar localization in the Latin hexameter and is to my knowledge never so positioned in any extant Latin hexameter or elegiac texts or fragments. Virgil's *arma virumque* is an ingenious solution to the technical problem of adapting a Greek metrical / lexical / semantic / poetic tradition involving 'the man' to the form of Latin hexameters which possessed no formulaic performative tradition comparable to the one found in Homer. The fact remains that at real, quintessential technical levels of language, Greek Homeric discourse is not simply difficult to translate into Latin but is untranslatable. While the Latin translation can be nominally associated with Homer's Greek, it can, in a deeper sense, only invoke a completely different set of linguistic functions. Any other assumption would, paradoxically, invalidate the need for 'translation.'

This relationship of (dis)continuity is plainly replicated in many other details in the texts of Andronicus and Homer. To briefly stress just two of the best known: Homer's original *polytropos* is a compound adjective whose *poly-* element is not matched by any *multi-* element in its Latin counterpart and likewise the Greek Muse is not matched by Camena. In the same way, Andronicus' choice of the Saturnian as the metre, even as it facilitates at least a superficial analogy with Homeric usage, actually emphasises the point of 'un-mediatable' difference. The nature and structure of the Saturnian is a matter of dispute. Already in antiquity its inner workings were something of a mystery. Yet it is generally agreed that the form was used largely in short texts, rather than in long, monumental compositions. The Saturnian's basic performative function and reference are thus alien to the function and reference of the Greek hexameter. The Greek form, although it too was sometimes associated with short texts such as oracles and funerary inscriptions, is, needless to say, the canonical vehicle of long, authoritative verse compositions. Furthermore, the magnitude of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whatever its narrative function, was a marked cultural symbol of the poems' canonical authority and an embodiment of their 'pan-Hellenic' aspira-

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**20** On Homer's proems see, e.g., Redfield 1979; Pucci 1982; Kahane 1994. For traditional preferentiality see Foley 1999.

tions.[21] The Saturnian's status was no match for the Greek hexameter, and later Romans, famously Horace, as we noted, held the Saturnian in low esteem (*Epist*. 2.1.156 – 9). More importantly, there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever regarded as a vehicle for 'pan-cultural' identity. Indeed, at least some scholars have argued for the Saturnian's links to native Italic and Latin traditions. Llewelyn Morgan has recently suggested that the form may manifest a resistance to the 'Hellenic' character as embodied in the hexameter.[22] The Saturnian may rely on stress patterns or on quantity, but already this lack of an unambiguous character represents a radical departure from the Greek hexameter, whose highly regulated and formalized quantitative character is, and always has been, clearly set out regardless of any issues of pitch accentuation. It is not clear that as an act of reference to *Odyssey* 1.1's – ◡ ◡ | – ◡ ◡ – ◡ | ◡ – ◡ ◡ | – ◡ ◡ – x, the Latin ◡ – ◡ – | ◡ – ◡ | – ◡ ◡ – – x (the quantitative representation of the metrics of Andronicus, fr. 1) would have invited substantive interaction. Andronicean audiences listening to his verse or reading the text will probably have acknowledged a nominal link to 'Homer's hexameter', but it is unlikely that the Homeric hexameter in any detail will have presented a meaningful substantive resonance in such encounters.[23] Summing up the force of the first line of the *Odusia*, Sander Goldberg's formulation may thus be closer to the truth:

> Andronicus shows at once his capacity for close but clever translation … *Small changes*, however, also *recast the original thought in distinctly Roman terms* [my emphasis].[24]

Goldberg, however, does not quite advocate a 'Gouldian' approach. We should therefore shift the emphasis and suggest that, while Andronicus' act of translation is in explicit contact with Greek culture, it represents a significant cultural break, and is in this sense an 'ancestor-less,' monophone rather than polyphonic Roman poem, a kind of 'ventriloquising' voice or, to change metaphors, a mere

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**21** For Homer and pan-Hellenism see Nagy 1979.

**22** See Cole 1969; Parsons 1999; Kruschwitz 2002; Morgan 2010.

**23** Farrell, pointing in part to Homeric scenes in early visual representations, suggests that Homer was not unknown in Italy. 'The idea that Livius Andronicus introduced Roman readers to Homer and so introduced Hellenic literary culture to Rome has come to seem hopelessly simplistic and badly in need of correction' (2005, 423). My point is certainly not that Homer was unknown, let alone that Andronicus did not know Homer, but that contact with Homer does not preclude an *Odusia* which is a radical break from Homeric poetry. The same symptom of a radical break can be found, for example, in modernity, in Ezra Pound's translation of the *Odyssey* in Canto 1 – see Kahane (1999) for a discussion.

**24** Goldberg 1995, 64. Cf. 1992, 22: 'small changes, suited to new surroundings.'

*imago* or nominal ghost of polytropy, rather than a truly intertextual work.[25] As Jörg Rüpke, Alessandro Barchiesi and many others have recently argued (in their very different ways), early Roman poets may not, in fact, have produced scripts that manipulated and translated Greek codes.[26] Their scripted Latin translations 'acquired cultural relevance [only] through acts of performance.'[27] Suetonius for example, in *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (1.2), notes that Livius Andronicus and others like him performed their Latin epic in both private and public settings, and, on the unenthusiastic evidence of Horace again (*Odes* 2.1.71–73, cf. also *Epist.* 2.3.141–42), we may perhaps surmise that they did so in pedagogical settings in a patron's house. Enrica Sciarinno suggests, perhaps rightly, that[28]

> when the poet recited from his epic script in his hands or performed this script from memory, he was not an impersonating actor interacting with other equally impersonating actors in a make-believe situation, he was an outsider who fulfilled the desires of cultural mastery felt by Roman insiders for the sake of social self-promotion.

Let me briefly add (this requires extended separate discussion) that everything we know about the performance of Homeric poetry in Greece (see, e.g. *Homeric Hymns* 3.149–50, 26.11–13; Hesiod fr. 357, cf. *FGrHist* 328 F 212; Dionysius Thrax 180.12–17; Plato, *Hipparchus* 228b; Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 102, etc.) suggests nothing of the kind.[29] Furthermore, 'Homeric' performance is not of uniform character. The self representation of bardic singing within Homer (the songs of the *aoidoi* Phemius and Demodocus) is not the same as the rhaphsodic performances, be they in the context of the Homeridae or of Plato's Ion, and those rhapsodic performances are very different from the performative act embodied in the Pisistratean recension, if it ever occurred, in the agglomeration which we sometimes call the Vulgate, or the editorial actions of the Alexanderian scholars Aristarchus, Zenodotus and Aristophanes and others, which are, in a broad sense, 'performative' too.

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**25** Ennius' *Annales* 322–3 (Skutch): *begins soce Musa manu Romanorum induperator//quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo* is a useful comparator. The Muse begins something which takes over 'Livius' distinctive verb *insece*' and corrects 'Camena to Musa', but also starts something completely new (see Hinds, 1998, 59). The term ventriloquism here can be compared conceptually to its use in, e.g., discussions of the exclusion of the female voice in Greek lyric poetry (see, e.g. Skinner 1993). For *imago*, see further below.

**26** Rüpke 2001; Barchiesi 2002; Sciarrino 2006, etc.

**27** Sciarrino 2006, 454.

**28** Sciarrino 2006, 457.

**29** For rhapsodic performance of Homer see West 2010.

# 5 Cicero, Solon, and translation of the law

It lies beyond the scope of this short essay to define the place of such (dis)continuity within the general character of Roman genre and its relation to the Greeks. I do, however, wish to follow up the argument about the possibility of a mechanism of (dis)continuity[30] by briefly presenting some evidence for similar generic practice within wider Roman contexts which may have particular significance.

In Latin, to 'translate' is *vertere, convertere, traducere* and so on. But, as Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter for instance note, at its 'most faithful,' at its least free from 'innovation,' the proper term is *exprimere*.[31] The primary sense of this verb concerns the application of pressure to an object or a substance. *Exprimere* thus embodies the idea of producing a close likeness or a copy of something, as in the process of *ex-pression* or rather the *im-pression* of a seal. In this sense, the idea is not literary or abstract, but material. This idea of matter, which seems to exclude the intervention of an interpreter or a 'mind', seems to safeguard the process of replication and representation from the corrupting influence of personal agendas. Not surprisingly, the act sometimes takes on legal tones. Contagion, the physical imprint of matter in matter, for example of the seal on the surface of the clay or wax, is meant to guarantee the integrity of the transfer and the authenticity of the resulting image.[32] Yet, paradoxically, precisely the thing that preserves the authenticity of the original can, once transferred into a new context, sometimes produce a separation from the original source. In *De Legibus* (2.64), for example, Cicero suggests that one of the laws of the Twelve Tables—one can hardly think of a more Roman setting or a setting with greater public/civic authority and legal import—prohibiting excessive worship of dead ancestors, was translated (*expressa*) directly from the Greek of Solon's laws:

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**30** See similar readings of (dis)continuity in Kahane (2010) on Homer and the Jews; 2003 on Cavafy, modern Greek experience and antiquity, and Kahane (1999) on modernist poetry, Pound and Homer. The argument, broadly speaking, is against models of cultural 'hybridity' and for models of distinct multi-cultural co-existence.

**31** Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 468.

**32** Cf. e. g., de Witt (1936, 505) still correctly: 'Every Roman gentleman carried a ring bearing a seal. To seal a letter he pressed the seal into the wax (*imprimo*); he then removed it (*exprimo*), leaving the impress of the device. Hence "express" means to copy, portray, as in Cicero, *Pro Milone* 10.6, *quam ... ex natura ipsa ... expressimus*, [a law] "which we have ... copied ... from nature herself." Here and elsewhere editors falsely interpret it as a metaphor from the wine-press.'

Postea qu<o>m, ut scribit Phalereus <Demetrius>, sumptuosa fieri funera et lamentabilia coepissent, Solonis lege sublata sunt, quam legem eisdem prope uerbis nostri decem uiri in decimam tabulam coniecerunt. Nam de tribus reciniis et pleraque illa Solonis sunt. De lamentis uero expressa uerbis sunt: 'Mulieres genas ne radunto neue lessum funeris ergo habento.'

Later, according to the man of Phalerum [Demetrius of Phaleron], when extravagance in expenditure and mourning grew, it was abolished by the law of Solon—a law which our decemvirs took over almost word for word [*quam legem eisdem prope verbis ... coniecerunt*] placed in the tenth Table. For what it contained about the three veils, and most of the rest, comes from Solon and in regard to mourning they have followed his wording exactly [*de lamentis vero expressa verbis sunt*]: 'Women shall not tear their cheeks or have a *lessum* at a funeral.'[33]

There is something both revealing and paradoxical about this context and the prohibition of excessive lament and attachment to the past which draws its authority from a venerated past source, which itself draws its authority from the word-for-word translation of a Greek 'ancestral' source. The important thing about the law, of course, is that a law is precisely the verbal instance of a general rule which is meant to resist corruption in individual contexts. In the context of law, the possibility of 'many ways' or 'tropes' for doing things is sometimes inevitable, but always to be guarded against. 'Polytropy' (to borrow the Odyssean word, as it is used by Hinds and others) is not an appropriate quality in the context of the law. In principle, law dictates that you do something in one way only. The translation of a law should preserve this principle. Officially at least, one does not want translations, or indeed laws, that have 'many ways' or that are, like Odysseus/Ulysses, famed for their trickery and wiles (cf. *Odyssey* 9.19– 20). It is not surprising that Cicero insists here that the decemvirs translated the law almost 'word for word.' Yet, apparently, in maintaining close contact with the original, in preserving it and transferring it into its new context, the original's meaning was lost and a gap opened up. We do not know the Greek of Solon's law or of Demetrius' version. More significantly, even the Latin of this law in the tenth Table was inscrutable: 'Women shall not tear their cheeks or have a *lessum* at a funeral.' This rare word (but cf. also *Tusc.* 2.55), presumably *lessus*, was, as Jonathan Powell states, as 'unintelligible' to Cicero as it is to us. He adds: 'We should bear in mind, that the text available to Cicero may also have contained corruptions of forms no longer understood.' The interpretation of 'lamentations,' Powell notes, seems likely. Nevertheless, 'Cicero quotes the spec-

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**33** Translation C. W. Keys (LCL).

ulations of Roman commentators who clearly know no more than we do (even the earliest of them, Sextus Aelius Paetus Catus, was stumped).'[34]

It seems, then, that close contact (just like in the process of stamping a seal), the juridical impression of continuity (as in *expressa*) in Cicero's comments on translation, is analogous to the morphological evolutionary (dis)continuity we find in the Gouldian model of genre and in Andronicus' translation of Homer. Cicero's 'faithful translation,' the true impression/expression, particularly as it is a legal matter that demands stability and resistance to change, this distinctly Roman law, is cut off, not only from any historical Solonian origin, but even from the Latin of the Tables which Cicero quotes (indeed, citation is an even closer mode of contact than translation). It is, we might almost say, a law onto itself.[35] Let us also note again that this particular law and Cicero's discussion concern a prohibition against lament which we could perhaps describe in more-abstract terms as a prohibition of excessive attachment to the dead and the past (by an author who commonly invokes the authority of the past[36]). What we are dealing with is not an adaptation, not a hybrid of Greece and Rome, not an amalgam or a transformative halfway point, not a mix of early Rome and Ciceronian interpretation, but rather a paradoxical Gouldian modality of close verbal (and metaphorically, material) contact and in this sense only a 'small' alteration, yet equally a very significant change in context and function.

# 6 *Imago*: material translations of the past

Cicero's aspiration to a faithful image of the past is often expressed elsewhere in his work, for example, in a literary-generic context, when he cites Ennius' epitaph in *Tusculans* (1.34):[37]

> Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam:
> Hic vestrum panxit maxuma facta patrum.

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**34** Powell 2005, 144 and n. 78.
**35** Compare contemporary philosophical/jurisprudential thought, beginning with Max Weber (who was trained in Roman jurisprudence and was, at the time of his Habilitation, designated as Theodor Mommsen's successor) and most prominent today in the work of Giorgio Agamben (on the law and on the concept of sovereignty, esp. in the context of Augustus, see Agamben 2005), exploring the paradoxical status of sovereign law as a concept which itself has no law.
**36** See, e. g., Duffalo 2007.
**37** Cf. Goldberg 2005, 46.

> Gaze, fellow citizens on aged Ennius form and face
> He set to verse your fathers' greatest deeds.[38]

Conventionally in the ancient world visualization is closely associated with clarity (*enargeia*), and it is certainly so for the Romans in the context of visual images of the past and images of the dead.[39] However, English translation here (as everywhere: *traduttore traditore*...) lets us down, since *imago* is not merely a 'face' but specifically a death mask.[40] The force of the epitaph and its claim to authority relies on the assumed fidelity of *imaginis formam* – whether literally, and associated with a portrait of Ennius which may have existed in the tomb of the Scipios or through an act of imagination (the creation of a mental *imago*): We are meant to be looking at the poet's face, extracted and recreated through a process of contagion with the face of the dead. The implication is that, just as the object of our gaze is the true face of Ennius, so his verses are a faithful representation of the greatest deeds of Rome's ancestors. Yet we have nothing of this faithful visual image, only the word *imago*. Ennius is unseen.

It is this unseen element, the element that breaks the sequence of an image, that I wish to stress in the second and final example in this essay. My example comprises an even more explicit illustration of the true force or character of 'continuity,' especially with regard to material copies of the past in Rome and thus, *a fortiori* with regard to less tangible sequences.

In book 35 of the *Historia Naturalis,* Pliny discusses the history of art, a useful general parallel to the history of literature, especially in antiquity, where visual art is often a paradigm (*ut pictura poiesis*...) of literature. In this part of the work (35.4), Pliny speaks about *imaginum picturae*, which is sometimes translated as the 'painting of portraits.' But, as both Roman cultural historians and general art historians agree, this is better translated as 'painted images or ancestral death-masks.'[41] These, Pliny says, are 'used to transmit through the ages extremely correct [*maxime similes*, i. e. most "faithful"] portraits of persons.' (35.4).

Discussing the relationship between past and present, between ancestors and descendants, Pliny complains that in his present day 'indolence has destroyed the arts,' yet (35.6):

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**38** Translation J. E. King (LCL).

**39** For *enargeia,* see, e. g. Vassaly 1993, Ch. 3.

**40** For death masks in Rome, see Flower 1996.

**41** See, for example, Harriet Flower (1996, 32–59) and Georges Didi-Huberman (1999, 79). For *imago* in literary contexts, see also Harrison 2003.

aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum arti-
ficum nec aera aut marmora: expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut es-
sent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera...

In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be
looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles [*non signa externorum ar-
tificum, nec aera aut marmora*], but wax models of faces [*expressi cera vultus*] were set out
each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses [*ut essent imagines*] to be carried in
procession at a funeral in the clan...[42]

These likenesses or *imagines* are faithful 'translations' of faces, moulded in wax,
whose fidelity is vouchsafed, as in the case of seals, 'juridically,' by the idea of
contagion and of a literal imprint of matter on matter. The act of material carry-
ing-over ('translation'), the genealogical, or morphological, or evolutionary
transfer from one instance of the form to another, is not mutable or *polytropic*.
It is as clearly defined as, for example, the law. Yet, as Harriet Flower stresses:[43]

The *imagines* were clearly designed for use by the *living members of the family*. They had *no
role to play in cult or commemoration of the dead at the tomb* [my emphasis].

The practice surrounding *imagines*, although these are faithful impressions of
ancestors, seems almost to follow the spirit of the injunction in the Twelve Tables
against excessive mourning for ancestors and worship of the past. Flower adds:

They [the *imagines*] *represented only family members who had held at least the office of the
aedile. Their function is, therefore, overtly political, and it is not related to beliefs about life
after death*. Their use by actors to impersonate the ancestors at family funerals served to
politicize such occasions [my emphasis].

*Imagines* are drawn from the model of Roman life: the face of the dead Roman
ancestor, indeed, not simply *qua* ancestor, but more specifically and exclusively
as an ancestor within the setting of Roman political life. One assumes that *imag-
ines* preserved the material contours of individual ancestral faces. That, indeed,
is the whole point of the waxen imprint and the object it creates. Yet, as Flower
demonstrates at length in her book, these are 'translations' that have little to do
with commemoration of the dead in Rome, let alone with Rome's more distant
cultural past or, for that matter, with Greece. We should add that, as Pliny
notes, these Roman *imagines* do not involve the work of any 'foreign artist' (*ex-
ternorum artificum*), which in this context can only mean 'Greek artists.' These, at

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**42** Translation H. Rackham (LCL).
**43** Flower 1996, 2.

least, a Roman might say (*pace* Quintilian), are *totae nostrae*. The *imagines* are completely in the possession of the first person, the self, the present.

The Gouldian modality of (dis)continuity in the context of the Latin *exprimere* can, we may add, be observed in the semantics of the word *imago* itself, as a translation from Greek, and indeed in the idea of *imagines mortuorum,* in which *imago* denotes both the ancestral death-mask, a public *eikôn*, a juridical object dependent on material fidelity, but equally the Greek *eidôlôn*, a private, ethereal image totally devoid of material substance.

# 7 Envoi. Discontinuity and discontent

We can now go back to Livius Andronicus 'translation' of Homer's *Odyssey* and to our comments on Roman genre and the Greeks. Andronicus' translation is an object of obvious continuity which is clearly cut off from its Greek model but which, furthermore, at least on the evidence of such readers as Horace and Cicero (this requires further discussion, of course), is equally cut off from the Latin epic poets that were to follow. As we noted, Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter have suggested that '"translation" and its discontents had been a (perhaps *the*) central theme of the Roman engagement with Greek literature from the very beginning.' They are right, of course, but we should stress the element of 'discontent' in their words. It is not merely an indication of opposing forces within historical sequences. It can perhaps be re-deployed in a slightly more technical sense, as a reference to the famous 'discontents' in *Civilization and Its Discontents,* the title by which Sigmund Freud's *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (1930) is known in English translation.[44] *Das Unbehagen* is a term which, in Freud, signifies both the generic conformity of the individual to the shared rules of civilization and his/her solipsistic, uncontrollable drives. It characterises a unique, irreplaceable essence in both persons and works of art. The move from *das Unbehagen* to 'discontents', like the move from *Kultur* to 'civilization,' from German to English (where the tensions between the two cultures are precisely the historical/political context to Freud's masterpiece in the years immediately preceding the War), involves both continuity and rupture, as many students of Freud and of modernity have shown. It is a move that, like modern evolutionary biology, is very far from classical antiquity, yet which can mark very precisely an essential,

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**44** Freud 1961. Richard Hunter and Marco Fantuzzi nevertheless inform me (personal communication) that there was no intentional reference to Freud in their expression.

paradoxical but possibly common quality of Roman genre and its relation to the Greeks.

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Carole Newlands
# Architectural Ecphrasis in Roman Poetry

**Abstract:** Any definition of ecphrasis should take into account an important sub-category, architectural ecphrasis, which is a feature of imperial panegyrical texts. A cultural shift in the first century CE from *negotium* to *otium*, from the public monument to the villa, fostered the development of a new form of encomiastic poetry, much of it celebrating private life. Architectural ecphrasis is a mainstay of Statius' *Siluae*; the 'occasional poem' emerges as a new literary genre of the first century CE.

> I then gathered for myself ... for each of the structures which I knew how to build, the finest timbers I could carry. . .Accordingly, I would advise everyone who is strong and has many wagons to direct his steps to that same forest where I cut these props, and to fetch more for himself and to load his wagons with well-cut staves, so that he may weave many elegant walls and put up many splendid houses and so build a fine homestead, and there may live pleasantly and in tranquility both in winter and summer. (King Alfred the Great (r. 871–99 CE), preface to his translation of *St. Augustine's Soliloquies*)[1]

Is ecphrasis a separate literary genre? The question invites a reevaluation of the place of ecphrasis in literary history and goes back at least to Lessing, who saw it as ornament, not a genre, following Quintilian (*Inst*. 8.61–71), who specifically classified it as a figure of speech (*Inst*. 9.40–4). For many critics who have attempted to breach the barrier that Lessing raised between the literary and visual arts, neither 'ornament', with its connotations of superfluity, nor 'genre', with its formalist connotations, has seemed appealing;[2] Heffernan, for instance, prefers to speak of ecphrasis as a 'mode', a rather vague and elastic literary term.[3] On the other hand Mitchell makes large claims for ecphrasis as a genre, claiming that it resists classification as ornament or even as a minor genre.[4] True, for

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**1** Cited from S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (1983) (transl.), *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, London, 138.
**2** On the gendered roots of the mistrust of 'ornament' see Scott 1991, esp. 305–8. On the limitations of a purely formalist approach to genre see Goldhill 2008, 185–90.
**3** Heffernan 1993, 1–7.
**4** Mitchell 1994, 151–81.

some critics of late, generic identification has not been terribly important; genres are perceived as either flexible or basically arbitrary modes of classification.[5]

The publication of Webb's 2009 book, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, has however revived the debate on genre. She argues that ecphrasis was not recognized as a separate genre in the ancient world; rather, ancient handbooks of rhetoric presented it as a technique of epideictic rhetoric which taught an emotional style of writing that would bring a scene vividly in front of the audience's eyes. In his review of Webb's book Goldhill argues that there is a major difference between theory and practice.[6] He queries the status and authority of these rhetorical handbooks for literary interpretation, seeing that the fullest handbooks date from the third to sixth centuries CE. How determinative can they be for a tradition that stretches from Homer? Moreover, he argues that, as it is used by those who work on visual culture today (whether classicists or modernists), ecphrasis refers to a set of texts which primarily describe works of art, and which are self-consciously linked within and across formal genres. In this modern sense ecphrasis 'does not indicate a technique but a set of texts linked by content, attitude, self-awareness, and approach'. Thus it should not be mistaken for the ancient term in its technical rhetorical definition. Goldhill sidesteps the issue of genre, suggesting that we think of ecphrasis as 'a set or a tradition (if not a fully fledged genre)'.

A fruitful approach to ecphrasis has recently been proposed by Squire who shifts the discussion away from Lessing's debate about aesthetic hierarchies to situate ecphrasis within a discourse of viewing. He argues that ecphrasis was a visual as well as a textual phenomenon; ancient readers would have contemplated the verbal evocation of a picture in parallel with a visual tradition of images; the relationship between the verbal and visual arts was not necessarily agonistic. According to this theory, Webb's emphasis on ecphrasis as a part of rhetoric is too narrow in that it does not take into account the visual sophistication of ancient writers and readers.[7] However, Squire too sidesteps the issue of genre by referring in the same sentence to ecphrasis as a literary 'genre' and as a 'topos'.[8]

One area of Webb's book where I think there can be general agreement, however, is in her demonstration that the ancients defined ecphrasis much more broadly than critics do now, when that term is generally restricted to verbal de-

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**5** Thus Scott (1991, 302) sequentially calls ecphrasis 'a trope', and 'a literary genre or topos'.
**6** Goldhill 2009.
**7** Squire (2009) thus counters, for instance, Heffernan's (1993) claim that what kept ecphrasis vital over the centuries is its 'paragonal energy' (6).
**8** Squire 2009, 144.

scriptions of works of art.[9] The ancient usage encompassed a wide range of themes such as people, landscapes, cities, battles. While I am not endorsing such an expansive view of ecphrasis as still useful today, I wish to argue for greater latitude in our use of that term, and, at the same time, greater specificity. Certainly, descriptions of works of art are an important feature of classical texts of all periods since Homer; as there is no separate ancient term for such descriptions, 'ecphrasis' in its modern, more restricted sense usefully recognises that they form a special category. Yet modern discussions tend to elide a significant, related but distinct sub-category of ecphrasis, namely architectural ecphrasis, or description of monuments and buildings. This is the topic of the present article, and I shall argue that any debate over the issue of genre should take this distinction into account. After discussing some key examples of architectural ecphrasis in Roman poetry, I will conclude by proposing that architectural ecphrasis is not a distinct genre but rather an important, formative constituent of a genre that emerges in the late first century in the *Siluae* of Statius, the 'occasional poem'.

Accounts of ecphrasis almost inevitably trace its literary origins from Homer's description of the shield of Achilles.[10] But Homer gives us two types of ecphrasis, that of the work of art and that of the building. Architectural ecphrasis has a separate literary genealogy derived from the house of Hephaestus in *Iliad* 18 (368–79) and the palace of Alcinoös in *Odyssey* 7 (78–132). This type of ecphrasis, too, has distinct properties: the typology established by Homer encompasses radiance, height, and expensive materials, as well as the dynamic movement of the body and the eye through three-dimensional space. Krieger claimed that the ideal goal of ecphrasis was to stop time; to freeze the narrative to allow for interpretation.[11] Because of the movement of the narrator/poet through physical space, architectural ecphrasis characteristically offers the possibility not only of different perspectives but also of different viewing places. These formal characteristics aside, architectural ecphrasis inevitably draws attention to its contemporary social, political, and cultural context. Implicit as early as Homer is an idea that is specific to architectural ecphrasis, namely the metonymic association between the building and personal identity. In Republican Rome, as Vasaly has shown, the representation of monuments was a major strategy in Cice-

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**9** Webb (2009, 31–8) draws attention to Spitzer's influential (1955) essay on Keats' 'Ode to a Grecian urn', which defined ecphrasis as an essentially poetic genre, divorced totally from the rhetorical form.

**10** Moreover, the crucial role of Hellenistic epigram is often overlooked, and ancient ecphrasis is treated as a purely epic phenomenon; e.g. Heffernan (1993, 9–34) segues directly from a discussion of the Homeric shield of Achilles to a discussion of Vergil's shield of Aeneas.

**11** Krieger (1967, 5), a view countered by Bartsch and Elsner 2007, i-ii.

ro's oratory that exploited the effect on an audience of a place and those asso-
ciated with it.[12] In the imperial period, architectural ecphrasis, as an expression
of the power and status of its owner or occupant, is often connected with pan-
egyric, with the poet in a particularly self-conscious role as the rhetorical 'archi-
tect'. The building and restoration of monuments became an important instru-
ment of imperial power, recorded for instance in Augustus' *Res Gestae* and the
*Monumentum Ancyrum* and in imperial biographies; architectural ecphrasis
could thus serve as a vivid means of glorifying an emperor through his monu-
ments, even as it remained a multivalent form.[13]

There is another important metonymic relationship between architecture
and literature, namely in rhetorical treatises architecture provided a metaphor
for memory.[14] For Quintilian, memory is the 'treasure house of eloquence' (*the-
saurus hic eloquentiae*, *Inst.* 11.2.1), an image that suggests the richness of the im-
ages stored within the mind; architectural ecphrasis trades in luxury. Further-
more, for the Romans architecture provided a structural analogy for language;
as Onians points out, Cicero refers for instance to the *structura verborum* (e. g.
*Brutus* 8.33) to describe the construction of sentences.[15] Indeed, as Onians ar-
gues, in ancient culture architecture acted as a fundamental metaphor for artic-
ulating thought. Thus for the Romans architecture provided a structural meta-
phor both for language and for the organization of social and political life
through the expression of status.[16] As a primary metaphor for social, moral,
and mental structures, architecture invited a multivalent textual and metaphor-
ical discourse. The metonymic relationship between the building, the owner, and
the 'architect poet' makes architectural ecphrasis an especially self-reflexive
form – one that is particularly responsive, moreover, to its sociopolitical context
and to cultural change. As Fowler remarks, 'the essence of the monument is par-
adoxically its lack of monumental stability.'[17]

In arguing for a definition of ecphrasis that includes architectural ecphrasis
as a special sub-category, I am aware that I am sidestepping for now the issue of
genre. Generic classification is highly political,[18] and to call ecphrasis 'a genre' is

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**12** Vasaly 1993.
**13** On the culmination of this panegyrical tradition in Procopius' *de Aedificiis* see Elsner 2007,
esp. 36–43.
**14** On the Roman sources for this metaphor see Yates 1966, chapter 1; Leach 1988, 73–8; Elsner
1995, 77–80.
**15** Onians 1992, 201; see also Elsner 1995, 78; Whitmarsh 2010, 345.
**16** Onians 1992, 201–3. Cf. too the fundamental work of Bachelard (1964), for whom the house is
a model both of the human psyche and of the cosmos.
**17** Fowler 2000*b*, 211; see also esp. 207–209.
**18** Goldhill 2008, 188.

to valorize its status as a significant literary form, not mere ornament or digression. Moreover, to impose boundaries on a complex, changeable form that traverses the boundaries both of the visual arts and of various literary genres may seem counter-intuitive. I will return to the question of genre at the end of the article. First I will look at two influential examples of architectural ecphrasis in Augustan poetry that lay the ground for a shift in focus in the later first century CE from the public to the private monument. My particular interest lies in descriptions of historical rather than imaginary buildings in Roman poetry, structures rooted in particular times and places.[19] My main examples will range across one century, Propertius' description of the temple of Apollo Palatine (2.31), Ovid's description of the temple of Mars Ultor (*Fast*. 5.559–68) and Statius' descriptions of Pollius' villa estate (*Siluae* 2.2. and 3.1).

Roman architectural ecphrasis is closely associated from its inception with epic. It seems likely that the first formal description of a historical building occurs in Naevius (*poet*. 19 Barchiesi):

> inerant signa expressa, quomodo Titani,
> bicorpores Gigantes magnique Atlantes,
> Runcus atque Purpureus filii Terras

> Figures were engraved there, how the Titans and the twin-bodied Giants and the great sons of Atlas, Runcus and Purpureus, sons of Earth.

This fragment of the *Bellum Punicum* has been identified as a description of the temple of Zeus at Agrigentum with sculptures of the Gigantomachy. Its function and context in the epic are conjectural, but Rowell has persuasively argued for considering the description not as mere ornament, but as serving in book 1 of Naevius' epic as a narrative flashback to early history; Diodorus 13.82 mentions that this temple was adorned with a Gigantomachy and a corresponding fall of Troy.[20] Short though the fragment is, it emphasises two frequent features of architectural ecphrasis, its manipulation of time, and its incorporation of descriptions of works of art, making it a kind of 'super-ecphrasis'. The temple of Juno at Carthage, witnessed by Aeneas on his arrival to the city (*A*. 1.446–97), serves as a fuller example, allowing for a moment of pause in the narrative for Aeneas and the reader to look back at the past through works of art. It also programmatically establishes architectural ecphrasis as an important feature of Vergil's epic, oc-

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**19** Hollander (1988) coins the term 'notional ecphrasis' for the description of imaginary buildings. But Mitchell (1994, 157, n.19) argues that every ecphrasis is in a sense 'notional' in that it seeks to produce a textualised image of a work of art.
**20** Rowell 1947, 32–41.

curring at significant structural and narrative points in the epic, for instance, the temple of Apollo at Cumae at the start of Book 6 (14–36), the first sight on Aeneas' arrival; the temple of Latinus, a symbol of Latin history and ideology, near the start of Book 7 (*A.* 7.152–93); a composite version of the temple of Apollo Palatine ends Book 8 (714–31). As Laird argues, ecphrasis in Vergil demonstrates a shift in the Roman tradition to a particular emphasis on viewing.[21] But while Virgil's descriptions of monumental buildings in the *Georgics* as well as the *Aeneid* often allude to contemporary monuments, the buildings nonetheless remain fictive and often composite constructs. Moreover, as Bleisch has argued with reference to the description of Latinus' palace (*A.* 7.152–93), Virgil incorporates elegiac modes within his epic framework to offer varied, even contradictory interpretations of the building; the generic tension reflects the uncertain status of the Latins as protoRomans, or the Italian resistance.[22]

Ovid's epic *Metamorphoses* also alludes to contemporary buildings; for instance the Palace of the Sun at the start of Book 2 evokes the Temple of Palatine Apollo (*Met.* 2.1–30), and, as Keith has shown, this is a very important model for later architectural ecphrasis.[23] But it is Augustan *elegy* that removes architectural ecphrasis from its traditional connection with epic and a narrative plot, and provides us with our only two detailed descriptions of important Augustan buildings, Propertius 2.31 on the temple of Apollo Palatine, and Ovid on the temple of Mars Ultor in *Fasti* Book 5. How then does elegy, that oppositional genre, approach ecphrasis?

Propertius' 2.31, devoted to an ecphrasis of Augustus' Temple of Apollo Palatine, is somewhat unexpected, for his poetry collection has been hitherto devoted to the vagaries of love, albeit, as Welch and others have pointed out, love experienced in the city of Rome where he was surrounded by public and private monuments.[24] Yet, in the manner of Roman triumphalist generals, the temple of Apollo Palatine was dedicated in honour of Octavian's victories.[25] What is a triumphal monument associated with war doing in a collection of elegiac poetry? As Miller concludes from his detailed analysis of the poem,[26] Prop-

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**21** Laird 1996, 79. He points out (99–100) that Vergil's ecphraseis are emphatically focalized through Aeneas, with the exception of Latinus' palace which is viewed by Aeneas' ambassadors (*A.* 7.170–91).

**22** Bleisch 2003. She notes (98) that *augustum* is used twice in this passage (7.153, 170) and only here in the *Aeneid*, thus facilitating a connection with Augustus' house on the Palatine.

**23** Keith 2007.

**24** Welch 2005, 4.

**25** Miller 2009, 20–3.

**26** Miller 2009, 196–206, with summation 205–206.

ertius 'pointedly expresses an elegiac perspective' towards the Augustan monument, as we see from the opening couplet (2.31.1–2):[27]

> quaeris, cur ueniam tibi tardior? aurea Phoebi
> porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit.

> You ask, why I come to you rather late? The golden porticus of Phoebus has been opened by mighty Caesar.

The poem opens with a question that misleadingly suggests that this will be another elegiac poem on the theme of jealousy, for Propertius is late in coming to (presumably) Cynthia (in the previous and following poems, 2.30 and 2.32, she is the addressee). In 2.29.31–8 and 1.3.35–46 she raked him over the coals for precisely this offence.[28] The opening direct address, both to Cynthia and to the reader, at once draws attention to the poet and his subject position as viewer; as Laird comments, the first person narrative 'makes the poet's presence and the inscription of his point of view more than explicit'.[29] The description that follows acts as an excuse, or apology, to his lover, and thus is it is framed not only through the elegiac poet's aesthetic principles, but also by the particular occasion, the need for a really good excuse to explain his lateness. The description has to be impressive and also appealing to Cynthia if Propertius is to avoid a lovers' storm.

The poet approaches the temple as he would a beloved woman, full of admiration for beauty. The first word of Propertius' description, *aurea*, encapsulates the familiar associations in architectural ecphrasis with sheen, with precious materials; the word play upon Phoebus' name, 'shining bright', hints in a sophisticated way at the metonymic relationship between the god and his temple. But the second line makes clear that the temple is a complex ideological sign not only of the god's identity but also of the real power behind the building, *magnus Caesar* (2). The introduction of the emperor suggests the metonymic connection between temple and ruler also and connects the ecphrasis with implicit praise of Caesar. Thus the poet's 'elegiac perspective' has to accommodate Augustus, an accommodation eased through his patron deity's association here chiefly with art, not war. The reference to the porticus might also teasingly arouse Cynthia's suspicions, for a porticus was associated with illicit assigna-

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**27** Miller 2009, 200–201.
**28** Miller 2009, 199–200.
**29** Laird 1996, 83.

tions and prostitution; but this impression is perhaps partly dispelled by the involvement of 'great Caesar', guardian of Rome's morals.[30]

As a connoisseur of beauty and culture, the poet selects for description outstanding works of art that emphasise their realism and literary and artistic appeal to the elegist,[31] such as the statues of the Danaids, described as a 'group of women' (*femina turba*, 3–4),[32] the realistic cows of Myron (7–8), which form the theme of numerous Greek epigrams (*Ant. Pal.* 9.713–42, 793–8), carved doors of ivory, a luxury material (12–14), and two statues of Apollo which are close to representing an epiphany of the god (4–5, 15–16); these represent Apollo only as the poet's deity, as a musician without bow and without the sacrificial *patera* that he probably held.[33]

Even so, the works of art that the poet selects for mention encode tragic themes that provide a disturbing undercurrent to the celebratory public occasion. The Danaids killed their freshly wed husbands at the instigation of their father, 'old Danaus' (4).[34] Although the doors of the temple are exquisitely carved of African ivory, they display harrowing scenes, the hurling of the Gauls, conquered by Apollo, from Parnassus, and the death of Niobe (12–14):

> et ualuae, Libyci nobile dentis opus;
> altera deiectos Parnasi uertice Gallos,
> altera maerebat funera Tantalidos
>
> And doors, the noble work of Libyan ivory; one mourned the Gauls cast down from the summit of Parnassus; another mourned the death of Niobe.

The high aesthetic value of the doors – ivory was normally carved on a small scale, owing to the rarity of the material – contrasts sharply with the violent scenes engraved on them. Through personification, the doors indicate an emotional and compassionate as well as an aesthetic response; they 'mourn' for the Gauls' savage end, and for Niobe's tragic death. The repeated allusion to Niobe, the god's grief-struck victim (6, 14), is an admonitory reminder of the power and the potential for violence behind the artistic, cultured image of

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**30** Dufallo (2013, forthcoming) points out that a *porticus* was notoriously the site for prostitutes and illicit lovers (e. g. Prop. 2.23.3–11; Catullus 55); the opening of Propertius 2.31 thus has a mixed reverential and erotic cast.

**31** On the poet's selectivity see, e. g. Welch 2005, 92–3; Miller 2009, 199–201.

**32** Barchiesi (2005, 284) comments that 'a mob of women' suits the elegiac poet's interests, and teases Cynthia.

**33** Miller 2009, 200–1.

**34** See Barchiesi (2005, 284) on the political reception in Ovid's poetry of the Danaids, figures of female transgression doomed to eternal punishment, and of their punitive father.

both god and emperor.[35] Thus, while the poet in 2.31 presents an ordered view of the temple, systematically beginning with the porticus, then moving to the temple in the middle of the complex, and finally into the inner sanctum, the description also contains allusions to a world of suffering and chaos outside the poet's control.[36] This too is part of the poet's 'elegiac perspective'.

The generic transference of the public monument from epic to elegy, I suggest, thus invited a form of literary and visual resistance to the authority of Augustus to control the meaning of his own monuments. The metonymic association between the temple and Apollo and Caesar allows the poet, as we have seen, to respond in various ways to this expression of Augustan imperial power. The last line of the poem (2.31.15–16), *Pythius in longa carmina ueste sonat*, brings about a virtual epiphany of the god himself to Propertius.[37] The poet ends his description in a position of supreme poetic privilege; and indeed, his poem does what Augustus' art work could not do, give words and sound to Apollo's song. Propertius' insertion of his description of the temple of Apollo Palatine into his book of love elegies ensured that his selective version of the monument would circulate far beyond the reaches of Rome, with the power to define the temple for those many readers who would never see it with their own eyes.

Propertius displays his exquisite artistic taste in his selective description of the superb works of art that adorn the temple. He thus appeals to the artistic taste of Cynthia also, a *docta puella*. But in the following poem artistic tastes and viewing practices are seen to be fickle, especially where love is concerned; Cynthia has deserted Rome for the country and counts as unattractive and boring another very sophisticated monument, the porticus of Pompey that was restored by Augustus (2.32.11–12): *scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis / porticus* (it seems that even the porticus of Pompey with its shady columns has no attraction (for you)).[38] This remark has broader implications, suggesting, in the context of the previous poem, the instability of monuments and their meanings, and the limits of the poet's power to control others' response to them. Indeed, 2.32 opens with what seems to be a comment on the fallibility of the entire process of viewing, *qui videt, is peccat* (he who sees, sins, 2.32.1). Propertius turns out to be talking about the dangers of looking at Cynthia; but since this statement

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**35**  On the allusion of line 6 to Callimachus' Niobe in *Hymn* 2.24 see Heyworth 1994, 56–8; on 'Apollo the killer in Apollo the musician' see Barchiesi 2005, 285.

**36**  Welch (2005, 91) points out how the poet's creative word order replicates and enhances the structure of the temple.

**37**  Miller 2009, 202.

**38**  On the linkage of architectural terms between 2.31 and 2.32 see Welch 2005, 95.

lacks a direct object and follows directly upon the description of Palatine Apollo, it can be taken as referring to the dangers of viewing the god himself – the traditional connection of 2.31 and 2.32 in the manuscripts suggests such a reading.[39] As Welch points out, the connection is also supported by a reference to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, which states however the opposite, that 'he who sees the god is great' (10).[40] In its context in the second book the expression 'he who sees, sins', suggests the contingencies and possible risks involved in viewing – and writing the remembered observations. In exploring the metonymic possibilities of architectural ecphrasis, the elegiac poet makes it a particularly self-reflexive and political form.

Ovid's description of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum (*Fasti* 5.559 – 68), a complex dedicated in 2 BCE (almost thirty years after the Temple of Apollo Palatine), is in some ways a response to Propertius' ecphrasis of an earlier Augustan monument.[41] Although a good deal of Ovid's elegiac *Fasti* concerns the dedication, building and restoration of monuments, the description of the temple of Mars Ultor is the only architectural ecphrasis in this elegiac poem. Unlike Propertius 2.31, it is incorporated into a longer poem; nonetheless it forms a generic anomaly, or disruption in a poem dedicated to peace (*Fasti* 1.13 – 14), marked by the poet's apparent bewilderment at the clash of weaponry that echoes in the poem (*Fasti* 5.549): *fallor, an arma sonat? non fallimur, arma sonabant* (am I mistaken, or is there a sound of arms? I am not mistaken, arms did sound). The generic disruption too reflects the fact that the temple of Mars Ultor was the first temple of the war god to be allowed within the *pomerium* of the city of Rome. Like Propertius 2.31, therefore, the ecphrasis stands out in the poem and in its poetry book.[42] But in contrast to the Propertian experiment with ecphrasis, Ovid in this late poem removes his personal, elegiac voice and eye from the description of the Augustan temple of Mars Ultor; the monument is described from the point of view of the god or war himself, not the elegiac poet-narrator.

As Barchiesi comments, the monumental complex of the Forum Augustum is generally now viewed as 'the culmination of Augustan political art', although it is only fragmentarily reconstructed; Ovid's description has thus featured impor-

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**39** A connection that Heyworth complicates by transposing to the start of 2.32 lines 7–10, which can then be taken as referring to the temple of Apollo but not to the sight of the god himself.
**40** Welch 2005, 94.
**41** For similar details between the two descriptions, see Newlands 1995, 99.
**42** Nonetheless, Newlands 1995, 87–123 traces thematic, if negative, connections in *Fasti* 5 with Mars and warfare.

tantly in archaeological debate.[43] And yet, as I have argued, the description does not convey the aesthetic splendor and beauty of the monument with its dazzling array of coloured marbles.[44] Instead, Ovid's description develops the metonymic association between the god and his building. Mars' description focuses on structure, order, and Augustan ideology, not on aesthetics (*Fasti* 5.559 – 68):

> **perspicit** Armipotens operis fastigia summi,
>     et probat inuictas summa tenere deas;
> **perspicit** in foribus diuersae tela figurae,
>     armaque terrarum milite uicta suo.
> **hinc uidet** Aenean oneratum pondere caro
>     et tot Iuleae nobilitatis auos;
> **hinc uidet** Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,
>     claraque dispositis acta subesse uiris.
> **spectat** et Augusto praetextum nomine templum,
>     et **uisum** lecto Caesare maius opus

> The god, powerful in arms, sees the rooftop of the building and he approves that the unconquered gods occupy the summit; he sees weapons of different shape on the doors and foreign arms conquered by his own soldiery. On one side he sees Aeneas burdened by the beloved weight, and so many ancestors of the Julian nobility; on the other side he sees Romulus bear the general's arms (*spolia opima*) on his shoulders, and the following rank of men of distinguished deeds. He sees the temple engraved with the name Augustus, and the building seemed greater when he had read 'Caesar'.

Verbs of seeing, symmetrically arranged in pairs at the start of each hexameter – *perspicit* (559), *perspicit* (561), *uidet* (563), *uidet* (565) – map the Forum Augustum on a grid. The two matching galleries of the lines of Aeneas and of Romulus are neatly distributed into matching couplets: *hinc/hinc*. The temple description is accommodated to the eye of the viewer, the god of war. His is not an admiring eye, but the judgmental eye of surveillance, as *probat* suggests (560). The sculptural programme of the Forum Augustum stressed continuity between past and present greatness, with Augustus as the culmination of history; Mars approves of the temple because Augustus' name is inscribed on it (567– 8). This is *Augustum* with a capital 'a'; the architectural, the literary, and the political are here conflated.

But the schematic, controlling vision of Mars in the poem has invited resisting readings. As Fowler has argued, more allowance should be made for more than one way of reading artistic images; 'that after all an observer might be

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**43** Barchiesi (2005, 285), with overall discussion 284 – 8; see also Barchiesi 2002, 4 – 22.
**44** Newlands 1995, 99 – 100.

able to deconstruct Roman art as well as Roman literature.'[45] And a poet can inscribe alternate points of view into a literary ecphrasis, sometimes leading to a conflict among different interpretations.[46] As Barchiesi comments, 'in Ovid's *Fasti*, in general, divine informants cannot be lightly dismissed: there is a multiplication of points of view, and even a power struggle, whenever the poet ask the gods to explain the cults in which they are involved.'[47]

Although Mars is the chief focaliser of the temple, the ideological interpretation of the monument comes from the poet who, in the following passage, offers two aetiologies for the construction of the temple and the epithet 'Ultor' (569–598): Octavian first vowed the temple of Mars Ultor to avenge his father's murder, promising the epithet also; then, as emperor, he renewed the vow when intent on the recovery of the standards from the Parthians. Zanker argues that the later identification of the temple with the restoration of the standards from the Parthians was a convenient way of erasing the association with civil war;[48] but in Ovid's text the original motive vividly stands out. Octavian's *pia arma* (pious arms, 5.569) involve a blood-soaked revenge; his savage invocation of Mars Ultor emphasises that terrible time in Roman history, the prolongation of civil war, rather than the later period of Augustus' statesmanly intervention in foreign "wars" (575): *Mars, ades, et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum* (Mars, come, and satiate your sword in criminal blood). We are invited to read the new Forum 'directly against the memory of the civil wars'.[49] And to resist, or question, Mars' triumphalist, exclusive gaze. Not just war enters the elegiac poem, but war of the most terrible kind, accompanied by vengeance. Through its embedding in his aetiological commentary, Ovid gives historical depth to the ecphrasis of the temple.

The generic disruptiveness of this ecphrasis in the *Fasti* is reminiscent of a similar disruption in Ovid's earlier didactic elegiac poem, the *Ars Amatoria* (1.177–228), in which Ovid celebrated in rather ambiguous fashion the ill-fated campaign of Augustus' adopted son Gaius against the Parthians: *ultor adest* (*Ars* 1.181), Ovid writes, with reference to Gaius.[50] By the time the *Ars Amatoria*

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**45** Fowler 2000*a*, 80–1.

**46** Fowler (2000*a*, 76–7) maps out the other possible 'focalisers' that literary ecphrasis can employ and that can hint at other possible paradigms of interpretation.

**47** Barchiesi 2002, 8.

**48** Zanker 1988, 194–5.

**49** Barchiesi 2005, 286–7.

**50** Ovid emphasises Gaius' youth and lack of experience (*Ars* 1.182), *bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer* (the boy handles wars a boy should not wage), perhaps a retrospective explanation for the tragic failure of the campaign.

was published, Gaius had died on the campaign. The presence in the *Fasti* passage of both another *ultor*, Mars, and also of the Parthians would possibly remind readers of Ovid's poetry of that earlier, failed enterprise, a tragic conclusion that underlies the triumphalist rhetoric of the recovery of the standards (which in fact glossed over an unspectacular diplomatic resolution).[51]

Rather than accommodating the Augustan victory monument to an elegiac perspective, as does Propertius, Ovid here highlights the dissonance that Mars' schematic gaze and martial associations bring to the main tenor of his elegiac poem. At the same time as the metonymic association between Augustan temple and god is tightened in this ecphrasis, the elegiac poet, our extradiegetic narrator, distances himself from the celebration of military power expressed in the Forum Augustum by the novel strategy of having Mars describe his own monument. Indeed, the very selectivity of Mars' description, as in Propertius 2.31, points also to other possible perspectives on the temple. Significantly absent from the description is the adjective *aurea*, a key term of the temple of Apollo Palatine in Propertius 2.31 and a frequent trope of architectural ecphrasis. In Ovid's elegiac poem the temple is not associated with a Golden Age ethos; the only metal mentioned is *ferrum*, iron (575).

From these two elegiac examples it seems that architectural ecphrasis in Roman poetry had a potential for political expression beyond the merely celebratory. The call for pluralism embedded in ecphrasis could overcome or challenge the official shaping of historical memory, thus presupposing a good deal of inner freedom. By the late first century CE, however, the emperor had largely coopted public, visual means of expression. In an age of restricted political expression, there is an important shift in ecphrasis from the temple to the house, from the building as an expression of sacred and political power to the building as an expression of personal identity; this shift is correlated with a new positive notion of *otium* (leisure) as providing 'a powerful mode of aristocratic self-definition'.[52]

Statius' architectural poems – *Siluae* 1.3, 1.5, 2.2, 3.1, and 4.2 – are at the forefront of this development, although, with the early exception of Friedländer, they have often been overlooked in theorizing about ecphrasis.[53] The age of Domitian is often regarded as a dark period in Roman history. But it also saw the rise of a new literary form, poems about buildings, especially 'private' dwellings, that convey a far more positive view of this period and that are the precursor to the laudatory architectural descriptions we find in the letters of Pliny and in

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**51** Zanker (1988, 186), for the background to the retrieval of the standards.

**52** Myers 2005, 105.

**53** Friedländer 1912.

the prose writings of the second Sophistic. Moreover, the aesthetic qualities of the *Siluae* – the fascination with visual and architectural detail, with brilliance and colour, with the experience of viewing and yet also the fallibility of appearances – became key features of late antique poetics.[54]

In particular, in the *Siluae* for the first time the Roman villa, an important demonstration of elite self-definition in the imperial era, becomes the theme of a full-length poem, and the hexameter is again used to give this new form prominence. The architectural descriptions of Statius (and also Martial, on a smaller scale) arise from a new culture of leisure, made possible by the prosperity of the empire and by political conditions that favoured withdrawal. Moreover, through the expansion of the senatorial and equestrian ranks under the Flavians, wealth often mattered more than a noble lineage, creating 'an aristocracy of status rather than of office'.[55] A well appointed house, along with education, literature, and the arts, was a key factor in creating and displaying cultural supremacy.[56]

Metonymy remains central to this new form of architectural ecphrasis, and Statius draws house, owner, and poet into a triangular relationship. Just as the temple of Apollo Palatine and the Forum Augustum were fabulous new structures in Rome, so the villas that Statius describes are on the cutting edge of a contemporary architectural style that he correlates with his forging of a new, descriptive style in his epideictic poetry.[57] In Tacitus' *Dialogus* Marcus Aper the modernist uses the image of the luxurious house, sparkling with gold and jewels, to describe his contemporary ideal of oratory (*Dial.* 22.4):

> Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum uolo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac uentum arceat, sed etiam quod uisum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui suppellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat.

> But I want an orator to be like a rich and prosperous head of the household. His house should not simply ward off the rain and wind but should also delight the sight and the eyes; it should be furnished not only with items sufficient for daily use, but in its fittings there should be gold and jewels, such that it would be a pleasure to take them into your hands and gaze upon them over and over.

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**54** Roberts 1989, 62; Cameron 2011, 402–5.

**55** Woolf (2003, 209), using Hopkins' (1983) terminology (*Death and Renewal*, Cambridge).

**56** See Newby (2002) on Lucian's *On the Hall*. Appreciation of art, whether sensual or intellectual, or both, was a mark of culture.

**57** E.g. Newlands (2011) on *Siluae* 2.2.85–94: Pollius' villa displays marble incrustation on the walls, instead of wall painting, a recent, luxurious fashion.

The villa poems of Statius adopt a luxurious type of rhetoric, thick with mythological allusions and also vivid descriptive imagery; the later writer Sidonius Apollinaris described them as 'jewelled meadows' (*gemmea prata siluularum*, *Carm.* 9.229). Roman rhetorical discourse frequently correlated a person's literary style with his character; in turn, architectural ecphrasis correlated a resplendent style with a resplendent house. Statius builds upon Vitruvius' theory (6.5.1–2) that a person of high rank and office should have a spacious, lofty home. Although his wealthy villa owners, by contrast with the elite citizens Vitruvius had in mind, had retired from public life, their buildings display and embody their moral as well as social and cultural worth. As I have argued, Statius' descriptions of the luxurious house thus challenge and revise Roman moral discourse.[58]

Statius' villa poems reflect the fact that 'the view' was probably the most crucial factor in determining the social and visual articulation of the Roman house.[59] *cernere* (to observe) is the first word of his first villa poem, *Siluae* 1.3. The point of view of the poet, as guest of the villa owners, is strongly marked with enthusiastic expressions of appreciation and wonder. But not only is the poet's visual and verbal response central to the structuring of the villa, the villa itself participates actively in viewing; in *Siluae* 2.2 the windows of Pollius' villa are described as looking at the Bay of Naples from various angles (2.2.73–85), asserting architectural control over the landscape and structuring the landmarks of the outside world into pleasing views. As Bergmann points out, architecture imposes order on the land – and the sea too, making of the notoriously rough Bay of Naples a series of calm, attractive pictures.[60] The villa poems thus thematise viewing.

Moreover, the villa poems address the moralising tradition with another important innovation. The poet's gaze is shaped by the centrality of the contrast between past and present. This 'then and now' topos often had a moralising slant, particularly in Augustan poetry where the early landscape of Rome, for instance, was associated with the sterner virtue of Rome's ancestors.[61] This type of contrast is particularly marked in 2.2 and 3.1, the poems on Pollius' villa which was situated in a particularly rugged area, the southern peninsula of the Bay of Naples. But Pollius' use of wealth displays his moral and social worth – through magnificent building, rather than fields of crops, he removes the memory and

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**58**  Newlands 2002, 154–74.

**59**  Elsner 1995, 76.

**60**  Bergmann 1992, 66.

**61**  The *locus classicus* of this topos is of course Vergil *A.* 8.306–69, Aeneas' visit with Evander to the site of early Rome.

experience of the barbaric past and barbaric nature. But although Statius' architectural ecphrases celebrate change, they do not depict an Ovidian universe; the land changes for the better and remains stable. The villa poems end with assurances of the longevity of the owners and therefore of their estates – and by implication, of the poems about them (1.3.105–10; 2.2.143–6; 3.1.171–81).

The complex metonymic associations of architecture in Statius' poetry are programmatically demonstrated in *Siluae* 3.1, on the building of a new temple of Hercules on Pollius' estate. The poem looks back to Augustan monuments, and particularly Vergil's ecphrasis of an imagined temple at the start of *Georgics* 3;[62] it also occupies an intermediate realm between the public and the private monument, between imperial and personal politics. The temple is not described in particular architectural detail – it shines with precious materials and marbles, and the standard features of pillars and roof top are mentioned (5–6); otherwise the idea of its beauty and magnificence is conveyed through a contrast between the past condition of the land and its transformation (3–22). The poet's response is emotional and full of wonder (*Siluae* 3.1.12–16):

> o velox pietas! steriles hic nuper harenas
> ad sparsum pelago montis latus hirtaque dumis
> saxa nec ulla pati faciles vestigia terras
> cernere erat. quaenam subito fortuna rigentes
> ditavit scopulos?

> O swift piety! Here one could see recently sterile sand by the side of a sea-lashed mountain and rocks scrubby with shrubs and earth resistant to a human tread. What fortune suddenly enriched the stiff rocks?

Here we see the triangulated metonymic relationship between owner, poet, and building. *uelox, subito*, emphasise rapid and easy change. The *Siluae* are a poetics of speed, composed 'with the pleasure of haste' (*festinandi uoluptate*, 1 *pr.* 3), so building, like writing, happens quickly and joyfully. There is no nostalgia here for a possibly more innocent past, such as we often find in Augustan poetic 'then and now' formulations. Rather, the features of sterile sand, a mountainside lashed by the sea, rocks bristly with scrubs, impassable ground, emphasise the former uselessness of the terrain that Pollius has now enriched for the god and his worshippers; he has transformed the landscape into a sacred space that is also a work of art.

As I noted earlier, *cernere* is the first word of Statius' first villa poem (1.3.1). Here the verb (15) self-consciously acknowledges the poem's place in the ec-

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**62** Newlands 1991.

phrastic tradition by allusion to one of the most famous of literary ecphrases, Vergil's shield of Aeneas (*A.* 8.625 – 731). The phrase *cernere erat* (3.1.15) 'it was possible to see', recalls the scene of the Battle of Actium engraved in the very centre of the shield (*A.* 8.675 – 77):[63]

> in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
> **cernere** erat, totumque instructo Marte uideres
> feruere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
>
> In the middle one could see the bronze fleets, the Actian war, and you could see all Leucate seethe when battle was drawn and the waves shine with gold.

The allusion reveals Statius' interest in the temporal aspect of ecphrasis. Whereas Vergil's *cernere erat* refers on the shield to an event that is yet to take place – the Battle of Actium – here in *Siluae* 3.1 it refers to the past barrenness of the landscape. In Virgil we are invited to look into the martial future, in Statius to look to the sterile past, and to dismiss it. Unlike the warlike images on Aeneas' shield, the image of the barren landscape is not present before our eyes; the sands that were 'lately' (*nuper*, 12) sterile have been replaced by the beautiful new temple precinct that the reader, through the skill of the poet's words, is invited to imagine. Statius thus marks out both his debt to Vergil and his innovation; his ecphrasis marks a departure from the conventional objects of war, from public monuments of imperial power. Precious materials such as gold now adorn a sacred, peaceful building. The description of the monument in 3.1 emphasises the peaceful present and indeed future, for at the end Hercules, here cast as a genial, relaxed deity (3.1.23 – 8), vows the temple will last for ever (3.1.180 – 3). Statius also uses the expression *cernere erat* in his description of Mars' house in the *Thebaid* (*Theb.* 7.60 – 1): *ubique ipsum, sed non usquam ore remisso / cernere erat* (he (Mars) was everywhere to be seen, but not with relaxed expression). *cernere erat* conjures up therefore a type of viewing with negative temporal and political associations; the past is to be rejected, the present of culture and technology and enlightened living to be embraced. Statius thus here emphasises the private building as a significant ecphrastic theme.

Pollius' transformation of the land through temple-building is here connected with the traditional Roman virtue of piety, given a modern, Statian twist – it is 'fast-track piety' (12), in keeping with the fast-penned poet who celebrates it. Statius does not occlude here what Barrell calls 'the dark side of landscape' – the labour involved in reshaping the land to suit elite needs. However, he depicts the

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[63] I am grateful to Dustin Heinen for pointing out this allusion and suggesting some of its ramifications.

labour in positive but unspecified terms, as a communal effort: 'innumerable hands assembled to participate in the work', 118); the manual labour is elevated by Hercules, who himself chips in so the building is erected at particular speed (19–22, 125–38). The poet suggests that the entire environment – the house, the community, and nature itself – benefits from the construction of the beautiful new temple (3.1.78–80):

> innumerae gaudentia rura superne
> insedere domus et multo culmine diues
> mons nitet
>
> countless houses occupy from the heights the rejoicing country and the mountain glitters, rich with many a (roof)top.

The countryside rejoices at the many houses built upon it; the mountain, become 'rich', shines too like a luxurious building; the double meaning of *culmen*, a natural or artificial 'top', emphasises the harmony between technology and nature through the latter's transformation.

The ecphrastic poem given to Pollius is likewise a luxurious artifact; unlike in Propertius 2.31 or Ovid's *Fasti* 5, this self-reflexive poem closely associates the poet as viewer with his addressee, the owner of the temple, and with the temple itself. Adding further complexity to this ecphrasis, Statius also plays here off the long-standing architectural metaphor of the beautiful building as a literary work (e.g. Pindar *O.* 1–4; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 22.4). Statius' first villa poem (1.3) also draws attention to the house as a textual construct in its opening lines; *Voluptas*, for instance, has written (*scripsisse*, 1.3.9) with 'tender hand' on the house. Through the participation of the gods and personifications, the villa hovers between the sacred and the secular realm, part temple, part house. Thus, outside the realm of public monuments Statius, implicitly acknowledging also the Roman rhetorical metaphor of 'the storehouse of memory', creates *memorable* gifts for his friends, poems that remember, describe and elevate their homes to a semi-divine level, and that will endure well beyond the buildings themselves (1.3.13–14): *o longum memoranda dies! Quae mente reporto /gaudia, quam lassos per tot miracula visus!* (o day long to be remembered! What joys I carry back in my mind, and what observations exhausted by so many wonders!)

As a programmatic poem, moreover, *Siluae* 3.1 also implicitly comments on the political function of temple descriptions in Roman poetry; Hercules is a god who straddles both the political and private realm.[64] Late in his reign Domitian seems to have associated himself closely with Hercules. In three poems in

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**64** See for instance *Siluae* 4.6 with Newlands 2002, 73–8.

Book 9, Martial refers to a temple in Rome with a statue of Hercules bearing the features of Domitian (9.64, 9.65, 9.101). Henriksén comments that the comparison between rulers and Hercules first appeared in the Hellenistic world, and was used fairly cautiously by the emperors until Domitian, who boldly gave his own features to the statue of Hercules in the temple on the Appian Way;[65] the dating of Book 9 of Martial's *Epigrams* to 94CE suggests that this happened late in his reign. *Siluae* 1–3 were published early in the previous year (93CE), so presumably Domitian's interest in Hercules was current and well-known.[66] Pollius' temple of Hercules, now on private ground, along with the opulent house, forms a counterpart to imperial monuments. The ecphrasis of the temple of Hercules appropriates the architectural tropes of public and imperial magnificence, especially height and expensive materials (*nitidos postes Graisque effulta metallis/culmina*, shining pillars and roofs supported by Greek marbles, 3.1.5–6) and gives them new semantic value as signs not only of high social status and cultured tastes but also of a rich *inner* life; thus these poems elevate *otium* and its cultured pursuits and self-consciously offer a provocative counter world to public, political, court-centred life in Rome.

Only one of Statius' architectural ecphrases describes an imperial building, Domitian's palace in 4.2. In the appointments of luxury, there is a good deal of overlap between the private and public descriptive poems; a key difference however resides in the poet's point of view. In 2.2 and 3.1 for instance he visits the villa as a welcome, special friend (2.2.6–12; 3.1.61–7); in 4.2 he is one of over a thousand guests (33) and the hierarchical structure of the palace is expressed in his viewing position (16): *cerno iacens* (recumbent, I see). *iacens* means of course that he is reclining at dinner (*OLD* 2), but it also has powerful connotations of submissiveness (*OLD* 3 and 5). The poet's view of the palace is upwards, as it to heaven itself (4.2.18–26); looking on the emperor is like looking at the sun (4.2.40–4), magnificent but dangerous.

For Propertius and Ovid, the description of public, imperial buildings provided a way of talking about imperial power that was both laudatory and distancing; so too, in a sense, for Statius the private building provided a window through contrast and comparison onto imperial politics. But unlike these Augustan poets, who represent the hierarchical distance between poet and the building and its owner, in his villa poems Statius displays the harmony between poet, owner, and house. Keith has discussed the importance of architectural ecphrasis

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[65] Henriksén 1999, 9.64 (intro): 65–6. Caligula and Nero associated themselves with Hercules' attributes of lion skin and club but did not assume his facial features.

[66] On the dating of *Siluae* 1–3 see Coleman 1988, xvi-xvii.

in the *Thebaid* as a vivid Ovidian commentary on a society at the point of collapse.[67] The *Siluae* by contrast use architectural ecphrasis for the most part to affirm social prosperity and cohesion.[68] Despite its Greek adornments, Pollius' home is described in traditional Roman ethical terms as *felix simplexque domus fraudumque malarum/inscia et hospitibus superis dignissima sedes* (a happy and uncomplicated home, innocent of evil deceits, a seat most worthy of welcoming the gods, 3.1.32–3).[69] Here the poet too is welcomed as a fellow lover of literature and philosophy and a special friend, 'no mere guest' (3.1.64–66).[70]

Cameron has recently pointed out the importance of postAugustan poets, rather than Augustan, in the flourishing of late Antique Latin poetry.[71] The poems of Statius were singled out for special praise by the fifth century writer and bishop Sidonius Apollinaris, in a prose coda to his own long villa poem (*Carm.* 22.6):

> si quis autem carmen prolixius eatenus duxerit esse culpandum, quod epigrammatis excesserit paucitatem, istum liquido patet neque balneas Etrusci neque Herculem Surrentinum neque comas Flauii Earini neque Tibur Vopisci neque omnino quicquam de Papinii nostri siluulis lectitasse; quas omnes descriptiones uir ille praeiudicatissimus non distichorum aut tetrastichorum stringit angustiis, sed potius, ut lyricus Flaccus in artis poeticae uolumine praecipit, multis isdemque purpureis locorum communium pannis semel inchoatas materias decenter extendit.

> If anyone thought my rather long poem should be faulted on the grounds that it exceeded the brevity of epigram, he, it is quite clear, has not read the baths of Etruscus or Hercules of Sorrento or the locks of Flavius Earinus or Vopiscus' Tibur or anything at all from the *Siluae* of our Papinius; that man of exquisite taste does not confine his verse within the narrows of distichs or four-line stanzas but rather, as the lyric poet Horace teaches in his book on the art of poetry, he decorously extends his formerly basic material with many similar purple patches of topoi.

Sidonius justifies his own long, ornate villa poem by appealing to the descriptive poems of Statius, willfully misunderstanding Horace at the start of his *Ars Poetica*, who urges sparing use of the 'purple patch' (14–19); Sidonius by contrast changes Horace's *unus et alter* ... / *pannus* ('one or two patches', 15–16) to

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**67** Keith 2007.

**68** Cf. Spencer (2010, 109–13), who sees Pollius Felix as leading an isolated existence. But Pollius and his wife head a large family (4.8); one of their grandsons acts as a young priest in the communal dedicatory ceremony for the temple (3.1.46–8, 143).

**69** Cf. Ov. *Met*. 8.685, *dis hospitibus* (Baucis and Philemon myth), with Laguna 1992, on 3.1.32–3.

**70** See Laguna 1992, on 3.1.65, *non hospes habebam*.

**71** Cameron 2011, esp. 399–420.

'many purple patches'.[72] For Brink, Horace is counseling against 'virtuoso pieces unrelated to the larger poetic aim';[73] already ecphrasis was a highly contested form. For Horace, 'purple patches' are detachable; but Statius constructs an entire work of purple patches. Sidonius defends his own poetry therefore on the basis of Statius' new experimental aesthetic; his 'misinterpretation' of Horace recognizes and validates the new style and the new type of free-standing descriptive poem that Statius introduced in the *Siluae*. Furthermore, with the adjective *praeiudicatissimus* Sidonius directs our attention to Statius as the new, recognized authority as regards the descriptive poem,[74] implying that Horace's literary judgement was flawed; indeed the superlative adjective wittily endorses the idea that an elaborate style can indeed be the product of good taste. Sidonius' listing of the addressee's names for each poem suggests that he understood the important role that the descriptive poem played in the Roman patronal system of gift exchange and acquisition of cultural capital.

But, to return to the issue of genre with which we began, significantly the poems of Statius which Sidonius singles out, the baths of Etruscus (1.5), the temple of Hercules at Sorrento (3.1), the hair of Earinus (3.4), and the villa of Vopiscus at Tibur (1.3), are all architectural ecphraseis, with the exception of 3.4, which is vividly descriptive of its characters, but not of buildings. Thus, since Sidonius does includes *Siluae* 3.4, it seems that he did not regard architectural ecphrasis, or the villa poem, as a separate genre.[75] Rather, he seems to identify the *Siluae* themselves as an important new genre, a representative of the cultural richness of the ancient world. His principle of selection is not architecture *per se*, but poems that were particularly rich in visual effects, the ones most conforming to his earlier description of the *Siluae* as *gemmea prata*, 'jeweled meadows' (*Carm.* 9.229), poems whose luxury of style complemented the moral and cultural prestige of his addressees. Writing in the heyday of Statius' popularity in late Antiquity, Sidonius makes here a contemporary attempt to describe a new genre.

I have argued in this article that separate traditions existed within ecphrasis, each with its own genealogy and set of tropes. Architectural ecphrasis can be regarded as a type of 'super ecphrasis' for it can incorporate and comment upon

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**72**  See Brink (1971), on Hor. *Ars* 15 – 16. He explains *pannus* as referring in this context to a type of adornment sewn onto clothing, equivalent to the *segmenta*, the trimmings of purple and gold that Ovid refers to at *Ars* 3.169.

**73**  Brink 1971, on *Ars* 18.

**74**  See Delhey 1993, 208.

**75**  Horace's 'purple patches' moreover listed natural features such as a grove or rainbow as suitable topics for description.

works of art that are housed in buildings. But the issue of genre is not separate from that of literary history. It is the so-called occasional poem that I believe should be recognized as a new genre from the time of Statius on, though no term for it had been developed in the ancient world.[76] Architectural ecphrasis is an innovative constituent of this new genre, articulating through vivid, laudatory description changing social attitudes to wealth and leisure as well as a system of cultural exchange that, outside the nexus of court politics, endowed both parties with prestige, while cementing their friendships. Moreover, the *Siluae* not only reflect cultural and social change, they are also instrumental in promoting, and perhaps also to some extent creating, a new positive aesthetic of luxury, doing so through a vivid, improvisational style.

The excerpt from King Alfred's preface to St. Augustine's *Soliloquies* that I use as an epigraph to this article plays, like Statius' collected *Siluae*, on the notion of the *florilegium*, as well as the architectural mnemonic metaphor. The gathering of wood for building a house has in Alfred's passage transcendent connotations with securing a heavenly home; but it also suggests the collecting and selection of materials to construct a compelling, orderly literary work, 'the house of the intellect', that correlates with the construction of an orderly, moral life. So too Statius in his *Siluae* gathers and selects 'wood', with reference both to building material for houses and metaphorical material for poetry, so as to construct individual poems and their poetry books that celebrate the moral and intellectual life. Revisiting Statius' *Siluae* from this vantage point suggests that the title of his collection is not simply metaphorical;[77] rather, since timber is the fundamental material for building, the title hints at the importance of 'architecture' in this new genre of poetry.

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**76** Important practitioners writing self-consciously in the tradition of Statius' *Siluae* are for instance the late antique poets, especially Claudian, Ausonius, and Venantius Fortunatus; Ben Jonson is the first English author of what did become an important new genre, the 'country house poem'.
**77** On the different meanings that have been proposed for the title see Newlands 2011, 21–4; see also Wray 2007.

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Therese Fuhrer

# Hypertexts and Auxiliary Texts: New Genres in Late Antiquity?

**Abstract:** The question of whether it makes sense to keep using the traditional concept of genre for the Christian literature of Late Antiquity has been under discussion for some time. The most important characteristic of these texts is that they refer, in some way or other, to a new reference-text, the Bible, that gives rise not only to multiple meanings but also to many further texts. Yet, they do not simply subordinate themselves to the interpreted text, but instead understand themselves as works that may have high literary ambitions, in that they draw on classical texts and forms. This in-between status, between heteronomy and autonomy, is in fact programmatic and as a result these works *must* break the boundaries of the old genre system.

**Keywords:** Late Antiquity, christian literature, exegetical literature, auxiliary texts, biblical epic, hypertextuality, Augustine's *Confessions*

The question of whether it makes sense to retain the traditional concept of genre for the literature of Late Antiquity has been debated for some time.[1] The problem in applying the concept of literary genre to this era of literary history is not, for example, that the late antique authors did not understand how to deploy the old genres: both pagan and Christian authors were trained in the literary processes of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* by their grammatical and rhetorical schooling and they knew the forms and rules of genre – rules that had been fixed for Latin literature since Quintilian[2] – and continued to respect them. The genres that were still being composed – limited to the corpus of Latin authors – include mythical or historical epic (e.g. Claudian and Dracontius), didactic poems (Avienus, Palladius), minor poetic forms and poetry cycles (Paulinus of Nola, Ausonius, Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Prudentius), historiographical writing (Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Historia Augusta*, Orosius), philosophical dialogues (Minucius Felix, Augustine), prose fiction (Tales of Troy, the Alexander Romance), oratory (Sym-

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**1** Cf. esp. Herzog (1976) and (1989) 24–33; Ludwig (1976); Fontaine (1980) 1–130 (reprint of three essays on the topic); Fontaine (1988) with references to the papers of conferences on relevant themes in Rome (1974) and Barcelona (1983); Young (1997) 217 ff.; Young (1999); Moretti (2003); Consolino (2005); Formisano (2007) 282 f.; Wasyl (2011).
**2** Quint. *inst.* 10.1.46, and still Isid. *Etym.* 1.38–44. On this, see Kirsch (1988) 2 f.; Moretti (2003) 128 f.

machus, Panegyrici Latini, Ambrose), verse panegyric (Claudian, Sidonius, Venantius Fortunatus) and letters (Symmachus, Ambrose, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine, Ennodius).[3]

In addition, the imperial and late antique periods saw a sudden upsurge in the production of school texts and specialist literature, often in the form of treatises (including the Christian theological treatises), handbooks, textbooks and scholarly commentaries, especially on texts that could be classed as sources of specialist knowledge.[4]

The present paper will not consider in any more detail these works that continued and further developed the traditional system of genres in a changed literary system, even though these texts in particular reveal, through subtle differences from their 'models', that literary works have acquired a new 'Sitz im Leben' and that they now fulfil communicative functions that differ from their role in earlier centuries.[5] The paper is instead concerned with texts that do not fit the old genre system, or that can be made do so only with some difficulty. These include texts that are today among the best known works of late antique literature and, in the case of Augustine's *Confessions*, of world literature as a whole.

The sharpest resistance to a classification in the traditional genre system, or of any genre system, occurs in Christian literary works. A number of examples from the large corpus of Latin Christian literature is presented here:

a)  Narrative and poetic forms:
   –  martyr's acts, passion literature and hagiographical literature, i.e. composite forms deploying elements of historiography, epic (in poetic hagiography),[6] biography and documentary literature; the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is a woman's prison diary;[7]
   –  Prudentius' corpus of poems, which Walther Ludwig has termed a 'super-poem' ('Supergedicht') that experiments with different forms;[8]

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**3** On the extent to which late antique Christian literature, and especially poetry, was or wished to be part of the classical pagan tradition, see Charlet (1988), engaging with the views of Reinhart Herzog. An overview and appreciation of the literary quality of late antique texts, which are in general very heterogeneous in character, is provided by Döpp (1988); Herzog (1989).

**4** Cf. the overview in Fladerer (2006) 282–296.

**5** For this discussion of the question of 'generic continuity' ('Gattungskontinuität') I refer to Herzog (1976). On the process by which the traditional literary genres lost and redefined their 'Sitz im Leben' from the 3rd century onwards, see Kirsch (1988) 9 and 14–18.

**6** Cf. Pollmann (2001) 119–125 on Venantius Fortunatus.

**7** On the question of the *Passio*'s genre, see Formisano (2012).

**8** Ludwig (1976) 304.

> the short epic *Psychomachia* introduces the allegorical epic as a new form;[9]
> – Christian songs (hymns, abecedarii) that were either included in the liturgy, giving a traditional form a very specific 'Sitz im Leben' (authors include Ambrose, Hilarius and Augustine), or were literary hymns (Prudentius, Sedulius, Ennodius).[10]
>
> b) Literature with close reference to the text of the Bible:
> – Bible poetry, i.e., the Bible paraphrases, almost all in epic form (Juvencus' *Evangelia*, Paulinus of Nola, Arator, Sedulius, Dracontius, Avitus and others), and the centones, which retell Bible stories through quotations from Vergil;[11]
> – sermons, i.e. orations that took their themes from the prescriptions of the church calendar and, in the case of exegetical sermons (homilies), from the text of the Bible; these texts form a large proportion of the corpus of late antique Christian literature (Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian, Hilarius, Jerome and others);[12]
> – Bible commentaries, of which only a small number employed the forms of the scholarly commentary mentioned above (especially Jerome), but which explained the text of the Bible in various ways. Some have passages that take the form of treatises (Marius Victorinus) or that are reworked exegetical sermons (Hilarius, Ambrose, Augustine); often their function is not just exegetical, but also pastoral or motivational (e.g. Augustine's commentaries on the letters of Paul).[13]

Under this last rubric, the most ambitious literary text is probably Augustine's *Confessions*, an autobiographical narrative that is continuously linked back to the Bible by citations of its text and is completed by a commentary on the begin-

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**9** Cf. Pollmann (2001) 106–113.

**10** Cf. Fuhrer (2007).

**11** A number of recent papers and monographs on the late antique biblical epic and Christian centones address the problem of genre; esp. Roberts (2004) and Sandnes (2011) 50 ff. on Juvencus; Pollmann (2001) 114–119 on Avitus. On the centones, Pollmann (2004); McGill (2007); Bažil (2009); Sandnes (2011) 107 ff. Consolino (2005) provides an overview of the extant poetic Bible paraphrases and their forms.

**12** The surviving late antique sermons are composed on the lines of classical rhetoric, in which most clerics had been educated; the exegetical sermons, like the Bible commentaries, are characterised by pagan techniques of philological and philosophical commentary. Cf. on this Schäublin (1994–2005); Young (1997) 241 ff.

**13** On the forms and functions of patristic commentaries, see Fladerer (2006) 276 f.; 282 f.; 309–327.

ning of the Book of Genesis, which is interpreted first literally, then allegorically. This combination of biography and Bible commentary is distracting and continually raises the question of the work's unity, which is closely connected to the question of its literary genre.[14] The *City of God* is similarly hybrid and also has a type of Genesis commentary as a second part, in Books 11–14.

To avoid the difficulties of forcing these texts into a system of genres, it is tempting to talk simply of 'literary forms' or of 'text types'.[15] It is certainly clear that there is great interest in experimenting with the literary tradition and its genres and forms and, in doing so, to locate it in specifically Christian ways of life.[16]

However, the most important distinguishing characteristic of the works listed in the second section above is that they refer, in some way, to a reference-text that was adopted into the ancient literary system when the Roman empire was Christianised, namely the Bible.[17] A further distinction can therefore be made between (a) the works that in some form offer a vivid presentation of Christian teaching, like hagiographical literature, passion literature in narrative form, or hymns in poetic and musical form, and (b) those that refer to the text of the Bible more or less explicitly, cite it, comment on it, paraphrase or rework it. This second group includes the Bible commentaries and sermons, but also texts with literary ambitions such as biblical epics, centones, Prudentius' 'super-poem' and Augustine's *Confessions* and *City of God*. It is this second group that is examined in this paper.

Although at first glance these texts seem to have little in common except their resistance to classification in the traditional genre system, they can be set in relation to a common denominator: they all belong to a type of literature that has the distinctive feature of referring to a given pre- or hypotext, and which can be termed heteronomous literature.[18] As some of these texts have a liturgical or pastoral function (such as the exegetical sermons and some of the commen-

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**14** Cf. Young (1999). On the question of the unity of the *Confessions* and the possibility of reading the authorial figure 'Augustinus' as the object of the exegesis in the first part but as subject in the second part, see Fuhrer (2011).

**15** Cf. the title of the *Entretiens* edited by Fuhrmann (1976): 'Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident' and Hempfer (1997) 651.

**16** Cf. the discussion of the research literature on the topic in Formisano (2007), esp. 281–284.

**17** On this, see Wilken (2008), esp. 8–10, who talks of the 'inescapability' of the text of the Bible in the production of literature in late antique Christian contexts. Cf. also n. 23 below.

**18** The term heteronomy is not used here in an evaluative sense (i.e. in opposition to the Kantian concept of art that is autonomous and follows only aesthetic laws), but to designate the fact that texts stand in a relation to another text, in this case the text of the Bible; thus also Kirsch (1988) 10. Cf. also n. 37 below.

taries) or claim a literary and aesthetic status (as do the Bible paraphrases, the *Confessions* and the *City of God*), they should be distinguished from the scholarly commentary. Following Markus Dubischar, these forms or text types can be termed 'auxiliary texts', a term that encompasses the various types of commentary literature, further defined by their function.[19] The concept of an auxiliary text, in a strict sense, embraces all forms of 'supporting material' for literature, i.e. texts that serve another text. In Genette's terminology, these texts could also be termed hypertexts, as they stand in some kind of relation to the hypotext of the Bible.[20]

The origin of the forms described here should be understood in the broader context of practices of reading, interpreting and writing among late antique Christians. I begin from the generally accepted thesis that the practice of textual interpretation that had been deployed and systematised for centuries in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric, and/or the practice of Judaeo-Christian textual exegesis, marked the Christian authors' own writing practices.[21] Through their transtextual manner of writing, they developed a distinctive style that is often labelled 'fragmented'.[22] One could say that the 'classical texts' are taken apart and put back together again (as in the cento), or that they serve as a stock of thought patterns, images and formulas (as in biblical epic); at the same time, the text of the Bible itself is reworked, paraphrased (again in biblical epic), cited repeatedly (in the homilies and treatises and the autobiographical part of Augustine's *Confessions*), excerpted and lemmatised (in the scholarly commentary). In these texts the new reference-text, the Bible, is also continually recontextualised and, to some extent, given literary status in the generic and semantic systems of the scholarly commentary, of ancient rhetoric, of the poetic forms epic, elegy and lyric or, in the case of the *Confessions*, of biography combined with scholarly commentary. The Bible is thus revealed as a text that can be reworked and fragmented without loss of meaning and that is not transformed by this process, but instead has a transforming effect on these traditional forms.[23]

None of the phenomena described here are in themselves novel. Transtextual writing or the production of heteronomous literature or 'literature in the sec-

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**19** Dubischar (2010).

**20** According to Genette (1997); cf. Pollmann (2004) 79 f.

**21** Cf. e.g. Charlet (1988); Kirsch (1988); Moretti (2003); Bright (2008); Fuhrer (2011).

**22** Cf. Formisano (2007) 283 f., with reference to Isabella Gualandri.

**23** Cf. Bright (2008) 55 – 57 with further references; Young (1997) 235: 'So Christian reading of the scriptures for homiletic and liturgical purposes … generated new texts'; Wilken (2008) 13: 'The Bible was … an active participant in the new culture'.

ond degree', to use Genette's terminology again, can also be taken as a charac-
teristic of Hellenistic literature and the tradition it shaped.[24] Commentary on
texts that have been declared canonical, i.e. the production of auxiliary texts,
reached its first highpoint in Hellenistic Alexandria in the second and first cen-
turies B.C. In that period it can already be seen that exegetic practice produces a
type of exegetic writing: Hellenistic and Roman *poetae docti* composed many of
their texts in such a way that they could be read as hypertexts related to other
texts by the explanatory role they adopted.[25]

Nonetheless, a basic difference between these two epochs of literary history
stands out: while the Hellenistic philologists and poet-scholars assembled their
canons of Greek literature primarily on criteria of literary aesthetics, the early
Christians established a canon of *biblia* that was determined by the authority
of the church; aesthetic quality played no part in it, nor did cultural and linguis-
tic homogeneity.[26] The Bible was regarded as the work of inspired authors and as
a medium for communicating divine truth, and hence the writings of the Bible
were read not as literary texts, but as sacred ones. Their content, the divine
truth, must be discovered and revealed from beyond the body of the text,
which is accorded a pedagogical role.[27]

In a kind of 'chapter on method', Augustine illustrates this with the example
of the text of Genesis (*Conf.* 12.36).[28] The biblical author Moses has a 'skill in elo-

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**24** Charlet (1988), in particular, has drawn attention to the common features of Alexandrian and
late antique poetry, discussing the practice of mixing genres as 'neo-alexandrianism' (S. 77 f.). Cf.
also Fontaine (1988) 58.

**25** Thus, in certain passages, Callimachus implicitly takes a stand on questions of philological
scholarship on Homer or Pindar. Cf. e.g. Fuhrer (1992) 38 ff.

**26** Ancient debate on the matter is summarised by Dormeyer (1997) 138–140 and most recently
by Sandnes (2011) 65 ff. (ch. 3: 'Why imitate classical texts' – 3.1. 'A literary reason: The gospels'
lack of culture').

**27** The Christian commentators frequently use the image of the relation between body and spirit
(thus Orig. *Princ.* 4.2.4 and 9) or a 'wrapping' or 'covering', through which this truth can be
communicated to humans; cf. Aug. *Conf.* 6.6: *mysticum velamentum* (according to *2 Cor* 3.14–16);
*Gn. adv. Man.* 1.33; 2.40; *c. Faust.* 12.7: *figuris involuta*; etc. Cf. Dormeyer (1997) 134 f.

**28** *Vellem quippe, si tunc ego essem Moyses ... talem mihi eloquendi facultatem dari et eum
texendi sermonis modum, ut neque illi, qui nondum queunt intellegere quemadmodum creat deus,
tamquam excedentia vires suas dicta recusarent et illi, qui hoc iam possunt, in quamlibet veram
sententiam cogitando venissent, eam non praetermissam in paucis verbis tui famuli reperirent, et si
alius aliam vidisset in luce veritatis, nec ipsa in eisdem verbis intellegenda deesset* (So had I been
Moses ... I would have wished to be granted such skill in eloquence and facility of style that
those unable to understand how God creates would not set aside the language as beyond their
power to grasp; that those who had this ability and by reflection had attained to some true
opinions would find in some terse words used by your servant that their true perceptions were

quence' (*eloquendi facultas*) and achieves a 'facility of style' (*texendi sermonis modus*), with which he can create a text that functions on three levels: (1) a level that introduces the untrained general readership to the subject conveyed by the text; (2) one that provides the trained reader with the intellectual stimulation to seek the truth in Moses' text; and (3) a level that directly communicates the truth to the enlightened. The opacity and openness of the Bible's meaning, which made a commentary necessary, was often criticised, but here it is seen as an opportunity to assert that scripture is universally effective not only in its content, but also in its form.[29]

The hermeneutic significance of this is that a text, as a system of linguistic signs, is open to different interpretations. That is especially true of texts, such as the books of the Bible, which were created in a culture and era foreign to the reader and which have undergone changes in the process of transmission and, especially, of translation.[30] The text of the Bible can thus produce a whole palette of true interpretations, extended greatly by the option of allegorical and typological interpretation. Behind every interpretation lies the same, single truth. Because more than one 'true' interpretation is always possible, the text of the Bible works like a kaleidoscope: a seemingly infinite number of images can be composed by turning it, but the number and kind of stones inside stays the same, and so the possible combinations and reflections are in fact limited.

Augustine is thus formulating a kind of base-text in terms of an aesthetics of reader response,[31] and thereby justifying the invention and production of the forms of literature under discussion here, which serve the Bible text or make it their hypotext. In other words, a strong transformative effect is ascribed to the Bible text: it provokes a reaction in readers, stimulates them to search for the sense, and by doing so generates multiple meanings. Although this text does not exhibit literary and aesthetic qualities, it is nonetheless, in Bloomian terms, a 'strong' text that gives rise to multiple meanings and also to many fur-

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not left out of account; and that if, in the light of the truth, another exegete saw a different meaning, that also would not be found absent from the meaning of the same words; transl. Henry Chadwick).

**29** This type of apologetic justification of the Bible's *obscuritas* is found repeatedly in Augustine's writings: inter alia *Doctr. Chr.* 2.7; 4.9; 4.22 f.; *Cat. Rud.* 13; and elsewhere. On this, see Bright (2008) 59 ff. ('Augustine and the Transformative Dynamics of Reading').

**30** Thus in the first part of the passage at *Conf.* 12.36 cited above in n. 28. Further on, in *Conf.* 12.42, Augustine even says that he would rather write an ambiguous and polysemic text that generates a plurality of readings, than one that allows only a single interpretation – even at the risk that his text would be open to false interpretation. On this almost postmodern hermeneutic problem, see Fuhrer (2008) 377–381.

**31** This is made clear also by Bright (2008) 57 f.

ther texts. The text of the Bible is thus not only a pre- or hypotext, but also a type of supertext, a 'great code' in Northrop Frye's term, whose language and 'myths' create – indeed, demand – an almost infinite series of possible interpretations.[32]

The chapter on method in *Confessions* 12 is primarily to be read as a companion text to the exegesis of the first Creation narrative, presented in *Confessions* 11 to 13.[33] However, it also offers an account of Christian exegetical literature as a whole in terms of the aesthetics of production and reader response. If the concept 'exegetical literature' is understood in a broad sense, all hypertexts that refer to the biblical hypotext can be understood, with Augustine, as products of the transformative effect of the Bible text. This would embrace not only the various forms of commentary and the exegetical sermons, but also the centones, biblical epics and the autobiographical books of the *Confessions*, which, as a whole, can be understood as transformations of the supertext of the Bible.

In conclusion, the question asked in the title of this paper can be posed: to what extent do these text-types, which either have an auxiliary role or function as hypertexts to the hypotext 'Bible', fit into the system of literary genres at all, permitting them to be regarded as 'new genres'? If a descriptive and formalist concept of genre is adopted, in which the key aspect is the shared features of text-groups that have emerged historically,[34] then these texts can be regarded either as variant forms of existing genres – of the commentary, oration, epic or biography – or, with Jacques Fontaine, they can be seen as 'têtes de série', as models for new genres ('les modèles de genres littéraires nouveaux') and hence as the basis for new generic traditions, like the motivational commentary, biblical epic, the cento, spiritual biography or autobiography etc.[35]

I propose a different answer to the question: what distinguishes these texts is their referentiality, in that, as commentaries, speeches (sermons), epics or biographies, they put themselves at the service of another text. They do not simply subordinate themselves to the interpreted text, but instead understand themselves as works that may have high literary ambitions, in that they draw on classical texts and forms. However, they use them as a vehicle to make the Bible readable; that is, they re-functionalise the forms of the old genre system with re-

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[32] Frye (1982). The term 'supertext' is used of the Bible by Dormeyer (1997) 139f. The prefix 'super-' does not of course correspond to the 'hyper-' of the term 'hypertext', in contrast to the term 'super-genre', which Moretti (2003) 131 proposes for exegetic literature (cf. also the contribution to the present volume by Gregory Hutchinson).

[33] The passage at *Conf.* 12.36 is part of a longer reflection (12.24–43) on the possibilities of verbal exegesis of *Genesis* 1.1 (*in principio fecit deus caelum et terram*).

[34] On this, see Hempfer (1997), esp. 654.

[35] The quotations are from Fontaine (1988) 66.

spect to the specifically Christian reference-text.[36] This in-between status, between heteronomy and autonomy,[37] is in fact programmatic and as a result these works *must* break the boundaries of the old genre system.

I return to my image of the kaleidoscope, which may clarify this phenomenon too. Hypertexts and texts with an auxiliary function illuminate the reference-text, the text of the Bible, in multiple ways by combining it with the texts and genres of the classical pagan tradition in countless possible combinations, like pebbles in a kaleidoscope. The Bible, however, is such a strong text that each of these newly composed images, that is, each new genre, inescapably bears its stamp.[38]

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AnTard | Antiquité Tardive |
| AugStud | Augustinian Studies |
| Entr. Fond. Hardt | Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt |
| PLLS | Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar |
| RAC | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum |
| RLW | Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft |

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**36** Their aesthetics are thus not defined by reference to the classical forms, as Charlet (1988) 83 f. would like to establish. When these texts recur to the old system of genres, they do so only to present a new reading of this supertext. They do not claim to be autonomous texts (even if we regard them as such), but instead draw attention to their heteronomous status. Augustine's *Confessions* do this in the distracting way, mentioned above, of adding a commentary on Genesis to an autobiography.

**37** Charlet (1988) 82–84 challenges the distinction, widely known from the work of Reinhart Herzog, between heteronomous and autonomous classical literature, and consequently rejects criticism of late antique Biblical poetry according to the criteria of an aesthetic of heteronomy. As Formisano (2007) 281 rightly stresses, referring to Michael Roberts' concept of the 'jeweled style', a single, uniform aesthetic should not be assumed for the literature of Late Antiquity.

**38** I would like to thank Orla Mulholland for translating this article from German.

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# Epic and Didactic

Katharina Volk
# The Genre of Cicero's *De consulatu suo*

**Abstract:** This paper argues that Cicero's much-maligned poem about his consul-ship was a highly original work that challenged the boundaries of the epic genre. Incorporating elements of political autobiography and didactic poetry and rais-ing interesting questions about poetic voice and persona, the poem presents a prime example of *Kreuzung der Gattungen*. The poet-protagonist's privileging of civic over military achievements is a bold move in terms not only of Roman political ideals but also of generic decorum, constituting a *recusatio* of tradition-al martial epic in favor of a new, uniquely Ciceronian type of poetry.

**Keywords:** autobiography, Cicero, De consulatu suo, epic, genre, Kreuzung der Gattungen, recusatio

Cicero's poem about his consulship may well be the most reviled work of ancient literature.[1] Ridiculed already in the author's time, its mention is even today usu-ally accompanied by a knowing rolling of eyes, and the quotation of its most no-torious line, *o fortunatam natam me consule Romam*, is bound to cause hilarity—that is, among those who have even heard of the work's existence. In what fol-lows, I will not attempt to vindicate *De consulatu suo* as a great work of litera-ture, but I will take the poem seriously and argue that—as far as we can tell from the meager fragments—it was a highly original work and one that played fast and loose with generic categories. In doing so, I will pass over many topics that have been the subject of scholarly debate, including the work's title,[2] the

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**2** Ancient book titles are notoriously slippery, and *De consulatu suo*, *De consulatu meo*, *De consulatu*, and *Consulatus* (all of which have been championed by modern scholars) are all plausible ways of referring to what would probably have been known simply as Cicero's poem 'about [his] consulship.' In what follows, I stick with *De consulatu suo*, the title most commonly used in modern scholarhip.

order of the fragments,[3] individual problems of text and interpretation, and the question of the relationship of *De consulatu suo* to *De temporibus suis*, a kind of sequel that Cicero was working on in the 50s BC but most likely never published.[4] Focusing on the poem's generic affiliations, I will not be able to discuss all interesting aspects of the work, nor will I engage in any significant close reading of the fragments. However, I believe that my approach will illuminate what makes this text special, and how this special text relates to the special circumstances and purposes of its composition.[5]

## 1. Kreuzung der Gattungen

So what *is* the genre of *De consulatu suo*? The simple answer is that it is, of course, an epic. The work is written in hexameters, treats a historical subject, and was, at three books, of not inconsiderable length.[6] Its generic integrity, however, is complicated by a number of factors. First, even though immediately after his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, Cicero began to think about how his achievements might be presented most effectively to his contemporaries and to posterity, it is not as though he decided right away to immortalize them in a poem of his own.[7] In the three years 62 through 60, we find the author composing a number of texts on the topic and hatching various schemes to have others write as well. What exact genre such a treatment was going to take, and in what language it was going to be written, seem to have been only secondary considerations.

Cicero first described—and no doubt glorified—his actions as a consul in an extensive letter to Pompey, which is now lost but which seems to have been a

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**3** The reconstruction in Courtney 1993, 157 seems largely reasonable to me, though the placement of some individual fragments must of necessity remain speculative.

**4** Harrison 1990 argues convincingly that *De temporibus suis* (which treated Cicero's exile and return) remained unpublished, demonstrating that putative references to it in authors other than Cicero himself all refer instead to *De consulatu suo* or other texts. Though *De temporibus suis* will not play a role in the following discussion, it was clearly a project very similar to the poem on Cicero's consulship, especially in its use of divine figures, a topic on which see Section 2 below.

**5** Unless otherwise indicated, I quote *De consulatu suo* from Courtney 1993 (C.), while also providing the fragment numbering of Soubiran 1972 (S.) and Blänsdorf 2011 (*FPL*). All translations are my own.

**6** That the poem had three books, and three books only, is indicated by *Att.* 2. 3. 4.

**7** For Cicero's 'carefully orchestrated management of the recording of [his] consulship,' see Steel 2005, 49–63 (quotation at 52); more generally on Ciceronian self-presentation across his œuvre, see Kurczyk 2006 (with discussion of *De consulatu suo* at 76–103).

kind of mini-treatise intended to be passed around to other readers as well.[8] In addition, Cicero was hoping that the Greek poet Archias would write a laudatory poem about him, as he had done for such other Roman statesmen as Marius and Lucullus (*Arch.* 28, 31). Once it turned out, to Cicero's disappointment, that Archias had no intention of doing so,[9] the consular took matters into his own hands and, as we can reconstruct from the correspondence with Atticus, first composed a Greek ὑπόμνημα, a prose account of his consulship.[10] This he circulated widely in the Greek world, sending it, among other people, to Posidonius, in the express hopes that the Greek author would use it as the source of a longer historiographical work—another case of wishful thinking.[11] Instead, Atticus himself tried his hand at a short Greek narrative of his friend's achievements (*Att.* 2. 1. 1; cf. Nep. *Att.* 18. 6), which Cicero pronounced *horridula ... atque incompta* ('rough and unpolished') while still claiming to have read it with pleasure (*Att.* 2. 1. 1).

Meanwhile, Cicero himself was reportedly working on a Latin *commentarius*, though it is unclear whether he ever finished or even seriously started it (*Att.* 1. 19. 10). The poem is thus the third treatment of the topic the author himself undertook: in March 60, he tells Atticus, no doubt with a certain irony, *tertium poema expectato ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur* ('as the third [work], you can expect a poem, lest I leave out some genre of self-praise,' *ibid.*); by December, the work appears to have been finished (*Att.* 2. 3. 4). The same year 60 saw the publication of a selection of Cicero's consular speeches (*Att.* 2. 1. 3), another deliberate effort to promote a well-designed image of the author's achievements three years earlier.

These numerous actual or envisaged expositions of Cicero's consulship were, or would have been, to some extent different in content, style, purpose, and audience. It is nevertheless striking how Cicero, when shopping the topic

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**8**  See *Sul.* 67; *Planc.* 85 with Schol. Bob. *ad loc.* (167. 23–30 Stangl). *Fam.* 5. 7 (Cicero to Pompey, April 62) seems to be a response to Pompey's apparently less than enthusiastic reception of Cicero's letter.

**9**  *Att.* 1. 16. 15 (July 61): *Archias nihil de me scripserit* ('Archias has written nothing about me'); in the same place, Cicero mentions another Greek poet, Thyillus, who has likewise failed to deliver a poem on the topic.

**10**  See *Att.* 1. 19. 10, 1. 20. 6, 2. 1. 1 (March-June 60). On the work, still used by Plutarch, see Lendle 1967.

**11**  See *Att.* 2. 1. 2. Cicero may have been less than serious in his endeavors to have Posidonius pick up the topic: the humble genre of the ὑπόμνημα/*commentarius* liked to present itself as a rough source for more literary treatment, but this may have been little more than a convention; what Cicero was really after may simply have been Posidonius' praise and approval (see Pelling 2009, 43 on 'that distinctive *commentarii*-pretence' and 2006, 17 specifically on Cicero)

around and experimenting with it himself, apparently considered a number of different genres potentially appropriate for his content and moved easily from one to the other.[12] He finally settled on an epic poem, but even this work is not generically stable, instead presenting—to use Wilhelm Kroll's celebrated phrase—a veritable *Kreuzung der Gattungen*.[13]

Before investigating what types of texts exactly are 'crossed' in *De consulatu suo* to make up Cicero's very own genre of self-praise, we may reflect for a moment on how we wish to conceive of generic hybridity. In an article of 2001, Alessandro Barchiesi revisits Kroll's famous discussion, pointing to the biological and genetic ideas that underlie the German scholar's conceptualization of the mixed genres of Hellenistic and Roman poetry. Kroll's idea of genre is essentially positivist: genres exist as such, in the real world, as it were, just like species of animals and plants, and can, so to speak, be 'bred' into hybrids by enterprising authors, who take what they find and make it into something new.

By contrast, as Barchiesi points out, scholars today are less prepared to consider genre as a given, preferring instead to view it as something created by the text itself, in particular by the self-referential and metapoetic statements of the poet's voice. Genre is thus an intratextual construct rather than an extratextual reality; it does not exist so much as it is projected. For most of the following discussion, I will adopt a rather Krollian positivist attitude, pretending that there are genres 'out there,' elements of which Cicero incorporated into his own text. This approach, though perhaps questionable from a more constructionist perspective, will, I believe, yield interesting insights,[14] and is at any rate necessitated by the fact that the fragmentary nature of the *De consulatu suo* makes it difficult to isolate programmatic strategies that would allow us to trace the construction of genre effected by the text itself. Only at the end of this paper will I stop describing the genre of Cicero's poem as viewed from the outside and discuss one passage in which I believe that the author actively engages in defining or, indeed, inventing his own type of poetry.

Embarking on our quasi-genetic analysis of *De consulatu suo*, we may start by observing that beginning with Naevius and Ennius, historical epic had a long tradition in Rome, and that epic poems on contemporary events, probably

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**12** Compare Misch 1907, 142 f.: 'Und wenn die Eitelkeit, die hier den Cicero treibt, nicht zum Verweilen lockt, so ist es doch etwas Wesentliches, daß dies individualisiertere Selbstgefühl sich in der Freiheit der Bewegung innerhalb der Formen ausdrückt.'
**13** See the classic chapter of Kroll 1924, 202–224 and compare the more recent theoretical reflections by Barchiesi 2001 and Harrison 2007, 1–33.
**14** It may also be more in keeping with the ideas of genre held by Cicero and his contemporaries; compare Harrison 2007, 2–10.

often with a strong panegyric flavor, were an established subgenre in the late Republic. We thus find, for example, Hostius' *Bellum Istricum*, the *Bellum Sequanicum* of Varro of Atax, and a poem on Caesar's Gallic war by one Furius, perhaps Bibaculus (if so, this work may be identical with the *Annals* attested for the same author).[15] Closer to home, the Cicero brothers, Marcus and Quintus, in 54 each attempted an epic treatment of Caesar's British campaign, though apparently only Marcus made significant progress on his version.[16]

It is unclear whether the Roman predilection for historical and political epic reflects particularly Roman concerns with empire and the *res publica* or whether it is an inheritance from the Greek Hellenistic world. In his influential *Das hellenistische Epos* (1934; 2nd ed. 1966), Konrat Ziegler argued that there had been 'hundreds and thousands of verses' of historical and/or panegyric Hellenistic epic, of which Roman epic was the direct descendant.[17] This view was vigorously attacked in 1995 by Alan Cameron, who—after surveying the evidence in Chapter 10 of his iconoclastic *Callimachus and his Critics*—came to the conclusion that there was 'not a single indisputable example of a full-scale epic poem on the deeds of a Hellenistic king' (281). While lack of testimony need not imply that a phenomenon never existed, the dearth of concrete evidence for Hellenistic historical epic (of which Ziegler himself was fully aware) means that we are in no position to make pronouncements on the influence of such poetry on Roman epic in general or on Cicero's poem in particular.[18]

A different important model for *De consulatu suo* was Roman political autobiography, a type of writing that had arisen in the late Republic and often served a purpose of self-justification, a major concern of Cicero's as well.[19] M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115) and P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105) each wrote *De uita sua*, and Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102) is credited with a *Liber de consulatu et de rebus ges-*

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**15** For the fragments of Hostius, see Courtney 1993, 52–55 and Blänsdorf 2011, 90–92; for Varro's *Bellum Sequanicum*, see Courtney 1993, 238 and Blänsdorf 2011, 240–241; on Furius' poem on the Gallic war, see Courtney 1993, 195–198 (with discussion of the 'Furius question' on 198–200) and Blänsdorf 2011, 206–207 (with different ideas about the identity of Furius). A useful overview of Republican historical and panegyric epic can be found in White 1993, 78–82.
**16** See *Q. Fr.* 2. 16. 4, 3. 1. 11, 3. 4. 4, 3. 6. 3, 3. 7. 6, with Allen 1955.
**17** Ziegler 1966, 21: 'Hunderttausende von Versen.' Feeney 1991, 264–269 follows Ziegler in assuming a plethora of Hellenistic historical epics, which crucially influenced Roman epic and its depiction of the divine.
**18** Hose 1995 views Cicero as a 'Hellenistic epicist,' primarily based on his treatment of the gods, on which see further below. See now also Knox 2011.
**19** On the genre, see Misch 1907, 124–156, Lewis 1993, 658–669, Scholz 2003, Walter 2003, Baier 2005, Kurczyk 2006, 48–54, the papers in Smith and Powell (eds.) 2009, Candau 2011, and Tatum 2011.

*tis*.[20] Most famous were Sulla's memoirs, in twenty-two books, in which the erst-while dictator styled himself a protégé of Fortune and stressed his supernatural gift of *felicitas* (good luck); such ideas of divine support and legitimation are central to *De consulatu suo* as well.[21]

If Cicero's poem can thus be described as a cross between historical epic and political autobiography, it also exhibits elements of didactic poetry and indeed philosophy.[22] Our longest fragment (10 C. = 2 S. = 6 *FPL*) consists of a speech by the Muse Urania, who explains the portents that accompanied the Catilinarian conspiracy from the perspective of natural philosophy. The central idea that divine nature provides human beings with prophetic signs has a strong Stoic taste and is reminiscent of the theology of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, the popular Hellenistic poem of celestial signification that Cicero himself translated in his youth.[23] The fragment concludes with the decidedly unepic praise of those who have studied *inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lyceo* ('in the shady Academy and gleaming Lyceum,' 73), a group of sages in which Cicero is explicitly included (75 f.).[24]

The relationship of *De consulatu suo* to the most important Latin didactic and philosophical poem of the late Republic, Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, is controversial. There are intriguing points of contact between the two works, not just in terms of diction but also in content, moments where the two authors, with their widely divergent world-views, seem to engage in debate. For example, Cicero interprets Jupiter's striking his own Capitoline temple with lightning as a divine sign of impending doom (10 C. = 2 S. = 6 *FPL*, 36–38), while Lucretius considers lightning damage to shrines a clear indication that the gods play no part

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**20** For the fragments of these works, see *HRRel* 1. 185–194; for discussion, see the titles cited in the previous note.

**21** The fragments of Sulla's memoirs can be found in *HRRel* 1. 195–204. On the work, see Scholz 2003 and Smith 2009; specifically on the role of *felicitas* and the supernatural, see Thein 2009 and Wiseman 2009.

**22** For the didactic mode of the Urania speech, see Büchner 1939, 1247; more generally on the poem's philosophical outlook, see Plezia 1983 and Gildenhard 2011, 292–298.

