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ONLY GREEKS AT THE OLYMPICS? RECONSIDERING THE RULE AGAINST NON-GREEKS AT 'PANHELLENIC' GAMES

By Sofie Remijsen

Summary: This paper argues that the so-called "Panhellenic" games never knew a rule excluding non-Greeks from participation. The idea that such a rule existed has been accepted since the nineteenth century, when the idea of nationality played a much stronger role in the understanding of Greekness. Recent scholarship on Greek identity and ethnicity has shown that these were flexible and constantly renegotiated concepts and that the shared culture performed and the networks formed at sanctuaries and games played an important role in this negotiation process. Not only can the role of Olympia and other sanctuaries in the formation of Greek identity now be understood without having recourse to a rule of exclusion, the flexible nature of identity also would have made it virtually impossible to the implement such a rule.

The paper starts by reconsidering the well-known episode about Alexander I at Olympia – the central source text for the supposed rule – and addresses some common assumptions about the role of the *hellanodikai*. It is argued that this source, while offering insights into the ethnic discourse of the fifth century BC, does not actually prove the existence of a general rule against the participation of non-Greeks. Section two surveys the evidence for admission procedures at major *agones*, including the admission of boys and the exclusion of slaves. The registration of polis citizenship, often assumed to be connected to the requirement of being Greek, will be addressed in more detail in section three, which will argue that such a registration was an innovation of the Roman period, and did not aim at the limitation of admission for ideological reasons. Section four illustrates, by means of a passage from Polybius, how tensions about ethnicity could still be projected on the Olympics despite their inclusive nature.

Sofie Remijsen 'Only Greeks at the Olympics? Reconsidering the Rule against Non-Greeks at 'Panhellenic' Games' *C&M* 67 (2019) 1-61.

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFYING 'GREEKS'

In 1838, in what can be regarded as the first monograph on the ancient Olympics following modern academic standards, Krause described the Olympic games as "the most splendid Hellenic *Nationalfest*."[1] He chose this particular term because he regarded being Greek as a basic requirement for participation:

> Das Grundgesetz, welches überhaupt bei den hellenischen Festspielen obwaltete, galt auch für die Olympien hinsichtlich der Berechtigung zur Theilnahme. Nur freien Hellenen war das Auftreten in den Kampfspielen verstattet; Zuschauer konnten auch Barbaren seyn. Sklaven waren durchaus wie von den gymnastischen Übungen, so auch von den öffentlichen Spielen ausgeschlossen. So wie sich aber die hellenische Nationalität durch Colonieen, Niederlassungen und Gründungen verschiedener Städte überall hin ausbreitete, so erhielt auch das Recht der Theilnahme eine grössere Ausdehnung.[2]

In his view, there was a fundamental principle (*Grundgesetz*) that limited the right to participate in the Panhellenic games to free men with Hellenic nationality (*die hellenische Nationalität*). Krause had of course observed the gradual expansion of the catchment area of the Olympics, which could indicate that such a principle was not upheld, but he instead linked the growing field of participants to the extension of Greek nationality to more cities. Later in the same work, he also explained how this rule was upheld at the Olympics: a would-be competitor had to present

* Translations of sources are my own, unless stated otherwise. Editions are only specified when relevant to the argument; the numbering of source passages, including fragments, follows the system of the editions incorporated in the TLG. I would like to thank all colleagues who kindly offered critical as well as supportive comments on various drafts of this article.

1 Krause 1838: 15: "Das glänzendste hellenische Nationalfest waren die grossen olympischen Spiele zu Olympia."

2 Krause 1838: 51-52.

himself to the *hellanodikai* (the Olympic judges) and had to prove that he fulfilled the requirements before being admitted.[3]

Krause's work, which takes an impressive range of ancient sources into account, had a profound influence on the study of Greek athletics. His criteria for admission and the idea of a formal identity check upon registration have been repeated in numerous later discussions of the ancient Olympics, often in combination with another criterion, which in the early nineteenth century was still too self-evident to point out: participants had to be male. This picture of the ancient Olympics as an exclusive event to which only (1) Greek (2) free (3) males were admitted is still widespread in current scholarship.[4] Over the last twenty years, Crowther's article "Athlete and State: Qualifying for the Olympic Games in Ancient Greece" has become the authoritative treatment of the admission at Olympia.[5] He argues that no specific athletic qualifications were required for admission, but concludes – similar to Krause – that "unlike the modern Olympic games these festivals were *national* and officially excluded all non-Greek athletes."[6] Recently, however, Nielsen, expressed his reservations, remarking that "the Olympic authorities seem to have taken an inclusive rather than an exclusive view of who was a Greek, and there is no known instance of an athlete denied admission on account of his ethnic identity."[7]

Such reservations are lent weight by the recognition that Krause's picture of the Olympics as a *Nationalfest* with a *Grundgesetz*, on which this

3 Krause 1838: 131: "Diese mussten sich bei ihnen (i.e. the *hellanodikai*) zuvor melden und darthun, dass sie Hellenen und freie Bürger waren, …"

4 For some recent examples of these criteria in specialized literature on sport and/or ethnicity, see Hall 2002: 154; Spivey 2004: 76; Funke 2006: 9; Nielsen 2007: 19; Weiler 2008: 183; Rutherford 2013: 265; Kyle 2014: 25.

5 Crowther 1996 (reprinted 2014). Weiler 2008 discusses the same topic and includes even more sources, but has not received such a wide reception.

6 Crowther 1996: 38 (my italics). In a later publication, Crowther pays more attention to the negotiability of Greek identity, but still discusses the topic in terms of nationalism and eligibility (2007: 69-72).

7 Nielsen 2014: 136.

idea is ultimately based, is clearly fraught with nineteenth-century nationalist ideals. Nationality was not a category used in the ancient world.[8] Greece did not have lists of citizens, as it was not politically united, nor did it levy taxes. This means that it would have been extremely difficult to control at Olympia or other sanctuaries who was 'Greek' and who was not. The term nationality is no longer used in connection to ancient Greece, but since the idea that only 'Greeks' were admitted has been maintained, this creates a problem of definition. [9] Most scholars currently seem to define 'being Greek' either in terms of polis citizenship or in terms of ethnicity.

Perhaps the most common implicit assumption is that, for athletes, being Greek was a matter of polis citizenship, which, unlike nationality, was a legal category of the ancient world.[10] To most ancient athletes we can attach the name of a polis. This does not actually solve the definition problem, however, but merely transfers it from the individual athlete to the city: how was it determined at the games which city was 'Greek' and which was not? The most reasonable suggestion is that this was done with reference to the *theoria*-network of the festival.[11] Epigraphic lists of

8 See e.g. Malkin 2001: 12: "We must remember the basics: there never was a state called Hellas in antiquity, and the term 'Greek', appearing in countless titles of modern works, is really our own articulation, addressing 'from above' people whose operative identities were usually not expressed in this manner."

9 E.g. Funke 2006: 9 ("dass *offenbar* ein Konsens darüber bestand, wer zu den Griechen zu zählen war und damit an den Spielen teilnehmen durfte" – my italics) admits uncertainty about how Greekness was established. Weiler 2008: 181 speaks of "griechische Abstammung," which is not really more specific.

10 Crowther 1996: 39 translates πατρίς as "[Greek] city state." Cf. Crowther 2007: 70. Also Kyle 2014: 25: "members of a Greek state."

11 Rutherford 2013: 265 and 273 cautiously suggests that athletes may have been obliged to be accompanied by a *theoros* and that this, in combination with the control of the organizing city over who was invited, could have been a means to separate Greeks from non-Greeks. He bases this hypothesis on a lacunose sacred law from Olympia (quoted on pp. 363-65 = *SEG* 48.541): the incomplete lines 7-8 of this law have been interpreted as a clause about athletes lending money from *theoroi* to pay a fine. Other scholars implicitly assume a connection between the religious network and athletic admission, e.g. W.R. Paton in his translation of Polyb. 2.12.7-8, on the first Roman (political) embassy to Greece in 228 BC: Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εὐθέως ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε δὴ καὶ Κορίνθιοι

theorodokoi document which cities were invited to join in the sacrifice. For festivals with such a wide reach as Olympia, this network may have seemed to cover the entire Greek world. However, the purpose of the announcement of the festival was the declaration of inviolability (e.g. in the form of the *ekecheiria* or, in the Hellenistic period, of *asylia*) and the invitation of religious representatives; *theoria* decrees do not mention the invitation of athletes.[12] Nor are all places on the *theorodokoi* lists poleis.[13] It is hence no more than a hypothesis that this system played a role in the admission of athletes as Greeks. Even though it was no doubt common for athletes to be accompanied by *theoroi*, there is no indication in the sources that this was obligatory. The practicability of using lists of *theorodokoi* or the accompaniment by *theoroi* as criteria for admission must be questioned. The evidence does not suffice to deduce that a polis only sent out *theoroi* to a festival when invited to do so – they certainly sent *theoroi* outside the context of festivals that did not result from such invitations. Moreover, the occasional attestation of non-Greeks in *theoria* networks suggests that this may not have been a criterion for exclusion here either.[14] It is no longer accepted in current scholarship that certain sanctuaries were open to all Greeks, but prohibited non-Greeks. There were no restrictions for the admission to widely popular healing cults

πρῶτον ἀπεδέξαντο μετέχειν Ῥωμαίους τοῦ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνος. His translation in the revised version of the 2010 Loeb edition reads: "... the Romans immediately afterward sent other envoys to Athens and Corinth, on which occasion the Corinthians first *admitted them to participation* in the Isthmian games." ἀποδέχομαι, however, does not mean being admitted after being judged eligible. It is the verb that Polybius typically uses when describing the cordial reception of embassies (21.35.5, 21.22.1 and 3.66.8; for parallels in *theoria* decrees see Rigsby 1996, nrs. 8.19, 46.9, etc.). The Roman delegation, which happened to be in Corinth, was in other words "invited to join" in the festival and the Romans were henceforth included in the *theoria*-network of the *Isthmia*. It is possible that they also participated – the Byzantine epitome of Zonaras (8.19) mentions in this context that the *stadion* race was won by a certain Plautus – but this is not what Polybius is writing about.

12 See Rigsby 1996 for examples of *theoria* decrees and Rutherford 2013 for a systematic discussion of the *theoria*.

13 Rutherford 2013: 86-88: not all places in the lists of *theorodokoi* were politically independent entities.

14 Rutherford 2013: 48 (Rome), 273-77 (other non-Greeks).

and oracles. The few sanctuaries that excluded strangers did also, moreover, exclude Greek *xenoi*.[15] In order to move forward, it does not suffice to hypothesize how an institution such as the *theoria* could have been used to limit athletic admission to citizens of 'Greek poleis'. Instead, we have to evaluate the premise that athletes had to be Greeks in order to be eligible for the games.

Scholars writing more explicitly about what it meant to be Greek in the ancient world now define this as an ethnic identity.[16] Members of ethnic groups share a number of common traits (e.g. language, modes of self-representation, religious practices, etc.), but what defines these groups as ethnic rather than as merely cultural is that the construction of kinship ties forms an important element in the discourse about their identity. As convincingly shown by Jonathan Hall, the development of a specifically Hellenic ethnic identity can be dated to the sixth century BC, when the word 'Hellenes' (originally referring to people from a small area within Thessaly) started to be used for the entire network of Greek-speaking poleis across the Mediterranean and a genealogy around the mythical Hellen was developed.[17] Such mythological kinship ties were also what athletes needed to document at Olympia in the archaic period, according to Hall. He grants, however, that this would not have worked after the 470s, when Hellenic identity began to be constructed differently.[18]

A central characteristic of ethnicity as it is currently understood is indeed that it is unstable and situational: the identification with ethnic

15 See Funke 2006: 4-5, 9-10. He concludes: "dass sich – wenn man es zuspitzen möchte – die Kategorie des Fremdseins nur sehr bedingt eignet, den Kreis der Teilnehmer an diesen Kulten zu differenzieren." Similarly Rutherford 2013: 2, 265-66.

16 E.g. Hall 2002: esp. 163; Spivey 2004: 76; Nielsen 2007: 20, 21.

17 Hall 2002: esp. 9-19, 125-31.

18 Hall 2002: 154-56, 159-64 proposes that the precise criterion for admission was an affiliation within one of the four Hellenic *Stämme*. He bases this thesis on the observation that 91.3% of the archaic victors came from cities which claimed such affiliation – note that this becomes again a definition of Greekness on the level of the polis. These statistics only prove, however, that most poleis claimed such an affiliation, not that this was a criterion at Olympia. See also p. 198 (and 227) for the suggestion that by the classical period the "Hellenic genealogy" had "outlived its functional usefulness."

groups is (re)activated and (re)defined by specific social and political circumstances, which include tensions within the ethnic community (combatted by the reaffirmation of common traits) and external threats (addressed by underlining the differences between an 'us' and an 'other').[19] The resulting awareness that Hellenic identity too was being constantly redefined and renegotiated only exacerbates the problem of how 'non-Greeks' could be identified at the games. Because of their instability, sociologists like Rogers Brubaker now even warn against the use of ethnic groups, such as 'the Greeks', as categories for research: "One is led almost automatically by the substantialist language to attribute identity, agency, interests, and will to groups."[20] Instead of seemingly stable groups, one should study "*how* - and *when* - people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, and interpret their predicaments in racial, ethnic, or national rather than other terms" and *why* an awareness of an ethnic identity "can 'crystallize' in some situations while remaining latent and merely potential in others."[21]

The most prestigious athletic contests of the ancient world clearly had the potential of becoming crystallization points of a shared Hellenic identity. Public athletic contests between naked citizens were typical of the lifestyle practiced in what we call the Greek world, and marked these naked men off from people who had not been socialized in this world.[22] Sanctuaries such as Olympia, moreover, formed important nodes in the network of culturally Greek cities.[23] Therefore, athletics and the sanctuaries where the *agones* took place are recurring themes in ancient discourse on Greek identity, a matter which has rightly received much attention in recent scholarship.[24] The community present at the major

19 See Siapkas 2014: 5 for a good overview of the development of scholarly ideas on ethnicity. See also Luraghi 2014: esp. 221, 224 for pertinent insights on how to study ethnic identity in Antiquity, and Konstan 2001: esp. 30, 43, for a to-the-point introduction in the development of Greek identity under various political situations.

20 Brubaker 2004: 1-24, esp. 24 (quote).

21 Brubaker 2004: 18 (my italics).

22 Both Greek and Latin authors explicitly make this connection between athletic nudity and Greekness, e.g. Thuc. 1.6, Pl. *Resp.* 5.452c, Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70.

23 E.g. Morgan 1993; Hall 2002: 134-68.

24 To name just a few examples: for Herodotus, see Kyle 2010; for Pausanias' books on Olympia, see Elsner 2001; for Lucian's *Anacharsis*, see König 2005: 45-96.

games was often identified as 'Hellas'. It has also been observed that activity at the Panhellenic sanctuaries spikes at the time of external crises, which again reflects the situational nature of Greek identity. This insight that the ethnic identity was in constant flux is not compatible, however, with the thesis that being Greek could, for over a millennium, have functioned as a strict criterion for the inclusion and exclusion of athletes.

It is time to reconsider whether such a rule ever existed at the games. This paper will argue that sources describing *agones* as games of the Greeks give us interesting evidence for the contemporary ethnic discourse, but cannot prove the existence of a rule against the participation of non-Greeks. Section one will start by reconsidering the well-known episode about Alexander I at Olympia – the central source text for the supposed rule – as well as address common assumptions about the role of the *hellanodikai*. Section two will then survey more broadly the evidence for admission procedures at major *agones*, including the admission of boys and the exclusion of slaves. The registration of polis citizenship will be addressed in more detail in section three. This section will argue that a registration procedure was only developed in the Roman period, and did not aim at the limitation of admission for ideological reasons. Section four will then illustrate, by means of a passage from Polybius, how an athlete's ethnicity could nevertheless be an aspect of the discourse on Greek identity.

1. HERODOTUS ON THE GREEKNESS OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON

The starting point for any discussion on this topic is Herodotus' anecdote on Alexander I of Macedon at Olympia (5.22), which is widely considered indisputable proof of a rule against the participation of non-Greeks.[25]

> Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατά περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτός τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεῖργόν μιν φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε, ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλλην καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.
>
> That the descendants of Perdikkas are Hellenes, as they say themselves, I happen to know myself and hence I will in the later chapters show that they are Hellenes. Besides, those who manage the contest in Olympia, the *hellanodikai*, have decided it is so. For when Alexander wished to compete and went down there for this very purpose, those of the Greeks who would run against him obstructed him, claiming that the contest was not for barbarian competitors but for Hellenes. Alexander then demonstrated that he was Argive, and it was decided that he was a Hellene. And when competing in the *stadion* race, he arrived at the finish together with the first.

Although tensions around the definition of Greekness are clearly at the center of this story, it does not actually contain straightforward evidence

25 Hdt. 2.160, in which the Eleans proudly tell Egyptian sages that the Olympics were open to both themselves and the other Hellenes, is likewise often quoted in this respect. The contrast Herodotus creates here, however, is between the Eleans and all the others who wanted to compete, not between Hellenes who could participate and 'barbarians' who could not. Cf. Nielsen 2007: 18.

for a general rule against the participation of non-Greeks. Firstly - whatever its historical value - the anecdote presumes that the ethnicity of the participants was not checked by the judges upon the arrival of the athletes. The dispute regarding the Greekness of Alexander is indeed presented as arising in the course of the Olympics, before the *stadion* race was run but after the participants had become known to one another. At that point, the other sprinters objected to Alexander's participation and asked the judges to exclude him from the games. A private petition to the judges by a fellow-athlete is in line with known Olympic procedures for other issues.[26] This is to be distinguished from a complaint about a previous decision by the judges, which would have been directed at the Olympic council.[27] Procedures based on petitions put the initiative with the disadvantaged and hence remove the necessity for a systematic check by the authorities.

Although the details of this passage thus suggest that it was not standard to check the Greek identity of the participants, the passage as a whole does imply that it was a possible basis for exclusion from the competition. It is therefore important to note, secondly, that Herodotus does not explicitly refer to an Olympic *principle*. Right at the start of this passage, Herodotus discloses his agenda: this story is meant to prove that Alexander was Greek. The author tries to convince his readers of this by presenting the Olympic judges as authorities on the matter, implying along the way that barbarians would not have been admitted. He stops short, however, of presenting the exclusion of non-Greeks as an Olympic policy. On the contrary, when he chooses the participle φάμενοι, he presents the idea that barbarian contenders should not be admitted not as a fact, but as a personal opinion of Alexander's fellow competitors.[28] Alexander

26 Cf. Paus. 5.15.4-5, petition for a change to the program concerning the order of events. See also section 2 on the likewise reactive procedure for the exclusion of slaves.

27 Cf. Paus. 6.3.7. In this anecdote, the council fines two *hellanodikai* after a complaint by an athlete, but it does not revoke their decision. This suggests that there was no option for an appeal against a decision by the *hellanodikai*. Unfortunately, the exact role of this council is not well known, cf. Sinn 2004: 110-11.

28 Cf. *LSJ* s.v. φημί.

accepts their premise when he answers the charge by playing "the genealogical game *à la grecque*."[29] This reaction and the settlement of the dispute in Alexander's favor remove from the narrative the need for a verdict about the more fundamental point, that is whether this was an acceptable ground for exclusion or not.

When interpreting this passage as evidence for the admission procedures at the Olympic games it is important to pay attention to such details and to read against the grain, in order to separate the author's rhetorical strategy from verifiable details about admission. But in order to be able to recognize which details in the story might be primarily strategic, we first need to establish whether or not Alexander's participation at Olympia is historical and when it took place.

It is safe to accept that Alexander indeed took part in an Olympic *stadion* race, since other sources confirm Alexander's interest in athletics. Justin's epitome of the histories of Pompeius Trogus states that Alexander contended in various disciplines.[30] Two fragments of a poem by Pindar (frr. 120 and 121) can almost certainly be connected to a victory by Alexander I, as the first fragment names the victor the "son of Amyntas" and the second is explicitly connected to Alexander by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 26). A much later text by Solinus also connects Alexander to Pindar and claims that the Macedonian king sent golden statues to Apollo in Delphi and to Zeus in Elis, suggesting an interest in multiple Panhellenic sanctuaries.[31] Where and in which discipline Alexander obtained the victory praised by Pindar cannot be identified, but it cannot have been in the Olympic *stadion* race, as Alexander's name does not appear in the list of *stadion* victors.[32] Whether "arriving at the finish together with the first" refers to a real dead heat or just elegantly avoids saying that Alexander came second, the phrase certainly makes clear

29 Quote from Hall 2002: 156.

30 Just. *Epit.* 7.2.14: *cui Alexandro tanta omnium virtutum naturae ornamenta extitere ut etiam Olympio certamine vario ludicrorum genere contenderet*.

31 Solinus *Collectanea rerum mirabilium* 9.13-14.

32 Bernardini & di Marzio 2012: 33 interpret this an *ex aequo* solved (to the disadvantage of Alexander) by drawing lots and propose that Pindar was commissioned to celebrate this almost-victory. A traditional victory, however, remains the better occasion for epinician poetry.

that he was not proclaimed as victor in this event. The evidence therefore suggests that Alexander took part in several athletic competitions and won at least once.

The identification of Alexander as a sprinter sheds light on the date of his participation. Because Herodotus' anecdote establishing Alexander's right to compete logically ought to refer to his first participation, it should probably be dated before the victory praised by Pindar. Because Pindar's earliest known ode (*Pyth.* 10) dates from 498 BC, Alexander's first participation in the Olympics can hardly have predated the Olympics of 508 BC. The king took over the Macedonian throne at some point in the early or mid-490s and reigned until circa 454. Most scholars suggest a date of birth between 530 and 525, which means that he ascended the throne in his early thirties and died in his seventies.[33] His athletic career must be placed in his teens (in the boys' category), twenties or early thirties. The ancient Olympic *stadion* race required great physical talent and prime form, certainly in the late sixth and early fifth century BC, when the sprinting scene was dominated by star athletes from Croton.[34] A date between 508 and 496 is compatible with the known data on his lifespan.[35] If Alexander indeed came second in a dead heat, the safest guess would be 500 BC. In this year, the *stadion* victory was obtained by a man from the Locrian city of Opous, which suggests that this was an Olympiad with a more level playing field than in the surrounding years when Crotonian

33 Kertész 2005: 117-19 usefully summarizes the arguments of Hammond and Dascalakis (advocating for a date of birth between 530 and 525) and Errington (suggesting a date of birth in the 510s). The main argument in this discussion is whether the marriage of Alexander's sister to the Persian Bubares (Herodotus 5.20-21) should be dated to the late sixth (as Herodotus suggests) or to the early fifth century. For a detailed argumentation in favor of an early date for the marriage and hence Alexander's lifespan, see Badian 1994: 108-12.