**23** On the influence of Aratus on *De consulatu suo*, see Kubiak 1994. We owe the Urania speech to Cicero's self-quotation in *Div.* 1. 17–22, where Quintus uses Marcus' own verse in an attempt to persuade his skeptical brother of the validity of divination; note that for the same purpose, Quintus also quotes a fair number of lines from his brother's *Aratea*. Cicero the author is playing an elusive game here, highlighting his poetic achievements while ultimately disavowing (via his textual alter ego Marcus, who remains unswayed by Quintus' arguments) the sentiments expressed therein.

**24** One wonders whether line 73 contains an in-joke about Cicero's own 'Academy' and 'Lyceum,' the two gymnasia on his Tusculan estate (see Pease 1920–1923 *ad* CIC. *Div.* 1. 8, with references).

in the workings of nature (Lucr. 2. 1101 f. and 6.417–420). Büchner 1939, 1249 f. and Courtney 1993, 166 f., 170, and 171 believe that here and elsewhere, Cicero is reacting to Lucretius. However, this scenario is chronologically problematic, given that *De rerum natura* is usually believed to have been published only in the mid-50s[25] (there may also be an unspoken prejudice at work that a great poet like Lucretius cannot possibly have been influenced by a work like *De consulatu suo*[26]). I would therefore side with Fellin 1951 and assume that it is instead Lucretius who is engaging with *De consulatu suo.* By the end of the decade, as Zetzel 1998 has shown, we find Cicero in turn responding to *De rerum natura* in his *De re publica*, presenting an anti-Epicurean cosmos in which political activity is man's highest calling. It is attractive to view these two writers as engaged in an extended discussion that is both philosophical and literary and extends across the boundaries of genres, from historical epic to didactic poetry to philosophical prose treatise.

## 2. Cicero the Protagonist, Cicero the Poet

To return to *De consulatu suo* itself, the poem's most unusual feature is, of course, the fact that its author is also its hero, a phenomenon unparalleled in previous epic and one whose implications have not been fully explored in scholarship. An obvious question is that of the work's narrative voice: did Cicero tell his story in the first or the third person? There are two possible pieces of evidence, which do, however, point in opposite directions. First, the famous line

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**25** The only contemporary piece of evidence for *De rerum natura* is Cicero's own report in a letter of February 54 (*Q. fr.* 2. 10. 3) of heaving read *Lucreti poemata.* Büchner 1939, 1249 and Courtney 1993, 171 assume that Cicero knew parts of the poem already in 60: not impossible, but certainly a stretch. It also surely makes more sense for a poem to react to a published work rather than one still 'in progress,' at least if a readership beyond the two authors is supposed to appreciate the reference.

**26** Even the idea that Lucretius drew on Cicero's youthful *Aratea* —now generally acknowledged as fact (see, e.g., Gee forthcoming)—took a long time to gain acceptance. Early-20th-century scholars such as Guendel 1907, 51–81, Wreschniok 1907, and Merrill 1921 painstakingly collected parallels between the two authors while still maintaining that these must be owed either to common dependence on Ennius or otherwise to a shared poetic idiom. While *De consulatu suo* does not seem to have been as influential as the *Aratea* (at least as far as its fragmentary state allows us to tell), it did inspire not only ridicule but poetic imitation. Apart from the case of Lucretius, note especially Horace's reworking of the poem's most notorious line, *et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam* ('and Rome, feared by the Parthians under your rule,' *Ep.* 2. 1. 256), and see Setaioli 1975 and Gee forthcoming on Vergilian echoes.

*o fortunatam natam me consule Romam* (8 C. = 7 S. = 12 *FPL*) undoubtedly contains a first-person pronoun: 'Rome, fortunate to have been born under *my* consulship (lit. with me [being] consul).' Second, a fragment describing someone, possibly Cicero himself, as waiting fearfully at night is written in the third person: *atque animo pendens †noctu† euenta timebat* ('and, agitated, he [?] was afraid of what would happen at night,' 9 C. = 3 S. = 7 *FPL*). Note incidentally that this is the only fragment of *De consulatu suo* we have that can be remotely described as narrative—perhaps another indication of how unusual an epic this poem was.

Scholars normally assume that *De consulatu suo* presented a third-person narrative and that *o fortunatam* comes from an embedded speech by the character Cicero. (Some have even posited a speech by another person and emended to *te consule*—a reading for which there is, however, no ancient evidence.[27]) This consensus on the third-person narrator appears to be based primarily on a feeling that a narrative in the first person would simply not be appropriate, rather than on evidence from the fragments or testimonia. Nothing a priori precludes *o fortunatam* from being uttered by the narrator, and the person who was afraid at night could well be Catiline or perhaps Cicero's wife. In fact, as Ernst Koch remarked ninety years ago, it seems somewhat unlikely that Cicero would have presented himself as being so fearful: *animo pendens*, yes, but *timebat?*[28]

In this context, it is of interest that the Roman political autobiographies mentioned above appear to have been written in the first person.[29] In an important discussion of the ways in which writers of historiography present their own deeds, John Marincola (1997, 182–205) has shown that while historians often use the third person when telling of their own achievements as part of a larger narrative, autobiographers, who exclusively focus on their own actions, typically employ the first (the notable exception being Julius Caesar): '[i]n hypomnematic literature, both Greek and Latin, the first person is used' (205). We may therefore

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**27** The verse is unanimously transmitted in the version given above in the text ([SAL.] *Cic.* 5; [CIC.] *Sal.* 7; QUINT. *Inst.* 9. 4. 41, 11. 1. 24; JUV. 10. 122; Diomedes 466. 1 Keil). Pascoli 1911, 68 f. proposes emending *o fortunatam, Tulli, te consule Romam*, getting rid not only of the first person but also of the much-criticized jingle *fortunatam natam* (on which see already QUINT. *Inst.* 9. 4. 41). Allen 1956, 144–146 (followed by Goldberg 1995, 167 + n. 17 and Hose 1995, 467) suggests changing solely the pronoun.

**28** Koch 1922, 34: 'Vix credibile videtur poetam, quo carmine sese laudibus extulerit, scripsisse sese eventura timuisse.' Commentators, however, point to APP. *BC* 2. 1. 6, which describes Cicero on the evening of 5 December 63 as δεδιὼς ἀμφὶ τῇ νυκτὶ προσιούσῃ ('in fear about the night to come'), a suggestive though hardly conclusive parallel.

**29** See *HRRel*, Scaurus frr. 3 and 6, Rutilius Rufus frr. 9 and 14, and Sulla fr. 3, with Marincola 1997, 196 n. 101.

assume that in his Greek ὑπόμνημα and (putative) Latin *commentarius*, Cicero told of his consulship in the first person as well. Could he, or would he, have done the same in his epic, a genre where third-person narrative was the norm?

The idea of a hero-narrator as such is not altogether alien to epic. Famously, Odysseus recounts his own adventures in *Odyssey* 9 – 12, a feature that Vergil imitated in Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy and his own subsequent wanderings (*A.* 2 – 3). What makes the epic protagonist Cicero different from Odysseus and Aeneas, however, is the fact that he is at the same time the poet of the work in which he appears, a state of affairs that raises mind-boggling questions. For in a typical epic (with a typical epic third-person narrative), it is the poet-narrator who is the first-person speaker par excellence, and he usually does make a few statements *in propria persona*, primarily in self-referential passages such as the work's proem. In ancient reading practice, this narrator is habitually identified with the author: thus, for example, ancient readers usually take the speaker of *arma uirumque cano* to be Vergil, even though they may be dimly aware of the fact that poetic persona does not equal historical author.[30] So unless *De consulatu suo* uncharacteristically did not feature any proem or other authorial statements, are we to imagine the poem to have opened with something like 'Of Cicero I sing,' thus presenting a confusing split between Cicero the poet (first person) and Cicero the character (third person)? By contrast, an opening 'Of *me* I sing' would have avoided this problem, but would have been a bold innovation within the epic genre.

This brings us to a related issue. One of the most striking features of *De consulatu suo* as presented in the ancient sources is the work's use of divine figures. Apparently, Cicero throughout the poem was shown as personally interacting with the gods: he was called by Jupiter into a council of the gods[31]; Minerva

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**30** On ancient approaches to the poetic first-person speaker, see Clay 1998 and Mayer 2003.
**31** See [SAL.] *Cic.* 3, 7; QUINT. *Inst.* 11. 1. 24. Since these testimonies do not refer directly to *De consulatu suo*, it has sometimes been assumed that the divine council mentioned by pseudo-Sallust and Quintilian comes not from Cicero's poem on his consulship, but the sequel *De temporibus suis*, where such a plot element is attested by *Q. fr.* 2. 8. 1 and 3. 1. 24. However, Harrison 1990, 458 – 460 demonstrates that at least [SAL.] *Cic.* 3 must refer to *De consulatu suo*: in the divine council mentioned there, Cicero is designated guardian of Rome, no doubt in preparation for the threatening Catilinarian conspiracy (see also below with n. 43). The council is therefore typically believed to have occurred in the poem's first book (though Hose 1995, 467 f. places it at the work's end). For a discussion of Cicero's divine council within the history of Latin epic, see Barchiesi 2009.

taught him the *artes*[32]; and two Muses, Urania and Calliope, addressed speeches to him, parts of which make up our most significant fragments (10 C. = 2 S. = 6 *FPL*; 11 C. = 8 S. = 8 *FPL*). Of course, the many portents surrounding Cicero's consulship are also a form of communication from the divine. It is obviously the case that Cicero's purpose was to present his actions in 63 as divinely supported and legitimized, a strategy in evidence also in other Ciceronian works.[33]

Cicero's hobnobbing with the gods was criticized already in antiquity as presumptious,[34] but for our purposes it is yet another indication of how unusual and original a work *De consulatu suo* was. Scholars have long wondered how these interactions with the divine were presented in the text and have generally come to the conclusion that the character Cicero must have encountered the gods and Muses in a dream or dreams. This *communis opinio* once again seems to be based primarily on a sense of propriety: the fragments and testimonia say absolutely nothing about dreams, and potential literary models point in diverse directions. While it is true, for example, that Callimachus in the first two books of the *Aetia* conversed with the Muses in a dream, he was awake during the epiphany of Apollo recounted in the prologue, and Hesiod encountered the goddesses of poetry in broad daylight. As some critics have pointed out, it would be a bit odd for the protagonist of an epic to be asleep for vast stretches of the text,[35] and I see no reason why Cicero could not have met Jupiter, Minerva, Urania, and Calliope face to face while fully conscious.

The prevalence of the motif is still striking and has led some scholars to speculate that Cicero's conversations with the gods might have been more than just occasional interludes. Perhaps the council of the gods and/or the encounter with the Muses was the frame narrative for the entire poem and the action was in fact narrated by divinities[36]—a setup that would, incidentally, be a way around the problem of first- vs. third-person narrative. A framework in which speeches by Muses or other gods make up the majority of a literary text is not unheard of. The most famous example is Callimachus' *Aetia*, an important

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**32** See [SAL.] *Cic.* 7; QUINT. *Inst.* 11. 1. 24. It is wholly unclear whether the poem featured an actual scene of instruction or whether Minerva's acting as teacher is a figurative way of referring to Cicero's education, especially his study in Athens (mentioned in 10 C. = 2 S. = 6 *FPL*, 71–76).
**33** See, e.g., Steel 2005, 49–63, Cole 2006, 36–49, Gildenhardt 2011, 272–298, and more generally Kurczyk 2006.
**34** See CIC. *Dom.* 92; [SAL.] *Cic.* 3, 7; QUINT. *Inst.* 11. 1. 24.
**35** Hose 1995, 464: '... darf man ... annehmen, daß ... [Cicero] in die epische Darstellung gleich zwei ... Schlafsequenzen in wichtigen Nächten einfügte?'; Kubiak 1994, 56 n. 20: 'Cicero cannot have slept through the entire poem.'
**36** Some kind of divine frame narrative is suggested by Misch 1907, 145, Brush 1971, 57, Jocelyn 1984, 44–46, and Schmidt 2001, 103f.

comparandum that has only in recent years begun to be taken seriously as a source for Cicero.[37] A later example from Latin literature, greatly influenced by Callimachus (and perhaps Cicero as well?), is Ovid's *Fasti*, where the poet encounters a series of gods, including the Muses, who in sometimes lengthy speeches convey to him the information he seeks about the Roman calendar.[38] Ovid, incidentally, meets his divine interlocutors while fully awake: no coy resorting to dreams there.

Imagining a similar setup for *De consulatu suo* raises interesting questions. First, it should be noted that the interactions with the divine found in the poem are remarkably unepic. Of course, councils of the gods are a part of the traditional epic *Götterapparat*, but human protagonists are not normally invited to them, nor typically treated to lengthy didactic speeches by the Muses. There are a few meager parallels from other texts and genres: critics like to point out that in a work by the Greek historian Silenus, Hannibal dreamt that he was summoned to a council of the gods, where Zeus told him to invade Italy,[39] and Cicero's own *Somnium Scipionis* presents an important, albeit later, parallel to the Urania speech.[40] Still, the fact remains that epic heroes (or indeed the protagonists of historiography) do not ususally have extended conversations with divine figures, let alone the Muses. By contrast, it is *poets*—such as Callimachus in the *Aetia* and Ovid in the *Fasti*—who do.[41]

With the scanty fragments we have, it is admittedly difficult to construct a concrete scenario in which the envisaged plot of *De consulatu suo* would be narrated by divine figures, and scholars who favor such a setup are often quite vague about what exactly they imagine. Thus Misch 1907, 145 simply posits that 'die Haupthandlung ist auf den Olymp selbst verlegt, wo Jupiter, Apollon,

**37** On the 'Callimachean design' (Hutchinson 1998, 298) of Cicero's poem, see Kubiak 1994, 57 f., Hutchinson 1998, 278 f. and 298, Schmidt 2001, 104, and esp. Zetzel unpublished. For a contrasting argument that Cicero was never a 'Callimachean' poet, see now Knox 2011.
**38** Schmidt 2001: 104 briefly mentions the *Fasti* as a parallel to *De consulatu suo*. In the discussion following Schmidt's original presentation at a Fondation Hardt conference, Alessandro Barchiesi suggested (p. 134) that the speech of Urania in *Fast*. 5. 55 – 78 might be modeled on the appearance of the same Muse in Cicero; see also Barchiesi 2009 on the possible influence of the council of the gods in *De consulatu suo* on that in *Metamorphoses* 1.
**39** See Silenus, 175 F2 Jacoby = Cɪc. *Div*. 1. 49, and the discussion of Hose 1995, 466 f.
**40** Plezia 1983, 389 f. (cf. Courtney 1993 *ad loc.*) suggests that the Calliope speech (11 C. = 8 S. = 8 *FPL*), which seems to have concluded the poem (*Att*. 2. 3. 4) and of which we only have the three final (?) verses, was something like a first sketch for the *Somnium*, dealing with the statesman's eternal rewards. Calliope enjoins Cicero to keep pursuing his virtuous path 'in the meantime' (*interea*, 1): does this mean, 'before gaining astral immortality' vel sim.?
**41** Compare Jocelyn 1984, 44 and Schmidt 2001, 104.

Minerva, Urania, Kalliope zu Cicero und über ihn reden,' while Brush 1971, 57 states in passing that 'one assumes that part of the narrative technique was to have the events described through the mouths of the gods,' first and foremost Jupiter. H. D. Jocelyn and Ernst A. Schmidt are more explicit about the fact that they view at least the interactions with the Muses as encounters specifically of Cicero the poet and thus not part of the epic narrative as such.[42] Jocelyn even suggests that

> [w]e may therefore imagine Urania and her sisters confronting Cicero sometime in 60, when he is composing his poem and in need of instruction, not about the facts of his narrative, as Homer living centuries after the Trojan war had been, but about the significance of some of these facts. (1984, 46)

However, such a clean distinction between Cicero the writer of 60 and Cicero the consul of 63 is not borne out by the fragments and testimonies, which present the poem's divine interlocutors as concerned not only with recounting and interpreting events but also, crucially, with influencing the actions of the hero. While Urania's speech is more plainly informative, Calliope's transmitted lines are an exhortation to Cicero to keep pursuing his political path, and the invitation to the council of the gods has the specific purpose of designating Cicero 'guardian' of Rome, that is (one assumes), preparing him for his role in battling the Catilinarian conspiracy.[43] Cicero the protagonist and Cicero the poet must therefore have been closely identified in the poem: the gods and Muses provided him with information, as they had done and would do for many a poet, but they also inspired him to the political action of his consulship and of the years to follow.[44] For the epic hero Cicero himself, unlike all previous such characters, is at the same time an intellectual, one who has been taught by Minerva and has always had interactions with the Muses, as Urania points out at the end of her fragment:

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**42** Schmidt 2001, 104: 'sie sind nicht Teil der epischen Handlung, sondern poetologische Kommunikation mit dem Leser,' situated on a 'Meta-Ebene zum narrativen Corpus.'
**43** [Sal.] *Cic.* 3: *se Cicero dicit in concilio deorum immortalium fuisse, inde missum huic urbi ciuibusque custodem* ('Cicero says he was in a council of the immortal gods, whence he was sent as a guardian to this city and her citizens').
**44** Kubiak 1994, 56 coins the term 'Politikerweihe' for the experience Cicero undergoes (rather than the more usual and more literary 'Dichterweihe').

tu tamen anxiferas curas quiete relaxans,
quod patria uacat, id[45] studiis nobisque sacrasti. (10 C. = 2 S. = 6 *FPL*, 77 f.)

Soothing your anxious cares in leisure, you have dedicated to your studies and to us that which is not taken up by the fatherland.

# 3. Cedant arma togae

Even if we cannot determine with certainty the narrative voice and setup of *De consulatu suo*, the features I have been discussing convey the strong impression that the poem was a decidedly unorthodox epic, one in which the philosophically trained and divinely inspired poet is identical to the philosophically trained and divinely inspired hero. As a matter of fact, the entire plot of *De consulatu suo* is pointedly unepic, especially when compared to other Latin poems on contemporary events. Epic traditionally deals with war, and so we have our *Bellum Poenicum*, *Istricum*, *Sequanicum*, *Gallicum*, and *Britannicum*, works that celebrate more or less significant Roman compaigns against external enemies. *De consulatu suo*, by contrast, treats the achievement of a civil magistrate who defends the state by vigilance and eloquence, without any recourse to military might. Of course, Catiline was ultimately defeated in battle, and perhaps this episode was mentioned in Cicero's poem. However, Cicero himself did not participate in the action and would have tended to stress his own, non-military achievement, which he claimed was equal or even superior to service to the state by force of arms.

This sentiment is expressed in a second famous—or infamous—line from *De consulatu suo*:[46]

cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.[47] (12 C. = 6 S. = 11 *FPL*)

Let arms yield to the toga [i.e., the non-military, civil dress of the Romans], let the laurel [i.e., the symbol of military triumph] yield to praise [i.e., the praise bestowed on a civil leader].

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**45** I read Davies' *patria* and Madvig's *uacat, id* for the manuscripts' *patriae uocatis*. Soubiran 1972 and Blänsdorf 2011 print *patriae uacat, id*, but as Courtney 1993 *ad loc.* points out, '[t]he dative *patriae* gives the exact opposite of the sense required.' Courtney himself confusingly prints *patria uocat, id* in the text but in his commentary gives *patria uacat, his* as the lemma.
**46** Compare Tatum 2011, 178.
**47** The variant *linguae* appears in all non-Ciceronian sources ([Sal.] *Cic.* 6; Quint. *Inst.* 11. 1.24; compare *Laus Pis.* 35 f.; Plin. *Nat.* 7. 117; Plu. *Cic.* 51), while Cicero himself only quotes the verse with *laudi* (*Pis.* 74; *Off.* 1. 77). The relationship of the two versions is a famous crux, to which I hope to return in a future publication.

This verse was viciously attacked by Cicero's enemies in his own time, largely on the grounds that by elevating his non-military service to the state, the ex-consul was perceived as slighting the achievements of Pompey, Rome's greatest contemporary military hero.[48] This hostile interpretation is apparent, for example, in the words of Cicero's antagonist Piso, as reported in Cicero's speech against him: *tuae dicis … togae summum imperatorem esse cessurum* ('you say that the greatest commander will yield to your toga,' *Pis.* 73).[49] Though Piso may well have a point here (for Cicero's response, see immediately below), his reading is deliberately one-sided. While we are greatly hampered in our interpretation of the verse by the fact that we do not have its context within the poem, it is clear that *cedant arma togae* is a well-crafted, complex utterance that can be understood in different ways.[50]

First, as Cicero himself explains a number of times, we can take the phrase to mean simply that the armed uprising of the conspirators would be, and ultimately was, overcome by the peace symbolized by the toga. This is what Cicero points out to Piso, imparting at the same time a lesson in the workings of poetic language:

> non dixi hanc togam qua sum amictus, nec arma scutum aut gladium unius imperatoris, sed, quia pacis est insigne et oti toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli, poetarum more locutus hoc intellegi volui, bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurum. (*Pis.* 73)

> I did not mean this toga which I am wearing, nor did I mean by 'arms' the shield and sword of a specific commander, but—since the symbol of peace and order is the toga but arms are the symbol of upheaval and war—I was speaking poetically and wanted to express that war and upheaval would yield to peace and order.

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**48** Cicero certainly liked to put his own consular achievements on a par with Pompey's military exploits (e.g., *Cat.* 3. 26; *Att.* 2. 1. 6, 6. 1. 22), a rhetorical move that in itself might have been viewed as presumptious and one that could easily shade into, ot at least be perceived as, an actual declaration of superiority.

**49** By contrast, [SAL.] *Cic.* 6 calls into question whether Cicero's deeds were really civil and peaceful: *quasi uero togatus et non armatus ea quae gloriaris confeceris, atque inter te Sullamque dictatorem praeter nomen imperii quicquam interfuerit* ('as though you had really achieved the things in which you glory while wearing the toga and not bearing arms, and as if there were any difference between you and the dictator Sulla except the title').

**50** Compare Steel 2005, 59.

On this reading, the *arma* are those that threaten the Roman state and they are defeated by our hero, the toga-clad consul.[51] The same thought recurs in the second *Philippic*, where Cicero opposes his own actions to those of Antony:

> 'cedant arma togae.' quid? tum nonne cesserunt? at postea tuis armis cessit toga. quaeramus igitur utrum melius fuerit libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. (*Phil.* 2. 20)

> 'Let arms yield to the toga.' Well, didn't they yield at that time? But later the toga yielded to your [sc. Antony's] arms. Let us consider what was better: for the arms of wicked men to yield to the freedom of the Roman people or for our freedom to yield to your arms.

As the Ciceronian persona of the pseudepigraphic invective sums up, *togatus armatos et pace bellum oppressi* ('wearing the toga, I defeated men in arms, and through peace, I defeated war,' [Cıc.] *Sal.* 7).[52]

At the same time, *cedant arma togae* can very well be taken to mean that civil power is superior to military might. On this reading, Cicero elevates his own actions as a consul above those of triumphant generals (including Pompey?), an interpretation that is at any rate suggested by the second part of the line, *concedat laurea laudi*, where *laurea* can hardly refer to the nefarious weapons of the Catilinarians. The following passage from *De officiis* 1 nicely shows Cicero moving from the first interpretation of *cedant arma* to the second:

> illud autem optimum est, in quod inuadi solere ab improbis et inuidis audio: 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' ut enim alios omittam, nobis rem publicam gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesserunt? neque enim periculum in re publica fuit grauius umquam nec maius otium. ita consiliis diligentiaque nostra celeriter de manibus audacissimorum ciuium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt. (*Off.* 1. 77)

> It is an excellent sentiment, the one for which I know I am constantly being criticized by bad and envious people: 'Let arms yield to the toga, let the laurel yield to praise.' Not to mention other people, did not, when I governed the state, arms indeed yield to the toga? For there was never greater danger in the state or greater order. Thus, thanks to my counsel and diligence, the arms themselves quickly fell from the hands of the most daring citizens.

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**51** Nisbet 1961 *ad Pis.* 73. 11 and Soubiran 1972, 259 believe that Cicero is here and elsewhere deliberately distorting the meaning of his own verse ('explications tendancieuses,' Soubiran) and that the 'correct interpretation' (Nisbet) is the one that I discuss below as the (in my opinion) second possible reading. It seems to me that Cicero has deliberately written a polyvalent line capable of generating more meaning than the one-dimensional verse Nisbet and Soubiran imagine.

**52** Compare also *Fam.* 12. 31. 1.

So far, Cicero is pushing the first interpretation: the arms of the conspirators yielded to the peaceful man in the toga. Then, however, he continues,

> quae res igitur gesta umquam in bello tanta? qui triumphus conferendus? ... sunt igitur domesticae fortitudines non inferiores militaribus; in quibus plus etiam quam in his operae studiique ponendum est. (*Off.* 1. 77 f.)

> What achievement in war was ever equally significant? What triumph can be compared? ... Domestic courage is thus not inferior to the military kind; in fact, one must dedicate even keener effort to the former than to the latter.

From one sentence to the next, Cicero has switched to the second interpretation: his actions as a consul cannot be paralleled by any triumph, and political achievements are as significant as military success, or even more so.[53]

The author's implicit devaluation of the triumph, traditionally the culmination of a Roman political career, places *De consulatu suo* in a polemical relationship to those autobiographies that were at least partly its models. As Christopher Smith has shown (2009), the memoirs of Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Catulus, and Sulla concentrated on military matters and treated their authors' triumphs as their crowning achievements.[54] They seem to have contained but little political commentary: Sulla, for example, had apparently next nothing to say about his own dictatorship. Cicero's achievements and his own autobiographical text were different: he was awarded not a triumph but rather a *supplicatio*—an honor that (as he did not tire pointing out) had never been extended to a civil leader (*togatus*) before[55]—and instead of celebrating individual victories in battle, he could pride himself on having saved the entire *res publica* from certain disaster.[56]

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[53] The general context of the discussion in *De officiis* is Cicero's attempt to upgrade political achievements vis-à-vis military ones.

[54] 'In short, the autobiographies celebrated the individual's achievement of the highest Roman honour, triumph, but seem to have contextualized that with reference to responsibility, personal valour and determination, or divine honour' (Smith 2009, 78 f.); compare also Thein 2009, 101 f. and Tatum 2011, 166 on Sulla.

[55] See *Cat.* 3. 15, 4. 5; *Pis.* 6; *Fam.* 15. 4. 11; *Phil.* 2. 13. While no fragment or testimonium mentions it, it is likely that the *supplicatio* was treated in *De consulatu suo*; perhaps *laudi* in our line alludes to it.

[56] See *Pis.* 6: *mihi togato senatus non ut multis bene gesta, sed ut nemini conseruata re publica, singulari genere supplicationis deorum immortalium templa patefecit* ('the senate opened the temples of the immortal gods in a unique form of thanksgiving for me, a civil magistrate, not because—like many others—I successfully waged war for the state but because—like no one else—I saved it'); compare *Fam.* 15. 4. 11.

To return to *cedant arma togae*, it is clear that on both readings, the peaceful pursuits of the *togatus* show themselves to be superior to armed actions, whether those of Rome's enemies or those of her greatest generals. Either way, the idea is a radical one to voice in an epic, the genre traditionally dedicated to celebration of prowess in war. Cicero's *De consulatu suo* thus appears as a veritable anti-epic, featuring an anti-hero who rejects arms for the toga and refuses the laurel wreath as inferior to the praise he has earned by political measures. I would therefore suggest a third interpretation of the famous line, namely, to take *cedant arma togae* as a *recusatio:* the declaration of preference is thus not only of Cicero the protagonist, but also of Cicero the poet, who rejects traditional military epic in favor of a new epic that celebrates civil triumphs.[57]

This metapoetic reading is made easy by the metonymy by which 'arms' means 'war' and 'war' in turn is a shorthand for the subject matter of epic, a phenomenon best known from the proem of the *Aeneid* and from Ovid's parody thereof in *Amores* 1. 1. 1. Tellingly, Servius in his commentary on *arma uirumque cano* quotes Cicero's half-line in the context of explicating the metaphorical meaning of Vergil's *arma*:

> arma, quibus in bello utimur, pro bello posuit, sicut toga, qua in pace utimur, pro pace ponitur, ut Cicero cedant arma togae, id est bellum paci.[58] (SERV. *A*. 1. 1)

> [Vergil] wrote 'arms,' which we employ in war, for 'war,' just as the toga, which we employ in peace, is used to mean 'peace.' Thus Cicero says, 'let arms yield to the toga,' that is, '[let] war [yield] to peace.'

I propose that just as Vergil programmatically committed himself to a poem of war, Cicero daringly and originally set out to write a poem of peace. It is an unexpected but in my eyes attractive additional thought that the Augustan poet

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**57** The use of *cedo* in the subjunctive or imperative is widespread in later Latin poetry in contexts where poets express the superiority of one poem, topic, or genre over another (see Bannier 1906–1912: 730. 19–32): see PROP. 2. 2. 13 (the goddesses featured in the judgment of Paris should yield to Cynthia), 2. 34. 65 (Greek and Roman writers should yield to the *Aeneid*); LUC. 7. 408 (Cannae and Allia should yield to the Battle of Pharsalus); cf. also STAT. *Silv*. 1. 1. 84, 1. 3. 83–89, 2. 4. 9, 3. 1. 142 f.; *Panegyrici Latini* 7. 23. The most famous Latin verse containing such a form, *omnia uincit amor, et nos cedamus amori* ('love conquers all; let us too yield to love,' VERG. *Ecl*. 10.69), falls into the same category since Gallus can be understood with these words to be choosing love elegy over bucolic (the phrase is picked up by Ovid when, at *Ars* 1. 21, the poet proclaims the end of love elegy as we know it with the words *et mihi cedet amor*, 'and love will yield to me').

**58** Compare Cicero's own discussion of metonymy in *de Orat*. 3. 167, where he mentions *togam pro pace, arma ac tela pro bello* ('"toga" for "peace," "arms and weapons" for "war"') as two of many examples.

might in fact have been influenced in the choice of his most iconic line by the most harshly criticized verse of his famous older contemporary.

Equally unexpected is the role Cicero may now be seen to play in the development of Roman epic. After the military narratives of Naevius and Ennius, Latin poets in the late Republic experimented with the genre of hexameter poetry, crafting works unlike any epic poem seen in Rome before. Employing Ennian style in the service of Epicurean philosophy, Lucretius created a monumental didactic epic, one in which the heroes are not kings and generals but the atoms and the heroic savior of mankind, Epicurus himself. In a completely different vein, Catullus in his 64th poem fashioned an intricate Alexandrian epyllion, replete with obscure allusions and logical conundrums, centering around a pathetic love story rather than martial exploits. It is attractive to view *De consulatu suo* as partaking in the same spirit of poetic innovation, all the while keeping in mind that Cicero's poem in fact precedes both *De rerum natura* and Catullus 64.

To conclude, I hope to have shown that while Cicero may not have been a great poet, he was a highly original one, fashioning as a vehicle for his selfpraise a genre-bending, pacifist, didactic, historiographical, Callimachean epic, which at the end of the day is just one thing: uniquely Ciceronian.[59]

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**59** As Gregory Hutchinson points out to me, Cicero's generic inventiveness in self-centered contexts is in evidence also in his 'auto-consolation,' written after the death of his beloved daughter Tullia. See *Att.* 12. 14. 1: *quin etiam feci, quod profecto ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolarer* ('I have even done what before me indeed no one had, that is, to console myself in my own writing').

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Robert Cowan

# Fear and Loathing in Lucretius: Latent Tragedy and Anti-Allusion in *DRN* 3[1]

'Is it better to wear my purple
and green Acapulco shirt,
or nothing at all? No way to hide
in this monster. This will not
be a happy run. Not even
the Sun God wants to watch.
He has gone behind a cloud
for the first time in three days.'

Thompson 1971, 83.

**Abstract:** In his catalogue of contemporary evils caused by the fear of death at the start of *DRN* 3, Lucretius includes the phenomenon that men 'hate and fear' their relatives' tables. This has widely and correctly been taken as a reference to the fear of poisoning, despite its echo of Accius' *Atreus* and attendant evocation of the mutually exclusive scenario of an unwitting cannibalistic feast. By comparing the generic relationship constructed with tragedy by writers of satire and old comedy, it can be seen that Lucretius partially evokes the Thyestean feast, only to reject its very existence, and with it the validity of the tragic genre. This technique of 'anti-allusion' is analogous to Christopher Ricks' 'anti-pun'. There may also be wider tragic anti-allusion in the *DRN* 3 proem, and the target may be not only tragedy itself but its employment by philosophical and political writers.

**Keywords:** Lucretius, Accius, didactic, tragedy, satire, anti-allusion, poisoning, Thyestes

In the extended proem of *De rerum natura* 3, the first course from the smorgasbord of evils served up by the fear of death climaxes with the chilling, simultaneous breakdown of two central Roman values, familial piety and commensality:

> crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris
> et consanguineum mensas odere timentque.
> Lucr. 3.72–3

> they cruelly rejoice in the grim death of a brother
> and hate and fear the tables of their blood-relatives.

The mention of unbrotherly brothers and dinner tables, smacking as it does of Thyestean feasts, might help the reader, in spite of an only partial verbal correspondence, to detect an allusion to the famous words of the eponymous villain of Accius' tragedy *Atreus: oderint / dum metuant* (Let them hate so long as they fear).[2] Sander Goldberg shows no such tentativeness and argues that the allusion is not merely detectable, but glaringly obvious: 'it takes no special feat of erudition to spot the general reference to Thyestes' notorious meal and a more specific allusion to the language of the tragic stage. ... Both Lucretius' intent and his technique are clear.'[3] They may be clear to Goldberg, but they have evidently proven far less so to other scholarly readers of Lucretius.

Only one commentary on Lucretius makes the connection (though it has been recognized more readily by Accian scholars): Don and Peta Fowler's notes on Ronald Melville's translation refer to 'an implied mythological model, that of Atreus serving up the children of his brother Thyestes'.[4] All other commentators who feel the need to account for the fear and loathing at all offer the same explanation: 'There is fear of poisoning', 'sc. through fear of poison', 'they are afraid of being poisoned', 'in case they are poisoned', 'in case of poisoning', 'car ils ont peur d'y être empoisonnés.'[5] Even allowing for the inevitably tralaticious—one might even say cannibalistic—nature of commentaries, this is a striking consensus about the implications of *DRN* 3.73. What is even more striking, however, is that this consensus is not merely a failure to perceive the added layer of meaning which the Accian allusion might add to its exegesis, the Fowlers' 'implied mythological model'. Rather the commentators offer a quite distinct

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**2** Acc. *Atreus* fr. 203–4 R[3] = 47 Dangel.

**3** Goldberg 2005, 131.

**4** Fowler & Fowler 1997, *ad loc.* Accian scholars: 'Attraverso l'impiego del nesso allusivo Lucrezio conferisce una carica fortemente paradigmatica alla situazione descritta.' Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1980, 13; cf. Dangel 1995, 29 n.54 and 279 *ad loc.* The comment by Ernout & Robin (1962, *ad loc.*) that it is a 'rapprochement fréquent depuis le *oderint dum metuant* de l'*Atrée* d'Accius' suggests the unmarked use of a collocation which Accius introduced into general poetic usage, rather than a directed allusion.

**5** Respectively, Merrill 1907, Bailey 1947, Kenney 1971, M. F. Smith 1974, P. M. Brown 1997 (all *ad loc.*) and Salem 1997, 102 n.7. Lachmann, Munro, Wakefield, Heinze, and Ussani either make no comment, or cross reference to 1.162 regarding the form of the genitive plural *consanguineum*.

and mutually exclusive interpretation: if the relatives are afraid of poison, then they are not afraid of having their sons served up to them in a casserole. It seems that, *pace* Goldberg, Lucretius' technique is not entirely clear and hence we may suspect that neither is his intent. Only by understanding how such perceptive scholars could interpret this line in such radically divergent ways can we see what Lucretius' technique and intent were.

Reasons for interpreting 3.73 as an allusion to poisoning are not far to seek. Although there is no absolutely explicit allusion to contemporary Rome, readers of *DRN* 3.59–86, with its ambition, exile, and civil conflict, would surely feel justified in recognizing at the very least a moralizing construction of Rome in the 50s BCE, 'our homeland's troubled times' (*patriai tempore iniquo*, 1.41).[6] Martha's oft-quoted description of the passage as 'du Salluste en vers' captures its affinity with *Bellum Catilinae* 6–13 and other moralizing narratives of decline such as the end of Catullus 64, though Lucretius as ever appropriates the conventional discourse to prove an Epicurean point, that these evils result, not from the sack of Carthage, the influx of luxury, or lack of intimacy with the gods, but from the fear of death.[7] If the evils are those of contemporary Rome, then that associated with a kinsman's table is most likely to be the threat of poisoning. While, for the modern imagination, Tacitus, Suetonius and Robert Graves may have fixed the Julio-Claudian period as the pre-Borgia heyday of poison at the family table, there is ample evidence that it was prominent at least in the late Republican imaginary, if not in real life, and most probably in the complex intersection of the two. The multiple poisonings in the case of Cluentius, Catiline's alleged poisoning of his son, Clodia's of her husband, and Calpurnius Bestia's of his wife, all attest, if not necessarily to the ubiquity of *ueneficium*, then at least to Romans' readiness to claim and believe in its ubiquity.[8] That poisoning of kin

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**6** I follow the standard dating of the *DRN* to the 50s, *pace* Hutchinson 2001, who argues for the early 40s (see the response of Volk 2010). Fowler 1988, 137 urges caution when locating 3.59–86 in Rome, but still foregrounds such an interpretation: 'The moralizing traditions into which the passage inserts itself are again complex, and a purely "Roman" reading would be reductive, but the presence of contemporary political language is not hard to seek.' For contemporary politics in the *DRN*, see esp. Minyard 1985 on political discourse and Penwill 2009 on coded allusions to Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, including the application of 3.70–1 to the last named (85–6).
**7** Martha 1869, 206. Heinze 1898, *ad* 3.59 draws particular attention to *Cat.* 10, while Fowler 1988, 138–40 suggests more precise parallels between 3.70–1 and *Cat.* 14.1–3, and 3.74–7 and *Cat.* 20.7–8.
**8** Cluentius: Cic. *Clu. passim*; Catiline: V. Max. 9.1.9 (Sall. *Cat.* 15.2 does not specify the means); Clodia: Cic. *Cael.* 59–60 (implicit, but heavily so); Bestia: Plin. *NH* 27.4. On the problems of interpreting evidence about late Republican crime, see esp. Riggsby 1999, 1–20. Kaufman 1932 offers a useful if uncritical survey of attested Roman poisoning cases.

fitted into a discourse of moral decline, if not self-evident, can be seen not only from its association with paradigms of that decline such as Catiline and Clodia, but most clearly from the elder Cato's equation of adulteresses with poisoners, a nexus or rather continuum of immorality.[9] Merrill and his successors can therefore be considered perfectly justified in interpreting Lucretius' words as a reference to poisoning. The question becomes, no longer why so many readers have detected *ueneficium* in *DRN* 3.73, but why Lucretius has carefully encouraged them to do so while simultaneously making an allusion to the mutually exclusive tragic cannibalism of Accius' Thyestes.[10]

## How to do things with genres: appropriation, rejection and *aemulatio*

By asserting the 'reality' of *uenificium* in contemporary Rome, Lucretius implicitly denies that of Thyestean cannibalism and in so doing rejects the explanatory power and relevance of the tragic genre. Before I try to justify this claim, it will be useful to situate this tragic allusion (or, as I shall argue, anti-allusion) within the context of Lucretius' (and other Roman poets') other engagements with rival genres. At the risk of over-generalizing, Lucretius' basic technique is that of generic appropriation. The *DRN* makes all genres serve its didactic aim, even going so far as to imply that they were always already Epicurean, if only they were read aright.[11] This technique can be most obviously seen in his treatment of mythological epic, where it is the generic analogue of the process of rationalizing demythologization. In part this is an invitation to allegorical interpretation. When Lucretius denies the existence of an Underworld where transgressors are punished, and in doing so threatens to reject the explanatory power of *Odyssey* 11 and other epic *katabaseis*, his demythologizing of the transgressors and their punishments (Tityos as the obsessive lover, Sisyphus the ambitious politician, and so on) immediately restores epic's claim to that explanatory power, but does so by appropriating the genre and insisting that it be read in a rationalizing, alle-

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**9** Cato fr. 240 *ORF* = Quint. *IO* 5.11.39, with Edwards 1993, 51–2.

**10** Alessandro Schiesaro (*pers. comm.*) notes that Lucretius does not explicitly identify the scenario as one of poisoning, and hence neither does he specifically exclude the possibility of cannibalism. The lack of explicitness cannot be denied, but such a reading is overwhelmingly supported by the strong suggestiveness of the contemporary context and by the empirical evidence that a large and distinguished community of readers has taken it so.

**11** Cf. epic as a 'totalizing form' (Hardie 1993, 1–18), though Lucretius tends to adapt and appropriate rather than assimilating other genres whole.

gorizing manner.[12] Even when Lucretius flatly contradicts Ennius' erroneous espousal of metempsychosis and the existence of Acheron, his polemical act of *aemulatio* is not a rejection of epic itself, but rather part of an appropriation of the genre in order to achieve its true potential.[13] Lucretius' didactic epic, with its multi-book structure, hexametric form, extended similes, and Ennian style, shows that the genre can bring the light of reason into the mind's darkness, not only when it is read aright, but even moreso when it is written properly.

The *DRN*'s far less pervasive engagement with tragedy operates in a similar manner. The effectiveness of Lucretius' description of Iphianassa's sacrifice derives in large part from his harnessing of the reactions which a tragedy would produce in its audience.[14] It is not only the sense of pathos and horror which the sacrifice generates (and here, at the beginning of her introduction to Epicureanism, the reader need not, indeed should not, maintain the same level of *ataraxia* with which she will be expected to read the climactic Athenian plague). The ethos of tragedy, so hard to define, is in part the sense of a world out of joint, and in Attic tragedy at least, that sense often manifests itself in the perversion of ritual.[15] Lucretius' masterstroke is to take that sense of the perversion of ritual and, with a characteristic Epicurean twist, make his audience feel that it is ritual itself which is a perversion. However, for Lucretius' argument to work, the reader must still accept that Iphianassa was sacrificed, and her reactions to that event must be, in modified form but still recognizably, those appropriate to tragedy.[16] The tragic genre is not rejected, only appropriated.

A partial exception to this policy of appropriation is the treatment of erotic motifs from Hellenistic epigram and perhaps contemporary neoteric poetry in

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**12** 3.978–1023, with Ackermann 1979, 57–81, Wallach 1976, 83–91, Gale 1994, 37–8, 93–4. For Lucretius' exploitation of *katabasis*' initiatory connotations, see Reinhard 2004. Gale (1994, 190–1) sees demythologization as more overtly polemical, though with a paradox at its core: 'He retains the attractive qualities of myth while challenging its status as a vehicle for conveying truth. Paradoxically, this is done by drawing attention to the core of truth which the stories often contain.'

**13** 1.112–26. *DRN* as epic: Murley 1947, West, 1969, 23–34, Hardie 1986, 193–219, Mayer, 1990, Gale 1994, 99–128; *contra:* Volk 2002, 69–72. Lucretius and Ennius: Gigon 1977, Harrison 2002, Garani 2007, 25–8.

**14** 1.80–101. Iphianassa and tragedy: Rychlewska 1957–8, Goldberg 2000, 55–7 ≈ 2005, 131–4, Harrison 2002. Tragedy elsewhere in the *DRN:* Schiesaro 1990, 111–22, Fowler 2000, Markovic 2008.

**15** On perversion of ritual in Attic tragedy: Seaford 1994, esp. 369–88.

**16** Cf. Minyard 1985, 39: 'He accepts the story of Iphianassa and her father as true. Literature does not here tell a false tale but a true one about what happens when people have a false view of the world.'

the diatribe against obsessive love which concludes book four.[17] Yet even here, although the engagement with another genre is parodic and antagonistic rather than appropriative, Lucretius nevertheless acknowledges the existence of that genre and the *Weltanschauung* which it embodies, even if it is only to ridicule and negate that worldview; in fact the case could even be made that Lucretius isolates and amplifies that awareness of the destructiveness and absurdity of obsessive passion which is already part of the complex, fractured Catullan voice. This is still quite different from the treatment of tragedy which I am proposing in 3.73. Lucretius appropriates Catullan love-poetry by acknowledging the existence of Catullan lovers and then ridiculing them, but he denies the very possibility of a Thyestean feast, and thus rejects rather than appropriates tragedy.

The relationship (or absence thereof) with tragedy which I suggest that Lucretius constructs has nothing to do with hybridity, the *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, or generic enrichment, any of the ways in which authors in practice amalgamated the diverse features of different genres.[18] Rather it is based on texts' self-conscious assertion of rigid and narrow generic rules and boundaries (defined by form, content and ethos), the transgression of which in itself provides the text's dynamic, a practice most clearly seen in epic's ostensible rejection of the erotic and the feminine as alien to its generic essence, what Stephen Hinds neatly termed 'essential epic'.[19] Epic's construction and transgression of its own generic boundaries offers what might initially seem a promising parallel in (one aspect of) the *Aeneid*'s engagement with and rejection of tragedy in the Carthage episode.[20] Alessandro Barchiesi has eloquently shown how the generic tussle between epic and tragedy tropes (and is troped by, following Hinds' principle of 'reversing the trope'[21]) the ideological tussle between fate and love:

> 'Love between Dido and Aeneas runs counter to the will of fate, but also contradicts the generic canons of epic since it represents, on more levels than one, an intrusion of materials outside and not provided for in the epic code (e. g., erotic-elegiac, erotic-tragic). The dialectical overcoming of the deviant Carthaginian episode ends up being therefore victory for epic no less than for Fate.'[22]

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17 4.1037–1285. Lieberg 1962, 284–300, Kenney 2007 (1970), 314–27, R. D. Brown 1987, 133–5, 139–43.

18 *Kreuzung der Gattungen:* Kroll 1924; generic enrichment: Harrison 2007.

19 Hinds 2000.

20 On the *Aeneid*'s wider engagement with tragedy: Stabryła 1970, Hardie 1997, Goldberg 2005, 114–43, Panoussi 2009.

21 Hinds 1998, 10–16.

22 Barchiesi 2001, 131.

Tragedy, and all it stands or can be made to stand for, is rejected by the epic *Aeneid*, or by one of its voices at least, and left behind on Aeneas' literal and Virgil's metapoetic voyage. In this respect we have a clear parallel for its similar rejection and exclusion at *DRN* 3.73. Yet the *Aeneid*'s rejection is not the total denial of relevance, of validity, of existence even, which we see in Lucretius. In some ways, tragic Carthage is closer to the Catullan lover of *DRN* 4, the embodiment of a genre and its ethos which is deprecated and even excluded, but whose existence has to be acknowledged for that deprecation and exclusion to take place. For brutal violence towards rival genres, rather than lofty condescension, we must descend the generic social scale to poetry's streetfighter, satire.

Satire is the genre most prone to the aggressive denial of other genres' validity, and it is there that we might expect to find a closer parallel for Lucretius' rejection of tragedy. The search for such a parallel is the more justified because the *DRN* is widely acknowledged to have close affinities with satire.[23] Moreover the way in which the two genres construct their relationship with other genres, most often epic but also tragedy, is similar in that the higher genres are depicted as artificial, fantastical, and irrelevant in contrast with the 'realism' and relevance of satire and didactic. Among such satiric constructions of tragedy, both of which incidentally include a specific reference to Thyestes, we might note the opening of Persius 5 and (to include satire's close kin, scoptic epigram) Martial 10.4.[24] Although there is a high degree of complexity in these passages, as Persius collapses as well as constructs the distinction between the bloatedness of tragedy and *satura*,[25] and Martial extends his Alexandrian *recusatio* to a rejection of Alexandrian poetry,[26] the basic message of both is that tragedy is overblown in style and frothy in content (*grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto...* Pers. 5.7), dealing only with the fantastic and unreal (*qui legis Oedipoden caligantemque Thyesten, / Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis?* Mart. 10.4.1–2), whereas the satirist's own work is down-to-earth (*plebeian ... prandia*, Pers. 5.18) and true to 'real life' (*quod possit dicere uita 'meum est.'* Mart. 10.4.8).[27]

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23 Murley 1939, Waltz 1948, Dudley 1965.

24 On the opening of Pers. 5, Bramble 1974, 2–12, Gowers 1993, 180–8, Hooley 1997, 64–80. On Mart. 10.4: Citroni 1968, 280, Watson & Watson 2003, 95–9.

25 'A strange contradiction arises. Many of Persius' most distasteful images are the very ones that most recall the origins of *satura*.' Gowers 1993, 184.

26 '[Callimachus' *Aetia*] normally symbolises the "slender" style of poetry as opposed to the trite and inflated *genus* of epic but here is associated...with the unreal themes of elevated poetry.' Watson & Watson 2003, 99.

27 Paul Roche (*pers. comm.*) ingeniously suggests that Cornutus' praise of the satirist on the grounds that he 'pursues the toga's words' (*uerba togae sequeris*, Pers. 5.14) might not only be an

The *locus classicus* for this topos is of course the proem of Juvenal 1, where the irrelevance of the tragic *Telephus* and *Orestes* is contrasted with the relevance and realism of satire which is directly 'inspired' by the vices and follies surrounding the satirist, and which later pour unmediated from the crossroads into his capacious writing tablets.[28] Yet it is the engagement with tragedy in *Satire* 6 which offers the most interesting parallel for *DRN* 3.73:

> fingimus haec altum satura sumente coturnum
> scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum
> grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,
> montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino?
> nos utinam uani. sed clamat Pontia 'feci,
> confiteor, puerisque meis aconita paraui,
> quae deprensa patent; facinus tamen ipsa peregi.'
> tune duos una, saeuissima uipera, cena?
> tune duos? 'septem, si septem forte fuissent.'
> credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide torua
> dicitur et Procne; nil contra conor.
> Juv. 6.634 – 44

> No doubt I'm making this up, as my satire puts on the lofty tragic buskin, I've gone beyond the legal limits of my predecessors and ululate a grandiose song with a gaping mouth worthy of Sophocles, a song unfamiliar to the mountains of Rutulia and the sky of Latium? If only we were talking rubbish! But Pontia shouts aloud, 'I did it, I admit it, I mixed poison for my boys, poison which was discovered and made known; nevertheless, I myself carried out the crime.' Did *you* kill *two* with one meal, most cruel viper? Did *you* kill *two?* 'Seven, if there had happened to be seven.' Let us believe whatever is said by the tragic poets about the fierce woman of Colchis and Procne; I shan't try to argue against them.

As with *DRN* 3.73, this passage has prompted diametrically opposed interpretations. According to Anderson, 'Essentially, he makes the same proclamation as in *Satire* 1, that he totally replaces tragedy and epic with his lurid portrait of contemporary monsters', whereas for Morford 'The satirist ... has the same material as the tragedian, and the distinction between them drawn in *Satire* 1 no longer

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instance of satire's characteristic Roman chauvinism, but also stress its relevance to contemporary Rome, the *gens togata*, in contrast to the irrelevance of costumed tragedy.

**28** Juv. 1.1 – 18, 63 – 4. It is ironic that Martha (1869, 205 – 6) contrasts Lucretius' use of contemporary vices with Juvenal's employment of 'literary' exempla, clearly thinking of the latter's tenth satire and ignoring his rejection of such themes in *Sat*. 1, 6 and elsewhere: 'Il ne poursuit pas de fureurs littéraires et rétrospectives, l'ambition d'un Alexandre ou d'un Xerxès à la façon de Juvénal. C'est un Sylla, un Clodius, un Catilina ou leurs précurseurs que désigne son indignation présente et civique.' On Juvenal and tragedy: W. S. Smith 1989.

applies.'[29] That both critics are right expresses the paradox at the heart of Juvenal's engagement with tragedy. In an act of generic *aemulatio*, satire not only replaces tragedy but surpasses it, as Pontia's willingness to kill seven children surpasses Procne's one and Medea's two. Similarly Nero surpasses Orestes, with a more diverse portfolio of kin-killing topped by his crimes against poetry (8.215–21); the cannibalistic citizens of Ombi outdo anything in the tragic poets (15.27–32); with greater ironic–even Epicurean–detachment and less indignation, human affairs are more entertaining than any of the *ludi scaenici* (14.262–4). There is no need for tragedy, when satire can outdo it in producing horrors which are not only real but also more terrible.[30] Yet the parallelism between Pontia and Medea means that, while tragedy is now dispensable, it cannot be considered fantastical or irrelevant (*credamus... nil contra conor*). The very act of replacing tragedy paradoxically validates its truth-value. To some extent Juvenal here is not rejecting but appropriating tragedy, rather in the manner of Lucretian demythologization. Whereas Atreus and the poisoners are mutually exclusive, Pontia and Procne are both infanticides. Lucretius shares satire's polemical rejection of irrelevant genres, but goes further (than Juv. 6.634–8 at least) in denying them even the vestige of truth-value which would enable them to be demythologized and trumped. We have come close to a sense of how Lucretius employs anti-allusion to reject the validity of tragedy, but we must take three more steps along the path, a path which will take us past Aristophanes and Housman (in poetic rather than scholarly guise), but which begins, appropriately enough, with Lucretius himself.

## Three steps to anti-allusion: latent myth, paratragedy, and the anti-pun

The first step towards understanding Lucretius' anti-allusion to Accius' *Atreus* involves an extension of Monica Gale's concept of 'latent myth', to which my formulation 'latent tragedy' of course alludes. Gale uses the term to describe 'passages where mythological characters, themes or situations seem to lie at the root of Lucretius' imagery or phraseology or choice of *exempla*, without an explicit

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**29** Anderson 1962, 152; Morford 1972, 198.
**30** In the context of our analysis of *DRN* 3.73, it may be significant that the 'real-life' Pontia poisons her children (*aconita paraui*, 6.639), whereas both Medea (e. g. E. *Med.* 1244) and Procne (e. g. Ov. *Met.* 6.641) traditionally used the more heroic sword.

reference.'[31] On a simple level, of course, *DRN* 3.73 is straightforwardly an instance of latent myth, since Atreus and Thyestes are evoked but not explicitly referred to. However, there is a marked difference from most of Gale's examples. In comparing the insatiable lover's situation to a dream of being in a river but unable to drink, the evocation of the unnamed Tantalus invites the reader to draw close parallels between 'reality' and (latent) myth (suitably demythologized), even making the additional Epicurean point of equating thirst and sexual desire as purely physical needs and katastematic pleasures.[32] In contrast, 3.73 requires the reader to dissociate the 'reality' from the myth, indeed rejecting the latter's cannibalism in favour of the former's poisoning.

However, Gale's analysis of certain latent myths as *adynata* offers a more promising parallel. In discussing Lucretius' proofs that nothing will come of nothing, since otherwise nature would produce men of immense stature or longevity, she argues that the 'existence of such beings [as Polyphemus, Nestor and Tithonus] is ... rejected in such uncompromising terms that their *non*-existence can be used as the basis for an argument.'[33] The rhetorical effectiveness (albeit logical circularity) of the way in which Lucretius 'kills two birds with one stone' (Gale 1994, *ibid.*), using the non-existence of mythical prodigies to 'prove' the non-existence of 'real' prodigies and vice versa, is further enhanced by the very fact that the myths are latent. The exclusion of the names of Polyphemus, Nestor and Tithonus from the poem acts as a parallel for the exclusion of such *adynata* from Lucretius' universe.[34] Of course, not all Lucretius' latent myths operate like this, as the examples of Tantalus and many others discussed by Gale show, but it is one way in which they can be employed. Neither is the parallel with the mutually exclusive relationship of Atreus and the poisoner exact, since the mythical Polyphemus and the hypothetical giants are still equivalent *to each other*, even though that equivalence constitutes their being equally non-existent. However, this use of the latency of latent myth to reject the existence of Polyphemus and Nestor (and, by extension, the truth-value of Homeric

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**31** Gale 1994, 156. She does not mention 3.73.

**32** Lucr. 4.1097–104, with R. D. Brown 1987, *ad loc.*, Gale 1994, 184. On kinetic and katastematic pleasures, see most conveniently Woolf 2009, 170–7.

**33** Lucr. 1.199–204. Gale 1994, 183 (original italics). Cf. Gigandet 1998, 126: 'ce sont des figures de l'impossible, données comme évidemment telles par un appel implicite au bon sens ou au constat empirique. Cependant, dans ce contexte, les exemples de métamorphoses voisinent avec d'autre échantillons de figures mythiques, formant ainsi avec eux une séquence soumise à une réfutation implicite supplémentaire, redoublée.'

**34** On the *DRN* as a simulacrum of the universe which it explains, see esp. Thury 1987.

epic) does provide us with our first step on the path to anti-allusion, and Lucretius's rejection of Atreus, and by extension of tragedy.

The second step involves the heinous (but very Lucretian) crime of self-citation. Gale's latent myths as *adynata* have given us a parallel for the rejection of an implied mythical analogue which is reassuringly located within the *DRN*, but it does not parallel the disjuncture of privileged 'reality' and rejected myth which I propose in 3.73; nor, for all that a latent Polyphemus or Nestor might loosely evoke Homeric epic, does it parallel the specifically *generic* antagonism with which I believe Lucretius rejects tragedy through its representatives Atreus and Thyestes. To find a (surprisingly) close parallel, our path to anti-allusion must take a detour via Aristophanes and my own interpretation of Mnesilochus' contrast between Euripides' tragic heroine Phaedra and a 'real-life' (for which, of course, read comic) adulteress at *Thesmophoriazusae* 497–501.[35] Among the catalogue of women's crimes which his disguised kinsman asserts that Euripides *has not* depicted is that of an adulterer fleeing his lover's house as follows:

> εἰ δὲ Φαίδραν λοιδορεῖ,
> ἡμῖν τί τοῦτ' ἔστ'; οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' εἴρηκέ πω,
> ὡς ἡ γυνὴ δεικνῦσα τἀνδρὶ τοὔγκυκλον
> ὑπαυγάσ' οἷόν ἐστ', ἐγκεκαλυμμένον
> τὸν μοιχὸν ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐκ εἴρηκέ πω.
> Ar. *Thesm.* 497–501.

> But if he abuses Phaedra, what's that to us? Nor has he said anything about this, how the woman, while showing her husband her cloak to see by the light, sent her lover away with his head swathed; he hasn't said anything about that.

I have suggested that the image of a young man fleeing a sexually immoral woman with his head swathed would, especially just after the reference to Phaedra, evoke the Hippolytus of Euripides' *Hippolytus Kaluptomenos*, covering his head in shame as he flees the advances of his stepmother. However, 'the evocation of the *Kaluptomenos* does not suggest that Euripides had also described this sordid tale of comic adultery. On the contrary, it demonstrates the sort of scenario–parallel but, for that very reason, the more distinct–which Euripides had *not* described.'[36] The superficial parallelism of the scenarios combines with their differences (the flight is motivated not by repulsion but by the need to evade the husband, the swathing not by shame but by a desire not to be recognized) to privilege the 'real-life' over the mythological, and hence the comic over the trag-

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**35** Cowan 2008.

**36** Cowan 2008, 318.

ic. As such it fits into the play's wider agonistic assertion of the relevance and potency of comedy over that of tragedy.[37] Although there is a vast gulf between Aristophanes' Thesmophorion and Lucretius' Rome, their technique in rejecting their common generic enemy, tragedy, is remarkably similar. Just as the mental image[38] of the swathed youth in flight evokes Hippolytus, only to reject him as the sort of irrelevant figure which tragedy depicts, in favour of the real-life relevance of the adulterer, so Lucretius momentarily conjures the image of the tragic Thyestean feast, only to dismiss it as a tragic irrelevance, in favour of the 'real-life' relevance of poisoning. In both cases, the rejection is not only of the actual incestuous approach/cannibalistic feast, but of the tragic genre represented by it.

The third and final step brings us finally to the term 'anti-allusion', and invokes a far weightier authority than myself in the form of Christopher Ricks. Among the stylistic features which Ricks has detected in his analyses of modern English poetry is the 'anti-pun', which he defines as follows:

> 'Whereas in a pun there are two senses which either get along or quarrel, in an anti-pun there is only one sense admitted but there is another sense denied admission. So the response is not "this means x" (with the possibility even of its meaning y being no part of your response), but "this-means-x-and-doesn't-mean-y", all hyphenated.'[39]

The effect is particularly well illustrated by a quatrain from the twenty-seventh of A. E. Housman's *Last Poems* (cited at Ricks 1984, 174):

> The diamond tears adorning
>     Thy low mound on the lea,
> Those are the tears of morning,
>     That weeps, but not for thee.

The anti-pun lies in the 'tears of morning' and signifies, using Ricks' formulation, that 'this-means-morning-and-doesn't-mean-mourning', an implication made explicit in the following line, which specifies that the tears are the metaphorical tears of morning dew, not the literal tears of mourning, which the dead addressee does not receive. If the rival connotations of a single word, or more

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**37** On the victory of comedy over tragedy in *Thesmo.*, see esp. Bowie 1993, 217–27, Tzanetou 2002, 355–9, Cowan 2008, 318–20.
**38** Unlike *DRN* 3.73, which could, out of context, be interpreted as a straightforward allusion to Thyestean cannibalism, Aristophanes' reference to the young man as a μοιχός means that only the visualized scene, and not its verbal description, could suggest Hippolytus.
**39** Ricks 1984, 265–6.

precisely a single sound, can simultaneously be one admitted and the other excluded, then an analogous effect can be produced by allusion. In Housman's anti-pun, the sound of the word 'morning', assisted by the deliberately misleading juxtaposition of the metaphorical 'tears', produces rival associations in the listener's (or sensitive reader's) mind, drawing her towards thoughts of 'mourning', only for those thoughts to be excluded by the following line (and indeed, for the reader, by the visual appearance of the word), forcing her to interpret the 'tears' as dew and the 'morning' as simply morning. In Lucretius' anti-allusion, the intertextual connection with Accius' *oderint dum metuant*, assisted by the reference to blood-relatives and tables, produces rival associations in the reader's mind, drawing her towards thoughts of Thyestean cannibalism, only for those thoughts to be excluded by the pressure of the contemporary Roman context, forcing her to interpret the fear as one of poisoning. To appropriate Ricks' formulation, Lucretius' anti-allusion signifies that 'This-means-the-fear-of-poisoning-and-doesn't-mean-a-tragic-cannibalistic-Thyestean-feast'.

Anti-allusion is not the same as antiphrastic allusion. The latter is still an allusion, which directs the reader's mind towards the source text, even if the relationship it sets up is a contrastive one. When, for example, Lucan evokes Aeneas' visit to the future site of Rome when describing Caesar's visit to the former site of Troy, whether the reader takes this as an undermining of Virgil's epic teleology or as pointing the contrast between the ktistic *Aeneid* and the cataclysmic *Bellum Ciuile*, either option demands that she give full consideration to the source text, even if the relationship of the target text to it is one of perversion or inversion.[40] Anti-allusion excludes the source text and even denies its status as source text, or as bearing any significance at all. As with the Aristophanic example, the sense which is excluded extends beyond the action which is (almost) signified, be it incest or cannibalism. By including an anti-allusion to a paradigmatic tragic scene and producing the effect of anti-allusion by evoking a famous tragic phrase, Lucretius rejects the whole genre of tragedy, its ethos and its capacity to convey truth, implicitly branding it as fantastical, artificial, irrelevant, just as satire does explicitly. Tragedy is a particularly significant target in this context, since the initial performances of the plays in 5th-century Athens (almost certainly) and mid-Republican Rome (possibly), and without question their reperformance in the late Republic, carried heavy political significance, an implicit claim to be able to represent the problems of a broken society.[41]

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**40** On Caesar at Troy, see Rossi 2001, with further bibliography.

**41** Among the immense scholarship on the politics of Attic tragedy, Carter 2007 offers a succinct and useful discussion. On the equally fraught question of the politics of Republican tragedy, see esp. Gildenhard 2010. On politicized restagings in the late Republic, Beacham 1991, 156–63,

Lucretius' intent and technique may not be as clear as Goldberg asserts, but they are undeniably subtle and effective. However, after reaching the end of the path to anti-allusion, there remain three points which will both illuminate and complicate Lucretius' technique still further.

# Three last thoughts: more (anti-)tragic imagery, quotation, and the limits of anti-allusion

It may be that 3.73 is an isolated instance of Lucretius' polemical rejection of tragedy within the extended proem of *DRN* 3. However, at least two other passages suggest that it might form part of a more extensive, and perhaps even sustained, engagement with (or rather exclusion of) the rival genre. The depiction, immediately preceding the catalogue of contemporary vices, of the man who espouses rational philosophy, but reverts to superstitious mumbo-jumbo when exiled, climaxes with an image which has generally been accepted as an allusion to the stage:[42]

> nam uerae uoces tum demum pectore ab imo
> eliciuntur et eripitur persona, manet res.
> Lucr. 3.57–8
>
> For the real words are then finally drawn up from the bottom of the heart and the mask is torn away: the real thing remains.

The use of theatrical imagery to represent the contrast between the deceptive façade presented to the audience of the outside world, and the reality beneath, is an obvious and common one. However, it could also serve as a programmatic announcement of Lucretius' assault on tragedy using the weapon of anti-allusion: the tragic mask which is torn away is a metonymy for the tragic genre, its ethos, and its employment as a means of understanding the world; Lucretius instead will reveal (his construction of) reality, the *res* beneath.

Such a programmatic reading of these lines would hardly be appropriate for a single instance of anti-allusion hidden away among many other instances of fear-of-death-inspired criminality. Are there more instances in the extended proem? Unfortunately, the loss of so much of Republican (and indeed of Hellen-

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Champlin 2003, 295–305, Erasmo 2004, 81–101, Boyle 2006, 143–59. On the politics specifically of Thyestes tragedies: La Penna 1979, Leigh 1996.

**42** The exception is Farrington 1955, who unpersuasively argues that *persona* refers to political status rather than an actor's mask.

istic, fourth-century, and even, proportionately, of fifth-century) tragedy makes the task of recognizing allusions very difficult for the modern reader. To recognize an *anti*-allusion is even harder, since it would not be simply a case of, say, detecting a tragic Ariadne, Medea or Scylla behind those 'who have betrayed their homeland and dear parents' (*patriam carosque parentis / prodiderunt*, 3.85–6). Rather we should have to hypothesize a tragic scenario which bears a partial correspondence to the contemporary scenario described, but which is also as distinct from it as Atreus' butchery is from a case of poisoning. To make such a (partial) connection, we should probably require an additional signal, such as the verbal (or rather semantic) echo of *oderint dum metuant* in *odere timentque*.

I should like to propose one possible case. Lucretius specifies the desire to flee from the (metaphorical) gates of death as the motivation for the atrocities he proceeds to describe:

> unde homines dum se falso terrore coacti
> effugisse uolunt longe longeque remosse...
> Lucr. 3.68–9

> From whence, while, forced by false fear, men
> want to have escaped far and far to have removed themselves...

The (often hyperbolic) desire, usually on the part of the chorus, to flee far away from the present horror is a common topos in Attic tragedy and one which recurs later in Seneca, perhaps significantly in his *Thyestes*.[43] That it occurred in Republican tragedy too is shown by a fragment preserved in a number of variations as one of Cicero's favourite tags: *ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta aut famam audiam* ('...where I might hear of neither the name nor the deeds nor news of the sons of Pelops').[44] The parallel between the Lucretian passage and the tragic topos is clear and recognizable, but there is also sufficient difference for it to have the potential to act as an anti-allusion. Whereas the tragic chorus desires to escape to the ends of the earth from some horrific crime which has just been committed in their vicinity, Lucretius' Romans desire to escape the gates of death by remaining in Rome and committing horrific crimes. The anti-allusion

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**43** Soph. *Oenomaus* fr. 476 Radt, *OC* 1081–4, Eur. *Andr.* 862–5, *Hec.* 1099–1106, *Hel.* 1478–94, *HF* 1157–8, *Hipp.* 1290–3, *Ion* 796–8, 1238–43, *Med.* 1296–8, *Phaëth.* fr. 781.61–4 Kannicht. On Attic instances, see Padel 1974 and Wright 2005, 219–22. Sen. *Thy.* 623–6, *Pho.* 420–1.

**44** *ex. inc. inc. fab* fr. 44 R³. Quoted at *Att.* 14.12.2, 15.11.3, *Fam.* 7.28.2, 7.30.1. All date from 46–44 BCE, after even Hutchinson's late dating of the *DRN*, but still show the role of such tragic tags in political discourse.

would probably be to the topos as a topos, rather than to any particular instance of it, but this would if anything reinforce the sense of rejecting the tragic genre as a whole. Its force is undeniably neither as striking nor as effective as that of 3.73, but it does indicate the possibility that polemical anti-allusion to tragedy pervades the extended proem. It may also be significant that both *ubi nec Pelopidarum...* and *oderint dum metuant* are not only tragic phrases, but tragic tags, our second point, to which we now turn.

In his characteristically subtle analysis of Lucretian intertextuality, Don Fowler made the following important observation:

> 'in considering literary intertextuality, we should certainly return to the original texts for our comparison and contrast because this will often suggest traces present in our target-text under erasure, but we should also consider the way in which these literary texts may have been used already within the context of philosophical discourse, and how they may thus have acquired further associations in the history of their reception.'[45]

Up until this point we have considered Lucretius' generic attack as being a direct one of didactic against tragedy, but the *DRN* also stands in an agonistic relationship with other philosophical texts, many of which made use of tragic quotation and allusion.[46] The figure of Thyestes does make a surprising number of appearances in philosophy, beginning with his rather different implicit appearance as the emblematic tyrant in Plato's myth of Er, and continuing in Cynic and Stoic writings.[47] However, while Fowler, in considering intertextuality, encourages us to look for the further associations which specific passages have accrued by virtue of their tendentious quotation in philosophical discourse—a possibility which we should by no means exclude for *oderint dum metuant*—rather than solely returning to the unmediated source-text, when considering anti-allusion, where the text discourages us from engaging with any associations, original or accrued, it is more likely that Lucretius is rejecting the use of tragedy by philosophy in general. As well as emulatively asserting the generic superiority of his didactic epos over tragedy, he asserts the superiority of his Epicurean philoso-

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**45** Fowler 2000, 154.

**46** On philosophy's use of tragedy, see esp. Gill 2005; specifically on Ciceronian philosophy: Michel 1983, Auvray-Assayas 1998, Eigler 2000, Goldberg 2000.

**47** Pl. *Rep.* 619b-c, with Halliwell 1984, 50 – 5. Hook 2005 surveys the presence of Thyestes (and Oedipus) in Greek philosophy.

phy, with its close connection to 'reality', over other schools, whose writings make use of the irrelevant fantasies of tragedy.[48]

Yet it was not only philosophy which made use of tragic quotation and allusion. We have already noted how the performance of tragedy itself could be made to carry political significance, but such significance could also be imparted by quoting or alluding to tragedy in political speeches and letters.[49] There are numerous examples in Cicero, including Clodia as Clytemnestra murdering Metellus as Agamemnon (*Cael.* 59–60), and Clodius as any number of frenzied tragic figures; as Gildenhard puts it, 'Clodius has, as it were, stepped out of the tragic imagination into Roman reality.'[50] Since the extended proem of *DRN* 3 includes none of the more technical aspects of Epicurean physics or epistemology, and deals even with ethics in only the broadest sense, Lucretius' rejection of tragedy as a means of understanding society might be thought a response less to the philosophers who so use it than to orators and politicians.

Our final point brings us back, perhaps inevitably, to Don Fowler. In a characteristic move, he concludes his classic study of Lucretian intertextuality by sowing the seeds of deconstructing everything he has just written:

> 'I have taken a conservative view of the effect even of the intertexts that I have discussed, with the emphasis on the way in which they contribute to the master argument of the *De rerum natura* rather than on their potential for disruption: in another mood, I might wish to go further down that road than I have here.'[51]

In a comparable manner, I have given Lucretius complete power over the reception of his text and its intertexts.[52] The very notion of anti-allusion assumes that it is possible for the author (or, if we prefer, the text) to prescribe for the reader which associations she is permitted to make and which she is not. Yet the essence of intertextuality, even more than of interpretation in general, is its uncontrollability. Lucretius (which is as good a way as any to designate the controlling voice of the text, especially one which constructs for itself such a charismatic

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**48**  Epicurus' famous, if controversial, opposition to mythological poetry is no doubt a further element in Lucretius' generic game, though the complex way in which he engages with a range of genres suggests that it is a minor one.

**49**  Since Cicero's speeches (notably *Sest.*) and letters are our main source for politicized tragic performance, the boundary between the two categories is not a sharp one.

**50**  Gildenhard 2011, 340, on *Har.* 39. On the use of tragedy in Ciceronian oratory, see also Kubiak 1989, Hollis 1998, Gildenhard 2007. Cf. Wilson 1996 on fourth-century Attic oratory.

**51**  Fowler 2000, 154–5.

**52**  See Hinds 1998, 47–50, on the usefulness of retaining at least a constructed alluding author even for a text-reader-focused intertextuality.

and coherent persona) encourages the reader, perhaps even insists, that she exclude Atreus and Thyestes (and with them the whole tragic genre) from her reading of *DRN* 3.73, but does he have the power to do so?[53] Even without going to extremes of hermeneutic indeterminacy and allowing all interpretations to be equally valid, anti-allusion is by its very nature peculiarly susceptible to being hoist with its own petard. It dangles an intertext before the reader's eyes and then forbids her to use it, but it may be that the idea of Atreus is not so easily dispelled, and no matter how hard Lucretius tries to expel the tragic Pelopids from his contemporary Roman world, there is always the possibility that they will creep back in.

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**53** Cf. Fowler 1997, 19: 'even when explicitly denied or changed, aspects of source-texts may be present under erasure, ready to be "flipped" into prominence by a strong reader.' I extend this to their status as source-texts at all.

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Andrew Zissos

# Lucan and Caesar: Epic and *Commentarius*

**Abstract:** Masters' monograph *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile* (1992) brought into critical focus and subjected to sustained investigation two crucial, if controversial, features of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*: its obsessive reflexivity and its sustained interaction with Caesar's three books of *commentarii* on the civil war. This paper attempts to bolster Masters' analysis by establishing a connection between Lucan's reflexivity and his poetic 'response' to Caesar's commentaries. It is argued that Lucan archly exploits the notion of the commentarius as a provisional and transient literary form whose purpose was to give rise to texts in loftier genres. A secondary objective is to detach the claim that Lucan made significant use of the Caesarean *commentarii* from arguments for the completeness of the *Bellum Civile*.

**Keywords:** civil war, *commentarius* / commentary, composition myth, historical epic, intertextuality, metapoetics, Scaeva

# 1 Introduction

Two decades ago, Jamie Masters' monograph *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile*, brought into critical focus and subjected to detailed investigation two crucial, if controversial, features of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*: its obsessive reflexivity and its sustained interaction with Julius Caesar's three books of *commentarii* on the civil war. Neither feature was entirely new to scholarly discussion. The first had, for example, been treated by John Henderson with characteristic brilliance a few years earlier.[1] The second, though roundly dismissed as implausible from the 19th century onwards, had found occasional champions. The most pertinent of these is the German scholar Heinz Haffter, who, in an article published in 1957, argued not only that Lucan had used Caesar's *Commentarii de bello civili* as a model, but that he had deliberately concluded his epic at much the same point that Caesar's civil war narrative had broken off, as a marked intertextual gesture. The implication, of course, was that Lucan's epic stands complete in the form we have it. Haffter's article provoked a strong, mostly negative and sometimes scathing critical response. Masters, on the other hand, characterized

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1 Henderson (1988), which remains among the most important landmarks of modern Lucan scholarship. O'Higgins (1988) is another important precursor.

the piece as 'one of the great moments of Lucanian scholarship', and took its essential ideas on board.[2]

Masters was, I think, fully successful in demonstrating the pervasive reflexivity of Lucan's epic. He appears to have been somewhat less so in demonstrating Lucan's engagement with the Caesarean *commentarii*. One indication of lingering critical scepticism is the publication in 2004 of Jan Radicke's monograph *Lucans Poetische Technik*, a study running to several hundred pages that reverts to the long-standing *communis opinio* that Livy was the only significant prose source for Lucan's epic, dismissing Caesar's influence out of hand. Part of the difficulty critics have had in embracing Masters' argument on this point derives from his acceptance of Haffter's thesis that the epic *Bellum Civile* stands complete as we have it, a rather doubtful proposition in itself that is then used as evidence for Lucan's intertextual engagement with Caesar. This probable misstep notwithstanding, Masters was right, I think, in his intuitions regarding both the first *and* the second features of Lucan's epic. Where he may have missed an opportunity is in recognizing that these two features are closely interrelated, and can be productively brought together in an integrated analysis.

It will be the principal goal of this paper to do precisely that, to establish a connection between Lucan's reflexivity and his poetic 'response' to Caesar's civil war commentaries. A secondary objective will be to detach the claim that Lucan made significant use of the Caesarean *commentarii* from arguments for the completeness of the *Bellum Civile*.

## 2 The Genre of the *Commentarius*

Before proceeding with the analysis, it will be useful to take a step back and consider in general terms the genre of the *commentarius* as such. Its somewhat vague, amorphous and programmatically ephemeral nature makes the *commentarius* an intriguing generic form. All the more so in the context of this volume and the conference on 'generic interfaces' from which it arose, for *commentarii* were often written with the express purpose of spawning new works of literature in different genres. That is to say, the *commentarius* was frequently produced to provide material to be reprocessed, in order to give rise to other writing in different, which is to say more lofty and polished, generic form. One might write a *commentarius* to provide the raw materials for a prose history or, more importantly for present purposes, an epic poem. For this practice we have the testimo-

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**2** Masters 1992, 244.

ny of Cicero, who reveals in a series of letters to Atticus that, he wrote a *commentarius* (in Greek) on his consulship of 63 BCE; this was not intended for publication as such, but was meant to provide the basis for histories written by others. In the event, Cicero reports, those he proposed the project to turned him down after inspection of the proffered *commentarius*.[3]

Recent scholarship has rightly moved away from the idea that the *commentarius* was inevitably or even typically meant as source material to be written up.[4] Already in the late Republic, *commentarii* were 'an established form of apologetic history, history written and published by (or for) a public figure to affirm his achievement and defend his actions.'[5] As composed by Caesar, the *commentarius* was a generic form that evolved from dispatches sent by the general fighting campaigns on behalf of the Roman state. And this is part of their collective ideological significance. Unlike the Gallic War commentaries, those on the Civil War were not in the event published by Caesar himself. But they clearly belong to the same body of work. Indeed, as Henderson acutely observes, 'Caesar's *commentarii* run, and should be read, together: the *Gallic Wars* and *Civil Wars* claim a scandalous continuum'.[6] The civil war *commentarii* 'pretend to be no other than a rough draft, a provisional string of raw documents'.[7] They are, of course, anything but. If in some incarnations the *commentarius* was barely recognizable as a stand-alone generic form, Caesar famously succeeded in making it so. Nevertheless, as Batstone and Damon observe, it was easy to imagine that Caesar's *commentarii* were intended, as was Cicero's Greek *commentarius*, to serve as a basis for other narratives.[8] Indeed, Hirtius (one of Caesar's continuators), explicitly remarks that they were published *ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset* (*BGall* 8 pref.), but agrees with Cic. *Brut.* 262 that their stylistic excellence was such as to discourage others from undertaking to rewrite them.[9] The remarks of Cicero and Hirtius are telling: with Caesar, if not before, the *commentarius* could clearly stand on its own two feet; but both nevertheless link the Caesarean commentaries to the conventional horizon of expectation, that is, they speculate upon the probability of a 'write-up' by a different author in a more lofty genre.

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**3** See Riggsby 2006, 147.

**4** Riggsby (2006, 147), noting that the term *commentarius* has a fairly broad range of senses, including 'notebook' and 'record book'.

**5** Batstone and Damon 2006, 10 – 11.

**6** Henderson 1996, 39.

**7** Henderson 1996, 48.

**8** Batstone and Damon 2006, 10 – 11.

**9** My observations here continue to follow Batstone and Damon 2006, 10 – 11.

Evidently no *commentarii*, not even Caesar's, could entirely pull free from their prescribed trans-generic destiny.

Caesar's *commentarii* thus present a challenge to would-be literary successors, a challenge that is both formal and, in the case of a Pompeian sympathizer such as Lucan, ideological. I want to suggest that Lucan was in a sense taking up the challenge, that is he chose to undertake a trans-generic reprocessing of the 'raw materials' offered by Caesar's *commentarii*. His 'writing up', of course, is anything but an obliging act of homage: it entails not so much elaboration and embellishment of the Caesarean original as inversion and denunciation.

Be that as it may, the logic of the generic interface is clear enough, and paradigmatic in its wishfulness. Lucan's act of composition amounts to an act of replacement, an act that seeks to consign the 'humble' original to the rubbish heap of literary history. According to normal practice, after its 'writing up' the *commentarius* has lost its *raison d'etre*: it no longer needs to be read. The new, derivative text subsumes and supersedes the old and thereby renders it disposable. The *commentarius* has, in effect, outlived its usefulness and may be allowed to lapse into oblivion.

Such trans-generic posturing would be in accordance with prevailing practice: few *commentarii* will have long survived their write-ups. But even the notion of a defiant 'writing-up' by Lucan, an ideological recasting of the Caesarean original stands in need of demonstration. For scholars have generally objected to any attribution of engagement with or indebtedness to Caesar's civil war commentaries on Lucan's part. So before proceeding further, a brief consideration of the vexed question of Lucan's use of Caesar's *Commentarii* is in order.

# 3 The Caesarean Model

In 1912 René Pichon published *Les Sources de Lucain*, a monograph that remains surprisingly influential on its centennial anniversary. Pichon established the *communis opinio* that Livy was Lucan's only important source for historical facts. The problem, of course, is that the eight books of Livy covering the civil war are not extant; nevertheless, it can be established from *testimonia* and other evidence that Lucan did make use of Livy's account in a number of passages.[10]

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**10** Here I conveniently refer the reader to Lintott (1971, esp. 489), demonstrating instances of dependence on the Livian account.

Pichon's argument depends on two suppositions: firstly, that Lucan would have had recourse to a single source for historical facts; and second, that any similarity between Lucan and other post-Livian authors arises from common dependence on Livy. This appeal to the unique and decisive influence of a non-extant text has the great advantage that by its very nature it precludes decisive refutation. In each and every discussion of Lucan's sources, as Bramble has well put it, 'Livy is pointlessly, but necessarily invoked'.[11] Similarities and overlaps in coverage between Lucan and Caesar can be explained by the mediation of Livy, since Caesar was one of Livy's sources. With Livy established as the crucial intermediary, Caesar can simply be bracketed out. And for the most part, he has been.

But if Pichon's views continued to prevail in the critical debate, arguments for Lucan's use of Caesar were occasionally aired. I have already mentioned the article by Haffter, published in 1957, which argued for Lucan's deliberate imitation of Caesar, based on the fact that the two narratives open and break off at almost the same point. This was followed three years later by an article by Michel Rambaud arguing that Lucan's epic aimed at a systematic reversal of the subtle propaganda of the Caesarean civil war commentaries.

This last point is crucial, for it announces a fundamental conceptual shift, that is to say, it imagines a different kind of intertextual relationship between Caesar's *commentarii* and Lucan's epic. Instead of considering (and, with Pichon, rejecting) Caesar as a source for Lucan, Rambaud had redefined him as a model – more specifically, as a negative model.[12] Masters seized upon this notion, and developed it with characteristic perspicacity, balancing Caesar as Lucan's antimodel in prose with Virgil as his antimodel in poetry.[13]

One of the many virtues of this approach is that it eliminates from consideration what we might call arguments of sympathy, which have enjoyed an advocacy that spans at least three different centuries.[14] Such arguments reject Lucan's use of Caesar's *commentarii* largely on the grounds that their sanitized reports

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**11** Bramble 1982, 43.

**12** It should be acknowledged that some critics have attempted to support the Livy theory more constructively, adducing similarities between Lucan and extant parts of Livy (i. e. those coverage of non-civil war history). This would obviously mean a very deep and systemic indebtedness. So Vitelli (1902), for example, finds similarities between Lucan's description of Dyrrachium (6.19 ff.; likewise Ilerda at 4.12 ff.) and Livy's of Scodra (Liv. 44.31.2).

**13** Masters 1992, 17–18: 'I wish here to sustain the hypothesis, advanced first by Griset, Haffter, and Rambaud, that Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is a deliberate counterpoise to Caesar's commentary of the same name; that, in short, just as Lucan opposes and confronts Virgil in the domain of literary epic, so does he oppose and confront Caesar in the domain of history'.

**14** We might point to Giani 1888, 23–4 and 119–20; Pichon 1912, *passim*; Radicke 2004.

would have offended Lucan's political convictions, and would not have appealed to his aesthetic sensibilities; in short, it would not have provided appropriate raw material for his anti-Caesarean narrative. Naturally, the argument goes, Lucan would have much preferred the 'Pompeian' account of Livy, which had evidently already performed the kind of ideological 'neutralization' and reversal that Lucan required. But if we assume, with Rambaud and Masters, that Caesar is an anti-model, the prose equivalent to Virgil's epic, then we will no longer be looking at Caesar the same way we would a 'source' like Livy. Here it will be helpful to recall Bramble's insightful observation that 'Lucan is at his best when he has some pattern to follow, adapting, reversing, or negating it'.[15]

In ideological terms there would have been no single text that Lucan would have been more keen to neutralize, to counter, and indeed to write out of existence, than Caesar's civil war commentaries. Henderson has well discussed such features of the *commentarii* as the negative ventriloquism of Caesar's opponents, and the play of Caesarean euphemism against Pompeian denigration.[16] Caesar's subtly biased prose is among the most compelling explanations for Lucan's blatantly biased poetry. It seems inherently likely that Lucan would have spared no efforts to render null and void the subtle but powerful ideological currents of Caesar's commentaries. And, as already noted, the conventional teleology of the *commentarius* offered a formal framework and a transgeneric logic (or if we prefer, a generic interface) for such a procedure.

## 4 'Pharsalia Nostra'

Having in the most general terms set the form of the *commentarius* against a kind of transgeneric horizon of expectations, and having established the basis for a close intertextual relationship, it is now time to look more closely at Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. As noted earlier, my goal is to bring together in an integrated analysis Lucan's metaliterary tendencies on the one hand, and his intertextual engagement with the Caesarean *commentarii de bello civili* on the other. In practice this means looking for passages where Lucan has thematized or drawn attention to his trans-generic appropriation, which is also an eclipsing of his predecessor's *opus*.

My analysis takes as its point of departure the much-discussed passage in Book 9, in which Caesar visits the site of Troy, a once mighty city, now paltry

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**15** Bramble 1982, 47.

**16** Henderson 1996, 42.

ruins, barely perceptible to the casual visitor. As Masters observes, the protagonist of the "last" epic war returns to the city of the first, to see where the Homeric heroes had battled so long ago.[17] Lucan amplifies the metaliterary resonance of the scene, by evoking the role of poetry in the commemoration of the past – a notion that, of course, finds its earliest articulation in Homeric epic. Troy is no more, but the heroes of Troy live on in poetry: *multum debentis vatibus umbras.* (9.963) This idea is more fully elaborated a little later in the passage:

> o sacer et magnus vatum labor! omnia fato
> eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum.
> invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;
> nam, siquid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,
> quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,
> venturi me teque legent: Pharsalia nostra
> vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.
> (9.980 – 6)

> O labor of poets, how holy and great you are! You snatch everything from fate and give life to mortal peoples. Caesar, do not be envious of the poet's holy fame. For, if Latin Muses are allowed to produce anything which will endure as long as the honors rendered to Homer, people in time to come will read both you and me. *Pharsalia*, our tale, will live, and no age shall condemn us to the shadows.
> (transl. Ahl)

This passage constitutes one of the more remarkable authorial intrusions in all of Roman epic. Lucan interrupts his account of Caesar's visit to Troy with a double apostrophe, first to the immortalizing power of poetry, and then to Caesar himself. Every clause in this fascinating sequence merits scrutiny: the language is slippery, and double senses abound. The referential complexity derives in no small part from Caesar's unique status among the *dramatis personae* of Lucan's poem as not only a protagonist but also a crucial literary predecessor.

A crucial statement in this regard is *venturi me teque legent* (985). For Dolores O'Higgins, this suggests that 'Lucan shares an identical status with Caesar with regard to the poem. The distinction between the actor and the recorder of action seems blurred for these future readers.'[18] But the overall effect, I think, is to make it difficult for the implied reader *not* to think of Caesar the author as well as Caesar the protagonist of Lucan's epic. The 19th century translator H. T. Riley rendered this 'those to come shall read both me and thee'; and while clearly sharing O'Higgins' view of the sense, he observed in a note that

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**17** Masters 1992, 158.
**18** O'Higgins 1988, 216.

'it is just possible that Lucan may here allude to Caesar's labours as an historian, namely, his Commentaries'.[19] At the end of the 19th century C. M. Francken unequivocally affirmed the same view; and most recently Andreola Rossi has restated and developed the hypothesis.[20] Indeed, the grammatical parallelism of *me teque* surely makes the reader think initially of two writers, subject to correction upon further reflection.[21] Here as elsewhere, Caesar's *commentarii* are evoked, but they are evoked under the sign of erasure.

*Pharsalia nostra* has given rise to much critical discussion, and has, of course, sometimes been taken as evidence for the epic's title. But what does the expression mean? In the apparatus to his 1926 edition Housman glossed *Pharsalia nostra* as '*proelium a te [Caesare] gestum, a me scriptum*'. A decade earlier, Postgate had in his edition translated it as 'the memory of Pharsalia in which you and I, Caesar, have a share'. O'Higgins, among others, followed Housman's lead, adding the attractive insight that 'Lucan recognizes the irony of his achievement in preserving for posterity an infamous victory and a maniacal victor.'[22] This is a compelling reading, to be sure, but it does not do justice to the metaliterary thrust of the authorial intervention, to the dynamic tension between inclusion and exclusion that the phrase creates. Nutting remarks on the odd intimacy of the address to Caesar, which he characterizes as 'an almost chummy aside'.[23] Certainly the expression '*Our* Pharsalia' does seem rather 'chummy'; but its thematic and metaliterary evocations are somewhat less benign.

The implication of *Pharsalia* here is of a specifically poetic vision of the civil war. *Pharsalia* refers to a single battle, albeit a crucial one, that took place on a particular day, and at a particular place. It constitutes a tiny fraction of the war's chronology and geographical span. From the point of view of Lucan's epic, it also represents a fraction of the total narrative (one book out of at least ten, so 10 % or less), and involves the downfall of a single character. Events at Pharsalus signalled the demise of Pompey, not the end of the civil war. 'The battle was, for Lucan, a turning point in history, after which the whole world was enslaved.'[24] But the historical reality was rather more complex.

At the very opening of the epic, Lucan announces his subject as *Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos | iusque datum sceleri canimus …* (1.1–2). As with *Pharsalia nostra* in Book 9, so in the epic's opening verse we are con-

**19** Riley 1896, ad loc.

**20** Francken 1896–7, ad loc.; Rossi 2001, 234.

**21** Cf. Nutting 1932, 174: 'other things being equal, that is what the words should signify'.

**22** O'Higgins 1988, 216.

**23** Nutting 1932, 174.

**24** O'Higgins 1988, 216 n. 25.

fronted with a poetic vision. It is, as Rambaud has pointed out, the declaration of a poetic 'centre' that stands opposed to the annalistic chronology that Caesar did his best to follow.[25] From the very beginning, the same scholar notes, Lucan opposes the very form of the *Commentarii* of Caesar.[26] With *Pharsalia*, in other words, Lucan reinvokes a programmatic and structural opposition to the Caesarean model.[27] In combination with *Pharsalia*, then, *nostra* begins to look somewhat less 'chummy': the pronoun evokes the 'marginalizing' of Caesar's commentaries by Lucan's poem. The epic becomes Caesar's not simply because he is an important protagonist, but because it has supplanted his literary output. The ultimate act of relegation, according to the transgeneric logic discussed above, is to write the derivative work that eclipses the *commentarius*, rendering it redundant.

A similar metageneric thrust is found in the qualification attached to the poet's and Caesar's projected immortality at 984 *quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores*. This invokes Homer as the perceived founder and greatest exponent of epic, and signals the genre's longevity. Johnson well paraphrases the qualification: *as long as people remember what epic is*.[28] A suggestive feature is the exclusionary force of Lucan's generic specificity. The future he imagines is one in which his epic will survive; the prose commentaries from which it derives are excluded from the discussion, and, if not written out of literary history, at least written out of Lucan's literary-historical prognostications.

Along the same lines, a suggestive double sense is found in line 982 *invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae*. I have provided Ahl's translation, which is controversial at this point: 'do not be envious of the poet's holy fame'. Ahl construes the epithet *sacer* as modifying an attribute of the poet, as it often does in such metaliterary moments (*OLD* s.v. 8a). But most scholars have understood the epithet as relating to the fame that poetry imparts to the heroes whose exploits it commemorates.[29] In other words, Lucan enjoins Caesar not to feel envy of the fame of old-time heroes, as his own deeds will be immortalized by the poem now being written. O'Higgins translates in this way: 'Caesar, you need not

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**25** Rambaud 1960, 157.

**26** Rambaud 1960, 157.

**27** The designation *Pharsalia* is even more telling in regard to Caesar, who does not mention *Pharsalus* or use any associated adjectives in the civil war commentaries. Caesar merely states, with surprising imprecision, that the battle took place in *Thessalia* (*BCiv* 3.100.3, 101.7, 111.5). In lexical terms, then, 'Pharsalia' is an un-Caesarian designation.

**28** Johnson 1987, 120 – 1.

**29** E.g. Haskins (1887, *ad loc.*) glosses: 'do not, Caesar, feel jealousy of the fame of Homer's heroes'.

envy the fame that sanctifies [others]'.[30] In her commentary on Book 9, Wick follows suit.[31] Zwierlein more cautiously observes that it is unclear why Caesar should feel envy at the fame of a poet.[32]

Zwierlein's doubt is natural enough; according to the usual formulations, poet and hero share success, so *invidia* would seem out of place. But if Caesar is understood here not merely as a protagonist, but also as a writer, a sense of literary *invidia* emerges: by writing the epic that derives from Caesar's *commentarii* Lucan is writing the latter out of literary history. Once again, this can be read as a statement of generic one-upmanship, or better, of generic displacement.[33]

# 5 The Circumvallation at Dyrrachium

If the foregoing analysis is valid, one might expect to find additional encodings of the trans-generic relationship that Lucan establishes with Caesar's civil war *commentarii.* As before, the logical search domain is that shadowy metanarrative discourse which Masters refers to as the poem's 'composition myth'. I have already made reference to the insightful work of both Masters and Henderson in this area, their compelling demonstrations of the pervasive tendency of Lucan's narrative to refer to its own coming into being. This, as they show, is largely focussed on the figure of Caesar, Lucan's diabolical protagonist, who is no less essential to Lucan's metanarrative than to his narrative. 'For Caesar to wage war', Masters notes, 'is, in Lucan's terms, for the poet to compose epic'.[34] In order to locate Caesar's *commentarii* in this reflexive dynamic, I take my point of departure from Masters' analysis of the Brundisium episode in Book 2, in which Caesar attempts (ultimately unsuccessfully) to blockade Pompey's forces by constructing an immense floating barricade. Here, as Masters shows, Lucan exploits the metaphor of writing as (architectural) construction:

> 'A barricade is not a temple, a monument, or a city, but it is a construction of a sort, and, as constructions go, it is the one most appropriate for the context of a martial epic. Already it has been suggested that Lucan sees his own activity as a poet as closely analogous to Caesar's activity as a wager of war; we now need only make a final step to see that Caesar's

**30** O'Higgins 1988, 216.
**31** Wick (2004, *ad loc.*): 'Gemeint ist der Ruhm den ein Dichter, den von ihm gesungen Helden ... verleien kann.'
**32** Zwierlein 1986, 461–2.
**33** Cf. Rossi (2001, 324–5) who sees the poet and Caesar 'coming out even in this confrontation', or Caesar even gaining the upper hand.
**34** Masters 1992, 7.

construction of the floating *agger* parallels Lucan's composition of the poem, in accordance with the metaphor of poem-as-building.'[35]

At the beginning of Book 6, Caesar constructs an even more striking barricade in the vicinity Dyrrachium in western Greece. In certain respects, the Dyrrachium episode amounts to a terrestrial recapitulation of its predecessor in Book 2. If, as Masters argues in discussing the earlier episode, the barricade is the 'most appropriate' structure to be used as a symbol for the composition of a martial epic, then one might well expect to find a metaliterary dimension here as well.[36] But whereas the metaliterary imagery of the Brundisium episode signals Lucan's composition of epic *tout court*, that of the Dyrrachium episode evokes Lucan's epic recasting, or generic transmogrification, of Caesar's prose.

In terms of the composition myth, there are new elements. Caesar's ambitious attempt at circumvallation represents a singular moment of creativity on his part, a bold and inventive act of warfare, as he himself emphasizes at *BCiv* 3.47.[37] It was indeed widely recognized as such, both at the time and in later ages; even Napoleon would weigh in on Caesar's audacious scheme. The idea of blockading a numerically superior enemy with its back to the sea, whether sound or ill-advised, is an instance of surpassing military creativity.

Lucan's emphasis on the circumvallation as a creative, imaginative act on Caesar's part is a noteworthy feature. The account begins with Caesar's *mens* 'caught by an extravagant design' (Duff), that is, with an initial moment of 'inspiration': *hic avidam belli rapuit spes improba mentem | Caesaris* (6.29–30). He conceives a construction on a vast scale – so vast that it he must 'scale' it in his mind (6.32). As Caesar sets about realizing his *opus* Lucan seems once again to invoke the metaphor of writing as building: *planumque per ardua Caesar | ducit opus* (6.38–9).

The literal sense is clear enough: Caesar 'draws a rampart of even height across the hills'.[38] But there are subtle metaliterary shadings at work here as well. *Ducit opus* is of course immediately suggestive.[39] The qualification of *opus* with *planum* is more intriguing. Much like its English equivalents, the adjective can be used metaphorically of discursive forms, when it bears the sense

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**35** Masters 1992, 33–4.

**36** Masters 1992, 34.

**37** Cf. Henderson 1998, 55 n. 45, esp. on the 'new-fangled war' in Greece.

**38** Haskins 1887, *ad loc.*

**39** *Ducere* has the literal sense 'draw out'; but the verb can also be used figuratively of literary composition (*OLD* s.v. 23d).

'simple, plain, straightforward'.[40] The *commentarius* is a 'flat', matter-of-fact genre. In stylistic terms, Cicero characterized Caesar's commentaries as 'naked' (*nudi*, *Brut.* 262), that is, stripped of all rhetorical ornament. *Per ardua* is no less suggestive, as it is famously part of a Virgilian declaration of poetic inspiration at *G.* 3.291–2 *sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis / raptat amor*. As per the trans-generic prescription, then, Lucan signals his reworking of unadorned source materials, investing them with due poetic elevation.

The generic reprocessing, or epic exaltation, of the Caesarean material is signalled more overtly in the claimed superiority of Caesar's barricade to earlier legendary walls, above all those of Troy:

> nunc vetus Iliacos attollat fabula muros
> ascribatque deis ...
> (6.48–9)

> 'After this let legend (p)raise the walls of Troy, and ascribe the building to the gods ...'

The pun on *attollat*, which I have rendered with '(p)raise' plays on both a literal and metaphorical sense. The literal sense, of course, confirms the figural equivalence of the building of structures and the composition of poetry.[41] As in the Book 9 passage, discussed above, Lucan invokes Homeric epic in order to signal a generic transmogrification of Caesar's *commentarii*. Once again, the reference to the mythic world of Homer's Troy shifts Lucan's poem into an imaginative, generically-marked space that is wholly alien to the commentary, thereby signalling an epic reprocessing of Caesar's prose.[42]

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**40** *OLD* s.v. 6.

**41** The connection is emphatic here as just a few lines earlier Lucan has *attollere muros* (6.33), with the verb in its literal sense, of Caesar building his siege wall.

**42** Additional turns of phrases seem to evoke Caesar's literary production. So for example, Lucan speaks of Caesar's circumvallation as *subitum bellique tumultu | raptum ... opus* ('a work hastily thrown up in the midst of war', 6.53–4). But this is an equally apt description of Caesar's civil war *commentarii*, which were famously composed by Caesar while he was on campaign. Likewise the expression *surgens operum structura* (6.64) looks suggestive: *structura* is regularly applied to literary works (*OLD* s.v. 1b), so that *operum structura* has a literary feel to it. And as Masters (1992), 33 has shown, *surgere* in connection with *opus* has a strong metaliterary valence in Lucan's epic.

# 6 Scaeva

The centurion Scaeva, a historical figure, figures prominently in Book 6, single-handedly defending a *castellum* that is attacked by Pompey's forces. It is, as Lucan tells us, a novel form of warfare: one man against an entire army (6.191–2). These defensive heroics of Scaeva, as critics have observed, constitute the lone martial *aristeia* in the *Bellum Civile*. This *aristeia* is the example *par excellence* of the 'madcap hysteria of Lucan's deformed epic *topoi*', illustrating, as Henderson well observes, that the charisma of the battle wound, a fundamental element of traditional epic, cannot survive its exposure in civil war.[43]

The Scaeva episode finds it source in Caesar, who reports the fort in question to have been heroically defended by its garrison at the cost of much personal injury; he makes Scaeva not the only defender, but the most heroic of the group (Caes. *BCiv* 3.53). In Lucan's account, as Johnson observes, 'Scaeva's virtue is [presented as] a caricature of Caesar's account of Scaeva, in mocking hyperbole that echoes the conventions of Roman and epic virtue only in order to subvert them'.[44] A noteworthy detail in the episode is the absence of Caesar, who is far away from the fort. Lucan has his Scaeva lament this absence:

> 'peterem felicior umbras
> Caesaris in uoltu: testem hunc fortuna negauit:
> Pompeio laudante cadam ...'
> (6.158–60)

This is a suggestive touch, which plays with one of the clichés of the Caesarean *commentarii*, namely, that Roman soldiers fought better under the observation of their commander-in-chief.[45] By explicitly raising the matter in a fictitious and ahistorical speech, Lucan suggestively turns that treasured Caesarean principle on its head. He assigns the epic's only martial *aristeia*, a superhuman demonstration of military *virtus*, to a figure well beyond Caesar's perceptual limits.

There is, moreover, a broader metaliterary point here. Lucan's episode vividly elaborates a sequence that was for Caesar inherently non-narratable. Caesar could not personally attest as to what happened since he was not present. He offers second-hand information, and 'forensic' evidence (*BCiv* 3.53) – a state of affairs that Lucan's Scaeva partially anticipates (6.153–4). All this amounts to a play on degrees of authorial omniscience, offering an epic reelaboration of

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**43** Henderson 1988, 167.

**44** Johnson 1987, 59.

**45** Goldsworthy 1998, 208.

an episode that constituted a case of non-narrability in Caesar's own account. On one level, Lucan's treatment involves an arch reversal of Caesarean emphasis and selectivity. Caesar's account focuses on himself: not on Scaeva's actions, but Caesar's rewarding of those actions. On another level, Lucan 'liberates' his source narrative from the limitations of Caesarean autopsy. This 'liberation' of Caesarean material signals a reprocessing of the model, a kind of generic transposition of the raw materials of the content of the Caesarean *commentarii*.

# 7 Endings

The figure of Scaeva naturally brings up the question of the end of the *Bellum Civile*, which, as noted, breaks off at much the same point as Caesar's civil war commentaries. It is a dramatic moment: Caesar finds himself besieged in Alexandria, assailed by a rag-tag Egyptian force that nonetheless looks overwhelming against the paltry resources he has at hand. Caesar's life hangs in the balance; all seems lost; but then he looks back and sees his devoted centurion:

> captus sorte loci pendet; dubiusque timeret
> optaretne mori respexit in agmine denso
> Scaevam perpetuae meritum iam nomina famae
> ad campos, Epidamne, tuos, ubi solus apertis
> obsedit muris calcantem moenia Magnum.
> (10.542–6)

Henderson rightly sees this sequence as a metapoetic moment: 'at the end, his pen wrote that he – Lucan-Caesar – "looked back" over the text, to see his finest creation, the accursed Caesarean soldier-hero Scaeva, undead, and at Caesar's back. Ready to repeat his cameo, ... resistance in the form of a renewed one-man siege.'[46] Scaeva's encore at the precise moment that Caesar 'fades out' as a source for Lucan's narrative is an apt programmatic marker, signalling the necessary end of Lucan's interaction with his prose antimodel. It is, as it were, a wholly invented Caesarean curtain call, a final nod to the *commentarii de bello civili*. Even more than in the earlier episode, Scaeva here becomes an emblem of Lucan's epic rewriting of Caesar's prose.

Arguments for the poem's completion naturally focus heavily on this scene. In addition to the coincidence of this ending with that of Caesar's *commentarii de*

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**46** Henderson 1988, 172.

*bello civili*, adduced by Haffter, Masters points to the reappearance of Scaeva himself. The point of this recurrence is, for Masters, to generate a kind of closural gesture, an end that, as it were, signals the 'endlessness of civil war'. By such a reckoning, Lucan's ending, which is a non-ending, is the intended conclusion.

While studded with rich insights, these arguments have persuaded few, and, twenty years on, it may be more profitable to seek a middle position, one that accounts for the coincidence of endings without staking everything on the poem's completeness. The coincidence could well arise from the tight 'generic interface' between the two texts. For Lucan, reaching the end of the Caesarean commentaries would mean the end of an intertextual or compositional mode that had figured prominently to this point. If we accept that Lucan has been closely engaging Caesar all along, what would be the likely result when this antimodel was exhausted? The poet would surely want to pause, as henceforth his narrative would need to proceed according to different guiding principles.

After more than nine books of (Virgil and) Caesar-negating, the coming to an end of the latter would be a natural occasion, both psychologically and in terms of textual production, for a significant pause. Lucan's post-Caesarean text would have to follow different metaliterary principles, a different intertextual logic. It follows, then, that there are few, if any, other points in the unfolding epic narrative that could have rivalled the probability of this one as candidates for a suspension in the composition of an epic that was, in the event, never resumed.

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Marco Fantuzzi

# Achilles and the *improba virgo*

## Ovid, *Ars am*. 1.681–704 and Statius, *Ach*. 1.514–35 on Achilles at Scyros

**Abstract:** Analysis of the possible influence of Ovid's apostrophes to Achilles in cross-dress at Scyros (*Ars am*. 1.681–704) on Statius' *Achilleid* 1.619–39 (Achilles' dialogue with himself in the night he rapes Deidameia) and 1.514–35 (apostrophes to Thetis and Achilles by Calchas, who is asked by the Greeks at Aulis to divine where Achilles is hidden).

Calchas' speech may be read as an epic retelling of Ovid's narrative, which had presented the didactic author (mockingly, of course) as the positive influence that ensured Achilles would adhere to his twin destiny as martial hero and great lover. Statius' Calchas has the same tone of indignation over the destiny of the character Achilles as Ovid had in the *Ars*. Like the Ovidian narrator, he also serves as the catalyst that advances the plot towards Achilles' definitive liberation from cross-dressing, in that he provides Odysseus and Diomedes with the necessary information to summon the hidden hero to the war. Calchas' assuming this role is well within the limits of the poetics of epic, since his Iliadic *alter ego* had similarly compelled Agamemnon to radically change his attitude toward Chryseis and thus redirected the story of the war of Troy. Later in the narrative Statius' re-dignified Achilles follows, in a way, in Calchas' and Ovid's footsteps by showing the same indignation and addressing comparable apostrophes to himself (1.619–39) as he acknowledges the necessity of stopping his transvestism even before Odysseus compels him to give it up.

The paper includes an interpretation of the expression *improba virgo*, with which Statius' Calchas concludes his prophecy (1.535).

**Keywords:** erotic poetry, epic, Statius, Ovid, Achilles, Deidameia, rape and Roman culture, prophetic voice/authorial voice

Whether Statius' approach to the tale of Achilles at Scyros (the longest narrative in the extant part of the *Achilleid*) is more epically dignified than its predecessors or, on the contrary, indulgent in the eroticism of the situation, has been widely debated in recent years.[1] Statius certainly has his protagonist dressed in women's clothing and enjoying the company of Deidameia and the girls in her retinue for

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more than three hundred lines before the hero reveals his real gender to Deidameia by raping her (1.318–639). Even after the rape he tellingly remains cross-dressed up to the final revelation of 1.885. However, despite this frequent indulgence in eroticism, from the very beginning to the very end of his life in disguise, Achilles and the narrator frequently show moral reluctance or indignation, which matches the emphasis that Statius places on the fact that Achilles was forced into transvestism.

Openly indignant reactions to Achilles' indecorous cross-dressing surface twice before he gets rid of his female clothes, once uttered by the seer Calchas and another time in a monologue delivered by Achilles himself. Both of them derive part of their special force from the questioning apostrophes which are interspersed throughout them. In the background of both passages probably is a long tradition of indignant apostrophes/rebukes to Achilles in cross-dress, which are already documented in the fragments of Euripides' *Scyrioi* (*TrGF* v.2.\*\*683a and inc. fab. v.2.880, if the latter belongs to this tragedy). In that instance, the apostrophe was uttered by Odysseus, most probably during the exposure scene as part of a speech designed to persuade Achilles to give up his transvestism.[2] The apostrophic form also shaped Odysseus' exposure speech in Ovid, *Met*. 13.165–70:

> arma ego femineis animum motura virilem
> mercibus inserui, neque adhuc proiecerat heros
> virgineos habitus, cum parmam hastamque tenenti
> 'Nate dea', dixi, 'tibi se peritura reservant
> Pergama! Quid dubitas ingentem evertere Troiam?'
> iniecique manum, fortemque ad fortia misi.

> I placed among women's wares some arms such as would attract a man. The hero still wore girl's clothing when, as he laid hands on shield and spear, I said to him: 'O son of Thetis, Pergama, doomed to perish, is keeping herself for you! Why do you delay the fall of mighty Troy?' And I laid my hand on him and sent the brave fellow forth to do brave deeds.

The apostrophic overlap between this passage and Euripides' fragments is not difficult to account for. It may testify, first of all, to the lasting influence of the Euripidean model. Besides, the format of direct rebuke may have conveyed – more pointedly than other, more hypocritical forms of persuasive addresses – the transgressive and paradoxical nature of the hero's transvestism. Apart from Odysseus' speech in the *Met*. (which is not necessarily modeled on Euripides' *Scyrioi*, but, I repeat, is in tune with this tragedy), Ovid himself in the *Ars*

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**2** Cf. Fantuzzi 2012, 32–5.

*amatoria* and Statius in the *Achilleid* both produced apostrophic addresses to Achilles in cross-dress whose speaker and situation are quite different from the Odysseus speech in Euripides or in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The text of Ovid, *Ars am.* is the only other non-Odyssean apostrophe known to us, and is a text that Statius may have presupposed. I will argue on the following pages that the addresses contained in Statius' *Achilleid* engage in an intertextual dialogue with Ovid's version of the apostrophes to Achilles in the *Ars am.*, integrating some of its aspects and changing others. It is by determining how Statius modulates the tone of his two speeches as compared to Ovid, *Ars am.* that we can realize how successfully he adds to the hero's dignity.

<div align="center">⋆ ⋆ ⋆</div>

Achilles' monologue takes place during a night of Bacchic revels in the woods, in which he participates in disguise alongside Deidameia and her friends. After leaving the company of the girls, among whom he too had to behave like a girl, Achilles allows his masculine ego to take issue with his cross-dressed state (1.624–39):

>      ... tenero cum solus ab agmine Achilles
> haec secum: 'Quonam timidae commenta parentis
> usque feres? primumque imbelli carcere perdes
> florem animi? non tela licet Mavortia dextra,
> non trepidas agitare feras? ubi campus et amnes
> Haemonii? quaerisne meos, Sperchie, natatus
> promissasque comas? an desertoris alumni
> nullus honos, Stygiasque procul iam raptus ad umbras
> dicor, et orbatus plangit mea funera Chiron?
> tu nunc tela manu, nostros tu dirigis arcus
> nutritosque mihi scandis, Patrocle, iugales:
> ast ego pampineis diffundere bracchia thyrsis
> et tenuare colus—pudet haec taedetque fateri—
> iam scio. quin etiam dilectae virginis ignem
> aequaevamque facem captus noctesque diesque
> dissimulas. quonam usque premes urentia pectus
> vulnera? teque marem—pudet heu!—nec amore probabis?'

... when Achilles, solitary from the tender band, thus communes with himself: 'How long shall you endure the devices of your timid mother and squander the prime flower of courage in unmanly durance? May you not carry Mars' weapons in your hands nor hunt affrighted beasts? Where are Haemonia's plain and rivers? Sperchius, do you miss my swims and promised tresses? Or care you naught for your deserter foster son, and am I already talked of as snatched away to the shades of Styx, and does Chiron lament my death bereaved? Patroclus, do you now aim my darts and my bow and mount the team that was reared for me? While I now know how to spread my arms with wands of vine and spin thread (shame and

disgust to confess it!). And more, you conceal your passion for your beloved girl, your co-eval fire, night and day, a prisoner. How long will you suppress the wound that burns your breast, nor even in love (for shame!) prove yourself a man?'[3]

Achilles' dilemma is expressed as a dialogue with himself, and its first two questions are in fact so dialogic (1.624–6 and 1.626–7) that they may seem to be addressed to an external interlocutor, though it later turns out that the addressee is Achilles' own 'alter ego'; only at 1.628 and 1.631 does the possessive *meus* re-establish the unity of Achilles' character, as he is overwhelmed with nostalgia for the virile activities in which he is bound to participate again. This inner dialogue has a very persuasive effect on the hero, and it plays a decisive role in advancing the action of the *Achilleid*, as is evident from the fact that it is immediately afterwards that Achilles reveals his masculinity for the first time, although only momentarily and only to Deidameia (1.640–4).

Taken in combination with this traditional apostrophic tone and some clear narrative details (Achilles' handling of wool and spindles and the author's suggestion that he should be holding weapons in his hands instead),[4] the propulsive effect this inner dialogue has on the plot has already led modern scholars to compare it to the indignation Ovid affected at Achilles' cross-dressing at *Ars am.* 1.685–704. Just as the dialogue the Statian Achilles conducts with himself, Ovid's passage marks a transition point in the hero's life: as an erotic/didactic author, Ovid seems consistently focused on heterosexual love,[5] and within this logic he mockingly pretends to be a successful paraenetic guardian of Achilles' adherence to his destiny as a male (& epic) character:[6]

> iam nurus ad Priamum diverso venerant orbe,
>     Graiaque in Iliacis moenibus uxor erat.
> iurabant omnes in laesi verba mariti:
>     nam dolor unius publica causa fuit
> (turpe, nisi hoc matris precibus tribuisset) Achilles
>     veste virum longa dissimulatus erat.
> quid facis, Aeacide? non sunt tua munera lanae;

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**3** Translations from the *Achilleid* are by D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb Classical Library).

**4** For the points these narratives have in common, cf. Davis 2006*b*, 129–30.

**5** Unlike in his mythological love poetry (where homosexual myths are often recounted), Ovid as *praeceptor amoris* prefers to steer clear of the complications of homosexuality and transvestism and rather teaches his readers how to be 'proper' men and 'proper' women, before becoming proper lovers: cf. Fantuzzi 2012, 67–8.

**6** It has become commonly accepted that Statius' *Thebaid* often invokes Virgil as a model, whereas the *Achilleid* frequently presupposes the works of Ovid: cf. most recently Feeney 2004; Davis 2006*b*, 129–30 and 143 n. 2, with doxography.

> tu titulos alia Palladis arte petes.
> quid tibi cum calathis? clipeo manus apta ferendo est;
>     pensa quid in dextra, qua cadet Hector, habes?
> reice succinctos operoso stamina fusos:
>     quassanda est ista Pelias hasta manu.
> forte erat in thalamo virgo regalis eodem:
>     haec illum stupro comperit esse virum.
> viribus illa quidem victa est – ita credere oportet –,
>     sed voluit vinci viribus illa tamen.
> saepe 'mane!' dixit, cum iam properaret Achilles:
>     fortia nam posito sumpserat arma colo.
> vis ubi nunc illa est? quid blanda voce moraris
>     auctorem stupri, Deidamia, tui?

Afterwards Priam welcomed his foreign relative, and a Greek wife came to live inside Troy's walls, and every chief swore allegiance to the wronged husband, and the grief of one man became a people's cause. It was while (deep shame, had his mother's prayers not put him under stress!) Achilles hid his manhood in a woman's dress. What are you doing? Spinning is not your concern, grandson of Aeacus: you must earn fame through another art of Pallas. Why do you stand with a basket on your shield arm, quite unmanned? Why do you hold in your right hand – the one by which great Hector will be slain – a soft wool-skein? Throw away that spindle with its troublesome thread, wave your spear instead! The virgin princess, who happened to share his bedroom, found he was indeed a man, indeed she was 'raped' (one is bound to accept tradition, of course), but, still, she wanted to be taken by force. 'Stay' she begged him again and again, 'Please stay', when Achilles was already on his way, his distaff dumped, a warrior under arms. But now I ask: 'What harm has been done by force? Why do you wheedle, Deidamia, and press the author of your rape to linger?'[7]

Of course, the tone of the two passages is quite different, first of all because in Statius Achilles' anger at himself seems serious, whereas Ovid's indignation at his character in the *Ars* is substantially feigned and humorous (though, as we have said, Ovid also has the slightly more serious concern of clearing the way of his *erotodidaxis* of potentially confusing homosexual elements). Besides, in Ovid, the simultaneity of the apostrophes to Achilles and his recovery of virility was only a narrative trompe-l'oeil: the amusing effect achieved by Ovid's mode of presentation was to give the reader the impression that he, the author, had persuaded Achilles to rediscover his virility and test it out with Deidameia. Quite differently, the Achilles of the *Achilleid* is wise enough to address to himself, of his own accord, the warnings which Ovid's Achilles still had to have imparted by the author: in a most dignified way, Statius' Achilles at the same time

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**7** For a more detailed analysis of this passage cf. Fantuzzi 2012, 56, 65–71.

both corrects himself and recovers his identity on his own. As a result, Odysseus'
tricks will only serve to make this recovery public.[8]

I suggest that in all likelihood the same Ovidian passage was also presup-
posed, and substantially modified, in the apostrophes to Achilles uttered by Cal-
chas in 1.514–35. All the other champions and soldiers of the Greek forces are
finally gathered together at Aulis and ready to sail for Troy, but they feel they
cannot leave if Achilles fails to join them. All of them clamor for him, since
he is the strongest of all men, half-divine, and invulnerable; but they do not
know where to find him (1.476–90). When the kings finally 'take counsel on
times for sailing and fighting', Protesilaus asks Calchas to divine Achilles' where-
abouts, so that he can be summoned to join the Greeks' war efforts. In fact, Pro-
tesilaus 'above the rest is eager for battle, having already been granted the glory
of the first death' (*primae iam tunc data gloria mortis*), 1.494–5. Although this
wish may seem a bit strange, the paradox proleptically sets Protesilaus' heroism
in direct opposition to Achilles, who at this very moment is being hidden by his
mother in order to prevent his destined death at Troy.

Calchas begins with a *vituperatio* of Thetis as, practically, blocking the onset
of the Trojan War. When he sees, in his vision, that she is abducting Achilles and
attempting to hide the child, he tries to prevent this abduction by indignantly
questioning and checking her. Immediately after seeing the sea goddess take
away her child, Calchas realizes that the 'hiding place' they are heading towards
is the Cyclades, and the island of king Lycomedes in particular, who appears to
be conspiring with them. He also perceives that Thetis will hide her son by dress-
ing him in women's clothing. At this point, Calchas – still absorbed in his vision
– stops questioning Thetis, and follows up with an indignant comment plus par-

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**8** One of two tricks features in most previous versions, and Statius includes them both. Yet in
the *Achilleid* they do not provoke Achilles' reformation, but only highlight the moment at which
Achilles finally abandons his cross-dressing after he had been stopped more than once by
Deidameia. At *Ach.* 1.819–57, right before the two Greeks present Deidameia and her compa-
nions with a choice between spindling tools and weapons and play the trumpet in order to
discover who among the Deidameia's retinue is actually Achilles, the hero in cross-dress already
comes quite close to revealing himself. In dialogue with Lycomedes and in the presence of the
still cross-dressed Achilles, Statius' Odysseus comments that the mobilization against Troy has
so radically included every man capable of fighting that even fearful mothers and timid maidens
hardly manage to keep themselves away from the war (1.796–802; see in particular 799–800: *vix
timidae matres aut agmina cessant/virginea* 'scarce do timid mothers or troop of maidens hold
back'): as a result, Achilles – who at least at the time of the rape of Deidameia had already
proved to be in tune with Calchas' indignant disapproval of Thetis' overly protective behavior –
shows his eagerness to fight and definitively separates himself from the company of the timid
maidens.

aenesis, which is no longer aimed at Thetis but at Achilles and an unnamed *improba virgo* (1.514–35):

> iamdudum trepido circumfert lumina motu
> intrantemque deum primo pallore fatetur
> Thestorides; mox igne genas et sanguine torquens
> nec socios nec castra videt, sed caecus et absens
> nunc superum magnos deprendit in aethere coetus,
> nunc sagas adfatur aves, nunc dura Sororum
> licia, turiferas modo consulit anxius aras
> flammarumque apicem rapit et caligine sacra
> pascitur. exsiliunt crines rigidisque laborat
> vitta comis, nec colla loco nec in ordine gressus.
> tandem fessa tremens longis mugitibus ora
> solvit, et oppositum vox eluctata furorem est:
> 'Quo rapis ingentem magni Chironis alumnum
> femineis, Nerei, dolis? huc mitte: quid aufers?
> non patiar: meus iste, meus. tu diva profundi?
> et me Phoebus agit. latebris quibus abdere temptas
> eversorem Asiae? video per Cycladas artas
> attonitam et turpi quaerentem litora furto.
> occidimus: placuit Lycomedis conscia tellus.
> o scelus! en fluxae veniunt in pectora vestes.
> scinde, puer, scinde et timidae ne cede parenti.
> ei mihi raptus abit! quaenam haec procul improba virgo?'

This while the son of Thestor has been glaring around him in nervous agitation and his first pallor confesses the entering god. Presently he rolls fiery bloodshot eyes, nor sees comrades and camp, he is sightless and somewhere else. Now he catches unawares the great gatherings of the High Ones in heaven, now talks to prescient birds, now anxiously consults the harsh threads of the Sisters, now incense-bearing altars, snatching the tip of flames and feeding on sacred murk. His hair starts up, the fillet on his stiff locks is in trouble, his neck is distorted, his steps disordered. At last in trembling he opens his weary mouth in long-drawn howls and his voice struggles free from opposing frenzy: 'Whither, oh Nereid, are you hailing great Chiron's mighty foster child with your woman's wiles? Send him here. Why do you carry him away? I shall not suffer it. He is mine, mine. Are you a goddess of the deep? Me too does Phoebus drive. In what hiding place do you strive to conceal Asia's overthrower? I see you dazed among the crowding Cyclades, seeking a shore for an unseemly trick. We are undone! Lycomedes' conniving land was your choice. Oh crime! See, flowing garments come upon his breast. Tear them, boy, tear them, nor yield to your timid mother. Alas, away he goes, kidnapped. Who is this shameless girl yonder?'

This motif – Calchas being consulted about an issue, which leads him to utter an upsetting oracle to a member of the Greek army and compels him to change his

conduct – has usually been attributed to the influence of Virgil, *Aen.* 2.119 – 29.[9] There, according to Sinon's false report, Odysseus forces Calchas to reveal the name of the Greeks who had to be sacrificed in order to regain favorable winds that would allow them to return from Troy. I would emphasize that another major intertext operating in the background both of Sinon's false report about Chalcas in Virgil and Statius' Calchas is *Il.* 1.53 – 100, where Achilles suggests that the Greeks consult 'some seer or priest or an interpreter of dreams' in order to discover the reason why Apollo has sent pestilence to destroy them.[10] Then, Calchas prophesies that Apollo can only be appeased if Agamemnon renounces Chryseis and returns her to Chryses – hence Agamemnon' change of conduct about Chryseis, but also Briseis' abduction from Achilles, his refusal to fight, and the whole story of the *Iliad*. Of course, Statius may well have alluded primarily to the motif of the 'disappointing prophecy' of Virgil's Calchas in *Aeneid* 2 (and perhaps, through it, to the prophecies of the Cyclic, Aeschylean, and Euripidean Calchases about Iphigenia and Polyxena). But he probably also meant Calchas' prophecy as a 'window-allusion' to *Iliad* 1 and thereby connected his Calchas' prophecy (which ultimately leads to Achilles giving up his transvestism at Scyros and permits the beginning of the war at Troy) to the similarly plot-advancing prophecy of his Iliadic counterpart (which leads Agamemnon to give up his intention to keep Chriseis for himself and moves along the events of the *Iliad*).

In addition to these well-established Iliadic/Virgilian intertexts, there may be another intertextual precedent for the strong propulsive effect that Calchas' words have on Achilles' recovery of his virility. Modern scholars have considered the apostrophes contained in Calchas' prophecy as typical examples of *furor*, which characterizes many prophecies as reported in Latin poetry and involves some level of hyperbolic dramatization of emotions. They have compared them, in particular, to epic intertexts such as the prophecies of a matron – inspired by Apollo – in Lucan, *Bell.civ.* 1.674 – 95 or of Apollo's son Mopsus in Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.211 – 26,[11] both passages in which a god announces and sanctions the author's narrative choices.[12] But the identity of the addressee

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**9** Cf. Dilke 1954, 118; Ripoll and Soubiran 2008, 221.

**10** The obvious presence of the Iliadic Calchas behind Statius' Calchas is highlighted e. g. by Méheust 1971, 28.

**11** Cf. Adamietz 1976, 14; Hershkowitz 1998, 26 – 7; Zissos 2004, 25 – 32 and 2008, 190 – 1; Ripoll and Soubiran 2008, 225. Lucan's and Valerius' passages are compared by Barich 1982, 59 – 65.

**12** On the matron's prophecy as a metaphorical vehicle for the practice of allusion by the poet, cf. Hinds 1998, 9. These validating prophecies occur in the wake of Cassandra's similar prophecies in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (and in Sen. *Ag.* 720 – 74, 867 – 909; see Aricò 1986, 2942 – 3) or

(Achilles in cross-dress), the similarity of the contents of the apostrophes (what he is doing, and what he should rather do), and above all the speaker's position with respect to the narrative proper (both Ovid and Statius' Calchas intrude into and interfere with a narrative they are external to) reveal, I suggest, that Statius may have *also* been mounting a transgeneric allusive challenge to the passage of Ovid's *Ars am.* that we have considered above.

The most openly Ovidian aspect of Calchas' words in Statius is the attempt at intervening in Achilles' line of action, an attempt that finds no parallel in the prophecies of Lucan and Valerius Flaccus. Some analogies in form and structural function also connect Calchas' speech to Achilles' dialogue with himself in *Ach.* 1.623 – 39, whose link with Ovid, *Ars am.*, as we have seen, has been widely acknowledged. The coherence of Achilles as a character is at stake in both. The self-apostrophic indignation expressed by Achilles in 1.623 – 39 reveals the persistence and highlights the forthcoming reassertion of the character's 'real' identity; in fact, it constitutes the beginning of the end of his transvestism: it is immediately after this monologue that Achilles – unbeknownst to most of his surroundings – reassumes his male identity with Deidameia, though he will only later reveal it at a public level. Calchas' speech at 1.514 – 35 in turn reflects the indignant viewpoint of the Greeks who are waiting to begin the war against Troy, which is going to be the stage of the heroism associated with what traditional mythology considers Achilles' 'real', heroic character; therefore, Calchas gives voice to a wish to defend Achilles' 'real' identity that resembles Ovid's concern with the coherence of Achilles' character. Besides, both Ovid's and Calchas' addresses to Achilles share, in slightly different forms, the same goal of propelling the plot.

If ancient readers could connect Calchas' apostrophic prophecy in Statius to Ovid's apostrophic address to Achilles, then an acknowledgment of the different nuances in the two connected passages would have easily highlighted the nature of Statius' and Ovid's respective stances on the 'redemption' of Achilles. As we have already observed, Calchas' prophecy includes a use of apostrophes similar to Ovid's address to Achilles in *Ars am.*, and it also serves a similar function. The (mockingly) indignant questions put forth by Ovid were intended to drive Achilles back to virility, and they promptly achieved their goal. As a result of the subtle interplay between the didactic author, the inherited tradition, the context of the *Ars am.* (down-playing of rapist machismo), and a character's obedi-

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in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, where prophecy is either an anticipation or an exposition of a plot (respectively). Apollonius Rhodius' authorial self-identification with Phineus' prophecy about the Argonautic expedition at *Arg.* 2.309 – 407 (on this prophecy, which – like Calchas' – is inspired by Apollo, see in particular Albis (1996, 28 – 9) is also part of this tradition.

ence to the poet's instructions, Achilles inevitably has to end his cross-dressing and fulfill his destiny of becoming a paradigm of (sexual) violence. The result is that it seems as if Achilles has complied with Ovid's invitation, as it takes him just two lines after the end of Ovid's apostrophe to actually accomplish the rape of Deidamia. Likewise, in Statius, the prophet Calchas, at the pinnacle of an indignant apostrophe to Thetis and Achilles, finally 'sees' (*video*, 1.530) where Thetis has hidden Achilles, and it is thanks to this vision of the events that he tries to intervene in them. Of course, he does not actually interact with Thetis and Achilles; more significantly, he is incapable of controlling, or even communicating with, the *improba virgo*, and it is on account of this that he has to give up the attempt at establishing contact with Achilles, who gets kidnapped by her (*Ei mihi, raptus abit!*, 1.535) – the fact that the girl remains ambiguously nameless here fits in well with the fact that the prophet does not interact with her: he appears to know, but seems to be out of control of, the girl's identity as well as her actions.

Who is this *virgo*? She has been identified with Deidameia,[13] who in Statius' version is responsible for Achilles' yielding to Thetis' appeals to cross-dressing (after some first vain attempts, when Thetis acknowledges that Achilles is attracted by Deidameia, she successfully suggests to him that approaching the girl would become much easier for him, if he accepts to feign to be a girl: see 1.275 – 326). The learned reader is supposed to guess from the myth the name of this mysteriously obvious dark lady, through an integrative gesture which presupposes and solves the usual wonder of the listeners at seers' riddles or, at least, indeterminate language. This identification seems to me the most probable, and I will mainly follow it in my attempt at understanding the sense of *improba*. However we cannot rule out that Calchas' words – again in the vaguely evocative and ambiguous language of vaticinations – stigmatize Achilles who in the diachronic progression of Calchas' vision has finally accepted to yield to the mother's pleas, despite the opposite warning by the seer (*ne cede parenti*, 1.534); by calling him *improba virgo* Calchas would express all his despise for the effeminate status that Achilles has accepted when he has worn the female drag. But must we choose after all? The ambiguity of this designation may be the result of an authorial intention. By putting this phrase in Calchas' mouth Statius may have pointed the attention of the most thoughtful of his readers to the paradox that in this love-story the male erotic subject has to become sexually equalized to

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**13** Cf. Ripoll and Soubiran 2008, 236. After all Deidameia calls herself *improba* 'overbold' at *Ach.* 1.942, or ascribes 'overbold requests' to herself, if *improba* is neuter plural in this passage (I owe the remark to Peter Heslin, *per litteras*).

the object of his desire in order to pursue his sexual conquest, and both partners equally share the qualification of *improbitas* (on whose sense see below).

At any rate it is tempting to suppose that the difference between Calchas' familiarity with Thetis and Achilles on the one hand and his silence on the name of Deidameia or the effeminate Achilles on the other highlights the contrast between the epic tradition (including the seer, heroic Achilles, and Thetis), and the love story in which Deidameia – practically an elegiac character –, or the un-epic Achilles in drag, pop up. In other words, epic Calchas[14] may have reason to hope he can check the effects of the maternal instincts of epic Thetis on Achilles and can compel epic Achilles to recover his masculine and martial characterization, but he has no handle on the love story between an essentially elegiac Deidameia and an emasculated ex-hero.

It is in this respect that Statius' Calchas most clearly presupposes the *erotodidaxis* of the *Ars am.*, though at the same time we do notice an obvious variation. Erotic Ovid arranges his own narrative in such a way as to give the reader the impression that his instructions have succeeded in re-masculating Achilles (martial prowess, in Ovid's narrative, is a sort of automatic bonus to the recovery of virility). Calchas' visionary meddling does not have this immediate effect of re-epicizing Achilles, precisely because of the *improba virgo*'s intervention in the vision: immediately after mentioning her, he becomes aware that he cannot control the temporary erotic detour Achilles' epic life has taken. Yet however limited Calchas' powers may be, they are substantial enough to allow him to provide Diomedes and Odysseus with the information they need to go and summon Achilles, allowing the Greek expedition to depart for Troy and Protesilaus to have the opportunity of being the first man to land (and be killed) there. Calchas thus emerges not only as the explicit god-sent voice of an even more empowered epic author who tries to safeguard Achilles from the destiny of inconsistency of character;[15] he is also 'protector of the plot' of the Trojan War, as he ensures that the narrative moves forward by causing an action (Odysseus' mission) which triggers the continuation of the war along the path of traditional myth (*via* the final

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**14** As Heslin (2005, 78) defines him, Calchas 'belongs to the military-epic world that Achilles is set to enter when the poem ends'.

**15** *meus iste, meus* 'he is mine, mine' of 1.528 shows that Calchas even seems to dispute Thetis' maternal right to Achilles. He displays quasi-parental traits which lead him to claim Achilles as his 'son': 'Peleus cannot fill this role on account of his absence; Chiron cannot fill it on account of his failure to prepare Achilles for a place in human society; Thetis tries to fill that role and the result is Achilles' cross-dressing; the unwarlike Lycomedes is only a fit father for girls; Calchas stakes a claim to the role'. 1.528, in fact, is identical to the phrase with which Statius himself established his role as father to his adoptive child, when this child died (*Silv.* 5.5.69–72). See Heslin 2005, 292 (also for the quotation above).

re-masculinization and re-militarization of Achilles). He effectively lets Protesilaus and Achilles go and face their unavoidable destinies of death– unavoidable in that the *Cypria* (featuring Protesilaus' death), the *Iliad*, and the *Aethiopis* (including the death of Achilles) had already been written. Therefore, despite the difference in terms of immediacy, Calchas plays a role that is not very different in its effects from that which the didactic author Ovid assumes in his manipulation of the narrative – only, Calchas does not 'intervene' directly to modify the events, but operates on them by involving Odysseus and Diomedes as intermediary. In a way, Calchas' role seems determined by the self-effacing role of an epic author, whose presence in the plot, though he is omniscient, is much 'softer' and more indirect than that of the erotic author Ovid. By using Calchas in order to redirect the destiny of Achilles, Statius does not actually speak in the first person (as Ovid had done), but conceals himself behind the words of the seer, thus adhering to the conventional impersonality of the epic author.

It comes as no surprise that Statius here portrays Calchas as a sort of stand-in for himself. Both poet and prophet are called *vates* in Latin technical language, and both depend on Apollo for their inspiration in the *Achilleid*. Protesilaus exhorts Calchas to divine where Achilles is hidden by ceasing to be *nimium Phoebi tripodumque oblit*us *tuorum* 'too forgetful of Phoebus and your tripods' (1.496). Calchas, in turn, presents himself as being inspired by Apollo (*me Phoebus agit*, 1.529). In a similar way, Statius had used his own authorial persona in the proem of the *Achilleid* to ask Apollo to help him find new inspiration (*da fontes mihi*, 1.9) and enter once again the Apollinean *Aonium nemus*.

<p align="center">⋆ ⋆ ⋆</p>

In addition to what we have already observed, Ovid's allusive presence in Calchas' prophecy may also inform the possible mention of Deidameia in the phrase *improba virgo*, whose anonymity would point out, as we have already suggested, that her 'elegiac' character is alien to Calchas' epic viewpoint. As Achilles fades out of the vision within which the prophet seemed able to control him, the last image that Calchas sees is that of a *improba virgo*, 535? Why is this girl *improba*?

If *improba virgo* designates Achilles in frock, thus hyperbolically singling out his transvestism as a change of sex (here and often elsewhere in the *Achilleid*),[16] *improba* will point to the 'morally unsound' new sex of Achilles – as Statius remarks in agreement with Domitian's law against the practice of boys' castration

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**16** Cf. Franchet d'Espèrey 2006, 442–50.

in *Silv.* 3.4.74–7 *nunc frangere sexum / atque hominem mutare nefas.*[17] If otherwise Deidameia is the *improba virgo*, then Calchas' unsympathetic description may simply be the result of a rereading of the events of *Ach.* 1.126–396 (Thetis hides Achilles at Scyros and deceives Lycomedes) from the perspective of the Greek army; this point of view could easily involve some degree of indignation at those responsible for Achilles' distraction from the heroism the Greeks want him to regain.[18] To Calchas, *any* girl (including Deidameia) who could tempt the great Achilles would have seemed 'shameful', since he prefers the hero's supposedly 'natural', straightforward, and anything-but-erotic virtues (Deidameia's imploring attempts at keeping Achilles from leaving for the war are after all a frequently recurring motif both in literature – see e.g. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.701–2 quoted above – and in iconography[19]). Besides, Statius may also have pointed through Chalchas' voice to the fact that Deidameia was a sort of elegiac intruder – 'disloyal' and 'unsound in her behavior'[20] – into the logic of ancient epic. It is in her role as an elegiac lover that she distracted the epic hero Achilles – and the *Achilleid* itself – in terms of both plot and genre.

But there are also other reasons, less generic and intertextually specific, which may underlie the epithet *improba*. We will start by considering the possibility that Calchas' description of Deidameia as *improba* reflects a nuance of her characterization that would be specific to Latin archaic theater – the possibility has to be considered because of its past fortune, but, as we will see, must be ultimately discarded. According to this interpretation Deidameia has been supposed to play the role of a quasi-Medea in the *Achilles* of Livius Andronicus, where fr. trag. 1 Ribbeck (2nd ed.) *si malas* (v.l. *malos*) *imitabo, tum tu pretium pro noxa dabis* 'if I take evil women for my pattern, then you, yes you, will pay the price for wrong' has been interpreted by some scholars as a threat directed at Achilles by Deidameia: as Achilles is about to leave, she claims that she will punish him for abandoning her, e.g. by harming Neoptolemus just as Medea had punished Jason by killing their children.[21] If this really was the plot of Livius' *Achilles*, Statius' use of the adjective *improba* could, technically, be indebted to this precedent. In that case, Statius would be establishing a parallelism between his female character and another abandoned woman, Medea,

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17 Cf. Newlands 2002, 105–18 for an excellent discussion of this poem. On the Romans' despise for eunuchs, Roller (1998) 125–31.

18 Aricò 1986, 2943.

19 On both, Fantuzzi 2012, 94–5.

20 *OLD* par. 3.

21 Bickel 1937, 7–19. A convincing refutation of Bickel's interpretation can be found at Aricò 1980, 132–5 (also Aricò 1981, 218–20, 227).

in the process of magnifying the wickedness of Deidameia. Calchas' final question about the identity of the anonymous *improba virgo* would then resemble Medea's own anonymity in Valerius Flaccus' presentation at the end of Mopsus' prophecy in the *Argonautica* (1.223 – 4, already mentioned above): *quaenam aligeris secat anguibus auras / caede madens? quos ense ferit?* 'what woman is this, drenched with slaughter, that cleaves the air upon winged serpents? Whom does she strike with the sword?' But although this interpretation of Livius' fragment as spoken by Deidameia is not implausible and has garnered some approval,[22] this fortune is perhaps undeserved. In fact there is no evidence whatsoever that the fragment is concerned with Deidameia at all.[23] Most importantly, Deidameia's role in those last, difficult moments before Achilles decides to leave her for the war is nowhere else depicted in dark Medea-like colors, neither in the *Achilleid* nor in any other known Greek or Latin text or iconography.[24]

It is thus quite doubtful that there is a 'tragic' intertextuality present in the term *improba virgo*, pointing to the similarity of Deidameia and Medea. As an alternative, I would suggest we consider this epithet derived from Deidameia's background in Ovidian love poetry. The specific use of *improbus* as meaning 'shameless in one's sexual desires or behavior' (a nuance of its more general sense of ethically 'reproachable') is quite frequently attested in erotic poetry, where it forms a favorite type of verbal abuse.[25] Rather than claim a Livian antecedent, it therefore seems possible, or even tempting – in my opinion more tempting than any of the other interpretive conjectures – to believe that Statius' strongly negative characterization of Deidamia relies instead on Ovid's portrayal of her reaction after she was raped by Achilles (*Ars am.* 1.699 – 700, already quoted above): *viribus illa quidem victa est ... sed voluit vinci viribus illa tamen.* In particular *voluit vinci* had presented Deidameia as affected by a typically male lust for sex – a lust which turned her into a *femina probosa*,[26] a sort of female version of the cross-dresser Achilles who had raped her and the opposite of a virginal future *mater familias*; her characterization as an elegiac figure relied on this lust, and it made her resemble the Corinna of Ov. *Am.* 1.5.15 – 16, who, *tamquam quae vincere nollet / victa est non aegre proditione sua* 'as one who would not

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22 A review of its afterlife is at Aricò 1980, 132 n. 7. See still De Rosalia 1986 – 1987, 11.
23 A complete review of the interpretations of this passage is in Spaltenstein 2008, 20 – 3. It had been usual, before Bickel, to interpret the fragment as belonging to Iliadic or Cyclic situations, the least implausible of which were Achilles' indignant refusal to accept Agamemnon's gifts or a resentful address to Achilles by Briseis.
24 As observed by Aricò 1980, 134 – 5.
25 Cf. Opelt 1965, 273.
26 Cf. McGinn 1998, 106 – 16.

overcome, was she overcome – and that was not hard – by her own betrayal'. In the context of Statius' attempt at dignifying Achilles' love story and transvestism at Scyros, Deidameia's lust and sexual satisfaction – also evident in the tentatively coaxing words (*blanda voce*) with which she urges the rapist (*auctorem stupri*) to tarry and not leave at *Ars am.* 1.701–4 (also quoted above)[27] – may easily have given rise, I think, to Calchas' description of Deidameia as *improba*. This definition would have been in tune with the strong concern of the Romans for *pudicitia* (especially the *pudicitia* of their wives, of course), as a result of which the presence or absence of consent on the rape-victim's part made a substantial difference in Roman law, as well as in the law of some modern Western countries. At Rome, an unwilling victim of a rape would still be defiled by penetration, but without consent one had his/her own *pudicitia* 'stolen' by the rapist; the consenting victim, on the other hand, was seen as one willing to *se coinquinare* 'collaborate in polluting him/herself', and thus to forfeit any legal protection (in addition to losing considerable privileges along with one's *pudicitia* almost to the point of being considered a prostitute).[28] In conclusion, if Deidameia is the *improba virgo*, the image of Deidameia that the epic poet Statius adopted from Ovid's elegiac narrative was one of a girl who not only, according to the logic of ancient epic, was wickedly 'disloyal', but had also been demonstrated (by Ovid's very narrative) to be ethically and sexually 'shameless' in her lust.

If my suggestion of a sexual nuance in Calchas' *improba virgo* is correct, it would come as no surprise that Statius refrains from ascribing anything similar to his own dignified Deidameia. The Deidameia of the *Achilleid*, in fact, during her rape both admirably and virginally *clamore nemus montemque replevit* 'filled wood and mountain with her cries' (1.645), though her cries could not be understood by her companions (1.646–7). Statius' Deidameia may also have enjoyed being deflowered by Achilles, as she certainly became his lover and abetted his cross-dressing for many months, even after their baby was born. But Statius

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**27** As observed by Skinner (2005, 227), 'the flippant punning on *vir* "man" and *vis* "rape" appears to hint that rape was what genuine men do, with the supplemental wordplay on the verbs *volo, velle* "to wish" and *vincere* "to conquer" reinforcing the claim that women want them to do it'. Deidameia's consent (by the way, apparently both *ante* and *post eventum*) plays a most relevant role in the literary strategy of Ovid's passage, as it lessens the gravity of Achilles' *stuprum*, which allows Ovid to present a crime outlawed by Augustan legislation as nothing more than the product of a young man's exuberance: cf. Davis 2006*b*, 95.

**28** See Langlands (2006) passim on the Roman idea of *pudicitia*, and in particular 20, 163–7 about rape and consent.

is absolutely silent about her consent (or lack thereof) during his depiction of the rape itself.

<p style="text-align:center">⋆ ⋆ ⋆</p>

To conclude and summarize, before Statius rewrote the scene of Deidameia's rape according to his own more dignified idea of these characters, we can surmise that Ovid's narrative would have become a sort of classical reference for Statius and the readers of his age. Calchas' strongly reproachful description of Deidameia's morality may thus have been in compliance with what was then the Ovidian standard version of the story.[29] Other aspects of Calchas' speech, as well as Achilles' dialogue with himself, also follow the Ovidian precedent. Their apostrophes recall Ovid's intervention in his own narrative of Achilles at Scyros,[30] and the prophet's speech in Statius has the same tone of rhetorical indignation at Achilles' destiny as that of the narrator in Ovid (though of course it does not share Ovid's mocking notes). Furthermore, Calchas is a *persona loquens* similar to the Ovidian didactic author – he is a *vates*-prophet who, like an omniscient epic *vates*-poet, knows what Achilles has to become and is an effective 'guardian' of the mythical story; in fact, as a character within the tale, he can be less silent and self-concealing than the epic author himself and therefore be closer to the Ovidian original than the author himself. Calchas thus comes to play the same pivotal role of pushing the plot towards Achilles' public liberation from cross-dressing that Ovid played in the *Ars*. But he plays this role within the limits of the poetics of epic, and demonstrates the same kind of effectiveness the Iliadic Calchas had betrayed in compelling Agamemnon to radically change his attitude toward Chryseis and thus redirecting the plot of the war of Troy.

Later on in the *Achilleid*, as he addresses himself on the night of Deidameia's rape, Statius' Achilles shows the same indignation and utters similar apostrophes as Calchas had done in his prophecy and Ovid in his didactic poem. As a result, he reaches the conclusion that he needs to stop cross-dressing and reclaim his virility. From the *Odyssey* onwards, such self-addresses had been one of

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**29** That such a strongly epic character as Calchas (see above p. 163) could be influenced by Ovid's bawdy suspicions about Deidameia's morality is not without precedent. This would parallel Statius' tendency to include in the construction of his epics material that comes from behind the enemy lines (so to say), namely from texts and genres that are hostile to epic, like Callimachean or erotic poetry: cf. Barchiesi 1996, 53–4; Hinds 1998, 95–8; Feeney 2004; Heslin 2005, 66–78, and Fantuzzi 2012, 73–82.

**30** As Theodore D. Papanghelis comments *per litteras*, 'if with Statius the epic wins out in the end it is not only a result of Achilles' "already written" fate, but also the epic reverse of what normally happens in various Augustan *recusationes* (and behind them in Callimachus' *Aetia* Prologue), where elegy pitted against epic eventually wins out'.

epic's preferred means of marking crucial and difficult transitions in a character's life. Therefore the Statian Achilles' dialogue with himself 'epicises' – and adds more dignity to – the external (authorial) warnings that had been imparted to Achilles by Ovid, and it does so in both form and content. By highlighting the substantial agreement between Achilles' own negative verdict on his cross-dressing and Calchas' earlier condemnation of it, Achilles' words also demonstrate that the hero has now regained both his virility and the ideological code that comes with it significantly *before* Odysseus and Diomedes resort to the traditional tricks of the arms and/or trumpet to make his retransformation public.[31]

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Stephen Hinds
# Claudianism in the *De Raptu Proserpinae*

**Abstract:** In a generation of critical work which has transformed our understanding and appreciation of *early* imperial Latin epic, only a few attempts (albeit important ones) have been made to extend a similar rethinking of genre dynamics to the late antique *De Raptu Proserpinae*; for many readers, Claudianic epic continues to be defined (in the *DRP* and elsewhere) by its perceived limitations. There are many possible ways to address the engagement of the *DRP* with genre and literary tradition. In another publication I plan to treat the influence of Ovid; but the present paper sketches a *Claudianic* approach to the *DRP*. That is, its heuristic strategy is to treat Claudian as a special case, *sui generis*, whose version(s) of epic can most immediately be explained not so much by the centuries of tradition behind him as by the peculiar pressures and circumstances of his own end-of-fourth-century life and times – even, or especially, in the ostensibly timeless *DRP*. Topics addressed here include literary bilingualism, the poetics of cosmic and imperial division, gigantomachy, epithalamium, and epic's beginnings and interrupted ends.

**Keywords:** Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, epic, late antiquity, Roman Empire, cosmos, gigantomachy, epithalamium, closure

To a critic accustomed to canons of genre in the first centuries BC and AD, and looking to say something about epic self-definition in late antique Latin literature, Claudian's unfinished *De Raptu Proserpinae* seems at first sight reassuringly familiar: a poem set in a timeless world of classical myth and devoid of contemporary historical reference (except in its two elegiac prefaces); a poem which, when not post-Virgilian (as it often is), can fairly be called post-Ovidian both in its general aesthetic and in its specific adoption of a myth of which Ovid himself had produced two extended treatments, one epic and one elegiac, in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*; a poem which, if stripped of identifying marks, might plausibly be antedated three hundred years and read as an immediate successor to the Flavian epics of Statius and others.[1]

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**1** After the initial, abbreviated presentation of this material in the hospitable environment of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in May 2011, a fuller version (destined for publication as a limited-circulation pamphlet) was given as the Fourth UCL Housman Lecture in London in March 2012. The overly long handout which accompanied these oral presentations now looks set to yield two complementary papers, of which the present publication is the first. Catherine Ware's book *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition* is not yet available in North America as this

And yet (this is a necessarily brief sketch), in a generation of critical work which has arguably transformed our understanding and appreciation of *early* imperial Latin epic, only a few attempts have been made to extend a similar rethinking of genre dynamics to the *DRP*. Is it that the points of productive friction within and between genres shift (or erode) between the end of the first century AD and the end of the fourth, so that the same terms of reference are no longer applicable? Perhaps, at least in part: more on this later. But in part, I think, it is that the readerly reception of the *DRP* remains mired, despite recent interventions, in a longstanding habit of disappointment with Claudian as a poet, even as he continues to attract interest as an historical player; so that while a number of today's late antique specialists probably feel better about the *DRP* than did their predecessors, the great majority of literary Latinists continue to give it the cold shoulder. I begin, then, with the image problem which has often relegated one of the most attractive and effervescent narrative poems in the classical tradition to the margins of mainstream critical discussion of genre and intertextuality in Latin literature.

Here is what Maurice Platnauer writes about Claudian in his 1922 introduction to the still-current Loeb edition:[2]

> '... as a poet Claudian is not always despicable.'

> 'Claudian's faults are easy to find. He mistook memory for inspiration and so is often wordy and tedious ... Worse than this he is frequently obscure and involved ... The besetting sin, too, of almost all post-Virgilian Roman poets, I mean a "conceited" frigidity, is one into which he is particularly liable to fall.'

Now of course this was written ninety years ago. But the rehabilitation of 'almost all post-Virgilian Roman poets', though it has by now advanced to the Flavians (some of us are old enough to remember when it did not extend even to Ovid), has yet to be systematically applied to the late fourth century, and there does not seem to be a universal consensus that it *should*. Even Claudian's champions are at times a little faint-hearted in their championship, making the best of the faults

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paper goes to press; but as an interloper in the world of late antique Latin I am already in Dr Ware's debt for informal orientation and advice offered at two unrelated conferences in October 2011. Final revision of the paper coincided with my teaching of a graduate class (Latin 508) which paired Statius' *Achilleid* with the *DRP:* my thanks to the sixteen students in the class for the many ways in which they complicated and enriched my sense of Claudian's mythological epic.

**2** Platnauer 1922, I xvii and xviii. For the most part, my translations of Claudian's Latin in this paper will be taken or lightly adapted from Platnauer or (in the case of the *DRP*) from Gruzelier 1993.

which inherited wisdom imputes to the poet rather than calling them into question: 'conceited' frigidity, as above; excessive addiction to ornament; and inability to sustain a coherent plot or argument,[3] spun by defenders of Claudian (as by defenders of Ovid, Lucan and Statius before them) into a preference for 'episodic structure'.[4]

Have these definitions of post-Virgilian limitation (now seen as broadly inadequate to the cases of Ovid, Lucan and Statius) at last found their proper home in the fourth century, or is it that we haven't yet come up with enough new stories about Claudian's poetry and poetics to allow these old ones to fade gracefully into the background? The present short paper on the *DRP* (the first of an intended pair) does not aspire to full-scale revisionism; but it hopes to join a number of recent studies in shifting the critical ground just a little.

There are many possible ways to open up the question of the engagement of the *DRP* with genre and literary tradition (my sequel paper will focus on 'Ovid and Ovidianism ...'); but perhaps a good prolegomenal step is to begin with a *Claudianic* approach to Claudian and the *DRP*. That is, it may be helpful to make a fresh start by treating Claudian as a special case, *sui generis*, whose version(s) of epic can most immediately be explained not so much by the centuries of tradition behind him as by the peculiar pressures and circumstances of his own late fourth-century life and times – even, or especially, in the ostensibly timeless *DRP*.[5] That will be the limited agenda of the present piece.

## Claudianism: poetry across languages

In a way that is perhaps characteristic of the poetry of his period, a period in which reading communities are in various kinds of flux, Claudian works hard to create his own literary historical terms of reference. Even (or especially)

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**3** Hall 1969, 110 '... the *DRP* continues the tradition of the post-Virgilian epic, being composed of a series of loosely connected episodes, with hardly a trace of a more closely integrated structure'; so too Cameron 1970, 262 – 3.

**4** Preference for 'episodic structure': Gruzelier 1993 on *DRP* 1.32ff., citing the influential formulation of Roberts 1989, 56 – 7, more (I think) by way of mitigating the original charge than of ruling it out of court.

**5** Such an approach may at times run up against the disputed dating of the *DRP* within Claudian's *oeuvre*, a matter complicated by the self-advertised interruption of the poem's composition between Book 1 and Book 2: Hall 1969, 93 – 105, Cameron 1970, 452 – 66, Gruzelier 1993, xvii-xx (with further bibliography). Although I incline to the simplest explanation for the final break-off of the *DRP* in Book 3, viz the death of the poet, I think it is true to say that nothing in the present piece depends upon commitment to an earlier or to a later compositional time-frame.

where his poetry can seem at its most derivative to a critic with low expectations of late antique verse, Claudian has the capacity to reinvent and to give a fresh turn to tradition. To begin with the basics, this is a poet whose own life can be advertised as a recapitulation of the main east-to-west Greek-to-Latin vector of Roman literary history:

> Romanos bibimus primum te consule fontes
>     et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togae
> *Carm. Min.* 41.13 – 14 (*Epistula ad Probinum*)

> In your consulship I first drank of the streams of Roman song and my Greek Thalia yielded to a Latin toga

Born in Alexandria, Claudius Claudianus enters the history of Roman literature as a native speaker of Greek.[6] He is, then, one of those poets (like Statius) with an inherent (and often overlooked) capacity to reanimate the originary dialogue between Greek and Latin upon which Roman literature is founded. Here is a first category of 'Claudianism' to give our poet his own handle on tradition: linguistic biculturality.

More than that, within the category of Roman poets with a claim to linguistic biculturality, Claudian is one of the very few from whom we actually have extant verse in both languages, including two distinct cases of Greek and Latin treatments of a single theme: a bilingual set of epigrams on the geological curio of a crystal enclosing a drop of water, one of which begins with the word *clauditur* (more on naming puns later); and on a larger scale a pair of incomplete Greek and Latin gigantomachies, apparently from different phases of the poet's career (again a theme to be picked up later).[7] This may have no practical effect upon our reading; or it may license us to press a little harder whenever we encounter in Claudian's work moments of verbal interplay across languages. At the level of genre – especially epic genre – it may encourage us to look for an especial capacity in Claudian himself, both innate and acquired, to reinvent dialogue be-

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**6** Cameron 1970, 2–7 (still a book of monumental importance for all aspects of Claudian's life and work); cf. Cameron 2011, 641.

**7** Epigrams on a crystal enclosing a drop of water: *Carm. Min.* 33–9, *Carm. Graec.* IV-V (= *Anth. Pal.* 9.753–4). Claudian's treatments of themes in both Greek and Latin: Cameron 1970, 12–14 and 467, noting that the Latin *Gigantomachia* (like the *DRP*) is 'plainly unfinished', probably as a result of Claudian's death, 'rather than merely fragmentary like the Greek *Gigantomachia* … which we may allow to have been an early work'.

tween Greek and Latin traditions – whether or not the majority of his readers in late antique Rome or Milan were equipped to join him in that project.[8]

Consider in this connection the inscribed bilingual dedication, featuring Latin epigraphic formulae and a Greek verse epigram, set up in the Forum of Trajan at Rome to accompany a statue voted in Claudian's honour in the name of the two brother-emperors of East and West, Arcadius and Honorius (sons and successors of the last emperor to rule both East and West together, Theodosius):

CLAVDIO CLAVDIANO VC TRIBVNO ET NOTARIO ...
DD NN ARCADIVS ET HONORIVS ...
STATVAM IN FORO DIVI TRAIANI ERIGI COLLOCARIQUE IVSSERVNT

ΕΙΝ ΕΝΙ ΒΙΡΓΙΛΙΟΙΟ ΝΟΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ
    ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΝ ΡΩΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ ΕΘΕΣΑΝ
from *CIL* 6.1710, incl. Gk. epigram

To Claudius Claudianus, Rt. Hon., tribune and notary ...
our Emperors Arcadius and Honorius ...
have bidden this statue to be raised and set up in the Forum of the Divine Trajan

Rome and Emperors set up Claudian, the mind of Virgil and the Muse of Homer in one man

The dedication is mentioned by Claudian himself in his own poetry, at *Bell. Get.* Praef. 7–14 – a remarkable attestation of an inscription still physically extant today (in Naples). It has been suggested that the author of the Greek elegiac distich is none other than Claudian himself.[9] Be that as it may, one thing that this Greek dedicatory couplet has in common with the Latin autobiographical couplet quoted earlier in the section is an association of the move to Rome (and to Latin) with the acquisition of civic identity and high political connectedness. Both tell the story of a poet whose work is destined to be bound up with the public events and figures of his time.

Indeed (although I emphasize Claudian's bilingual credentials mainly to urge future work on his poetics), the *civic dimension* in each of these quotations is perhaps suggestive of a broader Claudianic claim of cultural competence, or mastery, capable of straddling both halves of a split-imperial world, East as well as West. After all, on two (other?) occasions in Claudian's verse when praise

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**8** Decline in knowledge of Greek in the West after Diocletian's institution of the Tetrarchy: Cameron 2011, 527–66 (esp. 527–35), with arguments against the assumption that a small group of cultivated aristocrats resisted the trend and constituted a 'last bastion of Greek in the West'.
**9** Fo 1984, 816, picked up by Wheeler 2007, 118 and n.107. A photograph of the inscribed stone is conveniently accessible on the web-page of Bret Mulligan, at http://www.haverford.edu/classics/faculty/bmulligan/claudian/claudianinscription.html

is offered for a capacity to bridge Greek and Latin poetic traditions, the figures praised are, respectively, the adoptive daughter of one Emperor and the bride of another.[10]

## Claudianism: cosmic dualism

Other than the Greek and Latin gigantomachic fragments, the *De Raptu Proserpinae* is the only one of Claudian's mid- to large-size hexameter poems *not* to be driven by the geopolitics and prosopography of the imperial court. Does it follow from this that fourth-century imperial politics are wholly *irrelevant* to the poetry of the *DRP?* I think not, even though at one level the *DRP* constitutes Claudian's departure into pure myth. My sequel study will give due emphasis to the *DRP* as a poetic game with poetic tradition: the kind of game that we would call 'post-Alexandrian' if Claudian had been born in an earlier era (… but, although he wasn't born in an earlier era, he *was* born in Alexandria, so 'post-Alexandrian' it is).[11] However, even though the *DRP* takes us into a world of timeless mythic tradition, that does not preclude narrative pressure from contemporary imperial politics.

Let me approach the geopolitical question thus. In a long view of epic tradition, Claudian's way of structuring *all* his extended poems fits with ease and predictability into a persistent pattern of *cosmic dualism*, involving some imagistic appeal to balanced or opposing forces in the human and/or divine realms, a pattern hard-wired into Roman epic tradition from Virgil on. (Philip Hardie might

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**10** Serena (niece and adoptive daughter of Theodosius) educates her daughter Maria (soon-to-be bride of Honorius) in Latin and in Greek literature: *Epithal. Honorio et Mariae* 232 – 5 *Latios nec volvere libros / desinit aut Graios, ipsa genetrice magistra, / Maeonius quaecumque senex aut Thracius Orpheus / aut Mytilenaeo modulatur pectine Sappho* 'nor does she cease, under her mother's personal guidance, to unroll Latin books and Greek ones too, all that old Homer sang, or Thracian Orpheus, or that Sappho set to music and Lesbian quill'; cf. *Carm. Min.* 30.146 – 59 (Serena herself as a reader ready to draw lessons from 'the books produced by Smyrna and by Mantua'). Pertinent too is *Panegyr. Hon. IV Cos.* 396 – 400, in which a dramatized lecture on statecraft by Theodosius to Honorius, as present to future Emperor, ends with a firm injunction to read up on the heroes both of Greek and of Roman antiquity (though in the event the rhetorical emphasis is more upon the Latin material than the Greek).
**11** The term 'neo-alexandrianism' is proposed (without geographical prejudice) as a label for certain traits of late antique poetic writing in Latin by Charlet 1988, esp. 77. For the status of the actual city of Alexandria within the crowded world of late-antique Greek verse from Egypt (no longer as central as before) see Cameron 1970, 4 – 6.

call this tradition post-Pergamene.[12]) Even without fourth-century imperial politics, this is the way we would expect Claudian to write epic *anyway*: not just in his versions of political epic (some panegyrical, some invective), but in the *DRP* too.

So then, to advance the case for a distinctively Claudianic reanimation of tradition in this area, what I want to do is to emphasize *how peculiarly well* this pattern fits the *lived experience* of poet and readers at this point in history. Claudian moves within a world, personally and politically, which positions him perfectly not just to inhabit but to reenergize the age-old epic *topoi* of cosmic dualism: the world of a problematically divided Western and Eastern empire, Rome and Constantinople,

> urbs etiam, magnae quae ducitur aemula Romae
> et Calchedonias contra despectat harenas
> *In Rufinum* 2.54 – 5
>
> That city, too [i.e. Constantinople], held to be the rival of great Rome, that looks across and down to Chalcedon's strand

a division at once cosmic, geopolitical and fraternal; and (this will be important) a division still sufficiently provisional in the generation after Theodosius that the vocabulary of division entails the vocabulary of reconciliation, and vice versa:[13]

> Oriensque, regna fratrum,
> simul Occidensque plaudat;
> placidae iocentur urbes,
>    quaeque novo quaeque nitent
>       deficiente Phoebo
> (12) *Fescennina* 36 – 40
>
> Let East and West, the brothers' paired realms,
> join in their applause;
> let peace and joy fill the cities
> illumined by the Sun at his rising
> and at his setting

Visions of reconciliation notwithstanding, Claudian's political poetry is full of fraught moments which pit the two halves of the world against one another, West against East:

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**12** Hardie 1986 at e.g. 9 – 10 and 125 – 43.

**13** See now Kelly 2012 (in the just-published volume *Two Romes*), a finely nuanced account of Claudian's negotiations between Rome and Constantinople at different points in his *oeuvre*.

> ... en iterum belli civilis imago!
> quid consanguineas acies, quid dividis olim
> concordes aquilas?
> *In Rufinum* 2.236 – 8

> Behold once more the spectral image of civil war! Why do you seek to divide kindred armies and standards long united?

Roman eagles against Roman eagles, kin against kin: not since the first century BC, perhaps, has the geo*political* threat of civil conflict had such geo*poetical* heft as in Claudianic epic.[14] A case can be made that, in literary historical terms, the Neronian and then the Flavian responses to such tensions in the poetry of Virgil had long since programmed civil war as the 'default setting' of epic conflict: but for Claudian I think it's special.

And, when we turn our attention within the poet's *oeuvre* from the political poetry to the mythological *DRP*, what is interesting is that we don't leave this world of potential-civil-war dualism behind: no, we retain it, but we map it along a different axis, vertical rather than horizontal. Again two brothers divide the world between them, not West to East (Honorius and Arcadius) but Upper to Lower (Jupiter and Dis): in this version of Claudianism as in that, imperial epic is split-imperial epic.

Stephen Wheeler's application of Hardiesque terms to the *DRP* enables us to recognize in our poem's opposition between Upper and Lower worlds a strong continuity with the version of cosmic binarism most fundamental to Roman epic tradition, in which a primal division between heaven and hell figures and negotiates all kinds of other binaries in the epic plot:[15] think for example of the classic moment in the *Aeneid* when Juno summons Allecto and her dark forces from the Underworld to stir up (and to lend imagistic fuel to) the quasi-civil war on the ground between Trojans and Latins. But also, we cannot progress far into the *DRP* without encountering the kind of language used by Claudian himself to describe that specific, contemporary split between worlds which pre-occupies him elsewhere in his hexameter *oeuvre*:[16]

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**14** I take from Alessandro Barchiesi the use of the term 'geopoetics' in such a context.

**15** Wheeler 1995, esp. here 119 – 21, an early and impressive application of the explanatory power of Hardie 1993, esp. 57 – 87.

**16** Gruzelier 1993 on *DRP* 1.63 ff.; more broadly cf. Kellner 1997, 235 – 41, esp. 240, whose case for limited allusion to contemporary imperial events is framed as a reaction against more thoroughgoing and heavy-handed attempts at political allegoresis (esp. by T. Duc); cf. Wheeler 2000.

ne pete firmatas pacis dissolvere leges
quas dedimus nevitque colus, *neu foedera fratrum*
*civili converte tuba. cur inpia tollis*
*signa?* quid incestis aperis Titanibus auras?
*De Raptu Proserpinae* 1.63–6

[Lachesis to Dis] Seek not to disssolve the established laws of peace which we have given
and our distaff has spun, and do not overturn the bonds of brothers with the trumpet-blast
of civil war. Why do you raise impious standards? Why do you give the unholy Titans open
access to the upper air?

Once again, then, Claudian both operates within and newly reanimates the *topoi*
of epic dualism: in a universe of split-imperial poetry, the *DRP* asks: how *does*
the Upper-to-Nether narrative of a fraternally divided cosmos map on to a
West-to-East narrative of a fraternally divided cosmos?

And here's the thing: the answer is not necessarily a simple one. Claudian's
complicated political balancing act between Western and Eastern courts will
lead to a corresponding complication in his imagining of the duality between
heaven and hell. In his political poetry Claudian has an investment in avoiding
simple oppositions between black and white, good and evil; and this has an ef-
fect on the way he represents the Underworld in the *DRP* – which, it is often ob-
served, is at times kinder, gentler, *and more like the Upper world,* than elsewhere
in the tradition, or elsewhere in the *DRP.* In other words, the intermittent ameli-
oration of the Underworld in our poem (far from exemplifying mere Claudianic
inattention to narrative consistency[17]) may owe something to an aspirational
view of harmony between West and East elsewhere in Claudian's *oeuvre.*

A work useful to think with here is the invective *In Rufinum* (already cited
above) because, within its narrative, split-imperial politics are openly juxtaposed
with and framed by Upper-and-Lower world politics:

protinus infernas ad limina taetra sorores,
concilium deforme, vocat ...

              ... patriaque relicta
Eoas Furiae iussu tendebat ad arces,
instabilesque olim Symplegadas et freta remis
incluta Thessalicis, celsa qua Bosporos urbe
splendet et Odrysiis Asiam discriminat oris ...

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**17** So Gruzelier 1993, xxvi.

> senserunt convexa necem tellusque nefandum
> amolitur onus iam respirantibus astris.
> infernos gravat umbra lacus ...
> *In Rufinum* 1.27–8, 171–5; 2.454–6

> Straightway [Allecto] summons the hideous council of the nether-world sisters to her foul palace gates ...

> Then at the Fury [Megaera]'s bidding [Rufinus] left his fatherland and directed his way to the citadels of the East, and the formerly-shifting Symplegades, and the seas made famous by the Thessalian oars [i.e. of the Argo], where the Bosphorus gleams beneath its high-walled town, and separates Asia from the Thracian coast ...

> The vault of heaven felt his death and earth shifted off her hated burden; the stars can breathe again. His shade oppresses the waters of the nether world ...

A key take-away from the *In Rufinum*, incidentally, is the recurrent idea in Claudian of some evil *third-party force* capable of fomenting discord between two fraternal realms which should otherwise get along. In the *In Rufinum* that force (for one pair of realms as for the other) is the eponymous villain Rufinus, the native of south-western France who becomes the arch-fixer of the Eastern court (operating, in Claudian's epic embellishment, as the agent of the Furies), and at the end of the *In Rufinum* is banished by Minos to a point *below* Tartarus, to Hell's Hell. In Claudian's political *oeuvre* more broadly, third-party disruption is repeatedly associated with barbarians, variously and tendentiously defined. And in the *DRP*, in turn, a corresponding third-party threat to the balance between Upper world and Lower is to be found in the lurking presence of the *Titans or Giants*, who arguably invite assimilation and appropriation to this same distinctively Claudianic scheme (e.g. at *DRP* 1.66, above; more on gigantomachy below).[18]

Before leaving this nexus let me pause to register another archetypal cosmic *topos*, in the second segment of the *In Rufinum* quotation above: the voyage of the Argo, which as 'first ship' brings different parts of the world into communication (and conflict) with one another, and by this point in the history of epic carries some considerable allegorical freight. Here at *In Rufinum* 1.173–4, the Argo is invoked (*remis ... Thessalicis*) to add resonance to a characteristic Claudianic movement along the split-imperial axis of East and West; and this is not a one-time allusion. (The recurrence of seafaring, and especially Argoic, imagery at several key moments in Claudian's *oeuvre* is noticeable enough to have prompted biographical speculation about how much of his life Claudian spent

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**18** Titans/Giants and barbarians as parallel threats: suggestive note at Gruzelier 1993 on *DRP* 1.43 ff.

travelling by water.[19]) Even when not explicitly signalled, an east-west axis is generally pertinent to Claudian's customizations of the Argo; the image can embody ideas not just of bad communication (as in the case of Rufinus) but also of good.

In the *incipit* of the *Bellum Geticum* (quoted towards the end of this paper, in another context) the Argo stands in for the ship of state boldly run by Claudian's patron and hero Stilicho; and its position in that epic's opening lines probably serves to associate the hero's empire-straddling project with his praise-poet's, ship of poetry and ship of state. Poetics, certainly, are to the fore when Claudian employs a sustained Argo allusion to structure the first elegiac preface of the *DRP*:

> inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum
>     et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas ...
> iam vagus inrumpit pelago caelumque secutus
>     Aegaeas hiemes Ioniumque domat
> *DRP* 1 Praef. 1–2, 11–12

> He who first cut the deep with the ship he had invented and disturbed the waters with untried oars ...
> roving now he burst upon open water and, following the sky, mastered Aegean storms and Ionian Sea

In Gruzelier's words ad loc., 'the metaphor becomes a full-blown allegory of Claudian's poetic career up to this point, comparing the poet to the first sailor in his early attempts at poetry'.[20] What may be added in the present context is the accentuation (once again) of the east-west axis, not this time across the Bosphorus but across the isthmus of Corinth, another iconic boundary, the separator of the Aegean Sea from the Ionian. Even though, in the epic thus prefaced, the emphasis is to be on the 'vertical' axis rather than the 'horizontal' one, it is no great stretch to read into this version of Argonautic cosmology another hint at the global ambition of Claudian's own career, and at his qualification (analogous to Stilicho's) to negotiate between divided worlds.

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**19** Cameron 1970, 26. Symptomatically, the earliest 'embarkation' in Claudian's verse, back in Alexandria in the preface to his Greek *Gigantomachia* (1–17), is already an overtly poetological one: Cameron 25–6.

**20** Gruzelier 1993 on *DRP* 1 Praef., an excellent head-note; cf. Felgentreu 1999, 157–68, esp. 164–5.

# Claudianism: gigantomachy

Like most Latin epic poets from Virgil on, Claudian has within his idiom a marked interest in the gigantomachy, the battle of the Giants and the Gods, traditionally viewed as the originary theme of martial epos. No less typical in his *oeuvre* is the practice which marks the gigantomachy as, in general, an epic plot *other than the present one*, whether consigned to the past, deferred to the future, actualized only in metaphor, or otherwise denied full realization.[21]

So my next category of generic reanimation and reinvention is this. When we find, both in the *DRP* and elsewhere in Claudian, exactly the kinds of reference to lurking gigantomachy that we expect in Roman epic, should we just roll our eyes at the predictability of the worn-out *topoi* of late-imperial decadence? Well, whether we do or not, let us immediately allow that these *topoi* have a special edge in Claudian, because (as noted earlier) unlike most poets Claudian *actually did write* a gigantomachy; two, in fact (probably at opposite ends of his career), one in Greek and one in Latin. A claim can be made, indeed, that these are the only free-standing literary gigantomachies to survive from antiquity.[22]

Hence the pointedness of the preface to the panegyric on the sixth consulship of Honorius, Claudian's last firmly datable poem (January 404), where the poet recounts a dream in which he found himself in the citadel of heaven and laid his poetry at the feet of Jupiter. And the theme of the song he sang there was, naturally enough, Jupiter's victory over the Giants:

> Enceladus mihi carmen erat victusque Typhoeus
> (hic subit Inarimen, hunc gravis Aetna domat) ...
> *Panegyr. Hon. VI Cos.* Praef. 17–18

> I sang of Enceladus and the defeat of Typhoeus (the one a prisoner beneath Inarime, the other oppressed by the weight of Etna) ...

As the preface approaches its punch-line the poet, now awake, affirms that his dream-vision turns out to be true:

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**21** Gigantomachy in Latin literature (including Titanomachy and Typhonomachy, since the three are regularly confused or conflated in ancient usage), esp. in contexts of *recusatio*: Hardie 1986, esp. 85–90 (incl. at 89 a sentence in which Claudian features in a list of later writers of historical epic 'in whom motifs of Gigantomachy become clichéd'); Nisbet-Hubbard 1978 on Hor. *Odes* 2.12.7; Gruzelier 1993 on *DRP* 1.43 ff.
**22** See Hardie 1986, 101.

additur ecce fides nec me mea lusit imago,
    inrita nec falsum somnia misit ebur
*Panegyr. Hon. VI Cos.* Praef. 21–2

See, my vision is confirmed; it was no delusion; nor has the false Gate of Ivory sent forth unaccomplished dreams

Even truer, indeed, than the immediate terms of the passage require. The ostensible conceit is in a sense doubled: 'I had a dream-vision that I sang a gigantomachy and look, it turns out to be true', namely in the upcoming panegyric's figuring of Emperor Honorius as a Jupiter-like vanquisher of the Giant-like Goths;[23] but also, more archly and self-referentially, 'I had a dream-vision that I sang a gigantomachy and look, it turns out to be true', namely for me more than for any other poet, given my track record *as a composer of actual gigantomachies.*

To turn in this context to the *DRP* is to feel a new Claudianic edge in that poem's peculiar hospitality to the language of gigantomachy, its lurking potential to read as gigantomachic epic. A longer paper than this could review the many ways in which the *DRP* lingers on such possibilities. There is the moment at which, as Dis's chariot breaks into the upper air, an allusion to Ovid's *Fasti* treatment of the abduction echoes or anticipates the phrasing of a mythologically distinct but analogous moment in Claudian's own Latin gigantomachy.[24] There is the fact that one of the key locations in which the *DRP*'s Sicilian action unfolds, Mount Etna, is the site of the imprisonment of a prominent defeated Giant: a geographical coincidence fully cashed in late in the extant poem at *DRP* 3.330–56, when Ceres, en route to light her iconic torches at the flames of Etna, will find on the mountain the scene of post-Lucanian horror which is the still-smoking graveyard of the Giants, complete with the display of actual decaying body-parts as victors' spoils.

Finally (as foreshadowed in my previous section, with reference to *DRP* 1.66), there is the epic's repeated exploitation of gigantomachy as a way of talking

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23 Dewar 1996 on *Panegyr. Hon. VI Cos.* Praef. 17–18.

24 As the Dis of the Latin gigantomachy (already here married to Persephone: *Carm. Min.* 53.44–5) drives his chariot up from the Underworld to join Jove's council of the gods, 'his fearful horses are astonished at the unaccustomed light': *Carm. Min.* 53.46–7 *lucemque timentes insolitam mirantur equi* is parallel in its phrasing to *DRP* 2.193–4 *et longa solitos caligine pasci / terruit orbis equos* 'the sun's orb terrified the horses, accustomed to feed on long darkness' and picks up a motif specific to the Persephone myth since Ov. *Fast.* 4.449–50 *namque diurnum / lumen inadsueti vix patiuntur equi* 'for his horses, unused to it, can hardly endure the daylight'; cf. Sil. *Pun.* 14.245–7. To press Cameron 1970, 469, the verbal echo in *insolitam* may even shade into arch self-referentiality: 'unaccustomed' sc. except from the horses' (previous?) experience of daylight on their mission to abduct Persephone.

about the potential for civil conflict immanent in the divine machinations behind the abduction of Persephone. Although Dis would normally be thought of as lining up with his brother Jupiter *against* the Titans and Giants,[25] the effective containment of so many of the defeated forces in the same chthonic realm as Dis brings with it an inherent possibility for seeing the Underworld god as a potential enabler of a new wave of rebellion on their part. This does not happen in the *DRP*. However, one function of the poem's overt references to gigantomachy is to offer glimpses of a sort of counterfactual history in which it might.

As one instance among many, take the response of the nurse-nymph Electra to the conjecture of Ceres that Persephone's newly discovered abduction is indeed the work of resurgent Giants (*DRP* 3.181–8). 'No', says Electra, 'but I wish that it were, because in that situation we would at least be dealing with a familiar and shared enemy':

> vix tamen haec: 'acies utinam vaesana Gigantum
> hanc dederit cladem! levius communia tangunt ...'
> *DRP* 3.196–7

> Scarce could [the nurse] thus speak: 'Would that the insane army of Giants had caused this ruin! Common troubles are lighter to bear ...'

In other words, behind this exchange we hear Claudian archly invoking the gigantomachy – *his* gigantomachy – as a less traumatic story than the one he actually tells: gigantomachy as an unavailable source of consolation.

## Claudianism: (curbs on) rhetorical inflation

Claudian's version of historical epic is an undeniably weighty business. Even though the poems thus defined, or definable, are short by the traditional standards of the genre (one, two or at most three books each), this *is* epic with the volume control turned up. Claudian does not apologize for bringing the full rhetorical panoply of the genre to wars divine and human, to epicized poems of celebration and denunciation; and thus far my contextualization has worked, by and large, to show how the *DRP* is assimilable to this paradigm.[26] And yet a 'Clau-

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**25** An alignment explicit, as we have seen, in Claudian's own Latin gigantomachy: *Carm. Min.* 53.43–8.

**26** The almost-three books of the unfinished *DRP* weigh in at just under 1200 lines, about the same length as the *In Eutropium* and the *De Consulatu Stilichonis*; if completed it would have been Claudian's longest poem. For the purposes of this discussion I include Claudian's extended

dianizing' reading of the *DRP* could work in the *opposite* way too, reading this as the one epic poem in which Claudian *lightens things up*, taking a holiday from his day-job as a writer of overwrought verse on the cosmic and terrestrial entailments of the imperial court. That is, notwithstanding the undifferentiated charge against all Claudianic epic of over-indulgence in big speeches and in set-piece rhetoric regarded as excessive by Augustan canons of taste,[27] there is a good case to be made (even if not here) for a finding that the *DRP* is actually self-consciously *un*inflated by comparison with Claudian's own rhetorical practice elsewhere.

The temptation to read the *DRP* in this way (or at least to offer a promissory note for such a reading) is perhaps sharpened for a critic who finds the poem pervasively Ovidian in its sensibility, and hence assimilable to an alternative history of Roman epic which takes its bearings from the *Metamorphoses* rather than the *Aeneid*. The *DRP* is a story of sexual courtship and coercion; in other words, both in its more playful and in its more disturbing moments, it is the kind of narrative that Ovid had made his own. But with at least one important difference: whereas in the poetics of Ovid (and of the Augustan period more broadly) the expected way to 'lighten' the norms of epic is to put them into dialogue with the alternative modes of (esp. erotic) elegy, in Claudian's end-of-fourth-century poetic world the epic-elegy opposition is in most respects long since obsolete.[28]

However, for the present paper's purposes I have disavowed the approach through Ovid, whether in relation to the specific engagements of the *DRP* with the Persephone myth in *Metamorphoses* 5 and *Fasti* 4 or in terms of a deeper background sense of Claudianic Ovidianism. Instead, the next section briefly spotlights an approach which reads both the lightness and the eroticism of the *DRP* in terms of something internal to Claudian's own *oeuvre*.

## Claudianism: epithalamium

The opening episode of the *DRP* (1.32ff.) describes a threat to cosmic order, as heavy and hyperbolic as anything in the traditions of imperial Roman epic. But *why* is there a threat to cosmic order? *Because Dis wants a wife* (33–6).

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hexameter panegyrics and invectives within the 'big tent' of Claudianic epic: cf. Cameron 1970, 256 and 260–1; on panegyric and epic, Schindler 2004.

**27** Cameron 1970, 266–73, including useful comparative statistics on use of direct speech.

**28** For the dynamic interplay of epic and elegiac poetics in the Augustan period see Hinds 2000, esp. 223–35. For the erosion of the force of elegy by Claudian's time see Tsai 2007, 37–8 (in the article spotlighted below).

The crisis escalates so rapidly that the Fates are driven to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Underworld king to beg for the future of the universe; yet, at the same time, something soft and sentimental is in play:

'... ne pete firmatas pacis dissolvere leges
quas dedimus nevitque colus, neu foedera fratrum
civili converte tuba. cur inpia tollis
signa? quid incestis aperis Titanibus auras?
posce Iovem; *dabitur coniunx*.' vix illa; pepercit
erubuitque preces, animusque relanguit atrox
quamvis indocilis flecti ...
DRP 1.63–9

'... Seek not to dissolve the established laws of peace which we have given and our distaff has spun, and do not overturn the bonds of brothers with the trumpet-blast of civil war. Why do you raise impious standards? Why do you give the unholy Titans open access to the upper air? Ask Jupiter; you shall be granted a wife.' Scarce had [the Fate] spoken; [Dis] desisted and blushed at her prayers, and his fierce temper abated, though unschooled to bending.

*Cherchez la femme*: the last half-line of Lachesis' speech acknowledges the set-up to be more personal and intimate than had her eleven-line build-up; and, as if to underline the point, Claudian's immediate 'reaction shot' allows the king of the dead to *blush*.

The same kind of erotic softening informs the passage below, late in *DRP* 2. After the hyperbolic violence and upheaval of the actual abduction, Dis, at the approach of his wedding to Persephone, sheds his traditional force and becomes *unlike himself*:

... mox ipse serenus
ingreditur facili passus mollescere risu
*dissimilisque sui* ...
DRP 2.312–14

Soon Dis himself serenely walked in, yielding to the mellow accession of an easy smile, and unlike his normal self

Is this the *mise en scène* for a cosmomachy, or rather for a poem which is more intimate, erotic and (yes) Ovidianizing in its treatment of divine priorities?[29] In a

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**29** *dissimilisque sui*: even the paradoxical flourish is Ovidian, as Gruzelier 1993 points out ad loc.: cf. *Met.* 11.273. The self-conscious editorializing about image and identity in this half-line should have inoculated Claudian here against the usual charge (Gruzelier 1993, xxvi) of heedless inconsistency in character portrayal.

way; but here is one difference. Whereas in the *Metamorphoses* the sexual aspirations of the gods are in general non-marital or extra-marital, in other words discursively elegiac, in the *DRP* Dis's aspiration is, unequivocally, for marriage.[30] Although Ovidian terms of reference are relevant, another generic context is in play here too: and that context, a distinctively Claudianic one, is *epithalamium*. Such is the suggestive set-up of a recent discussion of the *DRP* by S.-C. Kevin Tsai; I merely touch here upon the themes of his 2007 treatment.[31]

Consider the following excerpt from Claudian's own wedding song for the Emperor Honorius and his bride Maria, an epithalamium arguably assimilable both in metre and in scope to our poet's epic writings. Ostensibly this passage sets up the kind of generic tension familiar from first-century poetics, with a conflict between the themes and motifs appropriate to martial narrative and those appropriate to a lighter mode defined by eroticism:

> dicere possemus quae proelia gesta sub Haemo
> quaeque cruentarint fumantem Strymona pugnae, ...
> ni prohiberet Hymen. quae tempestiva relatu,
> nunc canimus ...
> *Epithal. Honorio et Mariae* 309–10, 312–13

> I could tell of the battles fought beneath the slopes of Haemus, the contests wherefrom Strymon reeked red with gore, ... did Hymen the marriage god not forbid it. My song now must be such as befits the occasion ...

But with one important difference: despite Claudian's distinction above between what is or is not *tempestiva relatu*, the fact is that in this newly prominent and quasi-epic genre of imperial epithalamium neither martial themes nor erotic themes are inherently inappropriate to the occasion. An emperor's military triumphs and his arrangements for marriage and succession belong impartially to the public discourse; a wedding poem for a reigning emperor immediately moves gender and erotics from the margins to the centre of the official epic project.

Claudian's personal stake in a genre which comes to enjoy an especial vogue in late antiquity is suggestive for the *DRP*: this is a poet whose contemporary experience of court ceremony, in life and in literature, pre-programmes him to retell

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**30** Not that such a distinction can ignore the cultural equivocations, as old as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which blur the category boundaries of rape and marriage, not just in this myth but in Greco-Roman thought more broadly.
**31** Tsai 2007, esp. 37–47. We possess two hexameter wedding poems by Claudian, the *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae*, discussed below, and *Carm. Min.* 25, the *Epithalamium dictum Palladio V.C. tribuno et notario et Celerinae*.

the rape of Persephone not, or not just, as an Ovidian story of genre-bending misadventure but as the tale of a *royal wedding*, unproblematically central to an enlarged Claudianic epic sensibility. That is not to say that Claudianic epithalamium precludes either sexual or literary playfulness (think of Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis*, also addressed to an emperor); but it is to say that this is a poetic milieu in which old neoteric and Augustan oppositions between *amor* and *Roma* are now definitively beside the point.

# Claudianism: closure

My final category of 'Claudianism' addresses the very deliberate start and the abruptly inadvertent end of the *DRP*, with the already advertised debt to Philip Hardie now conjoined with an equal one to the late Don Fowler.[32]

## (i) epic (dis)closure: *nomen omen?*

It is perhaps no surprise that the first scene of the *DRP* should show such an emphatic focus upon the revelation of what was previously hidden. Vocabulary of opening and disclosure will naturally occur in any epic poem as the bard appeals for divine help to get his plot under way; the imperative form of the verb *pandere* italicized below is entirely in line with generic expectations:

> vos mihi sacrarum penetralia *pandite* rerum
> et vestri secreta poli: qua lampade Ditem
> flexit Amor; quo ducta ferox Proserpina raptu
> possedit dotale Chaos quantasque per oras
> sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu;
> unde datae populis fruges ...
> *DRP* 1.25–30

> You [Underworld gods] lay open to me the mysteries of sacred matters and the secrets of your world: with what torch Love made Dis bend; as a result of what act of abduction strong-spirited Persephone came to possess Chaos as her dowry, and over how many shores her anxious mother wandered on her troubled course; whence grain was given to the nations ...

That said, when the project is to reveal a plot formed in the darkness of the Underworld, a plot whose mythic modulations are associated in Greek tradition

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**32** Perspectives on poetic beginnings and endings: Fowler 1989; Hardie 1993, 1–14.

with the mysteries of Eleusis, the idea of a disclosure of narrative *secreta* may come with especial force. And in Roman epic tradition, specifically, there has always been a dark metapoetic energy associated with any opening up of the Underworld. Given such contexts, Claudian's *pandite* … is perhaps suggestive of more than just a simple request for information.

This emphasis seems to be confirmed by Dis's own use of a cognate verb less than a hundred lines later as he countenances a rather more radical kind of 'disclosure' of the contents of the Underworld pole:

> 'si dictis parere negas, *patefacta* ciebo
> Tartara …'
> *DRP* 1.113–14

> 'If you [Jupiter] refuse to obey my [Dis's] words, I will lay open and stir up Tartarus …'

Now, the *DRP* (at least in its extant portion) is not really about to deliver on this threat to rip open Tartarus. The vocabulary of opening and the vocabulary of closing are opposites which tend to attract in epic metanarrative contexts; and as it happens the early scenes of the *DRP* are notable not just for energy unleashed but for energy *shut down*. We have already registered the first moment at which Pluto backs away from a threat to blow everything open (1.67–9, quoted in the previous section). Consider now the simile applied to that early turning-point:

> ... ceu turbine rauco …
> ... si forte adversus aenos
> Aeolus obiecit postes, vanescit inanis
> impetus et fractae redeunt in *claustra* procellae
> *DRP* 1.69, 73–5

> [*storm-wind simile as Dis's anger rises and then abates*]
> as when with strident storm …
> if Aeolus chances to shut the bronze doors against it, the violent attack vanishes into emptiness and the gales return broken to the closure of their prison

In a miniature of the first narrative scene of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Claudian's simile unleashes a storm and then closes it down. And the final phrase in the simile may give us pause: *redeunt in **claustra** procellae*. Like any good epic poet, Claudian knows how to manipulate the vocabulary of opening and closing.[33] However – and this is where the reanimation of old *topoi* comes in – not every epic poet

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**33** A literary historical long view to set against the view of the *DRP*'s opening scenes as a casualty of the late-antique short attention span: Cameron 1970, 265–6 'a structural disaster'.

is *by name* a Claudius Claudianus, etymologically, that is, and with double rein-forcement, a ... 'closer'.

So can that initial request for disclosure (*pandite* ...) perhaps be reread as hinting antiphrastically at a kind of sphragis, a programmatic 'signature', in the opening invocation of Claudian's epic?

> vos mihi sacrarum penetralia *pandite* rerum ...

The Underworld gods are asked to 'open' the secrets of their realm to the 'Closer' ... who will thenceforth exercise his eponymous authority over the poetics of opening and of closing alike.

Especially if the antiphrastic dimension is allowed, this may not be a one-time gesture:

> *intacti cum claustra freti,* coeuntibus aequor
> armatum scopulis, audax inrumperet Argo ...
> *Bellum Geticum* 1–2; cf. 36–8, 44

> When the bold Argo was bursting through the barriers of the untouched sea, where clash-ing rocks armed the waters ...

As the Argo, guided by Tiphys, breaks through the *claustra* of the Clashing Rocks in the first sentence of the *Bellum Geticum* (already cited in an earlier context), a sphragistic pun in the *incipit* phrase will allow the overt image for the *audacia* of Stilicho's statecraft (lines 11 ff.) to be supplemented by a covert nod to the poetic *audacia* of his panegyricist (epic poet aligned with epic hero). What immediately precedes this *incipit*, after all, is the overt 'signature' of an eighteen-line elegiac preface whose main motif is the enshrining of Claudian's own name and likeness in the forum of Trajan (*Bell. Get.* Praef. 14 *quod legimur medio conspicimurque foro*, also cited earlier).[34]

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**34** I alluded early in the paper to a further possible Claudianic sphragis-pun at *Carm. Min.* 37.1 *clauditur* ..., the opening word of one of the epigrams about the 'enclosure' of a drop of water in a crystal (also, part of an epigrammatic display of bilingual versification: cf. *OLD* 'claudo' 8e?). Previous bearers of the name Claudius may be subject to onomastic punning too: cf. Feeney 1991, 287n.154 on a pattern of word-play in Lucan, *B.C.* 5 in which a firmly closed Delphic oracle is temporarily reopened through the agency of 'Appius *Claudius* Pulcher' and the end of a year brings 'closure' to the consular jurisdiction of M. *Claudius* Marcellus. A 'true' etymology will rather connect the name Claudius with *claudus* 'lame': Ernout-Meillet 1985 s.v.; cf. Trebellius, *trig. tyr.* 33.2.

## (ii) closure and continuation: epic end(lessness)

The above discussion envisages an artistically managed tension at the start of the *DRP* between vocabularies of opening and of closing. Even more than other epics, the *DRP* is so configured as to sustain interest in such a thematic: a more extended treatment than this would address the programmatically advertised interruption of the poem between its first and second books (an interruption which has attracted more attention for the clues it offers to the dating of the poem than for its no less interesting artistic entailments). But not all crises of closure are fully controllable by poets; and 448 lines into its third book the *DRP* stops abruptly forever in mid-course. It is, quite simply, an unfinished epic – whether left incomplete by its poet's illness, death or (on the earlier envisaged dating of the *DRP*) diversion to some other enterprise.

In an essay on issues of generic self-definition, it is appropriate to record that at the unfinished end of the *DRP* Claudian joins the ranks of Latin epic poets ambushed by death or other mishap into a final problematization of epic closure; an accidental series which is itself programmed into a kind of intentionality by the inaugural example of Virgil, with his biographically underwritten failure to apply the *summa manus* to the *Aeneid*. In different ways, the *Metamorphoses*, the *Bellum Civile* and the *Achilleid* are key members of this series;[35] a millennium later the Virgilian law of incompletion will haunt Petrarch in a lifetime of work on his *Africa*. What then of the end of the *DRP*?

Fifteen lines before it falls silent, the *DRP* offers a fresh narrative start, with the hint of a Contean 'middle proem',[36] as Ceres announces her quest for the abducted Persephone:

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**35** Not of course the full list. Strikingly, Statius' *Thebaid* is 'the only surviving Roman epic which can securely be said to have been published as a completed work by its author': Feeney 1996 (*OCD* s.v. Statius). Key moments in the development of a paratextual motif of epic interrupted by the death (or in the case of Ovid the 'death') of the author: Suetonius/Donatus, *Vit. Verg.* 35–42 etc. (for *Aen.*), Ov. *Trist.* 1.7 (for *Met.*), and implicitly Petron. *Satyr.* 115 and 118–24 (Eumolpus' *Bellum Civile*, for Lucan), all with Connors 1998, 138–41.

**36** i.e. a programmatic 'proemio al mezzo': see Conte 1984, 121–33 (Engl. trans. in Conte 2007, 219–31). The sense of a renewed *poetic* agenda is heightened by the rhetorical parallelism with *DRP* 1.26–9, and perhaps by the ever-available pun in *pedes* (3.432).

'... qua te parte poli, quo te sub cardine quaeram?
quis monstrator erit? quae me vestigia ducent?
qui ...? quis ...? quae ...?
ibo, ibo, quocumque *pedes*, quocumque iubebit
casus ...'
*DRP* 3.428–33

'In what part of the world, beneath what quarter of heaven, should I seek for you? Who will be my guide? What tracks will lead me? What ...? Who ...? What ...? I will go, I will go, wherever my feet, wherever chance will bid me ...'

The goddess's programme for her search looks very much like a programme for another book (or more) of the *DRP*. All the more reason to see the abrupt end of the epic just a few lines later as in every way an accident, in no sense a moment of stylized closure:

antra procul Scyllaea petit, canibusque reductis
*pars* stupefacta silet, *pars* nondum exterrita latrat
*DRP* 3.447–8 (epic breaks off here)

[The torch-light] reaches the cave of Scylla some way off: she draws back her dogs, some of which are silent with amazement, while others bark, not yet terrified

And yet ..., as more than once elsewhere in the Latin epic tradition, so that it almost becomes a trait of the genre, *does* the moment of interruption come with a tantalizing hint of self-conscious shaping, an apparent editorial marking of the epic's endless end, even though such marking should in principle be unavailable?[37]

Tracing the ruts of Dis's chariot wheels, Ceres makes her way across Sicily from the mid-island location of the rape. As she crosses the coastline the light from her torches strikes both the Italian and the Libyan shores; and then, in the last sentence before the final interruption, it reaches into the cave of Scylla.

With Scylla, then, we abruptly take our leave of the *DRP*. This may be suggestive in itself: because of the well-known and often advertised confusion or conflation of two different mythological bearers of this name (the sea-monster and the daughter of Nisus), references to Scylla evolve into something of a *locus classicus* of staged or self-conscious break-down for Latin poets; especially as it hap-

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**37** Cf. esp. Stat. *Ach.* 2.167 *scit cetera mater*, with Hinds 2000, 244 on that line's 'marked aposiopesis'. Why this apparent tendency for interrupted ends to show traits of closure? Perhaps because it comes naturally to a rhetorically trained poet to offer a degree of closural embellishment before laying down his pen even for (what he thinks of as) a temporary break in a long composition.

pens for Ovid.[38] But for my limited (and non-Ovidian) purposes here I want to look not at the *sense* of the final line but at its *rhetorical shape*. For connoisseurs of accidently unfinished epics, is it not a little piquant that this one should break off with a *pars ... pars ...* construction? Even more, a *pars ... pars nondum ...* construction? Here we stand, as so often in Latin epic, only this time differently, poised between closure and continuation. Part 1 of the *De Raptu Proserpinae* is over; Part 2 has 'not yet' begun.

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[38] ... including (pertinently here) *Fast.* 4.500, a parallel which I save for my Ovidian sequel: cf. Hinds 1984.

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Philip Hardie

# Shepherds' Songs: Generic Variation in Renaissance Latin Epic

**Abstract:** This paper examines generic polyphony in Renaissance Neolatin epic, with special reference to the incorporation of (i) pastoral elements in the song of the shepherds in Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis*, an adaptation of *Eclogue* 4 in the context of other borrowings from the *Eclogues*; and (ii) a paraphrase, in Alcaics, of Psalm 114, in the mouth of the shepherd-king David in Abraham Cowley's Latin version of the first book of his *Davideis*. A particular focus is on the tension between the classicizing poetics of these two very neoclassical poems, and the unsettling of generic and social hierarchies within a Christian world-view.

The story of genre in the Renaissance is one both of the formalization and theorization of kinds of literature, in a way far more elaborate than anything preserved in the ancient literary-critical texts, and a history of miscegenation and speciation, which leads in the course of time to a map of genres that would for large stretches be *terra incognita* to the ancients. The proper nature of epic was the object of various debates: should epic take as its subject matter true events, or should it keep its identity separate from history, and instead deal in verisimilar fictions? The popularity of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, combined with the propagation of a poetics based on the original text of Aristotle's *Poetics*, led in sixteenth-century Italy to polemics over the relationship between epic and romance, and over the need of the epic plot to conform to the neo-Aristotelian unities.[1] Particular stresses are put upon epic when the pagan genre becomes the vehicle for Christian narratives, stresses that have to do with the truth-content of epic, and with the nature of epic heroism. Readers of English literature are most familiar with these issues through studies of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, an epic which exalts the truthfulness of the Bible over the fables of the classical poets, and discards traditional models of active heroism in favour of 'the better fortitude | Of patience and heroic martyrdom | Unsung' (9.31–3). Milton is here disingenuous, since the long tradition of biblical epic going back to early Christian poets like Sedulius and Avitus means that by the middle of the seventeenth century wars were far from being 'the only argument | Heroic deemed' (9.28–9). In fact, in raising these issues *Paradise Lost* sums up a whole tradition of Chris-

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1 See Javitch 1999. In general on genre in the Renaissance see Colie 1973.

tian epic, just one of the ways in which *Paradise Lost* rivals Homer and Virgil in its universalizing ambitions. The idea, with ancient roots, that epic is a universal genre was firmly embedded in the Renaissance. Barbara Lewalski, in particular, has explored the generic polyphony contained within *Paradise Lost*, pointing to Milton's use of explicit signals to introduce different modes (pastoral, georgic, comedic, tragic, etc.). Lewalski concludes that Milton's major epic is 'an encyclopedia of literary forms which also affords a probing critique of the values those forms traditionally body forth.'[2]

In this paper I look at two Neolatin biblical epics in which generic variation may be legitimated by the universal scope of epic, but at the same time comments on the changed nature of heroism and of hierarchies of values in the Christian world-view. The first epic, Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis*, marks a high point of humanist classicism, a skilful imitation and rewriting of Virgilian patterns and language. The second, Abraham Cowley's *Davideis*, was written more than a century later, after the intense debates over epic, romance, and Aristotle of the later sixteenth century, and is more self-conscious in its neoclassicism.

Jacopo Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis* (1526), which earned its author the title of 'the Christian Virgil', is a three-book epic on the birth of Christ.[3] The third book, which tells of events after the birth, stages a twofold descent from heaven, a standard epic motif from Homer onwards,[4] but here a descent in social and generic hierarchy as well. The first two lines of the book transport us to the lofty seat of God, echoing the description of the starry seat of Jupiter at the beginning of *Aeneid* 10: *Auratum interea culmen bipatentis Olympi* | *conscendit genitor, rerum inuiolata potestas* 'Meanwhile the Father, the unassailed power over the universe, climbs to the gilded crest of twin-gated Olympus.' God summons his angels in council, and orders them (72–5):

> ac primum duris parui sub cautibus antri
> gramineos lustrate toros, lustrate beatam
> pauperibus sedem calamis, cunctique recentes
> submissi cunas accedite.

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**2** Lewalski 1985, 23.
**3** Modern editions: Putnam 2009; Fantazzi and Perosa 1988. Quint 1983, ch. 3 'Sannazaro: from Orpheus to Proteus' operates round the pastoral/epic pivot in a comparison of the authorizing strategies of Sannazaro's vernacular prosimetrum, the *Arcadia*, and of the *De partu*; ibid. 69–70 for brief discussion of the episode of the shepherds in Book 3; for longer discussion of the confrontation of epic and pastoral in Book 3 see Baker 1968, 121–3; Baker goes on to analyse the similar pastoral superseding of Satan's false epic models in Milton's *Paradise Regained*.
**4** Greene 1970.

> First of all, bring radiance to the bed of straw beneath the flinty rocks of the tiny cave, search out the blessed spot with its simple reeds. All together humbly approach the new cradle.

God then summons *Laetitia*, Joy, who is always present in the dwellings of heaven, but rarely descends to visit earth (96–7), whither she is now instructed to travel. She sets foot (126) *umbrosis siluis* 'in the shady woods', signalling a transition from the epic heights of heaven to a pastoral world, where her first move is to climb on to the roofs of the shepherds and make her joyful and radiant presence known. Half-submerged echoes of the intrusion of the joyless Fury Allecto into the pastoral world in *Aeneid* 7 allude to a Virgilian passage of generic instability. *Laetitia* addresses the shepherds as (135–6) *o parui uigiles gregis, o bona pubes | siluarum, superis gratum genus* 'O guardians of a small flock, O virtuous offspring of the woods, race dear to the gods', and tells them that in the cave of the Nativity they may see (138) *reginam ad cunas positumque in stramine regem* 'a queen by a cradle and a king laid in the straw'.[5] Compare, perhaps, with these paradoxical formulations the riddles at the end of Virgil's third *Eclogue*, 104–7, and especially 106–7 *Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum | nascantur flores* 'tell me in what lands flowers grow inscribed with the names of kings'. *Laetitia* tells the shepherds to bring gifts of milk and honey, and (142) *insuetum et siluis stipula deducite carmen* 'spin out on your reed pipe a song new to the woods'. The last two words point us to *Ecl.* 6.5 *deductum dicere carmen. insuetus* is a keyword in this narrative of a world made new (Vida uses *longe alius* in rather the same way in the *Christiad*),[6] a narrative that also practises generic renewal. A particularly important Virgilian use of *insuetus* is in the first line of the song of Menalcas in *Eclogue* 5 (56) *Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi*, which is also the point at which Virgil innovates on his Theocritean model, reversing a story of Daphnis dead into a story of Daphnis risen and translated to heaven.

When the shepherds arrive at the cave, the song that they sing turns out to be anything but unfamiliar to the woods. Two shepherds Lycidas and Aegon join their voices in a recollection and partial re-performance of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, beginning (197–9) *Hoc erat, alme puer, patriis quod noster in antris | Tityrus attritae spreuit rude carmen auenae, | et cecinit dignas Romano consule siluas* 'This was the reason, gracious child, that our Tityrus in his homeland grottoes scorned the unpolished song of the well-worn pipe of reeds and sang of woods worthy of a Roman consul.' The address to the *puer* repeats the addresses

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**5** 137 *antra nouis intendite sertis*: cf. *Ecl.* 6.13–19 Silenus *in antro*, with *serta* lying around used as bonds by Chromis and Mnasyllos.
**6** Hardie 1993, 310.

in the opening lines of prophecies in the first two books, in the mouths respectively of David and Joseph. David begins his major prophecy (1.245–6) *Nascere, magne puer, nostros quem soluere nexus | et tantos genitor uoluit perferre labores ...* 'Be born, great child, whom the creator ordained to undo our bonds and to endure great sufferings', where *nascere, magne*, and *puer* are all words found in the first five lines of the main part of *Eclogue* 4, while *perferre labores* points to the epic sufferings that the boy will be called on to undergo when he grows up. Joseph, who has slept through the birth itself, is awoken by the cries of the infant, whom he addresses (2.444) as '*sancte puer ...*', a blessed boy who has not been brought into the world in a luxurious palace, but given shelter in (447–8) *angustum sed uix stabulum, male commoda sedes | et fragiles calami lectaeque paludibus herbae* 'scarcely a small stable as an ill-furnished resting place and brittle straw and swamp-culled reeds ...', a rather pastoral setting.[7]

The opening lines of the shepherds' song in Book 3 are followed by a 33-line patchwork of passages from *Eclogue* 4, with some reordering of sequence and some new writing to bring out the Christian message of the *Eclogue* more strongly: for example 209–10 *occidet et serpens, miseros quae prima parentes | elusit portentificis imbuta uenenis* 'the serpent too will perish which, steeped in monstrous poisons, first deceived our wretched parents' (cf. *Ecl.* 4.24–5 *occidet et serpens, et fallax herba ueneni | occidet*). Lines 206–7 all but replicate *Ecl.* 4.13–14: *qua duce, siqua manent sceleris uestigia nostri | irrita perpetua soluent formidine terras* 'if any traces of our guilt remain, under his leadership they will become void, releasing the earth from her abiding fear.' But the following line in Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.15 *ille deum uitam accipiet ...* is replaced with a pointedly Christian version of mankind's new access to heaven (208), *et uetitum magni pandetur limen Olympi* 'The once forbidden threshold of great Olympus will lie open'. The last two words, *limen Olympi*, end the line introducing the resurrected Daphnis to Olympus at *Ecl.* 5.56, quoted above.

The lines (197–9) in which Lycidas and Aegon introduce their recollection of the song of Tityrus (i.e. *Eclogue* 4) are suitably pastoral in other ways as well. Quotation or performance of a song already sung is a feature of the exchange and transmission of song in the pastoral world, for example the snatches remembered in *Eclogue* 9, or the song of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 which, it turns out at the end, originates with Apollo. The newborn child is addressed as *puer*, and *pueri* form a large part of the cast of characters in the *Eclogues*.[8] 'Our Tityrus' sung

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**7** With *fragiles calami* cf. *Geo.* 1.75–6 *tristisque lupini | ... fragilis calamos siluamque sonantem*, the last phrase of which continues to sound a pastoral note in a technical discussion of crop rotation.
**8** Hardie 2009, 27.

the fourth *Eclogue patriis ... in antris*: in Virgil's first *Eclogue* Tityrus, unlike Meliboeus, is not forced to flee *patriae finis*; while Meliboeus will never again look on his flock in his homeland, *uiridi proiectus in antro* (76). At the same time mention of a *patria* suggests thoughts of how Christianity will change the whole notion of a fatherland. The *antrum* in which Christ has been born is a different kind of locale from the *antra* of the pagan pastoral world.

The last line of the song of Lycidas and Aegon adapts one of the grandest lines in *Eclogue* 4, a poem that repeatedly uses *magnus* and *maior* to mark this eclogue's elevation above the usual height of pastoral poetry, *De partu* 3.232 *cara dei suboles, magnum coeli incrementum* 'cherished scion of God, great offspring of heaven' (cf. *Ecl.* 4.49 *cara deum suboles, magnum Iouis incrementum*). The episode is closed by four lines describing the response of nature to the song, closely modelled on the description in Menalcas' song in *Eclogue* 5 of nature's response to the deification of Daphnis (*De Partu* 3.233–6):

> Talia dum referunt pastores, auia longe
> responsant nemora et uoces ad sidera iactant
> intonsi montes; ipsae per confraga rupes,
> ipsa sonant arbusta: 'deus, deus ille, Menalca.'

> While the shepherds tender such words, the pathless woods re-echo from afar and unshorn mountains fling their voices toward the stars. The very crags amid their thickets, the very copses resound: 'A god, he is a god, Menalcas'.

Compare Virgil *Ecl.* 5.62–4 *ipsi laetitia uoces ad sidera iactant | intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes, | ipsa sonant arbusta: 'deus, deus ille, Menalca.'* If we remember the first two words of line 62, *ipsi laetitia* reveals that Sannazaro's personification of *Laetitia*, sent down by God on one of her hitherto rare visits to the earth, is already at home in Virgil's pastoral world. Allusions to *Eclogue* 5 here, in the course of the re-performance of *Eclogue* 4, and possibly in the use of *insuetum* at 142, register the connections within the *Eclogues* book between poems 4 and 5, which both in their different ways break the bounds of the ordinary world of bucolic herdsmen. The passing allusion, if it is that, to the riddles at the end of *Eclogue* 3 (see above), acknowledges the anticipatory signals in that poem of the paradoxical juxtaposition of pastoral with loftier themes that will burst out in the grander flight of *Eclogue* 4.

With this retracing of the fifth *Eclogue*'s move from earth to heaven Sannazaro makes the transition to the next section, and to the epic theme of armies in the sky, 237–8 *Hic subito magnum uisi per inane uolatus | coelestum* 'at this a flight of angels appeared of a sudden through the great void'. These armies of angels carry arms that do not wound, 240–1 *innocuis per sudum exercitus*

*armis | ibat ouans* 'a triumphant army went though the clear sky with harmless weaponry', and they manoeuvre in what is only a semblance of war, (242) *belli simulacra ciebant*, alluding to the military choreography of the *lusus Troiae* in *Aeneid* 5, 585 *pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis*.[9] This is martial epic in the mode of a new Christian age of peace. Echoes of *Eclogue* 4 continue in the introduction of the angels' hymn to God, 256–7 *innumeras alii laudes et magna parentis | facta canunt* 'others chant the infinite praises and great deeds of the Father' (cf. *Ecl.* 4.26–7 *at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis | iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere uirtus*). This leads into a Christian version of the hymn to Hercules by the Salii in *Aeneid* 8 – sung, we might remember, in the distinctly pastoral surroundings of Evander's Pallanteum.[10]

Abraham Cowley's (1618–1667) *Davideis* is an epic on the life of David, projected in 12 books, 'after the Pattern of our Master Virgil', as Cowley says (1656 *Preface*), of which only four were completed in English.[11] The date of composition is not certain: the possibilities range from the late 1630s to the early 1650s. Cowley also composed a Latin version of the first book, it is not certain whether before or after the English.[12] Cowley is famous as one of the seventeenth-century English 'metaphysical poets', although his reputation today is much shrunk from the esteem that he enjoyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His *Davideis* is little read, and has been almost entirely overshadowed by the fame of Milton's Biblical epic, *Paradise Lost*. Yet the *Davideis* has some importance in the history of English epic as the first fully neoclassical epic on a Biblical subject. The four books of the English version come equipped with extensive notes by Cowley himself in which he explains and justifies points in the

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**9** Baker 1968, 122 points out that there is a similar movement from pastoral humility to lofty epic triumph in Joseph's forecast at 2.452–3 *tibi siderei domus aurea coeli | plaudit inextinctosque parat natura triumphos*. Joseph goes on to say that kings will seek out this humble place, and that Jesus has been sent as a shepherd to gather in the scattered flock, in a passage of extended pastoral allegory, 459–63.

**10** For another example of the reuse of Virgil's 'Messianic eclogue' in a Neolatin epic compare the angels' annunciation of the birth of Christ to the shepherds in Mantuan's *Parthenice Mariana*, 3.139–49: *tum quoque montanis laetum pastoribus agmen | diuorum apparens, 'Regem', clamauit, 'Olympi | quaerite, qui natus modico iacet abditus antro. | ite citi, nec uos nox intempesta retardet. | candida formosae iam pendet ad ubera matris: | infantem fouet ipsa sinu:* **noua** *gaudia mundus | accipit et rerum melior contexitur* **ordo.** *| descendit promissa salus: pia Numina mundo | seruauere fidem: felicia saecula currunt | et cum prole* **noua** *caelo* **noua** *labitur aetas. | pax* **noua** *terrigenis oritur,* **noua** *gloria caelo*. On the fourth *Eclogue* and (Lucretian) novelty see Hardie 2009, 38–40.

**11** Edition (English): Shadduck 1987.

**12** *Davideos Liber I*. Hypercritical text edition by Dana Sutton, at: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/david

poem, with reference both to Biblical and classical texts. Poem and notes taken together constitute a kind of manifesto for what Cowley calls a 'sacred poem', i. e. a classical epic on a biblical theme. Virgil is frequently cited, and sometimes appealed to directly as an authority for particular features, for example the use of half-lines (a rare example of an epic poet in the Virgilian tradition incorporating half-lines on the authority of Virgil). This explicit adherence to the norms of Virgilian epic gives greater relief to divergences from the generic expectations thereby raised. The most striking divergences come in the form of two lyric insets that interrupt the continuous flow of the Latin hexameters and of the English heroic couplets: an ode in the form of a paraphrase of Psalm 114, sung by David to calm Saul's anger in book 1, and a song to the lyre sung by David to serenade his future wife, Michol (or Michal), in Book 3. With reference to the first Cowley has a note on the English version, that runs as follows: 'For this liberty of inserting an Ode into an Heroick Poem, I have no authority or example; and therefore like men who venture upon a new coast, I must run the hazard of it. We must sometimes be bold to innovate'; with arch self-awareness Cowley then quotes an ancient authority for acting without authority, Horace *Ars poetica* 286–7 *nec minimum meruere decus uestigia Graeca | ausi deserere* (in a discussion of drama). In the English the ode consists of three 12-line stanzas, an example of Cowley's English 'Pindarics'; in the Latin it is 10 stanzas of Alcaics, with allusions to Horatian models, in particular stanza 9:

> aequare summis ima ualet Deus.
> discent in altum plana tumescere,
>    uallesque turgescent, ferentque
>    attonito capita alta coelo.

> God has power to bring the depths level with the heights. The plains will learn to swell up on high, and the valleys will swell and bear their heads high in an astonished sky.

Compare Horace Odes 1.34.12–14 *ualet ima summis | mutare et insignem attenuat deus, | obscura promens* 'God has the power to exchange high and low, to humble the great, and bring forth the obscure'. It might be tempting to see here metapoetic meaning in lines on making small things great, and to reflect further on the inclusion of a lesser genre within a greater, and to think also more widely about the role of David in Cowley's epic. David is the shepherd who becomes a king, moving from a pastoral to an epic world: the point is made programmatically in the first two lines of the Latin, *Bella cano, fatique uices, regemque potentem | mutato qui sceptra pedo Solymaeia gessit* (in Cowley's English) 'I sing the Man who Judah's Sceptre bore | In that right hand which held the Crook before', where epic sceptre and pastoral shepherd's staff are juxtaposed in the middle of

the line. When *Inuidia* 'Envy', in the disguise of the ghost of Benjamin, incites the sleeping Saul to rage against David, it is this socio-generic contrast of king and shepherd that she uses: 282–3 *si regem rite uocaui, | si nondum tua sceptra gerit pastorculus ille* 'If King thou be'est, if Jesses race as yet | Sit not on Israels Throne!' (249–50 in the English); 300–1 *dedecus hoc quanto minus est pastore tyranno? | tune potes domino contentus uiuere seruo?* 'Could ye not there great Pharaohs bondage beare, | You who can serve a Boy, and Minstrel here?' (255–6 in the English)

*Inuidia* follows these barbs with a sneering contrast between kingship and music, or poetry: 302 *concedent tua sceptra lyrae?* It is with the lyre that David will soothe the king's rage when he sings Psalm 114 to Saul. If lyric comes below epic in the pagan hierarchy of genres, this is not so in the Biblical scheme of things. In the opening lines of Book 1 the opposition between king and shepherd is followed by the pairing of king and poet: 1.1–3 *regemque potentem ... rex olim uatum, duo maxima munera coeli* 'Who from best Poet, best of Kings did grow; | The two chief gifts Heav'n could on Man bestow' (3–4 in the English). David is the great Ur-poet of the Bible, the Biblical equivalent of the pagan Orpheus, whose divine inspiration makes him a greater poet in his lyric song than the pagan Homer and Virgil in their epic flights. The point is made for example by Petrarch in his first eclogue, where Monicus attempts to divert Silvius, the Petrarch figure, from his pursuit of Homer and Virgil to the sweeter song of David.[13]

David's performance of Psalm 114 is preceded by a digression on the power of sacred verse (1.495–551, in the Latin), which draws an extended analogy between the poet's shaping of the *indigesta elementa* of his work and the creation of the world, the *magnum mundi ... poema* (509; (451 in the English) 'such was God's Poem, this World's new Essay'), by God, through the bringing into harmony of the warring elements. Cowley may have in mind Torquato Tasso's famous statement in his *Discourse on the Heroic Poem* that 'the great poet (who is called divine for no other reason than that as he resembles the supreme Artificer in his workings he comes to participate in his divinity) can form a poem in which as in a little world, one may read here of armies assembling, here of battles on land or sea, etc.'[14] But where Tasso is thinking primarily of the epic poet, with reference to the view common in the Renaissance that epic is a universal genre that contains in microcosm the whole natural and human universe, Cowley is more interested in the harmony shared by the poems of the divine and human creators, of

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**13** See Prescott 2002.
**14** Tasso 1973, 78.

which David's Psalms are an outstanding example, as proved by his song's power to 'tune the harsh disorders' of the soul of Saul, in the phrasing of the English version.