34 Moretti 1957: nrs. 148 and 153 (Ischomachos in 508 and 504 BC), 166 and 172 (Tisikrates in 496 and 492), 178, 186 and 196 (Astylos in 488, 484 and 480). In 484 and 480, Astylos no longer competed as Crotonian, but as Syracusan after accepting a bribe.

35 Dascalakis 1965: 159 suggests 496. Roos 1985: 167 proposes a date before 496. More recently, Engels 2010: 93 has suggested 504 or 500 (although in the same companion Sprawski 2010: 142 follows Kertész) and Bernardini & di Marzio 2012: 34-38 have accepted 496 as the best option (for the Pindaric ode, which they do connect to the anecdote of Herodotus).

stars dominated the scene.[36] Alexander would have been in his mid-twenties, like most modern victors of the Olympic 200m. He would still have been young enough to compete again in the 490s and this successful second participation would fall within the known limits of Pindar's career. Some scholars have suggested, however, a participation as late as 476 BC, using the king's prior support of the Persians as an argument against earlier participation.[37] This argument does not stand up: we know of several early fifth-century victors from cities that sided with the Persians.[38] It is unlikely that a king in his forties or fifties would have risked his tenuous reputation by wanting to compete with the cream of sprinters in 476.[39]

While it is reasonable to accept the historicity of Alexander's participation at Olympia circa 500 BC, this does not make it safe to accept all details in the story as accurate. More than fifty years intervene between Alexander's participation and Herodotus' version of these events. Donald

36 Moretti 1957: nr. 159.

37 See e.g. Badian 1982: 34: "The date is not attested, but 476, the first opportunity after the war, seems a reasonable guess." For the most detailed argument for 476, see Kertész 2005. He starts from the premise (p. 117) that Alexander's international policy otherwise does not make sense (i.e. Alexander would not have supported the Persians if he was already accepted as Greek; therefore, since he supported the Persians, he cannot have been accepted as Greek, and he cannot have entered the Olympics). I do not accept the premise that a participation in the Olympics and the potentially ensuing perception of Alexander as a Hellene (which was far from general anyway) would have affected Alexander's strategic foreign policy decisions.

38 More traditionally Greek areas, such as Thessaly or Argos, medized as well in 492, and they still sent representatives to the games: 488 BC, Asopichos of Orchomenos and Hippocleas of Pelinna (Moretti 1957, nrs. 182 and 185); 480 BC, a boy wrestler from Argos, Argos as a city in the horse race and [Dae]tondas and Arsilochus of Thebes with a chariot (Moretti 1957: nrs. 204, 207, and 206; cf. *P.Oxy.* II 222, col. I, ll. 2, 5-6).

39 Kertész 2005 does not sufficiently address the problem of Alexander's age in 476. He accepts a late birth in the 510s (p. 119) which puts him at almost forty instead of in his fifties and gives three examples of athletes who may still have been successful around the age of 40 (p. 126: Hipposthenes of Sparta, Milon of Croton, Theagenes of Thasos, who all had careers of more than 20 years). These are professional fighters, however, for whom a long career was more common than for sprinters. The victories that they obtained at the age of about 40 were, moreover, their last victories, not their first.

Kyle has shown that Herodotus, who wrote between the 450s and the 430s, consistently represents athletics as a custom that unites the Greeks in order to mask the many tensions between poleis and other political organizations in the period leading up to the Peloponnesian war.[40] The telling of the Alexander episode was also prompted by such contemporary concerns. In the mid-fifth century BC, the Macedonian court was faced with the challenge of getting accepted into the Greek community that had come into focus in the aftermath of the Persian wars. Herodotus knew that the status of Macedonia as Greek was disputed and says outright that the purpose of this passage was to prove that the Macedonian royals were indeed Greeks. It is important to look closer at how he constructs his argument.

In a fictional speech of the Athenians to a Spartan delegation (8.144), Herodotus famously lists four common traits of the Greeks: blood, language, cults and customs. He ignores the aspect of language in his pro-Macedonian argument, but indirectly refers to the others. In 8.137-38, the later passage referred to in the Olympic anecdote, he focuses on the blood shared between the Macedonian royals and the Greeks, through their assertion of kinship ties to Argos. In 5.22, the Olympic episode, he also refers to the Argive connection, but focuses mainly on shared cults and practices: Alexander visited the Olympic sanctuary and competed there. Opponents of the Macedonian claim to Greekness could of course respond to this that Alexander's claimed genealogy and presence at Olympia showed only that he wanted to be Greek, not that he was. Herodotus, however, tries to preemptively counter this critique – put in the mouth of Alexander's opponents – by referring to the authority of the Elean judges. The historian frames Alexander's willingness to engage in a Hellenic practice between two explicit references to the decision of the judges (οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι; ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλλην).

Because he presents it as an answer to a petition, the historian does not actually say that checking the Greek credentials of Olympic participants was a standard task of the judges, but their title, *hellanodikai*, invites the readers to interpret it as such.[41] Modern scholars often accept

40 Kyle 2010.

41 See Sinn 2004: 108-10 for a short survey of their tasks.

this suggestion and interpret this title in the context of this passage as 'judges of Greekness'.[42] A more neutral reading of the title, however, is 'judges of the Greeks (competing there)'. A scholion on Pindar confirms the latter interpretation: "Those who regulate the contest are called *hellanodikai*, because only Greeks compete."[43] This scholion, as well as the title it discusses, unambiguously illustrates that athletics was seen as a Greek habit, but they do not say that this had to be checked.

There are, moreover, several problems with the *hellanodikai* in this passage. Firstly, this word does not appear in all manuscripts, so we cannot be sure whether Herodotus actually used it. The edition quoted above is the 1997 Teubner edition by Rosén, which follows the manuscripts of the so-called A family in reading Ἑλληνοδίκαι.[44] The OCT edition by Wilson, on the other hand, favors the manuscripts of the so-called Roman family in reading οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων.[45] Both readings fit Herodotus' aim to present the Olympics as something typically Greek, but the word *hellanodikai* is far more suggestive about the judge's authority to assess ethnic claims than 'those who manage the contest of the Greeks at Olympia'.

Secondly, the *hellanodikai* represent an anachronism. Although the title *hellanodikes* was well-established by the time Herodotus was writing, this was not the case around 500 BC when Alexander participated. Bronze tablets from the later sixth century call the judge of the Olympic wrestling a *diaitater*.[46] The first attestations of the word *hellanodikes* are the third Olympic ode of Pindar (from 476) and *IvO* 2 (circa 475-450).[47] Although the date of the Pindaric ode technically offers only a *terminus ante quem*, it is by now generally accepted that the Olympics of 476 were the

42 E.g. Hornblower 2013: 117: "The very name ... perhaps also implies that one of their functions was to adjudicate about Greekness."

43 Scholion on Pind. *Ol.* 3.21a: Ἑλλανοδίκαι καλοῦνται οἱ προτεταγμένοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἐπεὶ μόνοις Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται.

44 Similarly the Budé edition by Legrand.

45 See Wilson 2015: xiii-xviii for a survey of the manuscripts and their relation to one another.

46 *SEG* 48.541 = *Neue Inschriften von Olympia* 2 (525-500 BC) and the new tablet published in Siewert & Taita 2014.

47 The inscription is dated paleographically. The older dating around 580 BC is no longer accepted, see Nielsen 2007: 19-20 and Zoumbaki 2011: 8.

first edition in which this title was used.[48] This is linked to a broader debate about ethnic sensitivities at the 'Panhellenic' sanctuaries. Nielsen has shown that the Greek identity of competitors was not on the Olympic agenda before the early fifth century.[49] Inscriptions confirm his view: in the second quarter of the fifth century the word Ἕλληνες starts to appear frequently in victory epigrams. It denotes the community witnessing the victory, but interestingly never the victor himself.[50] Morgan's recent study of the political communication of the Sicilian tyrants confirms that, although participation by these rulers in 'Panhellenic' contests had a long tradition, it was only in the 470s that it became important to underline in this context how they represented the Greek community.[51] Both scholars connect the emerging awareness that athletic contests were typically Greek to the political context of the Persian wars. It was in particular the collaborative effort in the battles of Salamis and Plataea that functioned as a crystallization point for a shared Greek identity circa 480-479.[52] The great Panhellenic enthusiasm around 479 is, for example, visible in the erection of a common victory monument at Delphi.[53] The restyling of the *diaitateres* as *hellanodikai* was likewise a programmatic articulation of the Panhellenic character of the Olympic contest. A contemporary parallel can be found in the context of the Delian league, which upon its formation in 477 BC gave its treasurers the equally programmatic name *hellenotamiai*.[54]

The lack of evidence for ethnic sensitivities or *hellanodikai* at the Olympics before 479 makes it dangerous to accept at face value that circa

48 Zoumbaki 2011: 7-9, with references to older literature.

49 Nielsen 2007: 19-20.

50 See e.g. Ebert 1972: nrs. 20, 37, 38, 56, 59, 65, 67, 69, 73, and 81.

51 Morgan 2015: 134-35.

52 Cf. Hall 2002: 172-89. The earlier battle of Marathon was an Athenian, not a Panhellenic success. See Zahrnt 2010: 114-27.

53 Herodotus 9.81. For further sources and the inscription see West 1966: nr. 25. Other bodies also set up victory commemorations at Delphi in the 470s, representing competing statements of Greekness in the same space: cf. Scott 2010: 81-91. In the same period, for example, the Deinomids too presented their victories as obtained against the 'barbarians' for the freedom of the Greeks. See Morgan 2015: 31-45 for the different building phases of this monument and its inscriptions.

54 Baron 2013.

500 BC Alexander's opponents complained about the Macedonian's ethnicity. It is more likely that Alexander's performance at Olympia was at the time a rather colorless event, but that it could be reinterpreted in ethnic terms from 479 onwards, when it had become important for Alexander to present himself as Greek. By now middle-aged, he could no longer make a statement by taking part in the race, but the emerging panhellenism had created an opportunity for pro-Macedonian thinkers to re-narrate his defeat at Olympia as a personal victory.[55] The addition of a story about an ethnic dispute between him and his opponents would have been difficult to disprove decennia afterwards. The problem with petitions is that only the effect of a decision would be noticeable to the public; the decision-making process would have been followed by few more than the parties involved. By the time the *Histories* were read, these few witnesses were dead. The combination, on the other hand, of an oral tradition about Alexander's participation and a political climate in which ethnic claims of the Macedonian royals were disputed granted the story some plausibility.

This does not mean, however, that Herodotus' readers would have been as ready as their modern counterparts to accept the authority of the Olympic judges on matters of ethnicity suggested by this anecdote. The ethnic identity of the Macedonian kings remained a matter of dispute. No other authors follow Herodotus' example of referring to the *hellanodikai* as part of an argument on ethnicity. One can even wonder whether Herodotus himself was as convinced of the argument as he claimed to be. Badian has pointed out that he seems to steer his readers towards the opposite conclusion when he divides the arguments in favor of Alexander's Hellenic identity over two anecdotes and inserts the first one (the Olympic episode) immediately after the description of how Alexander gave a high-ranking Persian a large sum of money, as well as his sister in marriage, and the second one (the genealogy) in the story about

55 The suggestion that the story was a form of Macedonian propaganda is also found in Borza 1982: 11 and Asirvatham 2010: 101. The former rightly underlines the reliance of Herodotus on his Macedonian sources, and the lack of independent confirmation of the story. The latter even doubts the participation of Alexander at Olympia because he is not listed in the list of *stadion* victors, but it has already been noted that Herodotus does not actually claim that he was proclaimed as victor.

Alexander's visit to Athens in the service of the Persian king, when he was thrown out of the city after "his most conspicuous act of medism."[56]

All the same, and irrespective of its historicity or persuasiveness, the story documents that when it was written in the mid-fifth century, it was possible to think of the Olympics as an exclusively Greek event. Whereas Nielsen suggested that at the time of the encounter with the Persians the exclusion of non-Greeks became fixed as an Olympic rule, I would go one step further and argue that the idea that the Olympics were something Greek was indeed strongly felt circa 479 and even became petrified in the new title of the Olympic judges, but never took the shape of a formal rule of exclusion. Herodotus mentions neither an admission procedure nor an ideological principle, and it has already been noted that in the whole history of the games there is not a single known case of exclusion on ethnic grounds.[57] In order to develop further this thesis that Greek identity never became an official criterion for exclusion from the Olympics or from any of the other major games, a more thorough survey of the available evidence for registration and admission procedures at these games is necessary.

56 Badian 1994: 119-20. Borza 1982: 8-11, on the other hand, describes Herodotus as pro-Macedonian.

57 Cf. Nielsen 2014: 136.

2. WELL-ATTESTED PROCEDURES AND RULES FOR ADMISSION

The *enkrisis* procedure

The only known technical term for a selection procedure before an *agon* is *enkrisis*, a word derived from ἐγκρίνειν, 'to examine and include in the selection' and related to ἐκκρίνειν, 'to examine and exclude from the selection'. This particular examination did not, however, admit athletes to the contest in general, but specifically admitted young athletes to the youth competitions.[58] All *agones* had at least two age categories (ἡλικίαι or κρίσεις): that of the 'boys' (παῖδες) and that of the 'men' (ἄνδρες). This simple distinction between adults and under-age athletes goes back to the archaic period. In Olympia, no additional age categories were ever added, but in many other contests, an intermediate category for the older boys (ἀγένειοι, litt. 'beardless') was introduced in the classical period. This category is well attested in classical Athens and was also used at the Isthmian games in the early fourth century. From the third century BC on, when the category of the *ageneioi* had become widespread, some contests introduced other subdivisions of the youngest participants. Best attested is the combination of 'Pythian boys' and 'Isthmian boys' (terms used at games that were neither Pythian or Isthmian). Because these groups are typically mentioned in this order, and are then followed by the *ageneioi* and the men, it is clear that the Pythian boys were younger than the Isthmian boys, but we can only speculate about the approximate age limits.[59]

58 Most references to the *enkrisis* deal explicitly with age categories. Lucian (*Pro imaginibus* 11) and Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 29.18), however, use the general description ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἔγκρισις (the *enkrisis* of the athletes), without specifying that these athletes were boys. In both texts the *enkrisis* serves as a parallel for other types of examinations (of the size of statues and of would-be teachers respectively), the latter representing the actual topic of the passage. The *enkrisis* is hence called 'of the athletes' to place the procedure within the athletic sphere, so that the comparison is intelligible, and need not imply that all athletes underwent the procedure.

59 Klee 1918: 46 proposes for the Pythian boys 12 to 14 years, for the Isthmian boys 14 to 17 and for the *ageneioi* 17 to 20. Most evidence regarding the age categories is collected in Frisch 1988. For further discussion see Golden 1998: 104-16. I do not accept

Although at least some games specified age limits for these categories[60], the focus on the size of boys in the sources on the *enkrisis* suggests that the main criterion for admission to a category was physical development rather than age. The earliest literary reference to the *enkrisis* of young athletes is Xenophon, who describes how Agesilaos II used his personal influence in Olympia to get a young man admitted in the category of the boys, although he was taller than any of the other boys.[61] Eratosthenes – preserved through Favorinus, who is in turn quoted by Diogenes

Golden's suggestion that the Isthmian and Nemean games may have had the category of *ageneioi* from their start in the sixth century, as the evidence is tenuous until *IAG* 22 (ca. 400-350 BC, Isthmian victor in the pankration for *ageneioi*). For all evidence of Isthmian victors see Farrington 2012. Since the category of the *ageneioi* is particularly well-attested in classical Athens (e.g. *IG* II^2 2311, Pl. *Leg.* 833c, Lys. 21.4), and since Pindar uses the word only twice, once in connection to the Athenian trainer Melesias (*Ol.* 8.54) and once for a contest at Marathon (*Ol.* 9.89), it is more likely that this category spread from Athens, perhaps due to this city's cultural influence in the fifth century.

60 This is suggested by *IvO* 56 (on the rules of the *Sebasta* in Naples), ll. 10-12: [— — — — — — — μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ νεώτερον μετέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἰσο]λυμπίων ἢ ἑπτακαι[δ]εκέτη· κ[αὶ μετεχέτω]σα[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα μέχρι τῆς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἡλικίας παίδων ἀθλήσεως], μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀν[δ]ρῶν. Although 80% of this passage is added by the editor and hence purely hypothetical, the few legible passages do make clear that these lines dealt with age limitations and that 17 was a cut-off point.

61 Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.40: πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐγκριθείη τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων. This anecdote is repeated in Plut. *Ages.* 13.3, who likewise explains that the boy was in danger of being excluded from the boys' race because of his size: ἠράσθη γὰρ ἀθλητοῦ παιδὸς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὢν καὶ σκληρὸς Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐκκριθῆναι. For Plutarch, the admitted boy is a young Athenian athlete, fancied by a young and noble Persian refugee in Sparta, who was in turn fancied by Agesilaos. The original passage in Xenophon, however, is ambiguous. Whereas most translations reflect Plutarch's reading, Bresson suggests that Agesilaos had his beloved young Persian refugee admitted, because this young man wanted to be together with the (younger) object of his own desire, a Spartan boy called Athenaios. See Bresson 2002: 28-41. If Bresson is right that a young (though clearly fully acculturated) Persian participated in the Olympics, it is even more telling that Xenophon focuses on his size as the reason why he could not get through the *enkrisis* without royal pressure on the *hellanodikai* and does not raise the young man's ethnicity as an issue. It is also telling – and consistent with my argument in

Laertius – mentions an earlier case: Pythagoras of Samos was excluded from the competition for boys in 588 BC – as well as mocked for his effeminate long hair and colorful robe – but then won the men's boxing.[62] Whether or not this anecdote is true, it is likely that the *enkrisis* indeed goes back to the archaic period, as conflicts about the placement of athletes on the verge of becoming men would have arisen as soon as contests for boys were held.

Because the *enkrisis* was not an examination for all athletes, it did not determine whether one belonged in the category of the boys or that of the men. It was only in place for competitors who wanted to compete in a youth category, and who could either be included or excluded. Explicit statements that adult athletes did not undergo this formal examination can be found in works from the second and third centuries AD. Artemidorus explains in his book on *The Interpretation of Dreams* that for most people it was auspicious to dream of passing the *enkrisis*, but not for athletes: "For boy athletes it is not significant, because they fall within the age limit of the *enkrisis*; for adult athletes, on the other hand, it is a bad sign, since the *enkrisis* is something for boys."[63] This distinction between underage and adult athletes is also made for dreaming that one is a boy conquering a man in a wrestling match. This was generally a positive sign, except for boy athletes, because this predicted exclusion from the category of the boys (1.60). Similarly, it was inauspicious to dream about being an ephebe, "as this predicts that he will be excluded for being over the age limit" (1.54). A dream about not passing the *enkrisis* was of course inauspicious for all; it could even predict death (1.59). In Artemidorus' fifth book, this is illustrated with an example in which the god Asklepios acts as examiner. According to the description, the examination of a boy consisted of being scrutinized while walking past the divine examiner (κριτής) together with the other boys (5.13). The relative frequency of

the later section on citizenship – that more than four centuries later Plutarch assumes that citizenship was an issue at Olympia and therefore that the boy who benefitted from Agesilaos' help must have been the younger boy.

62 Diog. Laert. 8.47-48. The anecdote is repeated – in very similar words – in the Olympic victor list of Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 48. (ed. Christesen & Martirosova-Torlone 2006)

63 Artemidorus 1.59: Ἐγκρίνεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀγαθόν. ἀθληταῖς δὲ παισὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίσημον διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐγκρίσεως ἡλικίαν, ἀνδράσι δὲ ἄπρακτον· παιδικὴ γὰρ ἡ ἔγκρισις.

the *enkrisis* in *The Interpretation of Dreams* illustrates well that growing bigger and stronger was not only a gift but also a worry for talented boys: it increased both their odds of winning the boys' competition and those of being excluded from it.

Pausanias too refers to the examiners: in a passage on the oath sworn by the athletes at the statue of Zeus Horkios in Olympia, he writes that "an oath is also taken by those who examine the boys (ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ... κρίνουσιν), or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not."[64] Examiners of the adult athletes are again not mentioned, nor are criteria, but the feature connecting boys with foals is obviously their non-adult status.

More details about the practical organization of the *enkrisis* are known from Isthmia, where young competitors of the Isthmian games wanted to qualify either for the category of the boys or for that of the *ageneioi*. In the second century, a benefactor paid for several buildings, including examination rooms (IG IV 203, ll. 12-13: ἐνκριτήριοι οἶκοι). Unique evidence about how the local team of examiners reached their decisions is offered by four lead ballots, all from the imperial era.[65] SEG 32.364, the only complete one, shows the basic formula: I, Marius Tyrannus, exclude Simakos (Μάριος Τύραννος | Σήμακον ἐκκρείνω).[66]

It is unlikely that the exact procedure of which we find traces in the works of Artemidorus and Pausanias or in the Isthmian ballots had been in place since the archaic period. With the duplication of the age categories of most *agones* from the fourth century BC onward, the number of decisions to be taken increased proportionally. Around the same time, in

64 Paus. 5.24.10: ὀμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πώλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄνευ δώρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μή, φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. Translation by W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod (LCL 188).

65 *SEG* 32.364, 44.305-307. Cf. Jordan & Spawforth 1982: 65-68; Jordan 1994: 111-26.

66 Σήμακος, the name as written on the ballot, is unique and therefore most likely a misspelling – with ι, η, ει, οι, υ and γ all pronounced as *i* in the Roman period, such mistakes are common. Jordan identifies the name as Σίμακος, which is common in inscriptions from the later Hellenistic period from Butrint (Epirus), but rare elsewhere (only nine attestations outside Epirus in the PHI database). Symmachos, which phonetically sounded similar, was far more common.

the late classical and Hellenistic period, one can see an increasing separation of work between contest presidents and contest judges: the organization and financial administration came into the hands of *agonothetai*, who enjoyed more prestige than judges such as the *hellanodikai*, who supervised the actual contests.[67] Some of these judges retained the traditional names, for example the *hellanodikai*, but at some games there were specific judges named *enkritai* after their role in the examination.[68]

The exclusion of slaves

Although the sources clearly show that the *enkrisis* was for underage athletes only, it is still widely assumed that adult athletes also underwent some kind of admission procedure. The central source text in this discussion is a passage in Philostratus' *Gymnasticus*: "a *hellanodikes* or *amphiktyon* decides about a boy athlete according to the following: whether he has a *phyle* and *patris*, whether he has a father and family, whether he belongs to the free men and is not illegitimate, and above all, whether he

67 On the development of the *agonothesia*, see Papakonstantinou 2016. Epigraphically, the *agonothetai* overshadow the judges because their office required capital, which made it more interesting for purposes of self-promotion. The title *hellanodikai* was taken over by various other contests in the third century, cf. Zoumbaki 2011: 12-21. By the imperial period, the *hellanodikai* were clearly low in the hierarchy. Pausanias mentions them often, but always in connection with the practical organization of the contest: purification before rituals (5.16.8); specialization in a specific discipline from 400 BC on (5.9.5); supervision of the obligatory training in the gymnasium of Elis in the month before the Olympics (6.23.2); dealing with petitions by athletes (6.15.5); deciding which competitor had won (6.3.7; 6.13.9; 8.40.1-2); imposing fines (5.21; 6.6.6; 6.9.6); keeping records (6.2.3; 6.7.1). Since Pausanias is the main source on the activities of *hellanodikai* it is significant that he says nothing about them checking ethnic credentials.

68 See *SEG* 3.369, a fragmentary inscription from Lebadeia, perhaps from the first century BC and probably connected to the *Basileia*. Heberdey & Wilhelm 1896: 30 nr. 68 is an imperial-age inscription from Cilicia for a wrestler who had, under the ἐνκριταί headed by Zenon, won a local *agon* instituted by a Herakleides alias Herodoros. The fact that the athlete obtained his wrestling victory in the category of the boys can help to explain this unique occurrence of the examiners as eponymous officials.

is young and not over the age limit of the boys."[69] Immediately after this, Philostratus lists a series of other psychological and physical traits, all likewise duplicated into pairs of connected traits, which were examined by a *gymnastes* but not by the judges at contests[70]. Philostratus' explanation of the *enkrisis* therefore serves as contrast with the *gymnastes*' knowledge of physiognomy (that is, the complete analysis of body and temperament), which is not limited to a certain age and which is a central theme in this treatise.

Like the previously discussed authors, Philostratus points out that the main (ἐπὶ πᾶσιν) criterion for the admission of boys was their age. The other questions, however, about his *phyle* and *patris*, about his father and family, and about his legitimate birth and status as a free man, were strictly not part of the *enkrisis* and could equally be asked of adult athletes. They require particular attention, moreover, as they could potentially reflect two of the three requirements for participation that are postulated in modern scholarship, Greek identity and free status – the third, masculinity, would obviously not require an formal check as the athletes competed naked.

There is no reason to doubt the *communis opinio* that freedom from slavery was an essential qualification for all athletes. This is literally spelled out to us by various authors. Moreover, because being a slave represented a legal status, this criterion did not pose any definition problems, as an ethnic criterion would. Although we have little explicit evidence for this rule before the imperial age, the aristocratic origin and ideology of athletics suggest that the exclusion of slaves characterized

69 Philostr. *Gymnasticus* 25: παῖδα ἀθλητὴν ἑλλανοδίκης μέν τις ἢ ἀμφικτύων κρίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε· εἰ φυλὴ τῷδε καὶ πατρίς, εἰ πατὴρ καὶ γένος, εἰ ἐλευθέρων καὶ μὴ νόθος, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ νέος καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ παῖδα.

70 Weiler 2008: 190 also counts the following three pairs of qualities (εἰ δ' ἐγκρατὴς ἢ ἀκρατής, εἰ μεθυστής, εἰ λίχνος, εἰ θαρσαλέος ἢ δειλός) among the admission requirements checked by the judges, but the various editions of this text (the 1871 Teubner edition by Kayser, the Jüthner edition with German translation and commentary from 1909 and the 2014 Loeb edition by König) all logically place a full stop before this word group, as the end of the sentence is announced by ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. The new qualities and vices (self-control or the lack thereof, being a drunkard of a glutton, and courage and cowardice) belong to the next sentence, about what the judges are not allowed to take into account, but the trainer should.

athletics from early on.[71] For the imperial period, Artemidorus' work *On the Interpretation of Dreams* confirms the evidence of Philostratus: for a slave, he writes, it was auspicious to dream of winning a sacred *agon*, as this predicted that he would be proclaimed a free man, "because these things are typical of free men."[72] The dream interpreter added a cautionary note that this only worked for contests that had the status of being 'sacred'. Slaves were indeed allowed to compete in some local festivals.[73]

Explicit information on how slaves were excluded in practice can be found in a late-antique athletic metaphor appearing in two sermons by John Chrysostom. Preaching in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, John Chrysostom used a large number of athletic metaphors that are particularly rich in detail: he did not just copy literary models but was able to play with them because of his personal knowledge of games.[74] He started his career as a preacher in Antioch, which still had a lively tradition of Olympic games during (and after) his lifetime, so even if it would have been bad for his reputation as a priest to attend these games, he may well have visited them in his youth, and was able to hear about the games from eyewitnesses.[75] John Chrysostom twice uses the image of a herald summoning the assembled people to identify potential participants as slaves. "Tell me, I invite you, does the herald at the Olympic contests not stand shouting with a loud and mighty voice 'whether someone speaks against this man', saying 'no slave, no thief, no one of wicked manners'."[76] "When all have sat down in the theater, the herald asks loudly

71 According to Aeschin. *In Tim.* 138 the Athenian law forbade slaves to take exercise and anoint themselves in the palaistras. This is confirmed by the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia (*SEG* 27.261, mid 2nd century BC). For a systematic treatment see Crowther 1992.

72 Artemidorus 1.62: ὅπως δ' ἂν ἀγωνίσηται δοῦλος ἐν ἱερῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ νικήσῃ καὶ στεφανωθῇ, ἀνακηρυχθεὶς ἐλεύθερος ἔσται· ἴδια γὰρ ταῦτα ἐλευθέρων. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἐν ἱερῷ ἀγῶνι μόνον, ἐπεὶ ἀλλαχόθι γε οὐκ ἔστι τὸ αὐτό.

73 Crowther 1992: 36-37.

74 Koch 2007 collects all of John Chrysostom's agonistic metaphors.

75 Remijsen 2015: 95, 287.

76 *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* 63.133.9-14: Εἰπὲ δή μοι, παρακαλῶ, ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς ἀγῶσιν οὐχὶ ἕστηκεν ὁ κήρυξ βοῶν μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν, εἴ τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ, λέγων, μὴ δοῦλός ἐστι, μὴ κλέπτης, μὴ τρόπων πονηρῶν; The suggestion that athletes could not be thieves or any other types of 'bad characters' is typically late-antique: cf. John

whether someone will accuse this or that participant, so that he, having been cleared of the suspicion of slavery, can in this manner enter in the games."[77] This suggests that the status of a participant was not checked upon registration, but that all athletes were in principle suspected of not belonging until the silence of the crowd cleared them of this suspicion. In the filled stadium, the herald announced with the words 'Does someone speak against this man?' (= τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ), providing the last chance to bring a charge against one of the contenders.

Whereas John Chrysostom describes the crowd as having the final opportunity to incriminate an athlete, Pseudo-Dionysius suggests that it was usually fellow athletes who would identify slave-athletes. This author of a rhetorical handbook, perhaps from the early fourth century AD, discusses the penalties for athletes contravening the rules (i.e. technical, sports-related rules), which could comprise a fine but, more importantly, also corporal punishment. *Agones* were a rare context in which corporal punishment of free citizens was socially accepted; normally this type of punishment was reserved for slaves. In order to underline the contradiction between the free status of the athletes and the servile nature of their punishment, Pseudo-Dionysius writes: "If they notice a slave competing, they accuse him and exclude him as unworthy of the competition, while, as for themselves, they get a verdict of freedom from the *athlothetai* at the same time as they get the punishment of slaves for themselves."[78]

Cassian *Instituta* 5.12 (no athlete defiled by infamy, no slaves) from the early 5th century AD. The summary of the Olympic oath at Paus. 5.24.9 contains only a clause that athletes had not sinned against the Olympics, not in general. Because of the association with freedom, John Chrysostom's addition can be connected to the Roman legal concept of *infamia*. Being a performer limited one's civil rights according to Roman law, in the same way as being a criminal or prostitute did. Although *agones* were distinguished from performances burdening someone with legal infamy from early on, only in late antiquity was the concept of infamy well-known enough in the East for an explicit formulation to arise that athletes could not be infamous to begin with. Cf. Remijsen 2015: 323-24, 341-42.

77 *In principium actorum* 51.76: καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καθημένου παντὸς, βοᾷ ὁ κήρυξ, μή τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ; ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀποσκευασάμενον τῆς δουλείας τὴν ὑποψίαν οὕτως εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐμβῆναι. Just prior, he explains that this takes place after the thirty days of training preceding the games.

78 [Dion. Hal.] *Rhet.* 7.6: καὶ ἂν μὲν δοῦλον αἰσθάνωνταί τινα τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων εἶναι, κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκκρίνειν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῶν

The unnamed subject of the verb αἰσθάνωνταί ("they notice") refers to the athletes. Slaves were hence not caught by examiners, but by their opponents, who could accuse (κατηγορεῖν) them in the same way as spectators could. The *agonothetai,* and not the *hellanodikai* or *enkritai,* are represented as the ultimate authorities in this procedure.

Pseudo-Dionysius thus confirms the existence of the reactive procedure described by John Chrysostom: the burden of unmasking participants as slaves did not lie with the organizers. All participants were treated as innocent, until charged by a third party with the crime of being slaves pretending to be free. The organizers seem to have counted on the extensive field of fellow competitors, as well as on visitors in other capacities, to catch athletes who claimed to be someone they were not. For local competitors, this type of social control would have sufficed, as most spectators came from the same region. It would also have functioned for adult athletes from further away. Many poleis would be represented not by a single athlete, but by an entire delegation of athletes and other representatives, who could exert social control. Not all athletes, however, would have been accompanied by such a large delegation. This was especially true in the imperial period, when some competitors travelled from contest to contest and covered long distances. By this time, however, the milieu of travelling athletes had become close-knit: competitors knew each other well from other contests, and often belonged to the worldwide synod of travelling competitors.[79] This is no doubt why Pseudo-Dionysius identifies the competitors as the most likely people to raise alarm about an individual without clear credentials. This reactive system did not require an additional and far more laborious systematic check of the status of all athletes upon registration.

The one group of competitors for whom a reactive procedure is most likely to have been insufficient is that of the younger athletes. Whereas

ἀθλοθετῶν ψήφους τῆς ἐλευθερίας λαμβάνοντας τὴν τῆς δουλείας καθ' ἑαυτῶν φέρειν. Since the athletes are the subject of the clause, the author does not use the verb ἐκκρίνειν in a technical sense, but as a synonym of "the expulsion from both the stadia and the games" (τὸ ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν σταδίων καὶ ἀγώνων) mentioned previously.

79 See n. 118.

an adult male was supposed to act independently, boys were not yet independent. A man with a well-trained slave boy could be hard to distinguish from a man with his son or ward[80], all the more because the youngest athletes would not yet have become well-known among the other competitors. This may explain why Philostratus says that the free status of boys was checked systematically at the time of the *enkrisis*, which removed the need for an additional reactive procedure.

3. THE REGISTRATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The declaration of fatherhood and citizenship in the imperial era

Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* further explains that the judges enquired in each interview with a boy "whether he had a *phyle* and *patris*, whether he had a father and family" (25: εἰ φυλὴ τῷδε καὶ πατρίς, εἰ πατὴρ καὶ γένος). Taken out of context, Philostratus seems to be listing four additional criteria. The entire passage, however, is highly stylized: in the longer list of traits of athletes following this phrase, each trait is duplicated, often by the presentation of two opposites, or where this is not possible – as in this case – by two cognates. Each duo, therefore, represents one general criterion: the first can be summarized as 'citizenship', the second as 'family'. Evidently, boys were registered in the time of Philostratus with the name of their father and of their city; the author implies that these were criteria for admission. Since the two elements reflect the way in which victors were typically proclaimed by the herald (X, son of Y, from polis Z), this might be applicable to the adult athletes as well. This section will first look closer at the registration of the father and then turn to the question of citizenship. The discussion on the latter, more essential point

80 This remains difficult for modern scholars as well. The young boy Pyrrhos, whose athletic formation was paid for by the rich estate manager Zenon (*P. Lond.* VII 1941), is often identified as a slave trained to win money for his master (e.g. Golden 2008, 43), but can more safely be identified as an orphan of a client of Zenon's, and hence a free young man, like the other orphan supported by Zenon in *PSI* IV 418. See Clarysse & Vandorpe 1995: 61-62.

will focus on whether having a citizenship mattered. This does not involve a full geographical survey of which citizenships are recorded, since this would only document where athletics was practiced on a high level, but would offer no basis for reevaluating the underlying hypothesis that Greekness was defined in terms of citizenship.[81]

IvO 56, a fragmentary inscription from Olympia containing the rules for participation in the *Sebasta* in Naples, confirms Philostratus' information that the name of the father was registered for all contestants upon their arrival. Lines 19-22 read:

> ἀπογραφέσ|[θω]σαν πρὸς το[ὺς ἀγων]ο̣θέ̣τας πατρόθ[εν καὶ τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὃ προαιροῦνται κατὰ τὴν κ]ρίσιν ἀγώνισμα. οἱ | [δ]ὲ ἀθ̣ληταὶ καὶ ἐ[λθέτωσα]ν καὶ πρὸς γυμ̣[ασίαν — — —, — — — ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἔστω ἑκάστ]ωι τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀπ[ο]|[γρ]άφεσθαι ὀνο[μαστὶ ὡς ἂν χρη]ματίζηι ἢ πα[τρόθεν ἢ ἄλλῳ ὡ̣τινιοῦν τρόπῳ καθεστη]κότι κατὰ τὸν νόμον· | [εἰ] δὲ μὴ, ζημιού[σθω ὑπὸ τῶν] ἀ̣γωνοθετῶ[ν δραχμαῖς — — — · ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποτίνῃ τὴν ζημίαν, μ]αστειγούσθω.
>
> They shall register with the *agonothetai* with their father's name ... category competition (?). The athletes also [shall go?] to the training (or: the gymnasium?) ... and each of the athletes shall be registered with the name by which he is officially known, whether with his fa[ther's name or in whichever other way establ]ished by law. If someone does not do this, he shall be fined by the *agonothetai* ... shall be whipped.

I refrain from translating too much of the restored text between brackets, as these are merely suggestions. The remaining fragments confirm, however, the latter criterion of Philostratus for another major *agon* of the imperial age: the organizers of the *Sebasta* in Naples required athletes to enter the games under the name by which they were officially known, which included the name of their father. Athletes could even be fined for claiming a different identity. The verb ἀπογράφομαι, used in *IvO* 56 for

81 For such surveys see Farrington 1997: 16-19; Scanlon 2002: 40-63.

the act of registering, is also used for the registration procedure at Olympia in a rhetorical composition for educational purposes from the later fourth or even fifth century AD.[82]

The father's name was a traditional part of a person's full name in the Greek language, so it is not surprising that once a registration procedure was established, this information was expected from all athletes. But that does not mean that the procedure for adults was exactly the same as that for boys. Whereas for adult athletes, it would just have been a matter of declaring their official name, for boy athletes the identification of the father or another adult family member had an additional reason, which explains why Philostratus presents it as a criterion for admission. Adult athletes could perform legal and sacral acts themselves. At the Olympics, this included for example swearing at the statue of Zeus Horkios to commit no crime against the Olympic games. In the case of boys, who did not swear the oath themselves, an accompanying adult did it for him, as it was he who would potentially offer or accept bribes.[83] This implies that boys had to be accompanied by an older male relative or a guardian.

IvO 56 does not only attest to the existence of a formal registration in Naples, but also documents a new criterion for admission, namely that an athlete could only compete if he registered before the deadline. Acceptable reasons for being late were sickness or an attack by bandits or

82 Sopater 8.349-53: τὸν ἀπογραψάμενον Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀγωνίσηται, μηκέτι Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνίζεσθαι, "He who has registered for the Olympics, if he does not then compete, can never compete at the Olympics again." This line comes from a selection of exemplary compositions on stock themes under various headings, which reflect the rules with which a student should engage in the exercise. Under the above heading, Sopater discusses the situation of a hypothetical athlete who had registered for the Olympic games, but went home before the competition started when he heard that his city was at war, and after winning the war, wanted to register at Olympia for a second time, but was not allowed to do so.

83 Paus. 5.24.9-10 explains that the same oath was sworn by the athletes' fathers, brothers, and trainers. A good illustration that bribing by family members was a real problem is *P.Oxy.* LXXIV 5209 (AD 267), a papyrus contract between the father of one boy wrestler and the two guardians of another stipulating both the sum the father would pay to the guardians when the latter boy lost on purpose and the fine the latter would pay to the former if he did not lose.

pirates (l. 24-25: ἔστωσαν δὲ [νό]σος ἢ λῃστα[ὶ ...]).[84] This rule against late arrival is known from Olympia as well. According to Pausanias, one of the Zanes-statues (i.e. statues of Zeus paid for by athletes punished for a misdemeanor) was constructed by a certain Apollonios after the games of AD 93. "He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games."[85] The prescribed time was 30 days before the start of the Olympics. During this period the athletes trained together under the supervision of the *hellanodikai* in the old gymnasium at Elis.[86] Apollonios blamed his delay on the wind, but Herakleides, a fellow Alexandrian who had traveled a similar route, knew better. "He showed that Apollonios was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games. In these circumstances the Eleans shut out Apollonios from the games along with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time."[87] Being late was apparently not a major offence: in this anecdote, several athletes did it, and would have gotten away with it if they had given a convincing reason, as they could in Naples. Although Apollonios' disrespect for the deadline resulted in an expulsion, it was not so offensive that the Eleans

84 It is possible that exceptions could be made if not enough athletes presented themselves. Heliod. *Aeth.* 4.2 describes the situation in which only one athlete presented himself for the race-in-armor of the Pythian games – he was so impressive that he terrified the competition – and that the herald at his request invited last-minute opponents to run against him. It is impossible to confirm, however, whether the situation in this novel represented contemporary reality.

85 Paus. 5.21.12-14, esp. 13: ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων πειθομένων τῷ νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἴργεσθαι. Translation by W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod (LCL 188).

86 Philostr. *VA* 5.43 (30 days); Paus. 6.23 (the 'old gymnasion'). According to John Chrysostom (*In principium actorum* 51.76: Μετὰ γὰρ τὰς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας) an obligatory training of thirty days likewise existed for the Olympics games of Antioch. The editors of *IvO* 56 suggest a preparation period of 30 days for Naples for a gap in l. 19.

87 Paus. 5.21.13-14: τὴν γάρ οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο ἐναντίων, Ἡρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἤλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὖσαν· ὑστερῆσαι γὰρ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ. οὕτω δὴ τόν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι. Translation adapted from W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod (LCL 188).

requested him to pay for a statue: this fine he paid for beating up Herakleides in his frustration about the missed opportunity.

When this deadline was introduced is unclear. *IvO* 56 has as *terminus post quem* the foundation of the *Sebasta* in 2 AD, but the inscription may be as late as the second century.[88] This makes the anecdote about Apollonios in AD 93 the earliest datable instance for the deadline. An inscription from Amphipolis shows that a registration upon arrival can be traced back at least to the second century BC, though without the specification of a deadline. In the gymnasiarchical law, following rule was included: "And let the gymnasiarchs of the cities of Macedonia register (ἀπογραφέσθωσαν) in the city where they disembark for the first time the athletes who arrive in order to take part in the games, interrogating them for which event (ἀθλημάτων) they arrive, and let them transmit the document to the priest and to the gymnasiarch appointed for the games having a crown as a prize."[89]

There must of course have been a far longer tradition of athletes coming early in order to scout the competition. Already in the late archaic period, it was possible to have a victory "without dust" (ἀκονιτί), meaning that one of the competitors seemed invincible before the games had started, leading his opponents to withdraw timely.[90] One must distinguish, however, between informal practices and the official introduction of a one-month preparation period and a registration deadline.[91] Most likely, the traditional self-regulating system stopped being effective at some point because of the permanent increase in participants, which led to more formal regulations. In an agonistic landscape with many interesting opportunities for athletes, an obligatory stay of 30 days before the games could be used by the organizers to underline the special status of

88 *SEG* 58.411 dates it to the second century.

89 Hatzopoulos 1996: I 410 (translation), II nr. 16 (Greek).

90 For the term see Decker 1996. The earliest attestation is Ebert 1972: nr. 9 (a late 6th-century BC inscription on a jumping weight). See also Ebert 1972: nr. 37 l. 5, for an attestation of a 'dustless' Pythian victory for the famous Theogenes (early 5th century BC).

91 Already Gardiner 1910: 202 acknowledged that the obligatory month of training was introduced after the classical period.

their contests and the presence of the competitors and their entourage could, moreover, stimulate economic exchange in their city.

Now it has been established, at least for the imperial period, that the registration of participants with their official name was a standard practice, that competitors were only eligible if they arrived in time for the preparatory training and that boys had to be accompanied by an adult, we need to turn to the question of citizenship. Philostratus mentioned family and polis for the boys, and the registration of the former can be extended for all athletes on the basis of *IvO* 56. Unfortunately, the preserved fragments of this inscription do not confirm that citizenship was equally recorded. The suggestion of the editors to supply the word πατρίς on l. 20 is reasonable, however. The polis too was central to identity in the ancient world, and for athletes in particular, as the announcement of their polis by the herald shows.[92] For Olympia, there is good evidence that the polis was recorded systematically in the imperial era. The list of Olympic *stadion* victors shows that athletes are consistently known as citizens of a polis in this period. Of all imperial-age athletes on this list – which stops in AD 217 – there is only one exception: Stephanos the Cappadocian in AD 97. Even this may be an error: on the basis of a more complete Armenian manuscript of the list, we know that some information was lost during a late redaction, in particular when the original entry included both a polis and a region.[93] Caesarea, the main city of Cappadocia, would have required specification of the region, as Caesarea was a common city name and, in the first century AD, the more famous Caesarea was the one in Palestine.