So far from representing a generic descent in his sacred poem, Cowley's English and Latin versions of Psalm 114 offer a specimen of the divine Davidic poetry to which the modern epic poet aspires. Milton will later be more austere in his ranking of Biblical and pagan kinds of poetry when in the last book of *Paradise Regained* Christ dismisses Satan's attempt to lure him with the wisdom and art of the pagan world (4.331–49):

> Or, if I would delight my private hours
> With music or with poem, where so soon
> As in our native language can I find
> That solace? All our Law and Story strewed
> With hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscribed,
> Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
> That pleased so well our victor's ear, declare
> That rather Greece from us these arts derived;
> Ill imitated while they loudest sing
> The vices of their deities, and their own,     340
> In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
> Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
> Remove their swelling epithetes, thick-laid
> As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
> Thin-sown with aught of profit or delight,
> Will far be found unworthy to compare
> With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
> Where God is praised aright and godlike men,
> The Holiest of Holies and his Saints.

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# Pastoral

Theodore D. Papanghelis

# Too Much Semiotics will Spoil the Genre

## The Pastoral Unscription in Virgil, *Ecl.* 10.53 – 4

**Abstract:** Giving the fiction of orality in Virgil's *Eclogues* its hermeneutical due, as against treating its constituent features as mere metaphors for the underlying processes of textuality, is crucial when it comes to matters of generic identity and demarcation. The example of *Ecl.* 10.52 – 4 suggests that a semiotic-textualist exclusivity is apt to miss the point of a passage pivotal to a generic reading of the poem.

**Keywords:** orality fiction, writtenness, textuality, pastoralisation, elegy

There is a sense in which writing, wherever it is mentioned in Virgil's *Eclogues*, may be seen as secondary, supplementary or external to pastoral's defining fiction of living voice;[1] and there is another sense in which these poems, demon-

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[1] The first in the collection reference to a 'rustic Muse' subject to reading occurs in *Ecl.* 3.84 – 5: *Pollio amat nostram, quamuis est rustica, Musam: / Pierides, uitulam lectori pascite uestro.* This is part of the literary critical intermezzo of vv. 84 – 91, where Pollio is cast in the role of an *external* sympathiser who has himself a hand in the broader modernist tradition (v. 86: *Pollio et ipse facit noua carmina*). This places him at a different level from that occupied by the *Eclogue*'s competing rustics and their umpire and points to a self-consciously post-oral reception of the orality fiction Menalcas, Damoetas and Palaemon stand for. By a similar move, the introductory lines of *Eclogue* 6 feature a *reader* for the Theocritean-Callimachean muse sung in honour of Varus. Virgil's phrasing here mixes freely terms which define a double (external-internal, readerly-aural) mode of reception, as vv. 1 – 12 allude to the foundation myth of pastoral as the natural product of sylvan echoes at the same time as they confirm the starkly textual medium through which such echoing song will reach Varus and any reader who cares to flip through the pages dedicated to Varus. Unlike *Ecl.* 3.84 – 91, though, these lines are not subordinate to a scenario of oral exchange which contains them: prefixed at an editorial distance from the pastoral encounter and the ensuing song of Silenus, and assuming a kind of paratextual detachment, they effect a programmatic textualisation that makes an external reader the ultimate receiver and arbiter of the oral performance. On the other hand, writing in *Eclogue* 5 is neither secondary nor supplementary nor yet external. On the contrary, what we seem to get here is a proud presentation by Mopsus of the cutting-edge technology of writing put at the service of pastoral composition: vv. 13 – 15: *immo haec, in uiridi nuper quae cortice fagi / carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notaui, / experiar* ... Commentators dangle all sorts of red herring: no easy task to carve twenty-five lines of song in the bark of a beech tree – unseemly, one might add, from an environmentalist point of view, too. However, for anyone who has learned to see shepherds as generically illiterate, it is Servius who brings the house down with his "where else would a rustic

strably organized as a unified poetic book complete with dense intertextual allusion and references to writing, readers and reading, may be seen as enmeshed in the noetic economy of advanced writtenness.[2] And there is yet another sense in which the orality fiction and the reality of writtenness are perfectly compatible within interpretative schemes based on the subtleties of a semiotic approach which sees the oral figments as so many versions of, or metaphorical vehicles for, the *Eclogues'* inherent textuality.

There is, of course, no doubting the insights offered by this kind of approach; in fact, as I would argue myself, the oral surface of the *Eclogues* seems shot through at places with reflex responses honed by definitely post-oral practices. To give just one example: when Moeris in *Ecl. 9. 32* ff. is invited to reproduce something from absent Menalcas' songs, he spends a moment of tense and silent self-concentration, obviously, as the tentative *si ualeam meminisse* (38) suggests, in an effort to recall as accurately as possible the master's words. And yet, what seems to be a crucial moment for the orality and memory fiction is also a self-defeating emphasis since there is important anthropological and fieldwork evidence to show that the concept of exact verbal repetition will hardly arise in cultural settings where writing and written text are unknown.[3]

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write?" (*ubi enim debuit magis rusticus scribere?*). Anthropologists do know of singers rehearsing prior to competition in cultural settings of primary orality, but this is obviously not the case here. Mopsus' is not a craft literacy as *aide-memoire* to the oral performance but a fully-fledged text-centred conception of the process of composition, the first instance in the *Eclogues* of a pastoral contestant pitting his written version against what is represented as oral memory or oral composition-in-performance by the other. And yet, in stepping so boldly out of the orality fiction, Mopsus shows signs of being somewhat uncertain about the effectiveness of the new technology as well as antagonistic to the 'old' fiction, and *experiar* concludes the technicalities behind his entry on a perceptibly tentative note which keeps the focus of attention on the novelty of a compositionally written pastoral. Putnam 1970, 373, noting that in the pastoral world 'the idea of writing is suspect' adds that the reader is meant to take special notice of Mopsus' announcement of a song prepared in writing. Hubbard 1998, 88 ff., 137 associates Mopsus' literate composition with what he sees as the elegiac and epicising features of his Daphnis song. Lycidas in *Idyll* 7 is the only Theocritean rustic who seems to be tampering with an otherwise solid orality fiction. On this see Hunter 1999, note on *Idyll* 7.50 – 51 and Hunter 2003, 213 – 34 (= Hunter, *On Coming After. Part 1: Hellenistic Poetry and its Reception, Trends in Classics*, vol. 3/1, 2008, 434 – 56) which offers an enlightening discussion of the changing cultural practices attendant upon a deepening literacy and the differing qualities of the bucolic specimens given by Lycidas and Simichidas in *Idyll* 7.

**2** See, for instance, Henderson (1998, 165) and, especially, Breed (2006*a*, 3): 'Textuality and reading are fundamental to the generic experience of all ancient pastoral and of the *Eclogues* in particular ...'

**3** On the accuracy of oral memorisation see Ong 1982, 57 – 67.

In this perspective, no one should find it surprising that a scholar who grants the pervasiveness of the orality fiction may end up affirming that

> [t]he confrontation between textuality and orality in Virgil's pastoral thus shows that writing – through its temporal scope encompassing both a generic past and future reception in reading – is capable of something that speech cannot do. Writing in pastoral is, therefore, no poor substitute for the living spoken word, conceived of as uniquely a vehicle for creating bonds and uniting communities. In their own day, then, the *Eclogues* avoided any tendency to subordinate cold, dead writing to vital orality. Despite a Platonic pedigree, the romantic view that absolutely privileges speech over enfeebled writing has little relevance to large swaths of ancient literary culture.[4]

Perhaps so, but one may be forgiven, I think, for surmising that the eventual subversion of the voice-writing hierarchy (one with noble Platonic credentials, as the quotation reminds us) and the lionisation of the former underdog (writing, in this case), is a gesture authorised not so much by the specific realities of the *Eclogues* text as by a more or less programmatic determination to destabilise or problematise the evaluative polarity which underpins the mimetic surface of living speech. It seems that, much like Jean Jacques Rousseau's naively Romantic insistence on the primacy of orality as against the secondary-supplementary status of writing, pastoral's mimetic fiction of orality was a scandal that had outstayed its welcome and was thus ripe for deconstruction. I have almost spelled out the name 'Derrida' and his critique of the Western 'metaphysics of presence', and if the name as such never appears in either footnote or bibliography that makes his *éminence grise* all the more eminent and grey.[5]

You don't have to break your back, so the deconstructive narrative goes, to destabilise such binary oppositions and their attendant hierarchies; if you are attentive enough to the self-defeating workings of the text, you don't have to do more than an Epicurean god has to: you just sit back and watch them self-deconstruct, just like atomic *concilia* will sooner or later do.

Now, my reactionary paper advocates what Lenin, for his own purposes, once called 'the reality of appearances', which, for my purposes, can be rephrased as 'the hermeneutical value of the orality fiction'; and I submit right away that in the case of the *Eclogues* whether or not you perceive destabilisation, deconstruction or subversion of the orality-writtenness hierarchy depends on the relative importance you attach to the dramatic fiction as against the semiotics (or perhaps, post-semiotics) of a thoroughly textualist approach. I will be arguing on

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**4** Breed 2006*a*, 100.
**5** For a lucid account of how Derrida in his *Of Grammatology* deconstructs Rousseau's confidence in the primacy of speech as against 'supplementary' writing see Culler 1983, 102–103.

the assumption that giving the *Eclogues*' mimetic fiction of orality its hermeneutical due, as against treating its constituent features as mere metaphors for the underlying processes of textuality, is crucial when it comes to matters of generic identity and generic demarcation. Since the issue of orality vs. writtenness is highly visible in the last piece of Virgil's pastoral collection and since it involves two genres in whose myths of origin it is inscribed, it is *Eclogue* 10 that I have mainly in mind, particularly vv. 52–4, as I hope to show that a semiotic-textualist exclusivity, for all its merits, is apt to miss the point of a passage pivotal to a generic reading of the poem.

Writing (and reading) is smuggled into the Arcadia of *Eclogue* 10 through elegiac Gallus' decision to carve his *amores* on the bark of trees. Of course, Gallus imitates the solitary gesture of Callimachean Acontius (fr. 73 Pf.) – although, by comparison with the goal-oriented *Werbung* of the Roman general, the Greek lad's 'beautiful Cydippe' looks rather like doodling *Waldeinsamkeit* away. Now, Barchiesi's analysis of Acontius as a role model for the elegiac poet-lover as well as a myth of elegiac origins should, I think, be read along Philip Hardie's cautionary distinction between Acontius the successful elegiac inscriber of the famous apple which ensures the union of lover and beloved, on the one hand, and Acontius the forlorn lover consoling himself for the absence of the beloved person by writing her name on the trees, on the other.[6] Indeed, it is the latter, the intransitive and solitary gesture, which seems to have particularly smitten Gallus and Propertius (see below) and which represents a more convincing archetypal plot for the habitual woes of the elegiac lover-poet ever in pursuit of an elusive *puella*. Hardie goes on to suggest that it was probably Virgil who first mapped the opposition between Acontius' successful apple writing and ineffectual tree carving on to a generic contrast between what he labels 'pastoral plenitude and presence vs. elegiac lack and absence'. According to his reading, the contrast is plain to see in the respective situations of Tityrus and Corydon of *Eclogues* 1 and 2: typically *pastoral* Tityrus enjoys possession of his Amaryllis whose presence the woods acoustically multiply by responding to his piping, whereas more or less *elegiac* Corydon follows in Acontius' steps in his solitary pursuit of an absent and unresponsive Alexis.[7]

Now, as it happens, I am too staunch a believer in 'pastoral plenitude and presence' to commiserate with Corydon's lot. I have argued in a paper published in 1999 that the latter's *inuenies alium Alexin* in the monologue's very last line is a Parthian shot through which the shepherd declares that he can discursively

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**6** See Barchiesi 2001, 123–126 and Hardie 2002, 121–123.

**7** Hardie 2002, 123–125.

construct at will and at any time 'another Alexis', one who will consent to the sensations of the bower and become part of it.[8] Corydon never has any intention of going out of his way, as any elegiac lover worth his salt canonically has when protesting his willingness for transcontinental treks for the sake of the beloved.[9] In other words, and despite the dense intertextual presence of Callimachean Acontius, I see the monologue of *Eclogue* 2 not so much as a genuine elegiac wooing pervaded by a sense of absence but as an invitation to pastoralisation and pastoral plenitude which, like pastoral song, can be repeated *ad libitum*. Unlike Acontius, unlike Gallus in *Eclogue* 10 and, later, unlike the Propertian lover of 1.18, Corydon is of the pastoral world – a world of living speech and song performance, and it never crosses his mind to, among other things, resort to writing as a substitute for the lack and absence of the beloved. By having Corydon go through most of forlorn Acontius' moves *except the writing*, *Eclogue* 2 suggests the absolute primacy of oral performance over any kind of written supplement – and sets out the first in the *Eclogues* collection instalment of a generic demarcation between pastoral and elegy, which will come to a head in *Eclogue* 10.

We might, of course, take Corydon, the hill billy, to task for not realising that his insistence on oral performance is a self-deconstructing piece of cake since the possibility of (oral) repetition he envisages through 'inuenies *alium* Alexin' is precisely the kind of 'iterability' deconstructionists would closely associate with the ontology of "protowriting";[10] but I strongly doubt he would have turned a hair or changed his instinctive certainty that, at the level of dramatic fiction where he operates, writing is a dead sign – a sign of absence and lack. Such sense of lack and frustration informs the Callimachean text too, where Acontius' writing is expressly described as a futile substitute consigned, *faute de mieux*, to the tree's mute and lifeless matter.[11] This is a typical town-dweller's take on the most vital constituent of the bower and, for all we know, had he had the chance, Acontius would have sooner used his mobile or sent an SMS.

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**8** Papanghelis 1999, 46–50.

**9** To use the terms of an important discussion by Gian Biagio Conte, love for Alexis does not cause Corydon to lose sight of the pastoral world to which he belongs, and the conclusion of his monologue (vv. 69–73) represents a decisive, and rather easy, escape from the 'powerful closure' of the typical elegiac world of *seruitium amoris* and imperative, absolutised suffering. See Conte 1994, 37–42.

**10** On the typically Derridean notion of speech constituting (always already) a form of writing see Culler 1983, 102 ff.

**11** According to Aristaenetus 1.10.59–64 Vieillefond, Acontius φηγοῖς ὑποκαθήμενος ἢ πτελέαις ὡμίλει τοιάδε· 'εἴθε, ὦ δένδρα, καὶ νοῦς ὑμῖν γένοιτο καὶ φωνή, ὅπως ἂν εἴπητε μόνον· "Κυδίππη καλή" ἢ γοῦν τοσαῦτα κατὰ τῶν φλοιῶν ἐγκεκολαμμένα φέροιτε γράμματα.'

Jilted and rusticated, the Propertian lover of 1.18 takes a seemingly more organic view of the countryside vegetation (vv. 19–20: *uos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores, / fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo*) but only to, eventually, betray a textualist (and, in all probability, intertextualist) obsession, especially if *si quos habet arbor amores* is a sly hint not only at the relevant mythological incidents but also at the inscription Gallus proposes in *Eclogue* 10 and, of course, at the Acontius-oriented elegy of Gallus which has been universally hypothesised and in which the lover had in all probability already attempted some kind of vegetable writing. Being also more keen on vocals, the Propertian lover alternates between having the beloved name echoed by woods and hollow rocks and inscribing it in the bark (vv. 21–2: *a quotiens teneras resonant mea uerba sub umbras, / scribitur et uestris Cynthia corticibus*) but, as Hardie again has remarked, there is nothing to choose between them in terms of achieving some sense of presence.[12]

If Corydon is pointedly strange to writing, the pastoralised elegist of *Eclogue* 10 seems to display an unreformed keenness on inscription. Viewed in light of Gallus' eventual relapse, this could certainly be a symptom of his inchoate and superficial naturalisation in the pastoral world. On the other hand, the emphatic resoluteness (*certum est*) with which Gallus announces his intention to carve his *amores* in the bark in vv. 53–4 effects a spectacular *volte face* after vv. 31–4, where he envisages his love labours as being performed by the Arcadian pipes and, especially, after vv. 50–1 where he takes it upon himself to modulate whatever it is he has composed in Chalcidian verse into a performative event *pastoris Siculi auena: ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita uersu / carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor auena*.[13] And the regression toward writing

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[12] Hardie 2002, 128: 'Echo here is merely an alternative to Acontius' useless expedient of carving Cydippe's name on the bark of trees'.

[13] With regard to these lines Breed 2006, 130 rightly emphasises that apart from envisaging a movement from elegy to pastoral '[G]allus imagines subjecting his poems to another change as well, which has received less attention in the literature on the poem. The transposition is not only from elegy to pastoral, but also from writing, *carmina condita*, "poems/songs that are written", to performance, *modulabor auena*, "I will perform on the pipe"'. *condere*, a strong term which seems to capture the, so to speak, material solidity and physical visibility of the writing process, is characteristically employed of grand epic composition (cf. *Ecl.* 6.7, *condere bella* and see *TLL s.v. condo* 153.74), but the point of its use here is, I think, to enhance the 'transubstantiation' of solid, scripted matter into acoustic experience – another point readers and commentators have rather failed to appreciate. As for the much-discussed *Chalcidico ...uersu*, I believe that we should consider the possibility that *Chalcidico* refers (quite loosely, it must be admitted) to erotic subject-matter rather than to hexametric compositions in particular; otherwise one can do worse than be content with Harrison's 2007, 69 suggestion that 'we need not

sounds all the more surprising as it is decided in the same breath as the performative aspiration. This is a juncture where a scholar partial to the *Eclogues'* poetics of textuality will tend to see the mimetic fiction of performance as yet another reflexive trope for the intertextual relationship between Gallus' and Virgil's texts, which is correct as far as it goes (after all, it is true that Gallus' elegiac *amores* are being transcribed into the text of *Eclogue* 10), but is more likely than not to cause the conceit of *crescent illae, crescetis, amores* (a memorable conceit which seems to be the exclusive function of the dramatic fiction and which would take another, possibly Metaphysical, conceit to transmute into a reflexive, metaliterary ploy) to be eclipsed or to fade into a rather inconsequential addendum.[14]

I do not think it is just that. The notion of 'growing', whether it goes back to Gallus or whether it is a Virgilian supplement, makes a point of differentiating these trees from the Callimachean flora which, in Aristaenetus' version of the Acontius and Cydippe episode, lacks (as we have seen) the 'mind and voice' Acontius wishes it had in order to vocalise the Κυδίππη καλή inscription on their bark. To put it otherwise, *crescet* and *crescent* instead of perpetuating the Callimachean trees as just a writing surface which passively receives the inert, dead fixedness of carved letters make them part of the living pastoral landscape, of pastoral landscape's natural rhythms. There is room, I think, for applying a

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worry overmuch about what a Euphorionic hexameter poem rewritten in Theocritean pastoral terms might look like. This promise to transform even his Euphorionic poetry into pastoral is a hyperbolic expression of Gallus' new-found literary enthusiasm'. But, as his 'rewritten' suggests, Harrison sees writing as surviving the transition to pastoral.

**14** So, in principle, there is no quarrel with Breed 2006, 131 when he notes that 'a modulation between a written text and an oral performance serves as a reflexive trope for the specific intertextual relationship between *Eclogue* 10 and poems by Gallus' nor is it to be doubted that in '[H]ellenistic and Roman mimetic poetry, projections of a performance taking place or about to take place point not solely to the imitation of some other reality that the written text can only inadequately express. Rather, the explicit fictionality of mimesis turns to reflect on the text itself'. However, general truths about the reflexive potential of the performance fiction will hardly explain why Gallus, so emphatically keen on projecting himself into the performative fiction in vv. 31–4 and 50–1, should so suddenly turn his back on the phantasy and revert to the reality of writing; and Breed's formulation leaves the relapse completely unaccountable: 'And while *Eclogue* 10 figures the transposition of Gallus' *amores* into the poem and into pastoral as a performance in vv. 6–8, 31–4, and 50–1, the sense of *amores* is, at least for a moment, decided for text in vv. 52–4'. Does 'for a moment' betray a twinge of doubt as to the plausibility of having 52–4 follow after 6–8, 31–4 and, especially, 50–1? Further, *certum est* in v. 52, if anything, renews, or even reinforces, the general disposition expressed in vv. 50–1. To my mind, the trend from writing to performance over these lines is beyond question; and the real question is how we accommodate the inscription of v. 53 to this fact.

little more pressure here: *crescet* and *crescent* spell out the hope that these let-
ters will grow beyond their mute, isolated, inorganic condition into the kind of
vocal, responsive sylvan context of the best pastoral traditions; the hope of tran-
scending their status as visual marks in space to become an event in time, thus
reversing the process whereby the living word's closeness to human context, its
situationality, empathetic and participatory thrust – what cultural anthropolo-
gists call the 'psychodynamics' of orality – are relinquished for the sake of the
context-less, abstract space of the scripted word.[15] Far from reverting to their 'ac-
customed written form' in order to bear out the dialectics of oral fiction and tex-
tuality, as Brian Breed has recently argued,[16] I see Gallus' 'loves' as anxious to
*unscript* themselves in the sense I have just described. The un-scription is the
culmination of the three-part movement whose previous two moments are
vv. 31–34 and 50–51. *Uestra si fistula dicat amores* and *pastoris Siculi modulabor
auena* do not mark a pastoral re-writing but a shift from script to performance
and all-engulfing sound, the pastoral mode programmatically described in con-
nexion with the Tityrus of *Ecl*. 1. Gallus' *amores* carved into the natural, living
rhythms of the landscape become a constituent of pastoral plenitude and pres-
ence by contrast with Acontius' and, later, Propertius' writing which only serves
to underwrite their sense of elegiac lack and absence.[17]

I am fully aware that making a song and a dance about a written elegy of
lack as against an oral-sung pastoral of plenitude is too much of a certainty
these days. Philip Hardie has himself taken a penitent step backward from his
own distinction,[18] and, as far as I can see, if you try hard enough room can
be found for relativising that other apparently secure antithesis between city

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**15** A lucid account of what the 'psychodynamics of orality' involves is to be found in Ong 1982,
31–76, esp. 31–57.

**16** Breed 2006, 131–2.

**17** Although *amores*, emphatically featuring at the end of two successive hexameters, is no
doubt designed to capture both the 'lived' and, as a book-title, the literary experience of love,
*crescent illae, crescetis amores* sounds too sanguine, natural landscape-specific and 'organicist'
for the latter sense to get the upper hand in the reader's mind. Hardie's 2002, 127 comment on
vv. 52–4 '[i]f this alludes to the title of Gallus' elegies, *Amores*, then the implication may be that
the only presence that the elegist has the power to create is that of his poetry itself' is of a piece
with his remark at the end of a brilliant reading of the story of Apollo and Daphne (130) in
*Metamorphoses* 1 'The closest we can get to the elegiac *puella* is through reading'. I feel that this
is too reserved when it comes to *Ecl*. 10.52–4; and yet it is to Hardie that I owe a reminder about
*teneris* in v. 53 adding to the physical dynamism that, on my reading, animates these lines.
Besides, vv. 73–4: ... *cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas / quantum uere nouo uiridis se
subicit alnus* represents a similar concept which aligns the growth of *amor* with the natural,
physical growth of a tender, springtime (*uiridis*) plant.

**18** Hardie 2002, 126–132.

and countryside in Virgil's *Eclogues*.[19] But this is precisely, I think, where one should start considering cold feet about allowing a certain kind of semiotic fundamentalism to treat the mimetic fiction as just so much more water to the mill of textuality and inter-textuality, especially where genre is at issue. A decade ago, Alessandro Barchiesi was wondering about the kind of literary history that would still be viable were we to operate with a generic theory geared solely to a poetics of authorial self-consciousness.[20] Reaction to essentialism is good and resistance to reification is advisable, but in view of the fact that authors and readers, especially those in the classical world, are hardly strangers to this kind of generic essentialism and reification,[21] it is germane to the concerns of this conference, and, of course, to the questions raised by *Eclogue* 10, to ask: is a meaningful reading of the generic encounter in *Eclogue* 10 still possible if the orality-writtenness issue so firmly embodied in the dramatic fiction is viewed solely in terms of its self-deconstructing promise? Is not such semiotic determination to blame for seeing Gallus' inscription, despite the idea of living growth, as elegiac interference or relapse rather than, as I have argued, as a move toward past-oralising un-scription? The problem I have tried to highlight is that readers, ancient and presumably modern, confronted with a Gallus who longs, in the best 'Romantic' fashion, to make himself part of an apparently pre-Theocritean, pre-literate Arcadia of the living voice, are here invited to read against the grain; that in doing so they should, among other things, give Gallus' performative phantasisings, *crescent*, *crescetis* and all, the shortest possible shrift and thus see the tree on which he carves his *amores* as just another 'reflection of textuality'. Besides, readers are invited to set as little store as possible by the fact that the *Eclogue* stages an encounter between two modes of discourse whose respective myths of origin are distinctly geared to the writing-performance divide, forgetting by the way that rather than self-deconstruct such divide will tend to harden into a stereotype of generic self-fashioning and mutual exclusion when two different generic projects are pitted against each other (remember the case of all war, all male epic vs. all love, all tenderness elegy eloquently illustrated by Stephen

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**19** See, for instance, Skoie 2006. When she argues (300) that the countryside in the *Eclogues* is never far away from the city, she fails to notice that in *Eclogue* 10 the countryside is pushed as farther from the city as possible – into Arcadia; and it takes, I think, some measure of confusion between poetics and dramatic fiction to argue, as Skoie does (308–310), that there can be no sharp contrast between country and city on the grounds that the *Eclogues*' poetics is urban-Neoteric.

**20** See Barchiesi 2001*a*, 158–9.

**21** See Harrison 2007, 2–11, esp. 10.

Hinds in a paper of a few years ago).[22] *Eclogue* 10, as Professor Conte has argued, is about a display of difference between two generic projects;[23] in displaying the difference, far from being despondent about the effectiveness of pastoral discourse, the poem is, to my mind, more generically intransigent than any other piece in the collection and, as I have been arguing, the issue of a written elegy as against a performative, oral pastoral, besides being crucial to its intransigence, contextualises the poem within contemporary concerns about the relative status of writing and oral performance,[24] while also pointing to broader sociological and existential perspectives which range, conventionally but meaningfully for the reader, writing, elegy, tormented love and town on one side against orality, pastoral, free-ranging sensations and countryside on the other. Reading under the semiotic sign may be our provisionally ineluctable fate, but, it seems to me, to be meaningfully read *Eclogue* 10 invites more than a modicum of essentialist fallacy.

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**22** Hinds 2000. See, in particular, his remark (225) to the effect that '[t]he taxonomic bias of Alexandrian and Roman criticism means that essentialised characterisations of epic are most often offered in the immediate vicinity of essentialised characterizations of elegy'.

**23** Conte 1986, 100–129. In his reading of *Eclogue* 10, Harrison 2007 views the eventual incompatibility of elegy and pastoral as the principal way by which pastoral as 'host' becomes 'lastingly enriched' by elegy as the 'guest' mode. I am about to characterise *Eclogue* 10 as 'generically intransigent', so, in a way, I find the term 'enrichment' here a bit too eirenic. On the other hand, I would have no problem adopting it with a view to arguing that elegiac Gallus' aspiration to graft his written poetry onto the living body of a performative pastoral is a real enrichment of the texture of the poem's metageneric discourse.

**24** The question raised by Gallus' aspiration to transcend through vegetable writing the dead fixedness of letters can be contextualised within contemporary concerns regarding writing, oral performance, authorial presence and absence, as expounded by Habinek 1998, 103–121. Habinek argues convincingly that by referring to their written poetry books in terms of inscriptional or public writing Latin poets of the classical period wish to evoke the living authorial presence and to situate their compositions '[w]ithin a living, remembering, validating community' (121). I should point out that this is more appropriate of Gallus' *vegetable* inscription than it is of Horace *Odes* 3.30.1–2 or Catullus 1, discussed at some length by Habinek.

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# Helen Peraki-Kyriakidou

# Virgil's *Eclogue* 4.60 – 3: A Space of Generic Enrichment*

**Abstract:** In Virgil's *Eclogue* 4, in order to bring in the New Golden Era, the *puer* should first recognise the heroic achievements and virtues of the past by studying them. At the end of the poem he is asked to smile to his parents as a token of his relation to them and, therefore, of his identity. For this, two unnamed gods will reward him as proof that the *puer* accepts their values. Strong indications show that these gods are Bacchus and Venus. A number of words etymologically related to the names of these gods are used in the field of rhetoric for the values a rhetor or any civilized and intellectual person should aspire to. In this paper I contend that, through the allusion to Bacchus and Venus, Virgil defines the cultural values the *puer* must have in the Roman environment of his day. Rhetoric in its broader spectrum is a fertilizer for the poem while the poet keeps it within the bucolic frame. Theocritus' *Idyll* 16 seems to be a model.

**Keywords:** Bacchus, Cicero, Golden Era (New), metapoetic reading, pastoral, rhetoric, Theocritus, Venus, Virgil

The variety of scholarly views concerning Virgil's *Eclogue* 4 and the differences in the approaches to the work might easily act as a deterrent to adding yet another, even if it does not conflict with the commonly held view of identifying the *puer* with a specific historical, political figure.[1] This great variety, however, is the very reason for continuing the discussion on the same poem.

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**1** Many scholars have made the assertion that the *puer* must be a particular person with a specific father and a specific mother: e.g. Du Quesnay 1977, 32. They may possibly be right, but the question remains as to why the poet did not furnish more details in order to enable the *doctus lector* to decodify the historical person behind the *puer*. For those who seek to identify the *puer* with a specific person there may be two possible answers: either for 'political' reasons the poet avoided being more specific (e.g. Du Quesnay 1977, 39) or because by withholding the name of the *puer* he increased the mystic nature of the work (by playing perhaps with the Oriental and the Western tradition of the subject: Nisbet 1978). See Hardie (1998, 21), Harrison (2007, 42) on the ambiguity of the oracle. I am inclined, however, to side with those who wonder whether the *puer* does not represent a specific historical person but is rather the incarnation of hopes and expectations, a sort of a symbol of the new era and its characteristics not necessarily only on a political level but more probably on a cultural and intellectual basis. Personally I feel close to

The first verse of the *Eclogue* places the poetic attempt under the protection of the Muses, and in particular those who would allocate the work a place in bucolic poetry[2] – particularly Theocritean bucolic poetry. With the *Sicelides Musae* (4.1) it is evident that the poet aspires to be a successor of Theocritus.[3] The subject of the *Eclogue* is the birth, growth and education of the *puer* who will usher in the New Golden Era among men. The *puer* is born in the time when Apollo is reigning (*tuus iam regnat Apollo*, 10).[4] In lines 18 – 20 the Earth, in celebration of his coming, will give her presents *nullo ... cultu* (18). The description of these presents is nothing other than the visual impression of the *puer*'s first experiences[5] through the depiction of emblematic plants, as is the ivy and the smiling acanthus. If we accept that the acanthus symbolises Apollo, as has already been suggested and I have also argued elsewhere,[6] then the poet in these verses attributes to the first experiences of the *puer* a mixture of Apollonian and Bacchic elements,[7] which will form the foundation of the child's intellect. At any rate, the

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the view of Papanghelis (1995, 273 with n. 58) who wonders whether 'New Era denotes New poetry' (see also pp. 287, 299). Berg 1974 or Arnold 1994 (among others) are close to such views. In any case we should not forget that the addressee of the *Eclogue* is Asinius Pollio. Perhaps Pollio's intellectual, literary and artistic deeds could be seen as the *facta* of a 'father' (26), whose acts represented the new ideas which in turn raised the poet's hopes that the *puer* would be able to accomplish. Pollio's intended funding and founding of a library – an issue obviously under discussion in 40 BC – could represent one of these *facta*. Let us not forget that the same period was particularly important for the art and letters in Rome and that the establishment of a library could have raised the poet's aspirations that a new era was coming. Such *facta* could represent in Rome a spiritual rebirth and the *puer* could symbolise– at least in my reading –the reception of these regenerative ideas and their materialisation. Some scholars (starting with Servius, on *Ecl.* 4.4.11) seeing a historical person behind the child have identified the *puer* with one of the consul's children.

**2** Hardie (1998, 6) considers *Eclogue* 4 'the least pastoral of the *Eclogues*.'

**3** Servius, *ad loc.*; Iunius Philargyrius, *ad loc.* Cf. *Ecl.* 6.1– 2. Du Quesnay 1977, 47; Coleman 1977, on 4.1; Van Sickle 1978, 62– 3. Nisbet (1978, 59) put it in a broader context: 'These three lines [sc. 1– 3] form a proem in the Western tradition.' Nauta (2006, 328) points that the invocation of the Sicilian Muses is a common generic marker in post-Theocritean bucolic (with examples). In examining the poem, the prevailing discussion through different periods has focused on the poem's relation mainly to Theocr. *Idyll* 17 (see below, nn. 42 and 45) and Catullus 64.

**4** Apollo in the *Eclogues* has an important – or even predominant – role to play, as becomes obvious especially in *Eclogue* 6 where he is the overseer of poetic inspiration and practice. Berg 1974, 167. Peraki-Kyriakidou 2010.

**5** These are the first experiences of the *puer* which form his identity: Papanghelis 1995, 270.

**6** Elderkin 1941, 373– 380; Peraki-Kyriakidou (*forthcoming*). See, however, Mac Góráin's paper.

**7** *Baccaris* (19) is usually related to Bacchus. The mixture of Apollonian and Bacchic elements in antiquity is well known. Eur. *Troades*, 408 is characteristic: (Talthybius' words): εἰ μή σ' Ἀπόλλων

Apollonian element will be of primary importance, since the child's birth takes place under the reign of that god.[8]

Lines 26 – 30 are at the end of the first part of the *Eclogue,* while lines 31 – 36 form the middle section where the previous era is connected to the new.

> *At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis*
> *iam **legere** et quae sit poteris **cognoscere** virtus*
> *molli paulatim flavescet campus arista*
> *incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva*
> *et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.* (4.26 – 30)

> But as soon as you can read of the praise of the heroes and the deeds of the father and know what virtue means, then tender spikes of grain will be turning the field yellow and reddening grapes will be hanging from a wild thornbush and hard oak-trees will sweat out dewy honey.

In lines 26 – 27 the poet exhorts the *puer* to read the heroic past[9] (as represented by a few proper names in the middle section) along with the *facta parentis*[10] and to recognise (*cognoscere,* 27) its elements, especially its virtues (*virtus,* 27). Nature's response will be spontaneous, αὐτομάτη, as Hesiod would say (*WD* 117 – 8); the fields will turn yellow with the waving corn, reddening grapes will hang from uncultivated thorns, and tough oaks will leak drops of honey.

Reading the past constitutes a kind of cultural 'katabasis' of the *puer* into the epic world and with this and with nature's empathy Virgil completes the first part of the *Eclogue* in a way that recalls the end of the first half of his *Aeneid.* There Aeneas will descend into the Underworld where, in Anchises' prophecy, past and future meet.[11] Aeneas, 'imbued' with the past, prepares himself for the glorious future of Rome. There Anchises uses again *legere* (6.754 – 5) when he sees and shows to his son one by one the figures to be born in the future.

If at the end of the first part of the poem the poet defines the syllabus of the *puer*'s education[12] which will lead him to maturity and to the coming of the New

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ἐξεβάκχευσεν φρένας (had Apollo not caused frenzy in your mind). In the *Eclogues* this becomes manifest, especially in *Ecl.* 5.29 – 34: Peraki-Kyriakidou (2010, esp. 575) and Mac Góráin.

**8** See above n. 4.

**9** In this Hardie (2009, 28) recognises an 'unLucretian, a traditional upper-class Roman's study of the great men of the epic and historical past.'

**10** According to the end of the poem, it becomes obvious that the *parens* together with the *mater* constitute the *puer*'s immediate past. These two function beneficially in the education of the child and in his probing in the tradition.

**11** Kyriakidis 1984.

**12** Du Quesnay (1977, 63) believes that the subject of the 'rearing and education' of the *puer* is 'in accordance with the rhetorical prescription' of Menander. At the same time, however, bringing

Era in the world, at the end of the work (60 – 63) he turns us back to the age of infancy, when the infant begins to react to the world. The poet addresses the child which is still *parvus* (60, 62) and by once more using the verb *cognoscere* (60)[13] asks him to respond with a smile of recognition to his parents. In other words he asks the *puer* to become aware of his identity through this smile to his parents.

> Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem                                        60
> (matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses)
> incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti,
> nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

> Start, little boy, to recognise your mother with a smile (she was for ten months under such discomfort), start, little boy; those who did not smile to their parent, the god did not deemed worthy for the feast, and the goddess did not deem worthy for her bed.

The *puer*'s awareness of his identity– which is fulfilled through the smile – determines the way he will approach through reading, through studying, that is, the heroic subject matter. The way we read bears the characteristics of our identity, our character, our whole constitution. We read, write or create the way we are brought up.[14] The creation (in literature, in politics, or whatever) which will result from this reading will have the characteristics of the way the *puer* read and approached this heroic material. Such characteristics are obviously formed at an early stage of childhood.

These lines have been much discussed in the past.[15] The central point of controversy remains who the bearer of the smile is. Different views lead to different readings of the passage. It has been rightly said that this puzzling smile has occupied scholars as much as the enigmatic smile of Mona Lisa.[16] Is it the smile of the mother to her child or the reverse?[17] In my view it is difficult to prove who smiled first. Besides it is a *topos* in literature for a smile to be the cause of a reciprocal one. Horace, in *Ars Poetica* 101, considering that a smile is the cause of another smile, is using the phrase *ut ridentibus arrident* exemplarily about style

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Philodemus into the discussion, he thinks that 'something very like it must have been well known to Vergil.'

**13** Hardie (2009, 27) stresses the didactic character of the verb as used by Lucretius.

**14** See Du Quesnay 1977, 63 and n. 209.

**15** For Du Quesnay (1977, 67) 'the last four lines are in themselves an epithalamic topos'; see also Harrison 2007; Clausen (1994, 123) recognises a Hellenistic 'tone and manner' as in Call. *Hymn* 4.212, 214.

**16** Stuart 1921, 209.

**17** There is a variety of interpretative attempts: e. g. Greene 1916; Berg 1974, 175 – 6; Williams 1979.

to show that a *pulchrum poema*, when also *dulce*, can lead our mind and soul anywhere it wants:

> *Non satis est pulchra esse poemata: dulcia sunto*
> *et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.*                    100
> *ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt*
> *humani voltus.*    AP 99 – 102

> Not enough is it for poems to have beauty: they must have charm, and lead the hearer's soul where they will. As men's faces smile on those who smile, so they respond to those who weep, trnsl. H. R. Fairclough, Loeb rpt. 1978.[18]

Yet the puzzlement among the scholars is manifest: Some believe that the smile belongs to the child and they accept the reading: *qui non risere parenti* [Quint. 9.3.8: e.g. Berg 1974, Coleman 1977, Mynors 1977, Nisbet 1978, Williams 1979, Clausen 1994, Hubbard 2001].[19] Contrary to the above group of scholars, there are others who prefer *cui non risere parentes* [e.g. Fairclough (Loeb 1935), Della Corte 1985]. A passage that often comes into the discussion is Catullus 61.209 – 13: *Torquatus volo parvulus ... dulce rideat ad patrem / semihiante labello* (I want little Torquatus ... to smile a sweet smile at his father with his lips half-opened) which was obviously considered as the model of the Virgilian phrase.[20] On the basis, however, of ordinary pragmatic observation we must accept that the smile on the part of a child suggests his/her conscious[21] recognition of his/her parents (something that the verb *cognoscere* requires, 30).

    Unlike in other parts of the poem, the poet in lines 62 – 3 does not disclose any of the names involved in the scene. As a matter of fact, he has not named

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**18** Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.459 – 60: *cum risi, arrides; lacrimas quoque saepe notavi / me lacrimante tuas* (when I smile, you smile back to me and often / look at your tears when I am crying)*; AA* 2.201: *riserit: adride* (when one smiles at you, smile back); Sen. *De Ira* 4.2.5: *adridemus ridentibus et contristat nos turba maerentium* (we smile at those who smile at us and it afflicts us the throng of grieving people).

**19** See Servius' comment on 4.60: *sicut enim maiores se sermone cognoscunt, ita infantes parentes risu se indicant agnoscere* (As the adults understand one another through discourse, in the same way children show to recognise their parents through smiling.)

**20** Discussed by many: e.g. Fowler 1907, 72; Du Quesnay 1977, 37; Hubbard 2001, 82ff.

**21** Usually, the ancients understood that the infant's smile cannot be identical with the conscious smile of a child: Stuart (1921, 212, 217 n. 2) collects the relevant passages from Aristotle to Pliny. See also Nisbet 1978, 70 with n. 132. Stuart (1921, 216) discusses a number of instances with an infant's smile which 'are attached to the birth of children destined to a great future.' Actually this sort of smile constitutes an expression of what we call 'body language': Clarke 2005, 45f. Body language is a very strong and important component of human behaviour; every move and expression signifies something and creates a frame of discourse among men.

even the *puer* himself. Whereas in the preceding passage (55 – 59) there is a catalogue of poets/gods whom our poet proudly names, stating that he will be superior to them, in the final four verses of the *Eclogue* there is no name. The practice of *aposiopesis* in ancient diction is not a surprising matter and it is a method which facilitates the handling of the material. Virgil has created a scene in which the *puer* has to recognise his parents through a smile, in order later to have a reward from the gods. Since the *puer* is going to be compensated by the gods for his smile of recognition to his parents,[22] these parents, and the *puer* must aspire to the same cultural principles as the gods, so that the compensation makes sense. If this is correct, we have to determine who the gods are whose names are suppressed and what they stand for in the poet's world, in order to understand the cultural characteristics of the *puer*'s rearing and education.

In Servius, Servius auctus and other commentators[23] there is some conjecture as to the myths lying behind these Virgilian verses (mainly about Vulcan). From all these I would like to keep the last part of Servius auctus' scholion on 4.62: *sane 'nec deus hunc mensa' alii ita intellegunt, quasi tam cito extinctus sit, ut nec Veneri nec Libero potuerit operari* (indeed, there are others who understand the phrase 'neither the god [deemed him worthy] for the feast,' in this way, as if he died so quickly that he could not honour either Venus or Liber). In my understanding this comment is not related to a particular mythological plot. Only the names of Venus and Liber are mentioned. If indeed we are not trapped in certain mythological frames– which in my view do not help us in an overall interpretation – we might profitably turn our mind to these two gods, namely Venus[24] and Bacchus.[25]

Venus, the *φιλομμειδής*, 'laughter-loving', goddess of love, the *genetrix Aeneadum* is the goddess the poet of *De Rerum Natura* invokes to give to his

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**22** Unlike the various readings, mainly politically coloured, Berg's interpretation (1974, 175 – 6) takes a different path: 'The mother whom he recognizes, the mother who has brought him into the world after long *fastidia*, is likely to be Virgil's Muse, just as the only other mother in the fourth *Eclogue,* the mother of the poet Orpheus, is the Muse Calliope.' For Berg the major model for the end of *Ecl.* 4 remains the end of Catullus 64 (see also above, n. 20).

**23** As Stuart 1921 mentions, the discussion went on to Angelo Politian (1489) and to Scaliger (90 years later).

**24** Du Quesnay (1977, 37) is of the opinion that if the mother of the *puer* is indeed Octavia (also Nisbet 1978, 70), then the goddess must be Venus, as a divine ancestress of the Iulii; Harrison 2007, 41.

**25** Nisbet 1978, 70 – 1 has a different approach opting for Hercules 'who feasted with Zeus and took Hebe to wife'. The suggestion that behind the word *deus* is Hercules is based on the thought that Theocr. *Id.* 17 is the model of the passage, e. g. Du Quesnay 1977, 37.

words, as a Muse would do, *aeternum leporem* (a perennial charm, 1.28).[26] It is Venus whom Lucretius will ask to stand by him as a comrade in the formation of his verses: *te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse* (I am eager to have you as comrade in writing these verses, 1.24).[27]

In the *Orphic Hymn to Aphrodite*, the goddess being πάρεδρος of Bacchus enjoys the festivities:[28]

> σεμνὴ **Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε**,
> **τερπομένη θαλίαισι**, γαμοστόλε μῆτερ Ἐρώτων,
> **Πειθοῖ λεκτροχαρής**,         (7 – 9)

> revered you, mother of Cupids, who rejoice in festivities sitting next to Bacchus and prepare the wedding, you who enjoy the wedding bed with Persuasion.

Aphrodite is not only the goddess of love and beauty; she has also a close relationship with Persuasion. Similarly in Latin literature Venus was associated with *Suadela*, a goddess corresponding to the Greek goddess Πειθώ.[29] Both goddesses co-exist in Horace' *Epist*. 1.6.38:

> *Ac bene nummatum decorat* **Suadela Venus***que*[30]

> Goddess Persuasion and Venus give grace to the wealthy people.

The juxtaposition of Ἀφροδίτη–Πειθώ and *Venus–Suadela* points to the power of persuasion and gracefulness acting in mutual agreement,[31] two important qualities of the faculty of speech, written or oral.

On the other hand, Bacchus or Liber, being the god of joy, is also connected with θαλίας (festivities):

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**26** also *ita capta lepore / te sequitur cupide* (so, [each one] captured by your charm, eagerly follows you, 1.15 – 6); *musaeo ... lepore* 4.9. In Catullus (36.17) the Lucretian imagery of Venus giving *lepos* to poetry is repeated but transformed into the phrase *non illepidum neque invenustumst* with regard to poetry again.

**27** Kyriakidis 2004, 41.

**28** The close relation between Bacchus and Venus is shown also in the *Georgics*, where it is Venus who inspires a sort of bacchic frenzy [2.264 – 68].

**29** According to Cicero, the name of Πειθώ was latinized by Ennius (*Brutus*, 15: *Annales* 308).

**30** According to Porphyrio (on Hor. *Epist*. 1.6.38): *Suadela autem epitheton est Veneris, quae a Graecis Πιθώ [a nobis Venus] accipitur*, *Suadela*, however, is an adjective of Venus, who by the Greeks is conceived as Πιθώ [from us as Venus]).

**31** M. West (1978), on Hes. *WD* 73 notes that: 'a lovely person can be thought of as formed by Peitho as well as by the Charites' and this becomes obvious from Ibycus 288. West also notes that 'Peitho is coupled with the Charites and in Pind. fr. 123.14 and becomes one of them in Hermesianax 11.' See also D. West (1995, 145), on Hor. *Odes* 1.30, referring to Hor. *Epist*. 1.6.38.

*ὁ δαίμων ὁ Διὸς παῖς*
*χαίρει μὲν **θαλίαισιν**,*
(Eur. *Bacch.*, 417–18)

the god, the son of Zeus rejoices in festivities....

Both gods, therefore, love festivities, *θαλίην*: Romans could easily call it *mensa*, as in line 63 of our *Eclogue* (*OLD*, s.v. *mensa* 5, 7).

Bacchus and Venus, then, who are *πάρεδροι*, and therefore, associated in cult, exchange attributes on occasion.[32] Both were associated with speech and diction. Bacchus' name is often used as metonymy for poetry. On the other hand, Lucretius invokes Venus as a Muse to be his *socia* in writing his work, giving to it *leporem.* But both *πειθώ/suadela* and *lepos* are qualities of the utmost importance for speech, rhetoric, or poetic diction.

Both gods, therefore, can represent qualities of speech, which have application in a broad sphere of culture and *ars vivendi.*

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Some time before Virgil wrote the *Eclogues*, Hortensius, the orator, the *vox erudita,* according to Cicero [*Brut.* 6],[33] was being savagely attacked by Lucius Torquatus (at least as Aulus Gellius transmits the episode to us [1.5.3]), as *gesticulariam Dionysiamque,* a performer of mimes and a Dionysia (which was the name of the notorious dancer). In reply to his remarks Hortensius said: *Dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod tu, Torquate, ἄμουσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνυσος* (I would rather be a Dionysia, than like you, Torquatus, a stranger to the Muses, to Venus and to Dionysus).[34] Playing on the name of the dancer and the meaning of the Greek terms in Rome, Hortensius reveals the thinking of the time that when the orator is *ἄμουσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνυσος,* it was tantamount to being *subagresti homo ingenio et infestivo* (a man of rather boorish and disagreeable nature, Aul. Gell. 1.5.3). This uncouthness of spirit, to be rude, that is, and uncivilised, which was so reprehensible in rhetoric, is evidently concerned with other walks of life. The art of rhetoric sets the standards; and these standards concern not simply the narrow field of the performance of a rhetorical speech, but rather every field of life in which people could display culture and

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**32** e.g. Ovid., *AA* 1.244: *Et Venus in vinis ignis in igne fuit* (and Venus when in wine is a fire within a fire).

**33** Cicero also says that Hortensius' *ingenium,* like a statue of Phidias, was approved as soon as he was seen on stage (*Nam Q. Hortensi admodum adulescentis ingenium ut Phidiae signum simul aspectum et probatum est, Brutus* 228).

**34** Kyriakidis 1986, 76.

urbanity. According to Habinek 'Torquatus' notion of what it is to be a man is really just unappealing boorishness, a retreat, in effect, to a pre-rhetorical state of being.'[35]

The above passage from Aulus Gellius shows that these attributes not only qualify the performance of a speech but also characterise the intellectual and cultural constitution of an orator or of any intellectual person for that matter when he is deprived of the Muses, Venus and Bacchus.

The term ἀπροσδιόνυσος on occasion has a narrower meaning. Cicero is our major source. In his letter to Atticus (423 S.-B.) Cicero thinks that Atticus' answer to his previous letter was ἀπροσδιόνυσος which Shackleton Bailey renders as 'mal à propos.' This Greek phrase is also attested in the Greek literature of the imperial period. It appears in Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 612.E.8 – 9: **ἄμουσα μηδ᾽ ἀπροσδιόνυσ᾽ εἶναι**) and then in Athenaeus, books 11 and 15. In the first of the two passages from Athenaeus (494a-b), it is used in an anecdote of Ptolemy Philadelphus involving Sosibius λυτικός, 'maker of solutions', for his unacceptable suggestions concerning the Homeric text. Ptolemy satirized him for his ἀπροσδιονύσους λύσεις. The usage of the word shows that the adjective – in its more narrow meaning –has applications related to literary criticism, outside any specific rhetorical context. Similar is the situation with the term ἀναφρόδιτος which appears in the Latin text and is also attested in Greek texts.[36] The Latin language, however, had its own adjective corresponding to the above adjective or even to ἀκύθηρος:[37] it is the word *invenustus,* which was the opposite of *venustus* (in Greek ἐπαφρόδιτος).

Sometimes, instead of the substantive *venustas,* Roman poets used the name of the goddess itself as in Horace, *Carm.* 1.30.7 (invocation to Venus) whose phrase *sine te* referring to the goddess, Porphyrio explains *sine venustate* (ad loc.). In this ode it is interesting for us that she appears together with the Graces. In the *Ars Poetica* this name appears together with *virtus* as a prerequisite for the *ordo* in poetic diction: *ordinis haec virtus erit et venus* (this is the excellence and the charm of the word-arrangement, *AP* 42). What Horace instructs in these lines (42 – 5) is that the poet should be 'to the point' and avoid verbose diction, a discussion which reminds us of the meaning of the adj. ἀπροσδιόνυσος.

In a rhetorical context, Quintilian applies the term *venustus* to denote that which has grace and charm (6.3.18): *Venustum esse, quod **cum gratia quadam et venere** dicatur, apparet* (The meaning of *venustus* is obvious; it means that

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**35** Habinek 2005, 66; See also Kyriakidis 1986, 72.

**36** When this term is presented alone, the context is usually erotic.

**37** This adj. appears in a Latin text again, Cic. *Ad Fam.* 113 S.-B.

which is said with some grace and charm, trnsl. H.E. Butler, Loeb 1985). The word is very often connected with rhetorical performance, but not only so.[38] A typical example is that of Socrates as presented by Cicero in *De Oratore* 3.59–60. Socrates was one of those who scorned the *dicendi exercitationem,* yet he was distinguished *cum prudentia et acumine et **venustate** et subtilitate,*[39] *tum vero eloquentia, varietate, copia* ([he excelled] and in prudence, acuteness, gracefulness, delicacy, and in eloquence, in the variety and copiousness of expression). Like *venustas,* its synonym *lepos* had its place in the heart of rhetoric. In defining *orator* Cicero considers that *lepos* is an essential constituent: *Hunc ego appello oratorem, eumque esse praeterea instructum voce, et actione, et lepore quodam volo* (Such a man I call an orator, and would have him endowed besides with intonation, delivery and a certain charm, trnsl. E.W. Sutton, Loeb, 1976, *De Orat*. 1.213). *Venustas* (also *venus*) and *lepos* are terms related mainly to matters of rhetoric. But as rhetoric is an all-inclusive field, these terms could be applied more broadly not only to speech, but also to criticism, literary criticism, or even used as *verba poetarum*. A major example, as we have said, is Lucretius who at the beginning of his *DRN* invoked Venus to give *leporem* to his poem. *Lepos* was associated directly with *venustas* in Donatus: *nam lepos est venustas* (on Ter. *Andr.* 948).[40]

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As we have said above, the gods alluded to in lines *Ecl*. 4.63–4 must represent cultural features similar to those of the *puer*'s parents and thus of the *puer* himself. Charm and grace, these divine qualities, therefore, are transferred to the *puer* through his parents and in this way, according to the poet, he will accept the god's life: *ille deum vitam accipiet* (15). In growing up, the probing of the *puer* into the epic literature of the past will be in accordance with these qualities which will be conducive to the formation of his character. Under such circumstances will the New Golden Era come. And this is the way the heroic past will be revived in the new environmental conditions.

Rhetoric – especially in the Roman society of the day – becomes a fertlizer for the intellectual formation of the *puer*. In fact, these principles and qualities of speech constituted part of the foundation of any cultivated person.[41] This rhetor-

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**38** Cicero, for example, used the term *venustas* in performance context (e. g. *De Orat*. 2.316).
**39** Cicero's phrase in *De Orat*. 1.17 is: *subtili venustate*.
**40** Maltby 1991, s.v. *lepidus*.
**41** Habinek (2005, 61): 'It is helpful to regard rhetorical training not just as acquisition of knowledge, but more generally as a process of acculturation.'

ical layer does not conflict with the dynamics of the pastoral genre.[42] The pastoral character and its origins in Theocritus are not at stake here. On the contrary, it may be argued that the pastoral edifice has been strengthened with properties and virtues from the art of rhetoric which spread across all the literary genres. No literary genre can afford to restrict itself to its narrow limits. Rhetoric is a different domain from that of poetic diction but it may function as a common ground not only for all literary genres[43] but also for the *ars vivendi* itself. To put it in Habinek's words when talking about the surviving material from the rhetorical schools down to Quintilian's days: 'What this large body of material, viewed comprehensively, suggests is that the personal and cultural transformations brought about by rhetoric involve language, relationship to tradition, gender identity, modes of interpersonal interaction, patterns of thought, and political affiliations. In short, becoming rhetorical, or becoming eloquent, as the ancients would say, by reshaping individual subjectivity, reshapes culture – and vice versa.'[44]

*Eclogue* 4 begins by declaring its allegiance to the Theocritean model and ends – as I understand it – by visiting the Sicilian poet once again. *Idyll* 16 (*Graces or Hiero*)[45] closes with the poet's dramatic statement that he never goes anywhere uninvited, ἄκλητος; a term obviously referring to patronage.[46] He would, however, go to those who invite him, ἐς δὲ καλεύντων, with his

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**42** Du Quesnay (1977, 68) recognises the importance of rhetoric for the formation of this *Eclogue*. He believes though, that this comes through Theocritus' *Idyll* 17: 'He [sc. Vergil] looks through the Theocritean poem, as it were, *to its rhetorical skeleton*, and then he picks out various topoi and produces his own version in order to 'rival' Theocritus.' (emphasis mine). Servius had already noted that the *laudatio* of the puer was *rhetorice digesta* (it was rhetorically arranged, on 4.18).
**43** The common ground shared by rhetoric and poetry becomes manifest e. g. in Cicero (*De Orat.* 1.128): *In oratore autem acumen dialecticorum, sententiae philosophorum,* **verba prope poetarum,** *memoria iurisconsultorum, vox tragoedorum, gestus paene summorum actorum est requirendus.* (But in an orator we must demand the subtlety of the logician, the thoughts of the philosopher, a diction almost poetic, a lawyer's memory, a tragedian's voice, and the bearing almost of the consummate actor, trnsl. E.W. Sutton, Loeb 1976).
**44** Habinek 2005, 61– 2.
**45** Clausen 1994, xvi-xvii; Du Quesnay 1977, 28: 'When Vergil turned to Theocritus for a model for a poem to be written in honour of a Roman consul, *Idylls* 16 and 17, both written for βασιλεῖς, would easily have suggested themselves; and it was *Idyll* 17 that he chose as a model'; Hardie 1998, 8 also opts for *Idyll* 17 as a basic Theocritean model; also Saunders 2008, 47; Harrison 2007, 37 believes that 'Vergil does not seem to have imitated either poem [sc. *Id.* 16 and 17] closely in the *Eclogues*.'
**46** Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 7.24: Gutzwiller 1991, 163.

Muses, but also with the Graces. And the Hellenistic poem closes with the poet's wish to live always in the company of the Graces.[47]

> ὦ Ἐτεόκλειοι Χάριτες θεαί, ὦ Μινύειον
> Ὀρχομενὸν φιλέοισαι ἀπεχθόμενόν ποτε Θήβαις,
> ἄκλητος μὲν ἔγωγε μένοιμί κεν, ἐς δὲ καλεύντων
> θαρσήσας Μοίσαισι σὺν ἀμετέραισιν ἴοιμ᾽ ἄν.
> καλλείψω δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὔμμε· τί γὰρ Χαρίτων ἀγαπητόν
> ἀνθρώποις ἀπάνευθεν; ἀεὶ Χαρίτεσσιν ἅμ᾽ εἴην.     *Id.* 16.104–109

O Graces, goddesses whom Eteocles adored, O ye that love Minyan Orchomenus hated by Thebes of old, when no man summons me I will abide at home, but to the houses of them that call I will take heart and go, together with our Muses. Nor will I leave you behind, for without the Graces what has man desirable? With them may I ever dwell, trnsl. Gow.[48]

I quote Hunter discussing *Idyll* 16: 'whatever else the poem may be, it has the *wit* and *charm* which Greek literary critics would probably call χάρις or χάριτες; Theocritus has thus inscribed our response to his poem within the poem itself' and he continues 'he concluding τί γὰρ Χαρίτων ἀγαπητόν / ἀνθρώποις ἀπάνευθεν (for what do men have without the Graces which is worth cherishing?, has a poetic, programmatic reference, as well as a broad application to life as a whole.' And we should not forget that in Homer, for example, the Graces are related to Aphrodite[49] and they are σύμβωμοι, they share the same altar with Dionysus in Olympia according to the scholiast to Pind. *O.* 5.10.[50]

For me it is obvious that the phrase ἐς δὲ καλεύντων is reformed to the word *mensa* of the last line of our *Eclogue*. Virgil wished to keep his *Eclogue* within the

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**47** See Gow's comments 1950.
**48** Such a poetic idea goes back to Euripides who talks about the conflation of the Muses with the Graces:
οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας
Μούσαις συγκαταμειγνύς,
ἁδίσταν συζυγίαν.
μὴ ζώην μετ᾽ ἀμουσίας,
αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἴ-
ην. (*Hercules Fur.* 673–677, Murray)
(Never will I cease to link in one the Graces and the Muses, the sweetest union. May I never live a Muse-less life! Ever may I go garlanded!)
**49** *Il.* 5.338; *Od.* 8.364–5; 18.193–4.
**50** Schol. in Pind. *O.* 5.10b (Drachmann): Ὀλυμπίασι βωμοί εἰσιν ἓξ δίδυμοι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀνιδρυμένοι, ἑνὸς ἑκάστου βωμοῦ δύο θεοῖς καθωσιωμένου· ... **τέταρτος Χαρίτων καὶ Διονύσου** ... ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδωρος (There are six twin altars to the Olympian gods, each altar is dedicated to two gods ... the fourth, according to Herodorus, is dedicated to the Graces and Dionysus).

boundaries of his model and from this point of view we should agree with Stephen Harrison who says[51] that 'the Vergilian collection … makes great efforts to incorporate non-pastoral material into the book's overall pastoral content.' But in that case why did Virgil not imitate his model in a more straightforward way and preferred instead to dramatise a very different scene out of a rhetorical substratum? The thought may be that the Virgilian *puer* will bring the New Golden Era according to, and within the new cultural environment in Rome. Asinius Pollio, himself a reader of bucolic poetry,[52] might be the guide (*te duce,* 13). The pastoral world opens the doors to the revival of the Golden Era, to a new great world without the *vestigia fraudis* (31) of the past; a new world will be brought forth out of the Hellenistic pastoral world. The new conditions prevailing at Rome, the new literary trends, even within the bounds of neoteric poetry, and the cultivation of a refined life, the education of the Roman citizen with the principles of the rhetorical schools, created a cultural environment from which there was no return to the past. The Theocritean Charites could no longer vouchsafe the coming of the New Golden Era – centuries later – to the city of Rome with its new political and cultural environment and had to reconcile themselves to the new reality.

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**51** Harrison 2007, 35.

**52** Cf. *Ecl.* 3.84 – 5. Nauta 2006, 316.

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# Comedy and Elegy in Calpurnian Pastoral: 'Generic Interplays' in Calp. 3

**Abstract:** Calpurnian scholarship has long viewed Calpurnius' relationship with his pastoral antecedents as an attempt to widen the 'generic boundaries' of the bucolic genre. In this perspective, Calp. 3 can be read as a characteristic instance of 'generic interaction' between pastoral and elegy, which aims to enrich the pre–Calpurnian pastoral norm with standard elegiac traits. This is achieved not only through the adoption of language, style, and motifs of elegiac provenance but also, more interestingly, through the systematic imitation of Vergilian pastoral passages marked by clear elegiac qualities. This branching of Calp. 3 towards non–pastoral modes of discourse is complemented by the intrusion of a number of features of arguably comic descent, as well as by intertextual allusions to Theocritean idylls which either do not belong to the pastoral cycle or are of a peculiar 'generic standing' (e.g. Theocr. 11).

**Keywords:** Calpurnius Siculus, Vergil, Theocritus, pastoral, elegy, comedy

The third eclogue of the Calpurnian pastoral corpus[1] has long been convincingly read as a narrative, where the 'host pastoral text' interacts with elegy as the 'guest genre' (cf. especially Friedrich 1976, 59–104, Vinchesi 1991, 259–76, Fey-Wickert 2002, 22–9, 143–235 *passim*).[2] The present paper aims to build on this established 'generic interaction' and argue for complex 'generic interfaces' operating in the text of Calp. 3, beyond simple 'elegiac intrusions'. In particular, I shall argue for a multifaceted patterning of systematic and standardised intertextual allusions, forming the 'transcending generic profile' of the eclogue: non–bucolic Theocritean intertexts or pastoral intertexts of 'ambiguous bucolic generic character', combined with instances of obvious elegiac intrusions within the pastoral text of the Vergilian bucolics. These are further complemented by motifs and stylistic / linguistic options either 'de–pastoralised' towards 'elegiac generic trends' or drawn from the Roman elegiac register as a conscious author-

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**1** I follow the text of Duff and Duff 1934, 234–42.

**2** Cf. also Grimal 1978, 165, Davis 1987, 34–5, Hubbard 1998, 153 and n.20, Magnelli 2006, 467–8, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 15. Following the terminology of Harrison 2007, 16, the term 'host genre' denotes the main 'generic formation' under examination, the genre that keeps the 'dominant generic role', i.e., in the case in question, 'pastoral'. A second 'generic formation', functioning on a secondary level within the 'host genre', is designated by the term 'guest genre', i.e., elegy and comedy in our case.

ial choice. The 'generic association' of the poem with the comic genre, particularly New Comedy, will also form a significant part of the analysis.

## Methodological remarks: pastoral vs. elegy

Before embarking on the analysis proper of the 'generic identity' of Calp. 3, some initial remarks concerning the 'generic interfaces' of pastoral with elegy are in order:[3] 'generic interaction' and / or 'confrontation', especially between pastoral and elegiac discourses, lies at the heart of the pastoral genre, as early as the Vergilian eclogues. Roman elegy and pastoral, both belong to the neoteric discourse of the Augustan *genus tenue*, capitalising on the Callimachean poetological model, although pastoral seems to be a more refined and disinterested version of the Callimachean / neoteric paradigm – a song about songs, as opposed to the fiction of elegy's alleged practical usefulness (Nützlichkeit) in matters of love. Thus in Verg. *Ecl.* 10, Gallus has persuasively been read as the incarnation of a failed 'generic process'; Gallus, the exemplary elegiac lover / poet, strives, unsuccessfully, to alleviate his erotic predicament by immersing himself in the 'green cabinet' and its poetry, despite the fact that he eventually comes to realise the impracticality of this 'generic plan' (cf. especially Conte 1986, 100 – 29, Papanghelis 1995, 64 – 87, 1999, 57 – 9, 2006, 401 – 2, Hardie 2002, 126 – 7, Harrison 2007, 59 – 74). Equally compelling readings have been put forward in favour of an 'elegiasing attitude' and 'rhetoric' on Corydon's part in the second Vergilian bucolic (cf. Papanghelis 1995, 43 – 63; see also Kenney 1983, 48 – 52, Papanghelis 1999, 47 – 50, 2006, 400 – 1, Hardie 2002, 125) as well as for the elegiac 'break of faith' experienced by Damon's unnamed goatherd and Alphesiboeus' sorceress in the eighth Vergilian pastoral poem (cf. Papanghelis 1995, 87 – 100; see also Kenney 1983, 52 – 7, Papanghelis 1999, 50 – 7, Karakasis 2011, 125 – 52).

For an epigonal poet, however, as Calpurnius Siculus is, one might, with some justification, claim instead a zooming out of the earlier literary production and the fine 'generic nuances' between various literary genres, a blurred telescoping of earlier 'generic demarcations'. Be that as it may, it is of essence I think that Calpurnius' *floruit* should, in all probability, be dated in the age of Nero,[4] i.e., when a clear and close interaction between the literature of the period and the Augustan culture is observable, and, what is more, often in terms of

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**3** Cf. also Karakasis 2011, 1–11.

**4** For a Neronian date of the author (during the *quinquennium Neronis*), i.e., the *communis opinio*, also accepted in this paper, cf. especially Karakasis 2011, 36 – 7 and nn.183, 184, with the literature review and the bibliography given there.

the so–called 'aesthetics of deviation';[5] i.e., the emulation as well as the inversion of Augustan literary trends. From this perspective, Calpurnius' penchant for incorporating into his 'generically transcending' aesthetics and poetics an imitation of Vergilian passages where an obvious elegiac 'generic intrusion' is observed should not be read as accidental, especially when the bucolic poet himself draws attention to them through self–reflexive and meta–poetic comments. Vergilian emulation combined with the adoption of well–established elegiac topics and stylistic / linguistic options, as known primarily from their regular presence as *topoi* in the elegiac corpus in opposition to their random occurrences in other 'generic formations', seem crucial for the construction of the Calpurnian 'transcending poetics', significantly branching out towards 'generic discourses' not sanctioned by earlier 'pastoral generic norms'. In this frame of mind, the association of the narrative of Calp. 3 with the comic genre, as known from Roman New Comedy, also seems interesting to examine, especially if one takes into account the close association of Roman elegy with the Roman comic genre, which foreshadows, in several instances, later elegiac 'generic favourites'.[6]

A further theoretical admission follows at this juncture: Despite the fact that in Theocritean scholarship doubts have been expressed as to the distinction of various sub–groups among the Theocritean idylls (cf. Halperin 1983, Alpers 1996, 66, 147), the view adopted here is that an obvious, demonstrable division does exist between poems dealing with rural life, its merits and interests, and those not set in the country–side (cf. Karakasis 2011, 2–3 and n.9). Moreover, within the pastoral idylls themselves, there exist poems (especially *Id*. 3, 11) standing apart from the rest of the bucolic idylls in projecting several practices and values countering, as an exception to the rule, standard habits and values of the 'pastoral community' (cf. in Theocr. 11 the unpastoral playing of the syrinx; see also below, pp. 240, 246). It is thus not without significance if, in forming their 'generic profile', Theocritus' pastoral successors choose to imitate non–pastoral or 'less pastoral' instances of an otherwise well–known bucolic poet, whom, in addition, they regard as their 'generic forerunner'. The aim of the present paper is, accordingly, to examine how such a patterning of complex intertextual allusions (non pastoral–idyllic, comic and elegiac / elegiasing) may produce meaning both in terms of the closed narrative of Calp. 3 as well as within the Calpurnian poetological program as a whole.

Following Martirosova 1999, 'pastoral' is in this paper used interchangeably with 'bucolic' with a view to avoiding repetition; subtle sub–divisions between

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**5** Cf. Maes 2008, 317 and n.14, Karakasis 2011, 40.
**6** Cf. Barsby 1999, 90–1; see also Martirosova 1999, 20, James 2012, 253–68.

the notions of 'pastoral' and 'bucolic', as developed by modern criticism and its engagement with later developments of the genre in particular, do not seem applicable in antiquity, especially in Theocritus, but also in Vergil and Calpurnius Siculus (cf. also Martirosova 1999, 8–9).

# The introductory narrative

The dialogue (vv. 1–44), framing, as in the programmatic Theocr. 1,[7] the only song of the eclogue's plot, Lycidas' reconciliatory verse epistle, begins with time–honoured 'pastoral generic constituents' harking back to previous bucolic texts. This, however, is done with a view to 'generically twisting' the pastoral story towards 'generic interests' of the elegiac genus. The fortuitous meeting (cf. also Verg. *Ecl.* 7.1–2; see also Calp. 2.4–6, 5.1–2)[8] of pastoral figures, aptly labelled 'convening' by Alpers 1996, occurs in the first lines of the eclogue; two figures bearing names sanctioned by the earlier pastoral tradition, Iollas (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 3) and Lycidas (cf. Theocr. 7, Bion fr. 9.10 Reed, [Bion] 2, Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 9),[9] meet, when the former is involved in the staple pastoral occupation of looking for a lost heifer (vv. 1–6). However, whereas 'convening' in earlier pastoral is followed by an exchange of 'bucolic songs' (cf. especially Theocr. 5, 7) or a conversation of 'pastoral import' (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1), in Calp. 3 this meeting simply functions as the prerequisite for the construction of an 'elegiac discourse', namely Lycidas' amatory epistle (cf. Prop. 4.3), which aspires to put an end to his *discidium* with Phyllis, a sweetheart significantly bearing a name of clear erotic associations, almost exclusively occurring in earlier pastoral within amatory contexts of the Vergilian bucolics (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.76, 78, 107, 5.10, 7.14, 59, 63, 10.37, 41).[10]

The motif of the animal lost from the herd has its parallel in the seventh Vergilian eclogue, where Meliboeus' he–goat is similarly presented as having strayed (v. 7: *vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat*).[11] But, whereas in the Vergilian model this situation is only a way for establishing Daphnis' divine status (cf. vv. 7–9), in Calp. 3 the motif is crucially associated with the poem's 'erotic discourse'. It triggers the unfolding of the plot and functions as the 'dramatic

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**7** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 144; see also Friedrich 1976, 64.

**8** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 76.

**9** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 260 and nn.4, 5, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 185.

**10** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 66, Vinchesi 1991, 261 and n.9, Fey-Wickert 2002, 153–4.

**11** Cf. Mahr 1964, 21, Friedrich 1976, 71–2, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 156 and n.21, Vinchesi 1991, 260, Fey-Wickert 2002, 144, 146.

means' for Iollas to learn about Lycidas' erotic plight and thus to undertake the 'elegising mission' of a *praeceptor amoris*.

Iollas tells of the length of his search (v. 3: *et iam paene duas, dum quaeritur, eximit horas*) and the adversity of the landscape, whose rough butcher's broom and bramble thickets cause his feet to bleed (vv. 4 – 6). Harmful thorns similarly appear in the fourth bucolic Theocritean idyll, in vv. 50 – 3,[12] where Battus complains about being pierced by a thorn in the ankle when dealing with a heifer, as in the Calpurnian instance. The motif, however, significantly occurs in the non–bucolic thirteenth idyll of the Theocritean corpus as well, where Hercules is similarly depicted as running through thorns, forlorn because of his erotic passion for the vanished Hylas (vv. 64 – 5);[13] taking into account Calpurnius' regular usage of various non–bucolic models of the Theocritean corpus for suggesting his willingness for 'generic transcendence', 're–evaluation' (cf. Karakasis 2010, 180, 2012*a*, 27), the above distribution of the topic may also be significant as to the construction of the 'generic outlook' of these lines. What is more, the Calpurnian detailed account with its references to excessive blood–loss, crucially absent from the Theocritean instances, seems to incorporate within the pastoral narrative the so–called *locus horridus*, favoured by Neronian literature, substituting here the pastoral 'generic constituent' of the *locus amoenus*.

Lycidas' erotic passion accounts for his inability to help Iollas with his missing animal; the pastoral lover is so bewildered by his erotic plight that he has no time for anything else, Iollas' heifer included, v. 7: *non satis attendi: nec enim vacat*. Lycidas thus gives notice of his frustration as a lover and, accordingly, develops in his narrative a series of chiefly elegiac but also comic generic markers: the well–known 'erotic triangle' consisting of a lover, his beloved, and a rival *amator* (Lycidas – Phyllis – Mopsus, cf. Tib. 1.6.5 – 6, Prop. 1.8a.3 – 4, 1.15.1 – 2, Ov. *Am*. 3.4.1 – 8 and most of Roman Comedy plots),[14] the extreme pain the lover has to bear (vv. 7 – 8, cf. Tib. 2.5.109 – 10, Prop. 2.1.57 – 8, Ov. *Epist*. 12.57 – 8, Plaut. *Asin*. 591 ff.),[15] the loved one's ingratitude, especially after having received many gifts (vv. 8 – 9, cf. Prop. 2.8.11, Ov. *Epist*. 2.107 – 10, 7.27).[16] This 'generic inclination' is further evidenced on the linguistic / stylistic level, as suggested by the chiefly elegiac use of *uror* for denoting the burning of love (vv. 2 – 3, cf.

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**12** Cf. Messina 1975, 42, Friedrich 1976, 76, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 156 and n.21, 165, Vinchesi 1991, 260 and n.6, Keene 1996, 81.

**13** Cf. Verdière 1954, 243, Korzeniewski 1971, 27, Fey-Wickert 2002, 148.

**14** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 59 – 60, Fey-Wickert 2002, 183; see also Fedeli 1980, 209.

**15** Cf. Murgatroyd 1994, 230 – 1.

**16** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 262, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 156, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 187; see also Fedeli 2005, 251.

Tib. 2.4.6 – 7, [Tib.] 4.13.19 – 20, Ov. *Am*. 2.4.12) and, what is more, in a repeated syntagm, *uror, Iolla, uror*, in the line of the Ovidian Phaedra (cf. *Epist*. 4.19 – 20: *urimur intus; / urimur*),[17] the designation of the erotic rival as a *novus* (v. 9: *novum...Mopsum*, cf. Prop. 1.15.8, Ov. *Epist*. 5.1, 12.25;[18] see also Plaut. *Cas*. 782, 859) and the equally chiefly elegising use of *ingratus* for denoting the unthankful beloved of the elegiac genus (vv. 8 – 9, cf. also Catul. 76.9, [Tib.] 3.6.41 – 2, Prop. 1.6.9 – 10, 4.7.31, Ov. *Epist*. 12.21, 124, 206;[19] see also Plaut. *Pers*. 228, Ter. *Andr*. 278) as well as the use of *immodice* (v. 8) denoting the intensity of the elegiac passion (cf. also Prop. 2.15.29 – 30, Ov. *Fast*. 2.585).[20] The same elegising discourse resounds in Iollas' responding lines, which contain the topic of the elegiac lover's, especially the *puella*'s, fickleness (v. 10: *mobilior ventis o femina!*, cf. Prop. 2.9a.31 – 6, 2.16.25 – 6, Ov. *Am*. 2.16.45 – 6, *Epist*. 5.109 – 10, Hor. *Carm*. 2.8.5 – 8; see also Plaut. *Amph*. 836, *Mil*. 185 – 94, Ter. *Hec*. 312) and of the untrustworthiness of a lover's oath, (vv. 10 – 2, cf. Catul. 70.3 – 4, Tib. 1.4.21 – 6, 1.9.1 – 2, Prop. 1.15.25, Ov. *Am*. 1.8.85 – 6, *Ars* 1.631 – 6; see also Plaut. *Cist*. 472).[21]

Most of the above elegiac / comic markers, however, have a pastoral parallel as well, but drawn from settings where a 'pastoral dislocation' towards the 'elegiac mode' is observable; Calpurnius thus seems to deliberately opt for pastoral intertexts adding to his 'generically innovative' pastoral discourse. The situation where a lover deplores his alienation from his darling due to the intervention of a rival alludes first and foremost to Gallus' erotic plight of the 'generically diversifying' tenth Vergilian eclogue (see above, p. 232).[22]

The 'generic tension' of this Vergilian model seems to be operating in the present Calpurnian eclogue as well, for Lycidas too is trying to overcome his passion by means of an elegising song (like Gallus' 'Lycoris–elegy', cf. Verg. *Ecl*. 10.44 – 9) within a bucolic (textual) setting. This 'elegiac inclination' of

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**17** Cf. Pichon 1966, 301, Korzeniewski 1971, 27, Pearce 1990, 66, Vinchesi 1991, 261, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 152, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 186; see also Maltby 2002, 418.

**18** Cf. Pichon 1966, 216, Korzeniewski 1971, 93, Vinchesi 1991, 261, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 154 – 5; see also Fedeli 1980, 341.

**19** Cf. Pichon 1966, 169, Vinchesi 1991, 261, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 153; see also Fedeli 1980, 175, Navarro-Antolín 1996, 506 – 7, Bessone 1997, 92.

**20** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 261, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 152 – 3; see also Fedeli 2005, 458.

**21** Cf. Verdière 1954, 243 – 4, Otto 1964, 231 – 2, Messina 1975, 43, Friedrich 1976, 77 – 8, 214, Gagliardi 1984, 38 and n.36, Amat 1991, 105, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 156 – 9, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 187; see also Nisbet – Hubbard 1978, 122 – 3, Fedeli 1980, 353, 2005, 295, Hollis 1977, 131 – 2, McKeown 1989, 245, 1998, 362 – 3, Murgatroyd 1991, 139, 259, Maltby 2002, 221 – 2, Perrelli 2002, 136.

**22** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 62, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 187.

Calp. 3 further alludes to both Damon's and Alphesiboeus' song–topics in the eighth Vergilian eclogue, whose elegiac undertones have been detected by previous scholarship (see above, p. 232), where, respectively, a goatherd loses his beloved Nysa to a rival Mopsus and a pastoral sorceress is faced with her pastoral husband's adultery with an urban lady.[23] Moreover, the image of a lover 'on fire', as evoked by *uror*, harks back to yet another pastoral intertext of 'elegiac generic propensities', the 'elegiac discourse' of Corydon in the second Vergilian eclogue, when, before returning to the 'pastoral orthodoxy' of the last lines, he acknowledges his 'elegiac behaviour', v. 68: *me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amori?*.[24] The question of the line, namely the reference to the lack of erotic *modus* with reference to Corydon' s infatuation, further evokes the notion of a strong erotic passion, that both the elegiac (see above, p. 236) and the Calpurnian *immodice* (cf. Calp. 3.8) also imply. The Calpurnian formulation by means of the adverb *immodice* significantly alludes to the 'elegiac disposition' of Gallus in Verg. *Ecl.* 10 as well; Pan, a characteristic pastoral god, pays the elegiac poet a visit, when the latter is pining away with non–reciprocated elegiac love (cf. v. 10), and similarly asks of Gallus' elegiac fascination for Lycoris, *ecquis erit modus?* (v. 28).[25] Last but not least, the image of a lady distraught on account of her lover's absence, as suggested in the case of Phyllis (vv. 10 – 2), also has a pastoral intertext of a 'generically ambivalent character'; it alludes to Amaryllis in the first Vergilian eclogue,[26] who is similarly depicted as saddened, because of Tityrus' absence, as well as indifferent to every day agricultural activities (vv. 36 – 8). This image crucially belongs to a narrative part where the eclogue seems again to move away from the 'pastoral beaten track', towards the comic and the elegiac 'generic realm', as suggested by the figure of the squanderer spouse Galatea, the notion of *libertas* and a slave's *peculium* (vv. 30 – 5).[27]

Lycidas promises his pastoral fellow to let him know of his erotic troubles, when not preoccupied with the loss of the animal and, accordingly, bids him search for it so that later he can listen in leisure to Lycidas' quandaries (vv. 13 – 4); the landscape where this pursuit of the animal should take place, however, with its common pastoral trees, the willows and the elms (v. 14: *has pete nunc salices et laevas flecte sub ulmos*), and the shady coolness of a summer hot day (vv. 15 – 6) calls to mind the typical pastoral *locus amoenus* often func-

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**23** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 66, Fey-Wickert 2002, 156, 166, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 187.
**24** Cf. Davis 1987, 34.
**25** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 261, Fey-Wickert 2002, 152.
**26** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 263 and n.16, Fey-Wickert 2002, 159.
**27** Cf. also Coleman 1977, 78 – 9, Papanghelis 1995, 193 – 4, Martirosova 1999, 74 – 5, Hardie 2002, 125 and n.36, Karakasis 2011, 134 – 5.

tioning as the dramatic setting for the pastoral activity par excellence, singing (cf. e. g. Theocr. 5.31–4, Verg. *Ecl.* 7.9–13). The setting is here associated with Lycidas' bull in rest, the object of the lost heifer's affection, stretching out in the cool shadow and masticating his cud (vv. 15–7), an image recalling another Vergilian 'pastoral passage', with alternative 'generic tendencies', namely Verg. *Ecl.* 6.53–4,[28] where Pasiphae's darling is similarly presented as reclining on supple hyacinths, in the shadow of an ilex, and chewing his grass (*ille latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho / ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas*). The Vergilian parallel, however, drawn from a narrative segment dealing with Pasiphae's story, popular in Roman elegy, and replete with stylistic markers of the epylliac style (tale within a tale narrative structure (vv. 45 ff.), apostrophe introduced by the interjectional *a!* (v. 52), etc.) also adds, because of its peculiar 'generic character', to the 'generic diversity' of the Calpurnian recipient text.[29] What is more, the image of the reclining bull also appears in Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, cf. v. 421, whereas the picture, within an erotic context, of the animal chewing grass further alludes to Ov. *Am.* 3.5.17,[30] where the bull of the poet's dream, standing for the elegiac poet / lover himself, is also presented as masticating his food; this 'elegiac image' is supplemented by the 'elegiac syntagm' *spatiare in umbra* (cf. Calp. 3.16: *spatiosus in umbra*) occurring in Prop. 4.8.75 and Ov. *Ars* 1.67.[31]

Iollas is so interested in Lycidas' erotic quarrel with Phyllis that he delegates the task of looking for the vanished animal to his helper, Tityrus (vv. 18–23). Leaving menial tasks to a pastoral assistant is a common motif of the bucolic tradition (cf. Theocr. 3.2–5, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.12, 9.23–5),[32] creating the sense of a time–honoured 'generic pastoral surface', further complemented by the detail of driving the animal back to the flock with a crook (vv. 20–1), which alludes to a similar situation in the bucolic Theocr. 4.45–9,[33] where Corydon is similarly presented as wishing to drive his animals up the hill with the poke of a curved stick. However, the assignment of pastoral everyday activities to a third person func-

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**28** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 18–9 and n.1, Verdière 1954, 244, Vinchesi 1991, 263, Amat 1995, 81, Fey-Wickert 2002, 160, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 188.

**29** Cf. Papanghelis 1995, 148–51.

**30** Cf. Verdière 1954, 244, Friedrich 1976, 78, Vinchesi 1991, 263, Keene 1996, 82, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 188.

**31** Cf. Verdière 1954, 244, Vinchesi 1991, 263, Fey-Wickert 2002, 161; see also Hutchinson 2006, 203.

**32** Cf. Paladini 1956, 531 and n.2, Korzeniewski 1971, 93, Messina 1975, 44, Friedrich 1976, 72, 213, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 156 and n.22, Pearce 1990, 67, Amat 1991, 27, Keene 1996, 82, Fey-Wickert 2002, 145.

**33** Cf. Leach 1975, 213, Vinchesi 1991, 263–4, Fey-Wickert 2002, 163.

tions in pre–Calpurnian pastoral as a means for alleviating the pastoral singer from his menial burden so that he can devote himself to the pastoral occupation par excellence, i. e., bucolic singing. On the contrary, in Calp. 3, it is simply a means for Iollas to adopt the elegiac stance of a *praeceptor amoris,* consulting the distressed lover as to the way the latter should act for winning back his sweetheart. What is more, Iollas' advice will bring about an elegising song in letter form (*Werbende Dichtung* fashioned as an erotic epistle, where the name of both the sender and the recipient are given as well as the distraught lover's predicament, in the line of the Ovidian *Heroines*),[34] meant to appease Phyllis' wrath and lead to the couple's reunion. Another element of Iollas' elegising 'generic profile' is his repetition of a well–known motif of the elegiac discourse, that of holding a god accountable for the separation of a couple in love, v. 23: *quis vestro deus intervenit amori?*, cf. also Tib. 1.5.19 – 20, Prop. 1.12.9, Ov. *Epist*. 5.5, 7.4.[35] The use of *iurgia* in vv. 22 – 3: *quae noxam magna tulere iurgia?* further points to the elegiac 'generic preferences' of Calp. 3; at Verg. *Ecl*. 5.10 – 11 *iurgia Codri* along with *Phyllidis ignes* and *Alconis laudes* are presented as the conventional pastoral subject matters that Menalcas chooses as song–topics for a friendly song–exchange with his fellow–pastoral singer Mopsus. Besides, bickering between pastoral characters forms part of the pastoral narrative framing the very bucolic song or functions as topic of the pastoral song itself (cf. Theocr. 5, Verg. *Ecl*. 3, Calp. 6); the term here, however, applies to the erotic quarrel of a couple in a consummated love–affair, of the kind marking the Roman elegiac genre. From this 'generic perspective', Lycidas' earlier use of a distinct neoteric term, *vacare* (v. 13: *si forte vacabis*), seems to be significant as far as the meta–poetics of the passage in question is concerned. Lycidas promises his interlocutor to reveal his elegiac plight, when in leisure; in other words he undertakes an elegiac poetic discourse, when, on a meta–poetic level, the *otium poeticum*, indispensable for the production of neoteric poetic discourse, is also secured.

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**34** Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 93 – 4, 1972, 215 and n.5, Friedrich 1976, 87, Effe – Binder 1989, 113, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 157, Vinchesi 1991, 268 – 9, 1996, 38, Fey-Wickert 2002, 186 – 7, Simon 2007, 172.

**35** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 264, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 165, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 189.

# Lycidas' account of his erotic plight; Iollas' reaction

The 'generic outlook' of this narrative piece (vv. 24 ff.) is also construed by means of elegiac topics and style as well as through the medium of pastoral texts exhibiting a certain 'pastoral alienation' towards the elegiac 'generic code'. The 'diversifying generic status' of the lines is further complemented by allusions to pastoral texts of a particular 'generic status' like Theocr. 3, which functions as a rustic version of an urban topic, the *komos*, with clear comic implications (cf. Hunter 1999, 110, Karakasis 2011, 194 – 5) or the eleventh Theocritean idyll, also standing out of the main bucolic Theocritean pastoral production, both due to its language and meter (e. g. rare Dorisms, frequent breaches of Callimachean metrical rules) and the rather 'unpastoral' situations it describes (e. g. the playing of the syrinx by Polyphemus in the night, cf. Hunter 1999, 217–8, 234, Karakasis 2011, 200 – 1). The 'generic patterning' of the passage is complemented by non–bucolic intertexts of an otherwise pastoral model author (Theocritus).

Lycidas starts with the motif of the elegiac contentment with the love of one beloved only, v. 24: *Phyllide contentus sola*. This topic of erotic and sexual exclusivity is for the most part favoured by the elegiac neoteric discourse of the *genus tenue*, in opposition to pastoral, which, as a rule, prefers a looser attitude towards sex.[36] The linguistic means for expressing this erotic exclusiveness, namely *contentus*, comes again chiefly from elegiac (and up to a point comic) diction, cf. Catul. 68.135, Prop. 2.30b.23, 4.11.91, Ov. *Epist.* 5.9 – 10, see also Plaut. *Merc.* 824, Afran. *tog.* 117 Ribb.,[3] Ter. *Eun.* 122.[37] The mention of a rejected erotic rival's name, as is the case of the spurned Callirhoe here (v. 25: *Callirhoen sprevi*), also appears in the 'generically peculiar' third Theocritean idyll, cf. Theocr. 3.34 – 6, where the anonymous goatherd tries to intimidate Amaryllis by bringing up Mermnon's slave–girl, willing to accept his affectionate gifts. This rhetorical device notably also appears in the elegiac discourse of the love–struck Corydon of the second Vergilian eclogue, when in vv. 14 – 6, 40 – 4 the 'elegising' pastoral lover sets out to inflame Alexis' erotic jealousy by referring to a certain Amaryllis, a dark Menalcas, and a Thestylis, keen to receive his love–gifts.[38] What is more, the representation of the erotic competitor, Callirhoe, as an *uxor*

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**36** Cf. Karakasis 2011, 216.

**37** Cf. Pichon 1966, 112, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 168, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 189; see also Hutchinson 2006, 247.

**38** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 264, Fey-Wickert 2002, 169.

*dotata* (cf. v. 25: *quamvis cum dote rogaret*)[39] also brings the narrative close to the 'generic interests' not only of the elegiac genre, as the Ovidian elegiac heroines occasionally raise the issue of their dowry (cf. Ov. *Epist*. 3.55, 6.117–8, 7.149; see also Prop. 1.8b.35),[40] but also to comedy, where women with considerable fortune are stock 'generic characters' (e.g. in Plautus' *Asinaria*, *Casina*, *Menaechmi* or in Terence's *Phormio*).[41] The elegiac colouring is linguistically increased by the use of *spernere* of erotic scorn (cf. Tib. 1.4.77, 1.8.55, Prop. 2.18a.7, Ov. *Am*. 3.6.65, *Epist*. 4.168, *Fast*. 3.553; see also Hor. *Carm*. 1.9.15–6, Plaut. *Mil*. 1050)[42] as well as of *rogare* in the sense of 'to solicit for favours', 'make overtures to' in v. 25, cf. OLD 7c, Catul. 8.13–4, Tib. 1.4.55, Prop. 2.4.2, Ov. *Am*. 1.8.43–4, *Ars* 1.708.[43] The picture of Phyllis making a wax-joined pipe and singing under a typically pastoral shady oak (cf. Theocr. 5.44–5, 60–1, 7.88–9, Calp. 2.12) with Mopsus as her company in song (vv. 26–7) brings to mind once again the elegiac discourse of Verg. *Ecl*. 2, where, in vv. 28ff.,[44] Corydon tries to convince his darling boy Alexis to dwell in the woods and to entice him by talking about the quality of their prospective 'joined song' in the 'green cabinet', able to rival a pastoral divinity of musical attributes, Pan (v. 31: *mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo*).

What is more, 'pastoral apprenticeship' which lies at the heart of pastoral poetics, as evidenced by the regular pastoral focus on the relationship between a bucolic teacher and his pupil (Verg. *Ecl*. 2.36–8 (Damoetas and Corydon); see also 5.85 (Menalcas and Mopsus), Calp. 4.59–63 (Tityrus, Iollas and Corydon)),[45] is here used as a means for courting an engaged lady, that is for the construction of an elegiac situation par excellence, the elegiac triangle, which also brings to mind 'elegiac inclinations' of the Vergilian pastoral corpus, such as the liaison between Gallus, Lycoris and her soldier lover of the 'generically semantic' tenth Vergilian eclogue.[46] Mopsus is teaching Phyllis how to join the pipe–reeds with wax, that is they engage in a major pastoral occupation (vv. 26–7, cf. The-

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**39** Cf. also Messina 1975, 44 and n.19, Friedrich 1976, 207–8, Vinchesi 1996, 92.

**40** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 264, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 189, Fey-Wickert 2002, 170; see also Piazzi 2007, 259.

**41** Cf. Duckworth 1952, 283.

**42** Cf. Pichon 1966, 267, Vinchesi 1991, 264 and n.22, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 169; see also Murgatroyd 1991, 157, Perrelli 2002, 258–9.

**43** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 170; see also Pichon 1966, 254, McKeown 1989, 223, Fedeli 2005, 160–1.

**44** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 172.

**45** Cf. Papanghelis 1995, 156–7.

**46** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 166–7. 'Pastoral apprenticeship' associated with a love–story later occurs in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. 1.24.4); see Vinchesi 1991, 265 and n.24.

ocr. 1.128 – 9, [Theocr.] 8.18 – 9, Verg. *Ecl*. 2.32 – 3, 3.25 – 6),[47] which eventually leads to an elegiac situation. This is the first instance in pastoral tradition of a female character playing the pastoral pipe, with the exception of Bucaeus' darling, Polybotas' daughter, in the agricultural and not pastoral tenth Theocritean idyll, vv. 15 – 6.[48] 'Music' (flute, lute) girls do not regularly belong to the 'green cabinet' but are, instead, stock characters of the comic genre as female figures of easy virtue (cf. Plaut. *Epid*. 403, Ter. *Eun*. 457, 985, *Ad*. 476).[49] Thus the perception, on Lycidas' part, of Phyllis' apprenticeship in pastoral music under the teaching of Mopsus, who helps Phyllis join reeds with wax (cf. Duff and Duff 1934, 237) i.e., of a pastoral liaison par excellence, as evidence of a love–affair leading to comic or elegiac situations, may also be due to Lycidas' viewing the liaison between Phyllis and Mopsus through the 'generic lens' of the comic mode, especially when no signs of flirting or love–making between these two bucolic figures are reported, not even by Lycidas himself when describing the disturbing incident (vv. 26 – 30). Thus Lycidas, out of jealousy / erotic sorrow, an emotion conveyed through the common elegiac use of *ardere*[50] (v. 28, cf. Ov. *Rem*. 287 – 8, *Ars* 2.377 – 8; see also Ter. *Eun*. 72), also found in the urban mime of Theocr. 2.40 (καταίθομαι) as well as in the elegiac rhetoric of Verg. *Ecl*. 2.1, experiences a further reaction not sanctioned by the 'pastoral tradition', when he attacks his beloved, tears open her garments and strikes her uncovered breast (vv. 28 – 30). Violence of this type is associated with both 'comic' and 'elegiac love' (cf. Menander's *Perikeiromene*, *Rhapizomene*, Plaut. *Bacch*. 859 – 60, *Cist*. 522 ff., *Truc*. 926 – 7, Ter. *Ad*. 120 – 1, *Eun*. 646; as for elegy cf. also Tib. 1.1.73 – 4, 1.6.73 – 4, 1.10.59 – 66, Prop. 2.5.21 – 4, 2.15.18 – 20, 3.8.8, 4.5.31, Ov. *Am*. 1.7.47 – 50, *Ars* 2.169 – 71, 3.567 – 70; see also Hor. *Carm*. 1.17.25 – 8).[51]

The motif is also attested in the Theocritean corpus, significantly, however, in the non–bucolic mime of Theocr. 14,[52] i.e., a non–pastoral idyll, owing much

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**47** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 171.

**48** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 265.

**49** Cf. also Ireland 1992, 87, Rosivach 1998, 179 and nn.9, 10, 11, 12, Traill 2008, 39; see also Habrotonon of the *Epitrepontes*, Men. *Per*. 340, Arnott 1996, 405.

**50** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 79, 215, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 173; see also Pichon 1966, 89, Pinotti 1993, 179.

**51** Cf. McKeown 1989, 162, Korzeniewski 1971, 93, Friedrich 1976, 79 – 80, 215, Vinchesi 1991, 266, 1996, 93, Keene 1996, 84, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 174 – 5, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 189 – 90; see also Nisbet – Hubbard 1970, 226, Murgatroyd 1991, 204, 293, Maltby 2002, 277, Fedeli 2005, 185 – 6, 452 – 3, Hutchinson 2006, 144, Mayer 2012, 95.

**52** Cf. Schenkl 1885, xxii, Cesareo 1931, 22 – 3, Verdière 1954, 244, 1966, 169 and n.58, Mahr 1964, 20 – 1, Messina 1975, 41, 44, Friedrich 1976, 73 – 4, 79, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 157, Amat 1991, 105, Keene 1996, 84, Fey-Wickert 2002, 175, Magnelli 2006, 467, 468, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008,

to the 'generic favourites' of comedy (e. g. the motif of a military service far off, as an antidote to a broken love–affair[53]). Aeschinas there similarly attacks his beloved Cynisca, because the latter has feelings for a rival, Lycos, an act of violence which results in the ending of Aeschinas' love–affair and to Cynisca's also leaving their shared home (vv. 35 – 6). The fashioning of Calp. 3 after Theocr. 14 is further evidenced by the fact that in both instances it is a song that leads to the lover's aggressive behaviour, namely Phyllis' singing along with Mopsus in Calp. 3 and the song of Lycos in Theocr. 14, as well as by the cow / bull simile applied to both victimised girls (cf. Calp. 3.1– 9, 96 – 8, Theocr. 14.43). The 'elegiac inclination' of the Calpurnian lines in question is also underscored by the typical elegiac imagery of the *exclusus amator* in vv. 33 – 4, where Lycidas expresses his fear that Phyllis will deny him entry into her dwelling (cf. also Tib. 1.2.31, Prop. 1.16.23 – 4, Ov. *Am*. 1.6.17 – 8; see also [Theocr.] 23.17);[54] the situation appears in comedy as well (cf. Plaut. *Curc*. 147 – 57, Ter. *Eun*. 771 – 816, *Ad*. 120).

Iollas adopts the typical stance of the elegiac *praeceptor amoris* and gives his pastoral interlocutor a piece of advice, elsewhere attested in elegy (cf. Ov. *Am*. 3.4.43 – 6), namely indulgence to a lady's demands, especially when Lycidas is to be blamed for starting the quarrel with her (vv. 36 – 9). This guidance is crucially formulated here by way of the well–known elegiac imagery of the surrendered hands (v. 37: *victas tende manus; decet indulgere puellae*, cf. also [Tib.] 3.4.64, Ov. *Am*. 1.2.19 – 20, 1.7.28, *Ars* 1.462, *Epist*. 4.14, 17.260, 21.240, *Fast*. 3.688),[55] pointing in its turn to the familiar, in both comedy and elegy, topic of the *militia amoris* (cf. Plaut. *Pers*. 231 – 2, Caec. *com*. 66 – 7 Ribb.,[3] Ter. *Eun*. 59 – 61; see also Catul. 66.13 – 4, Tib. 1.1.75 – 6, 1.10.53 – 6, Prop. 3.8.29 – 32, Ov. *Am*. 1.9, *Epist*. 17.253 – 60)[56] as well as through the use of *nocere* (v. 38: *vel cum prima nocet*) also denoting the culpability, the erotic fault of a lover in Roman love–elegy, cf. Ov. *Am*. 1.7.59, 2.19.14, *Ars* 2.412, *Epist*. 7.61.[57] He additionally presents himself as eager to take on the elegiac role of the go–between, also

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189 – 90 vs. Wendel 1901, 54, Hubaux 1930, 222 – 3; see also Leach 1975, 213, 228 and n.24; for a reserved view, cf. Vinchesi (1991, 259): 'benché si sia in qualche caso esagerato, io credo, nel voler individuare un rapporto diretto, esclusivo, fra Calpurnio e Teocrito', 266.

**53** Cf. Verity (Hunter) 2002, 103.

**54** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 83 – 4, Fey-Wickert 2002, 184 – 5; see also McKeown 1989, 132.

**55** Cf. Verdière 1954, 245, Friedrich 1976, 95, Vinchesi 1991, 267, 1996, 38 and n.62, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 179, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 190, 195; see also McKeown 1989, 44, Michalopoulos 2006, 354 – 5.

**56** Cf. McKeown 1989, 257 – 9, Murgatroyd 1991, 69, Maltby 2002, 149, Perrelli 2002, 42, Michalopoulos 2006, 353, Heyworth – Morwood 2011, 174.

**57** Cf. Pichon 1966, 214, Vinchesi 1991, 267, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 180.

appearing in the second Theocritean urban mine, 94 ff.[58] (cf. Tib. 2.6.45 – 6, Prop. 3.6.5, Ov. *Am.* 1.11.7 – 8, *Ars* 1.383 – 5, 3.621 – 6) and thus to help with the reconciliation of the estranged couple, i.e., by bringing a poem–letter of Lycidas to Phyllis (vv. 38 – 9).

Such a mission, however, constitutes one of the main dramatic undertakings of a slave character, more often than not of the *servus callidus*, in Roman New Comedy as well, who is often called upon to assist his young master, when erotically distressed (cf. Ter. *Haut.* 300 – 1). The situation in question is also developed, as earlier remarked, in the second Theocritean non–pastoral idyll, cf. vv. 94 – 103, where Thesytlis is similarly asked by Simaetha to function as a mediator between herself and her beloved Delphis. The means for securing Phyllis favours will thus be again a poem / song, as elsewhere in elegy (cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.281 – 6),[59] for, according to Lycidas, his sweetheart much appreciates his poetic production, v. 42: *et solet illa meas ad sidera ferre Camenas*, a situation approximating Prop. 2.24.21 – 2, where Cynthia, also enjoying the love of a rival lover, is similarly depicted as having been praising the quality of the poet's lyrics in the recent past.[60] The designation of his poetry through the term *Camenas*, a term without poetological specialisation, instead of the Nymphs, i.e., the pastoral goddesses par excellence who preside, in preference to the Muses, over pastoral space and poetry,[61] may also be read as a 'generic sign' for the 'generic movement' of Lycidas' reconciliatory poetry away from established strictly pastoral 'generic preferences'.

The way Iollas is willing to bring Lycidas' erotic letter to Phyllis further hints to the elegiac 'generic propensities' of the lines under consideration, as this task is associated with the motif of writing in the pastoral world, a key topic always pointing to various 'generic interactions' operating within the pastoral host–text. Iollas will carve Lycidas' lyrics on the bark of a cherry–tree, cut away the carved part and bring it to Phyllis (vv. 43 – 4). In pre–Calpurnian pastoral, writing appears once in the non–pastoral eighteenth Theocritean idyll, vv. 47 – 8, where a tree–inscription is meant to honour Helen, and twice in the Vergilian eclogues: once in the fifth pastoral, where Mopsus marks the words and the tunes of his lyrics on a green beech–bark (vv. 13 – 5), that is within a poem dealing, as elsewhere shown (cf. Karakasis 2011, 153 – 83), with the 'generic interaction' of pastoral and panegyric poetics and the genesis of a new reformed Roman pastoral

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**58** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 80, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 184; see also McKeown 1989, 308 – 9, Maltby 2002, 478.

**59** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 268.

**60** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 265, 1996, 38 and n.61.

**61** Cf. Cf. Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 153 – 7, Karakasis 2011, 18 – 9.

tradition, where traditional pastoralism is blended with, clear enough, touches of political encomium. In Calp. 1 as well the omen of Faunus, also heralding a new bucolic tradition of a clearly panegyric colouring, is similarly carved on a beech–tree.[62] But the motif of writing in erotic settings has its parallel in the tenth Vergilian eclogue, where Gallus, according to the elegiac ethos once again, is presented as willing to carve his love–poems on the bark of trees (vv. 53–4). The writing–motif, drawn from the Acontius and Cydippe story of Callimachus' *Aetia*, the elegiac poem par excellence for the Romans, and frequently occurring in the elegiac register of Roman poetry (cf. Prop. 1.18.22, Ov. *Epist*. 5.21–5)[63] further underscores the 'elegiac generic tendencies' of the Calpurnian passage, although in the Calpurnian version it is not the lover who carves the love–song but his erotic counselor.

# Lycidas' song

From v. 45 Lycidas' song begins,[64] and up to v. 55 one reads various complaints of the deserted lover: in this case as well the largely elegiac / comic motifs and stylistic / linguistic options incorporated in the narrative are combined with various pastoral interexts further suggesting the 'generic ambivalence' of the poem in question: i. e., yet again pastoral models exhibiting 'generic transgression' towards the elegiac 'generic code' (e. g. Verg. *Ecl*. 2, 10, etc.), pastoral intertexts of a rather 'shaky pastoral caliber', as is the case with Theocr. 3 and 11 (see above, p. 240),[65] non–bucolic poems of an otherwise pastoral poet like Theocritus, as well as various other model texts, where a 'generic interaction' builds their 'generic profile', eventually affecting the 'generic outlook' of the Calpurnian lines as well. This happens for example with Ov. *Met*. 13.719 ff., i. e., the story of Polyphemus, Galatea and Acis, where a range of 'generic interfaces' between pastoral, elegy and epic are at the heart of the passage's poetics (cf. Farrell 1992, 235–68). Alternatively several motifs associated in the earlier pastoral tra-

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**62** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 80–1, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 156 and n.23, Fey-Wickert 2002, 181.

**63** Cf. Messina 1975, 46, Vinchesi 1991, 268, 1996, 95; see also Fedeli 1980, 434, Knox 1995, 146–7, Papanghelis 1995, 80–2, Hubbard 1998, 151 and n.18. For a reference, in vv. 43–4: *nam cerasi tua cortice verba notabo / et decisa feram rutilanti carmina libro*, to the red colour in the margins of a papyrus roll or red coloured incised letters, cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 93, Vinchesi 1991, 268; see also 1996, 95, Fey-Wickert 2002, 182.

**64** For the structure of Lycidas' song, cf. especially Friedrich 1976, 85–7, Fey–Wickert 2002, 182–5.

**65** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 82.

dition with situations sanctioned by the bucolic genus are here transferred in an 'elegiac state of affairs', also pointing to the changed Calpurnian 'generic preferences'.

Lycidas starts off with the elegiac topic of the lover's sleeplessness (cf. Catul. 68.5–8, Tib. 1.8.64, Prop. 1.16.39–40, 4.3.29 ff., Ov. *Am*. 1.2.3, *Epist*. 8.107–10, 11.29, 12.57–8, 169–70; see also Plaut. *Merc*. 24–5, Ter. *Eun*. 219, Hor. *Carm*. 3.7.7–8),[66] presenting his reconciliatory song as being performed during a lover's wakeful night (vv. 45–7). However, according to the pastoral norm, singing is regularly the outcome of the 'convening' of two or more pastoral figures whiling away the heat of a summer noontide, while the song of a lone performer and, what is more, during the night, recalls the 'unpastoral' night–time playing of the *syrinx* by Cyclops in Theocr. 11.38–40, a fact accounting, along with other thematic and stylistic / metrical reasons, uncommon in pastoral (e.g. the unusual animal mixture in vv. 40–1; see above, pp. 233, 240), for its standing outside the main Theocritean pastoral tradition. The sadness the lover experiences due to his alienation from his beloved (vv. 46–7) recalls Corydon's similar feelings, voiced as part of the 'elegiac discourse' he constructs for winning the favours of the urban *puer* Alexis, at Verg. *Ecl*. 2.6 ff. As for the wakefulness of the lover (v. 47: *et excluso disperdit lumina somno*), the immediate 'idyllic' model comes from a non–pastoral Theocritean poem, namely the agriculture mime of Theocr. 10,[67] where in v. 10 Bucaeus asks his fellow–reaper Milon whether he has ever experienced a sleepless night out of love. The tears of an *exclusus amator*, a further elegiac stock topic (cf. Prop. 1.16.47–8, 3.25.9, Ov. *Am*. 1.6.17–8, *Rem*. 36), as suggested by the *exclusus* Lycidas' weeping, because of his separation from his beloved (v. 47: *dum flet*), recalls yet another non–pastoral idyll, namely the crying of the homoerotic scorned lover of [Theocr.] 23 (cf. vv. 17 ff.).[68] The image of these tears of love as harmful to the lover's eyes (v. 47: *dum flet et excluso disperdit lumina somno*) also has an elegiac record (cf. Catul. 68.55–6, Tib. 1.8.68, Prop. 1.18.15–6).[69]

What is more, the animal and plant comparisons of the following lines (vv. 48–9 including the image of a thrust and a stripped olive–tree, on the one hand, as well as a hare and a gleaner, on the other), in the priamel form,

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**66** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 88, 218, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 186, 188, 189–90; see also McKeown 1989, 34–5, Murgatroyd 1991, 251, Knox 1995, 264, Nisbet – Rudd 2004, 117.

**67** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 269, Fey-Wickert 2002, 189.

**68** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 189; see also pp. 24, 25, 186; McKeown 1989, 132.

**69** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 269, Fey-Wickert 2002, 188–9; see also Theocr. *Ep*. 6.1–2, Verdière 1954, 151, Korzeniewski 1971, 30.

both being stylistic markers of earlier pastoral,[70] are yet again associated here with the elegiac topic of the aimless wanderings of a lover (v. 50: *ut Lycidas domina sine Phyllide tabidus erro*), occurring in pastoral, but significantly in the elegising Pasiphae narrative of the sixth Vergilian eclogue, v. 52: *a, virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus eras*,[71] i.e., in the narrative segment also adopting, as already previously remarked, several non–pastoral 'generic markers', namely of the epyllion. This rather elegiac setting is completed with the topos–imagery of the erotic pallor (v. 45: *iam pallidus*), also common in the elegiac register (cf. Prop. 2.5.30 combined with the penitence motif as here, 3.8.28, Ov. *Am*. 3.6.25 – 6, *Ars* 1.729, Hor. *Carm*. 3.10.14),[72] but absent from the pre–Calpurnian pastoral tradition, although it appears in the non–bucolic second Theocritean idyll (v. 88), the designation of Phyllis as *domina* (v. 50, cf. Catul. 68.68, Tib. 1.1.46, 1.5.40, 2.3.83, Prop. 1.1.21, Ov. *Am*. 2.17.5, 2.18.17, *Epist*. 18.118, 164, *Ars* 1.504),[73] suggesting the elegiac and comic notion of the *servitium amoris* (cf. Tib. 1.1.55 – 6, 2.4.1 – 4, [Tib.] 3.4.66, Prop. 1.4.1 – 4, 2.8.15, Ov. *Am*. 1.2.18; see also Men. *Mis*. fr. 4 Arnott, 791 K-A, Ter. *Eun*. 1026 – 7, *Phorm*. 144),[74] the also elegiac use of *tabidus* of a worn lover (v. 50, cf. also Prop. 3.6.23, Ov. *Epist*. 21.60)[75] and, lastly, the motif of a distraught elegiac lover's failure to properly appreciate his surroundings, because of his beloved's absence (cf. Ov. *Am*. 2.16.33 – 40),[76] as in the case of Lycidas here, who is unable, because of his broken heart, to see the white colour of the lilies or to taste the fountains and the wine, but only when his Phyllis comes back into his sight (vv. 51 – 4).

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[70] Cf. Karakasis 2011, 19 – 20, 24, 32, 160, 329.

[71] Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 193.

[72] Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 269, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 187 – 8, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 192; see also Pichon 1966, 224 – 5, Hollis 1977, 143, Nisbet – Rudd 2004, 146.

[73] Cf. Pichon 1966, 134, Korzeniewski 1971, 94, Messina 1975, 47 and n.23, Friedrich 1976, 89, Vinchesi 1991, 265, 271, 1996, 37 – 8, Keene 1996, 86, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 192, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 193; see also Murgatroyd 1991, 62, Maltby 2002, 138, Perrelli 2002, 31.

[74] Cf. Murgatroyd 1994, 126, Navarro-Antolín 1996, 371 – 2, Maltby 2002, 142, 417; for the motif in Vergilian pastoral, see especially Martirosova 1999, 71 – 93.

[75] Cf. Pichon 1966, 273, Vinchesi 1991, 270 – 1, Friedrich 1976, 88 – 9, Fey-Wickert 2002, 186, 192 – 3; see also Fedeli 1985, 216.

[76] Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 193 – 4; see also McKeown 1998, 355. In terms of this chiefly elegiac motif the distressed lover is unable to appreciate his surroundings; thus I do not share the view that the Calpurnian lines in question are modelled on [Theocr.] 8.41 – 8 and Verg. *Ecl*. 7.53 – 60 (cf. e. g. Messina 1975, 47, Pearce 1990, 71), both depicting the changes nature undergoes because of a beloved's presence / absence.

## Werbung

It is from v. 55 that the *Werbung* commences, primarily fashioned on Polyphemus' rhetoric to win over Galatea in the 'generically peculiar' eleventh Theocritean idyll as well as on its primary Roman adaptation, i. e., Corydon's 'elegiac narrative' in the second Vergilian eclogue, composed in the hope of securing the erotic favours of Alexis.

## Musical excellence

First comes, in vv. 55–60, the topic of the musical excellence of the lover, recalling both Theocr. 11.38–40 and Verg. *Ecl*. 2.23–4,[77] where, respectively, Polyphemus is supposed to outshine all other Cyclops in the playing of the bucolic syrinx, and Corydon calls attention to his musical distinction by comparing himself with mythological figures, like the legendary singer Amphion. What is more, the idea of a loving couple enjoying pastoral music together, as suggested by the imagery of a joyful Phyllis deriving pleasure from Lycidas' singing (vv. 55–6), also alludes to the second Vergilian eclogue, namely to v. 31, where, as already previously observed, Corydon invites his beloved boy to enjoy their love and practice music together in the woods.[78] The motif of a lovers' kiss harks back to the 'generically awry' third and eleventh Theocritean idylls, where, however, the kisses are, according to pre–Calpurnian pastoral ethics, only sought after but never granted; thus, whereas for both the anonymous goatherd of Theocr. 3 and the Cyclops of Theocr. 11, a kiss from their sweethearts, Amaryllis (vv. 19–20) and Galatea (vv. 55–6), is simply a wish, Phyllis is presented as interrupting with her kisses the musical performance of her lover (vv. 56–8),[79] thus adopting a further elegiac topos, namely kisses breaking off a lover's speech or song (cf. Ov. *Am*. 2.4.26, *Epist*. 13.119–20, 15.44).[80]

The narrative continues with Lycidas accusing his erotic rival of musical incompetence; Mopsus' coarse voice, his unmoving song and the screech of his discordant pipe do not give, according to Lycidas, Phyllis good reasons for staying with the former (vv. 59–60), especially after she has experienced his own

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**77** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 197.
**78** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 90, Fey-Wickert 2002, 197.
**79** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 197.
**80** Cf. Verdière 1954, 245, 1966, 170 and n.64, Korzeniewski 1971, 31, Friedrich 1976, 90–1, Amat 1991, 29, Vinchesi 1991, 271, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 198, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 193–4; see also McKeown 1998, 75–6, Reeson 2001, 184.

musical expertise (cf. vv. 55–6). Pastoral song is the highest value of the 'green cabinet', coveted by all its members, and thus Mospus' lack of musical abilities, possibly also suggested by *anhelus* in v. 35: *Mopso...anhelo*, if read as an adjective in the sense of 'musically deficient',[81] should have made Phyllis reject him. Mopsus' voice is crucially described as *torrida* (vv. 59–60), i.e., as the opposite of *liquidus*[82] denoting Callimachean aestheticism and its notion of poetic purity, of the 'unblemished' (cf. Karakasis 2011, 270 and n.153); Lycidas' rival is thus depicted not only as musically deficient, but also as opposing Callimachean / neoteric sensibilities, which makes Phyllis' leaving Lycidas for the un–Callimachean Mopsus more reprehensible. Blaming a pastoral character for lack of musical skill has its bucolic precedents in both Theocr. 5.5–7, where Comatas gives Lacon the advice to stick to playing a simple reed in a duet with Corydon, for he is not worth of playing the syrinx, and Verg. *Ecl*. 3.26–7,[83] where Menalcas accuses Damoetas of producing a miser tune on a scrannel straw. Whereas, however, in the above cases, as in Calp. 6.17 ff., where Astylus also makes fun of Lycidas' alleged musical incompetence, thus causing the latter's irate reaction, the blames function only as part of a bickering, framing the song–exchange that follows or is expected to happen next, and are simply intended as a means of embarrassing the pastoral opponent, in Calp. 3 they are instead integrated within the elegising *Werbung* of the lover–Lycidas.

## Beauty

There follows the motif of the lover's handsomeness (vv. 61–2), again harking back to the 'elegiac discourse' of Verg. *Ecl*. 2, namely to vv. 25–7,[84] where, in imitation of the Cyclops at Theocr. 6.34–40, Corydon too, as part of his elegiac *Werbung* to charm Alexis away from Iollas, is presented as in no doubt about his beauty, on the basis of his reflection on the calm waters of the sea. What is more, just as Lycidas is, in Calp. 3, compared, in terms of external appearance, with another pastoral figure, Mopsus, Corydon of Verg. *Ecl*. 2 is also weighed against the good looks of another bucolic character, the handsome Daphnis,

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81 Cf. Amat 1991, 106, Keene 1996, 84, Fey-Wickert 2002, 177–8; for *anhelus* as an adjective with obscene associations cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 93, whereas for a verbal form here – *anhelo* see Pearce 1990, 69, Coronati 1995–8, 393–404.

82 Cf. Gagliardi 1984, 40 and n.47, Keene 1996, 87, Fey-Wickert 2002, 200.

83 Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 31, Leach 1975, 215, 228 and n.27, Friedrich 1976, 91, Vinchesi 1991, 271–2, Fey-Wickert 2002, 201, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 194.

84 Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 31, Messina 1975, 48, Friedrich 1976, 93, Fey-Wickert 2002, 201.

whom the Vergilian pastoral lover believes to outshine (vv. 26–7). However, in both these instances, the lover is self–assured about his good looks, whereas in the Calpurnian lines (vv. 61–2) the lover is described as more comely than his erotic rival, on the basis of the relevant claims of a different character, namely Phyllis and not himself. This last detail crucially transposes the 'idyllic' allusions to the non–Theocritean eighth idyll, where (vv. 72–3) Daphnis' beauty is similarly affirmed by a young pastoral girl as well as to the non–pastoral second urban mime, Theocr. 2.125, where Simaetha's darling, the handsome Delphis, maintains that his friends call him handsome, and to the non–Theocritean twentieth pastoral, v. 30, when the herdsman of the idyll similarly asserts the admiration all the women of his pastoral region show for his looks.[85] This combination of pastoral idylls (though not of Theocritean paternity) with a non–pastoral poem of the Theocritean corpus may also be significant as to the 'generically diversifying' character of the present Calpurnian eclogue, taking once again under consideration the use on Calpurnius' part of several non–pastoral Theocritean models as a means of going beyond more or less established pastoral 'generic norms'. The combined use of *sequi* and *fugere* in v. 60: *quem sequeris? quem, Phylli, fugis?*, in the sense of 'to be in the pursuit of' and of 'to flee from' a beloved respectively, seem to complete the elegising 'generic picture' of the lines developing the beauty–motif; the verbs also appear in this sense at Theocr. 6.17: καὶ **φεύγει** φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα **διώκει** and 11.75: τί τὸν **φεύγοντα διώκεις**;, when the Cyclops eventually understands his 'pastoral dislocation' and consequently urges himself not to pursue a fleeing lady. The second verb is also found in the elegiac register of Corydon in Verg. *Ecl*. 2.60: *quem fugis, a! demens?*,[86] where, in his protreptic to rustic life, the pastoral lover invites his darling to dwell in the woods with him. These pastoral intertexts with their peculiar 'generic profile' also add to the 'generic ambivalence' of the lines.

## Wealth

Vv. 63–7 cover the topic of the pastoral lover's wealth, also alluding to the two chief intertexts of Lycidas' love–poem, namely Theocr. 11.34–7, where Polyphemus similarly advertises his thousand animals, his milk, his cheese and his al-

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**85** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 201–2.
**86** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 29, Verdière 1954, 152, Korzeniewski 1971, 31, Messina 1975, 48, Friedrich 1976, 92, Gagliardi 1984, 40 and n.48, Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 26, 202–3, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 194.

ways loaded racks, and to Verg. *Ecl.* 2.19 – 22,[87] i. e., to Corydon's elegiac *Werbung* yet again presenting the lover's pastoral property, i. e., a thousand lambs and a constant milk supply. The lines are complemented with two additional motifs, which, although associated with clear bucolic circumstances in the previous pastoral tradition, are included here by Lycidas in his rhetoric with a view to persuading his former companion to abandon her new lover, i. e., function as part of an elegiac rather than a pastoral state of affairs. The motif of the evening count of one's animals, instantiated in v. 64: *quot nostri numerantur vespere tauri*, with the reckoning of Lycidas' bulls at even–tide, has its parallels in [Theocr.] 8.15 – 6, where Menalcas declares his inability to pledge a lamb, out of fear for his parents, who count their flock every evening, and Verg. *Ecl.* 3.32 – 4, where likewise Menalcas does not wager animals from his flock, because of his stern father and step–mother, who count their flock twice a day.[88] This is a typical pastoral activity concluding the pastoral doings of the day and bringing, on the level of poetics, the pastoral narrative to its closure, as in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.85 – 6.[89] However, the topic is in the aforementioned instances associated with distinct pastoral activities, namely the pledging of stakes, of prizes for a forthcoming bucolic singing match and the driving of the flock back to its stalls, in opposition to Calp. 3, where it operates as part of Lycidas' *Werbende Dichtung* over a lost sweetheart. What is more the terminus technicus *certare*, used in earlier pastoral of an agonistic singing match, is here associated with the image of two lovers competing for the love of lady in an erotic triangle, vv. 63 – 4: *certaverit ille tot haedos / pascere quod nostri numerantur vespere tauri*. Similar is the 'generic transposition' of the motif of a productive animal, indicated by the image of the over–milked and fertile heifers of vv. 65 – 7. The prolific goat of the programmatic first Theocritean idyll, cf. Theocr. 1.25 – 6, as well as the cow of Verg. *Ecl.* 3.29 – 30,[90] milked twice a day and suckling two younglings, function again as the trophy for a pastoral singer and do not belong to a discourse aiming to comfort a separated lover. Although modelled on the Theocritean and Vergilian passages mentioned above, the wealth–motif here significantly alludes, in its details, to a third model text, after which the present narrative seems to be primarily fashioned. In opposition to both the Theocritean and the Vergilian intertext, in the Calpurnian instance there is no mention of the exact number of the animals the pastoral lover

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**87** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 30, Verdière 1954, 153, Friedrich 1976, 93, Amat 1991, 106, Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 205.

**88** Cf. also Verdière 1954, 153, Korzeniewski 1971, 32, Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 207–8, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 195.

**89** Cf. also Pearce 1990, 72, Keene 1996, 87, Fey-Wickert 2002, 207.

**90** Cf. also Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 208.

has in his possession; this, along with the lady's knowledge of her lover's riches (v. 65: *scis, optima Phylli*) and the mention of curdled milk (v. 69), point to Ov. *Met*. 13.821–30 as the immediate model; but this text,[91] availing itself of a clear 'generic interaction' between elegy, pastoral and epic (see above, p. 245), further underscores the 'transcending generic anxieties' of the present passage as well. The clausula *ubera natos* in v. 67, found, although in a slight different form, in the same metrical position twice in the Vergilian epic as well,[92] cf. *A*. 3.392: *ubera nati*, 5.285: *ubere nati*, may also be read as adding to the 'generic ambivalence' of the passage.

## Repentance

The next theme to be developed is that of the lover's penitence, vv. 70–5. Because of the erotic predicament he finds himself in, Lycidas refrains from every day menial activities of the 'pastoral space', such as basket weaving and milk curdling (vv. 68–9). This abstention from pastoral occupations as a result of the pastoral lover's distress over his erotic plight has its parallels yet again in Theocr. 11.72ff, when the Cyclops exhorts himself to return to basket weaving and other bucolic tasks, once he has realised his earlier 'pastoral dislocation' and reinstated himself in the 'pastoral orthodoxy' and the sexual looseness of the 'green cabinet'. The same happens with Corydon of the second Vergilian eclogue; he ceases abstaining from pastoral works, when he decides to 'mend' his 'elegiac propensities' and return to 'pastoral correctness'; he thus similarly urges himself to undertake vine pruning and plaiting once again (vv. 69–73),[93] to scorn Alexis and look for another lover, according to pastoral rules concerning sexuality.

In both these cases the non–participation in bucolic occupations is viewed as rather 'unpastoral' and a similar movement away from traditional pastoral norms is similarly evidenced by Lycidas' abstention. Lycidas feels such guilt that he offers his hands to be bound behind his back with osier and vine–twig, securing a sense of a pertinent pastoralism, lest Phyllis becomes afraid of his blows (v. 70–2, cf. also Tib. 1.6.73, Ov. *Am*. 1.7.1, 28).[94] This is the way, however, he adds, the night robber Mopsus was punished by another pastoral figure, Tityrus, within the classic pastoral setting of a sheep–fold (vv. 73–4). But, for all the

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**91** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 93–5,Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 206.
**92** Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 32.
**93** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 94, Vinchesi 1991, 272, Fey-Wickert 2002, 209.
**94** Cf. Verdière 1954, 155, Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 211–3; see also McKeown 1989, 165.

bucolic accessories of the incident, the motif is not part of the earlier pastoral tradition. Accusations of theft appear in the pre–Calpurnian pastoral tradition, mostly as a part of a bickering scene leading to a song–exchange, and relate to the pastoral motif of 'the belittlement of the pastoral opponent'. Thus in Theocr. 5.1 ff. Comatas blames Lacon for having pilfered his lambskin and Lacon counter–accuses Comatas of stealing his pipe, whereas in Verg. *Ecl.* 3.3 ff. Menalcas accuses Damoetas of over–milking Aegon's sheep and stealing Damon's goat.[95] Such accusations of theft however, are, used in Calp. 3 as a means for Lycidas to deride his erotic opponent and thus win back his former girlfriend; they are, in other words, again associated with an erotic triangle of the type favoured in the elegiac and elegising register.

The image of the slender basket Lycidas refrains from weaving (vv. 68 – 9: *sed mihi nec gracilis sine te fiscella salicto / texitur*) has clear meta–poetological connotations, for in earlier pastoral this activity is related to the production of pastoral poetry itself; in the programmatic tenth Vergilian eclogue the pastoral poet himself is also depicted as plaiting a basket with slender hibiscus, v. 71: *dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco*,[96] an image suggesting, by means of the well–known poetological catchword *gracilis*, the neoteric / Callimachean persuasion of the Vergilian bucolics.[97] The rejection of this programmatic meta–poetic occupation is here associated with Lycidas' erotic troubles, in other words, as far as poetics are concerned, with his 'elegiac generic leaning'. Non–Callimachean / anti–neoteric imagery is again associated, as elsewhere in Calpurnian pastoral (cf. Karakasis 2011, 213 – 79), with instances of 'pastoral dislocation', of a 'generic transcending' from the earlier pastoral 'generic rules'.

## Gifts

In vv. 76 – 85 Lycidas develops the topic of the erotic gifts,[98] once more as part of a lover's attempt to regain his beloved; the distressed lover reminds Phyllis of the presents he has showered upon her during their affair, namely animals (turtle doves and a new born hare), flowers (lilies and roses) and a wreath (vv. 76 – 80). The motif of the presents aiming to lure the beloved once again alludes to Theocr. 11.40 – 1, where Polyphemus offers his sweetheart eleven fawns and

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**95** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 214.
**96** Cf. Verdière 1954, 155, Korzeniewski 1971, 32 – 3, Friedrich 1976, 94, Pearce 1990, 72, Vinchesi 1991, 272, Keene 1996, 88, Fey-Wickert 2002, 209, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 195.
**97** Cf. Karakasis 2011, 34.
**98** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 95 – 6.

four bear cubs as well as to vv. 56–9, where lilies and poppies are again bestowed upon Galatea as a gift. A similar situation is developed in Verg. *Ecl*. 2.40–55, where Corydon presents his beloved boy Alexis with similar gifts; Alexis is also given lilies and many other plants, fruits and flowers (violets, poppies, narcissus, fennel flower, cassia, sweet herbs, hyacinth, marigold, quinces, chestnuts, plums, laurel, myrtle).[99] As far as the animal offers are concerned, doves as love–gifts appear as the song–topic of a singing match in Theocr. 5.96–7, 133 and Verg. *Ecl*. 3.68–9.[100] But the very combination of the turtle doves with a hare points to the model of Ov. *Met*. 13.831–9,[101] the Ovidian version of Polyphemus' bucolic love, where a similar grouping of gifts also appears. Once again the 'generically diversifying' intertext underlines the 'generic ambivalence' of the present passage, as already earlier pointed out in the case of the wealth–motif. As far as the flowers are concerned, whereas lilies occur as love–gifts in Theocr. 11.56 and Verg. *Ecl*. 2.45–6, and roses in the non–pastoral Theocr. 10.34, this particular Calpurnian grouping of lilies with roses, also suggesting the white / rose colouring of an elegiac *puella*'s complexion, have no pastoral precedents,[102] in contrast to their regular attestation in the elegiac genre (cf. Ov. *Am*. 2.5.34–42, 3.3.5–6; see also Catul. 61.194–5).[103] Lastly, the offering of a wreath as a love–gift, an action with a good elegiac precedent (cf. Tib. 1.2.14, Prop. 1.16.7–8, Ov. *Am*. 1.6.67–8, *Ars* 2.528, *Rem*. 32),[104] testifying to the lover's vigil, does not have a pastoral parallel; it seems that in Theocr. 3.21–3 the wreath does not function as a present but rather belongs to the typical accessories of a komast, who threatens to tear it up in pieces, because of his erotic grief over his non–reciprocated love for Amaryllis.

The motif of the erotic gifts is in vv. 81–5 associated with a second round of the wealth topic. A well–off Lycidas is opposed to a Mopsus of small means, unable to offer Phyllis any valuable gifts (v. 81: *aurea sed forsan mendax tibi munera iactat*), but only false promises. Mopsus is accordingly described as gathering lupines, as boiling beans, being short of bread, as well as as grinding barley of a low quality with his hand–mill, all suggesting the image of an individual in abject poverty (vv. 82–5, cf. Colum. 2.9.14, 2.10.1, *Moret*. 21–9), reminiscent, up to a

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**99** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 32 and n.2, Fey-Wickert 2002, 217.

**100** Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 94, Vinchesi 1991, 273, Fey-Wickert 2002, 218.

**101** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 32 and n.2, Verdière 1954, 155, Korzeniewski 1971, 33, Friedrich 1976, 96, Vinchesi 1991, 273, Keene 1996, 89, Fey-Wickert 2002, 218, 219, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 196.

**102** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 96.

**103** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 273, Fey-Wickert 2002, 219; see also McKeown 1998, 95–6.

**104** Cf. also Korzeniewski 1971, 94, Fey-Wickert 2002, 221; see also Fedeli 1980, 374, McKeown 1989, 158, Murgatroyd 1991, 78, Janka 1997, 388, Maltby 2002, 159.

point, of the fishermen's deprivation in the non–bucolic Theocr. 21.[105] The opposition between a *dives amator* and his impoverished erotic rival / a less well–to–do *rivalis*, however, is typical of the 'comic' and the 'elegiac code' (cf. Tib. 1.9.53, Prop. 4.5, Ov. *Am*. 1.8.31–2 and the function of the *miles gloriosus* in Roman Comedy). References to a pastoral figure's poverty are found elsewhere in earlier pastoral yet again in the quarrel framing the song–exchange of Theocr. 5 and Verg. *Ecl*. 3.[106] The Theocritean Comatas claims (vv. 5–7) that Lacon's slave status of small means does not allow him to own a pipe, and likewise for Lacon Comatas could never have been the owner of a skin, not afforded even by his master Evmaras (vv. 8–10); in a similar vein Menalcas in Verg. *Ecl*. 3.25–6 claims that his hard–up pastoral opponent could never have owned a wax–jointed pipe. As with several other motifs, this poverty topic as well, used in the earlier pastoral tradition as a means for disparaging the pastoral antagonist, is here yet again incorporated in Lycidas' *Werbende Dichtung* and in his effort, as commonly in the case of the elegiac lover (cf. especially the Ovidian heroines; see also Ov. *Am*. 1.4), to devalue his erotic opponent.[107]

## Threats for suicide

Last but not least comes the motif of a suffering lover's threats of suicide, vv. 86–91. Lycidas threatens to hang himself from an oak–tree, in his effort to make Phyllis come back to him. A similar resolution to die comes from the anonymous goatherd of Theocr. 3.9, 24–7, 52–4;[108] yet the lover's attempts at suicide (hanging, plunging into the sea, being eaten by lions) are here presented as giving pleasure to his dearest, not reciprocating the love of the herdsman, and thus has been compellingly read as tongue in cheek.[109] The lover's suicidal disposition links the passage in question with Verg. *Ecl*. 8.58–60, where the anonymous goatherd of Damon's song drowns himself at the end, as a result of the 'unpastoral' situation he experiences, namely the loss of his beloved Nysa to a rival

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**105** Cf. also Verdière 1954, 246, Korzeniewski 1971, 95, Leach 1975, 215, Friedrich 1976, 221–2, Amat 1991, 30, 107, Vinchesi 1991, 274, 1996, 99, Keene 1996, 89–90, Fey-Wickert 2002, 216–7, 222–4.

**106** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 97, Fey-Wickert 2002, 216.

**107** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 273.

**108** Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 34, Garson 1974, 672, Messina 1975, 41, Friedrich 1976, 83, 98, Vinchesi 1991, 274, Keene 1996, 90, Fey-Wickert 2002, 226.

**109** Cf. Otis 1964, 111, Papanghelis 1995, 95, Karakasis 2011, 142 and n.73.

lover, significantly named Mopsus,[110] within a contextual setting evoking several elegiac ideals and situations along with an elimination of non–pastoral assets and norms (cf. Karakasis 2011, 133–44). Threats for suicide do also belong to the discourse of the elegiac lover (cf. also Tib. 2.6.19–20, Prop. 1.6.27–8, 2.8.17 ff. Ov. *Rem*. 17 ff., 601 ff.). In elegy, the lover contemplates committing suicide according to a standard 'generic trend' as is also the case with the *adulescens* in love of the comic genre (e. g. Ter. *Phorm*. 551 f.).[111]

What is more, in Calp. 3 the hanging–motif is coupled with the inscription of a sepulchral epigram, for Lycidas asks for an epigram to be affixed on the oak upon which he will hang himself, holding Phyllis responsible for his death and, accordingly, warning the young shepherds away from female fickleness (vv. 89–90). The motif of self–inflicted death in conjunction with a sepulchral epigram, bearing witness to a lover's cruelty, as here, points yet again to a non–pastoral idyll as the more plausible direct 'idyllic' model of the lines, namely [Theocr.] 23.20–1,[112] 46–8, where a lover's voluntary death, although yet again intended to function, as in Theocr. 3, as a gift to the cruel beloved, is evidenced by an inscription testifying to the erotic heartlessness of an indifferent lover. Similar inscribed texts associated with the distress of a lover do come about in elegy, especially in the Ovidian *Heroines*, where in *Epist*. 2.145–8 and 7.195–6, just as here, the epigram at the end of an epistolary narrative discloses the names of the lovers and puts blame on the pitiless lover (cf. also [Tib.] 3.2.29–30, Prop. 2.1.78, 2.13.35–6).[113]

The only other instance of an epigram in pre–Calpurnian pastoral comes from Verg. *Ecl*. 5, where Daphnis asks the following epigram to be inscribed on his tomb, vv. 43–4: '*Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus, / formosi pectoris custos, formosior ipse*'. Although the epigram also suggests the 'generic diversifying' character of a new Roman pastoral of Vergil's *Eclogues* in relation to the Greek pastoral tradition, interacting as it does to a much greater extent than Theocritean and post–Theocritean Greek bucolic poetry with politics and contemporary history (see also above, pp. 244–5), the erotic nature of the Calpurnian lines in question indicate [Theocr.] 23 as the primary 'idyllic' model of the passage, a telltale, due to its unpastoral plot, of a Neronian 'transcending' of

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**110** Cf. Cesareo 1931, 35, Friedrich 1976, 66, Pearce 1990, 74, Vinchesi 1991, 274, Fey-Wickert 2002, 226.

**111** Cf. Duckworth 1952, 239 and n.5.

**112** Cf. De Sipio 1935, 108, Messina 1975, 50.

**113** Cf. also Korzeniewski 1971, 34, Friedrich 1976, 98–100, Vinchesi 1991, 274, 1996, 39 and nn.63, 64, 65, Fey-Wickert 2002, 226–7, 229–30; see also Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 197, 198, Barchiesi 1992, 180–2, Knox 1995, 139, 233, Fedeli 2005, 103–5, 395–6, Piazzi 2007, 303–5.

the earlier bucolic norm in keeping with Calpurnius' poetics. Finally, the designation of Phyllis' affair with Mopsus as *turpis* (v. 86, cf. Prop. 2.16.36, 3.21.33, Ov. *Am*. 3.11a.2),[114] the elegiac wording in *nostros...violavit amores* (v. 88, cf. Tib. 1.3.81, 1.9.19)[115] as well as the motif of the *levitas* of young women (v. 90, cf. Tib. 1.9.40, Prop. 1.15.1, 2.1.49, 2.24.18, Ov. *Am*. 3.1.41)[116] also increase, due to their elegiac parallels, the elegising character of the Calpurnian passage.

## The concluding narrative

Iollas will sing Lycidas' lyrics to Phyllis; emphasis is crucially given to the harmonious musical performance of Lycidas' song by Iollas in front of Phyllis (v. 93). This testifies yet again to the high value of pastoral song within the precincts of the 'pastoral community', put here in the service of Lycidas' erotic endeavours. During Iollas' performance, Lycidas will, out of fear, conceal himself with a thorny reed–grass or hide beneath a garden enclose (vv. 94–5). A similar setting at Verg. *Ecl.* 3.20[117] is associated with the motif of the thief – pastoral opponent as part of an *altercatio* leading to a song–exchange; Damoetas is thus charged with hiding behind the rushes, after Menalcas realises the stealing of Damon's goat (vv. 16–20). The topic is here, as commonly in Calp. 3, incorporated into Lycidas' elegising situation.

Tityrus brings Iollas' lost cow back, an event which is viewed by the latter as a good omen, predicting a happy end to Lycidas' erotic troubles (vv. 96–8).[118] The association of Phyllis with a cow alludes to the eighth Vergilian eclogue, where in Alphesiboeus' song (vv. 85–9), recounting Daphnis' elegiac breaking of his earlier pastoral affair, the unnamed sorceress, in the elegiac state of mind of a *dura puella*, wishes that her former lover will suffer like a worn out heifer looking for her mate. The association of Phyllis with a cow and Mopsus with a bull alludes to Ov. *Am*. 3.5, where, as already previously remarked, in his dream the poet views his sweetheart in the form of a cow and himself as a

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**114** Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 25, 227, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 197.

**115** Cf. Verdière 1954, 157, Paladini 1956, 524, Korzeniewski 1971, 34, Messina 1975, 50, Amat 1991, 30, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 198.

**116** Cf. Vinchesi 1991, 274, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 230, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 198; see also Fedeli 2005, 87, 688.

**117** Cf. also Verdière 1954, 246, Korzeniewski 1971, 35, Leach 1975, 216, 228 and n.30, Vinchesi 1991, 275, Amat 1995, 81, Keene 1996, 91, Fey-Wickert 2002, 233.

**118** Cf. also Rosenmeyer 1969, 143, 279, Korzeniewski 1971, 92–3, Garson 1974, 670, Messina 1975, 51, Friedrich 1976, 70, Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 156, Pearce 1990, 75, Vinchesi 1996, 101, Keene 1996, 91, Fey-Wickert 2002, 231–2, Di Lorenzo – Pellegrino 2008, 199.

bull.[119] Be that as it may, the image of a girl as a cow occurs in the elegiac register (cf. Ov. *Epist*. 5.117, 124; see also Hor. *Carm*. 2.5.5–9) and is also found in Theocr. 11.21, where Galatea is described as more playful than a calf.[120]

# Menander's *Perikeiromene*[121]

It has been previously argued that the presence in Calp. 3 of several common motifs of the comic genre (e. g. the function of Iollas as a kind of *servus fallax*, helping the *adulescens in amore* Lycidas with his love–affair, the presence of a dowry–wife and a flute–girl, the motif of a rich erotic rival, military imagery with erotic connotations, the unbearable pain of the comic lover, the female erotic fickleness, the *exclusus amator*–motif, the topic of the *servitium amoris* and the male erotic violence, of the erotic sleeplessness as well as various stylistic options, as is for example the designation of the erotic rival as *novus*, the use of *contentus* for erotic exclusivity) constitute a 'modal intrusion' of the comic *genus* into a pastoral host–text. However, in a note of his *MH* 29, 1972 paper (p. 215 and n.5), entitled *Die Eklogen des Calpurnius Siculus als Gedichtbuch*, D. Korzeniewski compellingly suggested, though in passing without particular elaboration, an influence of Menander's *Shorn Girl* on the third eclogue of Calpurnius Siculus. This Menandrian comedy seems to have had a widespread distribution, as evidenced by its being mentioned by Philostratus (*Epist*. 16) and Ovid (*Am*. 1.7),[122] and thus may have been directly available to Calpurnius and not through the intermediacy of another author.

A basic detail of its narrative brings Calp. 3 close to *Perikeiromene*'s plot, namely the remorse of a lover at having acted unfairly and attacked his sweetheart out of jealousy for a rival, and the concomitant sojourn of the lady, who abandons her aggressive lover, with another female character, a detail notably not appearing in the attack incident of Theocr. 14, which also functions as a model for Calp. 3. Thus in Menander Polemon abuses his sweetheart Glykera and cuts off her hair, because he suspects her, on shaky grounds as in

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**119** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 70, 74, Vinchesi 1991, 275, Fey-Wickert 2002, 24, 147, 161, 232. For the question whether *Am*. 3.5 is an Ovidian poem or an Ovidian imitation of an elegiac successor, cf. the concise discussion in Antoniadis 2006, 274–5 and the relevant bibliography given there.
**120** Cf. Korzeniewski 1971, 92, 95, Vinchesi 1991, 275, Fey-Wickert 2002, 235; see also Nisbet – Hubbard 1978, 82.
**121** I follow the text of Arnott 1996.
**122** Cf. McKeown 1989, 162–4.

Calp. 3,[123] of having an affair with Moschion, whose embraces the young lady does not resist, only out of affection for her twin brother (vv. 155–7).[124] After the incident of the attack, the molested girl finds refuge in the house of her neighbour Myrrhine. Similarly, in Calp. 3, Phyllis abandons her lover Lycidas, because the latter assaults her for having entered, as he believes, an erotic relationship with Mopsus, and finds shelter in the dwelling of another pastoral female figure, Alcippe (v. 33). This is a sequence of events that the Menandrian comedy and the Calpurnian eclogue significantly share, although the combination of Phyllis with Alcippe has a pastoral precedent, coming from Verg. *Ecl.* 7.14, where the two women are also presented in common, as Meliboeus' partners and helpers.[125] This basic plot–detail is also complemented by the following similarities in the contextual setting of the two narratives: both lovers, Polemon and Lycidas, rely on the help of a mediator (not only Sosias, cf. *Per.* 177 ff., 354 ff., but also Pataikos in *Per.*, cf. vv. 504 ff.,[126] and Iollas in Calp. 3 for patching things up with their beloved), for they are both unwilling to face their ill–treated lady themselves. What is more, both frustrated lovers threaten, according to the comic / elegiac ethos, to commit suicide[127] (cf. *Per.* 504 ff., 976 ff.),[128] and just as Lycidas brings up the gifts he bestowed upon his beloved in the past, Polemon as well appears to be proud of the jewelry and the clothes he provided his darling with (vv. 512 ff.).[129] This association of Calp. 3 with Menander's *Perikeiromene* further increases the comic colouring of the pastoral narrative and enhances, to a greater extent, the comic modal intrusion, also suggested by the appearance of several other comic motifs in general within the pastoral plot of Calp. 3.

## Conclusions

Calp. 3 displays a multifaceted 'generic profile' with the 'elegiac' and the 'comic mode' often entering into an otherwise pastoral host–text; elegiac as well as comic motifs and linguistic / stylistic favourites are coupled with intertexts

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**123** Cf. Verdière 1954, 149.

**124** Cf. Fortenbaugh 1974, 430, Lamagna 1994, 174, Konstan 1995, 107.

**125** Cf. Friedrich 1976, 65–6, Pearce 1990, 69, Vinchesi 1996, 91, Fey-Wickert 2002, 176.

**126** Cf. also Goldberg 1980, 46, 47, Ireland 1992, 85, 91, Lamagna 1994, 219, Traill 2008, 34.

**127** Cf. also Korzeniewski 1972, 215 and n.5: 'die Geliebte sucht bei einer Freundin Zuflucht; ein Freund des Liebhabers übernimmt die Versöhnung; der Liebhaber droht mit Selbstmord'.

**128** Cf. also Gomme – Sandbach 1973, 526, Goldberg 1980, 52, Lamagna 1994, 248–9, Konstan 1995, 113, Lape 2004, 181 and n.34.

**129** Cf. also Gomme – Sandbach 1973, 508, Ireland 1992, 84, Lamagna 1994, 251–2, Lape 2004, 184–5, Traill 2008, 44–5.

drawn from pastoral texts where the bucolic poet suggests his 'generic move-ment' away from earlier established bucolic norms, chiefly towards the elegiac and comic 'generic code', as well as pastoral models of a somewhat 'generically awry' character, as Theocr. 11 appears to be, standing out, as it does, of the main Theocritean pastoral tradition. This 'generic patterning' is crucially complement-ed with 'idyllic' reminiscences from non–pastoral Theocritean idylls.

Delegating the care of the flock from one bucolic figure to another has been convincingly read in the case of the Calpurnian pastoral as a meta–poetic sign suggesting an interaction between various pastoral poets (cf. Hubbard 1998, 155 and n.25; see also Karakasis 2012, 188); thus Calp. 1.4: *ecce pater quas tradi-dit, Ornyte, vaccae* may be plausibly viewed as a meta–linguistic reference to 'pastoral succession', from Vergil (the father) to Calpurnius (Corydon and Orny-tus). Tityrus is similarly here charged by Iollas with traditional bucolic activities, namely with taking care of the flock (vv. 19 – 21), while Iollas adopts a rather comic / elegiac 'generic function', that of an adviser in love–matters; taking into account the well–established denomination of Vergil as Tityrus in the Nero-nian period as well, elsewhere also occurring in Calp. 4.62, 64, 161, 163,[130] Tityrus of Calp. 3 may also be read as a masque of Vergil, to whom traditional pastoral topics are assigned, whereas Iollas may, on the other hand, be read as the novel pastoral poet engaging, demonstrably to a much greater extent than his Roman predecessor, with the 'generic interaction' of pastoral with comedy and elegy.

In opposition to Vergil, where pastoral and elegy do not merge, in the Cal-purnian text the 'generic boundaries' seem to collapse[131] and instances of a 'ge-neric enrichment' (the term as used by Harrison 2007) are made clear enough. The 'elegiac discourse' of Corydon in the second Vergilian eclogue gives way to the 'pastoral orthodoxy' of the last lines, when the bucolic lover resumes time–honoured activities of the 'green cabinet' and comforts himself with the sexual liberty, coveted by the inhabitants of 'pastoral space'; a similar reinstate-ment of traditional pastoral order appears in Alphesiboeus' song in Verg. *Ecl.* 8, where the deserter of 'pastoral space' and its values, Daphnis, abandons his

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**130** Cf. also Friedrich 1976, 67– 8, Fey-Wickert 2002, 163 – 4. As often in post–Vergilian pastoral, in the case of Calp. 3 as well the pastoral figures involved have been read as the bucolic masks of contemporary historical figures. Apart from Tityrus, plausibly viewed as standing for Vergil (vs. Herrmann 1952, 33– 4 (Lucan), Hubaux 1930, 179 ff. envisaging the possibility of a second Ti-tyrus, a contemporary of the Neronian poet, as the masque of Tityrus of Calp. 3), Lycidas, Iollas and Mopsus have also been perceived as symbolisms, mostly standing for Persius or Phaedrus, Annaeus Cornutus and Annaeus Serenus respectively (cf. Herrmann 1952, 37– 8, 43, Verdière 1954, 55 – 7, 58, 60, Messina 1975, 41, 43 and n.17). Yet, such associations are beyond the scope of my reading here.

**131** Cf. also Fey-Wickert 2002, 27– 9.

urban, elegiac, love–affair to be reunited with his pastoral lover[132]. Similarly the 'elegiac leaning' of the contestants of the third Vergilian bucolic poem accounts for their being unworthy of receiving Alcimedon's cups as a prize, symbolising the utmost pastoral value, namely pastoral poetry itself and its poetic assets, whereas the 'pastoral dislocation' of Verg. *Ecl*. 8 results in the goatherd of Damon's song drowning himself (cf. Karakasis 2011, 87–152). As for the tenth Vergilian eclogue, it has also been convincingly claimed that Gallus eventually comes to realise his 'elegiac disposition', and to resist merging with his temporary identity of a pastoral guest. In Calpurnian pastoral, on the other hand, the elegiac and comic intrusions appear to be functioning as a means for 'enriching' the pastoral host–text, for these generic codes seem here to interact and not to oppose each other. Elegiac and comic turns are ultimately a means for enriching the established pastoral norm, for pastoral order, as known from the pre–Calpurnian bucolics, does not seem to be eventually restored in the Calpurnian world.

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[132] Cf. also Clausen 1994, 239 and n.27; vs. views claiming an open–endedness in the closure of Verg. *Ecl*. 8 as to the eventual return of the pastoral lover (cf. e.g. Breed 2006, 40, Saunders 2008, 53); see also Karakasis 2011, 150 and n.108.

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# Other Poetic Genres

Stavros Frangoulidis
# Transformations of Paraclausithyron in Plautus' *Curculio*

**Abstract:** This paper discusses how in the opening scenes of *Curculio*, Plautus draws on paraclausithyron (a form of lyric song), but alters all of its key features. All the changes can be accounted for by the fact that paraclausithyron can stand autonomously, i.e. without a larger (textual) frame. Because it provides a blank canvas devoid of specific characters and particular circumstances, the paraclausithyron is here comfortably absorbed into a play, replete with characters, actors and stage action. Capitalizing on a broad familiarity with literary norms and thus anticipating the male hero's failure to meet with his beloved, an informed audience would appreciate the treatment that paraclausithyron receives in a comic environment, so fully integrated within the host genre that it subverts expectations.

**Keywords:** lyric I, non-reciprocal paraclausithyron, reciprocal love, *komos*, *skene*, *hedone*

Paraclausithyron defines lyric song in which there is only one character, the lyric 'I'. Usually nameless, the solo performer (either the poet or a singer) sings the song with a musical accompaniment in front of an audience; all other characters mentioned in the song are fictional and the audience is invited to imagine them.[1] Paraclausithyron is often viewed as a motif.[2] However, it is different from a motif, insofar as it can form the subject of a single poem and can have meaning on its own, whereas a motif acquires meaning only in relation with other features. It has also been considered as a genre.[3] It will be better however to view paraclausithyron as a type of lyric song, insofar as it appears in collections of lyric poems. This type of song contains performative elements, but the enactment is of a limited kind: it involves only the *persona loquens* (the poet/a singer), whereas the

**2** Copley 1965, 1–6.
**3** Cummings 1997, 25–28.

content of the song is either sung or narrated, and not acted out. Moreover, there is no door in front of which the poet and/or a singer sings his song, but rather the poem is sung in a sympotic/social setting. This being the case, a paraclausi-thyron has no action, i.e. it does not have a larger (textual) frame, and can appear as an independent poem. Originating in sung, lyric poetry, it is only attested in few fragments (e.g. Alcaeus fr. 374, Anacreon fr. 373, etc.).[4] It also appears with some variations in other genres, such as sympotic Hellenistic epigrams, the Theocritean idylls, the novel, etc, in compliance with the demands of the host genre.[5] The presence of paraclausithyron in other genres allows us to draw some *comparanda* with Roman comedy.

In the opening scenes of *Curculio*, Plautus draws on this form of lyric song and its comastic setting, while altering several of its key features. The changes serve the characterization of Phaedromus and Planesium (and, to some extent, Leaena) as comic lovers, while they also move the plot forward. The lyric song of paraclausithyron with no larger textual context and the feature of enactment limited to the *persona loquens* becomes part of the play's larger plot which contains musicians, a *skene*, multiple characters and stage action. The employment of this generic trope allows the young lover to see his mistress only for a moment, while the obstacles to buying her freedom remain. A permanent solution will come about with the parasite's ruse, which belongs to the standard components of a comic plot. The enactment of the comic trick leads to the liberation of the girl and the consummation of their *amor*, unlike lyric paraclausithyron which allows the lovers to meet only temporarily and in secret. The slave Palinurus, who ironically adopts the moral high ground and regularly pokes fun at the behavior of the characters in the scene, is thus ridiculed and ends up being beaten, for he goes against the comic spirit.[6] Capitalizing on a collective awareness of the Greek antecedents and literary conventions, thus anticipating the *male* hero's failure to meet with his beloved, an informed audience would appreciate the subversive treatment of the paraclausithyron in a comic environment, so fully integrated within the host genre that it overturns expectations. This generic trans-

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**4** For discussion of paraclausithyra in archaic lyric see Cummings 1997, 37–69.

**5** This may also explain the presence of some enactment in paraclausithyra found in Theocritus' mimes and in the song of the abandoned woman, the so-called *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, as recognized by Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 33.

**6** Fantham (1965, 95) expresses the view that in Plautus' original Palinurus was portrayed as a virtuous Pedagogue, like Lydus in the *Bacchides*. Sharrock (2008, 4) treats Palinurus as a controlling slave. Papaioannou (2008/9, 112) considers the role of the slave Palinurus and that of the parasite Curculio as intertwined and as jointly bringing onstage the figure of *servus callidus*, who is otherwise lacking in the play.

formation relies on its move from solitary narrative voice to staging and its enactment by multiple characters.

One might wonder whether or not the audience could grasp the subtle modifications of paraclausithyron and its broader setting in Plautine comedy. To be sure, one cannot argue convincingly regarding the competence of the audience to recognize Greek antecedents and therefore evaluate generic demarcations and evolution (Roman comedy is still effective for an audience that knows nothing of Greek antecedents.) However, one could also easily assume that the literate part of the Roman audience who would recognize the Greek antecedents should be in position to appreciate the generic modifications. A recent and compelling monograph on Plautine humor by Fontaine has shown that the Plautine audience occasionally was far from unrefined and unsophisticated.[7]

Unsurprisingly, the paraclausithyron in Plautus' *Curculio* has attracted much scholarly attention. In his discussion, Copley traces the presence of three new, un-Greek, Roman elements: the personification of the door; the association of the door with the theme of *furtivus amor* and the fact that the girl has a *custos* whom she must evade.[8] Cummings discusses the theme of the personification of the house-door and the presence of religious-sounding language in the address.[9] In a similar vein, Fraenkel detects a Greek coloring in the paraclausithyron of *Curculio*'s opening scene and recognizes several features revealing Plautine innovation.[10]

In this essay, I focus on how Plautus employs this kind of song and its broader typology but alters its key features to characterize all major characters on the stage and to drive his plot forward. These alterations take place because the song is transplanted from one genre (lyric) to another (drama); and, whereas the performance in the former only involves the poet/singer, the latter features actors, musicians, props and performance of the plot onstage. In what follows, I concentrate on the comedic transformation of the lyric paraclausithyron, as it is integrated into the dramatic, interactive plot.

One could argue that this mimetic generic shift took place earlier, in *Curculio*'s Greek model, which is not extant; yet all the changes I discuss should in any case take place whenever a piece from one genre with limited enactment is transplanted to another containing stage action; hence I am not primarily concerned with the issue of Greek model vs. Roman adaptation.

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**7** Fontaine 2010.

**8** Copley 1956, 28–42. Also Τρομάρας 2012, 186–87.

**9** Cummings 1997, 200–214, and n.3

**10** Fraenkel 2007, 74.

Some preliminary remarks about this type of song and its broader setting illuminate their modifications in the opening scene of the *Curculio*. Paraclausithyron designates the song which a lover sings in front of a closed door, when realizing that it is shut against him.[11] The situation is often connected to the *komos*, the drunken procession of revelers (comasts), following intoxication at a symposium. The presence of a garlanded and inebriated lover in front of his beloved's door, and the reference to his sorrows following his failure to enter the house are thematically correlated units. They may either precede the song as part of its framing narrative, or function as themes of the poem itself.

The alteration of paraclausithyron norms and its broader setting is evident in the play's opening lines. A comic lover named Phaedromus enters carrying a wax taper, accompanied by a procession of slaves bearing wine and other equipment. Palinurus asks his master where he is headed during the night, thus alluding to his wakefulness. The theme of sleeplessness, ἀγρυπνία, as Richard Thomas points out in other similar cases, is associated with love and by extension poetic composition.[12] The slave further teases his master by calling him a slave, because the latter is carrying his own candle (9): *tute tu puer es, lautus luces cereum* ('you're playing your own slave, and elegantly turned out you light your candle').[13] Phaedromus is a *servus amoris*.[14] This suggests the substitution of one role (master) for another (slave). Phaedromus' sleeplessness, the wax taper and the procession of attendants help define the setting as paraclausithyric. In Callimachus, *Anth. Pal.* 12.118.3, the nameless lover mentions wine and love as the reason for his comastic behavior: ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν ('strong wine and love compelled me').[15] The most notable contrast here is that in *Curculio* the lover is sober. This difference can be accounted for by the demands of the plot: Phaedromus cannot be inebriated because he has a premeditated stratagem to carry out, namely to tempt the *custos* with wine to open the door and thus eventually visit his mistress. In executing his clever scheme Phaedromus seems to appear in the same position as the *servus fallax* in New Comedy plots, who devises tricks and then acts them out as playlets within the play.[16] This notion gains some strength from Palinurus' earlier characterization of Phaedromus as slave (9). Phaedromus' idea to sprinkle the door with wine will entice

11 Copley (1956, 1) outlines the stock paraclausithyric situation. See also Copley 1942, 96–107 and 101 (*Curculio*).
12 Thomas 1978, 195–205.
13 Fraenkel 2007, 29.
14 Ketterer 1986, 197; Sharrock 2008, 3.
15 See also Asclepiades, *Anth. Pal.* 5.167.2.
16 For the role of *servus fallax* in Roman comedy see Slater 2000.

first the elderly female *custos* and then his beloved Planesium to come *out of* the house, rather than get himself *into* it; these circumstances account for the spatial reversal around the door. An informed audience, who can see this change in the portrayal of the lover, recognize the point at which a paraclausithyric feature is twisted to become part of the larger plot.

Further clues point to the alteration of paraclausithyron norms. In his conversation with the slave Phaedromus personifies the door of Cappadox the pimp's house, where his mistress Planesium lives, identifying it both as the loveliest and most trustworthy, because it does not make any noise when the girl comes out (20):[17] *bellissumum hercle vidi et taciturnissumum* ('It's the most charming and most silent door I've ever seen'). This feature is unlike all other stock doors of comedy, which creak.[18] Instead of being an obstacle, the door then functions as helper, assisting Phaedromus in his plans to visit his mistress during the night. The praise of the door recalls the pattern seen, for instance, in Callimachus, *Anth. Pal.* 12.118.5–6, where the lover treats the door of the beloved affectionately, as the girl's substitute: ἐφίλησα / τὴν φλιήν ('I kissed the doorpost'). There is a difference to be noted as Plautus personifies the door, treating it in anthropomorphic terms and engaging in conversation with it.[19] Phaedromus seems to have accumulated experience from often seeing his beloved in secret. In having the door opened a number of times prior to the play's opening, Plautus alters the paraclausithyric convention, according to which the door remains shut. In Asclepiades, *Anth. Pal.* 5.164.4, the lover bewails the fact that Pythias has not received him (implying therefore that the door remained shut) and prays that one day she may suffer a similar fate in front of his door: ἐπ' ἐμοὶ στᾶσα παρὰ προθύροις ('standing in front of my doorpost'). An audience aware of Phaedromus' previous visits to his mistress can anticipate his success in seeing Planesium within the play's action, unlike most lyric lovers, who are unable to move in and gain access to their beloved.

The subversion of paraclausithyron norms goes further still. Suspecting that his master is up to some adulterous affair, Palinurus adopts a moralizing stance and advises him to act always in a way that will not make him feel ashamed or

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**17** For discussion of the personification of the door see Sharrock 2008, 4; Duckworth (1971, 116) observes that 'the *ostium* can scarcely be called a "Plautine character"'.

**18** On the convention of the creaking door with examples in Roman comedy see Duckworth 1971, 116–17.

**19** On this point see Gummings (1997) 50–51, 202 and Sharrock 2008, 4.

risk castration;[20] but his master informs him that the house belongs to the pimp Cappadox. He wants to turn Planesium into a courtesan, despite the fact that she and Phaedromus are in love and plan to break free of him. The pimp is a blocking character. Meanwhile, the sick Cappadox is recuperating at the temple of Aesculapius next door.[21] His absence explains why Phaedromus comes to visit his beloved at night; it meta-poetically offers the generic motivation for the employment of the paraclausithyric trope in the play, to see his mistress only for a bit, while the obstacles to purchasing her freedom remain. Cappadox, who must have been in negotiations with Phaedromus, would have been opposed to the young man seeing the girl before receiving his payment.[22] He thus must have placed a female door-keeper (*ianitrix*) by the door to guard the girl in his absence. The presence of a *custos* in the house may appear in the same position as the old woman in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* who prevents the lover from meeting with the young girl unless he sleeps with her first (*Ec.* 976): οὗτος, τί κόπτεις; μῶν ἐμὲ ζητεῖς ('here, you, why are you knocking? Not looking for me, are you?).[23] However, the most striking difference to be noted is that in *Curculio* the *ianitrix* —an old woman— has a passion for wine.[24] This marks a displacement of the theme of the inebriation from the lover to the old woman. By employing such a character as *custos*, the poet has the chance to exploit the theme of the inebriated receiver, while also providing the dramatic causation for the opening of the door.

This development occurs when Phaedromus as *servus fallax* puts his scheme into action. He sprinkles the door with wine. Door-sprinkling does not form a component of the paraclausithyron norm; it could be read as performing a func-

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**20** Papaioannou (2008/9, 112–13) characterizes Palinurus as a *bomolochos*, making frequent comments in the fashion of a *servus callidus*. On Palinurus as ironic slave see Sharrock (2009) 184–85.

**21** The absence of the pimp introduces yet another variation on the paraclausithyron technique, in which the blocking character is generally imagined to be another lover. In a remotely analogous passage in Theocritus *Id.* 2.157–58, Simetha suspects the presence of a rival girl who prevents her from seeing her beloved: νῦν δέ τε δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧτέ νιν οὐδὲ ποτεῖδον. / ἦ ῥ' οὐκ ἄλλό τι τερπνὸν ἔχει, ἀμῶν δὲ λέλασται ('But now it's eleven days since I so much as saw him. Has he forgotten me, and finds his pleasure elsewhere?').

**22** Herodas 2 dramatizes a court case in which Battaros, the pimp, sues Thalles for breaking into his house, hurting and abducting one of his *hetaerae*.

**23** Cummings (1997, 205), cites Aristophanes' *Lys.* 861 as another instance of the presence of a *custos*.

**24** The old woman who loves her wine may be adopted from two sources: Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*, where the women are passionate over the wine bottle; and Euripides' *Cyclops*, where Polyphemus is also enamoured of the wine flask. See also the useful comment by McKeown (1989, 203) on Ovid *Am.* 1.8.3–4.

tion analogous to the door-knocking that may precede or even accompany the lover's song at the door. Phaedromus utters some allurements as he sprinkles the door with wine (88b-89), which may amount to the lover's song in front of the shut door: *agite, bibite, festivae fores; / potate, fite mihi volentes propitiae* ('Go on, drink, dearest door; imbibe and be favorable and well-disposed toward me'). The term of endearment, *festivae*, in the address to the door is explained by the fact that this door has opened in the past. This scene in question also foreshadows, in terms of a fully developed paraclausithyron, Phaedromus' song, sung in front of the same door, when however it is shut against him. The substitution of wine-smearing for door-knocking is conditioned by two factors: (1) the pimp is recuperating in the temple next door, and thus able to hear all noises in front of his house that could wake him up; and (2) the presence of the *ianitrix* who has a weakness for wine. Through this door-sprinkling Phaedromus can make the *custos* aware of his presence without waking up the pimp; he succeeds in enticing the old woman out of the house through the door, thus moving the plot forward. Here a gender reversal attends the spatial reversal, as the old woman becomes the aggressor and exits by the door, rather than the male forcing his way in. At the same time, this development also alters the paraclausithyric convention, according to which the door remains shut.[25] The appearance of the old woman Leaena on stage demonstrates her existence as a dramatic character, in marked contrast to the lyric paraclausithyron in which with the exception of the lyric I, all characters are to be imagined since they never physically appear.

As soon as Leaena comes on stage in search of the wine, she sings an erotic/ love song in which the object of her desire, i.e. the wine, is portrayed as a lover (96 – 109):

> LE. Flos veteris vini meis naribus obiectust,
> eiius amor cupidam me huc prolicit per tenebras.
> ubi ubi est, prope me est. euax, habeo!
> salve, anime mi, Liberi lepos.
> ut veteri' vetu' tui cupida sum!                               100
> nam omnium unguentum odor prae tuo nautea est,
> tu mihi stacta, tu cinnamum, tu rosa,
> tu crocinum et casia es, tu telinum,
> nam ubi tu profusu's, ibi ego me pervelim sepultam.
> sed quom adhuc naso odos obsecutust meo,                       105
> da vicissim meo gutturi gaudium.
> nil ago tecum: ubi est ipsus? ipsum expeto

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**25** See, e.g. Callimachus, *Anth. Pal.* 5.23.2; Asclepiades, *Anth. Pal.* 5.157.2.

> tangere, invergere in me liquores tuos,
> sine, ductim. sed hac abiit, hac persequar.

> 'My nostrils have been offered the flowery scent of old wine. Love for him is driving my eager self out here through the darkness. Wherever he is, he's close to me. Hurray I have him! Greetings, my life, lure of Liber. How I, an old one, am keen on you, another old one! Yes, the smell of all perfumes is puke compared to yours, you are my myrrh, you my cinnamon, you my rose, you my saffron and my cassia, you my ointment of fenugreek: where you are poured out, there I desire to be buried. But while the only thing so far has been that the smell has satisfied the desires of my nose, now give joy to my gullet in turn. I have no business with you; where is he himself? I desire to touch you yourself, dear jug, to pour your liquid contents into me in great gulps. But he went away this way, I'll follow him this way.'

In this love song the *custos* expresses her desire for the wine using the terms of erotic language, *amor*. The old woman is attracted to the age of the wine, as if to suggest that it is as old as her, and therefore a fitting match. The emphasis on the odor of the wine and its smell further helps to characterize it as a beloved (perfume is associated with attractiveness and erotic appeal); and the old woman, who senses the odor and moves out through the door, as pleasure seeker.[26] In Plautus *Mos.* 43–44, the country slave Grumio sharply rebukes Tranio for engaging in a love life and smelling of exotic perfumes: *non omnes possunt olere unguenta exotica, / si tu oles* ('Not everybody can smell of exotic ointments even if you do'). Moreover, the desire of the *custos* to be buried in the place where the wine is poured, further underlines her everlasting devotion to it. The statement recalls the theme of marriage to death, and thus again assimilates the old woman's predicament to *eros*.[27] There also might be some funereal associations as the old woman wishes to be buried in the place where the wine is poured as a libation in honor of the dead. The language of desire in this love song helps to characterize the old woman as a kind of female lover. However, the old woman's erotic song varies the norm of the lyric song as the lover is a mute, inanimate object and not a person. Leaena is unable to find the wine bowl, but Phaedromus hands her the wine, putting an end to her misery. The subsequent movements of Leaena on stage reinforce her portrayal as some kind of lover: like others, she pours a few drops in libation at the altar of Venus (123–24). In doing so, she also recalls Phaedromus who makes an offering to Venus of the items carried by his slaves, a parallel gesture that reinforces the

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**26** For the use of aromatic scents signifying the relation of the characters in Plautus' *Casina* see Connors 1997, 305–309.
**27** See also Sharrock (2008, 5) who observes that in the old woman's song 'perverse eroticism is scarcely veiled.'

connection between the two (72): *me inferre Veneri vovi iam iaientaculum* ('I vowed to offer myself a breakfast to Venus'). She then downs the rest of the wine, instantly attaining bliss (131). In response, Phaedromus states his own misery over being unable to see his beloved Planesium; but the *ianitrix* promises that she will bring the girl out, not only this time, but even in the future, provided that he keeps her in drink, and then goes back into the pimp's house, closing the door behind her. The old woman's promise to bring out the girl provides assurances to the audience that the door will reopen, and generates expectations that further alterations to the paraclausithyron norms will take place (136).

Provoked by Palinurus' comments on the absence of money to purchase the girl's freedom, Phaedromus decides to sing a song in front of the bolts to affect their opening and see the girl (147–55):[28]

> PH. pessuli, heus pessuli, vos saluto lubens,
> vos amo, vos volo, vos peto atque obsecro,
> gerite amanti mihi morem, amoenissumi,
> fite caussa mea ludii barbari,                                                     150
> sussilite, obsecro, et mitte istanc foras,
> quae mihi misero amanti ebibit sanguinem.
> hoc vide ut dormiunt pessuli pessumi
> nec mea gratia commovent se ocius!
> re spicio, nihili meam vos gratiam facere.                                         155

> 'Bolts, hey, bolts, I greet you gladly, I love you, I want you, I desire you, and I beseech you, obey me in my love, most charming bolts. Become foreign dancers for my shake, jump up, please, and send out the woman who drinks up my blood, miserable lover that I am. Look at that, how the basest bolts are sleeping and won't move any more quickly for my sake! I can see from how you behave that you don't care about my goodwill toward you.'

This song certainly fulfils the definition of paraclausithyron, as it is sung at a shut door.[29] Phaedromus personifies the bolts by addressing them, begging them to open and let his beloved come out.[30] The informed audience can here recognize at least two innovations on the paraclausithyron norm: (1) the absence

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**28** Some resemblance with the paraclasithyric situation can be seen in the introductory scene of Menander's *Misoumenos* (1–14): here the soldier Thrasonides stands outside the door of his house, addresses the Night and asks her to witness his erotic troubles. However, we must also note that basic features of paraclausithyron are absent, namely the comastic behavior of the lover, the knocking on the door, a lover refused entry to the house of his beloved, etc. Thus, although close to paraclausithyron, the opening lines of Menander's *Misoumenos* cannot be read as paraclausithyric in the strict sense of the term.

**29** Sharrock 2008, 5; Copley 1956, 30–31; Cummings 1997, 209–211.

**30** Fraenkel (2007, 73) points out that 'Plautus goes beyond personification of the door and makes a transformation into a quite specific character: *fite caussa mea ludii barbari*.'

of door-knocking; and (2) the address to the bolts. These alterations are dictated by the larger context within which the song appears: Phaedromus cannot knock on the door because the pimp is in the temple next door and thus within earshot. Moreover, he cannot address the girl because she is far removed, in the women's quarters. On the other hand, Phaedromus can sing his lyric song in such a way that it is only heard by the bolts. The employment of verbs of endearment in the song, such as *amo*, *volo*, etc., is determined by the fact that the same door has opened a while ago and is about to reopen. The personification of the bolts can also be explained: Phaedromus anthropomorphizes them because he wants them to 'respond': had the bolts been treated as inanimate objects, they could not have responded to his plea. Phaedromus' personification of the bolts brings to mind the *ianitrix* who in her earlier monody also addressed the wine, treating it as a lover for the pleasure it can offer her, reinforcing the connection between the two characters respectively as male and female lovers. The noise of the mantles anticipates the arrival of the *custos* with the girl onstage (156): *sonitum*.[31] In fetching the girl out, Leaena recalls Phaedromus when he earlier brought her the wine, her figurative lover. The ensuing appearance of the girl innovates on the paraclausithyric technique in which the lover's call is not answered. In Theocritus *Id*. 3.37–39, for instance, the goatherd sits under a pine tree and sings his song to Amaryllis in the expectation that she will emerge from the cave to see him, but the nymph turns down his pleas, even though there is no *custos* to guard her.[32] In employing the wine stratagem Phaedromus succeeds in turning the *ianitrix* from an opponent to a loyal nurse of the girl: she leads the beloved Planesium out to meet her lover and therefore moves the plot forward, while also achieving a further spatial reversal around the door: the girl comes out, rather than the lover going in. The appearance of the girl on stage solidifies her identity as a dramatic character, as happened earlier with the *custos* who came out of the house looking for the wine. This varies the norm, in which —with the exception of the *persona loquens*— all characters in traditional paraclausithyron are fictional and exist only in the imagination of the audience.

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**31** The noise of the door marks an important juncture of the plot, the imminent appearance of the girl onstage, in contrast to the absence of sound when the door opened earlier; but the old woman sprinkles the door with water in order to silence it. Cummings (1997, 211) points out the need of quiet secrecy so that the pimp does not discover what is going on.

**32** Also in a variant paraclausithyron, found in Theocritus *Id*. 11.42–44, Polyphemus calls on Galateia to come out of the sea, her figurative home, and spend the night in his cave, but the nymph does not respond to his plea: ἀλλ' ἀφίκευσο ποθ' ἀμέ, καὶ ἐξεῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, / τὰν γλαυκὰν δὲ θάλασσαν ἔα ποτὶ χέρσον ὀρεχθεῖν· / ἅδιον ἐν τὠντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς ('O please, come. You will see that life is just as good if you leave the grey-green sea behind to crash on the shore, and at night you will find more joy in this cave with me').

The alteration of paralcausithyron norms is best seen in the continuation of the action as Plautus moves the scene from non-reciprocal paraclausithyron to reciprocal love. As soon as Planesium enters the stage, she calls on her lover to appear, thus moving the plot forward (162–63). Her exit from the pimp's house is an indication of reciprocal love. Her search for her lover as she appears on stage recalls the *ianitrix,* who began looking for the wine jar the moment she came out of the house (96–109); in this sense, both women may be characterized as female lovers. The ensuing action (involving the kissing and caressing of the couple) putatively reenacts on stage the couple's private, indoor moments. This contrasts with the traditional paraclausithyron where such a scene is beyond generic expectations in this type of lyric song.[33] Phaedromus' erotic bliss at hugging and kissing his beloved (174–81) recalls Leaena's instant euphoria after drinking the wine (131); obviously, the hugging of the lovers extends over a number of lines; but this can be explained: the meeting of Phaedromus with his beloved Planesium is the central scene in the act; in this sense, the poet comically parallels *amor*-induced happiness and happiness by wine-drinking. Palinurus' remarks as he sees the lovers hugging and kissing further strengthen his portrayal as *servus bonus*, because he displays an attitude that runs contrary to the comic spirit in two ways: (1) he urges the lovers to separate because it is getting late (181–86); and (2) he characterizes the girl in most negative terms for stating her annoyance at his behaviour (190–92):[34] *quid ais, propudium? / tun etiam cum noctuinis oculis 'odium' me vocas? / ebriola persolla, nugae* ('What do you say, you slut? You with your owl eyes are calling me a pest? You drunken little person, you trash'). Phaedromus gets so angry at the conduct of his slave that he hits him, so as to stop him from reviling the girl (195). Once more Phaedromus uses violence against the slave, when the latter continues to intervene (196), identifying the girl in negative terms as *noctuvigila* ('nightly awake'). Phaedromus' reaction towards Palinurus mirrors his earlier conduct towards the same slave (131): Phaedromus hit him for his negative comment on the *ianitrix*, when she stated her pleasure in drinking the wine to stop him from abusing her (126–31).[35] Plautus then makes fun of the *servus bonus* character-type as the comic lovers eventually seem to gain what they desire.[36]

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[33] A good reading of this love-making scene is Arnott 1995, 7.

[34] Palinurus' abuse of Planesium as 'teeny drunk' is a plausible subliminal association of the girl with the old woman who is earlier presented as inebriated.

[35] On the role of Palinurus as comic deflator of the potentially cloying sentimentalities of the two lovers see Arnott 1995, 7–8.

The exit of the girl from the pimp's house, and the meeting and the kissing of the lovers in front of the open door offer a joyful variation on the paraclausithyric theme of the lover standing outside a shut door with his pleas unanswered. In that context, the girl's failure to respond possibly indicates the absence of reciprocal love. In Theocritus *Id.* 3.53–55, for instance, the lover is imagined as ending his song in pain, for his beloved Amaryllis is not moved by his song: Ἀλγέω τὰν κεφαλάν, τὶν δ' οὐ μέλει. οὐκέτ' ἀείδω, / κεισεῦμαι δὲ πεσών, καὶ τοὶ λύκοι ὧδέ μ' ἔδονται. / ὡς μέλι τοι γλυκὺ τοῦτο κατὰ βρόχθοιο γένοιτο ('My head hurts, but that matters nothing to you. I'll sing no more, but lie here where I've fallen, and wolves will eat me up. May that be sweet as honey in your throat'). Amaryllis' lack of response to the lover's appeal further strengthens the notion that the traditional paraclausithyron contains characters; however, all these characters, with the exception of the *persona loquens*, rarely if ever engage in acting. The fact that Phaedromus meets, kisses, and caresses his beloved emphasizes the reciprocity of their love as opposed to the erotic frustration pervading traditional paraclausithyra.

From now on, the presence of Planesium on stage lends new impetus to the plot, steering it away from lyric paraclausithyron and its comastic setting towards a broader solution more befitting a comic play. The girl hears the sound of the temple doors opening (203), and realizes that she must return inside. The ensuing complaint Planesium makes to Phaedromus about the awkwardness of their meeting in secret at night (204–05) might meta-poetically indicate a disapproval of the paraclausithyric mode, by means of which their assignations occur: *quo usque, quaeso, ad hunc modum / inter nos amore utemur semper surrupticio?* ('How much longer, please, will we always conduct our love affair in secret?'). In the play, paraclausithyron allows the lovers to meet only temporarily, as long as the pimp is away and the comic lover does not have the money to purchase the girl's freedom. Instead, Planesium would prefer a permanent solution, possible only through her liberation from the pimp, so as to allow her to enjoy their love openly. She thus repeatedly urges her lover to find the money to buy her freedom, which as a comic lover he does not have: 208, 210 and 212–13.[37] Her

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**36** In his role as *servus bonus* adopting a moralizing stance Palinurus contrasts to the parasite Curculio who takes on the role of *servus callidus* and devises a comic trick to buy the girl's freedom from the pimp, thus propelling the comic plot forward.

**37** Phaedromus assures Planesium that he has sent his parasite Curculio to Caria to borrow money from a friend and that he expects him to return the very same day, i.e. within the dramatic time of the play (209): *liberalem liberem* ('I should give you the freedom you deserve'). In assuring Planesium of her freedom Phaedromus may implicitly allude to his role as Liber

frequent urgings might meta-poetically be read as being designed to steer the plot away from lyric paraclausithyron towards a direction more befitting a comic play. In this context, it is perhaps not accidental that the girl will be set free via the ruse devised by the parasite Curculio, he being unable to obtain the money from a friend. The ruse that Curculio executes as an inset play is a readily recognizable component of comic plots. With his trick the parasite brings about the liberation of the girl and therefore the marriage of the couple and their open and permanent enjoyment of *amor*. In relation to the broader issues of time, the lyric paraclausithyron and the comastic surrounding connected to it are temporarily isolated, existing only in the *now*, whereas the comic plot successfully implies both a *before* and an *after*. The permanent union of the lovers via the purchase of the girl's freedom offers a new twist to the traditional paraclausithyric setting, in which the lover, who has been unable to see his mistress, is imagined either as staying outside his sweetheart's door until daybreak, or as leaving without knowing whether or not he is ever going to see her again.

The above discussion has illustrated that in *Curculio* Plautus appropriates a type of song of lyric poetry and its broader typology, but develops it in a manner different from its traditional treatment. His changes involve not just the employment of the lyric theme of the lover's song in front of a closed portal but also the broader comastic situation, often connected to the song: the procession to the house, the opening of the door, the exit of the *custos* from the house, and the meeting of the lovers. The young lover then is able to see his beloved in secret, so long as the obstacles to buying her freedom remain. Thus Plautus rewrites the scene from a non-reciprocal paraclausithyron into a reciprocal love. What is even more remarkable is that, through the wine stratagem, Phaedromus has even succeeded in meeting with his beloved several times in the past. This is different from the situation normally pertaining to the lyric paraclausithyron and its broader typology, in which the lovers rarely if ever meet. All these alterations take place as the paraclausithyron, originating in sung, lyric poetry, with no large (textual) frame, almost devoid of characters (with the sole exception of the solo performer) and action, has been transplanted to a genre containing a back story, actors, music players, stage and enactment. The changes are designed to assist in the characterization of Phaedromus and Planesium as comic lovers (to a certain degree Leaena too), as well as to move the plot forward. The literate part of the audience, familiar with the social and cultural if not the literary scenario of a lover's failure to gain access to his mistress,

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('liberator'), since earlier in his encounter with Leaena he identified himself as Liber, the lord of wine.

would have appreciated the generic transformations that the key elements of lyric song and the broader setting undergo in the new literary environment of Plautus' *Curculio.*

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Frances Muecke

# The Invention of Satire: A Paradigmatic Case?

**Abstract:** This paper combines discussion of why satire seems more problematic generically than other Roman literary genres with a particular issue of literary history, satire's original relationship with Roman comedy. Despite Quintilian's famous remark *satura quidem tota nostra est*, Greek sources have acquired more weight than Roman ones in the discussions of its invention. This paper aims to redress the balance by stressing the significance of satiric material in Roman comedy. At the same time a distinction is drawn between expectations specific to satire and those implicit in generic theory.

**Keywords:** expectations, genre grouping, genre claim, invention, mixing, Romanization

Is Roman verse satire a failed genre – a group of texts that does not make a kind? This is what Wilamowitz declared in his famous dictum, not intending to suggest that there was a succession in his list: 'There really is no Latin satire; there is only Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal.'[1] How and on what grounds might we agree or disagree that this grouping of texts fails to become a genre? Would it be because of our understandings of Roman satire and its poets or because of the expectations we have of the way genres work? The poets themselves, at least from Horace on, do make a 'genre claim'.[2] Their claims are based on a variety of shared features, to do both with poetics (metre, diction and so on) and with pragmatics (the rhetoric of invective and blame).[3] In fact, Ralph Cohen argues persuasively that 'genre concepts, arise, change, and decline for historical reasons. And since each genre is composed of texts that accrue, the grouping is a process, not a determinate category.'[4]

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**1** Wilamowitz 1958, 42 n. 1; Cf. Long 1996, 20. Too much has been written about generic aspects of Roman satire for a list to be included here. See Freudenburg 1993; Schlegel 2005; Keane 2006; Jones 2007.

**2** For this term and for five criteria for counting groupings as genres see Miller 1994, 37–38. My attention was drawn to this article by Anne Freadman, to whose work on genre I acknowledge a deep debt.

**3** For this, see Schlegel 2005, 5–7.

**4** Cohen 1986, 204.

Roman satire was notoriously not brought from Greece 'ready-made'.[5] This is its glory, but also its curse. Rather than posing a problem for genre theory, however, the 'invention' of Roman verse satire provides a lesson.[6] The genre came into being in and from mixing and mixture, and managed to give itself a social function, adding to the formal meaning of its label (medley) a pragmatic one (satire).[7] Satire is Roman not only in not being 'ready-made' but more importantly in dealing with Rome itself by means of its distorting 'mirror of life'.

The generically-aware Horace was the first to establish the generic label and link it to a concept of the genre as aggressive criticism (*Sat*. 2.1.1–2). He derives satire from Lucilius, as the first inventor of 'this kind of writing' (*Sat*. 1.10.46–49 *inventore minor*, 1.4.65 *genus hoc scribendi*), but for the purposes of extrinsic poetics it might be better to regard the creation, or conceptualization, of the genre as coming when Horace made himself Lucilius' follower and wrote himself (into) a literary history.[8] As Feeney puts it: 'In a sense, it is the second member of a genre, not the first, who creates it: [...] Lucilius is Lucilius but Horace makes the two of them into satire.'[9] More theoretically: 'The generalisations, the typifications that we call "genres" and their "situations" are retrospective and inductive'.[10] Satire explains itself as regards form and function much more than other Roman genres do. This is part of the genre,[11] not necessarily the key to a systematization of it, though the genre claims made are in response to the notion that a genre has rules to follow. In practice, attempts to find a coherent set of overarching satiric norms, elements or rhetorical strategies do not work, because each new author in the generic succession of satire seems to start again, while inserting himself into the tradition.[12] In other words, diachronic instability under-

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[5] *satura quidem tota nostra est* (Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.93), cf. Freudenburg 1995, 2; Ross (1975, 236 n. 4): 'Because literary forms and genres at Rome were imported ready-made, parody can appear sometimes almost contemporaneously with the original'.

[6] Cf. Morgan (2005, 174): 'In satire we have the most developed surviving specimen of an ancient genre – as it was invented, by Quintus Ennius; achieved its seminal shape, in the works of Gaius Lucilius; and then developed in a classic pattern of imitation and reaction from one exponent of the form to the next [...].'

[7] Cf. Gratwick 1982, 168.

[8] See Hunter in this volume, Fowler 1982, 153–55 ('Monogenesis') and Cucchiarelli (2001, 173) on 'the invention of the inventor' as a cultural act.

[9] Feeney 2003, 338.

[10] Freadman, 2012.

[11] Jones 2007, 1; cf. Farrell (2003, 395–96) on the Roman poets' obsessive generic self-awareness and 'the gap between theory and practice in the poetics of genre'.

[12] For example, Harrison (2007, 75–103) discusses generic variety in Horace's first book of *Satires* as both a response to, and an upgrading of, Lucilius' generic variety.

mines generic identity. If all genres can be placed on a continuum between stability and instability, closed and open, satire remained especially true to its versatile origins, that is, each new satirist adopted 'radical reinvention' as a generic norm.[13]

I want to amplify these points by an excursus into literary history. Let's begin with Lucilius as the first satirist, a status awarded retrospectively. Gruen's extremely readable chapter in *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome,* in accepting the image of itself (and Lucilius) that Roman satire creates, takes the satiric Lucilius as far as he can be taken. He portrays Lucilius as 'an especially incisive contemporary thinker' whose evaluation of the larger issues of his time provides 'an invaluable source for social and cultural history'. As well as giving a vivid picture of the political turmoil and social upheaval at the end of the second century BC, circumstances which he regards as especially propitious for the invention of satire, indeed 'as a laboratory for the production of satire', Gruen presents Lucilius as a thorough-going satirist.[14] Over and over again he uses words and phrases like 'cast aspersions' 'expose and castigate' 'dark and jaundiced view', 'flay', 'cast obloquy', 'excoriate', 'attack', 'denounce'. All of these have precedent in the ancient satirists and their scholiasts, in terms such as *maledicere*, *vituperare*, *carpere*, *detrahere pellem*, *lacerare*.

In his opening pages Gruen presents himself as adhering to the ancient image of Lucilius as a savage and fearless satirist, unanimously drawn by his successors in the genre, and other ancient sources, against a modern view of him as partisan.

Gruen's attractive portrayal is built on an impressive foundation of footnotes citing the fragments and often Cichorius,[15] their first historical commentator. But sometimes things are not quite what they seem. For example, 483W=461M *dilectum video studiose vulgus habere*, on which Gruen comments: 'A snide remark castigates the man who is the darling of the *vulgus*.'[16] Warmington, however, follows Housman against Marx in taking *dilectum* as from the fourth declension noun, and as a metaphor borrowed from the military sphere: 'I see that the common crowd is eagerly holding a levy'. A political comment now becomes a social one. If Gruen had translated his fragments rather than working paraphrases into his argument a far less incisive picture would have emerged.

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13 Cf. Fowler (1982, 24): 'genres are in a continual state of transmutation'. Here and throughout I am indebted to Jones 2007, *passim*. See also Jones 2006.

14 Gruen 1992, 274, 297.

15 Cichorius 1908; 1922.

16 Gruen 1992, 299.

286 Muecke

Gruen's acceptance of the later satirists' characterization of Lucilius, and his use of it as the dominant key of his reading, is knowingly one-sided.[17] It is indeed impossible to escape reading through hindsight but we must recognize that this does not capture the novelty of Lucilius' work for its original audience, the specificity of the takes on reality involved. When Lucilius was first read his audience had to have foresight and their foresight was based on genres and modes they already knew.[18] Lucilius' corpus was manifold and had many sources, as a long tradition of scholarship has shown.[19] If there was no single Greek model, the great German literary historians found many, overlooking the most important Roman one, in my view.

Friedrich Leo was particularly influential in the twentieth century, and I select him because his account of the origins of Latin elegy was similar to his account of satire – to a certain extent they are comparable genres –, and similarly influential. In both cases the great Plautine scholar failed to see Plautus. In the case of Roman elegy he insisted that there must have been a lost subjective Greek elegy, which gave rise to the subjective Roman elegy.[20] As the formative influences on Lucilius, apart from the 'satura' of Ennius and Pacuvius, and Accius (*Sotadica* and *Pragmatica*), Leo emphasized his knowledge of Greek literature – comedy, iambos and elegy – and the more general influence of the various forms of iambic and Cynic diatribe.[21] Not a word about Plautus. This was in 1913. (Marx's edition is dated 1904–05.) Later in the twentieth century, as Hellenistic poetry was studied more intensively, its influence on Roman literature was stressed even more. In 1949 there was Puelma Piwonka's *Lucilius und Kallimachos: zur Geschichte einer Gattung der hellenistisch-römischen Poesie*. This was a praiseworthy attempt to define the generic ideology of Lucilian satire through an immanent study of its outlook, concluding that Lucilius created satire as a typically Roman adaptation of Callimachus' *Iambi*.[22]

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**17** E.g. Gruen (1992, 274 n. 9) expresses the caveat 'that attitudes and opinions voiced in the fragments need not be Lucilius' own.'
**18** Kermode (1967, 163 n. 20): 'If genre is a consensus, a set of fore-understandings exterior to a text which enable us to follow that text, [...], its existence explains why readers who share those fore-understandings rather exactly with the author of the text read him more easily; but it also explains why we must read him differently.'
**19** Lucilius' work was an 'assembly' in Fowler's sense, apprehended as a new genre retrospectively, Fowler 1982, 156–59.
**20** Leo 1912, 140–57, esp. 143–44 saw the influence of Greek New Comedy as being on elegy in the Hellenistic period. Cf. Thomas 1979, 179.
**21** Leo 1913, 391–92.
**22** See Freudenburg 1993, esp. 103–8; Cucchiarelli 2001, 172–79.

To go back to elegy, it took until 1985 for someone to challenge Leo and argue that resemblances between comedy and elegy relate to 'central ideas and attitudes of the genre', which need not be traced back to a common Greek source, the Attic plays.[23] Particularly useful for my argument is Griffin's suggestion that comedy's most important contribution to elegy was in 'the idea of a world' and that this was a world shaped and coloured by *Roman* comedy.[24] What about satire? Horace shows us that comedy (Old, *Sat*. 1.4.1 *Eupolis Cratinus Aristophanesque,* and New, *Sat*. 1.2.20 *Terenti*, *Sat*. 2.3.11 *Menandro*) was part of the generic inheritance, and in *Sat*. 1.4 that 'the comic analogy' was central to his understanding of satire.[25] But Horace's avoidance of, and even condemnation, of Plautus (*Ep*. 2.1.170‒76) for stylistic defects, for which of course he also criticized Lucilius, may have played a role in the exclusion of Plautus from our reconstruction of the history of satire.[26] Notoriously, Horace makes Lucilius 'depend entirely on' the canonical Old Comedians (*Sat*. 1.4.6‒7). Unlike those on elegy, recent studies of Lucilius have little to say about Plautine comedy. On the one hand, it seems to be taken for granted that there is an affinity between satire and comedy, that Lucilius' language is sometimes stylistically 'Plautine',[27] and that comedy is part of the mix, but, on the other, a possible contributing role of Roman comedy to the formation of the generic definition, or the idea of the genre, is not considered, even though being Roman is the quintessential hallmark of satire and basic to its ideological thrust.[28]

In 1936 Wight Duff saw Lucilius as 'drawn to comedy for its realism', believing 'his interest in the comedy of the past [...] was deeper than is indicated merely by his verbal imitations of Aristophanes and Plautus and Terence'.[29] In 1920 Fiske's *Lucilius and Horace*[30] had dutifully gone through Marx's small list of possible linguistic borrowings (s.v. *Index auctorum*), eight lines, of which only a few are interesting. One is an exact citation of *Merc*. 397 (747W=736M, Non. 271.30, 420.10), and one (1004W=1094M) is perhaps cited by Nonius (34.21) as an imitation of *Mil*. 4. The most interesting lines are 796‒97W=771‒72M, which do look Plautine: *orationem facere compendi potes*; / *salve, dum salvo in tergo et tergino*

**23** Griffin 1985, 207.
**24** Griffin 1985, 204‒5.
**25** Freudenburg 1993, 27‒39, 46‒51; Cucchiarelli 2001, *passim*.
**26** Cucchiarelli 2001, 45‒46: 'ancora lo stile doveva escludere Plauto'. Jocelyn 1995. My thanks go to Philip Hardie for reminding me of this issue.
**27** Rudd 1980, 83‒84.
**28** Cowan 2011, vii-viii.
**29** Duff 1964, 56‒57.
**30** Fiske 1920, 98.

*licet* ('You can spare your language! Be saved while you may, with a saving of your hide and rawhide!' (transl. Warmington)). On these Marx commented ad loc.: 'Plautina lectione imbutus haec scripsit poeta' (cf. *Poen.* 351, *Most.* 60). Deufert has pointed out that all these 'Plautine' lines are from the earliest books (26 – 30) and almost exclusively are in dramatic metres, trochaic septenarii or iambic senarii.[31] Before we go on, let us briefly notice what happened with 'comic scenes', or mini-dramas,[32] by which I mean vivid interludes from everyday life stylized as dramatic dialogic scenes. These are to be found throughout the satiric tradition. Fiske,[33] followed by Puelma Piwonka,[34] saw them as stemming not directly from comedy but from the diatribe technique of vivid presentation of such exemplary slices of life using dialogue or other comic elements.

Roman comedy then, as distinct from Attic, was not seen as contributing any central forms, themes or ideas to the magma from which the elements of satire separated out. The Greek models and setting of Roman comedy were what attracted literary historians' attention and dominated their view of it. But with the appearance and absorption of Eduard Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* (1922) Plautus became a much more Roman poet. Gruen even made him a more Lucilian poet in *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* where he argued that Plautus was very much alive to public issues in contemporary Rome.[35]

Another possible reason why Roman comedy was discounted as a contributor to satire and elegy[36] was the weight then given to the difference between first and third person, for, as we have seen, the objective/subjective contrast was seen as significant. This objection is now no longer so great in that both the lovers of elegy and the various speakers of satire are seen as fictional *personae*. Comedy presents lovers who speak about their love in the first person, and, less often, I have to admit, comic characters speak about Roman life. Apart from the broad-brush involvement with contemporary social and political life that Gruen illustrates in his chapter on Plautus, there are in Plautus' extant plays two long and memorable examples of satiric engagement with Roman life, curiously overlooked by him (*Men.* 571– 601, *Curc.* 462– 86). The first to be considered is a *canticum* from *Menaechmi* (571– 601) of which Gratwick says that it is 'one of the most explicitly 'Roman' he [Plautus] ever composed, and for us the earliest ex-

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**31** Deufert 2002, 44 – 45.

**32** Hass 2007, 164 – 72, Auhagen 2001.

**33** Fiske 1920, 183.

**34** Puelma Piwonka 1949, 61 – 62.

**35** Gruen 1990, 124 – 57.

**36** See Konstan in this volume for a similar phenomenon in work on the novel (e. g. Trenkner 1958).

tensive comment on the enduring importance of *clientela* in Roman society'.[37] The observations on the nature and significance of the system of *clientela*, and the procedural details of the trial in which Menaechmus has become entangled, can refer only to Rome:

> MENAECHMVS Vt hoc utimur maxime more moro
> molestoque atque multo! atque uti quique sunt
> optumi, maxume morem habent hunc:
> clientes sibi omnes volunt esse multos:
> bonine an mali sint, id haud quaeritant;                                                575
> res magis quaeritur quam clientum fides cuius modi clueat.
>  si est pauper atque haud malus, nequam habetur,
>  sin dives malust, is cliens frugi habetur.
>  qui neque leges neque aequom bonum usquam colunt,                        580
>                                    sollicitos patronos habent.
>  datum denegant quod datum est, litium pleni, rapaces
>                                   viri, fraudulenti,
>  qui aut faenore aut periuriis habent rem paratam,
>                                    †mensae in quoiret†                                        584
> †lisuirist ubi dicitur dies, simul patronis dicitur.                                       585
> quippe qui pro illis loquimur quae male fecerunt.
> aut ad populum aut in iure aut apud aedilem res est.
> sicut me hodie nimis sollicitum cliens quidam habuit,
>                                      neque quod volui                                          588
> agere aut quicum licitumst, ita med attinuit,
>                                      ita detinuit.
> apud aediles pro eius factis plurumisque pessumisque                        590
> dixi causam, condiciones tetuli tortas, confragosas.
> ⟨h⟩aut plus ⟨h⟩aut minus quam opus fuerat dicto dixeram,
>                                     controversiam†,
> ut sponsio fieret. quid ille qui † praedem dedit?
>  nec magis manufestum ego hominem umquam ullum teneri vidi:
> omnibus male factis testes tres aderant acerrumi.                              595
>         di illum omnes perdant, ita mihi
>         hunc hodie corrupit diem,
>         meque adeo, qui ⟨h⟩odie forum
>         umquam oculis inspexi meis: ...[38]

What an incredibly stupid, tedious, and bothersome custom we have! And the more respected people are, the more they have this custom! Everybody wants to have many clients: whether they're good or bad they don't ask; they ask about the money rather than the reputation of the clients' reliability. If someone's poor and not bad, he's considered useless, but if a rich one's bad, he's considered a useful client. People who don't honor the laws

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**37** Gratwick 1993, 193 ad 571–601.

**38** The text is that of Gratwick 1993.

or what's fair and good anywhere keep their patrons busy. They deny that what's been given has been given, are full of lawsuits, and are greedy and dishonest men, who have gained their money either on interest or through perjuries. Their mind is in which***. When these men are called to court, their patrons are called to court at the same time since we speak for those who've committed offenses. The case comes before the people or the court or the aedile. This is how a certain client kept me very busy today and how I couldn't do what I wanted or who I wanted to do it with, to such an extent did he delay and detain me. Before the aediles I spoke in defense of his countless misdeeds and proposed complicated and obscure provisions. I spoke no more and no less than was required, so that a settlement came about on both sides. What did the man do +who gave a surety?+ I've never seen anyone caught more red-handed. For all his misdeeds three most stern witnesses stood present. May all the gods destroy him: he ruined this day for me today, and me too, who ever set my eyes on the forum today. (transl. De Melo, modified)

Menaechmus' monologue is a complaint of a *patronus* about the trials of dependent *clientes*, and it has a short anticipation at 451–55 where the parasite complains about time-wasting *contiones*. It displays the structure, immortalized by Leo and Fraenkel, of general sententious observations preceding their application to the particular case.[39] The generalizing introduction allows Menaechmus (uncharacteristically) to criticize patronage and delinquent clients in moral terms and express an Umbrician sympathy for the poor and respectable client.[40] As for the development of the narrative motif of delay in the forum, is it fanciful to recall Horace in *Sat.* 1.9, haled to court at the end by the pest who latches onto him? Menaechmus' forum is not so very different from Lucilius':

> Nunc vero a mani ad noctem festo atque profesto
> totus item pariterque die populusque patresque
> iactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam;
> uni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere et arti—
> verba dare ut cauta possint, pugnare dolose,
> blanditia certare, bonum simulare virum se,
> insidias facere ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.     (Lucilius 1145–51W=1228–34M)

> But as it is from morning to night, on holiday and workday,
> the whole people and senators too all alike
> are bustling about the Forum and nowhere leave off;
> they all devote themselves to one and the same pursuit and expertise —
> to be able to swindle successfully, to fight cunningly,
> to compete in flattery, to pretend to be an upright citizen,
> to lay ambushes as if everyone were everyone's enemies. (transl. Warmington)

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**39** Leo 1908, 75–78; Fraenkel 2007, 105–7, 239–40.

**40** See McCarthy 2000, 54–55 on the irony of the speech in its context.

Menaechmus' monologue, though an outstanding case, fits the general pattern of Plautine Romanization, whereas the Choragus' speech in *Curculio* (462–86) is one of a kind in New Comedy.[41] But once again we are back in the Roman forum, the various landmarks of which are the haunts mainly of low-lifes and delinquents.[42]

> CHORAGVS Edepol nugatorem lepidum lepide hunc nactust
> Phaedromus.
> halapantam an sycophantam magis esse dicam nescio.
> ornamenta quae locavi metuo ut possim recipere;
> quamquam cum istoc mihi negoti nihil est: ipsi Phaedromo          465
> credidi; tamen asservabo. sed dum hic egreditur foras,
> commonstrabo, quo in quemque hominem facile inveniatis loco,
> ne nimio opere sumat operam si quem conventum velit,
> vel vitiosum vel sine vitio, vel probum vel improbum.
> qui periurum convenire volt hominem ito in comitium;          470
> qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum,
> ditis damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito.
> ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent,
> symbolarum collatores apud forum piscarium.
> in foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant,          475
> in medio propter canalem, ibi ostentatores meri;
> confidentes garrulique et malevoli supera lacum,
> qui alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam
> et qui ipsi sat habent quod in se possit vere dicier.
> sub veteribus, ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore.          480
> pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt subito quibus credas male.
> in Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant,
> [in Velabro vel pistorem vel lanium vel haruspicem]
> vel qui ipsi vorsant vel qui aliis ubi vorsentur praebeant.
> [ditis damnosos maritos apud Leucadiam Oppiam.]          485
> sed interim fores crepuere: linguae moderandum est mihi.[43]

Goodness, it's a charming swindler that Phaedromus has charmingly got hold of. I don't know whether I should say he's more of a trickster or of a prankster. I'm afraid I might not be able to get back the costumes I hired out; although I have no business with that chap: I entrusted them to Phaedromus himself. Still, I'll be on my guard. But until he comes out I'll show in which place you can easily find which sort of person, so that no one labors too laboriously if he wants to meet someone, be it a man of vice or a man without vice, be it a worthy or a worthless character. Anyone who wants to meet a perjurer should go to the assembly place. Anyone who wants to meet a liar and a braggart must

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**41** E.g. Arnott 1975, 33; Zwierlein 1990, 261–65 does not reject it.

**42** See Moore 1991; for more on the topography see Sommella 2005, and for a comparison with Lucilius' forum see Schäfer 2001, 183–86.

**43** The text is that of Leo 1958.

look for him at the temple of Venus Cloacina, and one who wants to meet rich and married wasters must look below the colonnaded hall. In the same place there will also be grown-up prostitutes and men who ask for formal guarantees from prospective debtors. Those who contribute to shared meals are on the fish market. At the lower end of the market decent and wealthy people stroll around; in the middle part of the market next to the open drain are the mere show-offs. Arrogant, overtalkative, and malevolent people are above the Lake, ones who boldly insult their neighbor for no good reason and who have enough that could in all truth be said about themselves. Below the Old Shops there are those who give and receive on interest. Behind the temple of Castor there are those whom you shouldn't trust quickly. In the Tuscan Quarter there are those people who sell themselves. [In the Velabrum you can meet the miller or the butcher or the soothsayer] or those who turn or give others the opportunity to turn. [Rich and married wasters at the house of Leucadia Oppia.] But meanwhile the door has creaked: I have to keep my tongue in check. (transl. De Melo)

Marx did notice this speech. Describing it as 's*aturam Romani coloris*', he cited it as an example of a popular sort of Roman poetry that the comic poet and satirist may both have drawn on.[44] Since then there has been much interest in it. A chorus of twentieth and twenty-first-century voices have described it as satiric.[45] Even Leo in the comedy section of his *Geschichte* noticed the Roman local colour as an addition to the Greek original, using the adjective 'satiric'. He also saw Roman satire in another monologue earlier in *Curculio*, the running slave's (280–98), where the material is not so obviously Roman and where Latin and Greek elements are intermingled. Here the picture of Roman street life reminds him of Juvenal.[46] So the satiric nature of these two *Curculio* monologues has long been recognized, and later the pervasive Roman satire of the whole play was emphasized by Eckhard Lefèvre and Timothy Moore.[47] Lefèvre also drew connections between the Plautine monologues and the monologues of formal verse satire, as well as with Lucilius: 'In der Tat möchte man glauben, der Dichter dieser mitreissenden, aber wenig ausgefeilten Suada habe sich in der Gattung geirrt und werfe *stans pede in uno* 200 solcher Verse in eine Stunde hin.'[48] Yet such passages have not seemed significant to those investigating the beginnings of Roman satire, perhaps because they did not seem to equate with the *onomasti komodein* that satire claims for itself, but voice reactions rather to groups or classes of people without naming names.

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[44] Marx 1905, xvi. Cf. Gratwick 1982, 162.

[45] See Lefèvre 1991, 100.

[46] Leo 1913, 146–47; Fraenkel 2007, 89–91, 129.

[47] Lefèvre 1991, 91–104; Moore 1991, *passim*.

[48] Lefèvre 1991, 104, 100–1.

If we take as an important part of satire's 'central ideas and attitudes' the satiric tone and the Roman subject matter both so well attested in Lucilius Book 30 (his first in hexameters) – even though there is much in Lucilius that is not 'satiric' in this sense, all Roman satirists claiming more aggression for their genre than they actually practice – I would suggest that for the first audience the similarities with these elements of Roman comedy would have been an important part of the assumptions that guided their understanding. The examples I have pointed to are admittedly rare but they are supported by many other lesser instances of Roman satire in Plautus.

The ready-made genres epic, lyric, comedy and tragedy, epigram brought their generic expectations with them. Roman satire not only had to create itself – a process that makes it seem problematic as a genre, but revealing for higher-order discussion of genre – but it had to create the set of expectations its audience needed or looked for and so ended up with a stronger claim of generic unity than is in fact borne out in the works themselves. I agree with Frederick Jones that this is a result of the strength of the prevailing concept of a genre-system, which led to Lucilius' successors writing as though satire were 'a recognisable and defined genre, distinct from other genres'.[49] Lucilius had to be the generic model even though he was a problematic one.

Roman verse satire, therefore, in the complexity of its origins, and continual reinvention, is a paradigmatic case for the workings of genre. It is a case where we can glimpse a new genre coming into being in Rome, by means of the assemblage and transformation of a number of pre-existing, largely interrelated, genres and, in Lucilius' successors, the separating out of an open set of common features, under the umbrella of a generic programme (aggressive criticism) that has more to do with positioning than with defining. As the texts of the genre accrue, it simultaneously acquires a self-justifying history. Accordingly, one of my aims in this paper has been to try to distinguish two kinds of expectations, on the one hand those specific to satire and on the other those that belong to genre theory, and to hint at tensions between them, both in satire itself and in what is written about it.

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**49** Jones 2007, 28.

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Kirk Freudenburg

# The Afterlife of Varro in Horace's *Sermones*

## Generic Issues in Roman Satire[1]

**Abstract:** This paper looks at the ancient division of satire into its two main types, the formal verse satire of Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, and the 'mixed' variety of Ennius, Pacuvius and Varro. These types are kept clearly distinct from one another by later grammarians, scholiasts and rhetoricians (esp. Quintilian and Diomedes) who received their ideas about satire and its categorizations(s) primarily, it seems, from Varro, who was himself both a prolific writer of satires that he dubbed not Ennian but 'Menippean', as well as a scholar of the genre's origin(s) and development. This paper will sort through the various possibilities for what Varro may or may not have said about satire in his lost treatise (s) on satire, and it will compare the later, categorical statements about satire's clearly distinct types to the actual practices of the satirists, especially to Varro in the extant remains of his Menippean satires and to Horace in the second book of his *Sermones,* in order to show that the satirists themselves were far less categorical in their writing of satire than were the grammarians in their thinking about it, and in their policing of the genre's intra-generic boundaries.

**Keywords:** Varro, Menippean Satire, Origins, Derivation, Etymology, Horace, *Sermones,* genre, Quintilian, Plautus, New Comedy, Farce, Comic dialogue, Old Comedy, fantasy, *katabasis, teichoscopia,* Roman censor

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# In the cause of Roman *eruditio*: Lucilius and Varro in Quintilian book 10

After advancing his famous *tota nostra* premise to announce his treatise's turn from elegy to satire, Quintilian gives pride of place to Lucilius by naming him first among the writers of *satura*, saying that he was the first to win 'conspicuous renown' (*insignem laudem,* Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93) for writing it. Normally whatever poet Quintilian names first in any given category is also, in his estimation, that category's best, e. g. Virgil in epic, Tibullus in elegy. But in this case Quintilian quickly makes clear that he considers Horace the better writer of satire. And yet he names Lucilius first because the genre was itself largely synonymous with Lucilius, and certainly unthinkable without him. For the *amatores* of Lucilius, the genre's being 'entirely Roman' was as much a moral designation (i. e. about its being Roman in attitude and expression, unaffected and un-hybridized in content) as it was a technical matter of its having no Greek analogue to explain its origins and *raison d'être*.[2] As such, the genre needed a *vir Romanissimus* at the root of its genealogical tree, an *auctor* whose rugged and unalloyed Roman *genus* ('stock' or 'social class') was expressed as his *genus* ('genre').[3] And thus his genre's characterization is inseparable from the moral characterization of the man himself. Conceding their main moral point to the *amatores Lucili*, Quintilian says of Lucilius (*Inst.* 10.1.94): *nam eruditio **in eo** mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas atque abunde salis* ('for **in him** there is amazing learning as well as freedom of speech, and from this [springs] asperity and a flood of wit'). Lucilius' inspirational muse, the fountain he drank from to speak as forcefully as he did, was *libertas,* a lost and much lionized republican value that he possessed in abundance, causing him to speak in abundance.

But in conceding that point to Lucilius's *amatores* Quintilian slips in another value at the head of his list, itself decently respectable and Roman, but perhaps not what one thinks of as a defining feature of Lucilian satire: learning (*eruditio*), a quality associated with education, and the controlled assimilation of many books. This reminds us that Quintilian has his own, highly specialized reasons for evaluating poets and genres as he does, always with an eye towards an unworked boy's *eruditio*.[4] Insisting that there was more to Lucilius than his un-

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**2**  See Freudenburg 2005, 1–7.

**3**  Further on Roman concepts of genre as defined by, and always entailing, considerations of social rank, see Freudenburg 2001, 48–9.

**4**  Bloomer 2011, 90: 'In Quintilian, *rudis* is a favorite term in discussions of the educational process. Indeed, *eruditio* is conceived as existing along a continuum, at one end of which stands

checked *libertas* (thanks to Horace this was easily forgotten), Quintilian pushes Lucilius' writings forward into the territory of his genre's elder brother, the 'mixed' *saturae* of Varro. Of Roman satire's other type, Quintilian has only this to say (*Inst.* 10.1.95):

> *Alterum illud etiam prius satirae genus, sed non sola carminum varietate mixtum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum **eruditissimus.***

> Terentius Varro, **the most learned** of all Romans, put together that other, even older (sc. than the Lucilian) type of satire, but his was mixed from a variety not only of poems (sc. but of prose as well).

Ennius and Pacuvius, though implied by *etiam prius*, do not make Quintilian's list. Instead Quintilian limits himself to Varro. Because this passage is often taken to mean what it does not say, it needs to be pointed out here that Quintilian structures his division of satire not in terms of formal verse satire versus Menippean satire. These are useful categories, and fairly modern ones. But, strictly speaking, they were not the ones used by ancient scholars (especially grammarians). Rather, in saying that Varro 'put together' or 'set up' the type that was mixed 'not only' by a variety of poems, he leaves us to fill in the obvious: that Varro mixed in prose as well. Thus, that other, older variety of satire to which Quintilian refers is the Ennian and Pacuvian, not the Menippean.[5] Thus we see that Quintilian's *tota nostra* claim keeps him from identifying a Greek precedent on either side of the ledger: not for Lucilius (despite what Horace had so famously asserted at the beginning of *S.* 1.4) and not for Varro (despite Varro's own designation of his works as 'Menippean'). Again, to make perfectly clear what Quintilian, albeit rather cryptically, says: the second branch of satire, that *alterum genus* composed by Varro, he defines in terms of mixture and variety, not in terms of prosimetry. Modern scholars routinely divide ancient satire into the categories of formal verse (Lucilian) and prosimetric (Menippean). This is not what Quintilian does. Instead, for Quintilian, prosimetry was Varro's way of achieving variety, and thus of working within the Ennian-Pacuvian mold even while he was patently shifting the genre into what would become its fixed prosimetric ('Menippean') form.

After naming him *eruditissimus*, Quintilian goes on to describe Varro as a renowned expert on the Latin language, and the writer of numerous learned books

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the unworked boy, while at the other stand the erudite poets and scholars whose diction and inquiries further purify *Latinitas*. Foremost among the latter are some famous poets and the incomparable (and many-booked) Varro (1.8.11).'

**5** For this interpretation of Quintilian's famously vexed sentence, see Winterbottom 1970, 191.

on Roman and Greek antiquities that, as far as any young Roman's rhetorical training is concerned, Quintilian thinks 'will confer more *scientia* than *eloquentia*.' And yet that same quality of prodigious learning is what connects Varro the scholar to the 'Roman man' (*vir Romanorum eruditissimus*) who writes satire. Thus what was true of Lucilius holds true for Varro as well: his one most outstanding moral trait, the quality that best defines him as a Roman, is the very stuff in which his satires abound. For Quintilian, the satires are the man. And his signature trait is one that he shares with Lucilius: *eruditio mira* 'an amazing learning'. As if to underscore this point, Quintilian uses a particular verb for Varro's satiric writing that he uses for no other writer in his tenth book (and only one other time in the whole of the *Institutes*[6]): *condere* means to compose, but it also means to preserve, or set in store, as one would a jar of olives or a cask of wine (*amurcam periti agricolae tam in doleis condunt quam oleum aut vinum*, Var. *R.* 1.61, one of dozens of examples from this work). The verb thus brings to mind the one most obvious omission from Quintilian's list of Varro's learned works, the *de Re Rustica*, as the phrase *mixtum condidit* makes a farmer's well stocked 'larder' out of the vast and variegated learning (***uar**ietate...**Var**ro*) to be found on the pages of Varro's *saturae*.[7] And at the same time it produces a *figura etymologica* for the writing of satire that Varro is known to have used and is himself generally thought to have invented: *satura* as a kind of culinary hodgepodge, a *farcimen* or a *satura lanx*.[8] If there are any satyrs (σάτυροι) or drunkards (*saturi*) lurking in Quintilian's analysis of satire, they are to be found not here in Varro's kitchen or his villa's storeroom, but in the irrepressible flow of Lucilian ***Lib**ertas*.