The main question is not, however, whether citizenship was registered, but whether the wrong citizenship or the lack of one could be a criterion for exclusion. The most explicit evidence can be found in another late-antique text related to rhetorical training. A popular handbook for this type of training was a second-century work called *De statis*

92 See e.g. Mann 2001: esp. 25.

93 See Christesen & Martirosova-Torlone 2006: 40-55 for the textual history of the list and 58 for a table with shortened geographical identifiers of athletes in the Greek manuscript. There are two cases where the polis is known only from the Armenian manuscript but the region is recorded in both: for 252 BC Xenophanes of (Amphissa in) Aetolia and for 168 BC Aristandros of (Antissa on) Lesbos.

by Hermogenes. This theoretical treatise categorized argumentative strategies and became particularly popular with teachers of rhetoric of the fourth and fifth centuries. They made their students acquainted with Hermogenes' argumentation strategies by means of stereotypical exercises about stock themes, which did not relate to contemporary legal proceedings, but to an imagined classical Greece. The commentaries on Hermogenes' *De statis* by Sopater, Syrianus and Marcellinus contain examples of themes employed for the discussion and training of each of Hermogenes' categories. Twice in these commentaries, the authors illustrate a particular argumentative strategy as follows: "As for instance the rule that a man without a polis cannot compete (οἷον νόμος τὸν ἄπολιν μὴ ἀγωνίζεσθαι)."[94] The imaginary case to be argued in connection to this rule was whether an Athenian living in exile was indeed without citizenship. The longer commentary starts with the following situation: μετὰ τὰ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ ἀπεγράψατο εἰς Ὀλύμπια καὶ κωλύεται, "After the battle at Salamis an Athenian man has registered at Olympia and is refused."

These late-antique rhetorical exercises clearly imagine that athletes were formally registered with their citizenship on a list of competitors before the start of the competition, and that the lack of citizenship could be grounds for exclusion from the games. As the Olympic games came to an end only in the early fifth century AD,[95] this idea may have been based on the contemporary situation. Although I am unaware of any other explicit formulation of this idea that an athlete could not be *apolis*, such a rule would be in line with what Philostratus says about the admission of boys, with the consistent record of citizenships of athletes in the imperial era and with the verifiable existence of a registration process requiring identification according to the law from at least the first century AD onward. It seems therefore reasonable to postulate the existence of this rule that all athletes had to be citizens of a city for the entire imperial period. Is it reasonable, however, to extend this to the preceding centuries? The Amphipolis inscription only specifies the registration of the

94 *Syriani, Sopatri et Marcellini scholia ad Hermogenis Status* 4.534.18-28 (attributed to the three commentators jointly) and 4.546.25-29 (attributed to Syrianus).

95 Remijsen 2015: 164-69.

event, not of the citizenship of arriving athletes. If the rule and the registration procedure could be traced back to the first clear demonstrations of Greekness at the major *agones* around 476 BC, the advocates of an exclusive policy would have a reasonable basis for connecting ethnicity with citizenship.

Registration of citizenship before the Roman era?

Most athletes recorded in inscriptions and victor lists of the classical and Hellenistic periods are identified with both the name of their father and with their polis, as they were in the Roman period. The case for this being the consequence of an equivalent rule, however, is rather weak. While we know of only one exception in the last 300 years of the list of Olympic *stadion* victors, the number of athletes from the preceding period for whom no polis is known is clearly higher: there are 14 exceptions in the period from the seventh to the second century BC, with at least one exception in each century, and as many as seven examples in the third century.[96] It is difficult for all 14 athletes identified with a region but not with a polis to be explained away as manuscript omissions, because in most cases in which the Greek version contains less information than the Armenian, it is the region that was left out, not the city.[97] Moreover, papyrus fragments from similar lists, copied around circa AD 200, confirm

96 Five victors were listed as Thessalians (648: Kraxilas, 524: Menandros; 460: Torymmas; 436: Theopompos; 256: Hippokrates), three as Macedonians (328: Kliton, 292-288: Antigonos, 268: Seleukos, 264: Bilistiche), three as Aetolians (252: Xenophanes; 240: Eraton, 200: Pyrrhias), one as a Boeotian (196: Mikion) and one as Epirote (136: Antipatros). Two of these, Hippokrates and Bilistiche, are known only via the Armenian manuscript.

97 See n. 93. A geographical identification of the polis is certainly removed from the Greek manuscript in the following cases: for 204 BC Herakleides of Salamis (on Cyprus); for 184 BC Hippostratos of Seleuceia (in Pieria); for 92 BC Protophanes of Magnesia (on the Maeander); for 36 BC Skamandros of Alexandria (in the Troad); for AD 13 Diophanes of Prousa (by Mt. Olympus); for AD 189 Magnos (a Libian) of Cyrene.

that these exceptions resulted from a deliberate habit of regional (as opposed to polis) identification.[98] Victory epigrams and epigraphic victor lists for other contests, such as the *Panathenaia*, likewise document this occasional practice of regional identification, in particular in the Hellenistic period.[99] This suggests that declaring one's polis as a victor was in this period a matter of personal preference.

For some cases in which the athletes are identified with a region instead of a polis one could perhaps argue that the regional identification represents an alternative 'citizenship' – and that these are therefore not real exceptions – especially when they coincide with a strong league in that region or with monarchic rule. This argument does not work for all cases, however. Whereas the identification of victors as Aetolians in the third century BC coincides with the early-Hellenistic heyday of their

98 *P.Oxy.* I 12, Col. V, ll. 15-16 (dated paleographically to AD 200-250) records for 328 BC Kriton the Macedonian, confirming the lack of the city in the later manuscript tradition of the *stadion* victor list, though suggesting a mistake in the spelling of the first name in the latter. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2082, fr. 4, which lists Olympic victors in all disciplines, has two Boeotians without city for 296 BC (ll. 22-23; l. 27) as well as a Thessalian without a city (ll. 36-37). A further piece of the same papyrus (composed of fragments 6 and 7) presumably covered 264 BC and names two further winners as Thessalians, of which the latter without a polis (l. 5), and one Macedonian woman connected to a Ptolemy (ll. 6-8), whose name is lost. This victor in chariot race for foals must be Belistiche, who is also mentioned in the Armenian manuscript of Eusebius' victor list.

99 Epigrams: e.g. Ebert 1972: nr. 30 (Isthmian victor identified as Cretan, late 5th century BC?), nr. 54 (Isthmian and Pythian victor identified as Phocian, ca. 300 BC), nr. 55 (= IAG 33, Olympic victor identified as Arcadian, ca. 300 BC) and nr. 68 (Olympic and Nemean victor identified as from the Troad, late 3rd century BC?), all without identification of a polis. In Posidippus' *Hippika* (early 3rd century BC), regions (8 times) are more often named than poleis (3 times): *Ep*. 71, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87 and 88 all mention Thessaly or Macedonia (once referred to as the area Eordaia). Victor lists: in the Panathenaic victor lists from ca. 200-180 we find three Boeotians (*IG* II^2 2313, col. I 3, col. II 18; 2314, col. I 9-11) and one Epirote (*IG* II^2 2313, col. II 24). Another particularly interesting example is a victor list from the *Basileia* at Alexandria (*SEG* 27 1114), dated to 267 BC and listing – besides four athletes identified with a polis – four Macedonians, six Thracians, a Thessalian and a Boeotian, who were presumably all military settlers in Egypt. For a commentary see Koenen 1977: esp. 19-28.

league, and the Boeotian victors can possibly be connected to the particular agonistic interest of the Hellenistic Boeotian league, such a chronological link is difficult to find for the Thessalians, who are well attested among these victors without a specified polis.[100] The Achaean league, moreover, which had a particularly important political role in the third and second century BC, is conspicuously absent.[101] This league did not represent a region with a strong identity, whereas the regions most athletes without a polis identified with, such as Thessaly or Boeotia, typically had a strong regional tradition. It is this regional identity, not their citizenship, that victors wanted to underline. The lack of a link with citizenship is even clearer in the case of monarchies. An Epirote won in 136 BC, that is when the Romans had already put an end to the Epirote monarchy. Macedonia was united under the Antigonid dynasty in the third century, when this identifier is best attested for victors, but many of the 'Macedonian' victors actually lived in Ptolemaic Egypt. Families who migrated from traditional areas of Hellas to Ptolemaic Egypt and were settled on farmland along the Nile were in fact truly *apolis* until Septimius Severus granted polis rights to the provincial cities of Egypt.[102]

There are further indications that we cannot project onto the classical or early Hellenistic period the imperial-age rule that no athlete could be *apolis*. Even if Sopater thought of banishment as an impediment to par-

100 The recorded Boeotian victors are all from the third and second centuries BC. Although the Boeotian league was reconstituted after 338, it never regained the predominant position it had in the classical period (cf. Funke 1997: 735). This only goes for its role on the international stage, however; locally it was particularly active in the development of new *agones*, which shows that athletics was an important outlet for Boeotian identity (cf. Parker 2004: 15). Victors are recorded as Thessalians from the seventh until the third century BC. Their league was a rather loose confederacy, with which the main noble families were not always cooperating (cf. Beck 2002: 448-50). Most coins of the league date from the second century BC, when Thessalian identity is no longer attested in the victory list. For the prominence of Thessalian identity among Hellenistic agonistic epigrams, see Scharff 2016.

101 See Freitag 2013 for the activities of the Aetolian and Achaean leagues at the 'Panhellenic' sanctuaries in the third and second centuries BC.

102 The most famous examples are of course the Ptolemies themselves and Belistiche. The same goes for the military settlers of *SEG* 27.1114 (see n. 98). For their lack of citizenship see Remijsen 2014: 354-56.

ticipation at Olympia, this was not yet perceived as a problem by Herodotus.[103] A whole series of anecdotes illustrates that it was in fact perfectly possible in the fifth or fourth century BC to gain a victory for a city in which one did not have citizen rights. The most famous case of a victory proclaimed with the 'wrong' city is that of the Spartan Lichas, whose team of horses participated in the Olympics of 420 BC and was proclaimed as a team of either Thebes or the Boeotian civic body. Elis had excluded the Spartans from the festival because they had violated the sacred truce – here we see the use of a short list of expressly excluded cities rather than a long one of included cities. When Lichas after the proclamation came up and crowned the charioteer in order to identify himself publicly as the owner, the Eleans got angry and beat him up.[104]

In the work of Pausanias we find many other relevant anecdotes. Writing in the second century AD, Pausanias was used to athletes recording their citizenship according to the legal reality, so a change of polis within an athlete's career struck him as something remarkable that needed to be explained.[105] In this way, he has preserved many anecdotes from the classical era concerning athletes who were bribed to have themselves proclaimed as athletes from a different city than their home town.[106] The Sicilian tyrants seem to have specialized in this way of buying extra honor for themselves and the polis Syracuse. More illuminating than the famous case of Astylos and the less well-known case of Dikon is

103 Hdt. 6.103: Kimon was proclaimed with his own name after the first victory during his exile, but attributed the second to Peisistratos. Herodotus seems to have found nothing remarkable about the polis mentioned in these proclamations, as he gives no information on it.

104 Thuc. 5.50.4: ἀνακηρυχθέντος Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21: παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἅρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, Paus. 6.2.2-3: Θηβαίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἔχει νενικηκότα. Hornblower 2000 argues that this ban only affected the Olympics of 420 BC.

105 Thus when discussing monuments for the Ptolemies, Pausanias explicitly notes that they called themselves Macedonians, adding as a correction at 6.3.1 that Ptolemy I was in fact king of Egypt, and at 10.7.8 explaining that the kings of Egypt were indeed Macedonians.

106 Pausanias also narrates Olympic bribery scandals for the Roman period (5.21.9, 15-17), but these follow a different pattern: they involve one of the parties bribing the other to secure victory and not, as in the classical bribing scandals, a city paying a victor to announce himself in a particular way.

the story of the boy athlete Antipater from Miletus: "Men of Syracuse, who were bringing a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, tried to bribe the father of Antipater to have his son proclaimed as a Syracusan. But Antipater, thinking naught of the tyrant's gifts, proclaimed himself a Milesian."[107] This shows that the Syracusans did not contact and 'naturalize' athletes before the Olympics, but approached the main contenders for the crown on the spot – this was of course more efficient (and hence cheaper) than bribing all possible victors. The case of Antipater does not represent an exceptional situation, as the Sicilian tyrants were not the only ambitious men to fall back on *ad hoc* bribing as a method for success. In 380, the Cretan Sotadas had himself proclaimed as an Ephesian after being offered a bribe.[108] Such anecdotes indicate that the herald did not get his information on the victor from a register made upon the arrival of the athletes, but from the victor himself.[109] Wolicki observed that the victor could in this period decide to have each of the elements of his identification changed: his own name, that of his father and his city.[110]

The only classical case in which Pausanias does not speak of a victor 'being announced' as being from a city (mostly using the verb ἀναγορεύω), but of actually receiving *politeia*, is that of Ergoteles, who came from Cnossus but was expelled from this city by an adverse political party and hence moved to Himera.[111] Similar political motivations were behind the proclamation of Dorieus and Peisirodoros (son and grandson of the famous Rhodian athlete Diagoras) as victors of Thurioi.[112] In both cases we cannot be certain that the athletes formally received citizenship of their new homes before their victory. Sharing the glory of an athletic victory with a desired new fatherland could indeed constitute a

107 Paus. 6.13.1 (Astylos); 6.3.11 (Dikon). Paus. 6.2.6: Συρακοσίων δὲ ἄνδρες, ἄγοντες ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν παρὰ Διονυσίου θυσίαν, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου χρήμασιν ἀναπείθουσιν ἀναγορευθῆναί οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Συρακουσῶν· Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ τοῦ τυράννου τὰ δῶρα ἡγούμενος ἀνεῖπεν αὑτὸν Μιλήσιον. Translation by W.H.S. Jones (LCL 272).

108 Paus. 6.18.6.

109 Roos 1985: 164 likewise accepts this as evidence that there was no registration of the origin of the participants before the event.

110 Wolicki 2002: 78-79.

111 Paus. 6.4.11.

112 Paus. 6.7.4.

ground for the subsequent award of citizenship. An inscription from circa 300 BC records the grant of citizenship to the boy athlete Athenodoros, who was living in Ephesus as a foreigner, only after he had himself proclaimed as an Ephesian at the Nemean games.[113]

The registration of some victors with their region but without their polis on official victor lists from the archaic period until the first century BC, the similar commemoration of victors identified solely by region in classical and Hellenistic epigrams, the bribing scandals involving the announcement of a victor as competing for a city of which he was not a citizen and the early Hellenistic case of Athenodoros receiving Ephesian citizenship only after he was announced as Ephesian at Nemea all indicate that before the Roman era, the citizenship of athletes was not registered or scrutinized by the authorities of major *agones*, including the Olympics. According to Gorgias (late fifth century BC), at the start of the Olympic games the herald simply invited each man 'who wanted' (τὸν βουλόμενον) to compete.[114]

The purpose of the registration procedure

It has thus far been established that the registration of athletes with their official name and citizenship was introduced in the Roman era, but was not in place in the classical or early Hellenistic period. The last question to be answered in this section is why this procedure was introduced. If one assumes the existence of an exclusive ethnic policy, this could have been a reaction to a greater need to check systematically whether they were Greeks. None of the imperial-age sources on citizenship, however, not even Philostratus who uses twice as many words as necessary, speak of *ethnos* or of being Greek in connected to this registration. There is evidence that a lack of citizenship could be ground for exclusion, but not that it was possible to have the 'wrong' citizenship. This is different for

113 *I.Eph.* 1415.

114 Gorgias fr. 8: ὁ γάρ τοι λόγος καθάπερ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ Ὀλυμπίασι καλεῖ μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον, στεφανοῖ δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον. Cf. Hdt. 1.160: τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι; Heliod. *Aeth.* 4.2.1: ὁ δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος εἰς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἠξίου. The similarity between these passages suggests that the formulaic heraldic announcement literally invited τὸν βουλόμενον.

the *Panhellenion*, a contemporary institution that did make use of Greek ethnicity as a criterion for admission, and had a considerably smaller geographical scope than the major *agones*.[115] This suggests that there must be a better explanation for this change in agonistic procedures. I will argue that it can be better understood as a logical step in a process of bureaucratization.

Throughout the history of the *agones*, the field of competitors became larger and more varied. The expansion of the agonistic circuit was particularly clear in the third and second centuries BC: at that time athletics was introduced in most cities in the new Hellenistic kingdoms and new *agones* in these areas gave local athletes ample opportunity to obtain experience and to dream of successes on an even higher level. Epigraphic dossiers like that concerning the introduction of the *Leukophryenia* at Magnesia-on-the-Meander in 208 BC document the frantic activity of *theoroi* in this period.[116] One point negotiated by Hellenistic cities with as many other cities as possible was whether these cities acknowledged the stephanitic status of a contest and therefore agreed to grant privileges to the victors. After the second century BC, however, there is little evidence for such diplomatic activities. The network of cities involved in *agones* had simply become too large for a system based solely on bilateral agreements between individual cities.[117] Already in the second century BC, therefore, many poleis had begun to reach out to the authority of Rome. In the imperial period, this had become standard: a polis with a new contest asked Rome to acknowledge its status. Likewise, the athletes no longer relied on their city to guarantee the privileges related to victories at contests with an elevated status. From the first century BC on they were cooperating in a supra-regional synod, which negotiated directly with Rome.[118] In the second century AD, this synod had headquar-

115 Romeo 2002: 21-40.

116 Rigsby 1996: 179-279 collects the whole dossier. For a discussion of the broader tendency, and a list of Hellenistic *agones* negotiating their status, see Parker 2004: esp. 18-22.

117 For the introduction of 'stephanitic' as a formal status and its further development in the late Hellenistic period see Remijsen 2011.

118 For the development of this synod see Fauconnier 2016.

ters in Rome with officials who were well connected to the court. Imperial supervision introduced a higher degree of uniformity to the agonistic circuit. In the early second century, Trajan and Hadrian seem to have been particularly active in this field; both issued precise regulations about the privileges of victors, after more general regulations concerning the status of athletes had already been issued by previous emperors.[119]

Central to all these negotiations – whether with poleis or with the Roman court – were the privileges which athletes could claim in their own cities on the grounds of their victories in specific contests. These were not only special honors, such as front seats in the theater, but also substantial economic benefits, including the exemption from taxes such as civic liturgies and even monthly pensions in cash. It is therefore not a coincidence that the earliest evidence for a formal registration of athletes, a second-century BC inscription from Amphipolis, makes this obligatory only for stephanitic games. As more *agones* were founded, ever more athletes enjoyed agonistic successes and for those cities with many victors the privileges could represent a strain on the civic finances – and indirectly on the cities' ability to pay taxes. It was therefore in the interest of the Roman authorities to obtain closer control over these privileges, by supporting the regularization and uniformization of agonistic procedures.[120] The culmination of Roman bureaucracy at the games can best be seen in the papyrological evidence of the second and third century AD. On the basis of the preserved document types, Slater describes how victors of games with eiselastic status – the highest possible status, which had to be acknowledged by the Roman court and gave victors the right to a monthly pension in cash – had to deal with a series of different

119 See Plin. *Ep.* 10.118-19, for his exchange with Trajan on the date from which the allowances for stephanitic victors were to be calculated; and Petzl & Schwertheim 2006 for three letters of Hadrian dealing with the festival network. *Dig.* 3.2.4.pr. excludes athletes from the limitations for entertainers stipulated in Roman law. This text refers to the opinions of Sabinus and Cassius, jurists active in the reign of Tiberius. *Pap.Agon.* 1, ll. 2 contains a letter of Claudius regarding the privileges for artists – who were competing in *agones* in the same way as athletes – and refers to preexisting privileges granted by Augustus. See also Suet. *Aug.* 45.

120 Remijsen 2015: 208-13, 230-37; Slater 2015: 149-54.

forms before they would be paid out their pension.[121] One of the necessary documents was a certificate by the organizing city, given to each victor to hand over to the administration in his own city, which contained official confirmation of his victory; it mentions his full name, the name of the contest, the discipline, and the date of the victory. This certificate was formally addressed to the city of the victor, its magistrates, council and people. Although we have only one example of this document type, namely the certificate issued in the 260s by an Alexandrian official for Marcus Aurelius Horion of Hermopolis, victor at the Alexandrian *Olympia*,[122] it seems safe to assume that every *agon* issued such certificates for each individual victor in the third century AD, and presumably already before that. This is, therefore, a context in which the precise identification of competitors, exactly as they were known to the polis administration, mattered. These administrative documents are more or less contemporary to Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* and therefore offer the primary background against which Philostratus' statement about a check of citizenship needs to be understood – rather than Herodotus' anecdote on Greekness, by now 700 years old.

The Roman administration also created paperwork that would have enabled formal identification at the games. In the classical or Hellenistic period, it would have been difficult for an athlete to prove his citizenship. Locally, that would not have been an issue, because ancient cities did have archives, and, in order to enjoy the rights and duties of a citizen at least in larger communities, men needed to be enrolled on official lists when they reached the age of majority. Such procedures used locally to identify citizens, however, could not easily be transplanted to an 'international' context such as the games. In case of a dispute, one can imagine that *theoroi* were asked to vouch for an athlete[123], but with the increasing number of participants, one can also imagine that delegations from some cities far removed from Olympia ended up being very small. A functional Olympic bureaucracy is inconceivable before some kind of administrative standardization took place across the whole catchment area of the

121 Slater 2015: 158-62.

122 *Pap. Agon.* 7.

123 As suggested by Rutherford 2013: 40, 265, 273.

games. This is exactly what seems to have happened in the first century BC under Roman government.

Examples of more widely recognizable identification documents that could have been presented can again be found among the administrative papyri. In the course of the Hellenistic period the ephebate spread across the eastern Mediterranean as an institutionalized program for the training of future citizens. By the late second century BC, most poleis in the Greek cultural area seem to have had this institution, as did the provincial cities in Egypt.[124] At this time, enrollment in the local gymnasia still seems to have been a paperless affair, as there are no Hellenistic papyri related to it. This changed under Roman government: because membership of the gymnasium had become ideologically linked to citizenship, they introduced supervision over the enrollment to make sure that only boys with the right status were accepted. In Roman Egypt, the enrollment of boys aged 13 or 14 on the list of the ephebes of the following year followed a procedure called the *eiskrisis*. The request for enrollment was formally made by the parents to a commission of officials headed by the *exegetes* (a municipal magistrate with important responsibilities in the government of the city). This commission examined whether the candidate fulfilled the conditions: namely, whether he was of the right age and whether his parents had citizenship. It is also often stated that the father had been an ephebe, which may or may not represent a separate condition.[125] Once registered, each young man could get an excerpt from the ephebic list to prove his status. Such excerpts state the date of registration as an ephebe, give full information on the parents (father identified with name, patronymic, phyle, deme and age; mother identified with name, patronymic, status, age and guardian; archive where this was on record; type of marriage), as well as the name of the son and the year in which he was born, and end with an endorsement by a notary.[126]

Another document that competitors could have carried was their membership certificate of the synod of traveling athletes. A network of

124 For the Hellenistic ephebate see Kennell 2006 and Chankowski 2010.

125 For a full discussion of the *eiskrisis* and all evidence see Legras 1999: 151-79. For a new *eiskrisis* text see Galazzi & Kramer 2014: 117-53.