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**6** At Quint. *Inst.* 3.1.19, where the verb connotes not just 'writing' but being the first to 'set up' or 'found' the practice of writing on the topic of rhetoric in Rome: *Romanorum primus ... condidit aliqua in hanc materiam M. Cato*. See Connolly 2007, 38.

**7** Sensing a problem with *condidit*, O. Jahn emended the passage to read *condiuit* 'he seasoned', which would produce an alternate food metaphor.

**8** In the third book of his *Ars Grammatica* Diomedes cites Varro as the authority behind the idea that the literary genre was named after a particular kind of *farcimen* 'stuffing' or 'sausage' that was called *satura* (Keil *G.L.* I [1885] p. 485): *siue a quodam genere farciminis quod multis refertum saturam dicit Varro uocitatum. Est autem hoc positum in secundo libro Plautinorum quaestionum "satura est uva passa et polenta et nuclei pini ex mulso consparsi."* Further on Varro's 'recipe' for *satura,* see Ullman 1913, 176 n.2. The *saturae* of Livy 7.2 (bawdy insult songs, fully scripted, professionally sung and danced to musical accompaniment) stand half way between the burlesques of (presumably dignified) Etruscan dances by Roman youths, who hurled insults at each other in improvised verse, and the fully scripted and emplotted plays of Livius Andronicus. According to Livy, the improvised banter of the young men found later expression in Atellan Farce.

# Varro on the question of satire's origins

In his brief discussion of satire, Quintilian restricts himself to the most Roman aspects (*libertas, eruditio,* the *agricola peritus* stocking his larder) of the genre's most Roman satirists. But it is clear that Varro's 150 books of satires might easily have been taken as imitations of one or more Greek models, especially since Varro himself certainly referred to them as 'Menippean satires'.[9] Near the beginning of his fragmentary and much revised *Academica,* dated to the summer of 45 B.C.E., Cicero stages a dialogue between himself and Varro at Varro's villa near Cumae. In responding to Cicero, who has asked why he (so obviously unlike Cicero himself) writes no dialogues on topics of Greek philosophy (specifically his own brand of Academic philosophy), Varro includes a reference to the philosophical content, as well as the dialogical form and overall educational value of many of his earlier satires (Cic. *Acad Post.* 1.2.8):

> (Varro): et tamen in illis veteribus nostris quae Menippum imitati, non interpretati, quadam hilaritate **conspersimus**, multa **admixta** ex intima philosophia, multa dicta dialectice; quae cum facilius minus docti intellegerent **iucunditate quadam** ad legendum **invitati**, in laudationibus, in his ipsis antiquitatum prooemiis philosophis scribere voluimus, si modo consecuti sumus.

> And nonetheless in those old writings of mine, the ones that— imitating Menippus, not translating him – **I sprinkled** with a measure of fun, **mixing in** many abstruse matters of philosophy and many passages of dialectical reasoning. Whereas persons who are less educated come to grasp such matters more easily by being enticed/**invited** into reading by something delicious,[10] in my *Laudatory Portraits* and especially in the introductions to my *Antiquities*, I wanted to write for philosophers—and maybe I succeeded.

The early works were tasty appetizers, and the later works offer more substantial fare. More than 60 years ago, Otto Weinreich pointed out that Varro (which is to say Cicero) is actually playing with a food etymology in describing his satires in this passage.[11] This is not just cute, but potentially quite meaningful. Varro was himself, in the summer of 45 B.C.E., putting the last touches on his massive etymological treatise, the *de Lingua Latina*. I suspect that Cicero has Varro figure his satires as a tasty concoction that mixes serious philosophy with hilarity (= Cynic

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**9** Aulus Gellius 2.18.10: *Alii quoque non pauci servi fuerunt qui post philosophi clari extiterunt. Ex quibus ille Menippus fuit cuius libros M. Varro in satiris imitatus est, quas alii Cynicas, ipse appellat Menippeas.* 'There were other slaves as well, and not a few, who later stood out as famous philosophers. Among them was Menippus, the one whose books M. Varro imitated in those satires which others call "Cynic", but he himself calls "Menippean"'.

**10** For this sense of *iucunditas,* see *OLD* s.v. *iucundus* 3.

**11** Weinreich 1949, xl-xli.

*spoudaiogeloion*) because that is how Varro himself approached the problem satire in one or more of the several scholarly works that he wrote on the topic of literature and Roman culture, such as his *De Poetis,* the *De Poematis* (this is the most likely candidate[12]), or, quite naturally, the *De Compositione Saturarum* (not a word of which survives). Other possibilities for where this may have happened include his *Antiquitates* (one of the works referenced by the passage quoted above), the *de Lingua Latina* (of which we have 6 books of an original 25, with many references to *Saturnus,* but none to *satura*) or the *De Scaenicis Originibus* (one might think here, for example, of Livy 7.2, or Val. Max. 2.4.4 where a native—that is, Etrusco-Italic—dramatic precedent is posited as giving rise to the literary genre of satire). Within his discussion of satire's several most likely etymologies, Diomedes cites a recipe that Varro gives for a dish known as *satura,* a sweet polenta cake stuffed with raisins and pine nuts, in the second book of his *Plautine Questions.*[13] Scholars have always thought that the particular 'Plautine Question' that Varro answered with his recipe had to do with a mysterious culi-

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**12** Consider how the ritual lament, a precursor of elegy, is connected to 'song' by way of a strained etymology at Varro *De Poematis,* fr. 303 Funaioli (= Diomedes, in Keil *G.L.* vol. I, p.484, 17):

**apud Romanos** autem id carmen quod cum lamentatione extremum atque ultimum mortuo accinitur nenia **dicitur** παρὰ τὸ νείατον, id est ἔσχατον: unde et in chordis extremus neruus appellatus est νήτη. nam et elegia extrema mortuo accinebatur sic uti nenia, ideoque ab eodem elogium uidetur tractum cognominari, quod mortuis uel morituris ascribitur nouissimum.

Among the Romans however the song that is the final rite of lamentation and the last sung for the dead is called *nenia* ('dirge'), which is to say 'at the very last' (and so among the chords the furthest string is called *nete*). For an elegy also used to be sung as a final rite for the dead, just as the dirge. And for that reason *elogium* ('epitaph') seems be derived from the same root, because it is written at the last for the dead or those who are near death.

And note how the same dictional formula (*apud Romanos dicitur*), situated within the same 'then' versus 'now' frame, occurs within Diomedes' famous analysis of satire into its two principle types (Keil, *G.L.* vol. I, p. 485):

Satira **dicitur** carmen **apud Romanos** nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae charactere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius; at olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.

Among Romans now, at any rate, Satire is a poem of invective, written to attack the vices of men in the manner of old comedy, the sort that Lucilius wrote, then Horace, then Persius. But in a former time a poetic work that consisted of a smattering of different poems was called satire, the sort that Pacuvius and Ennius wrote.

Diomedes is generally thought to have taken over Varro's theories (including much of their terminology and the habits of their framing) from an intermediate source of the second century C.E. or later. See van Rooy 1966, 186–7.

**13** See above n. 8.

nary term *satura* that he found somewhere in a play of Plautus (now lost).[14] This may, in fact, be the case, but in the pages below I would like to suggest that Diomedes may have cited the recipe in the way he cites it, i.e. solidly within a discussion of literary satire, because that was exactly the way the recipe figured into Varro's *Plautine Questions*. Given the profound impact that the plays of Plautus had upon Varro's satiric works (more on this below), I think we are well within our rights to question G.L. Hendrickson's dictum that 'the Plautine Questions would scarcely afford occasion to consider *satura* as the name of a form of literature.'[15]

What we do know from the (often substantial) fragments that remain from these treatises is that, even when the topic at hand is not the Latin Language *per se*, Varro goes at whatever problem he is studying as, first and foremost, a problem of origins: institutions, social practices, religious ideas, and so on. All are handled as if they were, in a sense, 'etymological' problems, and it is clear that Varro used his etymological knowledge as a basic tool of research for whatever investigation he happened to be engaged in. For example, Gellius 1.18 relates that in book 14 of his *Antiquitates diuinae* Varro took issue with his old teacher, Lucius Aelius Stilo, for straining to find a Latin etymology for 'hare' (*lepus*) in 'light-footed' (*levipes*) when the real answer was to be found in an archaic Greek word for hare (λέπος) that had long since fallen out of use (replaced by λαγωός). Exactly how the 'hare' in question came to figure in Varro's discussion of Roman religion in book 14 of his *Antiquitates diuinae* is unknown (an animal sacred to Venus?).[16] But the same etymological problem is again raised, and Varro's Greek solution repeated, in both the *de Re Rustica*, and the *de Lingua Latina* where, in the case of the latter, the residual use of the word *lepus* among the Sicilians elicits a discussion of the origins of the *Siculi* from the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory near Rome.[17] A theory about the aboriginal peoples of Italy is used to support the etymology, just as elsewhere the

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**14** E.g. Hendrickson 1911, 136: 'Varro was explaining the word *satura* as it appeared in some connection in the language of Plautus, whether the Plautus which we now have, or a larger Plautus which he may have recognized.'

**15** *Op. cit.* p. 136.

**16** Cardauns *ad* fr. 89 takes the debate over the etymology of *lepos* to be part of a larger, general introduction to Varro's etymological method in book 14: '*lepus, Graecus, puteus* werden als Beispiele genannt ... daher is fr. 89 der Einleitung zuzuweisen, wo Varro sich demnach über die für ihn so wichtige etymologische Methode under allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten geäussert hat.'

**17** Var. *R.R.* 3.12 *Aelius putabat ab eo dictum leporem a celeritudine, quod levipes esset. Ego arbitror a Graeco vocabulo antico, quod eum Aeolis leporin appellabant. L.L.* 5.12 *Lepus, quod Siculi, ut Aeolis quidam Graeci, dicunt leporin: a Roma quod orti Siculi, ut annales veteres nostri dicunt, fortasse hinc illuc tulerunt et hic reliquerunt id nomen.*

same etymology could be, and likely was used, to support a theory about Italy's *aborigines*.[18] Thus we see that, for Varro, the etymology of words is an all-purpose tool, a Swiss Army knife that can crack open any question you might have. And the particular case of Aelius's 'hare' shows that Varro shows no particular aversion to tracing Roman social and literary practices (not just Roman vocabulary) to precedents in the Greek world and elsewhere. With amazing regularity his investigations lead him back not to a pure, aboriginal peoples who are the heart and soul and authentic 'truth' of Rome, but to a cultural mélange, a *genus mixtum* influenced by the Greeks from the earliest times. 'Lance' (*lancea*), he points out in his *Antiquities diuinae*, is not a Latin word, but a word that comes from Spain. And *petorritum* (a kind of wagon) is not half-Greek, as some had claimed, but entirely from Transalpine Gaul.[19] The very name of 'Italy' he derives from the Greek![20] Varro loves to play the old Roman crank in his satires, dismissive of all things fancy, foreign and new (see below). But when it comes to theorizing about who the old Romans were, their language(s), institutions, rituals, and so on, and how these things came to be, it seems that he is willing to go wherever his words take him—which is to say wherever he takes us with his words.

The reason this matters is that, as you can see, for example, by putting Quintilian side-by-side with Livy, or alongside the late fourth-century grammarian Diomedes, there were some scholars of literature in the ancient Roman world who were perfectly happy to think that Roman satire stemmed directly from Greek precedents (the usual suspect is Old Comedy), and yet there were others who went to rather absurd extremes to deny that satire could have had anything at all to do with anything Greek (thus Quintilian's *tota nostra*). As we can see from his etymological practice, and from his happily naming Menippus as the model for his satires, Varro seems to have had no 'ideological' aversion to finding

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**18** Similarly at Varro *Antiquitates diuinae* fr. 80 Cardauns Varro explains why the *Luperci* are called *ludii: quod ludendo discurrant*. The etymology may also have been used to support a theory about the origins of dramatic art: '[Varro] considered the *lusus iuvenum,* for instance the *discursus Lupercorum,* to be the origin of Roman dramatic art,' Waszink 1948, 229. On the large question of whether Varro derived *ludii* from *Lydii*, see van Rooy 1952, and Cardauns *ad* fr. 80: 'Die Ableitung von den Lydern war allerdings auch Varro nicht unbekannt.'

**19** Var. *Ant. Div.* fr. 203 Cardauns: *petorritum non est ex Graecia dimidiatum, sed totum* [*ortum*] *trans Alpes; nam est uox Gallica ... lanceam quoque (dixit) non Latinum, sed Hispanicum uerbum esse.*

**20** Gel. 11.1: *Timaeus in historiis ... et M. Varro in Antiquitatibus rerum humanarum terram Italiam de Graeco vocabulo appellatam scripserunt quoniam boves graeca veteri lingua hitaloi vocitati sunt, quorum in Italia magna copia fuerit, buceraque in ea terra gigni pascique solita sint complurima.*

precedents for something as 'totally Roman' as satire in the writings (or perhaps in the dramatic practices) of the ancient Greeks, or the Etruscans (*Lydii*), or some other aboriginal or immigrant peoples who were thought to have contributed to Rome's cultural mélange. But for Varro the tracing device is always the individual, tell-tale word which, he believes, contains in its DNA the basic evolutionary details of any given institution or practice. And this holds true for poetic practices as well. For example, we see from the several fragments we have of his *De Poematis* that Varro approaches generic categories as, first and foremost, etymological problems: thus, tragedy has to do with *tragoi*, 'goats', comedy with the *komos*, and dirges (*neniae*) with the Greek word for the lowest string of a musical chord, the *nete* (see above n. 11). This last etymology is generally considered false. But it represents the kind of aggressive sonic retro-fitting that one would have to engage in to find a precedent for Roman *satura* in Greek satyrs (σάτυ-ροι)—and here I have to remind you that, technically speaking, the English words 'satire' and 'satiric' are not etymologically related to one another, strange as that may seem.[21]

And yet over time the words σάτυρος and *satura* did coalesce conceptually, as noun to derived-adjective, as Romans proceeded to speculate about the origins of satire, and to think about what ways, if any, Roman *satura* may have had something to do with satyrs, and the ithyphallic fun of the Greek comic stage.[22] And Varro may have had a key role to play in this. We know that he connected the generic term to a certain kind of tasty stuffing or sausage, a *farcimen* that was called 's*atura*' (thus there is perhaps a connection here to drama, i.e. 'farce').[23] But the big question that scholars of Roman satire have always had regarding Varro's theorizing of the genre is: did he connect it with satyrs? The question is unanswerable, and as before the evidence is late and several times removed from Varro himself.[24] But at the very least we can be sure that, in dis-

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**21** Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.28–41 describes etymology as a useful tool when used sensibly. But he chides Varro for some of his more laughable excesses.

**22** On the conceptual coalescence of these terms, see van Rooy 1966, 187–98.

**23** See above n. 8.

**24** In his preface to *Sermones* book one, Pseudo-Acro connects the *satura lanx* to a chorus of satyrs: *satyra dicitur lancis genus tractum a choro Liberi patri*. And he notes that others connected the generic title to the free speech that derives from drunkenness: *crimina hominum libere inuadat, ut saturati homines idest ebrii*. In a strained effort to draw parallels between Greek forms of comic drama and Latin forms, Diomedes connects Greek satyr plays to Atellan farce: both are set in the countryside, and both featured outlandish rustic characters; see Wiseman 1988, 69. This gives some indication of just how malleable satyrs could be as etymological links to satire. Any aspect of their stage characterization could be isolated and emphasized in order to put them in the distant past of what developed into satire, e.g. their drunken aggression and lack of

cussing the genre, in whatever work he may have done this (likely several of those named above), he would have gone at it first as an etymological problem, and he would have introduced any number of possibilities that he thought most likely, including (I suspect) the four main derivations proposed by Diomedes. Numerous examples from the *de Lingua Latina* and elsewhere demonstrate that Varro's etymological method is not strictly exclusionary, i.e. bent on locating the word's one true meaning to the exclusion of all other possibilities. In some cases he gathers up a number of explanations without deciding between them.[25] Thus, in the case of satire, he may have preferred a food etymology (and we should recall that Livy, too, seems alive to that etymology when he describes the preliterary dramatic *saturae* as *impletae modis*). But whether Varro would have speculated about the Greek satyrs as the etymological root of satire is an irresolvable controversy, pitting scholars such as Leo and Van Rooy against Marx, Hendrickson, and others.[26]

## Varro and Horace on the dramatic origins of satire

Quintilian does not mention Old Comedy when he talks about satire. Diomedes does. For him it seems a perfectly natural reflex to talk about Roman satirists and the Old Comic poets in the same breath, since both of them attack the vices of men. The verse-satirists themselves are fond of telling us that Roman satire bears a strong resemblance to Old Comedy: Persius names the big three of Attic Old Comedy in his programmatic first hexameter poem, and he says that they are all cooked into him. Juvenal seems to have modeled much of his second satire, one of his nastiest, on the *Baptae* of Eupolis.[27] But the most outrageous assertion of a hard and direct affiliation between satire and Old Comedy is to be found at the beginning of Horace *Sermones* 1.4, where the speaker famously claims that Lucilian satire derives in its entirety from Greek Old Comedy: *hinc omnis* pendet Lucilius. He goes on to assert that Lucilius did nothing more

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control; their rustic humor and lack of sophistication; or their conducting the religious rites of Dionysus, a bawdy rustic celebration that would connect them with harvest festivals more generally, and with the fertility rites of the farm, and so on.

**25** Cf. Var. *L.L.* 5.10 *Sol* **vel quod** *ita Sabini,* **vel quod** *solus ita lucet, ut ex eo deo dies sit. Luna,* **vel quod** *sola lucet noctu. Itaque ea dicta Noctiluca in Palatio: nam ibi noctu lucet templum ... Quae ideo quoque videtur ab Latinis Iuno Lucina dicta* **vel quod** *est et Terra, ut physici dicunt, et lucet;* **vel quod** *ab luce eius qua quis conceptus est usque ad eam, qua partus quis in lucem.*

**26** The most accessible study of these issues, with a summary review of earlier scholarship, is Brink 1963.

**27** See Braund 1966, 148.

than change the meters of Old Comedy to make his *Saturae: mutatis **tantum** pedibus numerisque.* As we see again much later in Diomedes, the connection Horace posits between Lucilius and Old Comedy is put in terms of a shared moral aim, i. e. not in laughter, not in fantasy, or verbal play, or taking a commoner's eye-view of the world, but in savaging wicked characters publicly, and branding them with the censor's *nota.* Murderers, thieves, adulterers (another canonical triad of Aristotelian provenance, to go with Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes): these are the targets of Old Comedy, says the satirist.[28]

As theory (whether of Old Comedy or of Lucilian satire), these claims are befuddling and hard to take seriously. But deep down they contain ideas that are respectable, and that were very much in play on the grammatical/theoretical scene of ancient Rome. Horace does not suffer theorizing fools lightly, especially when they are grammarians, and here, I suspect, he is letting us hear how they sound. As I have argued elsewhere, the opening assertions of *Sermones* 1.4 do not so much theorize as they represent theorization (a case of 'suspended' focalization), thereby letting us see the absurdity of a decent theory, and a culture war, taken several steps too far.[29] But the point I would like to make about these lines here concerns their possible Varronian roots, and their applicability to the Menippean satires of Varro himself. Whether taking them as absurd or not, commentators routinely seize on these lines as a precious, early expression of satiric theory. And many have thought that the core idea – a connection between Lucilius and Old Comedy – must have come from Varro. I think that this is, in a very rough way, correct. But I think that Varro would have been forthcoming with other possibilities, to include local Etruscan and south Italian and Sicilian origins of satire. And he would not have been nearly so (comically/ironically) heavy-handed in drawing a straight and hard line between Old Comedy and Lucilius. He would have proposed side influences and intermediaries, likely several, e. g. in 'aboriginal' rustic celebrations of *pater Liber* and *Ceres*, Fescennine verses, and south Italian and Sicilian farce (perhaps naming Epicharmus as the πρῶτος εὑρετής ['first inventor'] of Greek comic drama; see below). And in the case of his own satires he would have certainly made mention of not only

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**28** On the murderer, thief and adulterer as an Aristotelian triad (in whom Aristotle would see no potential for humorous treatment whatsoever), see Freudenburg 1993, 97.

**29** See Freudenburg 2001, 17–19 and 44–51, esp. n. 49 on Horace's sampling of alien theoretical views for the sake of sending them up, or daring us to take them seriously; also Freudenburg 2002 (repr. 2009), where this is described in terms of theoretical propositions and ideas being 'looped through' a known rhetoric, showing the effects of the gravitational pull exerted by the addressee.

Menippus (and the cynic philosophers more generally), but even more importantly, Plautus.

But the question I would like to pose is less about whether the Old Comic analogy figured into Varro's account of satire, but how it may have been figured into it. In Horace you have an absurdly compressed story that makes Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus grim agents of social control—nothing funny about them. They were Greek Catos who branded criminals with the censor's *nota* and presumably made the world a better place. What we are given to consider, then, is a very odd retrojection of a certain narrow strain of Roman political thought, and certain trappings of a quintessentially Roman office and cultural ideal onto the expansive and irreverent practices of 5th century Attic drama. What you end up with is an outrageous hybrid that was neither here nor there: not just a 'theory of satire,' but the theorizing of satire as good material for satire: a thing to be overblown and derided in caricature.

But let's say that some respectable version of the Old Comic analogy was featured in Varro's theory of satire – whether that came by way of his theorizing works, or from the satires themselves. The question I want to consider is how, or how else, this analogy might have figured as a means of explaining what satire is and does. For whereas most scholars (unlike Quintilian) will allow that Lucilius read the Old Comic poets and that he may have modeled his satires, very loosely, after them, when it comes to explaining Menippean satire they do not hesitate: the influence of Old Comedy on Menippean satire is beyond question. But in the case of Menippean satire the emphasis is on a different aspect of Old Comedy: not on *nominatim* criticism or on political engagement, or even on railing at vice to improve society (though this is part of what connects both branches of satire to Old Comedy, and to one another[30]). Rather, the main point of contact (among several) is with fantasy; that is, with our being able to ride a dung beetle to the sky, or to step onto a cloud, or to take a trip the moon, or to Hades, and (this is the important point) thereby to see what human activities look like from one of these distant places: looking down from the moon with Icaromenippus, squinting, we see human activities from a new perspective, shrunk down to size. Whatever 'big thing' it is that keeps humans impassioned, agitated and scrambling about, whether that is political ambition and pomp, luxury, high fashion, foods, lust, or even philosophical and scholarly learning, seen from the moon it all looks insignificant and silly, like the runnings-about of so

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**30** See Lucian *Bis Accusatus* 33.

many easily squashable ants.[31] In Menippean satire, as often in Old Comedy, we get to take that wild Cynic ride, down below the earth (*katabasis*), or far above it (*kataskopia*), and to see human affairs, for once, as Zeus sees them.

# Cynic Lucilius and Lucilian Varro: clean categories in messy practice

We do not know how any of this played out in Varro's Menippean satires—in fact, the fragments are so slight, and the possibilities for them so vast (remember: this is a genre where chickens can talk[32]), that no two scholars can quite agree on how to put any given satire together. But Werner Krenkel has identified at least 6 clear instances of the 'schau von oben' motif (the *kataskopia*) within Varro's Menippeans, and we know of several complete instances of the motif in later Menippean satire, most famously in Lucian's *Icaromenippus* and in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.[33] But this last example once again raises the question I began with concerning the categorization of satire into two, clearly distinct camps. For, quite unlike the satires of Lucian (but a good match for those of Julian), Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* is a work that is not only overtly political in its theme and censorial in the punishment it metes out, but it takes its central conceit of a post-mortem trial of a Roman censor not from any Greek source, or from Varro (as far as we can tell), but from Lucilius; that is, from his famous heavenly trial of Lupus in *Satires* book 1. There, you will recall, Lucilius takes us into heaven to witness the trial of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consul in 156 B.C.E., then a censor and *princeps senatus*, an office he held until shortly before his death in 125 or 124 B.C.E. The trial is a mock-epic dressing down of the dead censor by way of a famous scene in Ennius, the heavenly council that deliberates on the apotheosis of Romulus in book one of the *Annales* (frs. 51–5 Skutsch). But Lucilius is not just parodying epic here, he is opening up his first poem with a quasi-cynical or Old Comical flight-of-fancy (something he may have known

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**31** Lucian *Icaromenippus* 19: 'the cities with their population resembled nothing so much as ant-hills. If you think it is belittling to compare men with the institutions of ants, look up the ancient fables of the Thessalians and you will find that the Myrmidons, the most warlike of races, turned from ants into men' [trans. Loeb].

**32** See Lucian's *Alektron*.

**33** See Krenkel *Varro Sat. Men.* vol. 1, 205; also Salanitro 1978, 61. The *kataskopia* motif seems to appear already in the satires of Ennius fr. *Sat.* 3–4 Vahlen (= 9 Courtney): *contemplor / inde loci liquidas pilatasque aetheris oras,* 'from this spot I survey the bright and pillared shores of the ether.'

from Menippus) by not just having the gods try the nefarious Lupus for his many political misdeeds, but in having them look down on the city of Rome and deplore its rampant silliness, especially the burgeoning enthusiasms of its citizens for exotic Greek foods and Syrian fashions of furnishing and dress, and so on— all things that a censor, such as Lupus, was supposed to keep a check on. We do not know how Lucilius resolved the heavenly council of book one in the case of his own hypocritical censor, Lupus. But we can suspect that some kind of comic justice was meted out. Fragments 41–47K suggest that Jupiter wanted to inflict a huge storm at sea, a standard expression of divine anger in epic, thus to sink the ships that glided on the Emathian winds to bring luxury goods from Greece to Italy.[34] And here you can compare any number of fragments from Varro's satires that sound the same lament for Rome's lost ways. Several from the *Bimarcus* refer to Jupiter's anger:[35]

53   *magna uti tremescat Roma et magnae mandonum gulae*
    ...so that mighty Rome, and the mighty gullets of her gourmands, would begin to tremble

54   *et pater diuum trisulcum fulmen igni fervido actum*
    *mittat in tholum macelli*
    ...and may the father of the gods hurl a three-pronged bolt of lightning, sped along by a seething fire, into the meat-sellers' vaulted dome

55   *chortis cocorum atque hamiotarum aucupumque*
    .....troops of cooks and catchers of fish and snarers of birds

56   *tunc repente caelitum altum tonitribus templum tonescit*
    ...then suddenly the temple on high begins to rumble with the thunderings of the gods above

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**34** Lucilius fr. 41–47K= 39–45W (a deliberation over divine punishment?):
 *...ut multos mensesque diesque,*
*non tamen aetatem, tempestatem hanc scelerosi*
*mirentur....*
*nam si tu fluctus undasque e gurgite salso*
*tollere decreris, venti prius Emathi vim,*
*ventum, inquam, tolles- t(um) c(uncta) q(uieta) i(acebunt)*
*l(itora)...*
'so that for many days and months, but not for a lifetime, the villains will marvel at this storm...for if you (Jupiter) should decree to remove the billows and waves from the swirling salt, first of all the force of the Emathian wind, the wind, I say, you should remove—then all the shores will rest in silence...'
**35** Unless otherwise indicated, the text and numbering of the fragments of Varro's satires are those of Astbury 2002.

It is unclear whether Jupiter ever explodes in anger in Varro's satires, or if he is actually featured as a character in the *Bimarcus* (unlikely, as it seems his anger is referenced by an irate character and perhaps drawn in comical detail by him, as in Horace's first satire; see below). But he is often imagined bursting with anger in Lucian—most famously, for example, in the *Zeus Tragoedus* where he threatens to destroy the entire human race for not believing that he exists. Put simply, the idea of Jupiter's losing his temper and blustering like an old crank to whom no one listens anymore is potentially very funny: Lucilius, Seneca and Lucian all exploit that potential, and I suspect that Varro must have done so as well. But perhaps the better point to take from this is that Lucilius, Horace and Seneca are all heavily invested in the idea of satire as 'censorial' in figuration and function. Varro frequently uses the space of his satires to inveigh against contemporary morals. It is impossible to make out whether these denunciations are, as Peter Wiseman takes them, Varro's own verdict on the corruption of the republic, especially since so many of them are apparently (again, we cannot tell) the Jeremiads of crank characters who, as in the fragments of the *Bimarcus* cited above, are wont to go off on flights of Plautine verbal fancy. Such nostalgia for old times and lost ways is certainly funny (Var. *Men.* 63 *aui et ataui nostri, cum alium ac cepe eorum uerba olerent, tamen optume animati erant* 'the words of our grandfathers and great grandfathers stank of garlic and onions, and yet they were men of outstanding soul', and cf. the 17 fragments of the Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος 'Old Crank Teacher'), but in his recent book on the late republic, Peter Wiseman takes a more serious view of this criticism, making a strong case for the 'censorial' figuring and function of many of Varro's satires. He points out that 'when Varro's satires were appearing in the seventies B.C. that corruption [*auaritia, luxuria, ambitio*] was particularly in evidence ... but no censors had held office since 86 B.C.'[36] And he shows that the satires take on certain highly contentious, contemporary issues, such as the plundering of Rome's provincial allies by greedy magistrates—issues that Varro could not have taken from any Greek source. Whether it is played with or made to do serious moral work (filling in for Rome's missing censors), or put to work as serious play (*spoudaiogeloion*), we cannot tell, but the censor metaphor is certainly strong in Varro's satires.

But the first complete satire that we have from ancient Rome is none of the above: it is, rather, the first poem of Horace's *Sermones* ('Conversations') book one. There the poet opens with a rant. He turns to his patron, Maecenas, and says (I will paraphrase): why are people so miserable, scrambling all over the place to find what they think will be a better life for themselves, but never is.

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**36** Wiseman 2009, 148.

Look at this old soldier over here, the one who desperately wants to be a merchant, and that person over there, a hick from the countryside who wants to be a lawyer. And there you have a sailor about to go down in a storm at sea. It is all so idiotic that if Jupiter himself were to step onto this scene and tell that merchant and that farmer that their prayers had been heard and that they could go ahead and switch their lives, the fools would stay put and refuse to switch. Jupiter, duped into believing they could be made happy, would fly off in a rage.

Here we open not with a Juvenalian eye-view that finds the satirist kicked down in the dust of the city of Rome, peering up the togas of the elite who sneer at him as they pass him by. Rather, we step out onto a high panoramic ledge, as it were, where we can look over this way and see a sailor struggling at sea, and over that way and see a soldier in battle, and so on. And not surprisingly, Jupiter steps on to the scene intending to deal with the world's stupidity, only to end up looking like a comic crank with puffed-out cheeks (*Iuppiter ambas / iratus buccas inflet,* 20–1). The first simile of the book follows in lines 33–40, comparing the greedy farmers, shopkeepers and merchants to ants, storing up their winter grain. You have a well-worn theme of cynic preaching,[37] a reference to diatribe (διατρίβειν 'to wear out') in *delassare* in line 14[38], and you even have a Latin rendering of the concept of *spoudaiogeloion* in *ridentem dicere uerum* of line 24, referencing the 'joking for a serious purpose' that was a central principle of Menippean satire, stemming ultimately from Aristophanes.

The Cynic coloring of Horace's first book of *Sermones* is at its strongest here in the opening lines of his first poem. This is perhaps a nod towards the *alterum genus* of Varro (I'd like to think so), but as we have seen, the lines that were commonly used to separate satire into two distinct camps are at times rather hard to fix: the theorists of satire do not agree on where the lines are to be drawn, and the satirists themselves, like the fools of Horace's first poem, see things they like in satire's *alterum genus* and take liberally from the genre's other side. Quickly

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**37** On *mempsimoiria* as a favorite topic of cynic preaching and a frequent theme of Varronian satire, see Bolisani 1936–37, 358.

**38** On *delassare* in line 14 as a gloss on Greek διατρίβειν, see Gowers 2005, 54 n.41, and Moles 2007, 167. Gowers points out in her commentary *ad* vv.13–14 that the 'delay' implied by *delassare* is also a joke at the expense of Fabius, who shares a name with Romes most famous delayer, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator. But there is a possible further reference here to Callimachus's first *Iamb*. In glossing the phrase καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτός μέγα σχολάζω 'for actually I do not myself have lots of time to spare' at *Iambs* 1.33–4, Acosta-Hughes 2002, 24 n.34 follows Falivene in noting that 'there is a possible *double entendre* of the verb, here σχολάζω [to be at leisure] can also have the sense "to give lectures"'.

Horace's first poem, and the book more generally, gives way to other, stronger (and constantly shifting) generic memories, all of which play a significant role in helping us align these poems against existing forms to figure what they are about, and to what category they belong.[39] The Lucilian poems (4 – 5) dominate the center, but the presence of Lucilius is felt elsewhere as well. Besides Lucilius, among the more prominent influences to stand out from the mélange of memories that we gather up along the way are: the *Iambs* of Callimachus, Stoic moral treatises (Chrysippus), Bion of Borysthenes, the *de Rerum Natura*, mime plays, Philodemus, and Virgil's *Eclogues*. Then in book two the project makes an abrupt shift towards fields of reference that were largely under-represented or entirely unexplored in book one. The most prominent of these un- or under-exampled memories that accrue to the second book come from the terrain of Menippean satire.[40] Such a turn can be explained as a generic or intra-generic *Kreuzung*, or it might be taken as a fuller engagement with 'ways' of satire that were largely or entirely Lucilian, but that were lost when Lucilius was catasterized into an icon of lost *libertas*, and his satires were made to speak for that alone.[41]

## Varro's satires in book 2 of Horace's *Sermones*

Although general connections between Varro's satires and book two of the *Sermones* are to be found scattered throughout all the major commentaries on Horace, with one or two possible exceptions, these connections never rise to the level of specific intertextual citation.[42] This may be a matter of our possessing only 600 or so fragments from an original 150 books, most of which were preserved not for their literary or moral/cultural content, but for their exotic (often archaic dramatic) vocabulary. As we saw above, Quintilian described Var-

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**39** On the multiple and ever-shifting generic memories that accrue to these poems in the process of their being read, with the processing of these memories bearing strong implications for the generic figuring of the book itself, see Harrison 2007, 75 – 103; also Freudenburg 2001, 23 – 44.

**40** Salanitro 1978, 65 is justifiably skeptical of overly ambitious attempts to find Varro in Horace, especially when so many of the links that some have proposed can be explained as references to cynic philosophy more generally, or as references to Bion or Lucilius or even to Menippus himself. The most thorough-going study of this question (producing no solid results but plenty of possibilities) is Bolisani (1936 – 1937). The most over-reaching attempt is that of Witke 1963.

**41** On the revival of Lucilius as a political symbol in the fifties BCE, see Anderson 1963, 78 – 9, and Freudenburg 1993, 86 – 102.

**42** For the meager possibilities, see Delignon 2006, 337– 42, and below n. 57.

ro's satires as the work of a *uir eruditissimus*. By the time of Nonius, Macrobius and Gellius it appears that this was taken as gospel, construed as the main reason one had for reading Varro's satires: they were a storehouse of long lost words, strange usages and unusual forms, all of which had been stored as specimens of living speech by Rome's most erudite researcher on the history of the Latin language. As such, unless the grammarians of late antiquity have completely misrepresented the content of these books (each one constituting its own *satura*), Varro's satires were so loaded with playfully outlandish and recherché vocabulary that later writers would have found it impossible to fold his words unobtrusively into their own without evoking specific memories of Varro. His satires cannot evade detection, and yet no single fragment of Varro's satires has ever been detected as a specific memory cued in the *Sermones* of Horace. Still there is good reason to suspect that Varro stands behind certain of the verbal flights of fancy in book two, especially in Damasippus' long-winded diatribe of 2.3, and the culinary effusions of Catius in 2.4, satires that resonate strongly with similar habits of mock learning and verbal pomposity and rapid-fire verbal abandon in Varro's satires, where the creative recklessness of the language itself is so often (as in Plautus, Varro's main and much loved model) a means of 'crazed' characterization and the primary source of humor.[43] I will examine one particular instance of this in my discussion of Damasippus' tale of Opimius below.

Among the most obvious of general trends that connect Horace's second book to Varro's satires are: the sudden appearance of 'live' (i.e. dramatic, as if overheard) dialogues rather than recollected or quoted ones (there are no strong claimants for this designation in book one,[44] and fully six [of 8 poems] in book two), as well as the appearance of various self-vaunting and delusionally self-defeating experts (*doctores inepti*) who are given the bulk of the book to have their say. Such incompetent ranters and self-parodying philosophers, Joel Relihan has shown, are the stock-in-trade of Menippean satire to such a degree that, without

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**43** Delignon 2006, 338: 'Tous les commentateurs s'accordent à reconnaître une influence de la *palliata* sur les *Satires Ménippées*.' In addition to Delignon's bibliography *op. cit.* 338 n. 292, see Krenkel *Varro Sat. Men.* vol. 1, xxvi-xl, and Wiseman 2009, 138–43.

**44** In certain respects *S.* 1.1 can be taken as an overheard dialogue where one speaker (the button-holed Maecenas) is given no room to speak. This has always been one of the more interesting narrative problems raised by the speaker's address to Maecenas in line 1; see esp. Lyne 1995, 142: 'who is to say that the *te,* etc. of 38, 40, 41, etc.…are not addressing Maecenas too?' See also Sharland 2009, 55–98 on the 'dialogue of monologue' in *S.* 1.1. In the second book, poem six is not a live dialogue, nor is the second, though it is easily confused with one. It is, rather, a *sermo* remembered from Horace's own youth (*puer hunc ego paruus Ofellum / …noui,* 112–13).

them, we would have very little Menippean satire even to talk about.[45] One such addled preacher is the old south Italian farmer Ofellus in *Sermones* 2.2, who is an uncanny match for Lucian's *Timon*, a hired hand who doles out philosophy while working the fields he once owned. He is an unusually sympathetic character, bordering on respectability, and yet, like so many characters in Varro, his nostalgia is for a comically shaggy past, when a man's appetite was earned by training for battle, and when people ate chickpeas and chickens, not peacocks, sturgeon or storks, and when a host would gladly let the roasted boar rot and serve it rancid to his guests rather than eat it alone: *hos utinam inter / heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!* 'oh, if only I had been born among such heroes when the earth was young!' (vv. 92–3) A few examples from Varro's Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος 'Old Crank Teacher' show the same traits, but their range extends well beyond the topic of food, to matters of women, villa management, and slaves. All can be assigned to a lamentably lost 'back then' or comically corrupt 'now':

183  ubi graues **pa**scantur atque alantur **pa**uonum greges
184  uel decem messis ubi una saepiant granaria
186  quotiens priscus homo ac rusticus Romanus inter nundinum barbam radebat?
187  nouos maritus **tacit**ulus t**axi**m uxoris soluebat cingillum
188  **uehe**batur cum uxore **uehi**culo semel aut bis anno, cum arceram, si non uellet, non sterneret
190  sed simul manibus trahere lanam nec non simul **oc**ulis **ob**seruare **oll**am pultis ne aduratur
192  **rapt**a a nescio quo mulio **rapt**oris **ramit**is **rump**it
194  uilico quod nunc satis uix putant, lautum [putabant]

183  [nowadays] when/where flocks of peacocks are raised and fed fat
184  [nowadays] when/where any one such granary can hold the yield of ten harvests
186  [back then] how often would a decent old Roman farmer shave his beard if he wasn't headed to town?
187  [back then] not one little word did the newlywed husband utter as he struggled to loosen her pretty belt
188  [back then] he would ride in the wagon with his wife maybe once or twice a year, and he wouldn't unfurl the carriage cover unless he wanted to
190  [back then] all at the same time [the woman was able] to spin the wool with her hands while keeping an eye on the pot so that the pulse wouldn't burn
192  [nowadays] once she's been raped by some mule-driver or other she proceeds to bang the man's balls off

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**45** See Relihan 1993 *passim,* esp. 29–30: 'Parody of those who claim to possess the truth, combined with self-parody, creates in the scholars who write in the genre a parody of encyclopedic knowledge.' For the proliferation of these *doctores inepti* in *Sermones* book two, see Anderson 1982, 41–9.

194    [back then the old time uilici] used to regard as 'luxurious' what today's villa manager thinks is just 'enough'

With much of this one thinks ahead to the good old days that are humorously longed for by Juvenal in his sixth satire, when women were shaggy and pungent and their husbands belched acorns.[46] But in Varro's particular case the elaborate alliterative play (underlined above) that is a prominent feature of nearly every fragment is strongly reminiscent of Plautine comedy (frs. 183 and 184 are in trochaic septenarii, the rest in prose), rich in assonance and alliteration, colorful and earthy metaphors, diminutives, repetitions, and unusual vocabulary.[47] Fr. 192 has the added scholarly touch of referencing the rape law known as the *rapta raptoris,* according to which the raped woman could choose between putting her rapist to death or seizing his property (in this case the victim chooses a 'Petronian' third option to punish her violator).[48]

The fourth satire of Horace's second book features a lecture by the Epicurean gourmand Catius on the rules of refined dining, detailing the flavors of the best and most succulent flora and fauna that are to be sought out from every corner of the known world. Varro featured a similar culinary world tour led (in iambic senarii) by enthusiastic *helluones* in his Περὶ ἐδεσμάτων 'On Delicacies', and the two works share many points of contact in the specific regions they cite and the recherché foods that they name. Both works show the influence of Archestratus, Ennius' *Hedyphagetica,* as well as the many gushing evocations of food made by ravenous and/or rapturous parasites on the new comic stage. Varro's *Nescis quid uesper serus uehat* is an expert's treatise not on food *per se*, but on the rules of proper dining (guests, foods, conversation, etc.), and Horace's Catius likewise has much to say about bowls, brooms, napkins and couches, etc. as reflections upon the host. But certainly the most decidedly 'Menippean' moment in the second book is in the fifth poem, which finds the satirist in Ulysses's shoes, traveling to the underworld to consult with Teiresias, where he learns just how

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**46** Juv. *Sat*. 6.7–11: haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius / turbauit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos, / sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis / et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito. / **quippe aliter tunc orbe nouo.**

**47** Sharrock 2009, 167 'Repetition pervades the Plautine experience at all levels. The most basic is that contained in the magnificent and irrelevant piling up of language which is the hallmark of his style. Critics, bounded though they are by the pedestrian requirements of their discourse, have been attracted to words like "exuberance" in attempts to express Plautine verbal excess. A whole host of iterative devices contribute to this exuberance: alliteration, anaphora, assonance, *geminatio*, homoioteleuton, polyptoton, and any other form of homophony and pointed heterophony one might care to mention.'

**48** On the *rapta raptoris* law, see Bonner 1949, 89–91.

perverse and comically greedy the home scene (not Ithaca but Rome) has become in his absence. Menippus' masterwork was his *Nekyia*, imitated by Lucian in his *Nekyiomantia,* which features Menippus dressed up as Odysseus, consulting the dead ('Menippus von Gadara beschrieb seine Fahrt zu Tiresias, um ihn nach der besten Art zu leben zu befragen'[49]). Varro's 'On Suicide' (Περι Ἐξαγωγῆς) featured a conversation with Hannibal in the underworld,[50] and in his 'Ulysses and a Half' (*Sesqueulixes*) Varro seems to have described his many years away from Rome on military service (30 years, thus half again as many as Ulysses's 20) as a journey where he matches Ulysses adventure for adventure: there are storms at sea (frs. 460, 471, 472), a drunken Cyclops (461), wise, beautiful and fabulously rich foreign lands (462 and 474), a temptress (463), and the goddess Minerva standing steadily at his side (470) until he finally makes his way home. Once there he dutifully returns his horse to the censor (478), but he cannot help but take note of how soft and luxurious life had become in his absence, and that in a place where the founders had been nurtured on wolf's milk (*ubi quod lupam alumni fellarunt olim,* 476). The several fragments that are assigned to the end of the satire lament the loss of old ways, to include a young knight's no longer knowing how to tame and handle a horse:

479    itaque tum ecum mordacem, calcitronem, horridum miles acer non uitabat
480    nunc emunt trossuli nardo nitidi uulgo Attico talento ecum

479    and so back then a tough soldier would not avoid a horse that would bristle and kick and bite
480    but the Troy-boys of today, all slathered with perfume, commonly pay an Attic talent for a horse

The Ulysses of Horace's fifth poem is in for a similar rude awakening as Teiresias fills him in on the moral cataclysm that has occurred back home in his absence, describing the way things are 'these days' not in Ithaca, but in the Rome of Horace's own day. Although Horace is technically not named as the Ulysses of the poem, his presence is strongly felt in certain aspects of Ulysses's characterization. As in the *Sesqueulixes* it is clear that again in *S.* 2.5 the hero is a stand in for the bemused writer himself: Horace, too, had also gone off to fight a war in the east, and while he was gone others took charge of his family estate. Both he and Ulysses are impoverished, lost and looking for home, and it is in the next poem (2.6) that Horace announces that he has at last found it.

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49  Krenkel *Varro Men. Sat*. vol. 2, 746.
50  Krenkel *Varro Men. Sat*. vol. 2, 746–8.

In the seventh poem Horace steps aside to let his slave Davus do the talking. Varro is generally thought to have done this in his *Manius* ('Mr. Rise-and-Shine'), where he is lectured on literary matters by a servant named Automedon,[51] and again in the *Marcipor*, where he lets his title character 'Marcus's Boy' take the main role.[52] The fragments that remain of the poem, albeit substantial (and that include elaborate astronomical descriptions and apparently a fantastical journey on a flying ship?[53]), have long defied attempts to establish the satire's story line. But several other satires feature slaves as characters, and some of these slave speakers, just as Horace's Davus, bear the names of slaves made famous on the stage of Roman new comedy.[54] The main difference between Horace and Varro on this particular point is that Varro, an acknowledged expert on all things Plautine as the writer of the *Quaestiones Plautinae* and the *De comoediis Plautinis*, brings back particular slaves from particular plays of Plautus (Lampadio from the *Cistellaria*, Strobilus from the *Aulularia*), while Horace brings back a stock slave featured in two plays of Terence, recycled in name, and in certain features of his more understated slave type, from Menander (Davus in Terence's *Andria* and *Phormio*, Daos in fully ten plays of Menander).[55] The eighth poem of Horace's second book is a sustained parody of Plato's *Symposium*. Both Menippus and Maecenas are known to have written works entitled *Symposium*. Relihan points out that 'parodies of the *Symposium* are very popular (in Menippus, Varro, Julian, and even Martianus),' and that 'the symposium, exploited by Menippus, is frequently encountered in [Varro's] *Menippeans* as a scene of absurd debate.'[56] Varro's *Marcopolis* is a sustained parody of Plato's *Republic*.[57] Similarly Horace's conversation with Catius in the fourth satire evokes strong memories of Plato's *Phaedrus*: Horace's *unde et quo, Catius?* = Socrates's Ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν; and Catius's recitation of the precepts he has just heard is analogous

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**51** Relihan 1993, 61 makes clear that the 'servant lecturer' who is commonly presumed to speak in this satire is postulated largely on the basis of Horace's Davus: 'Varro is the narrator, and refers to himself comically (*libellionem*). He seems to have a servant who also knows literature, and who offers unwanted opinions (F 257) ... perhaps Automedon, playing Davus to Varro's Horace as in *Sermones* 2.7, pretended to be as learned as his master.'

**52** Cheesman 2009, 530 has done a thorough study of the Roman names ending in *–por* to conclude that Marcipor refers not to a slave belonging to Marcus but to Varro himself: 'Varro the slave'. The more common view is that of Cebè vol. 7, 1226–7 who identifies Varro as the slave's owner.

**53** Cebè vol. 7, 1228: 'sans nul doute un voyage aérien.'

**54** See Delignon 2006, 343–5.

**55** See MacCary 1969.

**56** Relihan 1993, 25–6 and 65; see also Krenkel *Varro Men. Sat*. vol. 2, 393.

**57** See Gowers 1995, 27.

to Phaedrus's enthusiastic citation of Lysias' discourse on love. There is nothing like this in book one.[58]

Besides the parallels mentioned above, of shared narrative modes, reference-points, themes, modes, characters and approach—none of which are strongly present in the first book—we can actually hear experimentation and wide variation in Horace's second book (and lots of stretching and breaking of the rules) at the level of the poems' metrical registers as we move from one to the next: actually there is great metrical *variatio* here, much more so than in the first book, but it is entirely contained within a hexametric milieu. The place where this is most evident is in the contrast of poem three (by far the largest in the book, and the most metrically loose hexameter poem that Horace ever wrote) to poem four (a small poem, as well as the most metrically understated and refined of the *Sermones*), where wild divergences of metrical style are a match for extreme and opposed philosophical views (Stoic versus Epicurean).[59] I have saved discussion of *S.* 2.3 for last because this poem seems to involve Varro not just as a generally useful analogue, but perhaps as a direct point of imitation.[60] Given the many stagey aspects of Damasippus's performance, and the particular exuberance of his language, analysis of the poem will also allow me to make a few salutary observations about Horace's complex relationship to Plautus. And this in turn may have something to tell us about his relation to Plautus' biggest fan, and his only imitator in satire, Varro.

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**58** Sustained parodies of Platonic dialogues are absent from the first book, but there are several fleeting moments of Platonic parody to be found *passim*, esp. in the ninth poem; e.g. in lines 14–19 where the 'pest' expresses his determination to follow Horace all the way across the Tiber; cf. *Phaed.* 227d where Socrates says to Phaedrus 'I am so determined to hear you that I will not leave you, even if you extend your walk to Megara', and from there they make their way to the banks of the Ilissus river. For other Platonic features of Horace's encounter with the pest, see Gowers 2011, *ad* vv. 16 and 62.

**59** On the opposite metrical extremes displayed by these poems, see Freudenburg 1996.

**60** There are numerous passages in *S.* 2.3 that bring to mind the themes and language of Varro's *Eumenides*, e.g. v. 130 **insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae** 'all the boys and girls would cry out that you are insane' is strongly reminiscent of Var. *Men.*fr. 146 *vix uulgus confluit non furiarum,* **sed puerorum atque ancillarum**, *qui omnes, me bilem atram agitare* **clamintantis**, *opinionem mihi* **insaniae meae** *confirmant* 'immediately a crowd poured in, not of Furies, but of slave boys and girls who all kept calling out that I was harried by black bile confirming my belief that I was insane'; cf. v. 121 **morbo** *iactatur* **eodem** which seems to recall Var. *Men.* 126: 'finally how is the greedy man sane (*qui sanus sit auarus*)? Let's say that he is given the whole world as his inheritance. Because he remains out of his mind, still goaded by the same disease (**morbo** *stimulatus* **eodem**), he'll beg and bully himself for a bit of cash'. Further on the similarities between the *Eumenides* and *S.* 2.3, see Bolisani 1936–37, 359–60.

# Taking up with satire's theatrical side: the Varronian dramatist of Horace's *Sermones* 2.3

The beginning of *S.* 2.3 finds Horace abruptly accosted by Damasippus, scolded for pampering himself at his newly acquired Sabine villa even though he had gone there to work, promising to write something dazzling and big, but lacking the self-discipline to finish the job. Elsewhere I have pointed out that folded into the satirist's escape to his new villa (the first mention of the Sabine villa in the works of Horace) is his dreaming forward to his new project as a writer of *Carmina*: the new villa and the new project entail each another.[61] Horace, at this point in the late thirties B.C.E., is trying to finish both the second book of his *Sermones* as well as his *Epodes* (the contents of his bookbag assign two 'travel companions' to each project, Plato and Menander for *Sermones* book 2, Eupolis and Archilochus for the *Epodes*[62]), but he is already at this point writing 'songs' that keep him from finishing a project that is, in Damasippus' words, *dignum sermone* 'worth talking about' = 'worthy of *sermo*/satire'. So Damasippus launches into a memorized speech that demonstrates, to his mind, how *sermo* should be done. Persius imitates the beginning of this poem in his own third satire, where an un-named interlocutor bursts in at mid-day to rouse the poet from sleep and scold him for being lazy, hungover and failing to write. The tendentious back and forth that follows is generally taken to be a conversation between Persius the backsliding student and Persius the committed and uncompromising Stoic, an idea signaled by *findor* 'I'm splitting' in line 9, and symbolized by the confusing 'twin' or 'doubled' look of what he writes (*infusa … lympha / dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas*, 14). After which it becomes nearly impossible to keep straight who is talking to whom in Persius's poem, whether it is Persius A to B or B to A. And this is generally taken to be a meaningful (narrative) problem having to do with 'ironies of perspective' and Stoic theories of the self.[63] Similarly in Horace *S.* 2.3 it is often incredibly difficult to keep track of who is saying what in Damasippus's rant, as you have one man, Damasippus, quoting another, Stertinius, who tells stories that have their own characters, such as Opimius, speaking to, and about, yet other characters, such as Opimius' Greek doctor

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**61**  See Freudenburg 2006, 140 – 5.

**62**  On the contents of Horace's bookbag, see Freudenburg 2006, 147 – 8, and Cucchiarelli 2001, 168 – 79.

**63**  See esp. Hooley 1997, 202 – 18; also Wehrle 1992, 39: 'the satire opens enigmatically…further, as we proceed with the satire, there arises a marked dilemma about the (various) voices which appear. That we as readers are at once perplexed is not accidental.'

(more on this below).[64] It is all not just hard to keep track of, but addled and maddening. And that is perhaps the point: how odd, and ironically fitting is it that the man who pigeonholes Horace to lecture him on insanity, finding it everywhere in the world but in himself, should have so many voices running through his own head, and that he should shift so abruptly from one voice to the next? As in Persius 3, this is a poem that finds us hearing voices, and struggling to manage them, because Damasippus is prone to arguing with himself, and with people both there and not there.

The connection of Persius's poem to Horace's is clear and has received ample attention from recent scholars. But the larger thematic and structural background for both poems may, in fact, lie elsewhere, hiding in plain sight on the other side of satire's ancient ledger. There something close to a consensus has emerged among scholars working on the difficult fragments of Varro's *Bimarcus* or 'Double Marcus', subtitled 'On Tropes'. In recent years, scholars have abandoned Della Corte's thesis that identified the two Marcuses in question as Varro's friend and fellow knight, Marcus Seius, and Seius' freedman, Marcus Seius Nicanor, the poet and grammarian.[65] All recent scholars (including Cèbe) want at least one of the Marcuses to be Varro himself, and most (following an idea first proposed by Mosca in 1937) now suppose that the two Marcuses in question are two sides of Varro himself.[66] I quote the most recent treatment of the satire by Eleanor Leach: 'The consensus among contemporary Varronians is that it represents a confrontation, most likely a dialogue, between two masks of Marcus engaged in a critical examination of each other.'[67] Mosca took the debate to be between an advocate for old time values and an enthusiast for modern ways. For Krenkel the debate pits Marcus A who advocates for poetry against Marcus B who advocates for prose, and thus the satire's topic is 'für die Satura Menippea mit ihrer Mischung aus Prosa und Poesie, ihrem Prosimetrum...höchst relevant.'[68] Similarly for Relihan the poem is 'the most important of the *Menippeans* for an understanding of Varro's own opinion of them,' and the debate it stages is between a scholar, a bookish man of high learning and

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**64** Confusions over how speaking roles are to be assigned in *S.* 2.3, and where the statements assigned to the respective interlocutors are to be thought to begin and end, are especially pronounced in lines 88–103. For the various options that have been tried by scholars to resolve these issues, see the critical apparatus *ad loc.* of Bo 1959, 103.

**65** Della Corte 1953, 157.

**66** Mosca 1937, 65: 'Il Marco, lodatore degli antichi, appunta le sue critiche contra lo Marco moderno.'

**67** Leach 1999, 155.

**68** Krenkel *Varro Sat. Men.* vol. 1, xxxvii.

literary sophistication, and an accuser in whose eyes such sophistication is mere pedantry that lacks clear moral purpose and the requisite thunder to take on the problem of vice.[69] That, the accuser seems to believe, requires not a scholar's treatise 'on ways of life' but poetry of grand moral outrage, featuring Jupiter thundering in the heavens and raining fire down on the gluttons of Rome (see fragments cited above p. 310). Outraged Poet Marcus addresses his scholarly half, saying (fr. 60):

> ebrius es, Marce; Odyssian enim Homeri ruminari incipis, cum περὶ τρόπων scripturum te Seio receperis

> 'Marcus, you're drunk. For you are starting to natter on about Homer's *Odyssey* although you promised Seius that you would write (or "you withdrew/made your escape[70] to Seius's place determined to write") on customs/tropes.'

According to his accuser, Marcus promised that he would get some writing done for Seius (or once he had 'retreated' to Seius's place, as if he has been embattled and forced to withdraw). Likewise in *S.* 2.3 Horace is said by Damasippus to have 'fled' to his own new villa to escape the boisterous crowds of the Saturnalia (*Saturnalibus huc fugisti*, 5) in order to get lots of 'illustrious' things written once taken in under his sweet little villa's warm roof (*multa et praeclara minantis, / si uacuum tepido cepisset uillula tecto*, 9 – 10). Setting out to write 'on morals', apparently Pedant Marcus has launched into an etymological discussion of the Greek term τρόπος (fr. 61):

> ideo fuga hostium Graece uocatur τροπή hinc spolia capta, fixa in stipitibus, appellantur tropea

> and that is why putting to flight one's enemies in Greek is called a 'turn/trope' (τροπή). Hence the captured spoils that are fixed on stumps are called "trophies'".

and Outraged Poet Marcus will have none of it. And thus along the way of their back and forth Poet Marcus pokes fun at his alter-ego's etymological pedantry and gives him many samples of how really good, thunderous writing 'on ways of life' is to be done. If this basic reconstruction is correct (for the full story see Relihan), then a good case can be made for Horace's having made something

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**69** Relihan 1993, 62.

**70** As much as I would like to follow Krenkel 1996, 92 ('dich zu Seius zurückgezogen hast') and Relihan 1993, 63 ('you had taken yourself to Seius's house') in translating *se recipere* in the sense 'withdraw/retreat' (see *OLD* s.v. *recipere* 12, and O. Spevak 2010, 170 – 1), the grammatical case to be made for *se recipere* + fut. inf. meaning 'to promise to' is far stronger; see multiple parallels at *OLD* s.v. *recipere* 10b, and Cebè vol. 2,221.

new of Varro's *Bimarcus* in *Sermones* 2.3, in the abrupt confrontation between Damasippus, the moralist who wants Horace to stop his playboy (lyric) dithering and get on with the business of railing loudly against vice, i.e. in the way he proceeds to demonstrate *ad nauseam*. Both satires, the Varronian and the Horatian, I suspect, are behind the inner dialogue that takes place between slovenly, unfocused Persius and responsible Stoic Persius in Persius 3.

Damasippus is a zealot. As such he goes on much too long and has no sense of himself. In the end, he is himself the prime exemplar of his own outlandish thesis that all men, save the *sapiens,* are mad. Now, if that is what Horace's poem is actually about, i.e. its satiric point, to expose a man's moral failings, then one has to wonder why Horace thought he needed 326 lines to make his point. To recast this question in terms of the Stoics' own beloved brain-teaser, the *sorites* paradox, what is it that Horace can do in a 326 line poem that he cannot do in a poem of 325 lines, or 200 lines, or 105? It makes sense to think that, in its ramshackle argumentation and ungainly size, *S.* 2.3 reproduces (by way of parodic exaggeration) the messy, piled-up arguments that certain Stoic moralists, Horace would have us believe, used to grind their opponents into submission. But listening to Damasippus hyperventilate and tie himself into logical knots for hundreds of lines is not just our cue to say 'aha! There, you see! I told you that he was a fool!' To make the poem primarily about that is to miss most of what is best about it. And that concerns not what Damasippus does outrageously, i.e. hyperventilate and have no sense of himself, but what he does breath-takingly, and well, which just so happens to be exactly the same thing. What I am suggesting, in other words, is that we bring to the poem a wider set of expectations that are more in line with what Varro and Menippus did than with what Lucilius is thought to have done (i.e. expose vice), in order to reinforce my point that these categories themselves are not as fixed as we have been given to believe, and that Lucilius himself wrote many poems that, owing to the various receptions that transform him into an icon, hardly today seem 'Lucilian.'

I will restrict myself to just one example of Damasippus' memorized speech. It comes from the tail-end of his discourse against greed as the last in an impressive and repetitive pile of illustrations designed to convince us that greedy people are insane (and here you have to realize that throughout this diatribe Damasippus has been punning on, and utterly abusing, the double sense of *sanus*, which can mean mentally 'sane' as well as physically 'healthy'). Rounding off his collection of wonderfully sordid tales of *auaritia*, Damasippus tells the story of the rich miser Opimius, who just so happens to share his name, 'Mr.

Rich,' with a famous vintage of Falernian wine (Opimian).[71] Still quoting Sterti-nius, Damasippus says (*S.* 2.3.142–57):

> pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
> qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
> Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
> quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres
> iam circum loculos et clavis laetus ovansque
> curreret. hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
> excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
> effundi saccos nummorum, accedere pluris
> ad numerandum: hominem sic erigit; addit et illud:
> 'ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
> 'men vivo?' 'ut vivas igitur, vigila. hoc age. 'quid vis?'
> 'deficient inopem venae te, ni cibus atque
> ingens accedit stomacho **fultura** ruenti.
> tu cessas? agedum sume hoc **tisanarium oryzae.'**
> 'quanti emptae?' 'parvo.' 'quanti ergo?' 'octussibus.' 'eheu,
> quid refert, morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'

> 'Poor Mr. Rich. For all the silver and gold he had stashed inside, the closest he ever came to drinking Campanian was in using a ladle from Capua: for him it was Veiian wine to cele-brate, but on ordinary days, swill. One time he was squashed by a giant coma, so that his heir was soon running victory laps around his cash boxes and keys. His doctor did a quick and thorough job of bringing the man to. This is how he did it: he orders a table to be set up. Sacks of money are poured out and a sizeable crew is brought in to count it. He sits the man up like so, and he says: "If you don't keep an eye on what's yours, your greedy heir will soon take all of this away." "Me ... alive?" "And for you to go on living, come on, snap out of it!' "What ... do?" "Starved as you are, your veins will fail you if a huge under-propping of food doesn't reach your collapsing stomach. You're holding back? Come on, just have a teentsy smish of rice." "How much ... cost?" "Just a tish." "So how much?" "Eight asses." "Woe is me! What difference does it make whether I die from disease or from the pillaging of thieves!"'

End of story. The thing I would point out from this is that, for all of the story's ramshackle qualities, and for all of its being unnecessary to the argument, just one more illustration prattled off in a long list of prattled-off illustrations—this one being quite obviously colored by the sight-gags and character sketches of

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[71] The name *Opimius* brings with it suggestions of opulence (*ops, opimus*) and an especially fine vintage of Falernian wine (*uinum Opimianum*). But in Damasippus's story the name is para-doxically coupled to notions of extreme stinginess and wretched wine. The paradox of the 'poor rich man', a commonplace of ancient moral sermonizing, was a special favourite of the Younger Seneca; see Nisbet-Rudd *ad C.* 3.16.28 *magnas inter opes inops*. On the exceptional merits of 'Opimian' wine, see Cic. *Brut.* 287–8 and Plin. *Nat.* 14.125.

Roman Comedy and mime and far removed from lived experience— it is a fantastic bit of story telling all the same, and it involves some of the best farcical character-drawing that you will find in all of Horace. Just consider the scene that Damasippus paints: the rich miser drinks from a clay Campanian *trulla* 'ladle' when he has stacks of silver and gold to spend. Campania is where Italy's best wine (Falernian) comes from and, it would seem, it is also the source of some of its cheapest drinking-ware (I have tried to capture the joke, which is highly visual and assumes a lot of topical knowledge, in my translation).[72] Also highly visual is the picture of the man's heir running laps around the lock-box, dancing a happy gigue—all reminiscent, or so the language suggests, of a champion charioteer's victory lap in the Circus Maximus. Then there is the comatose man himself. So sick is he, and so near death, that in the course of his conversation with the physician in lines 151–6 he manages to eek out only four sentences of two words each (a three-word sentence would apparently kill him). The grand total of his combined utterances comes to 11 syllables. But then comes the punchline. He hears what he considers to be the outlandish price of his salvation (a few coins from his pile) and he somehow finds reserves of strength that we never knew he had. He bursts out in a pique of rage to berate his doctor as a thief.

Then you have the doctor himself, a Greek physician. The character type was well known from the stage of comedy and mime, as well as from the satires of Varro, but not from the satires of Lucilius.[73] The physician in the story mixes

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**72** The *trulla* 'ladle' is delayed and comes as a surprise (*paraprosdokian*), the joke being that it was the wine of Campania, not its trivial ladles, that was *crème de la crème*. Wine from Campania, especially that of Falernum (modern Falerno) in the north of the region, was heralded as Italy's finest. By emphasizing the ladle's geographical provenance, the hyperbaton underscores the irony of Opimius' drinking such bad wine, despite his sharing a name with Italy's best wine: as if to say, 'the only thing "Campanian" about old Opimius' drinking was the ladle that he used to serve his awful swill'. In contrast to the region's glorious wine, Campanian pottery was common, undecorated and cheap; cf. Horace's own *Campana suppellex* at 1.6.118. The odd detail of Opimius' drinking from a ladle rather than from a cup helps paint a picture: having no wine steward, he himself takes charge of stingily doling out the wine, or keeping it all to himself; cf. Avidienus, the miserly 'Dog' of 2.55–62 who 'himself' (*ipse*) takes charge of dressing the holiday cabbages with oil.

**73** Rawson 1985, 178: 'there is no evidence that Lucilius' satires had mocked doctors, but one of Varro's *Menippean Satires* did so; its title, *Quinquatrus* (the festival doctors shared with craftsment) may suggest that they were being devalued, and Varro doubtless criticized medicine from an old-Roman, and Cynic, point of view.' *Quinquatrus* is also the title of an Atellan farce of L. Pomponius; see Manuwald 2011, 267–72. Among the surviving plays of Plautus (unfortunately we have only the title of his *Parasitus Medicus* 'the Parasite Physician') the *Menaechmi* features two 'doctor scenes' (882–98 and 909–56), while other plays contain jokes at the expense of greedy physicians. See Fantham 2011, 27–31, and Hanson 2010, 494–5.

Greek medical jargon (*stomachus, tisinarium,* and so on) with Latin words that he cannot quite handle (a *fultura* 'buttress-support' of the stomach? This is the first of only two known metaphorical uses of *fultura,* a technical architectural term, in all of Latin literature). The physician is a clever Greek whose command of Latin is apparently not complete. He is over-reaching with this metaphor—or so I suspect— and that is the way the metaphor should be left to sound, odd and over-reaching. For by being left to sound as odd as it sounds, the metaphor does some good (ethnic) characterizing work as well. And we can just hear the physician wheedling his greedy old patron when he invites him to open wide for a 'teentsy smish of rice.' What I am attempting to convey with that translation is something that hides in the metrical structure of the Latin, in the line that ends *tisinarium oryzae,* verse 155. The word *tisinarium* is an extremely rare diminutive form of the Greek word πτισάνη, a kind of thin gruel made from husked grains, and much talked about in Greek medical works—Galen actually wrote an entire treatise on πτισάνη.[74] Thus, by using this five-syllable diminutive monster, the physician is enticing the sick Opimius, as one would a child, not with a bite of gruel *per se,* but a 'wee little mishy' of mashed rice (again, this is hard to convey in translation). But, even better, you will notice that a so-called virtual hiatus (generally avoided by Horace, but frequent in this poem) opens between the two impressively exotic Greek words, **tisinarium** and **oryzae,** at the line-end (i.e. vowel on vowel clash remains even after *–um* is elided: *tisinari[um]oryzae*).[75] The line is, by Horatian standards, metrically slipshod. But simply to wag the finger, or to laugh at the story-teller for being so metrically loose, is at the same time to fail to appreciate just how brilliant his story-telling is. For by making us keep our mouths open as we mime his words *tisinari[um] **O**ryzae* at the end of verse 155, we can hear the physician, and in our mind's eye we can see him, holding his mouth open (just as we have to do in mouthing his words) in a nice rounded O as he urges his patient, as one would a little child, to 'open wide' because Mr. Ricey-Train is about to come into the station.

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**74** For Galen's short treatise *De Ptisana,* see Koch-Helmreich 1937, 455–63.

**75** On the strange preponderance of virtual hiatus in this poem, see Nilsson 1952, 17–19, and Freudenburg 1996, 201.

# Horace's 'Plautus problem,' with further implications for Varro and satire's dramatic origins

There is nothing subtle about Damasippus' tale of the rich pauper, Opimius: the visual effects produced by the story are eye-catching, painted not from life, but from the sight gags and slapstick of the Roman comic stage. Similarly the characterization is broad to the point of caricature and free of any evident concern for realism. The dialogue is peppered with exotic words and bold metaphorical conceits, and it tumbles along rapidly in a meter that is care-free to the point of seeming improvised and/or unkempt. And thus put on open display in Damasippus' story we have all the gaudy clutter and verbal abandon and pandering for laughs that, Horace claimed, needed to be removed from Lucilius' muddy river to make satire speak in a more refined way. But here in *S.* 2.3 many of the same negative attributes are put on display not as satiric practice to be scolded in theory, but as lively dialogue to be enjoyed as satire, and one can easily see how to deprive this story of its unrestrained and stagey qualities would be to gut it of the very qualities that make it what it is: stagey and absurdly exuberant. I raise this issue here because, as I have indicated above, the remains of Varro's Menippean satires are deeply imprinted by the theatrical mode of Roman new comedy, especially by the plays of Plautus. That *modus scaenatilis* is so pronounced in Varro that Peter Wiseman has recently made a case for the actual performance of his satires on stage.[76] In fact the theatricality of his satires seems to have elicited a critical response from Varro's contemporaries. In a fragment of dialogue that is commonly assigned to Varro's own voice, he says (suitably in iambic *scenarii*, fr. 304 Krenkel[77]):

> Sed, o Petrulle, ne meum taxis librum,
> Si tete pigeat hic modus scenatilis

> But, o Petrullus, don't touch my book if you are disgusted by this stagey mode/measure.

Besides the meter, the form of the word *taxis* (= *tetigeris*) is itself an archaism modeled after similar usages in Plautus.[78]

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76 Wiseman 2009, 137–43.

77 Here I follow Krenkel's text rather than that of Astbury.

78 Krenkel *Varro Men. Sat.* vol. 2, 540: 'Ein Archaismus ist die Form *taxis* = *tetigeris;* sie ist gebildet nach der noch bei Plautus gebrauchten *faxo* – *faxim*.' See also Cebè 1987 vol. 8, 1348.

Within a fragmentary terrain where agreement is rarely to be found on any given matter, commentators have always spoken in unison when it comes to acknowledging the strong presence of Plautus in the stylistic and conceptual make-up of Varro's satires. This leads me to my final point, which concerns the famously uncharitable attitude towards Plautus that is to be found in the *Epistle to Augustus* and the *Ars Poetica*. Recently Richard Hunter pointed out that Horace has folded into the 'Plautus problem' of his late theoretical poems the 'Lucilius problem' of his first book of satires.[79] The latter is a re-expression of the former, in late critical works concerned largely with drama and not at all with satire. What I would like to point out about those late criticisms of Plautus is that (rather as in the Opimius tale as told by Damasippus above) they tell us exactly what makes Plautus so popular and beloved even as they tell us that he was too hasty and that, as a stylist, he stumbled and fell flat on his face. In other words, they are as much a concession to the specific comic genius of Plautus as they are a commentary upon his stylistic defects. At *Epist.* 2.1.170–76 Horace writes:

> Aspice, Plautus
> quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,
> ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
> quantus Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
> quam non astricto percurrat pulpita socco;
> gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
> securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.

> Look at the way Plautus keeps a tutor's alert eye on the role of his adolescent lover, the tight-fisted father, the devious pimp, look at what a huge Dossennus he is among/[in his handling of] his voracious parasites, how he goes hurling across the stage in an untied slipper: for he's racing to drop a coin in his money-box, and after that he doesn't care whether his story falls flat or stands on a firm footing.[80]

None of this sounds terribly flattering, and at one level it certainly is not. But we need to pay attention to Horace's stage instructions and actually 'look at' (*aspice*) Plautus in order to see how he makes an outlandish and quite wonderful spectacle of himself in a series of (quick-change) stage roles that he himself is known to have made famous. This idea was first developed by Jocelyn in connection with Plautus's running (*percurrat*) in line 274, but it can be reasonably ex-

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**79** Hunter 2009, 99–100.

**80** The phrase *recto stet fabula talo* is the Latin equivalent of Pind. *Isth.* 7.12 ὀρθῷ ἐστάσα ἐπὶ σφυρῷ 'you established on firm footing', subsequently recalled by Call. *Diana* 128 ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνέστη. I do not know what to make of this.

tended to the passage as a whole.[81] Plautus is first the guardian slave (*paedago-gus*) who is tasked with keeping the young lover out of trouble (*tutetur*),[82] and according to Horace he does this just as spectacularly badly as the hilariously incompetent and/or corrupt, fun-loving, venal and enabling moral guardians he scripted for his plays: under Plautus's *tutela* these characters run wild and are out of control.[83] When it comes to his parasites, he is a Dossennus, a stock character from the stage of Italian farce who stands out as an outsized rustic oaf (hunch-backed, pot-bellied) among clever Greek *parasiti*. Look, says Horace, at how he runs across the stage with his shoe flopping about, threatening to send him toppling. When it comes to getting his verses slapped together, he is every bit as speedy and greedy and slipshod as the 'Flatfoot Clown' (Plautus Maccius[84]) who tears across the stage in a panic to report that the boy's father is back in town and is sent tumbling by his own loose, oversized shoe. Although there is no proven instance of the *seruus currens* motif to be found among Plautus' Greek models,[85] the running slave of the Roman *palliata* is generally thought to have had some small counterpart *in nuce* in Greek new comedy. And yet it is clear that this 'Kernmotiv'[86] was let loose and greatly expanded by Roman writers, for whom it became 'a cherished part of the comic apparatus.'[87] Scholars generally provide a rationale for the motif's proliferation in Roman comedy by citing Italian traditions of improvised drama, where the *seruus currens* was 'easily adapted to a variety of situations and capable of being extended by the actor

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**81** See Jocelyn 1995, 237: '*pulpitum percurrere* has an obvious literal sense, as does *non astricto socco*. One easily visualizes the actor running across the stage platform, having neglected to pull his slippers on tight, and perhaps even falling over.'

**82** The phrase *partes tutetur* is unparalleled, and notoriously difficult; see Jocelyn 1995, 233–4. I take it as a bold metaphorical substitution (*tutari* for the expected *agere*) that lands Plautus in the role of the slave who is charged with the moral and financial safe-keeping of the young lover. On the *paedagogus* in Plautus, see Schottlaender 1973, and McDonnell 2006, 121 n.52.

**83** In these lines Horace is generally thought to find fault with Plautus for a lack of consistency in characterization and a too-heavy emphasis on farce; see Zwierlein 1990, 12. But part of Horace's point seems to concern a too heavy-handed reliance on characters as modular, **easily recognized and repeatable** (one size fits all plots) types; cf. Little 1938, 208, expressing a censorial attitude that ultimately derives from Horace (absent any smiling irony): 'a majority of his plays avoid the romantic and paint with Hogarthian realism the life of grasping courtesans, the lewdness of debased slaves, the weak profligacy of young men. True also is it that Plautus frequently coarsens his picture into caricature and rejoices in characters which take a beating with the placidity of a circus fool.'

**84** On the composition of Plautus's name from farcical parts, see Gowers 1993, 53–5.

**85** See Hunter 1985, 164 n.35.

**86** Benz 1998, 89.

**87** Hunter 1985, 81.

*ad lib.*'[88] Like the Dossennus himself, a holdover from the world of Italian farce,[89] the device could be patched into nearly any play regardless of its plot. And that, says Horace, is one area where Plautus was careless: like the running slave that he so famously staged in so many of his plays (there are 8 instances in his extant plays) in matters of plot (*fabula*) and versification, he was always in a hurry, running with one foot flapping, paying no attention to where he was going and at times even forgetting what his hurry was all about.[90] Such careless rambling makes for wonderful farce, and that is what Plautus did amazingly well. But one does not want to be laughed at for verses that stumble and plots that collapse. Thus in every role we are asked to 'see' him, Plautus's failures are defined in terms of his signature successes: Horace's critique says what Plautus was bad at (careful versification, believable characters, sensible plots) by way of what he was best at (visual comedy, pratfalls, farce, and outrageous characterization).

But as we have seen, the speed and jumbled amplitude of Plautus's plays are not eschewed by Varro in the dramatic play of his satires. Nor are Plautus's comedies ever criticized (so far as we can tell) in any of his treatises on literature. In a famous passage from the (mock?) literary critical satire *Parmeno*, Varro writes (fr. 399): *in quibus partibus, in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesin Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus* ('[in assigning merit] within these divisions, Caecilius takes the prize in his plots, Terence in his characters, and Plautus in his conversations/dialogues'). The sentiments (though they may belong to a pedant or a comically unhinged crank) are generally assumed to belong to Varro himself because he was known to be fond of issuing such rankings, and because they are a decent match for sentiments he expresses elsewhere.[91] Precisely the same triad

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**88** N.J. Lowe quoted by Benz 1998, 89.

**89** Referring to Horace's *quantus Dossennus sit,* Fontaine 2010, 222: 'Horace ... seems to be saying that in the parts Plautus wrote for his hungry parasites, he blended in conspicuous traits of the Dossennus of Atellan farce.' Further on the Dossennus and the stock characters of Atellan farce, see Duckworth 1952/1994, 10–13.

**90** What holds true for Plautus's language holds true for his plot-work as well: the more complicatedly absurd the plot the better; see Sharrock 2009, 116–30. The *fabula*'s collapse could also refer to the slave's own plot-work, i.e. the clever slave as metaphorical playwright. Plautus's plots (like those concocted by his playwright slaves, Pseudolus, Plaestrio, Tranio, and others) are improvisatory, prone to taking sudden turns based on chance circumstances, and sometimes they fall apart altogether and have to be rescued by sheer luck.

**91** Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.99 *Varro Musas, Aelii Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicit sermone locuturas fuisse si latine loque uellent*; Charisius (Keil *G.L.* I [1885] p. 241 = fr. 40 Funaioli) *ethe, ut ait Varro de Latino sermone libro v, nullis aliis seruare conuenit, inquit, quam Titinio, Terentio, Attae; pathe uero Trabea* (*inquit*) *Atilius, Caecilius facile mouerunt*; Gell. 6.14 *uera autem et propria huiuscemodi formarum exempla in Latina lingua M. Varro esse dicit ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium*; see Brink *ad Epist.* 2.1.50–9 (pp. 83–90).

appears at the end of Horace's list of comic poets who were canonized as the best ever, not to be outdone and still much loved, by a Roman populace that denigrated all things new (*Epist.* 2.1.58–9):

> *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,*
> *uincere Caecilius grauitate, Terentius arte.*

> Plautus (is said) to speed ahead according to the model of Epicharmus the Sicilian, Caecilius to win the prize for dignity, Terence for art.

Once again, Plautus is spied hurtling himself forward. The specific meaning of the verb *properare* is unclear, but it seems that Plautus's hurrying on (from one scene to the next in a meter that was born to 'run'?[92]) is in this case a positive quality that connects him to a Greek model. As Richard Hunter has recently pointed out, for Greek critics Epicharmus was the πρῶτος εὑρετής ('first inventor') of comedy, and 'the triad of Plautus – Caecilius – Terence seems ... to sketch a chronological and developmental history of the *palliata*.'[93] Since Bergk first interpreted *GL* II. 469.32–3 (*Varro De poetis libro I: deinde se ad Siculos se applicauit*) as a reference not to Ennius but to Plautus, scholars have generally agreed that Varro connected Plautus to Sicilian drama in the first book of his *De poetis*.[94] In concluding this chapter, I would like to consider just how strangely complex and self-revealing any such argument connecting Plautus to the plays of Epicharmus would have had to have been, and how it would have had to involve the antiquarian Varro in many of the same issues of 'native Italian' versus 'Greek' that he certainly had to deal with in tracing the origins of satire. In the end, given the pronounced influence of Plautus on his own satires, I suspect that at some point in his treatment of satire he would have named Plautus as an important link between the burlesques that played on the stage (both on the Greek mainland as Old Comedy and in south Italy and Sicily as various kinds of mime and local farce, e. g. the *phlyaces*) and the kind of lively dialogues that he himself wrote as satire.

First it should be noted that Horace's adjective 'of Sicily' in line 58, emphasized via hyperbaton, seems especially important to his description. By designating Epicharmus a Sicilian, Horace seems, at first blush, to stake a claim in an old

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**92** Hunter 2009, 92 'the connection between the τροχαῖος and τρέχειν was of course well known to Greek critics. Epicharmus' tetrameters admit high levels of resolution (which may be thought to increase their 'speed') and he seems to have written whole plays in this metre, which predominates in the fragments that survive.'

**93** Hunter 1999, 94.

**94** See Brink *ad* 2.1.58.

dispute about whether Epicharmus came from Sicily, or from one of any number of cities that claimed him in the eastern Aegean. And yet the adjective may be taken to mean only that he lived and wrote plays in Sicily, thus leaving us to wonder whether the comic tradition that Epicharmus founded arose in Sicily or was brought with him as a kind of drama that played elsewhere and was subsequently imported from the city of his birth. Where and/or in whom, in other words, does native Sicilian drama really have its start? Is there anything truly 'native' about it? Is it an import that Epicharmus introduced whole cloth from the Greek east? Or does he adapt his dramas to a local tradition, producing a hybrid of native Sicilian and Greek? And, with that matter settled, what if any bearing might the staging of Epicharmus's plays at least three hundred years before Plautus have had on the south Italian farces that were known to Plautus, and that he drew upon heavily to make his Greek-inspired productions (*fabulae palliatae*), based largely on third century Greek comedies, play more like Italian farce? But then, waiting in the wings and threatening to undo all of what has just been decided, however it has been decided, is the 'hare' issue that, as we have seen, Varro raised on several occasions in his works, in one case to remind us that the Sicilians are *ab origine* not from Sicily at all: according to the most revered of Rome's ancient annals (*ut annales ueteres nostri dicunt*), the Sicilians arose in the region of what would later be known as Rome. Thus we have to ask what aspects of Sicilian drama might have come not from Greece or Sicily (to produce some pure and/or hybridized mixture thereof), but from the heart of Italy—always keeping in mind that 'Italy' is the name that was given to the peninsula, ever so long ago, by the Greeks.

## Conclusion: finding 'us' in the search for 'ours'

I began this study with an analysis of Quintilian's *tota nostra* claim, and his division of satire into two related *genera*. At first glance his premise seems fairly simple: 'in satire we have a *genus* all our own, not developed first by the Greeks.' It seems simple, that is, until one considers that such a claim requires us (both Quintilian's Romans and ourselves) to know who 'we' are. And thus, as this study has shown, largely by itself falling into the trap set by Quintilian's claim, the search for what satire 'is' always finds scholars, both ancient and modern, wrestling with issues of Roman identity: 'where do we Romans come from? What connects us to those who were the *auctores* of our Roman *genus,* and to the "authors" of the one "genre" that we call ours?' Like the *genus mixtum* that was the Roman people themselves, the genre of satire is too Roman; that is, it is too full, hybridized and varied to be traced to any single founder, or con-

tained by any single category. For both the Romans and the one genre that they claimed was theirs, founders and foundation myths proliferate, such that for every city-founding Romulus (Lucilius) can be found an Etruscan Tarquin or 'Lydian' Corythus (Livy's *ludiones*), a native Italian Latinus or Turnus (*fabula Atellana,* or the *agricolae prisci* of Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.139), a Hercules (Aristophanes), or an Evander (Ennius). Satire is endlessly regressive and re-readable as a story about who 'we Romans' are. Or, as Jay Reed writes in treating the problem of origins and national identity in the *Aeneid*: 'every angle from which we read it offers a different way to be Roman in the world.'[95] The same can be said of the hybridized, imperializing genre of satire as well.

As we have seen, many attempts were made by Roman scholars to locate an *auctor,* some proto-satiric Numa or Romulus, in the deep past of the *genus,* whose activities could help explain some feature of the genre's contents, habits and expression. But these 'solutions,' we have also seen, were only ever provisional and partial, and they were always proposed at the cost of some other feature of the *genus,* and by way of some failure to appreciate some other habit. In their turn, the writers of satire seem ultimately to have been nonchalant about this. Horace knows of the existence of a 'censorial' Old Comic Lucilius (*S.* 1.4), but he knows that there are costs to be paid for adhering to such an idea, and that these are costs paid at the expense of all concerned, whether by Lucilius, the Old comic poets, or the genre itself. All are impoverished and, in a certain sense, made less satiric and Roman, by the 'satirist as Old Comic moral censor' idea, however partially true and sensible that idea might have been. Horace proceeds to have some fun with it, challenging us to take the idea seriously ('I dare you!') before moving on to show us 'how' such an idea might be considered valid and rightly given its due weight in the next poem.[96]

But commonly thought to be standing behind nearly every proposition ever made in antiquity to explain satire's origins and early development is Varro. He is routinely credited with establishing theories as widely divergent as Horace's Old Comic analogy, the Etrusco-Italic theses of Livy and Valerius Maximus, and nearly every etymology that purported to explain the genre's origins, and that are to be found in the pages of Diomedes, Porphyrion, and Pseudo-Acro, and in the etymological play of the satirists themselves. By now I hope to have given some sense of how the problem of satire's endless readability may have been handled by Varro both in theory, where the scholar's investigations regularly lead him back not to a pure, aboriginal peoples, but to a cultural mél-

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**95** Reed 2007, 12–13.
**96** On the theory of Hor. *S.* 1.4 giving way to the practice of *S.* 1.5, see Cucchiarelli 2001, 15–21.

ange, a *genus mixtum* influenced by the Greeks from the earliest times; and in practice, where he, like Horace, ranged widely into the terrain of the genre's *alterum genus*, thus leaving us to puzzle over the problem of Quintilian's two types (*genera*) as always one genre (*genus*).

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Richard Hunter
# One Verse of Mimnermus?

## Latin Elegy and Archaic Greek Elegy

**Abstract:** This paper considers the engagement of Latin poets with archaic Greek elegy, both as a stage in literary history, represented for us best in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and as material to be reworked in their own poems. Callimachus had given Mimnermus a special importance for Roman Callimacheans, and the paper considers in particular Roman knowledge and exploitation of that poet.

**Keywords:** Callimachus, Callinus, elegy, Horace, Mimnermus, Ovid, Plutarch, Propertius

What archaic Greek elegy might have meant for Roman poets, and indeed how much of it they knew, have usually been discussed in the context of 'the origins of Latin love-elegy';[1] at least as instructive (as so often) is the literary history which Roman poets and scholars themselves constructed.

In the *Ars Poetica* Horace offers more than one brief history of poetic genres. When he is setting out the historical functions of poetry within society, an account which does not rely upon a strict regard for metre as the defining criterion of 'genre' (vv. 391–407),[2] Horace speaks of poetry of an early (i.e. in our terms 'archaic') date as 'showing men how to live' (*uitae monstrata uia est*), and he is no doubt there thinking of elegiac ὑποθῆκαι and gnomic verse, as well presumably of Hesiod's hexameter *Works and Days* and (perhaps) the Hesiodic *Precepts of Cheiron*; Isocrates too observes that Hesiod, Theognis and Phocylides are praised as 'the best advisers for men's lives', although their ὑποθῆκαι are on the whole ignored (*To Nicocles* 5 = Theognis T 5 Gerber), and it was certainly possible to view the poetry of Theognis as γνωμολογίαι (Plutarch, *How to study poetry* 16c),[3] or as simply 'about virtue and vice' and as 'an essay about people' ('Xenophon', Theognis T 6 Gerber).[4] More specific, however, is a much discussed history of poetic genres from earlier in the poem:

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**1** Cf. Chapter 9 of Cairns 1979, which also usefully reviews earlier contributions.

**2** On this passage add to the commentators Hunter 2009, 48–52.

**3** Cf. Hunter-Russell 2011, 88.

**4** On this very interesting passage of uncertain authorship cf. H.R. Breitenbach, *RE* 9 A.1927–8, West 1974, 56. For other references to the poetry of Theognis as 'precepts' cf. West 1992, I 172.

res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
quo scribi possent numero, monstrauit Homerus;
uersibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,                    75
post etiam inclusa est uoti sententia compos;
quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armauit iambo;
hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque coturni,                       80
alternis aptum sermonibus et popularis
uincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Horace, *Ars Poetica* 73–82

With an interestingly refined and almost 'modern' historical perspective, Horace seems here to come very close to a distinction between 'anonymous' oral and inscribed poetry, on one side, and written poems of identifiable authors, on the other. The dichotomy may hold, as in fact it does historically, for hexameter poetry as much as for elegy – Aristotle was unable to name any poet before Homer, 'but it is likely that there were many' (*Poetics* 1448b28–30) – but Horace apparently draws a distinction between the treatment of 'authored' elegy (*quis … auctor*) and that of the immediately surrounding genres. Homer's genius set the pattern for the writing of historical and martial epic in hexameter, but it is not said that Homer 'invented' the hexameter, any more than Archilochus 'invented' *iambi* – he merely brought out their true nature and set the pattern for drama and subsequent iambic poets to follow; Horace's literary history here has good Greek precedent.[5] Ancient writers may indeed use the idea of 'the first inventor' for a great originary figure, such as Homer for epic poetry,[6] and it may be thought that the explicit raising of the question of the 'first inventor' of elegy suggests an analogous role for Homer and Archilochus (i.e. these are genres on which the *grammatici* have in fact reached a conclusion), but there is, I think, something at stake and something to be gained by pushing hard here at the idea of 'invention' in the strict sense.[7]

A very late text tells us that Democritus (B 16 D-K) ascribed the invention (in whatever meaning) of the hexameter to Musaeus and that the late fifth-century Athenian politician and poet Critias ascribed it to Orpheus (B 2 D-K),[8] but Hor-

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**5** Cf., e.g., Brink on v. 74.

**6** Rostagni's notes on this passage of the *Ars Poetica* focus these issues more clearly than do Brink's.

**7** Whether or not Horace's verses have anything to do with Roman love-elegy has been much debated (cf., e.g., Fries 1993), but v. 78 makes it clear that the reference of v. 77 is primarily to archaic Greek elegy; it is not a question of a difference between *exigui elegi* and other *elegi*.

**8** Mallius Theodorus, *Grammatici Latini* VI.589 Keil.

ace, both here and in the poetic history at vv. 391–407, in which Orpheus actual-
ly occurs, keeps quiet about any such 'invention'. In the beginning, then, was the
hexameter (as also the iambus), almost existing by nature.[9] Horace has an im-
portant forerunner here in the Hellenistic elegist Hermesianax who, in his ac-
count of the love-life of famous poets (fr. 7 Powell), follows a partly chronolog-
ical, partly generic order: Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, Homer, followed by Mim-
nermus and Antimachus (*qua* elegiac poet), but of all the genres which Herme-
sianax includes – hexameters, elegiacs, lyric and tragedy – only elegiacs are
given an 'invention', by Mimnermus:[10]

> Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὕρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλὰς
>     ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα τὸ πενταμέτρου,
> καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολιῶι δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶι
>     κημωθεὶς κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἐξαμύηι.
> Hermesianax fr. 7. 35–8 Powell[11]

> Mimnermus, who after long endurance discovered the sweet sound and the breath of the
> soft pentameter, burned for Nanno, and – bound with his ancient flute – often went revel-
> ling with Examyes.

Hermesianax's invention was, strictly speaking, the pentameter, which he then
linked to the hexameter to create the elegiac couplet. Horace too raises the
issue of elegy's invention, though he is unable to name an inventor, because
the matter remained one of scholarly dispute (in the theory most familiar to
us the three contenders were Archilochus, Callinus and Mimnermus).[12] Why
this matters is because the rhetoric of 'invention' comes to mark the elegiac cou-
plet, whether or not it does so in this passage of Horace, as a secondary develop-
ment from stichic hexameters, and elegy as a 'deviation' from an approved, we
might almost say 'normal', rhythm of both poetry and life was then an idea
which was extremely important to the Roman elegists. The idea of elegy as de-
viation, as the removal of something from every second hexameter, is probably
most starkly expressed by Ovid at the head of his *Amores*:

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**9** This is a slightly different point, though obviously related to, Aristotle's view that nature
herself 'found' (εὗρε) the iambic trimeter as the appropriate metre for the spoken parts of drama
(*Poetics* 1449a24) and 'teaches' that the hexameter is the appropriate metre for a lengthy nar-
rative (1460a4).
**10** On other aspects of this passage cf. Hunter 2006*b*, 120–2.
**11** In v. 36 πνεῦμα τό is Dalecamp's emendation for the transmitted πνεῦμ' ἀπό.
**12** Didymus p. 387 Schmidt, cf. further Hunter 2006*b*, 120–1. For a suggestion as to how 'rivalry'
between Archilochus and Mimnermus may have played out in Hellenistic poetry cf. Hunter 2011,
235–6 [= 2008, 555–6].

arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam
  edere, materia conueniente modis.
par erat inferior uersus; risisse Cupido
  dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.1–4

Hermesianax's description of Mimnermus[13] allows us to see that, although the elegiac couplet is, historically speaking, not a secondary derivation from the hexameter, this idea was not very far away in the literary theorizing of the Hellenistic period, and Roman elegists did not have to push very hard to reach what was for them an ideologically satisfactory version of literary history.

Few conclusions about individual poets can be drawn from Horace's refusal to name a specific Greek elegist in *Ars Poetica* 75–8; it is in fact the case that there was, by common consent, no towering archaic elegist to match Homer in epic, and there is no clear evidence for an Alexandrian 'canon' of elegiac poets, to sit alongside, for example, the nine lyric poets.[14] Tyrtaeus is sometimes cited alongside Homer, as indeed he is at *Ars Poetica* 401–2 (cf., e.g., Dio Chrysostom 2.29, 36.10 = Tyrtaeus T 34, 10 G-P),[15] but in the specific context of the power of verses to inspire soldiers. Archilochus, whose stature in the critical tradition as a whole was second only to Homer, was primarily conceived of as an iambic poet, though his achievements in elegy were very far from neglected,[16] and the Alexandrian edition of his elegies was presumably available for any

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**13** Spanoudakis 2001, 428–9 suggests that Hermesianax may here be indebted to Philitan praise of Mimnermus. He also interprets πολλὸν ἀνατλάς in Hermesianax's notice of Mimnermus as a reference to the Hellenistic and Roman ideal of scholarly toil, cf. πολλὰ μογήσας in Philitas fr. 10 Powell; others have seen this rather as a reference to something in Mimnermus' alleged biography and associated it with a (curious) note of Porphyrio on Horace, *Epistles* 1.6.65 'Mimnermus ... shows that love affairs bring more trouble than pleasure' (T 11 Gerber). I have wondered whether we should not (also?) recall *Milanion nullos fugiendo ... labores* (Propertius 1.1.9) and Ovid, *Amores* 1.9 (*militat omnis amans ...*), and see in the contrast between 'soft' elegiac poetry and the alleged rigours of the elegiac life another occasional theme of Roman elegy building upon something already in the Greek tradition. It may or may not be worth suggesting that the repeated *turpe* in *Amores* 1.9.4 would in Greek be αἰσχρόν (both words have both moral and physical senses), and this is a word which is prominent in, for example, Mimnermus fr. 1 (v. 6) and cf. also Tyrtaeus 10.21–27 (the sight of a fallen 'old soldier' is αἰσχρόν in both senses).

**14** Cf. Lightfoot 1999, 90–1, Hunter 2011, 233 [= 2008, 552–3].

**15** Russell accepts Emperius' deletion of the reference to Tyrtaeus at Dio 36.10, but even if it is an interpolation, it illustrates how the interpolator, rather in this case than Dio himself, put the two poets together.

**16** Cf. Hunter 2011, 234–5 [= 2008, 554–5].

Roman poet who wished to find it.[17] Nevertheless, the complete absence of explicit reference to archaic elegists, not just in Quintilian (if we ignore a curious passage (10.1.56) which seems to treat Tyrtaeus as a hexameter poet), but also in a poet as conscious of literary history as Ovid is worth pondering, even if you believe – as I do – that, for example, the 'sphragis' poem, *Amores* 1.15, evokes Theognis' *sphragis* (vv. 237–52), in part to create 'a sense of elegiac tradition, a chain of great poets, Theognis, Callimachus, Ovid himself, through whom that tradition is constantly refreshed';[18] when Ovid looks explicitly to archaic Greek forebears in love poetry, it is always to Sappho and Anacreon that he turns,[19] with Callimachus and Philitas heading the elegiac list (cf. *AA* 3.329–31, *RA* 757–62). In *Tristia* 2 Ovid virtually argues that *all* past poetry (including Homer) was about love, but again there is no mention of archaic Greek elegy (vv. 361ff).

Nevertheless, despite this general Roman silence about archaic Greek elegy, a silence for which there is all but certainly more than one reason, including the relative unfamiliarity of texts, Mimnermus clearly held something of a special place for some Roman poets. At *Epistles* 1.6.65–6 Horace cites him for the view 'that there is no pleasure without love and jests', in a context in which this sentiment could be used to justify an entirely hedonistic lifestyle. The reference of course is to verses of Mimnermus, perhaps a complete poem,[20] which are preserved for us by Stobaeus:

> τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
>     τεθναίην, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι,
> κρυπταδίη φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή,
>     οἷ' ἥβης ἄνθεα γίνεται ἁρπαλέα
> ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξίν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπέλθῃ          5
>     γῆρας, ὅ τ' αἰσχρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα τιθεῖ,
> αἰεί μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι,
>     οὐδ' αὐγὰς προσορῶν τέρπεται ἠελίου,
> ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸς μὲν παισίν, ἀτίμαστος δὲ γυναιξίν·
>     οὕτως ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἔθηκε θεός.
> Mimnermus fr. 1 West[21]

What life is there, what is sweet without golden Aphrodite? May I die, when these things are no longer what I care about – secret love-making and winning gifts and bed, the flowers of

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[17] There was probably a single book of elegies in the Alexandrian edition of Archilochus, cf. Obbink 2006, 1–2.

[18] Hunter 2012*b*, 165, where the case for Ovid's evocation of Theognis is argued.

[19] Joined as erotic experts as early as Plato, *Phaedrus* 235c3.

[20] Cf., e. g., Faraone 2008, 19–20, citing earlier bibliography.

[21] κακόν in v. 6 is Hermann's emendation for καλόν.

youth which men and women must snatch. When grievous old age comes, which makes a man both ugly and wretched, then destructive cares wear his mind away and he finds no pleasure in looking upon the rays of the sun, but he he is hateful to young boys and held in no honour by women. So terrible a thing has god made old age.

That Horace should refer to verses preserved for us also in a late anthology is perhaps not an accident. How much of Mimnermus' poetry was readily available at Rome is not easy to guess, though Strabo at least, whether at Rome or elsewhere, seems to have had access to texts of some substance.[22] For elegiac poets who felt a particular closeness to Callimachus, however, Mimnermus' name had of course a particular significance, because of the place of honour which, in the 'Reply to the Telchines', Callimachus gives that archaic poet as one of his forebears in 'sweet elegy'. At *Epistles* 2.2.99–101 Horace notes that the designation 'an Alcaeus' is the highest (empty) compliment which can be paid to a lyric poet, whereas for an elegist it is 'a Callimachus', but one could go even further to 'a Mimnermus':

> discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
> quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere uisus,
> fit Mimnermus et optiuo cognomine crescit.
> Horace, *Epistles* 2.2.99–101

No extensive knowledge of Mimnermus' poetry is necessarily assumed in this passage. He is a great (and perhaps shadowy) figure, made well known by (a single passage of) Callimachus, and of whom (perhaps) a few famous passages were familiar; it would indeed suit Horace's satirical tone if 'Mimnermus' was indeed little more than a name to be adopted or evoked by a pretentious poet. It has in the past often been thought that Horace here has Propertius in mind; that does not seem strictly necessary, but it is indeed Propertius who famously gives Mimnermus an explicit place in his poetry:

> quid tibi nunc misero prodest graue dicere carmen
>     aut Amphioniae moenia flere lyrae?
> plus in amore ualet Mimnermi uersus Homero:
>     carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit Amor.
> Propertius 1.9.9–12

Propertius is here addressing an epic poet who has fallen in love, and who therefore needs verses to win over his beloved; Mimnermus is chosen as both a 'love

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22 Cf. the summary in Bowie 1997, 60.

poet' and as an elegist.[23] *Mimnermi uersus* is, from one perspective, virtually synonymous with *mollem ... uersum* at 1.7.19, in the poem which forms a pair with, and is recalled by, 1.9. 'Soft verse' is elegiac poetry on love, and in 1.9 Propertius may have chosen Mimnermus as simply a founding father of elegy and/or as one made famous by Callimachus,[24] and he may be thinking particularly of the *Nanno*, or even just what we call Mimnermus fr. 1 West (cited above, famous verses perhaps reworked as early as Simonides, *PMG* 584 = 298 Poltera). Propertius' expression, however, allows us also to feel the meaning 'in love a [i.e. one] verse of Mimnermus is more effective than Homer',[25] and this is indeed how many earlier critics have understood Propertius' line.[26] If we ask which Mimnerman verse fits the bill, then – as Horace, *Epistles* 1.6.65–6 suggest – we can hardly go past what we call fr.1.1.[27] Ponticus needs verses which will help him win his girlfriend (*prodest*, v.9), and to remind the object of desire that there is no pleasure in life without the joys of Aphrodite cannot at least do any harm in such a situation. To put the case in extreme form: what better example to prove that 'one verse of elegy' is worth more than (all of) Homer than a poet of whom 'one verse' was indeed far better known than all the rest?

However Propertius' reference to Mimnermus is to be interpreted, there are good grounds for believing that Mimnermus fr. 1 was indeed important more

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**23** Note the familiar contrast with *graue carmen* (cf., e.g., Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.1, cited above) and the elegiac resonance of *tibi ... misero,* pointing to the *miserum me* of the opening verse of the book (and cf. Hinds 1998, 29–34); *flere* in v.10 makes the point that what Ponticus needs is *flebilis elegia*, not grim epics.

**24** There is in fact a parallel sequence at Propertius 2.34.25–32 with Callimachus and Philetas taking the place of Mimnermus. It is not, I think, necessary to see Propertius here taking a position on the identity of the πρῶτος εὑρετής of elegy (so, e.g., Rothstein and Fedeli ad loc.), a view I adopted too hastily in Hunter 2006*b*, 125; so too, the interpretation of *Mimnermi uersus* as 'the pentameter' offers too narrow a focus for Propertius' point.

**25** It is hard to doubt that the implication is 'than all of Homer', whether or not (cf. Fedeli ad loc.) we see here a *comparatio compendiaria*. Commentators rightly adduce *Anth. Pal.* 9.190.3 [= Anon. xxxviii *FGE* = Erinna T 7 Neri], where Erinna's three lines are claimed to be 'equal to Homer'.

**26** Cf., e.g., the commentaries of Butler and Barber, Enk, and Richardson *ad loc.*, and the translation of Guy Lee, 'a line of Mimnermus is more help than Homer'.

**27** It is, of course, tempting to extend that to the whole couplet, fr. 1.1–2, so that the elegiac form is clear; *uersus*, however, more obviously suggests a single verse than a single couplet. The 'verse (ἔπος) of Mimnermus' referred to at Alexander Aetolus fr. 5.4–5 Powell-Magnelli [= fr. 8 Lightfoot] may indeed also have been our fr.1.1, as almost suggested by Bach 1837, 344; for ἔπος of a single verse cf. LSJ s.v. IVa. Lightfoot's translation, 'borrowing Mimnermus' axiom', suggests that interpretation. Wilamowitz 1913, 285 rightly notes that the Mimnerman verse(s) referred to by Alexander need not have specified paederastic love, and in the state of the text of v.5 we need not assume that it necessarily contained a reference to drinking.

generally for establishing the 'elegiac lifestyle'.[28] The two themes of the pleasures of Aphrodite and the hatefulness of old age have of course a general significance here, but v. 3 'secret lovemaking and winning gifts and bed' seems also to prescribe an Ovidian programme for a happy life. The meaning of v. 3 has in fact been much debated, but even if 'Mimnermus can hardly be talking here of adulterous love' (Allen ad loc.), it is not difficult to see what an Ovid would make of this verse. The μείλιχα δῶρα, however they are to be interpreted in Mimnermus himself,[29] make obvious sense within the context of the erotic/elegiac lifestyle; it is at least worth noting that Ares seems to have 'given much' to Aphrodite to persuade her to 'commit adultery' with him (*Odyssey* 8.269), and this song of Demodocus is another passage of early verse which looks forward in various ways to Roman elegy.[30]

The opening couplet of Mimnermus fr. 1, with χάρις replacing βίος, is cited by Plutarch within the context of a discussion, heavily indebted to Aristotle, about the difference between *akrasia*, 'incontinence' in which the passions get the better of the reason which urges good conduct and which 'unwillingly betrays τὸ καλόν', and *akolasia*, 'intemperance, abandon', in which reason happily yields to the immoral urgings of the desires and 'willingly is swept away into τὸ αἰσχρόν' (*On moral virtue* 445d-6c). Mimnermus fr.1.1–2, together with Alexis fr. 273.4–5 K-A ('eating, drinking, success with Aphrodite: everything else are added extras'), is there cited as the kind of thing which the *akolastoi* say. In the opening passage of the opening poem of Book 1 Propertius portrays himself as the defeated victim of *improbus Amor*, compelled *nullo uiuere consilio*, perhaps 'to live without the guidance of reason',[31] and held under the sway of *furor*.[32] Plutarch might well class such a man as *akolastos*,[33] and Mimnermus

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**28** Cf. further Hunter 2006*a*, 39–40.

**29** Allen sees δῶρα καὶ εὐνή as a hendiadys, a view which I do not really understand. On 'the gifts of the gods' cf. further below. ἁρπαλέα is another word which may have taken on new resonances in the light of the developing poetic tradition: 'alluring, attractive', but then also 'to be seized', with reference to the 'gather ye rosebuds while ye may' idea.

**30** Cf. Hunter 2012*a*.

**31** Cf. Fedeli ad loc. At Aristotle, *EN* 7.1150b22, the impetuous (προπετεῖς) among the *akrateis* 'are led by passion because they do not deliberate (βουλεύσασθαι)'; at Terence, *Eunuchus* 57–8 Parmeno says of *amor, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum / habet ullum*. Heyworth 2007, 4–5 understands *nullo uiuere consilio* in the narrower sense 'live to no purpose', i.e. not write poetry.

**32** Cf. Cairns 1974, 102–7.

**33** Relevant here, as Roy Gibson reminded me, is the closeness of depictions of the hedonistic life of Mark Antony to that of the elegiac, notably Propertian, persona, cf. esp. Griffin 1985, Chapter 2, though Griffin does not consider how Greek ethical terminology would have described

fr.1.1–2 stands for Plutarch as a motto for such a dissolute lifestyle. It might be worth noting in this context that some ancient scholars appear to have associated elegy with madness (τὸ παραφρονεῖν) and unrestrained sexual behaviour (τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν), cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* 326.6–10; not very much can, of course, be made of this tenuous evidence,[34] but if Propertius was aware of the connection, then this becomes another way (of many) in which the opening poem of the *Monobiblos* is a 'display' of what elegy is.[35] So too, for what it is worth, in *On moral virtue* Plutarch describes the lover who tries to use his reason against his passion as using the healthy part of his soul against the part which is swollen and unhealthy (448b), and this may remind us of the pleas of Propertius in 1.1 for *non sani pectoris auxilia*.

On occasion Roman elegists, most notably Propertius and Ovid, do indeed seem to open themselves to criticism of this kind, to be – if you like – Mimnermuses, as Plutarch sees it, though it is of course part of the strategy of Propertius 1.1, and perhaps of Roman love-elegy more generally, that the poetic voice hovers between someone who enjoys the situation in which he finds himself (an *akolastos*) and someone who knows that there is a better way and wishes he had the strength to take it (an *akratês*). We might also construct the elegiac position of *akolasia* from another famous fragment of early elegy, Callinus fr. 1, which might have been known to Roman poets, though there is in fact no evidence that it, or indeed the poet himself,[36] actually was; the fragment reaches us only through preservation in Stobaeus' collection of extracts 'in praise of boldness':

> μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἕξετε θυμόν,
>    ὦ νέοι; οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπερικτίονας

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either Antony or the Propertian persona. In his *Life of Antony*, Plutarch uses both *akolasia* (2.3, 36.1 (the 'bad horse of Plato's *Phaedrus*')) and *akrasia* (*Comparatio* 4) of Antony, but presumably without precisely distinguishing between them as he does in *On moral virtue*; cf. further Duff 1999, 279–80.