126 Delia 1991: 71-72 gives a good overview of the document type. See Legras 1999: 152 for all references.

local officials across the eastern Mediterranean was in regular contact with other stakeholders in the field traveling from *agon* to *agon* as well as with the headquarters in Rome, and maintained relatively uniform practices. Although the one extant copy of a membership certificate was made in Naples for Hermeinos, an athlete from the Egyptian town Hermopolis, we can assume that most athletes paid for membership to local representatives, as we can see in similar documents of the association of performing artists.[127] These officials, therefore, were either already acquainted with the new member or could locally check whether the athlete was indeed who he claimed to be. With their membership certificate, the athletes acquired a means of identification which would have been widely recognized at the *agones*. Hermeinos certainly carried his certificate on his travels, for during games in Sardis, the local officials added a record of Hermeinos' role as a priest during these games to the original document.

The existence of these document types shows that by the first century AD, the organizers of the games could reasonably expect athletes to supply some sort of formal document, when asked to do so. But it does not, of course, mean that athletes were also required to present these specific papers upon registration. Younger boy athletes may not yet have been enrolled in the ephebate. Some less professional athletes would not have joined the international synod, given that there was a membership fee. It seems more likely that an athlete during the registration process verbally declared who he was and of which city he had citizenship, and that official documentation was only requested when a doubt was raised. Since only a clear identification ensured a victor's access to privileges, lying was not to the advantage of the athletes. We may readily imagine,

127 The certificate for Hermeinos is *Pap. Agon.* 6 = *P.Lond.* III 1178 (AD 194). For similar documents of the thymelic synod of artists see e.g. *Pap. Agon.* 3 = *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2476, ll. 17-33 and *Pap. Agon.* 4 = *P.Oxy. Hels.* 25, ll. 22-30, all certificates for Egyptian residents signed by Egyptian residents. In the case of Hermeinos, the board of officials registering the new member at Naples probably had no need to check his identity, for the president of the association who signed the document was a native of Hermopolis just like the athlete in front of him and must have been personally acquainted with him.

in other words, an essentially reactive control mechanism, as in the case of slavery.

4. POLYBIUS ON THE GREEKNESS OF KLEITOMACHOS

Thus far, this paper has shown how the known registration and admission procedures served to avoid irregularities in the youth categories, to exclude people with the legal status of slave and to create uniform procedures to avoid misuses and excesses with respect to agonistic privileges. It has been observed that citizenship was not scrutinized or registered until the Roman era and that the extant sources on *agones* do not make a connection between citizenship and ethnic identity. The plentiful evidence on admission and registration, in other words, offers no indication whatsoever that the general association between athletics and Hellenic identity, made by authors from the fifth century onward, resulted in an official and enduring ethnic policy at the major games.

That does, of course, not mean that athletic contests became wholly unconnected with issues of ethnic identification after the fifth century BC. Even if Greekness was not a principle at the very core of the ancient Olympic ideology that determined eligibility, the games continued to provide occasions for the expression of a resurging and constantly redefined Greek identity. A particularly interesting phase is the Hellenistic period, when the creation of large kingdoms which culturally presented themselves as Greek encouraged the formation of new conceptions of Hellenic identity.[128] The crystallization of such ethnic feelings inspired, for example, two new festivals on the Greek peninsula devoted to Panhellenic victories: the *Eleutheria* at Plataea, commemorating the 479 victory, but founded circa 300 BC or shortly before; and several decades later, the *Soteria* at Delphi, which commemorated the victory of the Greeks over the barbarian Gauls.[129] At the same time, Greek culture rapidly spread to new areas. With the expansion of the catchment area of the Olympics, the odds of winning these games decreased for athletes

128 For an overview of different conceptions of Greek identity in this period see Burstein 2008.

129 Parker 2004: 19; Burstein 2008: 65.

from the peninsula, so it is not surprising that occasionally these athletes held a grudge against successful contenders from newer areas. Similar ill feelings against Alexander I – whether historical or invented in retrospect as a propaganda tool – are what Herodotus conveys in the anecdote discussed at the beginning of this paper. Likewise, a grudge was apparently held in the late third century BC by the famous Theban champion Kleitomachos against an athlete from Egypt, who opposed him in the Olympic finals. This is described in a well-known passage of Polybius.

> Ὅ φασι ποιῆσαι Κλειτόμαχον· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀνυποστάτου δοκοῦντος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἄθλησιν, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐπιπολαζούσης κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, Πτολεμαῖόν φασι τὸν βασιλέα φιλοδοξήσαντα πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, παρασκευάσαντα μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας Ἀριστόνικον τὸν πύκτην ἐξαποστεῖλαι, δοκοῦντα φύσιν ἔχειν ὑπερέχουσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χρείαν· παραγενομένου δ' εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ προειρημένου καὶ συγκαταστάντος Ὀλυμπίασι πρὸς τὸν Κλειτόμαχον, ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπένευσαν (οἱ) πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόνικον καὶ παρεκάλουν, χαίροντες ἐπὶ τῷ βραχύ τι τετολμηκέναι τινὰ συγκαταστῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κλειτόμαχον· ὡς δέ γε προβαίνων ἐφάμιλλος ἐφαίνετο κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καί που καὶ τραῦμα καίριον ἐποίησε, κρότος ἐγίνετο καὶ συνεξέπιπτον οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, θαρρεῖν παρα καλοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστόνικον. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ φασι τὸν Κλειτόμαχον ἀποστάντα καὶ διαπνεύσαντα βραχὺν χρόνον, ἐπιστρέψαντα πρὸς τὰ πλήθη πυνθάνεσθαι τί βουλόμενοι παρακαλοῦσι τὸν Ἀριστόνικον καὶ συναγωνίζονται 'κείνῳ καθ' ὅσον εἰσὶ δυνατοί, πότερον οὐ συνοίδασιν αὐτῷ ποιοῦντι τὰ δίκαια κατὰ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἢ τοῦτ' ἀγνοοῦσι διότι Κλειτόμαχος μὲν ἀγωνίζεται νῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης, Ἀριστόνικος δὲ περὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. πότερον ἂν οὖν βουληθεῖεν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι στέφανον Αἰγύπτιον ἀποφέρειν ἄνθρωπον νικήσαντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἢ Θηβαῖον καὶ Βοιώτιον κηρύττεσθαι νικῶντα τῇ πυγμῇ τοὺς ἄνδρας. ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Κλειτομάχου τηλικαύτην φασὶ γενέσθαι τὴν μετάπτωσιν τῶν πολλῶν ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ τοῦ Κλειτομάχου καταγωνισθῆναι τὸν Ἀριστόνικον.

> This was what Kleitomachos did, as it is told. He was considered to be a quite invincible boxer, and his fame had spread over the whole world, when Ptolemy, ambitious to destroy his reputation, trained with the greatest care and sent off the boxer Aristonikos, a man who seemed to have a remarkable natural gift for this sport. Upon this Aristonikos arriving in Greece and challenging Kleitomachos at Olympia, the crowd, it seems, at once took the part of the former and cheered him on, delighted to see that someone, once in a way at least, ventured to pit himself against Kleitomachos. And when, as the fight continued, he appeared to be his adversary's match, and once or twice landed a telling blow, there was applause, and the crowd became delirious with excitement, cheering on Aristonikos. At this time they say that Kleitomachos, after withdrawing for a few moments to recover his breath, turned to the crowd and asked them what they meant by cheering on Aristonikos and backing him up all they could. Did they not agree that he was doing well in the match, or were they not aware that he, Kleitomachos, was now fighting for the glory of Greece and Aristonikos for that of King Ptolemy? Would they prefer that an Egyptian subject defeated the Greeks and took the Olympian crown, or that a Theban and Boeotian was proclaimed by the herald as victor in the boxing for men? When Kleitomachos had spoken thus, they say there was such a change in the sentiment of the crowd that now all was reversed, and Aristonikos was beaten rather by the crowd than by Kleitomachos.[130]

As with the Alexander anecdote, the meeting between Kleitomachos and Aristonikos can be accepted as historical. Kleitomachos was a famous athlete from the late third century.[131] Pausanias (6.15.3) dates his first victory at Olympia, in *pankration*, to the 141st Olympiad (216 BC) and explains that he wanted to win both the *pankration* and the boxing in 212 BC, but obtained a victory only in the latter discipline. Pausanias does not mention his opponent in the boxing, but this could well have been the Aristonikos mentioned by Polybius. The king supporting him in 212 would have been Ptolemy IV. Although his protégé's name ("excellent

130 Polyb. 27.9.2-13. Translation adapted from W.R. Patton (LCL 160).
131 Paus. 6.15.3-5, *Anth.Pal.* 9.588 (= Ebert 1972, nr. 67).

victory") sounds almost too apropos for an athlete, there is no reason to assume that it was made up. The name is indeed attested for several members of the elite in Ptolemaic Egypt.[132] The best candidate for identification with the athlete is Aristonikos, son of Aristonikos, who was *proxenos* at Delphi and eponymous priest in his later years. Like the boxer, he had a close connection with both the Ptolemaic court and a 'Panhellenic' sanctuary.

There are at the same time indications for embellishments in the anecdote. Ancient boxing did not have rounds, but featured a continuous fight ending when one of the parties gave up. There was, in other words, no obvious occasion for stepping back and holding a speech – though there may have been enough time for a snappy oneliner. The speech is, however, essential for the rhetorical strategy of Polybius. The story of the boxing final is told not for its own sake as a memorable event of the year 212 BC, but in the context of the Third Macedonian War fifty years later. Polybius did not approve of the fact that people in Hellas (meaning here the traditional poleis within the Antigonid Kingdom) had reacted positively to a preliminary victory of king Perseus. He tries to explain why they took the side of an undeserving monarch by interpreting this reaction as the spontaneous sympathy that crowds often develop for the weaker party in a conflict. Polybius suggests that the people would not have reacted in this way if they had been made to really think about it.[133]

132 In the period 240-160 BC (roughly the lifespan of the boxer), we know Aristonikoi in the Arsinoites and the Herakleopolites, who were probably royal farmers (*P. Cairo Zen.* III 59372, l. 3; *P. Tebt.* III 918 descr., col. 1, l. 11; *SB* III 6280, l. 13, 22), an Aristonikos son of Aristonikos as an Alexandrian *proxenos* at Delphi in the 180s (*Syll.*³ 585, l. 140) and as an eponymous priest of Alexander around the same time (cf. Clarysse & van der Veken 1983: nr. 104 for 187-186 BC), and an Aristonikos *taktomisthos* (military rank) in *P. Giss.* I 2, col. 2, l. 11 (173 BC).

133 Polyb. 27.10.2-3: "For if anyone had secured their attention, and asked them frankly if they really would wish to see the supreme power in so absolute a form fall into the hands of a single man and to experience the rule of an absolutely irresponsible monarch, I fancy they would very soon have come to their senses and, changing their tune, have undergone a complete revulsion of feeling. And if one had reminded them even briefly of all the hardships that the house of Macedon had inflicted on Greece, and of all the benefits she had derived from Roman rule, I fancy the reaction would have been most sudden and complete." Translation by W.R. Pat-

This is where Kleitomachos and the Olympics come in. Taking a case from an *agon* suits the author's purpose particularly well because it puts both the fighting (always a good metaphor for war) and the crowd, whose behavior he wants to comment on, in the same physical space. At the same time, it is also a context from which he could expect his readers to recognize the feeling of sympathy for a lesser man. Polybius chose the match between these particular opponents, as these allowed him to elaborate his central political argument.

Ethnicity is secondary to politics in this passage. Polybius does not even mask the fact that Aristonikos could be seen as a Greek: he calls the athlete by his Greek name, Aristonikos. The *proxenos* at Delphi called Aristonikos, son of Aristonikos, with whom Kleitomachos' opponent might be identified, had Alexandrian citizenship. Elsewhere in his work (34.14.1-5), Polybius explains that one needs to distinguish between Egyptians, mercenaries and Alexandrian citizens. The latter, though they intermingled with the others, remembered the habits of the Hellenic community and had common roots. The above anecdote, however, was not about Aristonikos' blood. Kleitomachos did not question his opponent's right to be there, he just did not believe that this man deserved the support of the crowd, and this is linked to the different political situations in Egypt and Boetia.[134] From the beginning, Aristonikos is presented by Polybius as a pawn of King Ptolemy, competing at Olympia because he was sent there, which implies that he was not gaining any personal honor. This idea is taken up in the speech of Kleitomachos: whereas Aristonikos is competing "for" (περί) the reputation of the king, Kleitomachos is competing "in defence of (ὑπέρ) the reputation of the Hellenes." In the next sentence two words get a particular emphasis. The

ton (LCL 160). Polybius generally associates crowds and popular assemblies with uproar and irrationality. See Eckstein 1995: 136 (with a list of references) and 241, for a comparison with the popularity of Eumenes II of Pergamum (31.6.6), which Polybius found equally unjustified.

134 As we have seen, the normal procedure for complaints was petitioning the *hellanodikai*. We know from Pausanias (6.15.4-5) that Kleitomachos petitioned the *hellanodikai* in 212 BC, but on a completely different matter: as he wanted to compete in both boxing (the most dangerous sport with regard to injuries) and *pankration*, he requested, and was granted, that the *pankration* was for once programmed before the boxing.

grammatically unnecessary noun ἄνθρωπον (litt. "human," but often used with a negative connotation, hence also used for slaves) is emphasized by being detached from Αἰγύπτιον. Polybius is hence not just talking about "an Egyptian," as in the translation of Paton, but about "an Egyptian *subject*." In the next clause, ἄνδρας (litt. "men," with a positive connotation, as in the derived noun ἀνδρεία, "manliness, bravery") on the surface identifies the age category in which the two athletes were competing, an unnecessary addition for understanding either the grammatical structure of the sentence or the context of the boxing match. Nevertheless, this word receives extra focus due to its final position in the sentence, which can only be explained by the contrast with ἄνθρωπον: it is a contest for *real men*. This contrast between a subject and a real, independent man shows that the political situation was for Polybius the essential difference between a man from Egypt and one from Boeotia.

The rhetorical context makes it impossible to decide whether the ethnic tensions associated with Polybius' political message go back to a famous complaint by Kleitomachos or were added by Polybius, in whose lifetime Egypt was far less integrated in the Greek world than it had been in the third century. Whether historical or not, however, the story shows that Polybius, like Herodotus, considered Olympia a likely venue for the crystallization of such tensions. As evidence for the exclusion of non-Greeks at Olympia, however, it can again not be used: the anecdote does not contain a single indication that this rule existed. Against this background, the fact that Aristonikos was most likely an Alexandrian citizen from a high-ranking family of recent immigrants and hence not at all a 'barbarian' becomes irrelevant.

CONCLUSIONS

Modern scholarship uses the word 'Greek' very often in connection with the *agones*; far more in fact than the people visiting the games would have done in Antiquity. A good example is the tendency to characterize all

major contests as 'Panhellenic', which does not reflect ancient usage.[135] When we, almost spontaneously, describe the most popular games and sanctuaries in this way, we invite ourselves as well as our readers to see the ancient experience of these games through a Greek filter. When talking about 'Panhellenic' festivals and sanctuaries as if this was what they were called in Antiquity, we present, in other words, the Olympics as games of an imagined entity of 'Greeks', to which we attribute agency, interests and will. But as many excellent recent studies on ethnicity have shown, this stable group of 'Greeks' did never exist.

One reason why the term 'Panhellenic' seems nevertheless justified is that these *agones* were a custom of all the Greeks and of the Greeks alone. It has not been the aim of this paper to deny this: the way athletics was practiced in the context of the *agones* was indeed culturally specific, so these games did not attract participants who did not feel at home in this culture. This paper has argued, however, against the widely accepted view that non-Greeks were formally excluded from these games. This view goes back to the early research on athletics by Krause in the nineteenth-century, when it still seemed logical to think in terms of 'Greek nationality'. The idea of the exclusion of non-Greeks at Olympia survived, but created an – often avoided – problem of definition: what did it mean to be Greek and how was this checked by the authorities at the games?

I have argued that the survival of the 'only Greeks'-thesis of Krause into the post-nationalist age can be explained by a reading of Herodotus' story on the Greekness of Alexander I that takes too little account of the historian's agenda. The Greek identity of the Macedonian royals was disputed in Herodotus' lifetime, and the anecdote reflects the arguments of its advocates. When Herodotus depicts the *hellanodikai* as making a judgment about Alexander's ethnicity, he implies that they had the authority to do so. He stops short, however, of claiming that the exclusion of non-Greeks was an Olympic principle: this idea is presented as the personal opinion of Alexander's opponents, leading to a dispute ended by the judges. Because these judges were called *hellanodikai*, it has been surmised that checking ethnic eligibility was one of their standard tasks.

135 Cf. Parker 2004: 11 for the lack of a Greek equivalent to the modern term 'Panhellenic'; Scott 2010: 260-64 for the Roman origin of the term.

However, around 500 BC, the time of Alexander's participation, the judges did not even carry this title, which was developed in the aftermath of the 480-479 wars. Read against the background of Herodotus' contemporary agenda, the Alexander anecdote contains good evidence for the association between the Olympics and ideals of panhellenism in the mid-fifth century, but proves neither that there was a system for the systematical exclusion of non-Greeks from Olympia at the time of Alexander, nor that such a system was permanently put in place around 476. The games were open to any man who wanted (τὸν βουλόμενον) to compete.

The few criteria attested for exclusion from the games are clear, legal grounds. This article analyzed the plentiful evidence for admission and registration procedures at major *agones*. These sources attest to the existence of: 1) an admission system for under-age athletes who wanted to compete in the youth categories, named the *enkrisis*; 2) a rule against the admission of slaves that was upheld by means of a reactive procedure, which allowed anyone to raise doubt about the status of a competitor; and 3) the formal registration of the official name and polis citizenship of all participants under the Roman Empire, which could lead to the refusal of athletes without citizenship. Sources for the classical and Hellenistic periods indicate that, prior to the Roman age, polis citizenship was not registered or scrutinized. The eventual introduction of a registration system did not aim to limit admission on ideological grounds, but can be better explained as part of a process of bureaucratization of agonistic procedure, driven by a need for a closer control over the privileges for victors.

The thesis that the ethnic tensions in Herodotus' anecdote about Alexander resulted in a general principle against the admission of non-Greeks is hence not confirmed by other ancient sources. It was, however, not the last time that ethnic tensions surfaced in connection to the Olympics, as another famous anecdote about the Hellenistic champion Kleitomachos, discussed in the last section, shows. The current approach to ethnicity, which focuses on situations under which an awareness of ethnic identities temporarily crystallizes, makes it possible, however, to understand such moments of ethnic tensions at the games without the premise of an exclusive admission policy.

With Kleitomachos' plea not to support an athlete from Egypt, this paper has ended with a case in which ethnicity came into play at the Olympics – or at least in their literary representation – in a negative light, namely in a conflict of identities arising in the context of Hellenization. In the Hellenistic period festivals were, however, primarily a means of improving relations between traditional poleis and cities new to the Greek cultural sphere. When reaching out to each other, the cities in Asia Minor and Greece used a discourse of kinship.[136] Cities tried to show that they were related to other cities, and that they all belonged to the same community. Some diplomatic networks were agonistic: poleis organizing new *agones* sent out *theoroi* to numerous cities to invite them to join in the festival. The catchment area of the major *agones* in this way adapted in a matter of decades to the spread of Greek culture. From cities in Asia, Syria and Egypt athletes travelled to the famous sanctuaries in Greece to compete.

There began to appear participants and even winners from families who had only recently started to adapt to Greek culture. In the last decades of the third century, the Philhellenic regent (*sofet*) of Sidon, Diotimos – probably a descendant of Abdalonymos, who was appointed regent under Alexander – won the chariot races at Nemea.[137] Also from Sidon, a boxer with the typically Phoenician name Sillis won the young men's boxing on Delos in 269 BC.[138] In the mid-second century, the Numidian prince Mastanabal won the *Panathenaia* with the two-chariot for foals.[139] For Olympia Hellenistic examples are harder to find, but one could cite the Romans Gnaeus Marcus, who obtained a double victory at some point before AD 21, the equestrian successes of Tiberius Claudius Nero, the future emperor, and of his adoptive son Germanicus, or the

136 For some clearly explained cases see Stavrianopoulou 2013; more generally also Ma 2003.

137 *IAG* 41 = *Steinepigramme* 20/14/01. See Bikerman 1939 and Habicht 2007: 125-27.

138 *IG* XI.2 203, l. 68. Cf. Grainger 1991: 80, 110.

139 *IG* II^2 2316, col. II, 42-44. Mastanabal is called "son of king Masanassos" without further identification by means of a place, as is the following victor in the list, "king Ptolemy (VI), son of the older king Ptolemy."

boxing Armenian prince Varazdates victorious in the later fourth century AD.[140] One should not forget, moreover, that the Olympic victor list is only representative for those competitors who had the ability to defeat the cream of the athletes, who had been training their physique and their discipline's techniques under the supervision of specialists for years. Because we know only a few unsuccessful athletes, we do not have a full picture of those who wanted to compete and were allowed to.

Many of the above-mentioned athletes had only a tenuous claim to Hellenic identity in comparison to the Greek credentials of Aristonikos, but the organizers of the games do not seem to have been bothered by this. *Agones* were not by definition exclusive events; they served as motors for the integration of new areas in the cultural area commonly described as Greek. Athletes did not compete at Olympia or at another major contest because they were accepted as Greeks; they could be perceived as Greeks because they competed here. Like the games, the road to acculturation was open for those who wanted.

140 Moretti 1957: nrs. 738, 743, 745, 750 for the Romans. Remijsen 2015: 47 for Varazdates.

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CONSUMING NARRATIVES: THE POLITICS OF CANNIBALISM ON MT. LYKAION[1]

By Esther Eidinow

Summary: This article examines a Classical reference to werewolves, a passing analogy made by Plato in the *Republic*, in his description of the development of a tyrant. In general, scholars of myth/ritual have largely downplayed or taken for granted the specific Platonic context; while philosophers have tended to overlook both Lykaian cannibalism, and the intricacies of political alliances in the early fourth century BC. This paper brings together three areas of investigation: philosophy, religion and political history, situating the myth/ritual complex of Lykaon/Mt. Lykaion within the framework of (1) Plato's *Republic*, where this myth/ritual is introduced analogically, and (2) fourth-century Peloponnesian politics, to which, it is argued, the Platonic werewolf analogy may be alluding, either in general or specific terms.