**34** Cf. West 1974, 8.

**35** The Milanion-exemplum is clearly programmatic for the book as a whole: Propertius will seek to get his girl, *nullos fugiendo labores*. I do not rule out the possibility that this exemplum owes something to Theognis 1283–94, tormented verses which nevertheless put Atalante in the elegiac mainstream.

**36** Strabo clearly knew more Callinus than we do, though I think we should be more cautious than, e. g., Aloni-Iannucci 2007, 117 (and cf. Aloni 2009, 171) in using the few testimonia as evidence for an extensive familiarity with his poetry; later Roman metricians knew him as a name, but probably no more than that that. Christensen 2000 argues that Achilles Tatius 2.5.1 alludes to Callinus fr. 1.1; if this is correct, it is important that it is indeed fr. 1.1 to which Achilles' readers are referred.

ὧδε λίην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνηι δὲ δοκεῖτε
    ἧσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει …
Callinus fr. 1.1–4 West

How long will you recline? When, young men, will you have a bold spirit? Have you no shame before those who live around, when you are so very slack like this? You think that you are sitting around in peace, but warfare grips the whole land …

The poetic voice seeks to rouse the young men's fighting spirit. Scholars debate as to whether they are in fact preparing to fight, so that the 'abuse' designed to make them feel αἰδώς is a kind of martial tactic, or whether (as seems to me more likely) they are reclining at a symposium,[37] but looking back from later ages the answer must have seemed clear. The Propertian persona can sometimes sound as if it is Callinus' 'young men' answering back, 'How long will you lie there? – Well, actually, we like it where we are …'; one thinks of Propertius' claims for his 'lifestyle',

qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere uitam
    et pressi multo membra iacere mero,
non ferrum crudele neque esset bellica nauis,
    nec nostra Actiacum uerteret ossa mare,
nec totiens propriis circum oppugnata triumphis
    lassa foret crinis soluere Roma suos.
me certe merito poterunt laudare minores:
    laeserunt nullos pocula nostra deos
Propertius 2.15.41–8

or Tibullus' rejection of military campaigning in favour of staying in his beloved's arms:

me retinent uinctum formosae uincla puellae,
    et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.
non ego laudari curo, mea Delia; tecum
    dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque uocer.
Tibullus 1.1.55–8

Tibullus will endure the charge of being *segnis inersque*, i.e. of 'sitting around' ὧδε λίην μεθιέντες (Callinus fr. 1.3), and he welcomes a 'death at home' (dismissed by Callinus in vv. 14–16 of the same poem), provided that he dies in his woman's arms – then he will be truly ποθεινός (Callinus fr.1.16).

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**37** Cf., e. g., Bowie 1990, 223, Aloni 2009, 185–6.

Callinus fr. 1 inscribes at the very beginnings of the elegiac tradition a contrast between, on the one hand, sympotic and erotic pleasures and, on the other, the public service of military campaigning, or so it may have seemed looking back. This was one element from the broad palette of Greek elegy that Roman elegists took up and made central to their much narrower focus.[38] Closely connected to this is another feature of early elegy, and very notably of Mimnermus, which was to prove very important to its Roman reception. The language of early elegy shows unsurprising affiliations to that of the epic tradition; for the earliest period of elegy, whether in certain cases there is a specific intertextual relation and in which direction influence flows, are almost always matters for scholarly debate,[39] but it is again helpful here to try to see things as they might have looked in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the case of Mimnermus fr. 1, it has been noted that there are similarities of phrasing to the story of Anteia's illicit passion for Bellerophon which Glaucus tells in *Iliad* 6; these similarities would probably not give cause to pause, were it not for the fact that Mimnermus fr. 2, 'we, like the leaves which the flowered season of spring brings forth ...', reminds us of the famous opening of the same speech of Glaucus, 'as are the generations of leaves, so of men also ...' (*Iliad* 6.146). Whether or not in fr. 2 Mimnermus has his eye specifically on *Iliad* 6 has been much debated,[40] though it would be easy to understand how later readers might interpret this passage as taking the Homeric original, which is spoken on the battlefield where death is never far away, and changing its point so that it becomes an(other) exhortation to the pursuit of pleasure while we have the chance ('we take pleasure in the flowers of youth for a cubit's length of time'). Where Glaucus speaks of vast periods of time and the 'generations of men' as a single, universalizing (and third person) concept, a truly 'epic' perspective in other words, Mimnermus is concerned rather with what life is like for each and every one of *us* (ἡμεῖς ... τέρπομεθα), caught in a moment; from the former (epic) perspective, individuals fade in significance, but those of us living now know, as does Mimnermus, that our 'window' for pleasure is very small indeed. As for Mimnermus fr. 1, at the very least we may say that, from the perspective of the *Iliad*, this passage privileges a life which later ages associated above all with the Trojan lover Paris, and which

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**38** This is not the place for a survey of all uses of early elegy, for example Theognis, in Roman poetry, and my concentration here on Mimnermus and Callinus is not to be taken as a dismissal of possible reflections of other poets; in an unpublished paper Hans Bernsdorff has argued for the importance for Propertius 4.6 of Simonides' 'Plataea' elegy.

**39** Cf. now West 2011, 226–32.

**40** Cf. Allen 1993, 41; the most important study of the poem, and of the positive case for intertextual reference, is Griffith 1975.

clearly offers a different set of priorities to those of the epic. For the Roman elegists, that perhaps was enough.[41]

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[41] I am grateful to Hans Bernsdorff and to the audience of the Thessaloniki conference for instructive criticism.

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Stratis Kyriakidis

# The Poet's Afterlife:
# Ovid between Epic and Elegy*

**Abstract:** This paper deals with Ovid's *Tristia* 1.7 where the central theme is the fate of his *Metamorphoses.* By playing with the two *sphragis*-like pieces at the beginning of the poem, the poet shows the end of his own role and highlights that of the work's reception and of the reader's response. The poem closes with a third *sphragis*-like piece where the reader is authorised to re-organise the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* with three elegiac couplets, thus interfering with the epic form of the work. In these couplets the poem is declared parentless and it is the reader who undertakes to disseminate it among the people (*in urbe*). *Tristia* 1.7 then comes to complement the closural piece of the *Metamorphoses*: the work will survive because it is *rude,* that is, without *lima,* a *non-finito* work, which every reader, according to his interpretative possibilities, will always strive to give its final form. Eventually the poem proves to be a study on the topic of the reader's response.

**Keywords:** elegy, epic, exile poetry, *non-finito,* Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* reader's response, visual arts

One of Ovid's poetic concerns in his exilic poetry and particularly in the *Tristia* was the fate of his previous major work, the *Metamorphoses.* This is evident from various passages of the work and especially from *Tr.* 1.7 on which this paper will focus. It begins with a sorrowful theme for the situation in which the poet finds himself (1–4):

> **Siquis** *habes nostri* **similes in imagine vultus,**
> *    deme meis hederas, Bacchica serta, comis.*
> *ista decent laetos felicia signa poetas:*
> *    **temporibus** non est apta corona **meis.***

> Whoever you may be, who possess in a portrait of mine similar features, take the ivy, the wreath of Bacchus, away from my hair. Such happy tokens suit joyful poets; a garland does not become my temples (or else: in my times.[1])

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**1** Hinds 1999, 56: below n. 24.

While addressing the anonymous possessor of his bust (*siquis habes ... in imagine vultus*, 1), Ovid implicitly reminds the reader of his renown as an acclaimed poet from the mere fact that he contextually suggests the existence of such a bust in Rome, which alludes to his established literary prominence.[2] At the same time, however, the poet presents his wretchedness. In these lines we have most of the characteristics of a *sphragis*: the part of the poem, that is, where the poet speaks of his poetry, fame, and life, and which usually appears at the end of a work.[3]

The same *sphragis* addressed anonymously to a reader reminds us of the funerary epigrams which at times are addressed to an equally anonymous passing stranger;[4] to take this parallelism further, the poet addressing the reader here serves instead of a gravestone addressing the passer-by. The poetic diction of this passage is consonant with the recurrent conceit in the poetry of exile which equates the banishment of the poet with his death.[5] With such sorrowful diction at the opening, Ovid gives to the poem an appropriate elegiac lament, which also characterises the whole collection.

However, this epigram-like *sphragis* contains the poet's instruction to the owner of the bust to take away the poetic wreath (*deme hederas*, 2), the object which served as the *insignia* of his art (*Bacchica serta,* 2).[6] Consequently, the bust of the poet described tellingly within the *sphragis*-piece is denuded of its most characteristic item, thus losing its symbolic power.

But what passes rather *e silentio* at the opening of the poem, becomes more tangible in the following six lines (5 – 10):

> *hoc tibi dissimula, senti tamen, optime, dici*
> *    in digito qui **me fersque refersque** tuo,*
> *effigiemque meam fulvo complexus in auro*
> *    cara relegati, qua potes, ora vides.*
> *quae quotiens spectas, subeat tibi dicere forsan*
> *    'quam procul a nobis Naso sodalis abest!'*
> *Tr.* 1.7.5 – 10

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**2** Hinds 1985, 24.

**3** For the *sphragis,* see Nisbet / Hubbard 1978, 335 f.

**4** The same argument has also been made by Mordine 2010, 536 f. with reference to *Tr.* 1.1.15 – 9. Already Ferri 1993, 132 f., discussing Horace *Epist.* 1.20, relates the concluding verses of the Letter (19 – 28) to a funerary epigram and associates the latter with the *sphragis*. For the disseminating influence of the epigram see also the assertive statement of Roman 2006, 378.

**5** See e. g. Barchiesi / Hardie 2010, 62 f.

**6** See Servius, on *Ecl.* 8.13: *nam victores imperatores lauro, hedera coronantur poetae* (for the victorious generals are crowned with laurel, the poets with ivy). Cf. *Ecl.* 7.25 *Pastores, hedera nascentem ornate poetam* (herdsmen, crown with ivy-leaves the emerging poet) with Servius *ad loc*. Cf. also Hor. *C*. 1.1.29.

> Feign that this is not said to you, my best of friends, yet feel it nonetheless, you, who carry me about on your finger and, clasping my likeness on the tawny gold, see as you can the dear face of the banished. Every time you look at it, perhaps it crosses your mind to say 'how far from us our fellow Naso is!'

In this case the text suggests more openly the function of a *sphragis,* since the features of the poet are depicted on a more intimate item, namely a ring, which a friend carries on his finger, closely associated with an actual *sphragis*, a seal, i.e. a signet ring, as Hardie rightly sees it.[7] This second *sphragis* piece, visualised through the description of the ring, contains additional information on the poet, as it mentions his present condition of exile (*relegati*, 8) and his name (*Naso*, 10). Ironically enough however, this *sphragis* – like the bust of the poet – is held and manipulated by the reader.[8] It is the reader who moves the ring about in any way he wishes, shifting its surface (*fersque refersque*, 6) and dissociates the poet from his image, since every time he gazes at the ring he realises his absence (line 10). This feeling of the absence of the poet which permeates the poem culminates with this line, reminding us of one other important absence, that of Augustus, at the end of the *Metamorphoses*. At the end of that poem, in Ovid's prayer, the deified Augustus would be absent (*Met*. 15.870); at *Tr.* 1.7, the poet, will be as absent from his readers.[9] The poet seems to exploit in this instance the epistolary absence/presence[10] in order to establish, in yet another form, the new situation created in the reader/poet relationship. It is exactly the real absence of the poet which prevents the ring from functioning as a proper *sphragis*; instead it is a precious ring whose function is beyond the poet's control. The theatrical exclamation of line 10 sums up the subject and the lament which pervades these verses.

After a few lines, Ovid claims that in his sorrow (*maestus*, 16) he burnt his work with his own hands, comparing himself to Althaea, Meleager's mother, according to the myth described in the middle of the *Metamorphoses* (8.270–546 and *Tr.* 1.7.17–20).[11] Immediately thereafter, he gives the reason for his act: either

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[7] Hardie 2002, 322.

[8] Hardie 2002, *ibid*. conflates at *Tr.* 1.7.1–8 the two scenes opening the elegy into one; Hinds 1985, 21, also thinks that 'someone at Rome has a portrait of Ovid, an *imago*, in the form of a bust or in the form of a ring.'

[9] Hardie 2002, 294: 'the verb *abesse* marks the separation of both name and image from the person whom they represent.'

[10] Oliensis 1995, 211, 213; 1998, 185; Hardie 2002, 241 294, 297.

[11] Hinds 1985, 22 is right in relating through the Meleager myth the middles of the two works; a suggestion strengthening this argument is perhaps the function of the metaphor *viscera nostra*

because he came to hate the Muses or because the *Metamorphoses* was as yet a growing and rough poem (*adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat*, 22).

At the end of the poem one more invitation to the reader occurs:

> *hos quoque sex versus, in primi fronte* **libelli**
> *si praeponendos esse putabis, habe:*
> '*orba parente suo quicumque volumina tangis*        35
> **his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus.**
> *quoque magis faveas, haec non sunt edita ab ipso,*
> *sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.*
> *quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit,*
> *emendaturus, si licuisset, erat.*        40
> *Tr.* 1.7.33–40

> Have these six verses too, if you think them worthy to be placed at the head of the first book. 'Whoever you are touching these book rolls bereaved of their father, give them at least a place in your city. Your favour will be greater also since they were not published by their master but were snatched away from his funeral, so to speak. Whatever fault then this unpolished poem may have in these verses, he would have corrected it, had it been allowed.'

In brief, the three couplets (35–40) inform us that 1) the work now is without a father (*orba,* 35); 2) it has not been published by the poet himself (37); 3) the poem as it stands is still unpolished (*rude carmen,* 39); and 4) the poet would have corrected whatever faults there are, had he been permitted (*emendaturus, si licuisset, erat,* 40). He further refers to his situation of exile with the trope of death (*quasi … funere,* 38), a leitmotif for his banishment in his exile poetry. The apostrophising of the anonymous reader with the indefinite pronoun *quicumque* (35) – like the *siquis* (1) at the opening of the poem – together with the mournful appeal of the poet and the notion of death (38), once again give the tone of a funerary epigram to this part of the poem which blends well with the form of the elegiacs and the theme of the whole collection. The poem, that is, opens and closes with a real sense of lament, an observation which, strictly speaking, concerns the thematic relationship of *Tr.* 1.7 to the whole collection. The only qualitative remark contained in these six closural verses is that the *Metamorphoses* has been left unpolished (*rude,* 39), a qualification Ovid insists upon as he has already repeated it twice earlier in the same poem: at 22 he describes the work as *crescens et rude carmen* (a growing and unpolished poem), and at 27–30 he allegedly admits that the work lacks the final

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(20) for his work, since the vitals occupy the 'very middle' of the human body. See also Krevans 2010, 206 f.

hand (*nesciet his summam siquis abesse manum*, if one does not know that the last hand is missing from them, 28) and that it was taken from him while it was still on the anvil (*mediis...incudibus*, 29) and so he could not apply the final touch (*ultima lima*, 30).

The six verses which the reader is invited to put at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* have a dual function: They potentially constitute an introductory epigram to the *Metamorphoses* (33–4); at the same time they serve as a *sphragis*[12] to the poem by their position and their content, since they are concerned with the poet and his work.[13] What is stressed in these six lines, however, is not the father/son relationship between the poet and his work, a subject presented elsewhere (e. g. *Tr.* 1.1.115, and 3.1.57), but the fact that, after a particular time, the work is parentless.[14] This rupture of the relationship renders the third sphragis-like epigram functionless on the same grounds as the previous two.

With the introductory couplet to the final verses (33–34), the poet asks the reader to place in the front of the first book of the *Metamorphoses* (*in primi fronte libelli*, 33) the three couplets closing *Tr.* 1.7 if they meet with his approval (***si** praeponendos esse* **putabis**, 34). The poet, that is, *allows* his reader to tamper with the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* by letting his discretion decide whether to place the closural elegiacs at the front of the work or not.[15] Ovid confers on the reader the right to act as a poet and foster-father to a text bereft of its parent (*orba parente*, 35), thus interfering with the form as well as the content of the *Metamorphoses*: with the form, since the three elegiac couplets, being placed at the front and charged with lament, give, so to speak, the tone to the work and generically form a sharp contrast with the following hexameters; and with the content because, like all beginnings, they inevitably influence the reader's reaction to the narrative.[16] In this way the metamorphic element of the *Metamor-*

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12 The imagery clearly suggests that Ovid was well aware of the metaphorical use of the σφρηγίς as it appeared in the text of Theognis (*IEG* 19–23): Pratt 1995, 177: 'Theognis says not that his works will never be stolen but that they will never be stolen *unobserved*.' (emphasis mine)

13 These two functions, according to McKeown, are corresponding poetic practices since they both usually contain information pertaining to the poet and his work: 1989, II.1 on the epigram to *Amores* 1 and II.388 on the sphragis to *Amores* 1.15.

14 See below, pp. 361f.

15 Ziogas (*forthcoming*) relates this epigram to be placed at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* with the presumed preface to the *Aeneid* deleted by the editors of the work (see e. g. Austin 1971, 25ff.) and considers 'that the six-line preface in *Tristia* 1.7 replicates the so-called pre-proemium to the *Aeneid*. If we agree that *Tristia* 1.7 is a re-enactment of the Vergilian deathbed scene and a comment on the role Augustus played in the afterlife of the *Aeneid*, then Ovid's neglected preface to the *Metamorphoses* parallels the editorial issue of the *Aeneid*'s pre-proemium.'

16 Hinds 1985.

*phoses* becomes a never-ending notion and continues not only outside the work itself, in the *Tristia*, but also by a different authorial hand, since it is the reader of the latter work who is prompted to undertake this task. Similarly at *Tr.* 1.1.119 – 22 the poet had suggested his own wretched state in exile be added to the *Metamorphoses*, as the 'final' transformation of the work, in itself a most sorrowful metamorphosis of the poet.

> *sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae,*
> *  nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis.*
> *his mando dicas, inter mutata referri*
> *  fortunae vultum corpora posse meae* 120
> *namque ea dissimilis subito est effecta priori,*
> *  flendaque nunc, aliquo tempore laeta fuit.*
> *Tr.* 1.1.117 – 122

> There are also three times five book rolls about changing forms, poems recently saved from my burial. To these I prompt you to say that the aspect of my fate can now be entered among those transformed bodies. For this changed aspect is different from what it was before; a cause of tears now, while at other times it was a cause of joy.

Ovid with the three *sphragis*-like pieces of *Tr.* 1.7, presented at the beginning and the end of the poem, seems to be attempting a comparison between the two visual arts (sculpture and seal-engraving) and literature, with the latter gaining the upper hand, as we shall see further down.In all three instances, however, the *sphragis*-like pieces have lost their expected role and instead serve to highlight, at a first reading, lamentable situations and the sorrow of the poet.

In a forty-line poem, one fifth of the lines are given to the epigram-like finale and its introduction (33 – 40) and a little more than another fifth to the two *sphragis*-like pieces at the beginning of it. The prominence of the reader here is more than evident and the poetic diction relies heavily on his reception and indeed *his response* on the poet's already published work, the *Metamorphoses*.[17] Structurally the poem is reader-focused, which means that it is built with the metapoetic quality within it. The same quality is further strengthened by the placement of the poem within the collection. In a book consisting of eleven poems, *Tr.* 1.6 – the elegy addressed to his wife – is the absolute middle[18] with a pentad of poems on either side. *Tr.* 1.7, therefore, holds a medial position since it opens the second pentad of the book [1– 5, 6, 7– 11] and we know well

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[17] Hinds 1985. Smith 1997, 5, 7 gives special emphasis to the reader's participation.
[18]  Kenney 1965, 41 mentions that *Tr.* 1.6. occupies the middle of the book; in other words, it is the exact middle of a book containing eleven elegies.

that the middle position is suitable for such a treatment.[19] Therefore, the structure and positioning of the elegy conform to its programmatic and metapoetic character. Like many of his predecessors, Ovid had consciously exploited the middle position of the work in order to speak about himself and his work. This is not a chance instance; it is rather a poetic choice since Ovid repeatedly and deliberately uses the middle position in the rest of the collection.[20] The clearest example is found at *Tr.* 3.7, a metaliterary work in itself in the form of a letter sent to his stepdaughter Perilla. Ovid closes the letter by a piece of advice (*effuge venturos*, *qua potes*, *usque rogos*, avoid in any way you can the oncoming funeral pyre, *Tr.* 3.7.54). Before doing this however, the poem takes a more personal turn by referring to his own situation (45–6), his poetic genius (47–8), and his future renown (50–2) with the latter point strongly recalling the closure of the *Metamorphoses* (15.873–76).[21] All this takes place at the end of *Tr.* 3.7. With *Tr.* 3 containing the odd number of fifteen poems,[22] *Tr.* 3.7 occupies the exact middle of the central book of the collection. In a similar manner Ovid exploits the middle position in book 1 to enhance his message and so he once more becomes involved in the rather common practice of playing with the beginnings and ends of poetic works, sometimes of different poetic works,[23] as here with the end of *Tr.* 1.7, which the poet suggests as the new beginning of the *Metamorphoses*, or as with the opening elegy of *Tr.* 1 which alludes to the last poem of Horace's first book of the collection of letters (*Epist.* 1.20) as we shall see further below. Furthermore, Hinds has shown the way that Ovid, in the central section of the elegy, has drawn from and related his diction to the poetically prominent parts in the narrative of the *Metamorphoses*, namely the beginning,[24] the middle and the end. If this metapoetic quality is enhanced through the structure of the

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**19** The discussion on the importance of the middle was mainly initiated by Conte 1992; see also Kyriakidis / De Martino (eds.) 2004.

**20** On Ovidian middles see Hardie 2004.

**21** *Tr.* 3.7.50–2: *me tamen extincto fama superstes erit, / dumque suis victrix septem de montibus orbem / prospiciet domitum Martia Roma*, *legar* (yet, with me dead, my renown will be saved and I will be read for as long as Martian Rome victorious will look down from her seven hills over the conquered people).

**22** According to Heinsius' manuscripts *Tr.* 3.4 is followed by *Tr.* 3.4b.

**23** Cf. Zetzel 1983, 260 f. and n. 28; Barchiesi 1997, 203 n. 41; Kyriakidis 2004, 47 and n. 87.

**24** Hinds 1985, 22–5. Regarding the opening of the *Metamorphoses* Hinds 1999, 56 f. has already noted the double meaning of the word *tempora* and Ovid's exploitation of this at *Tr.* 1.7.4 in relation to the phrase *ad mea tempora* from the proem to the *Met.* (1.4); in sustaining this view I would add that the placement of the word *temporibus* on the fourth line of the elegy – an allusion to the phrase *ad mea tempora* holding the corresponding fourth line of the greater work – is a further indication of the poet's intentions.

poem and its positioning within the collection, what has the poet in mind, and more importantly, what is the reader going to make of all this, since he is explicitly addressed (*lector,* 32) within the poem?

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In *Tr.* 1.7 there are two characters as regards the poem: the poet and the reader. The poet represents a stage already in the past, since his work, according to himself, is out of his hands and the only thing he can do is to ask for the reader's indulgence when reading it. The reader, on the other hand, represents the future stage of the work, which concerns its reception and his response to it. For this reason the certainty and optimism of the verb *vivam* (future indicative) at the end of the *Metamorphoses* (15.879) here in the *Tristia* becomes a wish, *vivant* (25) (present subjunctive) for the copies of the work surviving the fire.[25] The importance of the reader, as mentioned above, is shown at the two ends of the poem: the two opening *sphragis*-like pieces and its closure. It is in anticipation of this closure and with the reader in focus that the central part of the elegy is written (11–32).

At lines 11–14 the poet speaking about his great work assumes a rather confiding tone:

> s*ed carmina* **maior imago**
> *sunt mea, quae mando qualiacumque legas,*
> *carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,*
> *infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus.*

> But my poem, which tells of the changed forms of men, is a more detailed portrait of me and I urge you to read it, whatever its quality may be, a work interrupted by the unfortunate banishment of its master.

In line 11 the poet encourages the reader to gain a fuller portrait of himself, a *maior imago,* by reading the *Metamorphoses.* The reader, compared to others, is in the privileged position of knowing the poet better through his work, than anybody else. When the poet speaks of his bust, that *imago* was not identical with the poet as the features of the portrait were less accurate (*similes ... vultus,* 1). Compared to the bust (*imagine,* 1) and the golden signet ring (*effigiem,* 7), the *carmina* seem to form a more appropriate portrait of the poet, a *maior imago* (11).[26] The poet relies more on his written work than the visual arts for his portrayal.

**25** Barchiesi 2001, 27.
**26** Hinds 1985, 24–5.

With this invitation to the reader, Ovid suggests a comparison with the corresponding *melior pars* (875) from the epilogue of the *Metamorphoses* (15.875–9):

> *parte tamen meliore*[27] *mei super alta perennis*                     875
> *astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,*
> *quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,*
> *ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,*
> *siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.*

> But eternal in my finer part I shall be carried high up above the stars and my name will never be forgotten and wherever the Roman might extends over the lands it has conquered I shall be read by the lips of men and I shall live in everlasting fame, if the prophecies of the poets hold any truth.

We cannot, however, escape the realisation that the Horatian *multa pars* in *Carmen* 3.30 is also strongly implied, since the influence of that ode imbues the epilogue of the Ovidian work:

> *non omnis moriar multaque pars mei*
> *vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera*
> *crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium*
> *scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.*
> *C.* 3.30.6–9

> I shall not wholly die. A great part of me will escape Libitina; I shall always grow ever-renewed because of future praise as long as the high priest ascends the Capitol accompanied by the silent virgin.

At the end of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid, after his corporeal death, aspires to eternal life through his *better part* (15.875 f.), namely his work, which will be on the lips of men (878)[28] and will have earned his renown for the ages to come. Ovid – like Horace's *multaque pars* – leaves no doubt as to its successful reception: the readership of his work will be assured through all the ages. What is important in *Tr.* 1.7, however, is that Ovid goes one step further as he is concerned not only with the *reception* of his work but also with his readers' *response* to it. The reader will be his successor and this is the reason, I believe, for the particular attention and invitation Ovid gives to him at the opening and the closing of the elegy.

In lines 21–22 the poet gives the reasons for burning his copy of the *Metamorphoses* and of these two reasons he seems to insist on the second one: *vel quod adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat*. Nevertheless, he thinks that several

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27 Cf. Ovid. *Met.* 1.21: *Hanc deus et **melior** litem **natura** diremit:* Kyriakidis *forthcoming*.
28 Ziogas *forthcoming*, has an interesting discussion referring to Hardie's views.

copies were saved and prays that they may live on, delighting readers and reminding them of the poet:

> nunc precor ut vivant et non ignava legentum
>     otia delectent admoneantque mei.
> Tr. 1.7.25 – 26

> Now I pray that they may live so that they may delight the spirited leisure of readers and remind them of me.

A few lines later he states that the work was taken from him before he could put the final touches. This he stresses with two metaphors (29 – 30):

> ablatum **mediis** opus est **incudibus** illud
>     defuit et scriptis **ultima lima** meis.

> That work was taken away from me while it was on the anvil and my poem lacked the refinement of the file.

Both tropes, taken from the art of the smith, have a long pedigree in Greek and Latin literature.[29] The former was usually applied to the 'forging' of a literary work, the latter to polishing it, and both to the *labor* involved. Since the poet is pleased that his poem has finally been saved (23 – 4) and he not only wishes it goes on living (*precor ut vivant,* 25) but also recommends it to the readers, in spite of its shortcomings (12), a first logical assumption of all this would be that the *crescens et rude carmen* refers to a work as yet (*adhuc*) without its *lima*. Bearing in mind the fact that the *Metamorphoses* was already in circulation, it is hardly realistic to take this statement at its face value, namely that he had not brought the work to completion;[30] it would be more convincing to see it rather as part of the exile scenario of lament and distress which pervades the collection.[31] The poem is *crescens et rude* because the completion of the work comes only with the readers' response. The endless series of readers, the diachronic

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**29** Cf. Prop. 2.34.43: *angusto versus includere* **torno**; Horace, *A.P.* 441: *et male* **tornatos incud**i *reddere versus*; *Anth. Pal.* 7.409.1 – 4 (Antip. Thess.): ὄβριμον ... στίχον αἴνεσον Ἀντιμάχοιο / ... / Πιερίδων χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν, εἰ **τορὸν** οὖας / ἔλλαχες (praise the strong verse of Antimachus ... wrought of metal on the anvil, if your ear is acute); (Crinag.) 9.545.1: τορευτὸν ἔπος. See also Faber 2000.
**30** Holzberg [2002, 36] sees things in a rather similar fashion: 'As to the statement that the *Metamorphoses* required further polishing, it might be intended to redouble readers' admiration for a text they would have to regard as unfinished when it is in fact a consummate work of art – at least in the version we have.'
**31** The anonymous reader sees here 'an imitation of the non-completion of the *Aeneid*' with reference to Hinds 1985, 22.

'ecumenical community'[32] suggested by the epilogue of the *Metamorphoses* (*ore legar populi*), with each one personally responding to the work, renders the *Metamorphoses* as yet (*adhuc*) *non-finito* and therefore *crescens et rude*.

It is to be remembered here that the words of that phrase *crescens* and *rude* have also appeared at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*. There, they are part of the initial myth of Chaos (1.5–11);[33] Hinds has aptly noted that the poem, *Tr.* 1.7, whose major concern was the fate of the *Metamorphoses* is characterised in terms of that work's opening myth, "the myth of the transformation of Chaos into an ordered universe."[34] Following Hinds, Wheeler, too, suggests that the use of *rudis* in *Met.* 1.7 "hints that chaos is a raw material that awaits refinement in the hands of an artist."[35] This suggestion is of special importance since it can be carried over to *Tr.* 1.7, where the predominant notion of the function of the literary work is further enhanced by the two metaphors from the art of the smith. This in turn leads us to the thought of other scholars who have studied Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a parallel to and earlier work than the *non-finiti* of Michelangelo. In studying these *non-finiti* – works, that is, lacking the final hand – of the great Renaissance master, and always in relation to Ovid's work, Paul Barolsky has shown that many of these works have been left unfinished on purpose so that the viewer, unhindered, could perceive for himself the final form of the work.[36]

In a poem, therefore, whose main theme is the Nachleben of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid, like Horace before him in another epistolary work (*Epist.* 1.20), has come to realise that once the work is out of the poet's hands and in the hands of the readers[37] it is beyond his control (*non exauditus*, *Epist.* 1.20.14). Unlike Horace, however, who at the closing epistle of his first book continues to claim the paternity of his book, Ovid in the last lines declares that at this stage he does not lay any further claim to the fatherhood of his own work (*orba parente*, *Tr.* 1.7.35),[38] his own *viscera* (20),[39] thus allowing the reader to undertake a more active role. Ovid recognises the fact that the future of his work

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**32** Conte 2007, 220.

**33** Barchiesi 2001, 27.

**34** Hinds 1985, 22 f.; see also Kyriakidis *forthcoming*.

**35** Wheeler 1995, 105 and n.33.

**36** Barolsky 1994, 63–76; 1998, 456–64.

**37** For Horace *Epist.* 1.20, see Oliensis 1995, 209–24; Newlands 1998, 59.

**38** Davisson 1984, 113 refers to *Tr.* 3.1.5 where the book itself calls the poet as *father* (57). Newlands 1998, 58.

**39** Krevans 2010, 206 stresses the fact that 'the poem is identified physically with its author'; Farrell 1999, 128 ff., from a different perspective, argues on the polarity between mental and physical. See also Theodorakopoulos 1999, 160.

depends greatly on the reader. It is the reader who is finally responsible for the fortune of his work; it is the reader who will determine whether or not the wreath will be taken off the poet's bust; it is the reader who will fiddle with the signet ring on his finger. But as the work is out of the poet's control, so are the readers of that work who now possess the book rolls. As Hardie puts it "the pre-eminent poet, like the pre-eminent hero, is condemned to oblivion without the support of the nameless and unaccountable mass."[40]

As we saw, the poet at *Tr.* 1.7.34 seems to negotiate the way the reader should read his work (*si praeponendos esse putabis, habe,* 34). But the poet as a reader of his own work, influenced by his present ordeal in exile, seems to imply that a reader's interpretative approach is subject to the existing conditions affecting his or her perception. Hinds has already noted that a new, pessimistic way into the *Metamorphoses* is offered with the end of *Tristia* 1.1 and with *Tristia* 1.7: 'Ovid, then, offers in *Tristia* 1.7, as at the end of *Tristia* 1.1 a newly pessimistic way into the *Metamorphoses*.... And this new preface, combined with the new ending already proposed in the first elegy, will have the effect of making the *Metamorphoses as a whole* more pessimistic – more suited, in fact to an age of *Tristia*.'[41] He further maintains that the *Metamorphoses* as a topic serves the 'essential strategy' of the book of exile poetry, namely to 'keep Ovid's case before the public eye by constantly drawing attention to his absence.' Hence, the new additions Ovid suggests to his *Metamorphoses* 'will claim a reflection of the author's woes in the poem's own *rough and unfinished* state' (1985, 26, my emphasis). The pessimistic tone of the poet and the conceit of death, often and variously expressed, serve the elegiac nature of the *Tristia*. For Ovid, however, nothing is rigidly one-sided. Let us consider whether in this *crescens* and *rude* quality of the *Metamorphoses* (22) there lies a second more optimistic reading that looks forward to the reader rather than back to the poet. We have already referred to the influence Horatian poetics has exercised upon the epilogue of the *Metamorphoses*.[42] We may ask, therefore, whether a similar kind of influence at *Tristia* 1.7 can be traced back to the Horatian *sphragis* of *C.* 3.30. In that poem Horace proudly and persistently identifies himself with his work and believes that a great part of himself will never perish but instead that *he will grow ever renewed* because of future praise:[43]

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**40** Hardie 2012, 167.

**41** Hinds 1985, 26; See also Smith 1997, 4 f.

**42** See Nisbet / Rudd 2004, 364 ff.

**43** The Horatian *multa pars* of *C.* 3.30 turns to *melior pars* in Ovid whereas the Ovidian participial form *crescens* [*opus*] (*Tr.* 1.7.22) substitutes for the first person future *crescam* of Horace. Unlike *Epist.* 1.20 Horace in *C.* 3.30 proudly claims the fruits of his *labor*. Harrison 1988 is right in

> *non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei*
> *vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera*
> **crescam** *laude* **recens.**
> *C.* 3.30.6 – 8

> I shall not wholly die. A great part of me will escape Libitina; I shall always grow ever-renewed because of future praise.

Horace aspires to future praise and thus implicitly acknowledges the readers' reception of his work. It is the readers who will be the agents of this growth and each generation of them will keep renewing that praise. Ovid has taken from Horace, among other things, the idea of continuous growth. By characterising the *Metamorphoses* as an *opus crescens*, Ovid mainly turns his attention to the reader whose *ever new reading* – like the poet's alleged new reading of the *Metamorphoses* under the circumstances of his banishment – will keep the work *always growing*, that is, *crescens*. I would also suggest that the Horatian *recens* in the phrase *crescam recens* is incorporated in the present participle *crescens,* since the verbal meaning is an ongoing process and therefore, *recens*.[44]

As a result of this process, the *Metamorphoses* can acquire a new programmatic proem over and above the one originally written, an elegiac one that is, which stresses the fact that the work has been cut off from its author. From the moment that it is the reader who announces the death of the author[45] and assumes his role, the work proves to be still *crescens et rude* (22), as Ovid slyly describes it in the middle of his elegy, because it will always be subject to the reader's interpretative possibilities. The poet himself *has* indeed *put* his final word to his *Metamorphoses* and the epilogue of the work opens with the phrase, *iamque opus exegi* (15.871, now my work is complete).[46] At the same time, however, he realises that the work remains open in the reader's hands and it is subject to whatever constantly new interpretations he or she is in a position to offer.

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indicating a considerable variation in the self-presentation of Horace and eventually in the reception of his work between the *sphragis* of *Epist.* 1.20 and the final poems of the *Odes* (*C.* 2.20 and 3.30). There is also a difference with Virgil: In *Ecl.* 7.25 *crescentem*, a manuscript variant of *nascentem*, is associated with the fame of the poet himself. At *Tr.* 1.7.22, however, Ovid disassociates the verb from the poet himself and relates it only to the poetic work.

**44** Ovid's *crescens* literally includes the Horatian *recens: cREsCENS.*

**45** Oliensis 1995, 222 (on Hor. *Epist.* 1.20).

**46** The Horatian flavour is evident here too; in the initial collection of the *Odes*, the opening of the final ode which also functions as the *sphragis* of the collection (3.30.1, *exegi monumentum*) is clearly alluded to by Ovid with the opening of his own *sphragis* at the end of the *Metamorphoses*.

Every interpretation is in fact an attempt at providing closure, to give, that is, a work its final form. It is an attempt to carry the work from the process of making (*poesis*) to a 'final' form (*poema*),[47] from *crescens* to *opus exactum*, as declared in the *sphragis* of the *Metamorphoses*. For every interpreter – like the Ovid of the exile reading his earlier work – the *Metamorphoses* is still an *opus rude*, an opus *sine fine*,[48] without *finezza*. But whereas in the epilogue of the work Ovid claimed that its fame will reach every corner of the Roman domain, here in the sphragis-like epigram with which the elegy closes, the poet thinks that the time has *not* yet come. The poem *still* seems to be looking for a place in the city: *his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus* (give at least a place to these verses in your city, 36). Whether the word *urbe* is printed with a capital[49] or a small '*u*' the message of the line is the same: it is the reader who will bring it to his or her city. As the poem is still young, its reading public is limited. It is still *libelli*,[50] small not in size[51] but in acclaim; and the work is *crescens* with the Horatian di-

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**47** In discussing the 'non finiti' art-works of the Renaissance Barolsky is elaborating on this idea, see 1994, 66 f. and 1998, 462–5.

**48** In *Tr.* 2.63 *inspice maius opus, quod adhuc sine fine reliqui* (Look into my more important work which I have left as yet unfinished) the poet asks Augustus' clemency. At the same time he alludes with his vocabulary to the intertext of the *Aeneid* from Jupiter's prophecy: *imperium sine fine dedi*, *Aen.* (1.279). Through this allusion the prophecy for Rome is applied on his *Metamorphoses*. This intertextual reading directly refers also to *Tristia* 1.7 where the poet considers his greater work not finished, since it will continue to be read in the future and the various readers will offer their personal reading. Kyriakidis *forthcoming*. On this line see also Barchiesi / Hardie 2010, 62; Ingleheart 2010, on 63 sees in the phrase *sine fine* a pun on Ovid's *perpetuum ... carmen*.

**49** On the relation of the poet with Rome in his exilic poetry and esp. in *Tr.* 3.1 see Newlands 1998.

**50** It is a telling detail that the closing word of Horace's *Satire* Book 1 (*libello,* 10.92) appears again in Ovid's closural piece of *Tristia* 1.7: see also Oliensis, 1995, 216. Ziogas *forthcoming,* 10, understands that through the word *libellus* the epigram which will be placed in the front of the *Metamorphoses* refers directly to Catullus 1. Further to it, he sees that the Catullan poem ends with the phrase *plus uno maneat perenne saeclo* ('let it [i.e. the little book] last longer than a generation', 1.10, Ziogas' tr.), a phrase which can be considered to be related with the end of the *Metamorphoses* (*perennis,* 15.875). He, therefore, claims that 'The whole program of the *Metamorphoses* is encapsulated in the frame of Catullus 1.'

**51** The word being a diminutive means 'a little book': Cic. *Brut.* 163. However, the reference to *libellus* at *Tr.* 3.7.27 from the context of the surrounding verses clearly suggests that it refers to an elegiac poem, namely the *Ars Amatoria* (cf. lines 29–30). It can also be argued that the use of the same word at 1.7.33 is perhaps in agreement with the elegiac verses Ovid asks the reader to put in the front of the first book and perhaps gives an elegiac tone to the work. According to Diggle 1980, 410–11 while 'Ovid uses *libellus* to designate a single book from a larger work ... and to designate a single work of the same compass but in only one book', on the other hand 'he

mension given to the participle. The attributed fame will at first be small – it will barely occupy a place in the city – but being *crescens* will gradually expand to the farthest limits of the Roman state, thus realising the optimistic character of the epilogue. Ovid's unabated poetic ambitions could lie latent in his exilic poetry but hardly be suppressed.

*Tristia* 1.7 proves to be an étude on the subject of reader's response. After the poet's death the *Metamorphoses* – his *melior pars* – has survived through the centuries and its attribute *crescens,* has been transformed from an elegiac conceit into a constituent of the work's epic success.

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uses the plural *libelli* to designate the *Metamorphoses*' at 1.7.19–20. The pattern Diggle suggests seems to be the case, nevertheless the characterisation of the first book of the *Metamorphoses* as *libellus,* or of the whole of the work as *libelli,* does affect the work by destabilising its 'epic' nature.

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Stephen J. Harrison

# Didactic and Lyric in Horace *Odes* 2: Lucretius and Vergil

**Abstract:** This paper argues that two didactic poems, one a generation old (the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius) and one very recently published (the *Georgics* of Vergil), exercised a particular influence on the second book of Horace's *Odes* in the 20s BCE. In both cases the material of a conventionally 'higher' and more 'serious' genre is suitably adapted for its new lyric context.

It has often been noted that the second book of Horace's *Odes* deals with rather more philosophical and ethical issues than the first book.[1] This may be partly due to the greater concern of the initial Book 1 with establishing Horace's position as a neo-Callimachean imitator of Greek lyric and his stance towards the Augustan regime, but here I want to argue that this is at least partly due to the intertextual impact of the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, suitably reworked to fit Horace's lyric form. It has also often been shown that Horace and Vergil are the Augustan poets who interact most creatively;[2] I want to suggest that the *Georgics* of Vergil has a particular impact on Horace's book as a recently-published work, and that Horace picks up a number of its themes, again modifying them appropriately for their new generic context.

The bridge between lyric and didactic poetry is not a long one to cross: both genres give sententious precepts and illustrate them by examples and similes, and the teacher-pupil structure underlying most ancient didactic poetry, with relatively strong characterisation of the first-person voice of the poet,[3] maps naturally on to the framework of lyric, where the first person is naturally prominent as the I-speaker (though the addressee of individual poems is also relatively more important than in didactic). It has also long been established that interaction with other literary genres is a key feature which enriches the dense texture of the *Odes*: in this paper I add didactic poetry to the genres of epic, tragedy, lyric and epigram which I have scrutinised elsewhere in analysing the *Odes* from this perspective.[4]

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**1** E.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 2–3.

**2** For some examples see Harrison 2007*a*, 115, 132–4, 181, 204–6, 214–17.

**3** See Volk 2002.

**4** Harrison 2007*a*, 168–206. Some elements in the paper expand on parts of Harrison 2010.

# 1 Lucretius

The influence of *De Rerum Natura* on Horace's poetry, natural for a poet interested in Epicureanism, emerges already in the hexameter *Satires*, where of course the shared metrical form aids intertextual influence; there the relationship is usually one of adaptation to Horace's palpably lower and less intense genre of Lucretian precept and imagery.[5] In the *Odes*, on the other hand, the self-characterisation of Horace as an inspired poet who rejects materialism and scorns the fear of death draws heavily on the lofty self-fashioning of the speaker of the *De Rerum Natura*,[6] while consistently accommodating these ideas to the more moderate poetic persona of Horatian lyric.[7] In what follows I will consider these two themes in Book 2 separately, beginning with that of the rejection of materialism. As we shall see, Horace the measured speaker of the *Odes* consistently tempers and moderates the apparent extremism of Lucretius the missionary speaker of the *De Rerum Natura*.

## (i) Horace and the Lucretian rejection of materialism – 2.16 and 2.18

It has often been noted that the opening of 2.16 has strong Lucretian overtones:[8]

> Otium diuos rogat in patenti
> prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
> condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
>     sidera nautis;
> otium bello furiosa Thrace,                                    5
> otium Medi pharetra decori,
> Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura
>     uenale neque auro.
> Non enim gazae neque consularis
> summouet lictor miseros tumultus                               10
> mentis et curas laqueata circum
>     tecta uolantis.

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**5** For recent scholarship on these links in the *Satires* see the references at Freudenburg 1993, 117 and Holzberg 2007, 117, and for treatments see Giesecke 2000, 95–131, Harrison 2007*a*, 79–85.
**6** On the element of sublimity in Lucretius see Conte 1994, 1–34, and on its adaptation by Horace in general see Hardie 2009, 181–218.
**7** For Horace's moderate self-presentation in the *Odes* see e.g. the material gathered in Harrison 2007*b*.
**8** See e.g. Pöschl 1970, 122–42, Giesecke 2000, 134–140 as well as Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 254–5 and Syndikus 1990, I.436–7.

Viuitur paruo bene, cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum
nec leuis somnos timor aut cupido                                    15
    sordidus aufert.

Though the Sapphic metre of the poem and the repetition of the word *otium* fa-
mously recall Catullus 51 (13–16), the theme of the vanity of human riches clear-
ly looks to the celebrated proem of Lucretius 2 (20–39):[9]

ergo corpoream ad naturam **pauca** videmus                         20
esse opus omnino: quae demant cumque dolorem,
delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint
gratius interdum, neque natura ipsa requirit,
si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes
lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,                      25
lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
nec citharae reboant **laqueata** aurataque templa,
cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae                         30
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni
tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas.
nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres,
textilibus si in picturis **ostroque rubenti**                      35
iacteris, quam si in plebeia veste cubandum est.
quapropter quoniam nihil nostro in corpore **gazae**
proficiunt neque **nobilitas** nec gloria regni,
quod super est, animo quoque nil prodesse putandum...

Horace's version of the Lucretian diatribe is distinctly moderated: a simple con-
trast between the riches of an aristocratic *domus* and a respectable inherited suf-
ficiency,[10] suggesting that of the poet himself, replaces the earlier poet's much
more urgent dichotomy between the riches of an urban Alcinous (as commenta-
tors note, the golden torch-bearing statues of 2.24–26 specifically recall the luxu-
ry of the royal palace of Phaeacia) and the simplicity of country life in a *locus
amoenus*.

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**9** And as Nisbet and Hubbard point out (1978, 254) the theme of tranquillity against the
background of storms at sea is drawn from the famous opening of this proem (2.1–13).
**10** For the image of respectable moderate patrimony cf. *Epodes* 2.1–3 *Beatus ille, qui procul
negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium / paterna rura bubus exercet suis.*

Some similar modification takes place in Horace's further adaptation of the same passage in the opening of 2.18 (1–8):

> Non ebur neque aureum
> mea renidet in domo **lacunar;**
>     non trabes Hymettiae
> premunt columnas ultima recisas
>     Africa, neque Attali                                          5
> ignotus heres regiam occupaui,
>     nec Laconicas mihi
> trahunt honestae **purpuras** clientae.
>     At fides et ingeni
> benigna uena est pauperemque diues                               10
>     me petit; nihil supra
> deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
>     largiora flagito,
> satis beatus unicis Sabinis.

Here the Horatian version does take on board the Lucretian original's allusion to the royal splendour of Alcinous, picking out another king linked with luxury, Attalus III of Pergamum,[11] but once again domesticates the contrast in linking it with the poet's own life and the moderate wealth of his Sabine estate. Lucretian lessons are once again accommodated to a more measured and personal Horatian framework.[12]

## (ii) Horace and the Lucretian attitude to death – 2.14 and 2.20

The Postumus ode (2.14), having already evoked in lines 5–20 an infernal landscape which recalls that debunked by Lucretius in *DRN* 3.978–1023,[13] famously closes with the sombre thought that the addressee must leave behind his family and earthly possessions once death comes (2.14.21–4):

> Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
> uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum
>     te praeter inuisas cupressos
>         ulla breuem dominum sequetur;

---

**11** See Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 295.
**12** On Horace's 'domestication' of Lucretius in general in the *Odes* I find myself close to Hardie 2009, 190–96.
**13** 2.14.7 *Tityonque* ~ 3.984 *Tityon*, 2.14.18 *Danai genus* ~ 3.1008–10 (Danaids), 2.14.20 *Sisyphus* ~3.995 *Sisyphus*.

> absumet heres Caecuba dignior
> seruata centum clauibus et mero
>     tinguet pauimentum superbo,
>         pontificum potiore cenis.

This has long been seen to echo Lucretius' satirical presentation of the same idea as the basis of a common mistaken view in his diatribe against the fear of death in *DRN* 3 (3.894–901):[14]

> 'Iam iam non **domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor**
> **optima**, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
> praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.
> non poteris factis florentibus esse tuisque
> praesidium. misero misere' aiunt '**omnia ademit**
> **una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.**'
> illud in his rebus non addunt 'nec tibi earum
> iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'

Here the Horatian text reinstates the fear of loss of loved ones and worldly goods too easily dismissed by the radical Lucretius; though the poet himself might as an Epicurean sympathise with this hard-line approach, there is a clear need to soften it for the wealthy Postumus and the more conventional Roman reader. In fact, this is not the only occasion on which Lucretius' lines have been reworked as a genuinely pathetic lament. The famous lines from the English poet Thomas Gray's 1751 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard', appearing at the same numerical position (lines 21–4) in a poem which like Horace's is written in quatrain stanzas, plainly turn Lucretian irony to genuine sentiment:

> For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn
>     Or busy housewife ply her evening care:
> No children run to lisp their sire's return
>     Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Similarly sincere is the earlier but less well known expanded imitation of the Lucretian passage in the Scottish poet James Thomson's 'Winter' (1726), the first of *The Seasons* (311–6):

> In vain for him the officious wife prepares
> The fire fair-blazing and the vestment warm:
> In vain his little children, peeping out

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**14** Cf. e. g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 234.

> Into the mingling storm, demand their sire
> With tears of artless innocence. Alas!
> Nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold,
> Nor friends, nor sacred home.

Like these later poets, writing for a sentimental, Christian era, Horace feels the need to accommodate Lucretian radicalism to a more conventional ideological framework, and once again presents a more moderate version of his excessive predecessor.

By contrast, the closing stanza of Horace's final poem in Book 2 (2.20) presents a more straightforward version of the Lucretian approach to death (2.20.21–4):

> Absint inani funere neniae
> luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
>   compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
>   mitte superuacuos honores.

Both sentiment (the ban on mourning) and expression look back again to the treatment of death and mourning in Lucretius 3. The emptiness of funeral ceremonies and modes of corpse disposal are memorably characterised at 3.888–92:

> non invenio qui non sit acerbum
> ignibus inpositum calidis torrescere flammis
> aut in melle situm suffocari atque rigere
> frigore, cum summo gelidi cubat aequore saxi,
> urgerive superne obrutum pondere terrae,

while the irrationality of mourning is stressed at 3.909–11:

> illud ab hoc igitur quaerendum est, quid sit amari
> tanto opere, ad somnum si res redit atque quietem,
> cur quisquam aeterno possit tabescere luctu.

As commentators have pointed out, Lucretian matter is paired with Lucretian lexicon in Horace's stanza: the imperative *compesce clamorem* (2.20.22) picks up the satirical *DRN* 3.955 where the irrational mourner of his own death is attacked in the voice of Nature herself:

> Aufer abhinc lacrimas, baratre, et **compesce querellas!**

while that of *mitte* echoes the same speech, where the same mourner is told in sharp terms to leave aside worldly pleasures inappropriate for a mature person (3.960):

> nunc aliena tua tamen aetate omnia **mitte** …

Once again, however, the intense tone of the didactic original is modified and moderated in the lyric imitation, and there is an interesting shift of perspective: for Lucretius death is not to be mourned as it is simply the dissolution of the body and soul into atoms, while for Horace the point is that the poet needs no lamentation as he will survive death through his poetry.

## (iii) Horace and the Lucretian inspired poet – 2.19

This theme of the poet's status leads to another Lucretian idea taken up and modified by Horace in the second book of the *Odes*, that of the inspired poet. In 2.19 we are presented with a supposed epiphany of Bacchus (2.19.1–8):

> Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
> uidi docentem, credite posteri,
>     Nymphasque discentis et auris
>     capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
> Euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu                    5
> plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
>     laetatur. Euhoe, parce Liber,
>     parce, graui metuende thyrso

As Philip Hardie has pointed out, the picture of the ecstatic poet in the second stanza plainly recalls the famous lines at Lucretius 1.921–30, which similarly celebrate the impact of inspiration:[15]

> Nunc age, quod super est, cognosce et clarius audi.
> nec me animi fallit quam sint obscura; sed **acri**
> **percussit thyrso** laudis spes magna meum cor
> et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem
> Musarum, quo nunc instinctus mente vigenti
> avia Pieridum peragro **loca nullius ante**
> **trita solo.** iuvat integros accedere fontis
> atque haurire iuvatque novos decerpere flores

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**15** Hardie 2009, 218–9, where he also points out that *capripedum Satyrorum* at 2.19.4 closely recalls *capripedes Satyros* at *DRN* 4.580.

> insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,
> unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae.

To Hardie's Lucretian echoes of the Dionysiac thyrsus and remote location can be added further details in the next pair of stanzas (2.19.9–16):

> Fas peruicacis est mihi Thyiadas
> uinique **fontem** lactis et uberes                                                                    10
>     cantare **riuos** atque truncis
>     lapsa cauis iterare mella;
> fas et **beatae coniugis additum**
> **stellis honorem** tectaque Penthei
>     disiecta non leni ruina,                                                                    15
>     Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.

Lucretius' untouched streams of inspiration are transformed into the magical streams of wine and milk from the miracle-working of Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae*, while his poetic garland becomes the wedding-garland of Ariadne, object of a famous catasterism celebrated by a number of poets.[16]

    Here we find Horace picking on a rare moment of traditional poetic inspiration in Lucretius and expanding the mythological hints it contains: the thyrsus of Dionysus, an element of concealed myth in Lucretius, is echoed in a Horatian poem which gives a substantial account of that god's career, while the poetic symbol of the garland and the metaphor of the stream on poetic inspiration are appropriated and supplemented in a much more traditional form. Once again Horace takes on Lucretian material and renders it more conventional for his Roman reader.

# 2 Vergil, *Georgics*

The publication of Horace *Odes* 2 is traditionally dated to 23 BCE, as part of the simultaneous collection of *Odes* 1–3;[17] but recent scholarship has suggested that these three books may have been published separately earlier in addition to this collective edition.[18] Internal evidence from Book 2 mentions a date not long before Horace's fortieth birthday in December 25 BCE (2.4.22–4 *fuge suspicari*

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**16** Call. *Aet.* fr. 110.59–60, Ap. Rh. 3.1001–1003, Aratus *Ph.*71–2, Cic. *Arat.* fr.3 Traglia, Cat. 66.59–60, Virg. *G.*1.222.

**17** E.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 1.

**18** Hutchinson 2008, 131–61

/*cuius octauum trepidauit aetas claudere lustrum*), and no poem in the book can be firmly dated after this.[19] If Book 2 is essentially a product of the first half of the 20s BCE, this would fit the prominence of Vergil's *Georgics*, emerging about 29 BCE.

This is of course a crucial period in the establishment of the Augustan regime after Actium, the year of Augustus' triumphant return and triple triumph (probably just after the publication of the *Georgics*), and it is unsurprising that one point of contiguity between the *Georgics* and *Odes* 2 is political: at several points we find Horace picking up and echoing encomiastic elements from Vergil's poem, and in general *Odes* 2 supports, makes more explicit and even expands the political elements of the *Georgics*, suitable for the Pindaric-encomiastic element of the *Odes*. As we have already seen, Horace's lyric book tones down and normalises the sublime missionary didactic of the *De Rerum Natura*; it seems more at home with the more moderate moral didactic of the *Georgics*, converging for example with its treatment of materialism.[20] But the lighter element of lyric is also important in *Odes* 2: from time to time we find grave themes from the *Georgics* treated playfully in Horace's book, for example the topic of the journey to the Underworld, reminding the reader that Horatian lyric is a less elevated form than Vergilian didactic.

## (i) Horace and Vergil on Bacchus

The second book of the *Georgics* begins with a famous invocation of Bacchus, god of vines and viniculture, the main subject of the book (2.1–8):

> Hactenus aruorum cultus et sidera caeli;
> nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non siluestria tecum
> uirgulta et prolem tarde crescentis oliuae.
> huc, pater o Lenaee: tuis hic omnia plena
> muneribus, tibi pampineo grauidus autumno                5
> floret ager, spumat plenis uindemia labris;
> huc, pater o Lenaee, ueni, nudataque musto
> tinge nouo mecum dereptis crura coturnis.

Here we find Bacchus the peaceful and fertile agricultural god, explicitly stripped of the buskins which symbolise his association with Greek tragedy,[21] and im-

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19 Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 4.

20 For example, the clear use of the anti-materialism of *Georgics* 2.461–6 in *Odes* 2.18 – see Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 290–1.

21 See Thomas 1988, 156.

plicitly separated from the violence often linked with him in the traditions of mythology and literature. This is appropriate for the world and world-view of the *Georgics*, where tragedy and its pessimistic outlook are out of place in a poem which ultimately celebrates in allegorical form the re-establishment of the Roman state.[22] When this book does deal with Bacchus' connection with dramatic festivals, it concentrates on comic and rustic elements (2.380–96):

> non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
> caeditur et ueteres ineunt proscaenia ludi,
> praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum
> Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
> mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres
> nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni
> uersibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,
> oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cauatis,
> et te, Bacche, uocant per carmina laeta, tibique
> oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.
> hinc omnis largo pubescit uinea fetu,
> complentur uallesque cauae saltusque profundi
> et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.
> ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem
> carminibus patriis lancesque et liba feremus,
> et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram
> pinguiaque in ueribus torrebimus exta colurnis.

Apart from the allusion to the etymology of the Greek term *tragoidia* in *caper*, referring to its link with *tragos*, 'he-goat', this passage again focusses on the pacific and communitarian aspect of Bacchus which is so far from his destructive tragic persona, and combines an allusion to prestigious cultural origins in Attica and Troy with an emphasis on the Italian character of rural festivals. Only once in *Georgics* 2 does the traditionally violent Bacchus of myth appear, in an allusion to his (metaphorical) participation as god of wine in the drunken brawl of Lapiths and Centaurs (G.2.454–7):

> quid memorandum aeque Baccheia dona tulerunt?
> Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis
> Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque Pholumque
> et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.

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**22** For arguments for this view see Harrison 2007*a*, 136–67.

In *Odes* 2.19 Horace presents us with the epiphany of a rustic Bacchus who combines the fertility of *Georgics* 2.1–8 with the literary and rural connections of 2.380–96 and the potential violence of 2.454–7. The god is seen *in remotis ... rupibus* (2.19.1), is generally agreed to be a symbol for poetic inspiration in the *Odes*, and is a rich source of natural fluid: Vergilian wine is supplemented with the milk and honey from Euripides' *Bacchae* (2.19.9–12):

> Fas peruicacis est mihi Thyiadas
> uinique fontem lactis et uberes
>     cantare riuos atque truncis
>     lapsa cauis iterare mella

Vergil's metaphorically violent presentation of Bacchus as wine in the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs is modified into Horace's literal violence by the god as himself in another famous mythological battle, that of the Gigantomachy (2.19.21–28):

> Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
> cohors Gigantum scanderet inpia,
>     Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
>     unguibus horribilique mala;
> quamquam, choreis aptior et iocis                                        25
> ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
>     pugnae ferebaris; sed idem
>     pacis eras mediusque belli

The allusion to the Vergilian representations of Bacchus is neatly managed: the Centaur Rhoecus (*G.*2.456) becomes the giant Rhoetus (2.19.23), both victims of the god, while the suggestion that Bacchus is traditionally a god of dancing and festivals looks back to the description of the rustic Dionysiac festivals at *G.*2.380–96, with their emphasis on playing (2.19.26 *ludoque* ~ 2.381 *ludi*, 2.387 *ludunt*) and dancing (2.19.25 *choreis* ~ 2.385 *saluere*).

Horace's *dictus* could even be taken as a specific reference to and correction of the partial presentation of Bacchus in Vergil: the pacific god of the *Georgics* needs modification in the different and later context of the *Odes*. In the *Aeneid* this has been taken on board; at *Aeneid* 6.801–5 the victorious Augustus after Actium is compared to the world-traversers Hercules and Bacchus.

This Horatian transformation may well have political significance: the figure of Bacchus has important connections in the 20s BCE. In the 30s Antony had

made considerable use of self-comparison with Osiris/Dionysus in Egypt[23] and after Actium it seems clear that this divine identity was appropriated by the future Augustus, in the form of the more Roman Bacchus/Liber (the name Dionysus occurs only once, ironically (*S*.1.6.38) in Horace and never in Virgil or Propertius). This analogy was important in Augustan self-presentation because Bacchus (like Hercules) was an example of a mortal deified for benefits to humankind: thus in *Odes* 3.3.9 – 16 Bacchus is included with Pollux, Hercules and Romulus as a parallel for Augustus' future apotheosis. The prominence in *Odes* 2.19 of Bacchus' part in the Gigantomachy also suggests some parallels with the Augustan imagery of the battle of Actium, which could be presented (e. g. on the Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8) as analogous to that mythological struggle[24] *Odes* 2.19 may thus politicise the figure of Bacchus from the *Georgics*, stressing the move to a more overtly Augustan approach to the god in the post-Actium period.

## (ii) Horace and Vergil on civil war and Augustan conquests

This political consciousness in echoes of *Georgics* 2 is apparent in two further poems in *Odes* 2. In 2.1, the ode to Pollio, historian of the Caesar/Pompey civil war, we find a lament for internecine strife (2.1.29 – 35):

> Quis non **Latino sanguine pinguior**
> **campus** sepulcris impia proelia
>     testatur auditumque Medis
>     Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
> Qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
> ignara belli? Quod mare Dauniae
>     non decolorauere caedes?
>     Quae caret ora cruore nostro?

These lines refer in context to the struggle which ended in 45, but must have been received by the readers of the 20s with equal relevance to the period 45 – 31. This is the time covered at the end of *Georgics* 1, where the poet laments Pharsalus and Philippi (1.489 – 92):

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**23** See Plutarch *Ant*.33.6 with Pelling's commentary.
**24** Cf. Vergil *Aen*. 8.675 – 713 with Hardie 1986: 97 – 109. Stevens 1999 is an elaborate reading of 2.19 in terms of this political allegory, which certainly takes it too far, but it seems hard to deny any such significance in the poem.

> ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
> Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi;
> nec fuit indignum superis bis **sanguine nostro**
> Emathiam et latos Haemi **pinguescere campos.**

These lines are plainly picked up here: the paradoxical and horrific image of fields fertilised by human blood in Vergil's *sanguine nostro ... pinguescere campos* is evidently echoed in Horace's *sanguine pinguior / campus.*[25] Likewise, Horace's implication that the Parthians could take advantage of Rome's self-laceration and his picture of worldwide bloodshed surely owes something to *G.*1.509–11, where the Eastern river Euphrates underlies both Horace's *Medis* and his *flumina* (and perhaps *Germania* suggests the Western river Rhine, the main point of German contact with Rome so far)[26] in the depiction of Rome's enemies at the ends of the empire, ready to pounce on an internally weakened state:

> hinc mouet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;
> uicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
> arma ferunt; saeuit toto Mars impius orbe...

These links suggest that the civil wars of the 30s alluded to by Vergil can be viewed as an organic continuation of their Caesarian counterparts chronicled by Horace's Pollio, and that both are tragic distractions for Rome from the real business of world empire.

*Odes* 2 can pick up the post-Actium encomiastic political references in the *Georgics* as well as its darker, pre-Actium allusions. At *Odes* 2.9.17–24 the elegist Valgius is encouraged to turn from self-indulgent lamentation to new political themes:

> Desine mollium
> tandem querellarum et potius noua
>     cantemus, Augusti tropaea
>     Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten
> Medumque flumen gentibus additum
> uictis minores uoluere uertices
>     intraque praescriptum Gelonos
>     exiguis equitare campis.

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**25** This echo is tentatively noted by Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 27.
**26** In Caesar's trans-Rhine expedition of 55 BCE, responding to German tribes crossing the river into Gaul: *Gall.* 4.1–19.

As has been noted,[27] both the triumphal tone and the geography here pick up *G.*3.30 – 33:

> addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque **Niphaten**
> fidentemque fuga **Parthum** uersisque sagittis;
> et duo rapta manu diuerso ex hoste tropaea
> bisque triumphatas **utroque ab litore gentis.**

The 'Median river' may also pick up the Euphrates at *G.*1.509, and apart from the Armenian Niphates the two passages share a universalising polar encomium of Augustan conquests – the far East and North of the Euphrates and Gelonians (in modern Ukraine) balances the 'shore to shore' triumphs of 3.33, whatever they refer to.[28]

In both cases, it could be argued, these allusions to wars (civil or otherwise) in *Odes* 2 trespass on the territory of hexameter epic, a genre to which the *Georgics* are more closely related than the *Odes*.[29] In *Odes* 2.1 this generic transgression is explicitly thematised at the end of the poem, in which the poet urges his lyric muse to seek lighter themes (2.1.37 – 40):

> Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
> Ceae retractes munera Neniae,
>     mecum Dionaeo sub antro
>     quaere modos leuiore plectro.

In *Odes* 2.9, the poet's urging of joint poetic enterprise (2.9.19 *cantemus*) is a gesture which does not in fact find an answering poem in the book: perhaps the lyric Horace is just as unlikely to turn to straightforward military encomium as his elegiac poet addressee, and the suggestion may be that such unalloyed political material freely deployed in the ideologically charged *Georgics* may be harder to handle in the first collection of *Odes*.

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**27** Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 137.

**28** Mynors (1990, 165) is probably right to see this as a generally encomiastic rather than geographically specific reference (it is hard to find an appropriate victory at the western end of the Mediterranean).

**29** For the relation of the *Georgics* to conventional epic see Harrison 2007*a*, 136 – 67.

## (iii) Horace and Vergil on the Underworld

*Odes* 2 seems to be especially interested in the narrative of Orpheus' descent to the Underworld in *Georgics* 4, which is echoed in no fewer than four of its poems. Here we generally see a serious and tragic episode from Vergil treated in a lighter way in Horace's lighter genre. In *Odes* 2.9 the elegiac poet Valgius is presented as lamenting interminably in language which clearly recalls the lament of Orpheus for the lost Eurydice (2.9.9 – 12):

> tu semper urges flebilibus modis
> Mysten ademptum, nec tibi **Vespero**
>     **surgente decedunt** amores
>         nec rapidum fugiente solem.

This detail of a lament for a dead lover which lasts whole days echoes *G*.4.465 – 6, even down to the ablative absolute construction:

> te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum
> te **veniente die**, te **decedente** canebat

Here Vergil's story is ironised in Horace's criticism of his poetic friend for excessive literary lamentation: the relatively frivolous loss of the *puer* Mystes, very likely a slave-boy and perhaps even a literary figure from Valgius' own poetry rather than a real individual, is not to be compared with that of Eurydice, the beloved wife.

In 2.13 the Underworld of *Georgics* 4 is again invoked. In the second half of this poem Horace imagines the journey to the Underworld that he avoided in being saved from a falling tree (2.13.21 – 40):

> Quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
> et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
>     sedesque discriptas piorum et
>         Aeoliis fidibus querentem
> Sappho puellis de popularibus
> et te sonantem plenius aureo,
>     Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,
>         dura fugae mala, dura belli.
> Vtrumque sacro digna silentio
> **mirantur umbrae** dicere, sed magis
>     pugnas et exactos tyrannos
>         densum umeris bibit aure uolgus.
> Quid mirum, ubi illis **carminibus stupens**
> **demittit atras belua centiceps**

> **auris** et intorti capillis
> **Eumenidum recreantur angues?**
> **Quin** et Prometheus et Pelopis parens .
> dulci laborum decipitur sono
>     nec curat Orion leones
>         aut timidos agitare lyncas.

Here there are plainly echoes of *G.*4.471–2:

> At **cantu commotae** Erebi de sedibus imis
> **umbrae** ibant tenues

and *G.*4.481–4:

> quin ipsae **stupuere** domus atque intima Leti
> Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus **anguis**
> **Eumenides,** tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
> atque Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis.

Here it is the soothing of Cerberus and the snake-garlanded Furies which confirms the intertextual link; the unusual attribution of a hundred heads to Cerberus[30] may be a witty 'capping' of Vergil's conventional three by Horace, and in general the tragic atmosphere of the Underworld of the *Georgics* is here tempered with lighter elements: after all, the whole chthonic scenario is one that the poet Horace (unlike the poet Orpheus) has in fact avoided, and the assignation to the music of Sappho and Alcaeus of the famous effect of Orphean singing in the lulling of monsters and the cessation of infernal torments functions as an index of their talent rather than as a mode of passage through the dangers of the world below.

Vergil's soothing of Cerberus is picked up again in the ode to Bacchus, 2.19, a poem we have already seen imitating the *Georgics* (see 3 (i) above). There the god is not specifically said to use song to quieten the hound of hell, but since the poem addresses Bacchus as the god of poetic inspiration this idea must be at least in the background here (2.19.29–32):

> te vidit insons **Cerberus** aureo
> cornu decorum leniter atterens
>     caudam et recedentis **trilingui**
>         **ore** pedes tetigitque crura.

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**30** See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978, 220), who say 'the paratragic hyperbole is deliberately grotesque'.

This time the normal number of mouths confirms the link – cf. *G.*4.483:

> tenuitque inhians **tria Cerberus ora**

Once again the Horatian passage defuses the tragedy of the original by setting this material in a surreal hymn to Bacchus which has strong symbolic elements. Finally, in 2.14 the visit to the Underworld in death which no-one can avoid is again characterised in the colours of *Georgics* 4 (2.14.17–20):

> visendus **ater** flumina **languido**
> **Cocytus** errans et Danai genus
>     Infame damnatusque longi
>         Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.

The details pick up *G.*4.478–80:

> quos circum limus **niger** et deformis harundo
> **Cocyti tardaque palus** inamabilis unda
> alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet

Here for once the dark colour of the original is retained, though with something of a witty reversal of the scenario: an Orpheus-style visit to the infernal regions is envisaged for the addressee Postumus, but Postumus, like any normal mortal, lacks Orpheus' chance of return, a genuine element of pathos.

## (iv) Conclusion

This paper has argued that two didactic poems, one a generation old (the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius) and one very recently published (the *Georgics* of Vergil), exercised a particular influence on the second book of Horace's *Odes* in the 20s BCE. In both cases the material of a conventionally 'higher' and more 'serious' genre is suitably adapted for its new lyric context. For Lucretius, his missionary fervour is toned down and his uncompromising views are made more conventional for a Roman readership while retaining some of his Epicurean ideology. For Vergil, his political elements are both reinforced by his fellow-Augustan Horace and accommodated to a different generic framework, while his characterisation of Bacchus is modified to include some of the dangerous elements omitted in the agricultural context of the *Georgics*, and the tragic story of Orpheus' descent to the Underworld is reworked with wit and playfulness for lighter lyric contexts.

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**Prose**

Roy K. Gibson

# Letters into Autobiography:
# The Generic Mobility of the Ancient Letter Collection

**Abstract:** The 'generic mobility' of the ancient *epistula* is notorious. Since antiquity, letters have been vulnerable to reclassification as members of another genre, whether the new genre is that of 'treatise', 'commentary' or (in the modern world) 'essay'. The same generic mobility can be observed also in the case of *collections* of letters. Since early modern times, editors of ancient collections of letters have been engaged in an informal project of re-ordering these collections along chronological lines. The result has been the gradual transformation of ancient collections into works of history and autobiography (where chronological ordering is a distinctive generic marker in these genres in their modern forms). This chapter focuses on the ideological and historical contexts and motivations for modern and early-modern editorial intervention in the genre of Latin letter collections.

**Keywords:** Letters, letter collections, history, autobiography, chronological ordering, lives and letters

It is one of the tasks of this volume of papers to explore ways in which works assigned to a particular generic area play host to formal and substantive elements associated with different or even opposing genres.[1] The ancient *epistula* provides ideal subject matter for such exploration. Already in the first century BCE, one literary critic was moved to remark (albeit adversely) on the tendency of letters to display the characteristics of another genre entirely: 'The length of a letter ... should be restricted. Those that are too long, not to mention too inflated in style, are not in any true sense letters at all but treatises with the heading "Dear Sir". This is true of many of Plato's *Letters*, and that one of Thucydides' (ps. Demetr. *Eloc.* 228). The assertion that ancient letters play host to elements typical of other generic areas has persisted into the modern world – and not

without echoes of the critical hostility of ps-Demetrius. It is often said, for example, that the letters of Seneca and Pliny are in fact essays in disguise;[2] that many of the letters of Ambrose and Augustine are actually mini-treatises;[3] that numerous epistles by Jerome are better understood as works of biblical exegesis[4] – and so on. In this way we could soon work our way through the entire corpus of Latin epistolography (including the various productions in verse by Horace and Ovid), and soon be left with nothing except Cicero and a few scattered shards from other authors. In sum, the Roman letter appears to possess generic mobility to an unusual degree.

If the chameleon-like qualities of the letter provoke in some critics an urge to reclassify it as some other kind of literature, then Derrida went to the opposite extreme in *The Post Card*. Here he offered the (typically gnomic) suggestion that 'Mixture is the letter, the epistle, which is not a genre but all genres, literature itself'.[5] Here, in an arresting reversal of the normal direction of critical travel, all literature is to reclassified as epistolary (in some sense). And the job of reclassification is to be an act of celebration, rather than an expression of generic discontent on the part of the critic.

In the context of these two critical extremes, much more could be said about the letter and its apparent generic mobility. The present chapter might profitably be devoted to arguing that the letter does not lose its identity when it plays host to other generic elements, but is rather enriched by them, or subsumes and even subverts those elements. But arguments of this kind have been made forcibly by others in the context of specific letter-writers – above all by Marcus Wilson on the philosophical correspondence of Seneca.[6] I wish to look instead at the letter *collection* as a genre or generic area. For the generic mobility of the individual letter – as glimpsed in the spectacle of the critic's desire to reclassify it as something else – is replicated at the level of the collection. But, as a phenomenon, the mobility of the letter collection in terms of its generic affiliations has gone largely unremarked until recently.[7]

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**2** See van Miert 2010, 523, Sallmann 2010, 745. For a response to assertions of this sort, see Wilson 2001 (on Seneca), and Sherwin-White 1966, 1–16, Marchesi 2008, 12–13 (on Pliny). For a useful analysis of the 'contextual and formal characteristics' normally attributed to the letter form, see Trapp 2003; cf. Gibson-Morrison 2007.

**3** Liebeschuetz 2005, 33–4, van Miert 2010, 521.

**4** Cain 2009, 208 (who disputes the idea, and provides a new taxonomy of Jerome's letters at 2009, 209–19).

**5** Derrida 1987, 48; cf. Altman 1982, 211–12 on the European epistolary novel, also Gibson-Morrison 2007, 3–4.

**6** Wilson 2001; cf. Wilson 1987.

**7** Until the publication, that is, of Beard 2002.

In anticipation of the material reviewed briefly below, it can be stated here that through the systematic re-arrangement of ancient letter collections along chronological lines, modern and early-modern editors have effectively converted ancient letter collections into species of history or (auto-)biography. Unlike the urge to reclassify the letters of Plato as 'treatises', the critical impulse to generically reshape letter collections does not go back to antiquity. However, as will become clear, a remark by one ancient author on the resemblance borne by Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* to the genre of history turns has proved influential (or at least reassuring) for re-arranging editors.

At any rate, the effective conversion of ancient letter collections into autobiography / history has had a profound effect on the generic status of these texts and on how we read and think about them. Furthermore, partial parallels for this act of generic intervention can be found. Daniel Selden has argued that the 'ancient novel' as a genre is a modern creation,[8] albeit one far too critically convenient for us to want to discard.[9] Ancient literary criticism appears to have had little or nothing to say about 'the novel' as a category, while Renaissance critics were happy to class Heliodorus with Homer as a representative of epic. It is only with the 'rise' of the modern novel in the seventeenth century that 'a "canon" of ancient "novels" [was] identified and, on this basis, a genre invented'.[10] (The rise of the modern novel is a phenomenon we shall have cause to mention later in connection with early-modern re-arrangements of ancient letter collections.) However, such an act of 'creation' is not fully comparable with the rather more radical act of intervention that is a feature of the editing of ancient letter collections. After all, 'the invention of the ancient novel' does not demand actual interference with the running order of the text of Achilles Tatius.[11] Rather it involves the recognition of 'a grouping of texts related within the system of literature by their sharing recognizably functionalized features of form and con-

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**8** Selden 1994, 39–64, esp. 57 n. 81: 'The point is not that scholars working in this area are unaware that the rubrics "novel" and "romance" are problematic, but that course offerings, conferences and publications persist in massively reinforcing these categories as "a matter of convenience," while remaining for the most part oblivious of the critical consequences this entails'.

**9** For the 'invention' also of the genre of ancient didactic poetry (another grouping too critically convenient to discard), see Farrell 2003, 385 with n. 6.

**10** Farrell 2003, 391. For the Todorovian view that 'genres exist if readers think they exist', where '"each era has its own system of genres, which is in relation with the dominant ideology"', see Selden 1994, 45–6.

**11** Similarly, the recognition that a single text incorporates elements from two genres – such as the incorporation of comedy in some tragedies of Euripides or of tragedy in the epic *Aeneid* – involves no editorial intervention in the constitution of a text.

tent'.[12] But it is not critical recognition that has been brought to bear on ancient letter collections; rather it is a form of editorial violence. Nevertheless this violence, as will soon become clear, could equally well be re-described as creative energy.

Ultimately, the main focus of this chapter will be on the ideological and historical contexts and motivations for modern and early-modern editorial intervention in the genre of Latin letter collections. That is to say, what inspired modern editors to re-order ancient letter collections? What did they hope to achieve by their re-arranging? And what was the broader critical context in which they undertook the task? But first we must review the evidence both for the ancient layout of letter collections and their modern re-arrangement.

## The Ancient Arrangement and Modern Re-arrangement of Latin Letter Collections

In a recently published article, I investigated the ancient layout of a sample of eleven Latin letter collections, ranging from the first century BCE to the fifth century CE.[13] Since the evidence and the particulars of individual arrangements are reviewed at some length in that article, I will offer only the briefest of summaries here, and refer the reader to that article also for the fuller argument about the significance of ancient (as opposed to modern) editorial preferences.

My sample of Latin letter collections includes the *ad Familiares* and *ad Atticum* of Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), plus the letter collections of Seneca (c. 1–65 C.E.), Pliny (c. 61–112 C.E.), Fronto (c. 95–166 C.E.), Symmachus (c. 340–402 C.E.), Ambrose (c. 340–97 C.E.), Jerome (c. 347–420 C.E.), Paulinus of Nola (c. 353–431 C.E.), Augustine (354–430 C.E.), and Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 430–85 C.E.). At the risk of over-simplifying a complex picture, it can be stated that – on the evidence of this sample – chronological arrangement is the exception not the rule where the ancient layout of Latin letter collections is concerned. Only one letter collection, that of Seneca, adopts a systematic and thoroughgoing chronological arrangement of its members; but in such a way as to place little emphasis on this fact (Seneca mostly avoids strong chronological markers). The *ad Atticum* also adopts a clear chronological arrangement, but is not quite so thoroughly systematic in this regard. The remaining letter collections

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**12** G.B. Conte, 'genre', OCD 3rd edition, 630–1.

**13** Gibson 2012.

in the sample show two (or perhaps three) dominant patterns of arrangement.[14] The first pattern – perhaps really two patterns (but often difficult to separate in practice) – involves arrangement by addressee or by loose topic, where letters may be ordered by addressee alone, by loose topic alone, or by addressee *and* loose topic in combination.[15] In each case internal chronology may be observed in the ordering of letters, but is just as often abandoned. The remaining pattern is arrangement for the sake of (artistic) variety.[16] Here chronology is usually abandoned at the level of the book-unit, but may be maintained at the level of the collection as a whole. A majority of letter collections in the sample exhibit variations in style of arrangement in one book or more (usually more), i.e. most collections do not maintain a single pattern of organization throughout.

It is often assumed that the absence of chronology – whether at the level of a letter collection as a whole or within constituent books – is simply evidence of ancient editorial disorganization or incompetence (whether of later editors or even the original letter-writer himself).[17] More persuasive is the view that an ancient cultural preference for ordering principles other than the strictly chronological is at work here. The significance and reasons behind that cultural preference need not detain us here.[18] More germane to present purposes is the modern and early modern re-arrangement of ancient letter collections. As will emerge in the course of this chapter, a systematic interest in re-arranging letter collections can be traced back at least to the mid-sixteenth century (and in fact continues into the twenty-first century[19]). Significantly, this modern reorganizing tendency has operated in the context both of traditions which preserve a canonical manuscript order, and in those traditions which offer a variety of ways of arranging a corpus

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**14** For the remainder of this paragraph, I adopt the wording of Gibson 2012 (with footnote additions).

**15** Cicero, *ad Familiares*, Fronto, Symmachus, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine. This same classification can be applied to Cicero's *ad Atticum* and to Seneca, since these collections exhibit arrangement by addressee, and – to a lesser extent – by topic.

**16** Pliny, Ambrose, Sidonius Apollinaris.

**17** Of the Roman letter collections listed earlier, it is likely that those of Seneca, Pliny, Ambrose, Sidonius and (perhaps) Symmachus were either in whole or in part arranged by the author. The remainder (Cicero, Fronto, Jerome, Paulinus, Augustine) appear mostly to be the work of later editors, although there is room for debate and nuance. For an overview of the details, see Gibson 2012.

**18** See Gibson 2012 for some suggested reasons.

**19** E.g. in the new editions of the letters of Augustine produced by K.D. Daur, *Augustinus: Epistulae 1-CXXXIX*, CCSL 31, 31a, 31b (2004, 2005, 2009). For the remainder of the paragraph I paraphrase or adopt the wording of Gibson 2012 (where the evidence for the assertions made is also provided).

of letters. In other words, the existence of a standard order for a letter collection has in no way deterred editors from the 'greater' task of re-ordering it according to quite different principles. And the result has been that eight – i.e. nearly three quarters – of our letter collections have been chronologically re-ordered in modern or early-modern editions. Of these eight editorial re-arrangements, seven have taken place in editions that were either authoritative or widely used in their day. In several cases, the editions, in fact, remain either authoritative or widely used.

Why is any of this of an interest in a volume dedicated to generic mobility and instability? Because, I argue, editorial intervention in the arrangement of ancient letter collections effectively converts ancient epistolography into another genre. If one were to somehow re-arrange the *Odyssey* or the *Aeneid*, so that their famous retrospective narrative interludes were re-positioned in 'true' chronological order at the start of the story, one would still have poems that were recognisably epic. Narrative complexity might be compromised by this new arrangement; but the genre of the poems would not. Likewise, a re-ordering of the poems of Catullus by date of composition (if that were only possible) would still produce a collection of neoteric poems. The progress of Catullus's life and art might thereby become clearer, and biographical readings of his work might proliferate; but enough poems would resist biographical readings with sufficient strength so as to ensure the preservation of their original generic identity. By contrast, to re-arrange a collection of letters into strict chronological order is effectively to convert epistolography into biography or history. It is to this topic that we now turn.

## Letters into Biography and History

The sixteen books which make up the collection which we now know as Cicero's *ad Familiares* reveal a number of different principles of ordering.[20] Book 3, for example, consists entirely of letters written to Cicero's predecessor in the province of Cilicia, Ap. Claudius Pulcher; Book 7 is made up of frequently jocular letters to six or seven addressees, many of whom were known for their Epicurean interests; Book 8 collects seventeen letters from M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero (there are none from Cicero himself); while Book 13 is devoted to letters of recommen-

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**20** On the controversial issue of the (early imperial?) editing and publication – and the (late antique?) unification as a collection – of the sixteen books known only since the Renaissance as *ad Familiares*, see Beard 2002, 117–19; cf. White 2010, 31–4, 174–5.

dation.[21] Put together by an editor or editors other than Cicero at some point in the early imperial period, each of these books in its original format shows evidence of intelligent selection and design, and can be read as satisfying artistic units in their own right (not unlike ancient poetry books).[22]

If the letters of the *ad Familiares* are chronologically re-arranged – whether in an edition of the complete correspondence of Cicero or an edition of the internally re-ordered *ad Familiares* alone[23] – a dramatic shift in generic identity takes place. No longer do we encounter books containing letters linked by broad theme or addressee (where internal chronology is not necessarily observed as an additional ordering principle). Rather we encounter a collection free of any trace of internal book divisions, where the reader may proceed from first letter to last, following the order in which Cicero wrote (and received) his correspondence. The resulting generic transformation is well summed up by a rearranging editor of the 19th century, F.X. Schönberger, who in his 1813–14 edition of the complete correspondence of Cicero stated his purpose as follows:

> hanc Ciceronis epistolarum editionem ita instituendam putavimus, ut … epistolas omnes, ceu *chronica* temporum memoria dignissimorum lectori proponeremus.[24]

> I thought that this edition of Cicero's letters should be so arranged as to lay out before the reader the entire corpus in the form of a 'chronicle' of highly significant times.

In effect, the collected correspondence of Cicero is to shrug off its epistolary coils and be transfigured into history. In the formulation of Mary Beard (in her attempt to understand the motivations of rearrangers of Cicero's correspondence): 'If the *Letters* are about life, they need to be arranged in life's order'.[25]

This comment about the connection between letters and life alerts us to the other (and related) generic transformation which may take place when letters are rearranged in life's order, namely transformation into (auto-)biography. The letters of St. Augustine provide a good example here. Unlike Cicero, St. Augustine was not a major player in the great political affairs of his time, and his correspondence shows comparatively less interest in contemporary historical events and upheavals.[26] As such, his letters are perhaps a less obvious candidate for ge-

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**21** For a useful inventory of the contents of all sixteen books and their broad principles of ordering, see Shackleton Bailey 1977, vol. 1, 20–3.

**22** Beard 2002, 130–43, Gibson 2012; cf. Shackleton Bailey 1977, vol. 1, 23.

**23** See further below for the history of rearranging Cicero's letters.

**24** F.X. Schönberger, *M.T. Ciceronis Epistolae … temporis ordine dispositae* 1813–14, v.

**25** Beard 2002, 115.

**26** However, as the first re-arranging editors of Augustine's correspondence note in their late 17th-century edition, his letters do reveal much about contemporary church history; see below.

neric transformation into history. Through his *Confessions*, however, and his apparent interest in the 'interior' life, Augustine may be convincingly installed as the father of modern autobiography. Modern chronological editions of his vast correspondence aid and abet this installation by imposing on the letters an order markedly different from that found in the manuscripts. For the letters of St. Augustine, so far from preserving broad chronological order in their original manuscripts, in fact do not even exhibit a canonical order. Rather, different traditions display different preferences for ordering the letters, often grouping letters together by addressee or by dossier of thematically related members.[27] By re-arranging Augustine's letters 'in life's order', however, editors effectively transform the correspondence into an autobiographical resource to exploit alongside the *Confessions*. In the words of Jennifer Ebbeler, 'simply put, the chronological arrangement [in modern editions of St Augustine's letters] encourages readers to privilege the letters' biographical value as sources for details about Augustine's life, social milieu, and intellectual development. ... We might well imagine that arrangement by dossier [as in the mss.] would divert attention from the purely biographical value of the letters and focus it on the sophisticated strategies that Augustine used to negotiate various relationships *in absentia*'.[28]

For the remainder of the paper I concentrate on the historical and ideological contexts for the modern and early-modern generic transformation of ancient letter collections into forms of biography and history. These contexts are best recreated through looking not only at the express manifestos of re-arranging editors, but also at modern and early-modern cultural environments sympathetic to treating letter collections as forms of history or biography. As will become clear below, arrangement by strict chronology is the default option for the structuring of both (auto-)biography and modern letter collections, where the two genres are treated as virtual equivalents.

# Ideological and Historical Contexts (1): Cicero, *ad Familiares*

The history of the editing and re-editing of letter collections is long and complex, and the variety of cultural factors relevant over several centuries to providing a context for chronological rearrangements is almost bewildering in its extent. Arguably, the subject is worthy of a separate monograph, and here I can do no

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**27** See Gibson 2012, drawing on the account of Ebbeler 2012.
**28** Ebbeler 2012.

more than skim the surface of an ocean of material. But in order to provide at least a useful starting point, I review briefly below the statements and justifications offered by the very first editors to re-order the letter collections identified earlier – out of a total sample of eleven – as having undergone re-arrangement in modern times.[29] Particular attention is given to the *ad Familiares* of Cicero, the first collection to be re-ordered by chronology, and in many ways always the most prestigious.[30] In this instance, a review is offered not only of the motivations of his very first re-arranging editors, but also of their successors up to modern times.

In the preface to his pioneering 1555 commentary on Cicero's *ad Familiares* – 'in which it is briefly shown, chiefly from history itself, in what order each of the letters was written'[31] – Giralomo Ragazzoni laments the state of the corpus as found in the mss.:

> Ego autem illud in hac re praecipue dolere soleo, quod maximas semper his epistolis tenebras offudit, id neminem hucusque, qui aliqua ratione discusserit, extitisse; id est, ut, quoniam *nullo seruato temporum ordine* compositae quondam fuerunt, ipsae per tempora sua digererentur, atque describerentur. Quo ex labore cum alia multa commoda consequuntur, tum illa in primis, ut propter negociorum, temporumque coniunctionem et facilius alteram ex altera intelligamus, *et ipsius Ciceronis, eorumque annorum contextam historiam* habeamus. Quorum non, perinde atque in epistolis ad Atticum colligendis factum est, rationem habitam esse demiror.

> But here I feel particular sorrow over a matter which has spread a very great darkness over these letters, namely the lack so far of a person to break [the corpus] up somehow. Since the

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**29** I exclude alone the critically unsuccessful (and thus far only) attempt to re-order the letters of Sidonius in the 1879 edition by M.E. Baret, *Oeuvres de Sidoine Apollinaire*, etc. Baret preserves Sidonius' book divisions, but re-orders letters within books by chronology. On this edition in the history of Sidonian scholarship, see Amherdt forthcoming.

**30** The *ad Familiares* was first printed in Rome in 1467, and had achieved over 50 printings by 1501; see Clough 1976, 43 – 4, 54 – 5, with comparative figures for the rather more modest print runs of rival letter collections (both ancient and contemporary) – including the *ad Atticum* – at op. cit. 49 – 61. Interest in the chronology of the *ad Familiares* is a topic of interest already in the *Miscellenea* of Poliziano, published in 1489; see Sandys 1908a, 84. For Poliziano's progress with the text of the *ad Familiares*, see Grafton 1983, 28 – 9, 42 – 3.

**31** *Commentarius: in quo brevissime, quo quaeque earum ordine scripta sit, ex ipsa potissimum historia demonstratur.* Later editors express doubts about the identity of Ragazzoni: in his edition of 1611, A.T. Siberus assumes that the real author is Paulus Manutius; while W.G. Schütz in his edition of 1809 – 12 infers that Ragazzoni is a pseudonym for Carlo Sigonio (to whom Ragazzoni does award particular prominence in his preface): *Caroli Sigonii praeclarum studium in his epistolis ad tempora sua revocandis, assumpto Hieronymi Ragazonii nomine enituerat.* For Manutius and Sigonio and their work on Cicero, see Sandys 1908a, 100 – 1, 143 – 5. For the editions of Siberus and Schütz, see below.

letters were put together in ancient times without preserving the order of dates, our goal must be that the letters are separated according to their individual times, and transcribed. Various benefits result from this operation, above all – through joining events with their times – the easier comprehension of the one from the other, and the possession of a continuous history both of Cicero himself and of those years. Since these matters were taken into account in collecting the letters to Atticus, I am surprised they were not taken into account in exactly the same way here.

Ragazzoni does not himself claim to be the long-awaited scholar who will shine light upon darkness by dispersing the corpus and producing a new text of letters freshly re-ordered by date. Rather, his work limits itself to offering brief remarks on the chronology of each letter (without reproduction of the full text), where the order of the commentary follows Ragazzoni's own conception of the chronological sequence of the letters. But ground work for future progress has clearly been made.[32]

More importantly, from the point of view of the present study, Ragazzoni, in the course of justifying his re-ordering enterprise, makes silent but highly significant reference to two important passages in ancient writers. In claiming that a chronologically re-ordered *ad Familiares* would provide 'a continuous history both of Cicero himself and of those years' (on the implied model of the *ad Atticum* collection, mentioned in the next sentence), Ragazzoni is making clear reference to a notorious remark made by Cornelius Nepos. In his *Life of Atticus*, Nepos comments on a possible function of those *ad Atticum* letters to which he had access in his own day (*Att.* 16.3–4):

> ... undecim uolumina epistularum ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quae qui legat, non multum desideret *historiam contextam eorum temporum*. Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, uitiis ducum, mutationibus rei publicae perscripta sunt ...

> ... eleven rolls of letters, sent to Atticus from the time of Cicero's consulship right down to the end: the reader would little need a continuous history of the period. For they offer so full a record of everything to do with statesmens' policies, generals' failings, and changes in the state ...

From this passing remark it is clear that, already in the first century BCE, one of Cicero's letter collections was prone to reassignment to another genre, namely history.[33] At any rate, as noted earlier, the *ad Atticum* is one of a small minority

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**32** Raggazoni places *Fam.* 5.7 at the head of his re-ordered collection: this letter now stands in third position in Shackleton Bailey's chronological edition.

**33** For the possible relevance here of the documented interests of both Atticus and Nepos in historical chronology, see below n. 39. For a full and thoughtful consideration of the instances

of ancient letter collections to adopt chronology as an ordering principle (even if it is not quite 'perfect' in this regard). As a consequence, this collection evidently proved satisfying to Nepos as a form of historical narrative. However, it is one thing for Nepos to mentally reassign the genre of the *ad Atticum*. It is quite another to use Nepos' musings as implicit justification for a future project that will involve physically dismembering the *ad Familiares*, and reassembling its parts in order to produce a work that will provide a proper history of the times and a biography of Cicero.

Nepos' implicit attribution of 'generic mobility' to the *ad Atticum* collection is eased, of course, by the fact that, in antiquity, chronological treatment is associated above all with the genre of history.[34] And this association between chronology and history brings us to the second text to which Ragazzoni's preface makes silent reference. For Ragazzoni's remark that the letters of the *ad Familiares* were 'put together in ancient times without preserving the order of dates' alludes to a prefatory claim made by Pliny the Younger about the 'disordered' nature of his own letter collection (*Epist*. 1.1.1):

> collegi non servato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus venerat
>
> I have collected them, without preserving the order of dates (since it was not history that I was compiling), but just as each came to hand.

Pliny is of course being somewhat disingenuous, since his collection may not possess micro-level chronology, but arguably does so at the macro level.[35] More importantly, by underlining the fact that his letters are not chronologically arranged, Pliny wishes to distance himself from any suggestion that his letters may be understood as a form of history. And what for Pliny was a matter of generic pride (he could easily have placed his own letters in chronological order) becomes, in the hands of Ragazzoni, a ground for criticism of the early editors of the *ad Familiares*. Whereas these editors could have followed the example of the editor of the *ad Atticum* ('I am surprised [these matters] were not taken into account in exactly the same way here'), they chose to adopt the (messy) un-historical style of Pliny's letter collection. This decision to prefer a form other than the

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where ancient epistolography comes closest to modern biographical narrative, above all in collections of Greek fictional letters (which do not infrequently display chronological arrangement), see Trapp 2007.

**34** Cf. the material collected by Woodman 1989, 132–4.

**35** Gibson-Morello 2012, 16–17, 19–20, 51–3. For Pliny's relatively high reputation in the world of Renaissance letters (which makes Ragazzoni's reference to him both appropriate and explicable), see Sallmann 2010.

narrative-historical is clearly a puzzle to Ragazzoni – albeit one with a clear ed-
itorial solution to hand.

This phenomenon of editorial re-arrangement should not be allowed to pass
as somehow unsurprising. After all, the most widely read letters in the Western
tradition – the Pauline epistles of the New Testament – show no evidence of
chronological arrangement in their canonical order.[36] That is to say, no model
can be found here for a chronologically arranged collection of letters. Similarly,
the most influential artistic and literary letter collection of pre-modern times –
the *Rerum Familiarum Libri* of Petrarch (d. 1374) – displays no concern with thor-
oughgoing chronological arrangement in its original twenty-four books, to the
extent that internal chronology is often visibly disturbed.[37] Nevertheless, in the
age of print, it can hardly be denied that scholarly interference with the running
order of texts became increasingly common. For instance, Scaliger's notorious
1577 edition of Tibullus and Propertius happily transposed individual couplets
and larger portions of text both within and across poems.[38] However, editorial
transpositions of this sort are the result of an avowed perception of scribal
error in the process of transmission. In his 1555 edition Ragazzoni, of course,
does not claim to detect scribal error; rather, he implies that ancient editorial in-
competence is to blame. Such a presumption of incompetence is significant in
itself, of course, since it implies that Cicero – had he ordered the letters himself
– would automatically have chosen chronology as his default principle of ar-
rangement. As we shall see below, this argument perhaps has a purchase
where an ancient author has a particular interest in chronology (including the
chronology of his own works). This is certainly the case with St. Augustine,
and the first re-arranging editors of his letters deftly work an appeal to Augus-
tine's chronological interests into a justification of their project. But such origi-
nal interests are harder to document in the case of Cicero.[39] As such, an assump-

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**36** See Trobisch 2001.

**37** See Bernardo 1975, xx-xxiv, 1982, xvii-xvii, 1985, xvii-xvii. The place to start on the chronology
of *Rerum Familiarum Libri* is Wilkins 1960. Like Cicero, Petrarch often provides datelines for his
letters, but avoids doing so systematically.

**38** On this edition, see Grafton 1983, 177–9. For the later history of interventions in the text of
Tibullus, including attempts in the 19th and 20th centuries to re-order the poems chronologically,
see Ball 1983, 225–31. For the assumptions, likewise, of 19th-century editors that the poems of
Catullus must originally have been arranged chronologically, see Skinner 2007, 36–7.

**39** Such concerns are rather easier to demonstrate in the case of Atticus, whose *liber annalis*
established a useable chronology for Roman history (and is hailed by Cicero for its clarity:
*Brut*. 15); cf. Nepos, *Att*. 18.1–2, with Horsfall 1989, 99–100 ad loc. Of course, Nepos himself was
the author of a work of historical chronology, the *Chronica* (almost immediately superseded by
Atticus' work); see Horsfall op. cit., 116–17. Given the convergence of their interests, it is perhaps

tion that chronology is the obvious way for a competent editor to arrange letters may say rather more about Ragazzoni's mental world than that of Cicero. Of course, the late 16th century is a golden age of historical chronology, with such giants as Scaliger (mentioned above) at work on attempts to sort out the relative chronology of the events of world history.[40] But a link between these great intellectual efforts and the task of editing Cicero's correspondence is easier to assert than to prove. Enough, perhaps, is the clear desire of Ragazzoni to possess a clearer history of the times and a better biography of Cicero.

The first attempt to produce an actual re-ordered text of the *ad Familiares* – not just a commentary on how the letters might be dated and ordered – appears to belong to the 1611 edition of Adamus Theodorus Siberus.[41] In his preface to this edition, Siberus pushes the argument of editorial incompetence even more strongly than Raggazzoni, and laments that the letters are 'rather difficult to get acquainted with', owing to the actions of the first editor, 'whether he was Tiro Tullius ... or someone else, clearly a tiro, or a child' (*tiro plane, aut puer*). He continues with a question: 'what account is taken of methodical arrangement, what succession of time, years, or consuls is observed?'[42] The observation of the *rerum ac temporum ordo* had of course been inextricably linked with successful *narratio* in Roman rhetoric since at least the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[43] And this leads Siberus to his apparent moment of insight: 'For when I realised how much illumination would be restored by methodical arrangement, how much of importance and benefit would be restored by a continuous history (not only for comprehension, but also for remembering) ... I attempted to bring back .... the whole of the *Epistulae Familiares* into their true and original order'.[44] Siberus is perhaps more concerned with the 'restoration' of the letters rather than (as Ragazzoni) with their transformation. But, like Ragazzoni, he

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no accident that Atticus preserved his correspondence with Cicero in chronological order, and that Nepos praised it specifically for that quality.

**40** See Grafton 1993; cf. below n. 67 on later developments in the field of relative chronology.
**41** *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum Familiarum nova editio*, etc. (1611). Siberus retains the sixteen-book structure of the original text, but orders letters within and across books entirely according to his own notion of chronology. Like Ragazzoni (see above n. 32), he places *Fam.* 5.7 at the head of his collection.
**42** *Quae enim ratio habita est ordinis? Quae observata series temporis, annorum, consulum?*
**43** *Rhet. Her.* 1.15 *rem dilucide narrabimus, si ut quicquid primum gestum erit, ita primum exponemus et rerum ac temporum ordinem conservabimus*, 'Our statement of facts will be clear if we set forth the facts in the precise order in which they occurred ...'.
**44** *Nos quum animadverteremus, quantum in ordine luminis, in historia perpetua momenti ac fructus cum ad intelligendum, tum ad recordandum repositum esset; ... totum illud Epistularum Familiarum volumen in suum ac verum ordinem, adeoque in integrum ... restituere conati sumus.*

highlights the benefits to history or historiography of changing the transmitted order of the letters. For Siberus, it is implied, the letters in their original order showed the respect for orderly progression that is characteristic of annalistic narrative. And it is this which he must bring back.

# Ideological and Historical Contexts (2): Paulinus, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome

After these early efforts at re-arranging Cicero in the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, we must wait for over 70 years before the next authors in our sample receive comparable editorial intervention. In 1685, J.B. Le Brun des Marettes produced a chronologically re-ordered edition of the letters of Paulinus of Nola.[45] After the expansiveness of the Ciceronian editors, Le Brun has relatively little to say on the motivations behind his re-ordering project: he merely advertises the fact of his re-arrangement, with the remark that 'the works of St. Paulinus [are] now for the first time arranged according to a chronological order which we have taken care to trace out through application and judgement'.[46] Perhaps the tradition of re-ordering Cicero – now more than 130 years old – had come to make the benefits of the chronological re-arrangement seem too obvious for detailed comment. At any rate, for greater openness on the topic we must look to the first chronological editions of the letters of Ambrose, Jerome, and (especially) Augustine – all produced by the intellectual powerhouse of the French Catholic church of the 17th and 18th centuries, namely the Benedictines of St Maur.

In the early seventeenth century, the General Assembly of the Clergy of France had lamented the fact that 'most of the Greek and Latin Fathers, necessary for stirring up controversies, were printed in London, in Frankfurt, and in Basel, heretical cities'. As a direct result it was decided that new editions of the Church Fathers should be produced in Paris.[47] The Maurists, founded in 1621, played a leading role in the consequent efflorescence of patristic studies in France, particularly in the last three decades of the seventeenth century,

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**45** J.B. Le Brun des Marettes, *Pontii Meropii Paulini, Nolani episcopi, Opera digesta in II tomos, secundum ordinem temporum, nunc primum disposita,* etc.

**46** *S. Paulini opera secundum ordinem temporum nunc primum disposita, quem studio et consiliis ... investigare sategimus* (quoted from Le Brun's preface as reprinted in Migne *PL* 61.14).

**47** See Pabel 2008, 347 (from whom the quotation in the previous sentence is lifted, likewise the information on the Maurists in the following sentences). On the Maurists, see further Hurel 1997, also Pabel 2008, 347–9, and Knowles 1963, 35–62.

when chronologically re-arranged editions of the letters of our three church fathers were in fact all produced.

The letters of Ambrose were edited by the Maurists as part of a complete edition of the works of the saint, published between 1686 and 1690.[48] The editors, I. du Frische and N. le Nourry,[49] state in their preface that they encountered only disorder and confusion in the editions of their predecessors, and lament the fact that the 'older editions present a sequence for the letters which is suited to a reckoning neither of time nor of subject matter' (shades here again of the Roman rhetorical theory of *narratio*).[50] They single out for particular criticism the *Editio Romana*, which 'failed to devote attention to chronological segregation (despite the overwhelming need for such care)'.[51] Here chronology as the default guiding principle for any attempt to order a letter collection is more assumed than argued for (although the altogether more laconic approach of the recent editor of the letters of Paulinus is avoided). But the importance of a chronological order is emphatically underlined. A more thorough investigation of the mss. tradition (in which the editors claim to find even greater disorder), of course, would have revealed a canonical order modelled (ultimately) on the non-chronological letter collection of Pliny the Younger in ten books. But the Maurists are already set fair on their mission – which they describe as 'opportune' or 'appropriate' (*commodius*) – to re-order the letters, where possible, strictly by date of composition.[52] This ordering would itself remain canonical until the restoration of the original mss. ordering in the late-twentieth century edition of Faller-Zelzer.[53]

Rather more revealing are the Maurist editors of the letters of Augustine, who participated in a complete edition of the work of Augustine around the same

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**48** *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi opera, ad manuscriptos codices vaticanos, gallicanos, belgicos, &c. nec-non ad editiones veteres emendata, studio et labore monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri.*

**49** All quotations are from the Maurist preface as reprinted in Migne *PL* 16.886 – 87.

**50** *antiquiores editiones ... eam exhibent epistolarum seriem, quae neque ad temporis, neque ad materiae rationem adaptetur*; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 1.15, quoted above n. 43.

**51** *nec ullam distinguendorum temporum curam, quam profecto maximam esse oportebat, adhibuit.*

**52** *Nihil nobis commodius visum est quam ut omnes illas epistolas, quarum aetatis notam aliquam licuit deprehendere, secundum temporum rationem quam novimus potissimum probari ab eruditis, distribueremus.*

**53** O. Faller and M. Zelzer, *Sancti Ambrosii opera. 10, Tom. 1 – 3, Epistulae et acta. Epistularum libri 1 – 10* (1968 – 1982 – 1990, CSEL 5.82).

time as du Frische and le Nourry were editing Ambrose.[54] The editors begin by drawing a connection between the autobiographical *Confessions* and the letters: Augustine may have portrayed himself 'splendidly' (*luculenter*) in the former, but 'not so naturally as in the letters' (*at non ita ... genuine sicut in Epistolis*). They add that the epistolary corpus gains further *dignitas* from the fact that '[Augustine's] letter collection encompasses not just his private history, but also practically the whole history of the church at that time'[55] – with the *res gestae* of the Donatists and Pelagians singled out as benefiting from particularly full documentation in the letters.

However, as the editors go on to point out, the reader interested in tracing the life of Augustine or the history of the church will find himself unable to extract what he desires from the letters, owing to the 'thoroughly disturbed order' (*perturbatus ... ordo*) of the letters as presented in previous editions. The inevitable follows: it is clearly desirable that Augustine's letters should be 'arranged in their correct order in accordance with a reckoning of time' (*in rectum ordinem pro temporum ratione digererentur*). And the desired result is that the reader should now be able to grasp the (history of the) Donatist and Pelagian affairs in a single viewing.[56]

The Maurist editors of the letters of Augustine are clearly aware of the issue of generic mobility where letters are concerned. They devote the latter half of their preface to discussing various doctrinal or exegetical works by Augustine – some circulating separately from the letters – which can or should be included in an edition of the letters (such as the *de Bono Viduitatis*). But equally, the generic mobility of the letter collection is at issue here too, since the editors are clear both in their desire about what they want from an epistolary corpus – biography and (above all) ecclesiastical history – and in what they are prepared to do to achieve it. And to back their project up, they have an argument which no previous editor covered in this chapter has made so explicitly – or indeed so successfully. And that argument is that Augustine would have chosen this way of ordering the letters himself, had he lived to edit them:[57] 'since in the preface

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**54** An eleven volume complete edition of Augustine was produced between 1679 and 1700, and is replicated (once more) in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, volumes 32–47. All quotations from the Maurist preface are taken from the reproduction of their text in *PL* 33.10–11.