1. THE WEREWOLF AS ANALOGY…

1.1. … in Dialogic Context

> 'What, then, is the starting-point of the transformation of a protector into a tyrant? Is it not obviously when the protector begins to do the same things as those in the story (ἐν τῷ μύθῳ) that is told of the

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> shrine of Lykaian Zeus in Arkadia?' 'What is that?' he said. 'The story goes that he who tastes of the one bit of human entrails minced up with those of other victims is inevitably transformed into a wolf. Have you not heard the account (τὸν λόγον)?' 'I have.'[2]

The central question of the *Republic* is expressed by Glaukon and Adeimantos – Sokrates' interlocutors – at the beginning of Book 2 (357a-b): is it better without exception to be just or unjust? The dialogue focuses on two key themes: the role of justice in individual happiness, and the nature of the ideal state and its institutions. Sokrates and his interlocutors discuss the different regimes: aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny. The werewolf-myth analogy occurs at the end of a substantial discussion describing the development of democracy and oligarchy, and the way in which a democratic context gives rise to a tyrant. It plays on some of the imagery that Plato uses in this dialogue to examine and elaborate the structure and development of moral psychology.[3] The nature and role of appetites and desires are crucial in this process: some of these are necessary and others unnecessary (558d); the latter do our souls harm, while the others do us good (558e-559c).

The appearance of the wolf comes as something of a shock, since the analogy used up to this point employs bees and their concern with the division of honey. In discussion of the democratic society, Sokrates divides the (political) population between i) drones who do nothing, some of whom have stings and others who are harmless;[4] ii) those who have made money who provide the garden of the drones; and iii) the *demos*, that is the quiet cultivators of their own land, who possess very little property. In a democracy, it is the taste of honey that endangers a young man (559d-e) and leads him to develop an undisciplined democratic soul.

2 Pl. *Resp*. 565d-e, trans. Shorey 1969, adapted. τίς ἀρχὴ οὖν μεταβολῆς ἐκ προστάτου ἐπὶ τύραννον; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ταὐτὸν ἄρξηται δρᾶν ὁ προστάτης τῷ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ ὃς περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου ἱερὸν λέγεται; τίς; ἔφη. ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχνου, ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἑνὸς ἐγκατατετμημένου, ἀνάγκη δὴ τούτῳ λύκῳ γενέσθαι. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας τὸν λόγον; ἔγωγε.

3 Brown 2011.

4 Κηφήν, (-ῆνος), ὁ, a term often used to describe lazy shirkers, out for themselves, cf. *LSJ* s.v.

This temptation is provided by the drone (559c-d): 'who teems with such pleasures and appetites, and who is governed by his unnecessary desires, while the one who is ruled by his necessary appetites is the thrifty oligarchical man'.[5] The tyrant emerges when those who have money defend themselves against the plundering drones, are accused of revolutionary plotting and, through no fault of their own, become oligarchs. The people, in response, put forward a protector. This is the character who runs the risk of becoming a tyrant—and about whom the werewolf analogy is used.

The werewolf analogy bridges themes found across the dialogue. Earlier in the conversation (375a-b), Sokrates has introduced the parallel of the guard-dog as a comparison for his city's guardians: keen in perception, swift in pursuit, strong, brave and full of spirit.[6] The account of the werewolf recalls this canine imagery, but associates it with a very different set of behaviours, offering a vivid impression of the difference between the human figures that are the real focus of this discussion. But dog vs. wolf offers more than just a superficial contrast. As scholars have pointed out, this description of the dog may have taken contemporary audiences by surprise. The dog in pre-Classical literature was not viewed simply as a domesticated creature: Plato is one of the writers who 'brings the dog in from the wild.'[7] It is perhaps precisely this ambiguous nature of the dog that creates such a powerful implicit comparison with the wolf. As Sokrates goes on to emphasise, the important characteristic of the dog, one that prevents it from using its qualities to attack rather than

5 ἆρ᾽ οὖν καὶ ὃν νυνδὴ κηφῆνα ὠνομάζομεν, τοῦτον ἐλέγομεν τὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν γέμοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων φειδωλόν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν;

6 Bouvier 2015 examines this image and its implications for the role of Sokrates against Thrasymachos in the dialogue; see also Canto 1986. Note that Thrasymachos is compared to a wild beast (336b) in his interactions with Sokrates, and that he uses the analogy of the shepherd and flocks (343b), which is relevant here; see Brock 2013: esp. 45. Sinclair 1948: 61-62 argued that the dog analogy was intended to be seen as a parody of the argument used by those sophists 'who advised men to follow *phusis* not *nomos*'.

7 Mainoldi 1984: 196 draws attention to the novelty of Plato's dog-wolf opposition, and stresses how the dog in pre-Classical literature is situated between the wilderness and domesticity.

defend its fellows, is that it has been trained, and so has been taught how to behave. The contrast between guard-dog and wolf encompasses not only their behaviour but also their potential to develop; it swiftly conveys everything that is wrong with both the actions and the nature of the tyrant.

The horror of the werewolf image is an important introduction to Plato's depiction of the tyrant, who is described elsewhere as being, fundamentally, a distressed individual, his soul dominated by a part that has no conception of what is best for the whole.[8] As a microcosm of the tyrant's role in the city, this part runs the individual in order to satisfy its own particular aims. The image of a man corrupted by his consumption of human flesh, overtaken by an animal's ruthless and inhuman characteristics, works to reinforce what is, on closer examination, a rather feeble argument. (As Julia Annas has succinctly put it, 'Plato's tyrant would not last a week.')[9] But in fact, the use of the image of the werewolf has its own problems if we take it, as is common, as evidence for the rites conducted by worshippers of Zeus on Mount Lykaion in Arkadia.

1.2. ... as Evidence for Ritual

As Richard Buxton observes: 'Plato speaks of a rite in which human innards are mixed with parts of other animals, and the person who tastes the human must turn into a wolf.'[10] This, in turn, is taken as describing the same ritual whose purported elements Pausanias reports (8.2.6): 'They say that ever since the time of Lykaon a man was always turned into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lykaian Zeus – but not for his whole life; because if he kept off human flesh when he was a wolf, he turned back into a man after nine years; if he tasted human flesh, he stayed a wild

8 This is lust, see 573a-575a.

9 Annas 1991: 304.

10 Buxton 1987: 68.

beast for ever.'[11] Some scholars have taken this to indicate that cannibalistic rituals were conducted on the mountain—an aspect to which we will return below.[12]

Whether this is the case or not, whatever happened seems to have involved temporary exclusion from the community: an individual underwent 'a rite of separation, left society and became temporarily a non-person'.[13] Modern scholarship makes a link with a further set of rituals described by Pliny the Elder and St. Augustine.[14] In Pliny's version, a member of the family of Anthos is chosen by lot, leaves his clothes on an oak tree, swims across a pool, goes away into a deserted area and is turned into a wolf. If he does not consume human meat for nine years he is then permitted to come back again the same way, swimming across the pool, and reclaiming his clothes; in Augustine, the family of Anthos has become 'the Arkadians'. Both sources refer to a man whom they call

11 Trans. Buxton 1987: 69. Pausanias refuses to describe what occurs in the rituals on Mt. Lykaion (8.38.7); we should also bear in mind his scepticism when he recounts the story of Damarchos (see below); cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008: 334-37.

12 As, for example, does Kunstler 1991: 193, who states that Pausanias is among the sources that 'clearly describe a werewolf society initiation'. Kunstler argues that werewolf imagery was more generally associated with tyrants in Greek literature, and particularly associates it with Lykourgos (drawing on Jeanmaire 1939), but does not attempt to set Plato's analogy in a historical context. See Brock 2013: 90 for examples of the literary image of the king as predator. Hughes 2013: 97 suggests that [Pl.] *Minos* 315b-c and Theophr. fr. 13.22-26 (in Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2 Pötscher) are likely to be drawing on this passage in the *Republic* for their information about the practice of human sacrifice on Mt. Lykaion, and so should not be considered as providing further secure evidence. (However, later [104], he states that 'Plato and Theophrastus must be considered relatively reliable witnesses.') Bonnechere 1994: ch. I.4.1, §131, n. 331 argues that such stories were circulating more generally in Athens. To date, the archaeological evidence has not offered evidence for human sacrifice, see Kourouniotis 1903; 1904a; 1904b; 1905a; 1905b; and 1909) and more recently the excavations of the Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project (http://lykaionexcavation.org/). The recent discovery of the tomb of a young man on the site immediately resurrected these stories of human sacrifice, but the archaeologists have denied that there is any such connection (see http://lykaionexcavation.org/site/research-highlights).

13 Buxton 1988: 71; Bremmer 2007: 71 finds this idea persuasive.

14 Buxton 1987: 69, citing Plin. *HN* 8.81 (citing Euanthes *FGrH* 320 F1) and Augustine *De civ. D.* 18.17 (citing Varro).

Demainetos, an Olympic victor who had spent time as a wolf for nine years; it may indicate use of the same source. Pausanias reports an inscription recording the Olympic victory of one Damarchos, a boxer who had gone through the rite – although, Pausanias notes, this detail was not included in the epigram at Olympia.[15]

In these accounts, Walter Burkert sees reflected an original ritual initiation for the ephebes of the Arkadians. They gathered on the summit of Mount Lykaion and consumed the meat from the sacrifice that had been made during the ceremony, without knowing which was human and which animal. Those who ate the human meat were compelled to leave the community, only able to return if they did not eat it again for nine years.[16] In the end, this initiation ceremony for all young men of a certain age came to be practised by only a single family: Burkert, developing these ideas, suggests that this was a result of a civilising effect created by the foundation of Megalopolis, when the sanctuary acquired a 'doublet' in the city.[17] In turn, Madeleine Jost has rejected this, on the basis of Pausanias' observation that secret sacrifices were still being performed in his day: She has suggested instead, on the basis that the stories are related to similar themes, that the description of Anthos and his descendants refers to a different ritual performed elsewhere in Arkadia, perhaps near Tegea.[18]

15 Paus. 6.8.2. Most scholars treat Demainetos and Damarchos as the same person, but see Jost 1985: 259; and discussion by Hughes 2013: 232 n. 87. The inscription has been dated to 'certainly before Alexander' (Hyde 1903: no. 74) and c. 400 (Moretti 1957: no. 359).

16 Others have observed that this was too long for a rite of passage: see Jost 1985: 267; Bonnechere 1994: ch. I.4.1, §139.

17 Burkert 1983: 89-90; the term 'doublet' is used by Jost in her analysis of the arrangement of new cults within the city of Megalopolis, which drew on existing Arkadian cults in the surrounding territory; see Jost 1985; 1992; 1994; 1996. Damarchos was, incidentally, a Parrhasian (that is, a member of the *ethnos* in whose territory this cult of Zeus Lykaios was established before the founding of Megalopolis), which may have some bearing on our approach to which group's young men were chosen to go through whatever experience was meant by 'becoming a wolf'.

18 See Jost 1985: 260; she points out that neither Pliny nor Augustine mention Mt. Lykaion in their accounts. She notes the focus on the hero Lykourgos in Tegea, and the fact that his name means 'celui qui fait les œuvres du loup'.

This brings us back to Pausanias and his observations concerning the rites, or rather the stories told about them, in his day. Although the archaeological evidence has indicated that there may have been activities in the lower sanctuary in the period when Pausanias was writing, no cult activity has been traced in the upper sanctuary during that time.[19] In light of this, we should pay attention to what is rarely mentioned about Pausanias' testimony: he is describing what people say about Mount Lykaion as an example of a story that has been elaborated to the point of being unbelievable. Indeed, he prefaces his description with this warning: 'All through the ages, many events that have occurred in the past, and even some that occur today, have been generally discredited because of the lies built up on a foundation of fact.'[20] Thus, it seems likely that these passages, along with brief mentions in other sources, suggest that *stories* about Mount Lykaion and the rituals there circulated in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and were still circulating in Pausanias' time. But, as Pausanias emphasises, while this is not to say that the original tale does not contain a kernel of truth, we must be careful, because men are story-makers.

1.3 ... as a Flawed Analogy

Rather than focusing on the historical basis of the ritual, I want to consider the implications for its use as an analogy. Plato does not tell us very much, but it is clear that the ritual described here offered the individual in the role of the werewolf a chance of redemption. In contrast, the tyrant of Plato's description is given no such opportunity. Plato recounts the gradual, apparently unstoppable development of this man's crimes, led by and feeding his lustful soul-part. Not even when his own parents plead with him to stop his activities does the tyrant-in-training manage to refrain.[21] The parallel of the werewolf of the Mount Lykaion ritual, despite offering powerful imagery, is rhetorically flawed; it does not offer a useful analogy in this context.

19 Romano & Voyatzis 2014; 2015.
20 Paus. 8.2.6.
21 Pl. *Resp.* 566d-580a, esp. 574b.

That the tyrant cannot be redeemed is underlined by a number of tableaux in the final myth of Er at the end of the dialogue. One example is the description of the souls of the wicked, most of them tyrants, who, we are told, are forbidden release from their punishment, or are tortured and are to be hurled into Tartaros (615d-616a). There are also two further references that seem to reflect the werewolf imagery. The first is very brief, but perhaps ironic: it mentions the souls of the unjust entering the lives of wild animals (620d). More lengthy – and bringing a number of relevant themes together – is Plato's depiction of the soul who has drawn the first lot, who rushes to seize the life of tyranny, not realising that this will condemn him to consume his own children (619b-c). All three of these descriptions emphasise the idea that tyrants cannot be redeemed, even after they have died: The first pictures only punishment; the second and third imply that a course of life once chosen cannot be changed; the second can even be taken (with perhaps some implicit reference back to the werewolf) as suggesting that the life of an animal is better than that of a tyrant.

The purpose of this article is not to probe Plato's views on tyranny, nor is it to work out what may really have happened in a possible werewolf ritual. Rather, the question at issue here is why and how Plato uses the werewolf image from Arkadia if a reference to the ritual does not really work as an analogy for his argument – and, indeed, can be described as misleading. The explanation offered here starts by suggesting that Plato's analogy is not meant to be understood as describing the actualities of a *ritual*, but rather to direct his audience, first, to the myth that underpins that ritual, and its implications for approaches to leadership; and second, in that context, to what at the time were recent real-world events and a particular political leader.

2. THE MYTH(S) AND THEIR MEANINGS

Lykaon was, as Buxton has dubbed him, 'a bringer of culture as a well as a criminal';[22] but we can go further than that. In our earliest source, attributable to Hesiod, Lykaon appears as a central figure in the genealogy, peopling and civilisation of Arkadia. His father is Pelasgos: The Pelasgians are much discussed across Greek myth, but usually play the role as '*the* pre-Greek population in Greek consciousness'.[23] In Arkadian myth, Pelasgos is the first inhabitant of Arkadia, and he is autochthonous, that is, he is from the earth, rooting this clan in its territory.[24] Lykaon has sons that provide the names of key settlements across Arkadia: according to Apollodoros he produced fifty sons; Dionysios of Halikarnassos gives twenty-two sons.[25] He is, in turn, grandfather of Arkas, perhaps a son of Zeus, who will invent agriculture, bread-making and weaving.[26]

Lykaon's downfall comes when he sacrifices a human baby, pouring its blood upon his altar to Zeus; he is immediately turned into a wolf.[27] The accounts of this event vary: some implicitly, some more overtly, shift the blame for this crime elsewhere or simply explain it. In one fragment of the *Catalogue*, Lykaon serves the child in order to get his revenge on Zeus who has impregnated his daughter.[28] Some versions put the blame

22 Buxton 1987: 73.

23 Fowler 2013: 2.84-96 and 87 for quotation (italics in original). Father of Lykaon, Hes. fr. 161 MW.

24 Hes. fr. 160 MW and Asios fr. 8. Acknowledged also by Akousilaos fr. 25, who offers a competitive role for Pelasgos in the Argive myth stemma; see Fowler 2013 vol. ii: 88.

25 [Apollod.] 3.8.1; Dion. Hal. 1.13.1-2 (who appears to be drawing on Pherekydes). Some individual names are given in Hes. fr. 162 (Pallantos) and fr. 163 (Eumelos). The names are listed in Roscher, *Lex* and *RE*; see also Wilamowitz 1971: 152-56. Nielsen 2002: 235, n. 36 argues that this list must pre-date 368. Pausanias lists twenty-eight sons: see further Roy 1968 for what this shows about the situation after the foundation of Megalopolis.

26 Paus. 8.4.1. Arkas as son of Zeus and Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon (Hes. ap. [Eratosth.] *Cat.* (fr. 163 MW, with Fowler 2013: 2.104); also Eumelos fr. 7), but elsewhere, simply a nymph (Hes. ap. [Apollod.] 3.100).

27 Paus. 8.2.1-7.

28 As Fowler 2013: 2.105, this justification is removed if Kallisto is in fact a nymph (see n. 22).

on Lykaon;[29] others on his sons. In Apollodoros, Zeus is testing the impiety of these young men, and arrives disguised as a day-labourer.[30] In other sources, the sons are testing the identity of their visitor – is he really a god?[31] The identity of the person sacrificed varies too. Some keep it in the family: The Hesiodic fragments describe it as Arkas, Lykaon's grandson;[32] later sources say it is Lykaon's son, Nyktimos.[33] Apollodoros offers a local child; other sources simply leave it undescribed, even as just human flesh.[34] Servius gives us a guest and the story becomes a warning fable not to violate the laws of hospitality; Ovid, a Molossian hostage.[35]

In modern times, some scholars have also seen here evidence to support the reality of a cannibalistic ritual. Jost observes that the story of the banquet in a number of accounts recalls, through the vocabulary used, a sacrifice.[36] She notes 'on accorde plutôt confiance aux textes des Anciens et l'on voit dans le rite du Lycée une trace authentique et unique en Grèce d'un cannibalisme rituel perpétré au cours du banquet qui suivait le sacrifice des Lykaia'.[37] But to read the myth as offering evidence of actual cannibalism is to overlook, or attempt to actualise, what are, it

29 Hes. fr. 163 MW; also found in Ov. *Met*. 1.210-44; Hyg. *Astron*. 2.4; Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl*. 6.41 and *Aen*. 1.731, 4.24; Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Theb*. 11.128.

30 [Apollod.] 3.8.1: Mainalos, the oldest son instigates the act. Cf. schol. ad Lyc. *Alex*. 481; [Hecataeus] *FHG* I no. 375 (cf. Natalis Comes 9.9 and Tzetzes ad Lyc. *Alex.* 481).

31 Nic. Dam fr. 39 (Dindorf); *Suda* s.v. *Lykaon*; Hyg. *Fab*. 176 (a son). Lykaon wants to know: Hyg. *Astron*. 2.4.

32 Hes. fr. 163 MW (Zeus puts Arkas back together; also Hyg. *Poet. astron*. 2.4); schol. ad German. *Arat.* 39.

33 Lyc. *Alex.* 481; Nonnus *Dion*. 18.21; Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.36.5; schol. ad Lyc. *Alex*. 481. In [Apollod.] 3.8.2, Nyktimos is the only child to survive.

34 [Apollod.] 3.8.1; and [Hecataeus] *FHG* I no. 375; Nic. Dam. fr. 39 (Dindorf) an anonymous child. Undescribed: Paus. 8.2.3. Just human flesh: Hyg. *Fab*. 176; Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Theb*. 11.128; *Myth. Vat.* 1.17 (Bode).

35 Serv. ad *Aen*. 1.731; Ov. *Met*. 1.226-27.

36 Jost 1985: 262.

37 Jost 1985: 264. Buxton 2006: 68-69 expresses doubt about the sacrifice, but comes to no definite conclusion. He does note that myth makes 'explicit and absolute' what ritual leaves 'implicit and temporary', but this is in the context of arguing that in the ritual the 'wolf 'would be expelled rather than killed as in the original myth' (ibid.: 74).

is argued here, symbolic themes. More importantly, these themes, if anything, emphasise the wrongness of such a ritual, and give no reason to continue with such an act.[38]

The story as presented in the myth is replete with the idea of punishment. This comes in a variety of configurations across the sources: different accounts describe the destruction of Lykaon's house, and/or his children; sometimes Lykaon is a wolf, sometimes his children. Lykaon's house is destroyed by a thunderbolt and he is turned into a wolf.[39] Sometimes, the sons are blasted while Lykaon becomes a wolf.[40] Sometimes, some sons are blasted while others become wolves.[41] Sometimes, no wolf metamorphosis is mentioned: instead, both father and son(s) are blasted with thunderbolts[42] – or just the father.[43] In Ovid, famously, the whole event is followed by the flood that wipes out the whole human race except for Pyrrha and Deukalion; Apollodoros mentions that some say there was a flood, but appears to be uncertain.[44] The same aspect seems to be the focus of the iconography of Zeus Lykaios, which comprises many images of Zeus, always holding a thunderbolt; literary references to him make the same connection.[45] This recalls his role as a weather god, but also inevitably brings to mind the punishment-wielding god. Overall,

38 Jost (ibid.) argues that this may be one of the kinds of sacrifices that the Greeks dared not forego: and compares it to the Bouphonia, in which the slaughter of a bull would have been a virtually criminal act for rural farmers. However, this is to make a parallel between a valuable and replaceable possession and human life, which is scarcely equivalent.

39 Hes. fr. 163 MW; Ov. *Met*. 1.240-43; Hyg. *Astron* 2.4; Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Theb*. 11.128; schol. ad German. *Arat.* 89; *Myth Vat*. 2.60 (Bode).

40 Hyg. *Fab*. 176.

41 [Hecataeus] *FHG* I no. 375; and schol. ad Lyc. *Alex*. 481.

42 [Apollod.] 3.8.1; Nic. Dam fr. 39 (Dindorf) all those who murdered the child; *Suda* s.v. Λυκάων. In Hyg. *Fab*. 176, they are blasted while he is changed into a wolf.

43 Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl*. 6.41.

44 Fowler 2013: 2.104 suggests this is evidence that the flood story occurred after Hesiod's tradition and before Apollodoros. Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl*. 6.41 also mentions a flood.

45 See discussion by Jost 1985: 252-54. Why Zeus receives the epithet Lykaios has long puzzled scholars, as Jost 1985: 250.

the message of all these different versions of the story is that human sacrifice/cannibalism is wrong.[46]

The tale of Lykaon offers a reflection on what it is to be civilised.[47] Buxton takes a symbolic interpretative approach to the story, and argues that the myth leads us to reflect on 'the importance of maintaining proper relationships with the gods'. Seeing an analogy with the myth of Prometheus, he reads the myth of Lykaon's activities as emphasising the rupture and gap between man and gods.[48] The story as told by Pausanias marks cosmological change, and does so with a suitably shocking event: where once the gods sat at table with humans, now they no longer do so. The moment of Zeus' rage marks the moment when mortals transcend their earlier existence, when they lived in closer proximity to the divine, and come to inhabit the everyday world (of those telling the myth).

More specifically, alongside the theme of the justice of Zeus, this narrative raises questions about the nature of mortal political leadership,

46 The idea that the Arkadians themselves saw cannibalism as savage, and not a part of civilised human life, may underlie the text of the supposed Delphic response to the Phigaleians, when their failure to replace the statue of Black Demeter had produced a barren land (Paus. 8.42.7). The oracle threatens a gradual retreat from civilised diet – from cultivating cereals to herding to cannibalism (eating their children) – if the Phigaleians do not return to worship of Demeter. The reference to eating children recalls the myth of Lykaon (Bruit 1986: 80); it 'represents utter savagery' (Roy 2011: 75). Nielsen & Roy 1999: 34-36 have argued that the oracle was probably created after the cult was reinstated (the statue has been dated to roughly 470-460 BC); see Jost 1998: 264; cf. Roy 2011: 75.

47 And, in particular, what it was to be civilised in the landscape of Arkadia. Some versions of the narrative include *aitia* for places and natural features: e.g., the table that Zeus overturns in his rage provides the origin for the name of the city of Trapezous (Hes. fr. 163 MW; [Apollod.] 3.8.1). The child who is pieced together will later chase his mother into a forbidden sanctuary and Zeus will take them both up to become stars (Hes. fr 163 MW; Hyg. *Poet. astron*. 2.4). In the account of [Apollod.] 3.8.2, Kallisto is turned into a bear by Zeus after he has seduced her, to hide her from Hera; when this does not work (and Hera persuades Artemis to shoot her), he saves the baby, Arkas, and sets Kallisto in the stars as the Bear.

48 Buxton 2006: 73. Detienne 2003: 119 sees the rupture arising from the naming of Zeus as Lykaios. Compare with Anderson 2000: 92-97, who finds in this story traces of the fairytale type Red Riding Hood (*AT* Type 333) – thus, a story about 'butchering girls'.

and the treatment of other human beings in one's community: it emphasises how a leader must face the consequences of his choices. The image of a wolf is perhaps particularly important here: in a number of ancient sources, the wolf is known not only as a savage killer, but also as a 'spontaneously "political" animal' who shares out its kill equally amongst the members of the community.[49] In the context of this narrative, the use of this specific animal metamorphosis as punishment has particular resonance: has not Lykaon shared out the sacrifice appropriately? There is, in this analogy, a commentary on what it means to be human, rather than animal; what it is to perform a sacrifice rather than just share a kill.[50]

Such an expansion of the interpretation of the significance and associations of Plato's analogy clarifies his use of it in the context of the irredeemable character of the tyrant, bringing to light the myth's themes of civilisation, leadership and responsibility. However, although it offers a rich set of references, the question of why Plato may have selected this particular myth to use here remains to be explored. The brief reference to it in the dialogue indicates that the author expected his audience to make appropriate associations relatively quickly. The suggestion of this article is that Plato employs this story not only to comment on the nature of tyranny, but also to direct the audience's attention to a particular aspect of the contemporary context, perhaps even a specific individual.

3. ARKADIA: THEBES, SPARTA, ATHENS

The argument has been made elsewhere that when Plato evoked the tyrant in the *Republic*, he had in mind Dionysios.[51] However, while it may be observed that Plato visited Sicily in the early 380s, and that Dionysios

49 Detienne 2003: 120; and see Detienne & Svenbro 1979: 216 for discussion of ancient sources.

50 Detienne 2003: 121 seems to see the problem of the wolf as located in or creating a confusion between killing and eating: 'the murderer and its "knife" must not approach the dining table'.

51 Lewis 1994: 154-55.

may be considered as 'the tyrant of the age', there is no compelling reason why Plato might use the image of an Arkadian ritual to refer to him.[52] The wolf image not only illustrates the inhumanity of tyranny, it also brings to mind a particular region of the Peloponnese, raising the questions of Plato's motivation in introducing this focus, and, in turn, the nature of the contemporary association it would have suggested for those listening to this text. Scholarship has dated the composition of the *Republic* between 380-360 BC. This article suggests that Plato's use of this particular analogy, drawing on a well-known story from Arkadia, was intended to prompt reflection on the political situation after 371 BC, specifically, the political and military entanglements between Arkadia, Thebes, Sparta and Athens during the 360s, and to draw attention to the activities of a particular political leader, recently risen to power.[53]

After the Battle of Leuktra, Athens had allied with the Thebans, while a movement in support of an Arkadian federation emerged. This federation turned to Athens to ask for support; when Athens refused, it turned to Thebes.[54] The Spartans, facing the invading force of Thebes also asked Athens for help, and the Athenians voted to support them, too.[55] Their ostensible justification was that this was in accordance with the obligations of their oath at the Athenian conference of 371 BC;[56] but Xenophon suggests that it was motivated by fear and loathing of Theban power and

52 For quotation see Lewis 1994: 155. It is possible that Plato had in mind the myth of Syrakuse's co-foundation from Arkadia (as well as Corinth), for which see Pind. *Ol.* 6.4-6 (the Iamidai) with Hornblower 2004: 184-86, but this would be an indirect, rather weak association.

53 Halliwell 1988: 1: 'probably composed over a number of years in the course of the 380s and, perhaps, early 370s BC'; Pappas 1988: 1: between 380 and 360. See Nails 1998: 385 on dramatic date and date of composition (she argues that there are good and bad reasons for the two most debated dramatic dates 421 and 411 BC, suggesting that the dialogue was 'cobbled together and revised over decades'). The dialogue is, as Annas 1991: 4 has put it, 'overtly transitional' between the earlier Sokratic dialogues in which Plato drew on Sokrates' own method, and the later dialogues in which Plato put forward his own views, albeit using Sokrates as his mouthpiece.

54 Diod. Sic. 15.62.3-64.4; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.19.

55 Sparta faces Thebes plus forces from Phokis, Euboia, East and West Lokris, Akarnania, Herakleia, and Malis, along with cavalry and light-armed troops from Thessaly and forces from Arkadia, Argos and Elis.

56 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.33-49; Dem. 16.12.

its use.[57] The Athenians sent Iphikrates into Arkadia through Corinth, but, by the time he got there, the Arkadians, Argives and Eleans had withdrawn, as had the Thebans with their allies.

To support Sparta in this way was a major change of Athenian policy, and we might expect that there would be some politicians in favour, while others were not. In this context, it could be argued that Plato's reflection on the wolf that has tasted human flesh might be taken most fittingly as a warning to the Athenians about the dangers of their renewed relationship with Sparta. Certainly, there were those at the time who asked questions about this choice of alliance.[58] But biographical details about Plato suggest that he supported this alliance. In particular, he was connected to those in support of it, through one Kallistratos, who was widely understood to be responsible for the policy.[59]

57 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1. Webster 1970: 31 suggests that something of the negative feelings towards Thebes during this period may be gathered from the following fragment: 'Dishonesty in Oropos, Jealousy in Tanagra, Violence in Thebes, Greed in Anthedon, Officiousness in Koroneia, Boastfulness in Plataia, Fever in Onchestos, Stupidity in Haliartos' (Kock *CAF* iii: 469, no. 337). Webster accepts Kock's suggestion that this is a fragment of comedy, and states that the reference to Plataia indicates a date between 382 BC (the city's restoration) and 373 BC (its destruction). But the source is Heraclides Criticus *De urb. Graec.* 1.25, now dated to the early Hellenistic period (Pfister 1951) and so this cannot stand.

58 Including members of the Second Confederacy, Mytilene, in 369/8 (RO 31), for example; see Sealey 1993: 71.

59 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.3; Kallistratos proposed the response to the Mytileneans, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.10; see also Arist. *Rh.* 1411a5, and [Dem.] 59.27. Kallistratos was supported by Chabrias, who took part in a second campaign in the Peloponnese against an invading Theban force in 369. A late source reports that when, after 366 BC, Chabrias was put on trial for his role in losing the town of Oropos to the Thebans, only Plato would plead for him (Diog. Laert. 3.23-24). Kallistratos was also implicated in these events (he had suggested that the Thebans retain possession of Oropos; they then would not leave), see Arist. *Rh.* 1364a. Davies 1971: 462, 560-61 suggests a relationship by marriage between Chabrias and Eryximachos of *Phaedrus* 268a (cf. *Symp.* 175a-177d, 185d-189c); but see Nails 2002: 143-44. Other possible links: Of the envoys sent to Sparta in 371, Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.3.2) provides a list, which includes Melanopos (*PAA* xii, 638765), ostensibly a rival of Kallistratos, but accused of being 'bought' by him (see Arist. *Rh.* 1374b). Melanopos was likely to have been a son of Laches; see Pl. *Laches* esp. 200c; Plut. *Dem.* 13; and Anaxandrides fr. 41 KA (= Ath. 553e), with Sansone 1996. Finally, there is also a story of Demosthenes deserting Plato in order to listen to and

If not Sparta, then perhaps Thebes provides a better fit for the analogy: there are particular parallels between Theban activities and the tyrant's change from protector to aggressor. To begin with, it is likely that the wolf-man analogy reminded its audience of the foundation of Megalopolis, which had famously adopted the cult of Zeus Lykaios as one of its 'doublets'. The foundation involved the absorption of surrounding settlements: how this occurred is debated, but there is evidence of rebellions against the process and this may have been a situation in which a former protector was perceived as an aggressor.[60] Some traditions stated that the foundation occurred with the help and guidance of the Theban general Epaminondas, and at least the support or protection of Theban troops. Evidence suggests that this was unlikely, but it could still be argued that the wolf-tyrant analogy was meant to bring to mind the Thebans, especially their behaviour towards their Arkadian allies, as that alliance fell apart in the mid-360s.[61] There is evidence for the widespread perception that Thebes' behaviour towards its own allies was seen as tyrannical: e.g., the Theban destruction of Plataia in 373 BC, about which the Athenians had strong feelings.[62] Reinforcing the case for Thebes is

follow Kallistratos (Hermippos ap. Aul. Gell. 3.13): An unlikely tale in itself, it could perhaps be taken as suggesting the opposition of these two figures, but may rather illustrate the difference perceived between philosophy and oratory, as well as providing a commentary on Demosthenes' character.

60 Diod. Sic. 15.94.1-3 describes a rebellion in 361 BC, but Pausanias' description of cities unwilling to join the new community (8.27.5) appears to be about an earlier event. See discussion of the synoikism and related scholarship in Nielsen 2002: 414-69; and 2015.

61 Diod. Sic. 15.72.4, 15.94.1-3; Paus. 8.27.1-8. See discussions by Nielsen 2002: 420; Hornblower 1990: 77; and Demand 1990: 117-18. Roy 2014 provides a succinct and compelling overview of the debate. Plato may even have had a longer perspective, and intended Thebes to remain the focus of his criticism. After Lykomedes' death, the situation worsened between Arkadia and Thebes: in 363 BC, a row over the use of temple funds (Olympia) caused a split between the Mantineans, who supported Sparta, and Tegeans, who remained loyal to Thebes. It would lead to a battle in which Epaminondas was killed. However, the Thebans continued to support Tegea, and to maintain the city of Megalopolis by constraining those who wanted to return home (361 BC).

62 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1, 6.3.5: Isokrates in his *Plataikos* (14.8) offers a Plataian appeal to the Athenian assembly in the light of their city's annihilation: it makes it clear that

evidence that the image of the wolf for Thebans in a military context may already have been active in political discourse. Pausanias relates a story that associates Epaminondas and the Thebans with the imagery of the wolf before the battle of Leuktra.'[63]

Some aspects of the Theban parallel seem cogent, but questions remain in light of the fact that Plato's analogy focuses the reader's attention so completely on Arkadia. In conclusion, therefore, I want to introduce a final potential target for this analogy: the Arkadian politician, Lykomedes. As mentioned, the Theban-Arkadian alliance fell apart in 366; the result had immediate implications for Athens, when the Arkadians sought an alliance with their city.[64] The Arkadian politician who helped to set up both alliances, was one Lykomedes, or 'wolf-sly', a name that encompassed not only the aggression of the wolf, but also its intelligence and enterprise.[65] Xenophon, albeit briefly, seems to describe a character whose rise to power – and violent death – is mesmerizingly similar to that of his tyrant.[66] Lykomedes was the dominant political figure in the Arkadian League following the battle of Leuktra until his death

Thebes had originally cast itself as the protector. This may have been prompted by fear that the Thebans might also attack them: in Xenophon's account, the Spartans are made to raise this when, in their request for an alliance, they remind the Athenians that the Thebans had asked for Athens to be destroyed after the Peloponnesian War (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.35 and 46). Steinbock 2013: 330 observes how this speech, which does not mention Corinth or other poleis that had argued for the same approach to Athens, is characteristic of later Athenian attitudes to Thebes: 'The renewed hostility between Athens and Thebes between 371 and 340 sufficed to attach the memory of this proposal solely to the Thebans.'

63 Paus. 9.13.4, trans. W.H.S. Jones (adapted): he reports that 'Here heaven sent signs to the Lakedaemonian people and to Kleombrotos personally. The Lakedaemonian kings were accompanied on their expeditions by sheep, to serve as sacrifices to the gods and to give fair omens before battles. The flocks were led on the march by she-goats, called *katoiades* by the herdsmen. On this occasion, then, the wolves dashed on the flock, did no harm at all to the sheep, but killed the goats called *katoiades.*'

64 Athens remained allied to Sparta, Arkadia to Thebes: Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.39; 7.4.2.

65 See Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23, where he gives an emotional speech concerning the strength of the Arkadians (including their autochthony) and urges them to be independent. On Lykomedes see now Nielsen 2015: 258-59, and nn. 41 and 42; on these attributes of the wolf, see Detienne & Svenbro 1979: 217-18.

66 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.24.

– at the hands of exiled Arkadians – on the journey home from his negotiations with Athens. Could Plato's wolf-man analogy have been intended as a brief reflection on the character of this politician?

In terms of the analogical style of the allusion, the employment of such a poetic image to evoke the telling detail of a particular person's character is not unusual in the dialogues: when portraying both named and unnamed individuals, Plato employs poetic similes to emphasise aspects of their personalities. In doing so, he sometimes introduces allusive material that would have been familiar to his audience;[67] and a number of these and other similes involve reference to ritual and mythological events or characters.[68] Nor is the allusion to a contemporary figure or set of events so startling. A number of the dialogues, while set in a past era, are clearly intended to provide a critique of contemporary politics and society, and it seems unlikely that there were not subtle allusions to particular individuals and events, as well as the overt appearances by figures from Athens' historical and contemporary political scene; indeed, there have been a number of scholarly debates about some possible representations.[69] More specifically in support of the argument that the werewolf

67 For the information on similes in Plato's works, I am indebted to Ziolkowski 2014, which provides ample examples. Examples of allusive material: the Heraklean [stone] referred to at *Ion* 1; an 'ancestral Zeus' (*Euthyd.* 16); sacred cattle (*Prot.* 2); those 'fabled to have ascended from Hades to the gods' (*Resp.* 7.9). Korybantes hear the *auloi* (*Cri.* 3); Eurykles speaking from within a man (*Soph.* 9). See further Ziolkowski 2014: App. II, D. http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/ziolkowski/appendix-ii/

68 A well-known example is Pl. *Symp*. 221c-d, where Brasidas is compared to Achilles and Perikles to Nestor or Antenor; Sokrates compares Dionysodoros to Medea of Kolchis (*Euthyd.* 7); comparison to Proteus (*Ion* 5); comparison to the Krommyonian sow (*La.* 2); to Typhon (*Phdr.* 1). See further Ziolkowski 2014: App. II, C. http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/ziolkowski/appendix-ii/.

69 The contemporary characters found in Plato's dialogues are listed in Nails 2002 and explored in Field 1948. My argument here does not disagree with Field 1948: 190, who argues that 'The idea that any character in the dialogues represents in details a contemporary person, so that we can ascribe every statement and argument put into his mouth to the living person whom he represents, is entirely unacceptable ... He represents only a current point of view.' Indeed, I agree with his description of Plato's approach as formulating the details of presentation of that individual (in this case, the espousal of a particular theory) so as to bring out its 'essential features... as clearly as possible for the purpose of examining its truth', and 'naturally, also, select

analogy may refer to Lykomedes is some further evidence that Plato took a particular interest in the political situation in Arkadia, including the (much-debated) mention by Aristophanes in the *Symposium* of Arkadia, 'dispersed by the Spartans', which may refer to a *dioikismos* of Mantineia in either 418 or 385 BC.[70] Two later sources also report that Plato was invited to come and act as *nomothetes* or lawgiver by the Arkadians and Thebans (*sic*) when they were founding Megalopolis, but he refused because the Arkadians did not want 'to have equality'. This story, although lacking detail, also suggests a Platonic concern with the nature of Arkadian political leadership.[71]

as its mouthpiece, whenever possible, some one who actually had affiliations with the view in question.' Field is here criticising the argument that the character of Kratylos in the dialogue of that name was meant to represent, in precise detail, the philosopher Antisthenes and his views. In contrast, Field does feel able to speculate that the *Gorgias* was prompted by a particular set of circumstances in Athens, and that the reference to Perikles at 515e would have been understood by his contemporary audience as describing the activities of Agyrrhios; Field 1948: 125. The reference to the tyrant Archelaos of Macedon in that same dialogue is explicit.

70 Pl. *Symp.* 193a: this is thought to show that Plato had a long-standing interest in the area, its unification or otherwise, but the exact event to which Aristophanes is referring is debated. Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 46.287 [Dindorf]) argued that this was the *dioikismos* of Mantineia in 385 BC. Wilamowitz 1919: 177-78 dated the *Symposium* to 381-378 and argued that although the passage was prompted by the *dioikismos*, the setting of the dialogue was 416 BC, so the audience was meant to think of events in 418; Mattingly 1958: 31-39 argued that it refers to events in 418 BC, and for redating the dialogue. Finally, Dover 1965 argued that it referred only to events in 385/4.

71 Diog. Laert. 3.23 and Ael. *VH* 2.42; see Roy 2000: 311, who observes that the Arkadians may have understood *isonomia* differently from Plato, and so this does not mean that the city was not democratic, but that it may have had particular guidelines; see also Trampedach 1994: 37-41; and Nielsen 2015: 261 n. 57 on the historicity of this account. According to other sources, Plato sent one Aristonymos, an associate, to organise or reorganise the constitution (Plut. *Mor.* 1126c = *Adv. Colotem* 32); see Trampedach 1994: 91.

4. CONCLUSION

In making this final suggestion, this article is not attempting to identify the precise circumstances or events to which the werewolf analogy refers. The difficulties of eliciting the historical reality of a cult from an associated myth are well known; the problems of identifying a political situation or figure may be regarded as, at least, equivalent.[72] Rather, it intends to indicate the possibilities for interpretation that are created by attempting to set Plato's brief mention of this myth in a historical context. Ultimately, what we can say about the ritual to which Plato alludes is extremely limited.[73] For the Arkadians, 'becoming a wolf' may have been some kind of priesthood, or an initiation ritual limited to one age-class, or eventually one family.[74] In that ritual, recalling the punishment of Lykaon, an individual seems to have become 'a wolf', a position he then held for some nine years; in the tenth, the ritual was re-enacted, and the role passed to someone else. It may have been some form of initiation for some or all of Arkadian youth, but that is far from obvious.[75] The ritual may or may not also have included swimming across a body of water; but,

72 See Brillante 1990 for thoughtful exploration of this topic.

73 That change occurs in the tenth year has an element of traditional story structure to it, e.g. in the *Odyssey* there is a repeated pattern of nine days passing before events change on the tenth day.

74 It has been suggested, on this basis of the argument for initiation, that Pausanias was making a link between Arkadian warriors and wolves when he mentions that the Arkadian warriors, fighting for Aristodemos against the Spartans, wore the skins of the wolf and the bear (4.11.3); Buxton 1987: 71; cf. Burkert 1983: 91. But Pausanias is describing the lack of armour among the Arkadians and Messenians: he mentions specifically how some were protected with animal skins instead, such as those of goats and sheep, and, with reference to the Arkadian mountaineers, wolf and bear skins. This does suggest that those who lived in the mountains were hardier and less civilised – a common association with mountain-dwellers (Arr. *An.* 7.9.2; Paus. 10.17.8-9; see discussion in Buxton 2013: 9-32) – but it is not evidence for a ritual in which Arkadians, all or some, were initiates.

75 Buxton 1987: 72 is rightly concerned about the length of time of this initiation: 'we have to give a reasonable answer to the question, "What were they doing for nine years?"'; cf. Jost 1985: 267.

on the basis of the myth, which suggests that the slaughter and consumption of a human was a wholly unacceptable practice, it seems unlikely that actual human sacrifice was involved.[76]

The wolf narrative is one of many stories or allusions to stories that Plato uses in the *Republic*.[77] Indeed, the dialogue hinges on a much-discussed ambiguity: it criticises and condemns the mimetic arts, but does so in a form that is itself mimetic.[78] As the dialogue progresses, the dangers of mimesis are enumerated, until Book 10, where Sokrates states that they were right to have banned mimetic poetry from the ideal state.[79] But the structure of the argument is not straightforward: in the earlier parts of the discussion it has been stated that there is a place for good mimetic poetry.[80] One of the important early arguments made in this context concerns the ways in which stories are a way of communicating information to children, a process that occurs at the earliest and most crucial stage of their learning.[81] Plato explains that myths that cast the gods in a bad light are dangerous, they teach the wrong values and can be used to justify immoral mortal behaviour.[82]

76 The debate on this aspect of sacrifice in Greek culture continues. Hughes 2013 and Bonnechere 2009 [1994] have argued against it, but other scholars examine the evidence with less firm conclusions: e.g. Henrichs 1974: 232-33; Bremmer 2007: 79, esp. 78 on Lykaon.

77 See Morgan 2000: 162 on three loose classes of myths employed by Plato in his dialogues.

78 The dialogue is itself a play, set sometime between 431 and 411; see Rosen 2005: 20 and Nails 1998 (n. 48 above) and the characters themselves refer to their activities as if they were telling a story (Pl. *Resp*. 376d, ὥσπερ ἐν μύθῳ μυθολογοῦντες). The dialogue itself ends with a famous 'myth of judgment'; see Taylor 1926: 265.

79 Pl. *Resp*. 376e-400b, 400c-3c; 595a5.

80 Pl. *Resp*. 400d11-2a6; see Murray 1996: 4-6.

81 Pl. *Resp*. 377a: πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθους λέγομεν, 'we begin by telling children stories.'