**55** *Epistolarum eius collectio non tantum ipsius privatam, sed et totam fere ecclesiasticam illius temporis historiam complectatur.*

**56** *ut studiosus lector ea quae ad haereses Donatistorum et Pelagianorum pertinent, uno fere conspectu ac tenore percipiat.*

**57** *Quod procul dubio curaturus fuisset Augustinus ipse, si earum recensionem quam susceperat, ei absolvere licuisset.*

to his *Retractiones* he declares his desire that his works be read through in the order in which they were written, and that he will devote attention to this matter, so readers might finally understand *how he developed in the process of writing them*'.[58]

The reference here is to a work of 427 C.E., in which Augustine reviewed his many published works by chronological order and in the light of their progressive conformity over time to Catholic orthodoxy. In a useful contextualisation provided by one critic, 'In many of Augustine's later writings, and most dramatically in the *Retractiones*, the sense of change and progress first seen in the *Confessions* becomes a dominant current flowing through the entire oeuvre'.[59] Augustine, with his distinctive understanding of personal change and development, virtually writes later editors a license to order his letters chronologically. There is no other epistolographer in our sample of whom something similar might be said so convincingly.

A Maurist edition of Jerome – including the letters – began to appear a few years after the first Maurist volumes of Ambrose and Augustine, published in five volumes produced between 1693 and 1706. The editor in chief was Dom Jean Martianay, and, like his fellow editors of the letters of Ambrose and Augustine, he claimed to be the first scholar to arrange the letters of his subject in their proper chronological order. Martianay's edition of Jerome's epistolary corpus, however, was soon judged to be a disaster (critics disliked the 'awkward order' of the letters), and it was supplanted in the early eighteenth century by an edition produced under the guidance of Domenico Vallarsi.[60]

In the preface to his edition, Vallarsi echoes at times almost word for word statements made by the Maurist editors of Ambrose, albeit with subtle changes of emphasis (where appropriate).[61] Thus, for example, previous editors of Jerome are taken to task for adopting a method of arrangement which takes account of

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**58** *Quippe in Retractionum suarum proemio optare se testatur, ut opera sua eo quo scripta sunt ordine perlegantur, eique rei daturum se operam, quo demum intelligant* lectores quomodo scribendo profecerit.

**59** Hermanowicz 2008, 17, with further bibliography on the *Retractiones* cited at op. cit. 17 n. 3. Ironically, Augustine's emphasis on reading his works chronologically for a sense of personal progression was challenged soon after his death by the production of an *Indiculum* which listed his works by subject rather than chronology; see Hermanowicz 2008, 14, 26, 57–60.

**60** On the history of the editions of Martianay and Vallarsi, see Pabel 2008, 132, 348–51. Vallarsi's eleven-volume complete edition of Jerome was published between 1734 and 1742. The preface to his edition of the letters does not refrain from exposing the weaknesses of the Maurist edition.

**61** All quotations are from the preface to Vallarsi's second edition of the letters, as reproduced in Migne *PL* 22.xlii-xlviii.

subject matter but not time, whereas earlier editors of Ambrose had been criticized for ignoring both.[62] And, like the editors of Augustine, Vallarsi praises the letters of his subject for their wide embrace not only of personal matters, but also of scriptural exegesis and church history.[63] The issue of the generic mobility of individual letters also exercises him, as it had done the editors of Augustine. But Vallarsi has, arguably, missed a trick. For Jerome is known to have had interests in chronology himself as the translator and editor of a work of historical chronology.[64] Indeed Jerome, like Augustine, also took care to list his own works according to chronology (but partly also according to genre) in a published work (*de Vir. Illust.* 135).[65] Despite this, Vallarsi produces no detailed argument that Jerome himself would surely have arranged his own letters in chronological order, had the opportunity been given him.[66]

What is the broader context for all this editorial activity on the letters of the church fathers?[67] Perhaps relevant here is a shift documented in French early eighteenth century letter collections by Janet Altman. Here, collections of letters by contemporary individuals apparently begin to be published for the first time in carefully marked chronological order. Indeed the editors advertise the innovation prominently:[68]

> The presentation and organization of Bussy's and Sévigné's letters[69] in the early 18th century editions ... reveals a profound shift towards historical narrativity as a primary value.

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**62** *Veteres nempe Editores eam exhibent Epistolarum seriem quae non ad temporis, sed ad materiarum rationem aptetur magis.* For the similar text of the Ambrose edition, see above n. 50. For the history of editing Jerome, where medieval mss. and early editions do order the letters according to *ratio materiarum*, see Pabel 2008, Cain 2009.

**63** ... *non privati hominis modo erudita negotia eius Epistolae complectuntur, sed insigniores fere quaestiones: eximia ad Scripturarum explanationem monumenta, imo etiam totam ferme eius saeculi Ecclesiasticam historiam, dogmata, resque gestas* ...

**64** For the work of Scaliger (mentioned above n. 40) on the *Chronicle* of Jerome, a translation and supplementation of the work of Eusebius, see Grafton 1993, 514–36.

**65** On the combination of chronology and genre in this passage, see Pabel 2008, 115–17.

**66** For an ancient letter book produced by Jerome which may well have adopted internal chronological order, see Cain 2009, 13–42.

**67** Coincidentally, members of the Maurist order would later be involved in successive editions between 1750 and 1818 of a monumental work of chronology known as *L'art de vérifier les dates des faits historiques, des chartes, des chroniques, et autres anciens monuments, depuis la naissance de notre seigneur*; cf. above n. 40 on the work of Scaliger in the same area in the 16th century. For an overview of the whole subject, see Grafton 2009, 114–36.

**68** Altman 1986, 52–3. On earlier humanist letter collections, however, some of which evidently were arranged in chronological order, see Clough 1976.

**69** Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy (1618–1693), Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626–96).

> The letters are carefully dated and organized chronologically to tell as complete a story as possible ... In their prefaces, the early editors of Bussy's and Sévigné's letters call attention to this chronological ordering as an innovation which is necessary to help the reader 'understand' the letters.

Altman interprets the innovation as a response by editors to a readership whose 'expectations and interests have been profoundly altered by new developments in narrative forms between 1670 and 1735, particularly in the novel'.[70] However, quite apart from the low literary prestige of the novel by comparison with poetry and drama, we may doubt on other grounds that the Maurists were adapting their editions of the letters of the Church Fathers to meet changes in taste amongst the novel-reading public. But clearly something was afoot in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century France. Scholarship of an earlier age would perhaps have allowed itself an appeal to the *Zeitgeist* as part of an explanation for this growing preference for chronology and greater narrativity. We, alas, cannot. But further research will surely reveal the fullness of the connections which for the moment remain somewhat obscure.

## Ideological and Historical Contexts (3): Cicero *ad Familiares*, Ad Atticum, Fronto

From the early 18th-century we now leap forward a century to the next most significant moment in the history of the editing of Cicero's *ad Familiares*. Here, alongside a continuing emphasis on the historiographical value of re-arranged letter collections – as seen with some consistency already in the work of Ciceronian editors and of the Maurists (across two centuries) – we begin to detect a more detailed and insistent emphasis on the biographical value of chronological letter collections.

But first, some context for this increasing emphasis on the individual may be useful. Constanze Güthenke has recently argued for a very particular impact upon German classical scholarship around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of notions of *Bildung* (that is to say, personal development):[71]

> *Bildung* structured the terms of interpretation operative in classical scholarship, both to explain its subject matter and to justify itself. ... charting the history of mankind meant charting *Bildung* as it manifests itself in individual epochs, under the relevant geographical and

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**70** Altman 1986, 53.
**71** Güthenke 2010, 129, 131.

even climatic influences and with regard to individual nations and societies. ... If *Bildung* is about the development of the individual, antiquity in turn becomes personified. To find and define the character of antiquity, therefore, is to describe and recount its life story, and to understand and comprehend its *Wesen* (essence, character, or being), and it is this notion that Humboldt ... has in mind when, in his essay *On the Study of Antiquity, and of Greek Antiquity in Particular* (1793), he speaks of the imperative to write the biography of the Greek nation ...

What applies to nations applies *a fortiori* to individuals. And with individuals – as with nations – a proper chronology, of course, is key to understanding personal development.[72] Some early nineteenth century theorizing of the art of biography – this time in Britain – indeed emphasizes the need to write in a diachronic rather than synchronic fashion. In her chapter on nineteenth century (auto)biographical discourses, Laura Marcus discusses J.F. Stanfield's 1813 work *Essays on the Study and Composition of Biography*. In her summary of its emphasis:[73]

> The biographer's task is to delineate 'purpose, progress and attainment', a goal-directedness which may shut out for a time 'the synchronous' incidents [Stanfield p. 68] ... Structurally ... the serial or synchronous autobiography is viewed as an inferior form by Stanfield and a poor model for biography, when it fails to develop 'an ART OF ADVANCING' [Stanfield p. 336].

For this reason, in Stanfield's view, it is necessary to avoid writing biographies of those who lives prove insufficiently dynamic or too static: 'it becomes necessary that characters should be selected of those personages who have been successful in their career, or who, at least, have evidently proceeded in a systematic way towards accomplishment of a purpose'.[74] Examples of dynamic lives include (for example) Cicero and Caesar.

Not long after this – again in Germany – David Friedrich Strauss would publish his enormously influential *Life of Jesus Critically Examined*. Whatever theological demolition work this 'biography' was designed to do, one of its other jobs was to try sort out the chronology of the life of Jesus from the various and conflicting accounts in the gospels. The gospels, like much Greco-Roman bi-

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**72** On the other hand – at least by the late nineteenth or early twentieth century – there was something of a debate about whether the Greeks every really understood 'individualism', and why their autobiographical and biographical documents seemed disconnected, with 'no real "spiritual link" and narrative-reflective cohesion'; see Güthenke (unpub. paper) on the reaction of Wilamowitz to G. Misch's *Geschichte der Autobiographie* of 1907.
**73** Marcus 1994, 25.
**74** Marcus 1994, 26. On the inevitable connection between autobiography as a genre and ideologies and philosophies of individualism, see Sturrock 1993, 285 – 92.

ography, mix diachronic and synchronic approaches to its subject's life.[75] Strauss intervenes to restore proper chronological order with his own *Life of Jesus*, providing a kind of independent or virtual re-ordering of the gospels.[76]

If a focus on the progress of the individual is developing into a dominant ideology in the early nineteenth century, it is then no surprise to see the influence of this ideology seeping into the editorialising statements of critics at work on the letters of Cicero. As seen earlier, efforts to re-arrange the *ad Familiares* of Cicero by chronology stretch back (at least) to 1555. However, it is only in the early nineteenth century that scholars begin to contemplate the rearrangement of the entire epistolary corpus of Cicero in a single chronological order. The task was daunting, since it involved the integration alongside the *ad Familiares* of the vast *ad Atticum* collection, as well as the smaller *ad Brutum* and *ad Q. Fratrem* corpora. The first to undertake the task were the German scholars C.M. Wieland (in his complete translation of the letters published between 1808 and 1821), and C.G. Schütz (in his Latin edition of 1809 – 12).[77] In his preface, Wieland hails the re-arranged letters for the 'intimate knowledge' which they allow us of Cicero's 'character as citizen, statesmen, orator, *and above all as a man* [emphasis added]'.[78] While Schütz, as Mary Beard points out, displays more explicitly a characteristic 19th-century concern with making a *judgement* on the character of Cicero: 'by this method [i.e. by reading the entire correspondence in chronological order], not only is Cicero's way of thinking more easily understood in many instances, but one may even judge his intentions more correctly'.[79] The desire to release the biographical potential of the letters – and the concomitant desire to trace the development of character – are much closer to the surface here than in any of the editorial prefaces surveyed from previous centuries.

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[75] Burridge 2004.

[76] D.F. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, 3 volumes, 1835 – 36. See (e. g.), 'Locality and chronology of the public life of Jesus' in Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 3, pp. 395 – 423 in the 1846 English translation of the fourth German edition of 1840 by Marian Evans (i. e. George Eliot).

[77] C.M. Wieland, *M.T. Cicero*'s *Sämmtliche Briefe* and C.G. Schütz, *M.T. Ciceronis Epistolae ... temporis ordine dispositae*. On these figures, see Sandys 1908b, 36, 45 – 6, 57, 398, Beard 2002, 113.

[78] Wieland, pref. vii 'sie uns mit ihm selbst und seinem Character als Bürger, Staatsmann, Redner, und vornehmlich als Mensch, in so genaue und vertraute Bekanntschaft bringen' (cited from the 1840 – 41 edition).

[79] Beard 2002, 115, quoting (115 n. 37) from the preface to Schütz's edition: *qua ratione non solum multis locis, quae sit Ciceronis sententia facilius intelligitur, sed etiam de eius consiliis rectius iudicatur.*

This is not to say that early 19th-century editors are uninterested in releasing the historiographical potential of the letters. Indeed Schütz explicitly cites the dictum of Cornelius Nepos, on the 'continuous history of the period' provided by the *ad Atticum*, that Ragazzoni had alluded to over 250 years previously.[80] However, with the focus of these radical new editions on the author 'above all as a man', and their preoccupation with 'judging his intentions more correctly', Cicero's correspondence is beginning to shift its generic identity from epistolography to (auto-)biography. As will become clear at the end of this paper, this is a broad development in the identity of letter collections in general that is pursued with increasing vigour in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Less than a decade after Wieland and Schütz had begun publication of their re-arranged editions of the entire Ciceronian epistolary corpus, Cardinal Angelo Mai discovered, and then in 1815 published the hitherto unknown correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto. Like the *ad Familiares* of Cicero, the various books that make up the correspondence of Fronto display various principles of arrangement (e.g. by theme, addressee), often without regard for chronology even within the chosen groupings. The situation was distressing to Mai, and in his updated edition of 1823 he lamented – with echoes once more of ancient rhetorical theory – that the rediscovered codex 'takes no account of times, persons, or subject-matter', and (citing several examples) asserts that the 'disturbance of chronology could hardly be greater'. He adds, however, that that 'this clumsy arrangement by an ancient scribe' should not greatly surprise us, since it is often to be encountered, 'particularly in books of letters'.[81] This last observation perhaps might have caused Mai to reflect that, if non-chronological arrangement was widespread in ancient works – but particularly in books of letters – then perhaps such arrangement was a matter of (cultural) choice, rather than a product of clumsiness or editorial ineptitude. Instead, by way of conclusion to the

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**80** Schütz, preface (unnumbered page): *Cornelius Nepos animadverterat, has qui legat, non multum desideraturum contextam illorum temporum historiam.* Cf. the prefatory statements of Schönberger (in the 1813–14 edition mentioned above n. 24, which supplies a Latin text to go alongside Wieland's chronologically re-arranged translation): *ita ut iam olim Cornelius Nepos, vir historiae amantissimus iuxta ac peritissimus adseverare nullus dubitarit: qui Tullii epistolas, in primis ad Atticum scriptas, legerint, contextam illorum temporum historiam non multum desideraturos* (at p. iii). Technically Nepos had made the remark only in regard to the *ad Atticum*; but Schönberger widens its relevance to Cicero's entire epistolary corpus.

**81** A. Mai, *M. Cornelii Frontonis et M. Aurelii imperatoris Epistulae*, 1823, xvii: *... in codice nulla vel temporum vel personarum aut materiarum ratio habetur. Nam quae v.gr. temporis perturbatio fieri maior potuit, quam cum ... Neque idcirco est quamobrem magnopere miremur inconcinnam hanc librarii veteris dispositionem – sic enim et in aliorum auctorum libris, praesertim epistularibus, saepe usuvenit.*

matter, Mai refers with approval explicitly to the recent chronological re-arrangements of Cicero by Wieland and Schütz, and confidently prophesies the same happy event for the letters of Fronto.[82] (This prediction would eventually find fulfillment in Haines' chronologically arranged Loeb edition, still widely in use today.[83])

The sensation created by these German editions of Cicero is clear: Mai need offer no justification for his desire to see the correspondence of Fronto re-arranged other than to refer to the (apparently self-evident) benefits offered by Wieland and Schütz. And this sets the tone for re-arranged editions also of Cicero up to the present day. In the edition begun by R.Y. Tyrrell in 1879 and finally completed (after his death) with the assistance of L.C. Purser in 1933,[84] the editors have little to say beyond noting the difficulty of reading the letters in their traditional order and the confusion that can be caused by the absence of chronological order.[85] Similarly in the twentieth-century Shackleton Bailey – who compromised by retaining the identity of the four separate Ciceronian collections,[86] but re-arranging each internally according to a fresh chronology – has almost nothing to say by way of justification for this editorial action.[87] The

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[82] Mai 1823, xvii-xviii: *Cunctas denique Tullii epistulas nonne his demum annis Wielandus et Schutzius ad rationem temporum exactas disposuerunt? Id quod aliquando Frontonis quoque et M. Aurelii scriptis factum iri auguror.*

[83] C.R. Haines, *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, 1919 – 20, volume 1, p. xxii 'A hundred years ago Mai expressed a confident expectation that one day the letters would be arranged in their approximate chronological order. A first attempt has been made here to do this'.

[84] R.Y. Tyrrell and L.C. Purser, *Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, arranged according to its chronological order* ... etc.: the first edition was begun by Tyrrell alone in 1879; he was joined by Purser in 1890; a second edition was begun in 1885 before the completion of the first edition in 1901; and the final volume of the second edition was published in 1933. On the editors and their edition, see Beard 2002, 106 – 16.

[85] See Beard 2002, 113 – 14, who contrasts their reticence with the effusiveness of contemporary reviewers.

[86] D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, six volumes (1965 – 68); *Cicero, Epistulae ad Familiares*, two volumes (1977); *Cicero, Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum* (1980).

[87] Shackleton Bailey 1977, vol. 1, 24, 'The arrangement adopted in the present edition is a compromise between chronological order and grouping by correspondents and *genre*. Details may be left to the understanding of the reader, who will bear in mind that the dates of many letters, especially the recommendatory ones, cannot be accurately fixed'. Cf. comparable editorial reticence in a recent chronological edition of letters sent to and from Cicero in 43 BCE: '... the transmission of the Letters to the modern world has meant that their presentation (in collections related to different correspondents) is far less convenient and interesting than a sequence in chronological order would have been' (Willcock 1995, 3; cf. op. cit., 14).

need to re-order a correspondence – and so release its biographical and historio-graphical potential – can now be allowed to pass almost without comment.[88]

As a coda to the material reviewed above, it is worth pointing out that the impulse to re-order letter collections has not operated on classical texts alone.[89] The letters of Alcuin, for example, were chronologically re-ordered in a landmark edition of the late nineteenth century.[90] Perhaps the most egregious example of such re-ordering of letters is provided by the monumental edition of the collected correspondence of Erasmus (himself a distinguished editor of the letters of Jerome[91]) begun by P.S. Allen and published in twelve volumes between 1906 and 1958.[92] This edition takes the various original collections of Erasmus' letters published during his lifetime, unstitches them, and systematically re-orders them in a chronological order which Erasmus' originals frequently did not aspire to. As with the letter collections of ancient authors, however, the editions as put together and arranged by Erasmus often have a meaning and a purpose that emerge only when restored to their non-chronological format.[93]

## Letters as Biography

I want to end this paper by raising our gaze – albeit briefly – from the letter collections of antiquity to letters and letter collections more generally in the 19th and 20th centuries. For the generic metamorphosis of ancient letter collections – from

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**88** Related to this phenomenon is readers' persisting desire for greater narrativity from ancient texts than the originals are seemingly willing to offer. Duff 2011a has shown that translators of Plutarch *Lives* – some very recent – often add in chronological 'connections' between sections of text, where Plutarch is in fact proceeding by theme or topic and not by time; cf. Duff 2011b. In so doing translators are perhaps remedying the text's perceived deficiency in narrativity. Restructuring an ancient letter collection along chronological lines is only a more emphatic move in the same direction.
**89** Nor on ancient letter collections alone. The collection of twelve imperial encomia – known to modern audiences as the *Panegyrici Latini* – was re-ordered by modern editors along chronological lines: hence the practice of referring to an individual speech as (e.g.) IV(10), where the Roman numeral indicates the position of a speech in the mss. and the Arabic numeral denotes its chronological order. For a reading of the collection as meaningful in its original order, see Rees 2012.
**90** The Letters of Alcuin are re-ordered chronologically – against the witness of the most important mss. – in the 1895 edition of E. Dümmler, *MGH* epp. IV.1–493.
**91** See Pabel 2008.
**92** *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per P.S. Allen*, etc. The books of the Hebrew bible can even be re-ordered to give God a 'biography'; see Miles 1995.
**93** See Jardine 1993, 146–58, Jardine 2002.

epistles to history to (auto-)biography – has taken place within a broader literary context which has witnessed both the gradual inclusion of modern letter collections within the generic fold of 'life-writing', and the increasing dominance of biography and autobiography themselves as literary forms.[94] As will become clear below, letter collections today in fact are viewed almost normatively as a species of autobiography. The re-arrangement of ancient letter collections from the early-modern period onwards – and the increasing emphasis of editors on the biographical value of such re-ordered collections – can consequently be understood as forming part of a broad literary trajectory which has resulted (ultimately) in the inclusion of letter collections within the category of autobiography. The urge to reclassify the letter collection as another genre has (at length) matched the much older urge – documented at the beginning of this paper – to reclassify the genre of individual letters.

Public figures of the 19th century seem to have preferred letters as a particularly prestigious or authoritative form of (auto-)biography. For example, the earliest important set of biographical information to be released to the world on Charles Darwin took the form of a letter collection edited by his son, which appeared in three volumes in 1887 under the title *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, including an Autobiographical Chapter*. Volume 1, for instance, starts with three chapters – one a short autobiography and two of a biographical nature ('The Darwin Family' and 'Reminiscences') – followed by six chapters compiled from letters written between by Darwin between 1828 and 1854. (Very many other examples could be given.)

The running together of 'life and letters' in this somewhat stilted manner is apt to seem a little old-fashioned today.[95] However, it is arguably an important stage in the evolving conceptualization of the letter collection as a literary artefact to be included within the class of 'autobiography'. It must be admitted straightaway that the intersection between letters and the biographical genres has received relatively little examination and remains under-theorized in most respects. (Hence the frequent recourse in what remains of this chapter to such paratextual material as titles, prefaces, blurbs, catalogues and reviews.[96]) Never-

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[94] For the importance of autobiography more generally as an organizing concept in modern thought, see Marcus 1994. Witness to this importance is the lone voice of Strawson 2004, who criticizes the modern tendency to privilege (informal) autobiographical narrative as a way of providing a life with meaning.

[95] A briefer summary of some of the material reviewed in the paragraphs below appears in Gibson 2012.

[96] Note, however, Professor Lisa Jardine's "Centre for Editing Lives and Letters": http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk

theless, there is a limited, if undeniably powerful, sense in which we are now conditioned to view a collection of letters as a type of biography. After all, bookstores and on-line booksellers generally market and sell letter collections within the biographical sections of their stock.[97] And a perusal in 2012 of the 'Biography' menu of the internet retailer Amazon uncovers both *Coco Chanel: the Legend and the Life* (by Justine Picardie) and – eventually – *Letters Home*, a collection of the correspondence exchanged by Sylvia Plath with her mother and several other US-based figures between 1950 and 1963.[98] Authors and editors aid and abet this state of affairs: the punning title *A Life in Letters* is found attached to various modern editions of the collected correspondence of a range of figures, including the Bronte sisters, Robert Burns, Anton Chehkov, Arthur Conan Doyle, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Graham Greene, Thomas Merton, Mozart, George Orwell, Ronald Reagan, John Steinbeck, Oscar Wilde, William Wordsworth – to name only a few.[99]

This is not the only paratextual feature supplied by publishers in order to assimilate letter collections to (auto)biography. Editors of modern collections of letters often provide copious biographical annotations to individual letters alongside substantial 'connective tissue' between groupings of letters – often in the form of consolidated information on the letter-writer's life in the period and other relevant facts which give the context for the time covered by any set of letters then printed.[100] A more thoroughly interventionist approach is evident on those cases where an editor or publisher assembles a subject's letters in the express hope that they will stand in for an unwritten autobiography.[101] Or re-

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**97** This phenomenon might be added to the catalogue of paratextual features famously constructed by Genette, including features normally the responsibility of the publisher, such as format, series, cover, and title page, etc.; see Genette 1997, esp. 16–36 on the publisher's 'peritext'.

**98** A.S. Plath (ed.), 1976, *Sylvia Plath: Letters Home: Correspondence, 1950–63*.

**99** At least eight volumes bearing the subtitle *A Life in Letters* were available from Penguin Books UK in 2012: this suggests the existence of an informal series of letters-as-(auto)biography within their 'biographies and memoirs' stock.

**100** See (e.g.) M.D. Fehsenfeld and L.M. Overbeck (eds.), 2009, *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, Volume I: 1929–1940*; C. Reid (ed.), 2007, *Letters of Ted Hughes*; H. Hardy (ed.), 2004, *Isaiah Berlin. Flourishing: Letters 1928–1946*. The assimilation of other genres into the category of (auto-)biography can be effected by other paratextual means too; see Genette 1997, 30–1.

**101** See (e.g.) the publisher's text added to V. Eliot (ed.), *The Letters of T.S. Eliot: Volume 1, 1898–1922* (1988): 'Much has been written about Eliot's work and comparatively little about his life. ... Now, with the publication of *The Letters of T.S. Eliot*, we will have a self-portrait, a form of autobiography'.

viewers may even hail published collections of letters as a superior form of biography.[102]

Fundamental for the inclusion of modern letter collections within the broad generic fold of biography is – of course – internal order. The default format for all the modern biographical genres is linear arrangement: from birth to death for biography, birth to the present moment for autobiography. John Sturrock indeed notoriously demanded that autobiographers abandon chronology as an organizing principle: 'so bound are [autobiographers] by chronology one can only conclude that they find it a relief, not an imposition'.[103] The same evidently applies to the editors of modern letter collections. Witness, for example, the second – and long awaited – volume of the letters of T.S. Eliot published in 2009.[104] These letters, addressed to a range of friends, family members and business associates, cover the years 1923–25 and are arranged in strict chronological order according to date of original composition by Eliot (or his correspondents).

This is not to say that all modern letter collections everywhere are arranged by chronology. But those who arrange and publish the letters of significant figures by some other principle – e.g. by addressee – may find their work subject both to severe criticism and ultimately to re-arrangement by chronology.[105] This is despite the fact that ordering letters by a system other than the purely chronological remains standard *archival* practice. Here letters are often stored in separate boxes according to addressee. This practice not only reflects separate donations of letters to archives by a range of correspondents, but is also usually thought actively to facilitate the endeavours of researchers in a way that a strict chronological arrangement of the entire archive would not.[106] It is, then, selec-

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**102** See (e.g.) A.N. Wilson in the *Independent on Sunday* (UK) for 27.06.99, reviewing P. Horne (ed.), 1999, *Henry James: a Life in Letters:* '"He was so admirable a letter-writer that [the letters] will constitute his real and best biography" was the judgment of James on his brother William. Horne makes a good case for the same being true of Henry. So, what he has done is to arrange his discoveries of the hitherto unpublished letters in a chronological sequence, interspersed with others which we have already read, to form A Life in Letters. The result ... is something which comes to us with the freshness of a new biography of the man'.

**103** Sturrock 1977, 56; cf. Lejeune, 1989, 73: 'almost all autobiographers end up falling back, after some qualms, some complaints, or some attempts at innovation, into the rut of chronology'. For (a celebration of) some exceptions and partial exceptions to the chronological rule, see Sturrock 1993, 75–8 (Giralamo Cardano), 186–7, 191, 192–3 (Stendhal), 204–5 (Newman), 232 (Gertrude Stein), and 256–84 (Michael Leiris).

**104** V. Eliot and H. Haughton (eds.), 2009, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot. Volume Two: 1923–1925.*
**105** See Parker 2010, 27 on an otherwise important 1875 edition of Michelangelo's correspondence later re-edited in the twentieth-century.
**106** Note e.g. the Jane Harrison archive at Newnham College, Cambridge (the resource behind Beard 2000: see op. cit., 217–18): cf. the official description of this resource: 'This series contains

tion and publication – i.e. the formal assimilation of letters to the biographical genres – that leads to the thoroughgoing chronological (re-)arrangement of letters.

In conclusion, the gradual generic transformation of the letter collections of antiquity forms part of a much larger story, where letters of all periods have ultimately been awarded a position within the capacious modern genre of autobiography. This may well be a travesty not only of the generic identity of ancient letter collections, but even of their modern counterparts. Consequently, should we hope that letters might one day slip the autobiographical fold and take up residence in their own unique generic home? Or should we accept (and celebrate) the rich five-hundred year history of such notable generic mobility?[107] Perhaps we could do both.

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all the letters in the collection written by Jane Harrison and is divided into 5 sections that cover the 4 principal recipients: Gilbert Murray, 1/1; Lady Mary Murray, 1/2; Hope Mirrlees, 1/3; Jessie Stewart, 1/4; and then all others, 1/5, which also contains letters to Harrison' (http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk).

**107** For a study parallel to that conducted in the present chapter, see Fotheringham 2007 on the paragraphing and segmentation habits of early modern scholars producing editions of Cicero's speeches (as still witnessed in the numbers in the margin of modern texts).

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Christina Shuttleworth Kraus

# Is *historia* a Genre?

## (With Notes on Caesar's First Landing in Britain, *BG* 4.24 – 5)[*]

**Abstract:** In this paper I explore the congeneracy and the separation, first, of *historia* from other prose genres, especially oratory; and second, of the various sub-genres which *historia* itself comprises. After showing a few key ways in which a given historiographical work either claims or resists generic identities, I turn to a close reading of Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.24 – 25. There I develop a reading, following generic clues, that illustrates the subtle variety of this 'undressed' text.

**Keywords:** sub-genre; Caesar; *commentarius*; *historia*; ethnography

My title poses rather a large question; and on one level, it has rather a simple answer: yes. The ancient prose works known as 'histories' have internal generic norms (there are ways you can tell you are reading *historia*, rather than, say, philosophy) and external testimony by readers and critics concerning their genre. By the time one reaches the 50s BCE, a discussion about what makes a literary work 'history' has clearly been going on for decades (cf. e. g. Sempronius Asellio frr. 1–2 *HRR*, contrasting *historia* with *annales*), and Cicero—in a dialogue set in 91—asserts that it is already past time to formulate rules for its production (*De orat*. 2.64). One can say, then, that *historia* was a kind of literature distinct from other kinds—in the same way, perhaps, that the writing known as *epos* is a kind distinct from other kinds. For *historia* has the same problems of nomenclature and typology as does *epos,* being as it is a label that has been applied to authors as different as Caesar and Ammianus Marcellinus.[1] In what follows I will consider first how the ancients described *historia* in contrast to other prose gen-

**1** Not all ancient critics agree on who belongs in the set of *historici*: Caesar, for instance, would himself, according to Hirtius, not belong there (*BG* 8 *pref.* 5), but Cic. *Brut*. 262 deliberately includes him. I am using Fowler's 'kinds' here (Fowler 1982), but Benjamin's notion of the "constellation" bears consideration as a possible way to talk about these large, moveable sets: see Najman 2011.

res; second, I will look briefly at the sub-genres within *historia*; and third, via a close reading of a passage from Caesar, I will examine what happens when these sub-genres come into contact.

Despite its essentialism and profound inflexibility, ancient discussion of genre can serve us as a starting point—but it rarely concerns itself with non-poetic forms.[2] Rarely, but not never. Sluiter's illuminating discussion of ancient commentaries and what they can tell us about genre demonstrates that a grand division between philosophical, oratorical, and historical prose was well established by the Hellenistic period (Sluiter 2000, 199); it is still evident in Quintilian's reading list, which divides prose precisely into history (10.1.73, 101), oratory (10.1.76, 105), and philosophy (10.1.81, 123).

In some cases, clues to the genre of a work seem to reside primarily in content: so, for instance, Aristotle's refusal to count Empedocles as a poet, because his scientific material outpowers his meter (Farrell 2003, 385). In others, it seems to be method or technique that sways a critic's judgment: so the judgment of Eusebius as reported by Macrobius that Vergil, because of his varied styles (*genera*), is a better orator than Cicero: *hoc solum audebo dixisse, quia facundia Mantuani multiplex et multiformis est et dicendi genus omne complectitur. ecce enim in Cicerone uestro unus eloquentiae tenor est ... unus omnino Vergilius inuenitur qui eloquentiam ex omni genere conflauerit* (*Sat.* 5.1.4, 6).[3] Formal criteria seem also to dominate in the statements of 'Marcellinus' and Seneca the Younger, respectively. 'Marcellinus' says that Thucydides 'has indeed something of the panegyric, as in the funeral oration. And he introduced variously irony and questioning and making a philosophic form of the demagoric speech: for in those which answer one to the other, he philosophizes (*philosopheî*).'[4] In a discussion of philosoph-

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**2** On the essentialism see especially Farrell 2003.

**3** 'I will be so bold as to say only this: the Mantuan's eloquence is many-sided and diverse, embracing every style. Just look: your Cicero keeps to a single manner ... Virgil alone is found to have achieved an eloquence that is melded together from every style,' trans. Kaster 2011. Macrobius here, of course, simplifies Cicero in order to praise Vergil: see above all Kaster (1998, 250): 'the canonization of any classic is inevitably a reductive process,' though he concentrates on how readers simplify and elevate, rather than denigrate, Cicero. For reducing a precursor in the aid of panegyric, and the process involved in constructing a literary history, see (*mutatis mutandis*) Hinds 1998, 55: 'proclamations of one poet's newness are inevitably proclamations of another poet's oldness.'

**4** Translation Burns 2010. The remark has been taken as referring primarily to the Melian dialogue; Burns 2010, 6 believes that the 'philosophizing' refers not to form but to approach: 'something which, it seems, entails the kind of investigation into justice and the divine that is portrayed in that dialogue.' But on the formal aspects discussed in this section of the *Life*, and on this passage, see Maitland 1996, 546; on philosophy and drama see Sluiter 2000, 192–6.

ical style, Seneca reports that Livy wrote 'dialogues which can be ranked as history no less than as philosophy' (*Ep*. 100.9 *nomina adhuc T. Livium; scripsit enim et dialogos, quos non magis philosophiae adnumerare possis quam historiae, et ex professo philosophiam continentis libros*). When it is noticed at all, this is generally taken as referring to Livian *iuuenilia* (e. g. Walsh 1961, 4), but in the light of the literary criticism in 'Marcellinus'—sections which show clear knowledge of the Augustan critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus—I wonder if Seneca might be responding to similar, contemporary discussions about the nature of speeches in Livy, and might perhaps here refer to back-and-forth debates in the *Ab urbe condita*.[5] But these are relatively crude distinctions, even intellectual games; and no one will claim that the Melian dialogue is 'philosophy' or Vergil an orator, full stop.[6]

A more nuanced distinction can be theorized between genres that seem on the surface to bear a close kinship, i. e. history and oratory, which share not only certain stylistic conventions but also both incorporate extended narrative sections and argument (in *historia*, of course, the latter comes in the form of embedded *orationes*). Quintilian's typology of texts beneficial for an orator's training necessarily assumes some aspects that are shared among them (otherwise how would lyric poetry benefit an advocate?), but he does not need to explain how they are *fundamentally* different—that is obvious. But when he reaches *historia*, Quintilian is very careful to distinguish between the *genera*:

> We should read [history] in the knowledge that many of its excellences are to be avoided by the orator. ... In a sense it is a prose poem, and it is written to tell a story, not to prove a point. Moreover it is wholly designed not for ... present conflicts, but to preserve a memory for future generations and for the glory of its author's talents. ... So ... we should make no effort to recapture the famous conciseness of Sallust, when we are addressing a busy, distracted, and often unlearned judge, though nothing could be more perfect for the leisured and scholarly reader.[7]

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**5** On the compilation known as the *Life* of Thucydides, see Maitland 1996; Livy and Sallust are discussed, compared to, and contrasted with Herodotus and Thucydides by Sen. *Contr*. 9.1.13 – 14 and Quint. 10.1.101. Nothing is known about the 'explicitly' philosophical books of Livy that Seneca also mentions. On Livy's dialogic use of 'inquit' *et sim*. in speeches see Rossbach 1882, 367 n.5.

**6** Even, one suspects, Florus, in his largely lost *Vergilius, orator an poeta* (Jal, 1967); cf. also Granius Licinianus p.43 Bonn (was Sallust to be read as an orator or a historian?) and Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen*. 1.382 (Lucan appears to have composed a *historia*, not a poem).

**7** Quint. 10.1.31 – 2, translation Russell 2001.

Some of the chief aspects that define Sallust, Thucydides, and others as historians—concern for *memoria*, high style—are what mark their product as unsuitable for 'real' oratory. Here we see a model of literary kinds that is less concerned with establishing a typology of form than with effective communication; that is, with Depew and Obbink's 'conceptual orienting device,' which works at establishing, or staging, an authorial stance that both establishes legitimacy for its author and profits from the distinction it makes between itself and other literary forms.[8] When we are dealing with Roman, rather than Greek, literature, performance and the author as performer become more metaphorical;[9] but monitoring the implicit, ongoing dialogue between writer and audience/reader, seeing a literary type working through challenge or confirmation of expectation in matters of form and content, continues to be a productive way of understanding ancient prose genre.

One reason for the closeness of these two prose genres derives from what we might call the Catonian model: a senator, skilled in public speaking, retires to write history.[10] Oratory needs history—and vice versa. So, Cicero goes so far as to call *historia* an *opus ... oratorium maxime*, while both he and Pliny the Younger modestly resist the friends who importune them to write the definitive historical narrative.[11] For Pliny and Cicero, maintaining at once the congeneracy and the difference between *historia* and oratory is a neat trick designed to enhance their own claims to high literary status. (There are important issues of social and cultural capital wrapped up here as well, of course—but those are for anoth-

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**8** Depew and Obbink 2000, 6.

**9** The basis for Quintilian's judgment takes in actual performance—historians' style is too elliptical, their language too ornate and too difficult, for a practicing advocate and listening judge—but it takes in issues of intention and projected audience, as well; his own audience may be practicing live speeches but they are reading Sallust. On the book in this period as 'the vehicle for posthumous fame' see Mayer 2001, 36.

**10** I ignore philosophy written in prose here, though one could very well bring it into the discussion.

**11** Cic. *De orat.* 2.62 *quantum munus sit oratoris historia*, *De leg.* 1.5 *quippe cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem uideri solet, unum hoc oratorium maxime*; Plin. *Ep.* 5.8. The Catonian model has its inverse in the 'armchair historian,' of whom Livy is perhaps the best known example. He used to be seen as an orator (presumably a *rhetor*, because never a politician: Seeley 1881, 4) who took up history when oratory failed as a social phenomenon: Canter 1913, 26 'Livy became a historian in order to remain an orator,' Walsh 1961, 3–4 'soundly trained in the theory of oratory ... can never have thrown a *pilum* in anger,' Ogilvie 1970, 19 'steeped from his youth onwards in the oratory of Cicero.' This characterization has not, regrettably, yet disappeared: e. g. Hoyos 2006, xxvii-ix 'Livy's genius was literary, not analytical ... he is not good at source analysis ... [m]ilitary technicalities are not a Livian strong point either, and he never lets them stand in the way of telling a story'; on the development of Livian criticism see Chaplin and Kraus 2009, 1–14.

er discussion.) Pliny takes the game one step farther in the letters to Tacitus about Vesuvius, where, as Ash and others have shown, he subsumes *historiam scribere* to *epistulam scribere*, exploiting the affinities between the modes until he manages to slip Tacitus' high status history into his own capacious epistolo-graphical handbag.[12] Pliny and Cicero each discusses stylistic differences between the genres, but what is really at stake for both authors is their claim to status, legitimacy, and control: Cicero makes history oratorical because he is himself an orator; Pliny vies with Tacitus for primacy in the literary community they share, and in the eyes of posterity as well.

When we turn away from *historia*'s distinctiveness, to consider the many sub-genres within it, we find a similar tension, with literary kinds that want to hold one another at arms' length suddenly finding themselves jostling up together, either subsuming or partnering with one another. In the separatist category one finds, for instance, the annalists versus the 'serious' historians, as in Sempronius Asellio's formulation (above, 417); the Catonian historian is here, too, as is the author of the *commentarius*, in whose case enough political or social clout can convert the written product from something that can be taken over and rewritten—a typical 'commentarius,' or 'notes'—into a work that stands, and gives pleasure, all on its own.[13] But these distinctions are always self-subverting. John Marincola argued over a decade ago that criteria neither of content nor of form will adequately describe the many different shapes of ancient historiography. He proposed instead that we understand these texts in the light of five aspects, each with a sliding scale: whether a text is narrative or non-narrative, how it is focalized, what are its chronological limits and what its arrangement, and what its subject matter.[14] The categories can combine in various ways, avoiding straitjacketing and allowing the experimental nature of ancient historiography to emerge.[15]

Marincola is particularly enlightening when he looks at works with no obvious generic model (the *Anabasis*) or ones which have close affinities with more

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**12** Ash 2003.

**13** As claimed of Julius Caesar by Cic. *Brut.* 262, Hirt. *BG* 8 *pref.* 5. On the Caesarian *commentarius* see Kraus 2005, Riggsby 2006, 133–55 and below; on the Catonian or senatorial historian see Kraus 1994, 5 n.17.

**14** Marincola 1999, 301–9.

**15** Farrell characterizes this tension between the 'rules' and their transgression as a 'secret but widely held theory of genre founded on duplicity, indirection, and indeterminacy .... [the Romans'] interest in genre as a set of prescriptive rules—which is just about the only way in which they ever articulate their generic self-awareness—is powerfully undermined, even to the point of parody, by an attitude of practical inventiveness and what looks like nothing so much as an interest in the untenability of any position founded on the idea of generic essence' (2003, 396).

than one genre, where the resulting tension is productive of interpretation (the *Agricola*). In the remainder of this piece, and as a kind of footnote to Marincola, I consider some ways in which *historia* flexes its poly-generic muscles, concluding by analyzing an instance of one ancient historiographer using the conventions of genre to enable interpretation.

More than any other prose form except perhaps the novel, the portmanteau genre of *historia* delights in the genres with which it is affiliated and of which it is constituted. This inclusiveness is part of its self-image as a genre, from the very beginning: This is not news.[16] But how these elements are incorporated, particularly by Roman historians, is worth some attention. How does history identify itself? How does it identify its constituent elements? And what consequences do those identifications have for how we read?

First, self-identification. In Ovid's metrical game at *Met.* 1.2, the hemistich *nam uos mutastis **et illa***, where *illa* sc. *coepta* refers not only to the new content but also to the form, marks the point at which the poem's meter—new for Ovid— is identified and put into play as a genre marker for this *perpetuum* and *deductum carmen*.[17] We know that Latin historiographical prose tends to feature extended dactylic rhythms, even whole hexameters, at or near the beginning of their works.[18] Those who believe these are not accidental tend to see them as signaling the distant affiliation with epic that has been present in history from the start, where Herodotus talks about preserving the deeds of men and figures himself as Odysseus.[19] They work, then, in the same way that Ovid's metrical play does: they are part and parcel of the toolbox of the chosen style, but their presence gives us a brief sense of unfamiliarity. In Ovid's case, the surprise is only momentary. In prose, however, the metrical patterns send a more insistent signal. If style ~ the man, then the meter one chooses makes a very particular point, as Farrell has argued, about one's genre as an expression of character.[20] Epic must be written by poets of elevated character. *Historia* marks itself as the epic of prose: its metrical openings establish both literary filiation and the ethical legitimacy of its author.

A Roman historian may flag his work with strong allusions to an earlier writer: the echoes of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* at the start of Tacitus, *Annales* 4 sig-

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**16** On Herodotus—who begins the generic games—see the illuminating study of Boedeker 2000.
**17** Kenney 1976.
**18** E.g. Livy *Pref.* 1 *Facturusne operae pretium sim*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.1.1 *Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere*. There is a striking example in the heading of the *Res Gestae, Rerum gestarum Diu(i) Augusti quibus orbem*. See Woodman 2012, 188–90.
**19** See now Woodman 2012, 380–4; on Odysseus and the historians see Marincola 2007.
**20** Farrell 2003, 384.

nal a similarity in character between Catiline and Sejanus, but also suggest that
what follows is in some sense a stand-alone book, a monograph within the larger
structure of *Annales*.[21] At the start of Livy Book 21, the prominent quotation from
Thucydides 1.1 gives Livy's topic importance beyond that of its model: 'In the
preface to a *section* of my work I am able to make the claim that most writers
of history have made at the beginning of their *entire* opus, that I am about to
write the most memorable of all wars ever fought.'[22] Livy not only appropriates
his greatest precursor, but states clearly that he will surpass him in size (*in parte
~ summae totius*). The quotation also draws attention to the nature of historical
divisions: not only is Thucydides' whole now only part of Livy's, but that new
whole itself is suddenly revealed as participating in a potentially endless
chain of synecdochic relationships, a *mise en abyme* of historical periods. And
of course, that overlap of times, in which small and great can be seen as part
and whole, or as microcosm and macrocosm, is precisely one of the historian's
interpretative tools for navigating his exemplary universe.[23]

Affiliation of genre is also marked by the kind of key words or scenes that we
are comfortable with analysing in poetry, but rarely discuss in prose: *tenuis* and
*miser*, for instance, in love elegy; shipwrecks in epic.[24] Livy again provides con-
venient examples. His frequent use of *intueri* in marked passages, especially in
prefaces and similarly self-reflexive sections, is a demonstrable quotation of
Thucydides' *skopein*, the programmatic word for the historian's alert and judging
gaze. For Livy, who in the preserved books does not enjoy the possibility of au-
topsy, that gaze becomes a metaphor for the critical viewpoint that he brings to

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**21** On the Sallustian intertext's marking a new beginning, see Martin—Woodman 1989, 14; they
do not go as far as I do in seeing it as signaling a new generic approach.

**22** Livy 21.1.1 *In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi
plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me
scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. nam neque ua-
lidiores opibus ullae inter se ciuitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum unquam
uirium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant
bello, et adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt*; cf.
Thuc. 1.1.1–2 Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς
ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ
ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι
παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκάτερους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ
καὶ διανοούμενον. Κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων,
ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. See most recently Levene 2010, 9 n.13, though he
downplays the Thucydidean reference.

**23** Kraus 1994, 15–17.

**24** For key words see the brilliant discussion of Bramble 1974; for storms in epic see Morford
1967, Hardie 1986, 90–7.

his material—the repeated use of *intueri* a claim to the same monumental *ktema es aiei* as his Athenian precursor.[25] It marks, therefore, the historian *qua* histor-ian, and anchors his genre in a literary tradition. Conventional scenes, or *topoi*, also ground a text generically: one thinks, e.g., especially of sieges and city sacks, whose *de rigeur* presence in historiographical narrative has been well studied.[26]

Second, *historia* incorporates—or grows around—sub-types or sub-genres ranging from epigraphical writing to paradoxography to oratory to ethnogra-phy.[27] Understanding these as contributing to or constituting history's origins (as in Jacoby's model[28]) emphasizes their role in the production of a new genre, but reduces the impact of their continuing function as part of the genre's mature constellation; I would rather consider them as active constituents of *his-toria*, albeit constitutents possessing their own generic expectations and audi-ence interactions. These are often signaled with markers that both alert an audi-ence to expect something different, and also remind us that most historiograph-ical sub-genres enjoy an independent (para)literary existence. Ethnography is perhaps the easiest type to spot: topic headings such as *situs* and *gentes*, key words such as *mos* or *consuetus*, paradoxographical labels such as *miraculum* (the Herodotean 'thauma'), and indications of measurement or specialized vo-cabulary can all play a part in configuring a section of historiographical narra-tive as ethnographical, whether digressive or not.[29] Embedded speech (and here I mean particularly *oratio recta*) is set off by the presence of internal audi-ences; by syntax, particles, and sentence structure different from those of the

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**25** Moles 2009 (orig. 1993), 74; Kraus 1994, 14, 84–5, 171.

**26** Paul 1982; Rossi 2003, 181–6; Kraus 2009, 172. That they are expected is indicated e.g. by Livy's introduction to the first city fall in his *History* (barring Troy's capture in the work's first ablative absolute, 1.1.1 *Troia capta*): the destruction of Alba Longa was *not* like an *urbs capta*—but even the sack that wasn't there is described: *non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pauor qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisue ariete muris aut arce ui capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet* (1.29.2–3). On this scene's possible roots in Ilioupersis narratives see Ogilvie 1970, 120 *ad loc*.

**27** Most also seem to have developed before, or contemporaneously with, *historia*; in this they differ from Fowler's sub-genres (Fowler 1982, 111–18, 158–9, 274, and Index *s.v.*). On these sub-types as stylistic elements of historiographical language see Kraus 2011.

**28** Most clearly explained by Marincola 1999, 283–90; see also Fornara 1988. Jacoby's sub-genres are mythography/genealogy, ethnography, chronography, contemporary history, horo-graphy/local history.

**29** See most recently Kraus 2011, 421; an often cited sketch of ethnographical language is Thomas 1982. For non-digressive ethnography cf. Caes. *BG* 1.1 (which by evoking the geographic *commentarius* sets up the whole work as an outline of conquest: Rüpke 1992).

surrounding narrative; and by a whole battery of conventional introductory and closural phrases.[30]

To conclude, I will take two paragraphs from Caesar's narrative of his first invasion of Britain as an example of how *historia* and its congeners play generic games with its reader. I have chosen Caesar partly because I enjoy reading him; but also because this is still not an obvious text to look at when thinking about variety and poly-generic play—but it can repay such attention. The episode in question comprises an attempt to land Roman soldiers on the south coast of Britain (*BG* 4.24 – 5):

> At barbari consilio Romanorum **cognito**, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque **genere** in proeliis **uti consuerunt**, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros nauibus egredi prohibebant. erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naues propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem **ignotis** locis, impeditis manibus, magno et graui onere armorum pressis simul et de nauibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi omnibus membris expeditis, **notissimis** locis audacter tela conicerent et equos **insuefactos** incitarent. quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque huius omnino **generis** pugnae **imperiti** non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus **uti** proeliis **consuerant**, **utebantur.**
>
> Quod ubi Caesar **animaduertit**, naues longas, quarum et species erat barbaris **inusitatior** et motus ad **usum** expeditior, paulum remoueri ab onerariis nauibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoueri iussit. quae res magno **usui** nostris fuit. nam et nauium figura et remorum motu et **inusitato genere** tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulerunt. at nostris militibus cunctantibus maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, obtestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eueniret, 'desilite' inquit 'commilitones, nisi uultis aquilam hostibus prodere; ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero.' hoc cum uoce magna dixisset, se ex naui proiecit atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, uniuersi ex naui desiluerunt. hos item ex proximis [primis] nauibus cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus adpropinquauerunt.[31]

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**30** Again, Livy provides many examples: see Dangel 1982 and Utard 2004 (discussing especially Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus). For conventional devices and forms that structure, retard, and advance the historiographical narrative, see especially Chausserie-Laprée 1969.

**31** 'The barbarians, however, had grasped the Romans' strategy, and sent their cavalry on ahead, and their charioteers, which is their usual custom to use in battle. They followed on with the rest of their forces and prevented our men from disembarking. This led to extreme difficulty, because the ships were too large to be beached except in deep water, while our soldiers, ignorant of the land, their hands full, weighed down by the size and weight of their weapons at one and the same time had to jump down from the ships, find their feet in the surf, and fight the enemy. The Britons, on the other hand, were either on dry ground or in shallow water, their limbs unencumbered, the ground very familiar. They cast missiles boldly and spurred on their horses, which were well used to such work. This led to panic among our men, who were wholly

The two sequential paragraphs narrate a very similar pattern of events: one side notices the other's behavior; they employ a particular set of manouevres; the Romans are kept from disembarking; finally, a change is brought about. Yet the chapters are generically very different. Crudely put, 4.24 is *commentarius*; 4.25 is *historia*. And though it will take the Romans one more chapter successfully to fight their way to shore (26.5 *nostri simul in arido constiterunt*),[32] the solution reached in chapter 25 turns the tide for our heroes, justifying the story's elevation into a grander, recognizably historiographical style.

I begin with the similarities between the two paragraphs, which invite us to read them together. Similarities of theme include the overall narrative pattern, just described; the density of words for 'custom,' knowledge, and familiarity (underlined in the passage above); and the pendant of 24.4 *non eadem alacritate* ~ 25.5 *cohortati inter se. Alacritas* is the reaction one customarily sees at the end of an exhortation; in the *BG*, a good example comes after Caesar's encouragement at Vesontio: 1.41.1 *Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conuersae sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi inlata est.*[33] When the *cohortatio* does finally come, at 25.5, it lets us see that the earlier absence of eagerness also implied a lack of encouragement.

There are also many similarities of language and style linking the two chapters, including: the ring around the two paragraphs formed by *subsecuti* (the

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unaccustomed to this style of fighting, and thus did not all display the same eagerness and enthusiasm as they habitually did in infantry engagements. (25) When Caesar observed this he gave orders for the warships, which were of a type less familiar to the barbarians and more manoeuvrable at need, to be moved a short distance from the transport vessels, rowed at speed, and halted on the enemy's exposed flank. From there the enemy could be repelled and driven off with slings, arrows, and missiles. This act was of great assistance to our men. The barbarians were thrown into a panic by the appearance of the ships, the movement of the oars, and the unfamiliar type of missiles used. They halted and then retreated a short distance. Meanwhile our soldiers were hesitating, chiefly because the sea was so deep; then the man who carried the Eagle of the Tenth legion appealed to the gods to see that his action turned out well for the legion, and said, "Jump down, fellow soldiers, unless you want to betray our Eagle to the enemy—I at least shall have done my duty to the Republic and to my commander." He cried these words in a loud voice, then flung himself away from the ship and began to carry the Eagle towards the enemy. Then our men urged each other to prevent such a disgrace and all together jumped down from the ship. When the men who were on the nearest ships saw them do this, they followed them and drew close to the enemy' (translation Hammond 1996, with modifications; the Latin text is Hering's).

**32** 4.26 bears a strong narrative similarity to 24 and 25, but what is missing is the key, and dramatic, leap from the ships.

**33** 'At the end of this speech the change of attitude was quite remarkable, and there arose an immense enthusiasm and eagerness to start the campaign.'

enemy following the Romans, 24.1 ~ the Romans following their own leaders, 25.6); the repeated detail of the depth of the sea (24.2 *in alto*, *in fluctibus*, 25.3 *propter altitudinem maris*[34]) and the echo of *desiliendum* (24.2) by *desilite* (25.3). Alongside these parallels, however, generic conventions guide us to very different readings.

4.24 opens with a prominent ethnographical gesture to the famous Celtic war chariots, which appear first here in extant literary Latin, and to which Caesar draws attention with *quo … consuerunt*.[35] The 'type of fighting,' which is picked up again at the end of the paragraph (24.4 *huius … generis pugnae*), encloses a remarkable density of words indicating familiarity, habituation, and their opposites.[36] One thing this description does is to anchor the Britons to their landscape (*ex arido … in aquam … notissimis locis*) and their own customs, establishing how different those are from the Romans'.

What the Romans are used to is given in the tricolon of gerundives representing the tasks in front of them: *simul … desiliendum … consistendum … pugnandum* (24.2). The language is typical of the Caesarian *commentarius*, and constructs the soldiers as a group accustomed to discipline and typical actions. The famous passage describing the attack of the Nervii is illustrative (*BG* 2.20.1): *Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: uexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne cum ad arma concurri oporteret; signum tuba dandum; ab opere reuocandi milites; qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi; acies instruenda; milites cohortandi; signum dandum*.[37] Though here the language of necessary action is applied to Caesar himself, as the narrative continues, it is clear that it is precisely the familiarity of these orders that makes them work: 2.20.3 *his difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod superior-*

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**34** One might include here 24.2 *propter magnitudinem,* which by picking up on the words for depth/height suggests that the size of the ships parallels the depth of the sea.

**35** *TLL s.u.* cites earlier only Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.2 and 7.10.2, both dating from 54 BCE and addressed to Trebatius Testa, jokingly mentioning the British chariots. Both the Ciceronian passages and the tease here at 4.24.1 imply that these were well known, at least as an ethnographic flag; one might compare the British use of woad, which turns up repeatedly in ethno-geographical descriptions (McKeown 1998, 358 *ad* Ov. *Am.* 2.16.39 – 40, Carr 2005, 278). Caesar describes the *genus pugnae* more fully later, at 4.33; see further Rice Holmes 1907, 674 – 7; Riggsby 2006, 57; Woodman–Kraus 2014, *ad* Tac. *Agr.* 12.1 and 35.3.

**36** These continue until 25.2; at 25.3 *at nostris* there is a sudden break. For 25.1 – 2 see below, 428 – 9.

**37** 'Caesar had to do everything at once. The flag must be unfurled (this was the signal to stand to arms), the trumpet sounded; the soldiers must be recalled from working on the defences, and all those who had gone some way off in search of material for the earthworks had to be ordered back to camp. He must draw up his battle line, encourage the men, give the signal.'

*ibus proeliis exercitati quid fieri oporteret non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant.*[38] And indeed (to return to Britain), in keeping with that sense of organized Roman action, all the actors in 4.24 are plurals: *barbari, Romani, nostri, milites, hostes*, collective entities typical of military narrative and especially typical of the Caesarian *commentarius*, which tends to grant individuality to only a very select few.[39]

The game changes at 25.1 with the name 'Caesar'[40] He is of course the hero of his *commentarius*; when he appears in person, it often—though not always—signals a *peripeteia* (so, famously, *BG* 5.48.10, 7.87.3 – 88.3). In 25, however, the name will have a more particular force. Though the plurals continue—*barbari, hostes, nostri, barbari*—Caesar's appearance brings about one immediate and marked change: the double use of *inusitatus* (25.1, 2). Its two occurrences frame the explanation of how Caesar brings the *barbari* to a stop (25.2 *constiterunt*), and it picks up the 'custom' words in the previous paragraph. There is a notable difference, however. *Inusitatus* is most at home in descriptions of startling marvels (*TLL* VII.2.ii.273.6 – 82): so, e. g., Curtius uses it of a beast (4.4 *belua inusitatae magnitudinis*) and Seneca of a man behaving like a strange creature (*De ira* 3.17 *in cauea uelut nouum aliquod animal et inusitatum diu pauit*); it occurs in Livy *periocha* 13, of elephants; and Caesar has it once elsewhere in the *BG*, of a war tower moving as if by magic toward an enemy town (2.31.1 *noua atque inusitata specie commoti*, cf. 31.2 *non ... Romanos sine ope diuina bellum gerere*).[41] The comparative form here at 25.1 is a *hapax* in Latin before Augustine. The word moves the 'scholarly' ethnographical notations that frame 24 (*quo plerumque genere ... uti consuerunt*; *quo ... uti consuerunt*) into a kind of ethnographic shock, the realm of the wondrous—that is, it lifts the narrative away from *commentarius* toward *historia*.[42]

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**38** 'Two factors counterbalanced these difficulties: the knowledge and experience of Caesar's men. Their training in previous battles had taught them what needed to be done, so that they could just as easily devise their own orders as receive them from others.'

**39** On Caesar's treatment of his subordinates see Welch 1998.

**40** Unobstrusively parallel with *barbari* in 24.1: *At* **barbari** *consilio Romanorum* **cognito** ~ *Quod ubi* **Caesar animaduertit**; for the syntactical equivalence of *quod*-clause and ablative absolute, see Spilmann 1932, 178 – 80, 184 – 90. 'Caesar' was last named at 22.2, last referred to at 23.6 *constituit*.

**41** It occurs again at *BC* 3.47.1, also of war engines (*Erat noua et inusitata belli ratio cum tot castellorum numero tantoque spatio et tantis munitionibus et toto obsidionis genere*). See further Schiesaro 2009, 71 on a similar metapoetic use of *usitata* at Hor. *Odes* 2.20.1.

**42** On the role of ethnographical wonders and the paradoxographical in *historia* see Gabba 1981.

The other semantic sphere in which *inusitatus* is extremely common, of course, is in application to vocabulary and style (*TLL* VII.2.ii.272.44–70). So, for example, it marks the striking beginning of *pro Archia*, where Cicero asks forbearance for using *prope nouo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi*. And indeed, immediately after its use here, Caesar's narrative style changes irrevocably: someone speaks out loud (25.3).[43] This is the first time *oratio recta* is used in the *Bellum Gallicum*, making *inquit* literally an *inusitatum uerbum* at this point in the text.[44] With the direct speech, the specificity heralded by the use of Caesar's *cognomen* at 25.1 is fully deployed. One actor steps forward from the chorus of *milites*: he is not named but his precise legion is given, as is his function.[45] Specificity continues with *praestitero*, the future perfect used in a declarative sentence in place of the simple future, a feature of 'Umgangssprache' found only here in Caesar (Kräner *et al. ad loc*). Finally, the act of speaking completes the promise given by *inusitatior*, which encodes not only the shock of the new but the effect of that shock on an audience (someone's habits are being shaken up): there the Britons (25.1 *barbaris inusitatior ... inusitato genere ... permoti barbari*), here—us.[46] Characterization—individual action—dynamic leadership—audience involvement: all these elevate the style of chapter 25.

One last observation. The gerundives of 4.24 are, as we saw, typical of the *commentarius*, indeed of its self-representation: the passage from *BG* 2.20 (quoted above, 427) shows us the author Caesar self-consciously describing the job of the 'Caesar' in this narrative. But the *aquilifer* appeals to a different register, not to the chain of command and routine military 'must do's,' but to the theoretical basis for them: *officium* (25.3 *ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero*). That is a word that one can write a treatise about; and it is perhaps unsurprising that it occurs much more often in the *Bellum ciuile*, where Roman values and obligations are constantly on show, than in the *Bellum Galli-*

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**43** Note also that all the words for 'familiar' or 'accustomed' disappear at 25.3.

**44** For *o.r.* in Caesar see the study of Rasmussen 1963. Riggsby 2006, 141–2 argues that direct speech is not necessarily foreign to the *commentarius*, and he is certainly right to emphasize that there is no traceable development in Caesar from one genre to another. But we definitely have a self-consciously marked change at 25.3, which I would see as generic experimentation. The use of *commilitones*—if the text is right—further affiliates him with the work's main actor; for Caesar's fondness for that term see Kraus 1994, 173 with refs.

**45** Cf. also the *aquilifer* at *BC* 3.64.3. Caesar does sometimes name these men, e.g. *BC* 3.53.4 (Scaeva), 3.91 (Crastinus, with *oratio recta*). See Batstone and Damon 2006, 135–6.

**46** It is implied that the Romans experience the terror of the unknown at 24.4, but Caesar is careful grammatically to separate their fear (*quibus rebus nostri perterriti*) from their unfamiliarity (**atque** *huius omnino generis pugnae imperiti*). On fear in Caesar's battle descriptions see Lendon 1999.

*cum*. When it does occur in the latter, it tends to cluster: in the parley between Caesar and Ariovistus in Book 1 (along with *ratio, beneficia, munera*) and in the negotiations with Gallic tribes in Book 5, usually in the phrase *in offico continere* etc. (5.3.3 *in officio futuros*, 3.6 *ciuitatem in officio contineret*, 4.2 *in officio maneret*, 7.3 *ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret*, 54.1 *magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit*). It is marked here, then, in the *aquilifer*'s mouth, as a trace of a more elevated sphere of discourse, that of diplomacy, political philosophy, and ideals.

That Caesar is a subtle and self-reflexive writer no longer needs much argument. I hope to have provided here some more evidence of his remarkable ability to use his famous *elegantia*, or choice of appropriate language, in the construction of a text in which there is much more going on generically than first meets the eye.

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# Tacitean Fusion: Tiberius the Satirist?

**Abstract:** This article explores the idea that Tacitus frequently endows his Tiberius with the distinctive voice of the Roman satirist. By working with the methodological framework formulated by Maria Plaza in her 2006 study of satire as a genre, this article argues that at some points in *Annals* 1–6 (particularly *Annals* 1–3), Tacitus' Tiberius takes on the role of alienated satirist within the text, directing his criticism towards the centre from outside ('object-oriented humour'), while at other points (particularly *Annals* 4–6), he himself serves as a satirical target for other characters in the narrative ('subject-directed humour'). In particular, Tacitus' version of Tiberius letter of guidance to the senate about how to deal with the problems of luxuriousness and expenditure (*Annals* 3.53–4) offers a fruitful illustration of these creative techniques in action. The letter demonstrates Tacitus' deft and creative techniques in fusing the genres of satire and historiography to shape Tiberius as a vibrant character and to add substance to the emperor's own distinctive brand of *indignatio*.

**Keywords:** Tacitus, Tiberius, Satire, Historiography, Genre, Letters

## Introduction

In Suetonius, Augustus near the end of his principate comments acidly about his imminent successor, Tiberius: *miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit*, 'Poor Roman people, who will be crushed by such slow moving jaws!' (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 21.2). In this extraordinary image, Tiberius is a cannibalistic monster feasting at leisure on the wretched Roman people. The formulation has striking political connotations, reflecting a rich, pervasive range of metaphors with the emperor as 'head' and the people as 'body'.[1] Here, we see the 'head' shockingly consuming its own 'body', rather as Ovid's Erysichthon does

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**1** Cf. Tacitus *A.* 1.12.3, *unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum*, 'the body of the state was a single entity and needed to be ruled by the mind of one individual'. See Corbeill 1996, 99–127 who usefully discusses republican images of the mouth used in various pejorative ways, and Ash 1997, 196–8 for the political imagery of heads and bodies.

(*ipse suos artus lacero diuellere morsu | coepit et infelix minuendo corpus alebat*, 'he himself began to rip apart his own limbs with tearing bites, and the poor wretch was nourishing his body by diminishing it', Ovid *Met.* 8.877–8).[2] The image of Tiberius' slow-moving jaws chewing on the Roman people also opens the register of civil war: 'Cannibalism is … the barbaric, anarchic force at the heart of civil war'.[3] Now, expressive metaphors of food, appetite, and eating as symbols of deviant tenure of imperial power are pervasive in Classical literature.[4] Yet we must also consider questions of genre here. Augustus' caustic remark has links with a specific comment of the Neronian satirist Persius about the grandfather of satire, Lucilius: *secuit Lucilius urbem, | te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis*, 'Lucilius carved up the city – you, Lupus, and you, Mucius – and broke his molars on them' (Persius, *Satire* 1.114–15). Although the tone differs in each case (Augustus snipes, whereas Persius admires), Tiberius and Lucilius are linked through imagery, as we see both men chewing the city of Rome and her people. This arresting conceptual link between emperor and satirist raises an intriguing question. Is Tiberius conceptualised elsewhere in the literary tradition as having a distinctively satirical voice, as speaking in a way evocative of satire as a genre? This paper will argue that he does, particularly in Tacitus, whose Tiberius embodies a memorable generic fusion between historiography and satire in one particular letter at *Annals* 3.53–4.[5]

Nobody would deny the general power of Tiberius' acerbic, ironising voice in Tacitus.[6] Whether in damning one-liners or longer utterances, Tiberius caustically unmasks the hypocrisies and veiled ambitions of the parasitic vultures clustering around the *princeps*. Indeed, the emperor often almost stands outside the

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**2** Cf. Seneca the Elder, *Contr.* 3.7 on the mad son poisoned by his father to stop him tearing his own flesh. Seneca quotes the orator Alfius Flavus' epigram: *ipse sui et alimentum erat et damnum.*

**3** Rimell 2002, 178. On the metaphor of the human body for the body-politic, see further Sennett 1994.

**4** See especially Woodman 2006, who considers Tacitus' account of the year 33 and its complex metaphors involving food, culminating in *Annals* 6.20.2, Tiberius' sardonic and allusive '*et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium*', 'You too Galba will one day taste command'.

**5** Barchiesi 2001 discusses such generic fusion. Tiberius certainly deploys language from another genre, comedy: Suetonius *Tib.* 32 (the verb *deglubo*; cf. Plautus *Poen.* 1321), Tac. *A.* 3.54.1 *morbos auctos* (cf. Terence *Hec.* 334, *morbus … auctus*), Tac. *A.* 3.6.3 *proin* instead of *proinde* (Plautus likes *proin*; Miller (1968) 16), Tac. *A.* 3.54.5, 6.38 *satias* (Plautus *Pseudolus* 334), Tac. *A.* 3.69 *popularitas* (Plautus *Poen.* 1041), Tac. *A.* 4.16.3 *demutari* (an archaism, 9x in Plautus), Tac. *A.* 6.6 and Suet. *Tib.* 67 *di … deaeque* (frequent in Plautus and Terence, Miller 1968, 18; Levick 1978, 95–101).

**6** Miller 1968, Levick 1978, and Wharton 1997 consider Tiberius' speech. Clift 1999 analyses verbal irony from the perspective of linguistics.

narrative looking in, revealing by pointed comment the corruption of the principate, and playing a similar, though not identical role to the historian Tacitus himself. Tacitus' Tiberius is certainly an imaginatively embellished character with his own place in the historical text, but in generic terms, Tacitus' Tiberius has a distinctive voice, highly evocative of satire. Scholars have highlighted this generic fusion before. So, Morello analysing Tiberius' letters in *Annals* 1–6 observes that Tacitus, in shaping Tiberius as an internal epistolographer, 'endows upon the emperor a satirist's voice in the mocking, invective-laden letters he attributes to him'.[7] Furthermore, generic blending has also been detected between the authorial voices of Tacitus and Juvenal as historian and satirist respectively: 'Tacitus and Juvenal could be regarded as parallel and coeval phenomena. Style, tone, and sentiments are comparable'.[8] Imperial historiography conceived by Tacitus (both in *res* and particularly *uerba*) appears to deploy creative techniques which overlap provocatively with satire. So Juvenal's complaint *semper ego auditor tantum?*, 'Am I always only to be a listener? (*Sat.* 1.1) can be compared with Tacitus' fifteen-year enforced silence under Domitian highlighted in the *Agricola* and delivered *uel incondita ac rudi uoce*, 'in however crude and rough a voice' (*Agr.* 3.3). Both Juvenal and Tacitus position themselves as moving from being passive *auditores* to actively denouncing the greed, hypocrisy, and social injustices around them.

We mentioned just now that Tiberius sometimes seems almost to stand outside the narrative looking in. Now, for significant sections of *Annals* 1–6 that is literally true, as he escapes from Rome for periods of self-imposed exile. This distancing potentially contributes to Tiberius' satirical voice. In practical terms, Tiberius' physical distance from the centre of power in Rome obliges him to write letters, so that he becomes an 'internal writer' within the narrative and inscribes his own written version of satire in the text. We can also consider Tiberius' situation from a theoretical angle. Plaza helpfully distinguishes between importantly different (but co-existing) orientations of humour within satire. The first involves 'object-oriented humour', where the satirist directs his attack either from a lowly position or from the stance of excluded outsider.[9] Plaza's second category ('subject-directed' humour) involves humour directed against the central narrative *persona* as target, whether through self-irony or through other characters within the text attacking the satirist.[10] At different moments, Tacitus' Tiberius seems to demonstrate both Plaza's categories of satirical humour in action; indeed, as the

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**7** Morello 2006, 335.

**8** Syme 1958, 500.

**9** Plaza 2006, 53–166.

**10** Plaza 2006, 167–256.

hexad unfolds and Tiberius' principate deteriorates, 'object-oriented' humour from Tiberius himself as alienated satirist within Tacitus' text (esp. *Annals* 1–3) shifts increasingly towards 'subject-directed' attacks against him by third-parties in the historical narrative (esp. *Annals* 4–6), such as Passienus' snub that *neque meliorem umquam seruum neque deteriorem dominum*, 'never had there been a better slave [Caligula] or a worse master [Tiberius]' (*A*. 6.20.1).[11]

## Tiberius' Satirical Letter

Let us consider some 'object-oriented' humour from Tiberius as alienated satirist, in particular Tacitus' imaginative reconstruction of a letter, which constitutes Tiberius' 'longest utterance in *oratio recta* in the *Annals*'.[12] Tacitus' narrative of AD 22 opens with a wide-reaching discussion of expenditure and luxury goods. The senators, prompted by zealous aediles concerned that the sumptuary law is being spurned, passively turn over the problem to Tiberius.[13] So the emperor, absent in Campania, writes a letter of guidance to the senate (*A*. 3.53–4). Since Tiberius has just been called *princeps antiquae parsimoniae*, 'emperor of old-fashioned frugality' (*A*.3.52.1), we might expect a harsh response. Yet instead, he urges inaction as the best course of action. His letter on this whole issue can be read as an engaging piece of miniaturised satire. Of course, satire likes the topic of over-indulgence in gastronomic delights amongst the highest echelons of society, particularly if the pleasure-seekers try to hide their propensities.[14] Juvenal *Satire* 11.56–9 is one instance:

> experiere hodie nunquid pulcherrima dictu,
> Persice, non praestem uita et moribus et re,
> si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
> coram aliis dictem, puero sed in ore placentas.

> 'You will be able to check today, dear Persicus, whether in my life and conduct I fail to practice those high-sounding precepts, praising pulse though at heart a glutton; ordering porridge when people are listening, but whispering "cakes" in my serving boy's ear'.

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**11** Emperors naturally featured as targets in satire too (Braund 1993).
**12** Woodman and Martin 1996, 384.
**13** The whole question of legislating to curb luxury had been taken up only six years earlier in AD 16. Then, Tiberius had closed down discussion by suggesting that now was not the time for a review, but that if the problem worsened, an 'instigator of reform' (*corrigendi auctor, A.* 2.33.4) would not be lacking.
**14** The eleven surviving fragments of Lucilius *Satires* Book 13 seem to be about contemporary indulgence in luxury goods and gastronomic delights.

This question of outer appearance versus inner reality may even be raised in Tacitus' introduction to the letter, when the otherwise unknown aedile, Bibulus, conspicuously named, complains about the current *luxus mensae*: Woodman and Martin point to the wryly significant name suggestive of over-indulgent drinking, which adds a satirical undercurrent even before Tiberius' letter is introduced.[15]

What about the letter itself? It runs as follows:

A [53.1] ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expediat me coram interrogari et dicere quid e re publica censeam: in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne, denotantibus uobis ora ac metum singulorum qui pudendi luxus arguerentur, ipse etiam uiderem eos ac uelut deprenderem. [53.2] quod si mecum ante uiri strenui, aediles, consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius praeualida et adulta uitia quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. B [53.3] sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere uelim: mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partes sustineo. maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius inuidia ab omnibus peccatur.

C [53.4] quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? uillarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula? promiscas uiris et feminis uestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostiles gentis transferuntur?

[54.1] nec ignoro in conuiuiis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci: set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, idem illi ciuitatem uerti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabunt. atqui ne corporis quidem morbos ueteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas: corruptus simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud leuioribus remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit. [54.2] tot a maioribus repertae leges, tot quas diuus Augustus tulit, illae obliuione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere. nam si uelis quod nondum uetitum est, timeas ne uetere: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est.

D [54.3] cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis ciues eramus; ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. externis uictoriis aliena, ciuilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. [54.4] quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera respicias, in leui habendum! at hercule nemo refert quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod uita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie uoluitur. ac nisi prouinciarum copiae et dominis et seruitiis et agris subuenerint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque uillae tuebuntur.

[54.5] hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pauperes necessitas, diuites satias in melius mutet. aut si quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac seueritatem pollicetur ut ire obuiam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor: [54.6] sin accusare uitia uolunt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt, simultates faciunt

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**15** Woodman and Martin 1996, 381.

ac mihi relinquunt, credite, patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum auidum; quas cum graues et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, inanes et inritas neque mihi aut uobis usui futuras iure deprecor.

'**A** [53.1] In perhaps all other matters, conscript fathers, it would be more expedient if I were present to be questioned and to say what I recommend in the interests of the state; but on this motion it is better that my eyes be withdrawn, lest, as you mark the dread on the faces of those individuals who deserve criticism for their shameful luxuriousness, I myself should see them too and (as it were) apprehend them. **B** [53.2] Yet if those energetic men, the aediles, had had a consultation with me beforehand, I would probably have urged them to ignore rampant and mature vices, rather than pursue a course which revealed outrages for which we were no match. [53.3] But they at least have performed their duty, as I would wish the other magistrates too to fulfil their responsibilities; in my case, however, it is neither honourable to keep silent nor expeditious to speak out, because I do not undertake the role of aedile or praetor or consul. Something greater and loftier is demanded from a *princeps;* and although each person arrogates to himself the credit for his correct actions, malpractice by all results in one man's being resented.

**C** [53.4] For what should I first attempt to prohibit and prune back to its old-time condition? The boundless expanses of villas? The number and nationalities of establishments? The weight of silver and gold? The wonders of bronze and of pictures? The indiscriminate clothing of males and females for which our money is transferred to foreign or enemy peoples?

[54.1] I am not unaware that during dinner parties and discussions, those things are censured and a limit is sought; but if anyone were to sanction a law and impose a penalty, those same people will cry repeatedly that the community is being overthrown, that extermination is intended for all the brightest, and that no one is exempt from a charge. And yet not even in the case of the body could you inhibit chronic and far-advanced diseases except by harsh and rough treatment; corrupted and corruptive alike, sick and inflamed, the mind is not to be cooled down by remedies lighter than the lusts with which it burns. [54.2] The many laws devised by our ancestors, the many which the Divine Augustus carried, are inoperative, the former through oblivion, the latter (which is more outrageous) through contempt, making luxuriousness a matter of less concern. For, should you want what is not yet forbidden, there is always the fear that it may be forbidden; but, if you pass across prohibited areas with impunity, no dread lies beyond nor shame.

**D** [54.3] Why, then, was frugality once a force? Because each man restrained himself, because we were citizens of a single City; there were not even the same incitements when we were masters only within Italy: it is by foreign victories that we have learned to use others' products, by civil-war victories to use up our own also. [54.4] How trivial is that issue of yours, about which the aediles warn! How lightly, if you consider everything else, it is to be regarded! As Hercules is my witness, no one brings a motion to the effect that Italy needs foreign supplies, that the livelihood of the Roman people pitches daily through the uncertainties of sea and storms! And if the provinces' resources do not come to the aid of masters and slaves and fields, it is evidently our copses and our villas that will protect us!

[54.5] This, conscript fathers, is the concern which a *princeps* undertakes; this, if neglected, will drag the state down to the ground. For other things the remedy must be within the mind: let ourselves be changed for the better by shame, the poor by necessity, the rich by satiety. Alternatively, if any of the magistrates guarantees such industriousness and

strictness that he is able to confront the issue, I both praise him and acknowledge that he is disburdening part of my labours. [54.6] If, on the other hand, they want merely to accuse vices and later, when they have acquired the glory for that, they create feuds which they leave to me, then, believe me, conscript fathers, I too am not greedy for affronts to be leveled at me. Although I accept the risk of them, despite their severity and frequent unfairness, for the good of the state, I rightly decline those which are unavailing and unprofitable, likely to be of no use to myself or you'.

<div align="right">(Tacitus <em>Annals</em> 3.53 – 4, trans. A.J. Woodman)</div>

Tiberius' opening [A] pointedly contrasts *ceterae res* ('other matters'), where his imperial presence might protect the state's interests, and *haec relatio* ('this motion'), where his absence is preferable, since it prevents him from seeing the senators' accusing stares gazing at guilty individuals in their midst. Here Tiberius conjures up the type of *occultus ganeo* ('secret glutton') whose hypocritical behaviour so irritates Juvenal in *Satire* 11.[16] We might remember too that when the problem was discussed previously in the *Annals*, 'easy assent to Gallus was provided by his listeners' confessing to similar vices **under honourable names'** (*facile adsensum Gallo **sub nominibus honestis** confessio uitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit*, *A.* 2.33). This hypocrisy also recalls Juvenal's target in *Satire* 2, the vocal moralists pretending to uphold strict standards while themselves indulging in dubious practices. This phenomenon naturally vexes the speaker, keen to flee to the ends of the earth, *quotiens aliquid de moribus audent | qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia uiuunt*, 'whenever those who pretend to be Curii and live like Bacchanals have the gall to utter on morals' (Juvenal, *Satire* 2.2 – 3). Juvenal's speaker wants to flee such duplicity, just as Tiberius prefers to be absent.[17]

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**16** Cf. Juvenal *Satire* 11.77 – 8: *haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus | cena fuit*, 'That was the kind of dinner, quite lavish by then, which the senate would eat in days gone by'.

**17** The issue of the relative dates of Tacitus and Juvenal is relevant here. Syme 1958, 776 – 7 cautiously suggests that 'there is no proof that Juvenal published anything earlier than 115, perhaps even 117'. Braund 1996, 16 suggests that Juvenal's Books 1 and 2 (comprising *Satires* 1– 6) 'were written in the second decade of the second century AD, towards the end of Trajan's reign, or possibly, soon after Hadrian's accession in AD117'. Clearly it would help my case if Juvenal published the first two books of his *Satires* before Tacitus published the *Annals*, but chronological precision is inevitably elusive here, and the whole issue is complicated by the ancient practice of *recitatio*, to which Juvenal's *Satires* would lend themselves especially well. The dating debate inevitably centres upon Juvenal *Satire* 2.102 – 3, *res memoranda nouis annalibus atque recenti | historia, speculum ciuilis sarcina belli*, 'It is a matter worthy of record in recent annals and modern history, that a mirror was the kit of civil warfare' (sparked by a snapshot of the effeminate Otho). This would suggest that Tacitus published his work before Juvenal.

Next, Tiberius considers the aediles themselves: by calling them *strenui*, 'zealous', he fleetingly seems to commend them, but then promptly criticises their unilateral action. If they had bothered to consult him, he probably would have advised ignoring deep-rooted vices, rather than inadvertently reveal the *flagitia* which they (or in fact 'we' as he says) could not control. The first-person plural here implicitly includes Tiberius himself in those unable to control *flagitia*, pragmatically acknowledging his own limitations in regulating aristocratic *mores*. Tiberius here seems to demote himself in a way that activates Plaza's category of 'object-oriented' humour.

This sense of Tiberius underscoring the limitations of his own power is intriguingly developed in the letter's next section [B]. Tiberius grudgingly concedes that the aediles have done their duty (however ineptly), but in an eloquent chiastic phrase, he sums up his own embarrassing dilemma as *princeps*, which has been thoughtlessly triggered by the aediles' ill-advised actions: for him, keeping silent about the abuses is dishonourable, but speaking out is not easy. He is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, because **he** plays the part of an emperor, not the part of an aedile, praetor, or consul. Woodman and Martin highlight the theatrical metaphor of *non ... partes sustineo*.[18] The language, phrased negatively through the parts which Tiberius is *not* acting, highlights the role he does play, that of *princeps*, from whom something *maius* and *excelsius* is expected. So far, Tiberius has implicitly cast himself as down-to-earth and utilitarian, but he now dons his mask and plays the lofty part of *princeps*. We can compare here an intriguing detail from Suetonius' *Nero* 21.3, where Nero, while on stage playing tragic roles, habitually adopts a mask of his own face: this leads to the complex blurring of identities where Nero the man becomes 'Nero' the character, taking on the role of a fictional figure from the tragic stage.[19] In this letter, as Tiberius the man becomes 'Tiberius' the emperor, he highlights the role-playing by strikingly switching from the first-person pronoun *mihi* to the aggrandising third-person self-reference in *a principe*. This expressive shift recalls Plaza's theorised reading of satire, a genre driven by exaggerated contrasts between heightened objects and lowered satirical *personae* (or 'simulated mockery from below').[20] At this moment, Tiberius, away in Campania, stands on

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18 Woodman and Martin 1996, 386.

19 R. Cowan 2009, 83, discussing Juvenal *Satire* 8, observes: 'Masks and names are both external signifiers, whose relationship to the ostensible signified bearing them the satire calls into question'. Yet where Cowan rightly detects blurred boundaries between Nero (actor) and Orestes (subject), Tacitus' Tiberius seems acutely aware of the difference between himself and his *persona* as *princeps*.

20 Plaza 2006, 56 – 7.

the outside looking in. Tiberius the man adopts the perspective of the 'alienated satirist' from outside, looking up at his own lofty *persona*, 'Tiberius' the emperor. And by saying that something *maius ... et excelsius* is expected from the *princeps*, he raises his readers' expectations that his *alter ego* the *princeps* will deliver something impressive.

What follows therefore causes surprise, as Tiberius ironically accentuates his own *aporia* about which abuse to tackle first. In this section [C], the embedded satirical *color* seems especially vivid. Tiberius' opening barrage of rhetorical questions, so evocative of the satirist's *indignatio* in full flow, denounces by *enumeratio* the showy status symbols of the rich: huge estates, vast numbers of foreign slaves, silver and gold goods, bronze statues, paintings, and expensive effeminate clothing.[21] Even Tiberius' 'catalogue' format, marked by hyperbole and ellipse, typically characterises satirical delivery.[22] More specifically, the metaphorical verb *recidere* recalls Horace *Satires* 1.3.122–4:[23] *et magnis parua mineris | falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum | permittant homines,* 'you threaten that you'd cut away small offences with the same pruning-hook as great ones, were men to grant you regal power'. Horace here attacks extremes of intolerance, urging moderation in punishing faults through legislation. It is particularly apt if Tiberius alludes to this satire in a letter aiming to resist sweeping legislation against luxury. There are further acerbic touches too. Tiberius' irony in highlighting that people apparently complain about luxury while themselves attending dinner-parties (*in conuiuiis*, 3.54.1) develops the theme of hypocrisy raised at the letter's opening. Tiberius then deftly illuminates such people's shallowness by saying that if anyone calls their bluff and passes legislation, these same men (*idem*) will shout out (*clamitabunt*) their objections: his imaginative recreation of their indignant outbursts ridiculously equates sumptuary legislation with the destruction of the state (*ciuitatem uerti*) and indiscriminate death (*exitium parari*) for all.[24]

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**21** Just to give a flavour of the cross-fertilisation, Juvenal focuses on villas (1.94, 10.225, 14.86, 14.140–1, 14.275), the number of slaves (9.64, 9.142), slaves' provenance (11.147), silver-plate (1.75–6, 3.220, 6.355, 7.133, 9.31, 9.141–2, 10.19, 11.41, 12.43, 14.62), gold cups (5.39, 10.27), bronzes (3.217–18), effeminate clothing (2.82–3, 2.91–101), and foreign imports triggering decline (6.292).
**22** Braund 1996, 27 sees repeated rhetorical questions as a hallmark of Juvenal's style and helpfully lists examples from Book One. She also highlights hyperbole and ellipse as typical. 'Rhetorical questions imply and exploit agreement between speaker and audience, and involve the listeners...', Courtney 1980, 37.
**23** Woodman and Martin 1996, 387.
**24** Tacitus strikingly deploys *exitium parari* at *A*. 4.54 (again in T. only at *H*. 4.58) in the context of popular rumours about Tiberius vindictively targeting Agrippina. See too Ennius *Trag.* 328

There are some further generically suggestive features evocative of satire at the end of Tiberius' letter [D]. First, there is a wry self-awareness in Tiberius, the *princeps antiquae parsimoniae* (*A.* 3.52), asking why *parsimonia* once (*olim*) was so powerful: he implicitly suggests that such frugality is now dead and gone, and that he himself is a total outsider.[25] It is pointed too how Tiberius immediately answers his own question by highlighting self-regulation as the key: *parsimonia* flourished before because *sibi quisque moderabatur*. The verb is suggestive: *moderatio* was one of Tiberius' imperial virtues, uniquely prominent during his principate, particularly (but not only) on his coinage.[26] Indeed, *moderatio* was 'Tiberius' distinctive contribution to the ideology of the principate'.[27] Yet here Tiberius the man undermines 'Tiberius' the *princeps*: people formerly regulated their own behaviour, but no longer. This contrast between past and present further constructs Tiberius as a forlorn outsider, parading the virtue of *moderatio* before a hedonistic society. Tiberius also asserts that *parsimonia* prevailed while Romans inhabited a single city with limited resources, until the corrosive influence of foreign victories allowed an influx of luxury goods: we can recall here Juvenal's Syrian river Orontes casting its muck into Rome (*Satire* 3.62) or his assertion that: *saeuior armis | luxuria incubuit*, 'more deadly than weapons, luxury has fallen upon us' (*Satire* 6.292–3).[28] The notion that Roman *mores* decline as the empire expands is not exclusive to satire, but it does feature prominently in that genre.

Finally, there may also be a specific allusion to another satirist, Persius. Tiberius uses two exclamations to pour scorn on the aediles' misplaced concern with *luxus*, when there were far more important things to consider (*quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera respicias, in leui habendum!*). The exclamatory mode is pervasive in satire, contributing to its heightened emotional register.[29] Yet we have a particularly memorable example at the start of Persius' first satire:

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(*exitium parat*), Cicero *Phil.* 7.14 (*paratum illi exitium*), and Apuleius *Met.* 7.11.6 (*exitium mihi parabis*).

**25** The word *parsimonia* features only three times in the first hexad of the *Annals*, all in this section: *A.* 3.52, 3.54, 3.55; and 5x elsewhere, *A.* 12.53, 13.13, 14.21, 14.56, 15.48.

**26** Sutherland 1979, 21–5 summarises modern discussions of Tiberius' so-called *moderatio* coinage and suggests that the most appropriate date was AD21–2. Christes 1994 discusses Tacitus' take on Tiberius' *moderatio*.

**27** E. Cowan 2009, 482.

**28** Or even indeed Tacitus' own picture of Rome's centripetal force as a city *quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque*, 'where everything frightful or shameful, of whatever provenance, converges and is celebrated' (*A.* 15.44).

**29** Braund 1996, 27. Cf. *Sat.* 1.92, 1.140–1, 5.24, 5.132–4, 6.47, 6.151, 6.254–7, 6.317–19, 6.531, 9.59–60, 10.67–8, 10.157–8, 10.190–1, 14.152, 14.221–2, 15.10–11.

> O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!
> 'quis leget haec?' min tu istud ais? nemo hercule ...

> 'O the woes of men! O what a great void in their affairs!
> "Who'll read this?" Are you saying this to me? By Hercules, nobody [will read it] ...'

Despite the obvious anachronism of Tacitus' Tiberius alluding to the Neronian satirist Persius here, this apparently is what he does. Tiberius' double exclamation (*quantulum ... quam*) stylistically mirrors Persius' double exclamation (*O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!*), and Tiberius' *hercule nemo* echoes Persius' *nemo hercule*. Moreover, Persius' opening line, denouncing the trivial concerns of men, and Tiberius' own frustration at the aediles' unimportant (*quantulum*) and lightweight (*in leui*) preoccupations manifest a strong conceptual interconnection. Also, the imagined interjection from Persius' interlocutor about **reading** is apt, given that Tiberius is writing a letter.[30]

If Tacitus **does** align Tiberius' written voice with Persius, we must consider why he does this. Scholars widely accentuate Persius' eccentric, difficult Latin. So, Gowers comments: 'The language of Persius' philosophy, Stoicism, is no longer inane verbiage, as Horace represented it, but a tightly knotted, unparaphrasable riddle, which we must work to decipher'.[31] This idea of 'knotted language' needing serious work to decipher applies equally well to Tiberius' own way of speaking. Nor is this only Persian intertext relevant to Tiberius' letter. Persius *Satire* 6 is cast as a letter from Persius on the Ligurian coast, to the lyric poet Caesius Bassus. Its main subject is the wisdom of enjoying one's own possessions without worrying about depriving an heir. It touches upon luxurious living at various points, as when Persius says (6.22–6):

> ... utar,
> nec rhombus ideo libertis ponere lautus

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**30** It is relevant that Persius' cynical interlocutor deflates his grand declamatory opening with a question about whether anyone will actually **read** this resonant opening line. The scholiast says that Persius 1.1 is borrowed from Lucilius, although others posit a Lucretian origin (*DRN* 2.14). Hooley 1997 discusses Persius' intertextual techniques, observing (34) on Persius 1.1: 'The centrality of the idea of imitation is implied at the very outset of Persius' satire, in its energetic statement of theme'. Hendrickson 1928, Zetzel 1977, Kissel 1990, 109–12, Sosin 1999, and Tzounakas 2005, 561 discuss the controversy over the quotation from Lucilius. Freudenburg 2001, 152 suggests that the context for the Lucilius quote involves a frustrated god in the *concilium deorum* scene, which would add further irony: despite Tiberius' god-like position, he cannot get the aediles to do the right thing.
**31** Gowers 1993, 180. Cf. Hooley 1997, 13, 'the fearsome difficulty of Persianic style'; and Miller 2010 on irony as a method of truth-telling in Persius.

nec tenuis sollers turdarum nosse saliuas.
messe tenus propria uiue et granaria (fas est)
emole. quid metuas?

'I will use [my goods] myself, I will use them, but that does not mean that I lavishly lay out turbots for my freedmen, or that I'm an expert at distinguishing the savoury nuances of thrushes. Live as far as your own harvest takes you, and grind out the grain you have stored away – it's allowed! What are you afraid of?'

Persius' relaxed mood emerges powerfully throughout this satire, suggesting that the best way to live is not to stint, but to enjoy what you have, detached from social pressures and the city's showy lifestyle, where gastronomic habits acquire social relevance. This is all relevant to the context of Tiberius' letter at *Annals* 3.53–4. So too is Braund's comment about Persius *Satire* 6:[32]

'The sixth *Satire* is presented as an epistle (following the tradition of Lucilius and Horace) in which withdrawal from Rome to the coast is the logical consequence and physical realisation of the isolation proclaimed throughout in the book, a violent, symbolic expression of independence and detachment from society and its obligations'.

She refers here to Persius the satirist, but her remarks about independence and detachment from society could so easily apply to Tiberius, writing to the senate from his self-imposed separation from Rome in Campania.[33] Persius also seems curiously entangled with our Tiberius if we remember Henderson's shapshot of the Neronian satirist:

'specifically, Persius' writing represents ... a (suitably satiric) "laugh", the "I" laughing: "This laugh of mine" (1.122, *hoc ridere meum*). But it also (suitably) represents "laughs",

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**32** Braund 1996, 14. On *Satire* 6 see too Freudenburg 2001, 195–208, Rudd 2008.
**33** Tacitus records Tiberius' withdrawal to Campania at the start of AD21 (*A.* 3.31), apparently for health reasons, but really as a dry-run for a long, continuous absence; or perhaps to give some room for manoeuvre to Drusus as consul. His absence from Rome until the spring of AD 22 generates seven letters: *A.* 3.32.1 (short: reporting a raid in Africa by Tacfarinas and urging the senate to choose a skilled proconsul), 3.35.1 (short: chastising the senate for referring every matter to him and bidding them select as proconsul either Marcus Lepidus or Junius Blaesus), 3.47.1 (short: Tiberius reports that the war in Africa is over, explaining why he did not intervene himself in the conflict, but suggesting that he might go there now), 3.47.4 (short: Tiberius reprimands the sycophantic proposal that he should enter Rome from Campania to an ovation), 3.53–4 (long: the letter about legislation and *luxuria*), 3.56.1 (short: Tiberius seeks tribunician power for his son Drusus), 3.59.2 (short: Tiberius reprimands the senate's sycophantic response to his request).

laughing *at* "me" ... These laughs, mine and at me, theirs and at them, cue transferential reading though the book'.[34]

Henderson's two categories of 'the "I" laughing' and 'laughing at "me"' apply equally well to Tiberius. From Campania, by letter, distance allows Tiberius to be 'the "I" laughing', but he does so in such a way that he is simultaneously 'laughing at "me"'. Both Tiberiuses co-exist, as we see the alienated satirist laughing at himself as satirised subject.

# Conclusion

It is inevitably tricky to disentangle how far Tiberius **himself** spoke and wrote with an acerbity we associate with satire and how far Tacitus is investing **his** Tiberius with such qualities. Certainly some scholars seeking Tiberian idiolect carefully consider evidence from the ancient texts, but one need not do that to trace a distinctive 'generic hybridisation' in Tacitus' version of Tiberius' letter. Similarly, although we must be wary in generalising about the defining characteristics of a genre as diverse and eclectic as satire, nonetheless modern theoretical readings about the self-positioning of the satirist in relation to his own work can be applied constructively to Tacitus' characterisation of Tiberius. In the memorable letter at *Annals* 3.53–4, we see Tiberius embracing the satirist's perspective and embedding tangible allusions to satire in his written word to highlight the absurdity and claustrophobia of his own position as *princeps*. Although Tiberius the man manages to escape physically from Rome, he never escapes from his *alter ego*, 'Tiberius' the *princeps*, trapped in a flawed imperial system whose agents continually look to the lofty figure of the emperor at every turn. The genre of satire offers Tacitus' alienated Tiberius a perfect medium for articulating his own heartfelt form of *indignatio*. The interaction with satire at *Annals* 3.53–4 excellently demonstrates the essential flexibility of Roman historiography in the hands of its most brilliant practitioner.

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**34** Henderson 1999, 245. See too 247: 'Persius converts *satura*, the silenced public voice that once bespoke the sovereign People of Rome, into a detergent discourse which eats away at the imposition of all authority, including its own, and mobilizes its corrosive power toward teaching citizens to learn for themselves, to take that risk'.

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David Konstan

# *Apollonius King of Tyre*: Between Novel and New Comedy

**Abstract:** Recent studies have shown how the novel simultaneously imitated and transformed the narrative patterns of the comic stage. But so far the anonymous *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* has remained largely neglected in this regard. I argue that this work betrays the specific influence of New Comedy, beyond the mere coincidence of motifs. New Comedy seems to have been the genre in which father-daughter relations were problematized, at least subliminally, and then resolved through various substitutions and displacements. In this respect, it provided the narrative pattern that inspired the author or authors of the *Apollonius*, which explored the theme in new and subtle ways.

In her elegant and in many ways path-breaking study of the sources of the ancient novel, Sophie Trenkner wrote (1958, 146): 'The essential elements, common to the novel and to comedy, amount only to the motifs of abductions, quests, recognitions, adventures such as slavery and chastity preserved, and the separation of the lovers.' This would seem to be quite a lot, but Trenkner notes: 'In comedy they appear in too episodic and too stereotyped a form to provide plots for the genre of pure adventure. The only explanation of their common motifs is that they came from a common source, and that common source was story-telling.' Today, of course, the ways in which we approach the question of influences across genres have changed considerably; more especially, we are accustomed, thanks to Mikhail Bakhtin, to regarding the novel in particular as polyphonic, that is, characterized by the coexistence of a variety of voices deriving from multiple genres, although just how his model applies to the classical form is still debated. As for the ancient novel's debt to comedy, recent studies, such as those by Romain Brethes (2008) for the Greek novel and Regine May (2007) for Apuleius, have shown how the new form simultaneously imitated and transformed the typical narrative patterns of the comic stage. In these new studies, however, one novel has remained largely neglected, and that is the anonymous *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. I believe that this work betrays a more specific influence of New Comedy than the mere coincidence of motifs, and that comedy, or rather a subset

of plot types within the genre, may have contributed the deep structure, as it were, of this Latin novel.[1]

The *Apollonius* (as I shall call it for convenience) has as its organizing principle a horror of sexual desire on the part of an older man for a younger woman. In this, it differs radically from the pattern that informs the five major romantic Greek novels, which are all premised on the reciprocal erotic attraction between a young man and woman, though the hero may be slightly older than the heroine and he may assume, in the end, an ascendant position in the relationship. I have argued that the Greek pattern, with its symmetrical *erôs* leading to marriage, has no antecedents in classical genres, although New Comedy provides a quasi-model in the amorous relationship between a youth and a novice courtesan, who turns out to be a citizen girl and hence eligible to wed (Konstan 1995). But what of the *Apollonius?* The novel begins with a scene in which Antiochus, king of Antioch, rapes his daughter; this episode, which has sometimes been regarded as an interpolation, in fact motivates the action that follows, and this on two levels. First, it explains why Apollonius finds himself in exile and on the run: he successfully answered the riddle that Antiochus posed to suitors for his daughter's hand, and Antiochus responded by seeking his death. Second, it sets up the negative model – the *exemplum horrendum* – of the relationship between an older man and younger woman. The major episodes in the rest of the novel can be seen as a kind of obsessive return to this primal scene, replaying it in different ways that seek, never perhaps wholly successfully, to repress the incestuous implications of such a relationship and present a safe version of it.

Let me illustrate this pattern by recalling two such moments in the novel. First, after Apollonius, in his effort to escape Antiochus, suffers shipwreck and arrives destitute on the shore of Cyrene, he wins the friendship of the local king Archistrates. In the course of dinner at the palace, Apollonius demonstrates his talent in singing and performing. 'Meanwhile, as the king's daughter watched the young man excelling in every art and skill, she was gripped by the cruel fire of a wound: she fell infinitely in love (*incidit in amorem infinitum*, 17).' She receives her father's permission to give Apollonius lavish gifts. As Apollonius prepares to depart, she begs her father to keep him as a guest in the palace, 'in fear that she would be tormented if she could not look upon her beloved' (17). For his part, however, there is no sign that Apollonius is enamored of the

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[1] See Garbugino 2004, 160–64 for an account, with excellent bibliography, of some features that the *Apollonius* shares with the *palliata*, such as the recognition, the theme of the girl kidnapped from her family, and merchant activity around the Mediterranean.

young woman. When she begs her father to grant her Apollonius as her husband, Archistrates consents and asks Apollonius in turn not to despise wedlock with his daughter (*ne nuptias filiae meae fastidio habeas*). Apollonius agrees, in what is surely one of the dryer formulas by which a man has accepted a young woman's hand: 'If it is your wish, let it be fulfilled' (22). The marriage of Apollonius and Archistrates' daughter reverses the valences, as it were, of the Antiochus story: the adult male is reserved and dutiful, whereas desire is ascribed exclusively, and rather anomalously, to the young princess.

After the marriage, the couple set sail for Tyre. During the voyage, Apollonius' wife dies, to all appearances, in childbirth, and is set adrift in a coffin, which floats ashore at Ephesus, where they will be reunited at the end of the story. Stricken by grief, Apollonius elects to wander the world as a merchant, leaving his infant daughter, Tarsia, in the custody of Stranguillio and Dionysias, the king and queen of Tarsus. The queen, however, grows jealous when Tarsia begins to outshine her own daughter, and decides to have her executed. We may see here an inversion of the relationship between Tarsia and her mother: Tarsia's mother dies, whereas Dionysias, Tarsia's virtual step-mother, seeks to kill her. Tarsia is taken captive by pirates, however, and sold to a brothel-keeper in Mytilene (25.1–26.10).

When Apollonius returns to Tarsus sixteen years later to claim his daughter, Dionysias pretends that she has died, and Apollonius, shattered by this news, isolates himself in the hold of his ship. His ship is driven by a storm to Mytilene, where Athenagoras, a local nobleman, first tries to buy Apollonius' daughter in an auction, and then decides simply to purchase her services; however, when she relates her story to him, he takes pity on her, and indeed comes to feel a paternal affection for the girl, in part because he himself has a virgin daughter of the same age (34); indeed, even while Tarsia was still in the power of the brothel-keeper, Athenagoras began to take care of her as though she were his only daughter (*ita eam custodiebat ac si unicam suam filiam*, 36; in the B redaction, he is said to love her as if she were his daughter). Athenagoras pays the brothel-keeper to let Tarsia apply her arts as a courtesan to console Apollonius, not by seducing him but rather by distracting him with riddles. Still, the narrative is clearly playing once again with the dangerous paradigm of an older man being sexually aroused by a younger woman who is in reality his daughter; it contains the threat by making Apollonius wholly impervious to Tarsia's charms, to the point of striking her when she attempts to draw him physically out of his seclusion: the blood that flows from her nose is reminiscent of the blood that dripped from Antiochus' daughter when she was raped. At this point, the father and daughter recognize each other, and Apollonius betroths her to Athenagoras (47).

In his recent commentary on the *Apollonius*, G. Kortekaas (2007, 156) remarks, under the lemma *in litore Cyrene<s>*: 'the rocky coast of Cyrene was regarded as particularly dangerous: storm and shipwreck near Cyrene form the backdrop to Plautus' *Rudens* (based on a Greek original by Diphilus),' and he provides a reference to Sophie Trenkner's study (p. 96; the only other mention of this play in Kortekaas' commentary is part of a group of parallels for a Latin expression). Clearly, the analogies between the *Apollonius* and the *Rudens* extend further than this. As Elizabeth Archibald, in her study of incest in mediaeval literature (2001, 62–63), observes: 'In Plautus' *Rudens* the shipwrecked courtesan heroine attracts the unwelcome attentions of an old man who turns out to be her long-lost father; after the recognition scene she is safely united with her lover.' We may unpack this rather telegraphic plot summary a bit. Daemones, an Athenian citizen, is living in Cyrene, where he moved after his three-year-old daughter was kidnapped by pirates and he himself was exiled on false charges. The girl was sold to a pimp, who has been training her in the courtesan's trade in Cyrene. A young Athenian falls in love with her and arranges to purchase her, but the pimp, finding another buyer, absconds with the girl by ship, with the intention of carrying her off to Sicily. The ship is wrecked by a storm, however, and the girl (along with a companion slave) and the pimp and new buyer are driven ashore, separately. In the end, Daemones recognizes the girl thanks to her birth tokens, and betroths his daughter to the lover.

The grieving father, the daughter in the service of a pimp and decked out as a courtesan, the recognition, the father's decision to betroth her once her identity is established to a man who originally sought to purchase her – these elements all find a parallel in the scene at Mytilene in the *Apollonius*, even as the location of the action calls to mind Apollonius' shipwreck at Cyrene, where again a father betroths his daughter to a kindly stranger. It is as though the plot of the *Rudens* were dispersed over the two episodes in the *Apollonius*. The *Rudens*, moreover, has an exceptional plot in the context of New Comedy: the rural location, the shipwrecked characters emerging from the sea, even the refuge that the two girls take in the temple of Venus as they attempt to escape the clutches of the pimp, are specific to this play among the surviving examples of New Comedy. But the most salient feature in connection with the *Apollonius* is the focus of the *Rudens* on the reunion of father and daughter, along with the hint of a possible erotic interest in the girl on the part of Daemones, before he learns her identity. As he says at the beginning of Act 4:

> I've found new protégées:
> Two lovely little ladies, dear young things.
> My wretched wife is always watching me,

In case I even glance at pretty girls.
(893–96; trans. Smith 1991, 274)

There is, I think, no other genre that toys with the possibility of father-daughter incest in this way, while carefully containing its realization.

One difference between the plot of the *Rudens* and that of the *Apollonius* is that in the latter, Apollonius wanders over the sea and is shipwrecked, whereas in the *Rudens* Daemones is stationary and it is his daughter who washes ashore. But there was a model available in New Comedy that in this respect comes closer to the *Apollonius.* As Elizabeth Archibald writes (2001, 102): 'Another popular plot of New Comedy involves a father or husband searching far and wide for his lost daughter or wife; in Plautus' *Poenulus*, a father looking for his daughters, who have been abducted and sold to a brothel, hires courtesans and questions them about their origins, and so in the end finds his children.' The separation of father and daughter, the daughters decked out as courtesans, once again lends a frisson of possible incest to the plot.

New Comedy is the genre, moreover, that is most given to representing raunchy old men in love with younger women, and this most commonly in the context of a rivalry with their own sons. Plautus' *Mercator* and *Asinaria* are based on this kind of competition, and there is a hint of it in the *Bacchides*, but it is the *Casina* that most reveals the potentially incestuous nature of the game. In that play, also based on an original by Diphilus, an older man is in love with a girl, Casina, who was taken in as a foundling and then nurtured and raised by his wife. The wife wishes to marry Casina to a worthy slave of hers, and simultaneously to forestall the husband's scheme to unite the girl in a sham marriage with his own slave – a bailiff on his country property – so that he can then have full access to her (there is also a subplot in which the couple's son is enamored of the girl, but this is largely marginal to the main action). In the end, the wife arranges to dress her slave up as Casina and present him as the bride, and both the husband and the bailiff come in for a very rude surprise when they attempt to consummate the marriage. Since Casina has been reared as though she were an actual daughter (*quasi si esset ex se nata, non multo secus* 46), the wife would seem to be acting to prevent the daughter from displacing her in her own home. To be sure, the girl is wholly unwilling, though she is ultimately at the mercy of her master's wishes; the struggle takes place, accordingly, between the husband and the wife. But the old reprobate signals the danger posed by a head of household who gives free rein to his desires, even to the point of sexually possessing a girl who is practically his wife's child.

New Comedy seems to have been the place where father-daughter relations were problematized, at least subliminally, and then resolved through various

substitutions and displacements. In this respect, I suggest, it provided the narrative pattern that was later to inspire the author or authors of the *Apollonius*, which explored the theme in new and subtle ways.

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# Index Locorum

# General Index