82 Pl. *Resp*. 378a1-2 on the myth of Kronos, and see Pl. *Euthyphr*., where Euthyphro uses this myth to justify his prosecution of his own father. See Murray 1996: 139 (ad 378a1-2); she notes Burnet's (1924 *ad loc*.) observation that this argument was used in fifth-century debates about *nomos* and *physis*. Towards the end of the dialogue, two arguments are being made to justify the banning of mimetic poetry: first that it corrupts, since it imitates the wrong kinds of behavior (605c10-8b2); and, second,

Is it fundamentally contradictory for Plato to use a story, like that of the Arkadian werewolf, when he has himself condemned the use of the mimetic arts? An answer may lie in the terms he uses to describe this tale. This story of the werewolf is referred to as both *mythos* and *logos*: that is, it is a traditional tale that also seems to offer something more rational, more carefully directed.[83] Indeed, the allusion to the myth of Lykaon aligns well with Plato's professed role for myths in his ideal city, insofar as it is a story of mortal crime and divine punishment. And, as he must have recognised, the myth of the werewolf is very powerful. 'This crisis of the coincidence of the natural and the human' as Susan Wiseman has described the appearance of the werewolf (with reference to the sixteenth-century wolf-man Peeter Stubbe, the 'Werewolf of Bedburg'), is long-lived, cross-cultural, and rich with possible insights.[84]

I have argued that Plato used this analogy for two reasons: first, he was concerned with the general lessons to be learned from a myth that illustrated the power and responsibilities of leadership, apposite for his reflection on the role of the tyrant. And beyond that, I would argue, the werewolf of Plato's analogy was intended as a reflection on one Arkadian politician in particular. Thus, when it is considered as a historical text, this analogy can offer scholars a prism for viewing a society and its cultural imaginary: hold it one way and it reveals a legacy of folklore; another facet offers insights into the relationship between man, animal and

because poets do not know what goodness is, so cannot represent it in their art (598d 7-99e6).

83 The question of the relationship between *mythos* and *logos* is much discussed: a seminal collection of articles is Buxton 1990. For Plato's treatment here see Morgan 2000: 283-86, esp. 286; Murray 1999. Burkert 1983: 88 notes only the use of *mythos* and takes it as indicating Platonic scepticism. Albinus 1998: 92 observes that importantly this is a *mythos* that is part of *logos*, so is a story added to 'a frame of didactic or dialogical speech', different from the free-standing traditional *mythoi* that Plato criticizes and aims to control. He analyses the exception, the myth of Er, as itself used (100; italics in original) '*as* a traditional frame within which philosophy was the real thing to choose.'

84 Quotation: Wiseman 2004: 55. The bibliography on werewolves is vast, and so I have included only what I have found especially useful, including Wiseman 2004; Gordon 2015 (as one of a number of enthralling articles in Blécourt 2015).

the gods; a further facet may allow a glimpse of contemporary political concerns.

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DIE SCHULE KONONS: KARRIEREN ATHENISCHER FELDHERREN AM BEGINN DES 4. JAHRHUNDERTS

Von Alexander Schachner

Summary: This paper explores the early careers of both Chabrias and Iphicrates in an attempt to demonstrate some striking similarities in their conduct during the Corinthian War. Taking into account their role in military operations as well as their relationship to Conon and their social origins, it will become apparent that they did not hold any Athenian office over the course of this conflict. Both were mercenary leaders whose military successes subsequently allowed them to advance to the highest echelons of Athenian society.

Konon, Iphikrates und Chabrias hatten als Feldherren maßgeblichen Einfluss auf den Verlauf des Korinthischen Krieges und in der Folge auch auf die Geschicke Athens im 4. Jh. v. Chr. Während die Forschung schon früher vereinzelt das Zusammenwirken der beiden erstgenannten Charaktere untersuchte, wurde bis dato das Handeln des Chabrias in der Periode des Korinthischen Krieges als davon weitgehend unabhängig betrachtet. Diese Arbeit will versuchen, die Unternehmungen der drei Athener in einen engeren Kontext zu stellen und so vor allem den Quellenbefund zur frühen Karriere des Chabrias einer neuen Interpretation zu unterziehen. Da insgesamt der Fokus der bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungen des Korinthischen Krieges eher auf den Einzelleistungen dieser Persönlichkeiten lag, sei es Konons Erfolg bei Knidos bzw. seine Unterstützung beim Wiederaufbau der „Langen Mauern" Athens, oder die Vernichtung der spartanischen Mora bei Lechaion durch Iphikrates, sollen hier in erster Linie die möglichen Berührungspunkte und Abhängigkeiten in ihrem Handeln analysiert werden.

Alexander Schachner 'Die Schule Konons: Karrieren athenischer Feldherren am Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts' *C&M* 67 (2019) 91-107.

Von besonderer Bedeutung für diese Arbeit ist die Frage, in welchen Dienstverhältnissen die drei erwähnten Akteure den Korinthischen Krieg bestritten, und inwieweit Parallelen in ihren Handlungsweisen festgestellt werden können. Eine wesentliche Diskussion dreht sich dabei um die Problematik, ob diese Feldherren zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt des Korinthischen Krieges die athenische *strategia* bekleideten. Prinzipiell sind dabei zwei Denkrichtungen voneinander zu unterscheiden. Erstere, vertreten von Parke[1], vergleicht einige Feldherren des 4. Jh. v. Chr. aufgrund einer fortschreitenden Professionalisierung des Heereswesens und der immer bedeutsameren Rolle von Söldnertruppen mit den *Condottieri* des 15. und 16. Jh. Merkmale dafür wären das oftmals unabhängige Agieren von heimischen staatlichen Institutionen, der Dienst für fremde Poleis bzw. Potentaten und die schon angesprochene Abhängigkeit von Söldnern.

Als Reaktion auf diese These formierte sich eine Strömung innerhalb der Forschung, die eine extreme Gegenposition entwickelte, die Pritchett in seinem mehrbändigen Werk zur griechischen Militärgeschichte wohl am deutlichsten formulierte.[2] Er sprach sich nicht nur gegen den Begriff des *Condottiere* aus, sondern versuchte vor allem die seiner Meinung nach noch immer gegebene strikte Abhängigkeit vom heimischen Staatswesen nachzuweisen.

Im Zentrum des Forschungsdiskurses stand bis dato in erster Linie die Frage, wie loyal sich die einzelnen Feldherren und Söldnerführer des 4. Jh. gegenüber Athen (bzw. anderen Poleis) verhielten. Obwohl dies einen durchaus interessanten Ansatz zur Analyse der Beziehungen zwischen den Generälen und der politischen Führung ihrer Poleis darstellt, reichen diese Überlegungen nicht aus, um die komplexen Verhältnisse dieser Epoche befriedigend zu erklären. Zu den Themen, denen bisher zu wenig Beachtung geschenkt wurde, zählen unter anderem die Fragen nach der sozialen Herkunft dieser Persönlichkeiten und wie sie es bewerkstelligten, sich innerhalb der politischen Elite Athens zu etablieren.

Ohne an dieser Stelle auf die einzelnen Argumentationen beider Gruppierungen eingehen zu wollen, bleibt m. E. die Beobachtung, dass

1 Parke 1933; Mossé 1962.

2 Pritchett 1974: 34-116; Peake 1991: 111-70; Hamel 1998: 158-60; Trundle 2004: 147-59; Bianco 2011: 39-60.

sich einige athenische Strategen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. sowohl im Wesen als auch im Handeln von ihren Vorgängern des vorherigen Jahrhunderts und der Mehrzahl ihrer zeitgenössischen Amtskollegen unterschieden. Zu den Vertretern etablierter Familien, die teilweise auf eine lange Tradition innerhalb der athenischen Politik zurückblicken konnten, oder Personen, welche ihren erwirtschafteten Reichtum als Basis ihres politischen Kapitals benutzten, gesellten sich plötzlich vereinzelte Personen, die zwar ursprünglich über keinerlei soziales Prestige verfügten, aber durch ihre militärische Karriere dominierende Positionen in der athenischer Außen- und später auch Innenpolitik erreichten.

Während die Karriere Konons nach dem Ende des Peloponnesischen Krieges wohl ein entscheidendes Vorbild für diese Entwicklung war, stellen Iphikrates und Chabrias sicherlich die ersten Vertreter dieser Gruppe dar. Es ist nicht zu bestreiten, dass die beiden Feldherren ab einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt in ihren Karrieren immer wieder die athenische *strategia* bekleideten. Die Frage, die jedoch noch nicht zufriedenstellend erörtert wurde, ist, wann dieser Zeitpunkt anzusetzen ist. Einige bemerkenswerte Details, die in diesem Zusammengang bisher noch wenig Beachtung fanden, sind die soziale Herkunft, ihre frühen Laufbahnen und die Umstände, welche ihren Aufstieg in die höchsten politischen Kreise Athens begleiteten. Das Wirken des Iphikrates und Chabrias im Rahmen des Korinthischen Krieges soll hier unter diesen Gesichtspunkten analysiert werden.

Die erste für diese Arbeit wesentliche Episode umfasst die Operationen des Pharnabazos und Konons nach der Schlacht von Knidos im Sommer 394 v. Chr. Die beiden Feldherren begaben sich mit ihrer siegreichen Flotte an den Hellespont, wo sie auf ihrem Weg mehrere spartanische Besatzungen aus verschiedenen Poleis der ägäischen Inseln und kleinasiatischen Küste vertrieben.[3] Die bei Abydos und Sestos stationierten Spartaner unter Derkylidas konnten sich jedoch mit Hilfe ihrer lokalen Verbündeten der Übergriffe der persischen Truppen erfolgreich erwehren[4],

3 Vgl. Barbieri 1955: 116-61; Bockisch 1965: 218; Asmonti 2015: 157-58.

4 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.3-6.

was die beiden Feldherren dazu veranlasste, den Winter 394/3 mit umfassenden Rüstungsvorbereitungen zu verbringen.[5] Zu diesen Maßnahmen gehörte unter anderem das Anwerben von Söldnern, bei denen es sich mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht nur um Soldaten thrakischer Provenienz handelte[6], sondern auch um jene, welche später unter Iphikrates vor Korinth operierten.[7] Im Frühjahr 393 entschlossen sich Konon und Pharnabazos zu einem aggressiveren Vorgehen, welches sich direkt gegen spartanische Interessen auf der Peloponnes richten sollte. Über die weiteren Geschehnisse am hellespontischen Kriegsschauplatz schweigen die Quellen, jedoch scheint es, als habe Derkylidas seine Position bis 390 v. Chr. halten können.[8] Inzwischen segelte die persische Flotte nach Melos, von wo aus sie die lakonische Küste verheerte und Kythera besetzte.[9] Die beiden Feldherren versuchten nun, ihr Vorgehen mit den Bemühungen der Koalition, die seit 395 v. Chr. den Spartanern im Korinthischem Krieg gegenüberstand, zu koordinieren, weshalb sie mit dem Synhedrion der Alliierten in Korinth Kontakt aufnahmen. Dort versicherte Pharnabazos den Verbündeten seine Unterstützung und überließ ihnen Finanzmittel zur Fortführung der militärischen Auseinandersetzung.[10] Er selbst kehrte nach Abschluss der Verhandlungen nach Kleinasien zurück, während Konon den alleinigen Befehl über die persische Flotte erhielt und sein Hauptquartier nach Athen verlegte. Es scheint kein Zufall, ab jenem Zeitpunkt die 1200 thrakischen Söldner unter dem Kommando des Iphikrates vor Korinth anzutreffen, und wie Parke in seiner Arbeit bereits feststellte, liegt es nahe, dass es sich hier um zumindest einen Teil der von Pharnabazos und Konon am Hellespont rekrutierten Söldner handelte.[11] Dieser Truppenkörper war also ursprünglich ein Teil der persischen Streitkräfte und wurde von den beiden Feldherren zur Unterstützung der Alliierten am Isthmos stationiert.

5 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.6-8.

6 Der Ort ihrer Aushebung und ihre Bewaffnung bzw. Kampfesweise legen das nahe. Vgl. Parke 1933: 51.

7 Parke 1933: 50.

8 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.32.

9 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; Plut. *Ages.* 23; Corn. Nep. *Con.* 1.1; Justin 6,5; Isokr. 4.119; Swoboda 1922: 1328; Asmonti 2015: 159.

10 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8-9; Asmonti 2015: 159-61.

11 Parke 1933: 50.

Mit ebenso hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit agierte Iphikrates folglich als Offizier im Dienste Konons, ähnlich wie Nikophemos, welchem kurz davor die Sicherung Kytheras überantwortet wurde, oder Hieronymos, der die Flotte in Konons Abwesenheit kommandierte.[12] Bekräftigt wird diese Annahme durch eine Nachricht bei Plutarch, die ein Detail über Iphikrates vorhergehende militärische Verdienste überliefert.[13] So soll er sich bei einer nicht näher spezifizierten Seeschlacht durch mutiges Verhalten ausgezeichnet haben. Da unter Berücksichtigung seines recht jungen Alters praktisch nur die Schlacht von Knidos oder ein mit dieser Kampagne in Verbindung stehendes Seegefecht in Frage kommen[14], bedeutet dies, er habe ebenso wie Konon in einem Dienstverhältnis zum persischen Großkönig gestanden, als man ihm das Kommando über das Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ übertrug. Darüber hinaus erlauben die soeben beschriebenen Hintergründe, sein Alter und die soziale Herkunft den Schluss, dass Iphikrates während seiner Operationen auf der Peloponnes kein reguläres athenisches Amt innehatte, somit auch keineswegs zum Kollegium der Strategen gehörte. Justin berichtet[15], Iphikrates wäre beim Antritt seines Kommandos 20 Jahre alt gewesen, eine Information, die trotz der ansonsten verzerrten Beschreibung der Ereignisse zumindest soweit glaubhaft erscheint, als dass der junge Athener wohl sein dreißigstes Lebensjahr noch nicht erreicht hatte und somit auch die *strategia* nicht bekleiden konnte.[16] Einen ebensolchen Hinderungsgrund stellte seine sozial niedere Herkunft dar[17], die in gleicher Weise die Ausübung eines athenischen Amtes zu diesem Zeitpunkt äußerst unwahrscheinlich erscheinen lässt.[18] Außerdem kann so unter anderem erklärt werden, warum über den gesamten Zeitraum hinweg immer wieder die Namen tatsächlicher

12 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; Lys. 21.35; Diod. 14.81.4; *Hell. Ox.* 15.1-3.

13 Plut. *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 187a.

14 Für eine ausführliche Darstellung der Operationen zwischen 398 und 395 v. Chr. siehe Asmonti 2015: 116-43.

15 Just. 6.5.2.

16 Parke 1933: 51; Peake 1991: 23-24. In Justins Bericht werden die Ereignisse bei Korinth zur Gänze ausgespart. Zur Altersgrenze athenischer Beamter siehe Develin 1985: 149-59; Bleicken 1994: 230.

17 Davies 1971: 248-49; Plut. *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 186f, 187b; Arist. *Rhet.* 1367b18.

18 Schwahn 1935: 1074.

athenischer Strategen in den Quellen zu finden sind, die parallel das Kommando über die attischen Bürgertruppen vor Korinth führten.[19]

Somit wäre ein erstes Naheverhältnis zwischen Konon und Iphikrates umrissen, welches, wie bereits erwähnt, auch der bisherigen Forschung nicht gänzlich verborgen blieb.[20] Doch lassen sich nun auch die Tätigkeiten des Chabrias zur selben Zeit in dieses Gefüge einbetten? Die früheste Nachricht zu seinen militärischen Unternehmungen im Korinthischen Krieg tritt uns in Form einer bedauerlicherweise nur äußerst fragmentarisch erhaltenen Inschrift entgegen.[21] Dabei handelt es sich um einen Bündnisvertrag zwischen Athen und dem thrakischen König Seuthes, der um ca. 390 v. Chr. geschlossen wurde. Der Name des Atheners wird in der Inschrift insgesamt drei Mal genannt, jedoch kann man dem verderbten Text nichts über seine Funktion und Tätigkeit entnehmen. Falls in Zeile 21 korrekt ergänzt wurde[22], ist ihm zumindest ein Kommando über eine Truppe von Soldaten unbekannter Größe zuzuschreiben. Die Forschung sah diese Inschrift bisher ausnahmslos in Zusammenhang mit der Expedition des Thrasybulos 390/89 v. Chr., an welcher Chabrias als Stratege teilgenommen haben soll.[23] Mit einer Flotte bestehend aus 40 Schiffen, die eigentlich für den Entsatz von Rhodos gedacht war, brach er zum Hellespont auf und gewann dort Thasos, Samothrake, die thrakische Chersones und Byzanz.[24] Zusätzlich vermittelte er ein Bündnis zwischen Athen und den beiden thrakischen Fürsten Seuthes und Amedokes.[25] Keine literarische Quelle nennt Chabrias explizit als Teil dieser Operationen. Neben der Inschrift, die ein eindeutiger Beweis für seine Anwesenheit auf diesem Kriegsschauplatz ist, existiert jedoch eine Nachricht bei Polyän, die ihn ebenfalls im thrakischen Raum verortet.[26] In ihr berichtet der Autor über eine nicht näher datierte Auseinandersetzung zwischen

19 Beispielsweise Kallias vor Korinth Xen. *Hell*. 4.5.13. Zur Schlacht von Lechaion siehe Konecny 2001: 79-127.

20 Parke 1933: 50-51; Strauss 1986: 133.

21 IG II² 21.

22 [.....ΣΤΡΑΤ]ΙΩΤΩΝ ΧΑΒ[ΡΙ.....

23 Vgl. Parke 1933: 56; Bianco 2000: 49-50; Für eine Darstellung der Thrasybulos-Kampagne siehe Buck 1998: 115-18.

24 Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.26; Dem. 20.60.

25 IG II² 22 wird in diesem Zusammenhang gesehen.

26 Polyän 2.22.3.

dem Spartaner Ischolaos und Chabrias, welcher ersteren in Drys belagerte. Es wurde versucht, diese Begebenheit in das Jahr 375 v. Chr. zu datieren[27], aber ein spartanischer Harmost scheint zu diesem Zeitpunkt in dieser Gegend als äußerst unwahrscheinlich. Zum einen sind nach dem Abschluss des Antalkidasfriedens keine Harmosten außerhalb der Peloponnes und Boiotiens anzutreffen,[28] zum anderen wurde Drys noch vor 377/6 v. Chr. dem Iphikrates von seinem Schwiegervater Kotys zugesprochen[29], da sich ersterer nach Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit dem Thrakerkönig dorthin zurückgezogen hatte. In jedem Fall beherbergte die Polis zu diesem Zeitpunkt keinen spartanischen Harmosten. Ferner erwähnen die Quellen beim Eingreifen des Chabrias zugunsten Abderas, also jene Episode in deren Rahmen die Belagerung von Drys angeblich stattfand, lediglich den Stamm der Triballer als Aggressoren[30], weshalb diese Ansicht mit Sicherheit zurückgewiesen werden kann. Da der Korinthische Krieg der einzige andere passende Zeitraum bleibt, in welchem der Feldherr in Thrakien agierte, muss sich also diese Passage auf jene Periode beziehen.

Der bisherigen Forschungsmeinung folgend hätte Chabrias noch im selben Jahr (390/89) den Hellespont verlassen, um die Nachfolge des Iphikrates in Korinth anzutreten.[31] Selbst wenn man diesem grundsätzlichen Ablauf der Ereignisse folgt, stellt sich dennoch die Frage, ob die Zuschreibung der *strategia* an Chabrias in dieser Phase gerechtfertigt erscheint. Die Betrachtung der Inschrift hilft in dieser Frage insofern weiter, als dass die dreimalige Nennung seines Namens ohne die Erwähnung eines offiziellen athenischen Amtes einherging.[32] Da ihm in der Folge, während seiner Operationen auf Aigina (388/7), ähnlich wie Iphikrates vor Korinth, ein „tatsächlicher" Stratege namens Demainetos zur Seite gestellt wurde[33], welchem das Kommando über die athenischen Hopliten

27 Pritchett 1974: 67; Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 878.

28 Nach dem Abschluss des Antalkidasfriedens waren spartanische Harmosten nur mehr auf der Peloponnes und in Boiotien zu finden. Vgl. Bockisch 1965: 230.

29 Dem. 23.132; Harpokr. s.v. Δρῦς; vgl. Pritchett 1974: 66-67.

30 Diod. 15.36.1-5.

31 Parke 1933: 56; Pritchett 1974: 63; Thompson 1985: 52-57; Figueira 1990: 38-39; Peake 1991: 25; Pascual 2009: 88.

32 IG II² 21.

33 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.10.

oblag, bekleidete er im Verlauf des Korinthischen Krieges das fragliche Amt offensichtlich nicht. Wenn überhaupt fungierte Chabrias also als Truppenführer unter Thrasybulos.

Da diese Interpretationen der Ereignisse m. E. nicht besonders überzeugen können, soll nun, wie am Beginn bereits angekündigt, eine neue Deutung des Quellenbefundes präsentiert werden. Diese steht unter der Prämisse, dass die frühen Karrieren des Iphikrates und Chabrias vielleicht noch größere Parallelen aufweisen, als ohnehin auf den ersten Blick ersichtlich sind. Aus vielerlei Gründen ist es deshalb notwendig, sich eingangs der Frage zu widmen, ob die Nachrichten über die Tätigkeiten des Letzteren am Hellespont tatsächlich in einem direkten Verhältnis zur Expedition des Thrasybulos standen. Weder die Betrachtung der Inschrift noch jene der Passage bei Polyän deuten in eine solche Richtung. Beide nennen den Namen des Thrasybulos nicht und geben auch sonst keine Spezifika wieder, die der Bericht des Xenophons überliefert. Der von einigen postulierte Zusammenhang zwischen IG II² 21 und dem von Thrasybulos vermittelten Bündnis zwischen Seuthes, Amedokes und Athen (IG II² 22) kann ebenfalls keineswegs als gesichert gelten, da in ersterer nur eine der drei Personen, nämlich Seuthes, zu finden ist.[34] Das bedeutet, es existiert kein stichhaltiges Argument, welches Chabrias zwingendermaßen im Heer des Thrasybulos (390/89) verankert, weshalb die Gelegenheit besteht, nach anderen möglichen Erklärungen für dessen Anwesenheit auf dem hellespontischen Kriegsschauplatz zu suchen, unter der Annahme, er habe dabei, wie bereits dargelegt, kein athenisches Amt bekleidet. Im Grunde genommen, kommen, beim Versuch sich dieser Problematik zu nähern, zwei verschiedene Szenarien in Frage.

Zum einen wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass Chabrias im Dienst eines thrakischen Fürsten tätig war, eine Vorgehensweise athenischer Feldherren, welche für das gesamte 4. Jh. bezeugt ist.[35] Die Betätigung als Söldner in „außerathenischen" Diensten wäre in diesem Fall nicht nur ein Spezifikum seiner späteren militärischen Laufbahn, sondern hätte gleichsam den Ausgangspunkt der selben gebildet.

34 Parke 1933: 56; Kirchner 1899: 2017-18.

35 Unter anderen waren auch Iphikrates, Charidemos und Athenodoros im Dienste thrakischer Fürsten.

Zum anderen muss man die Möglichkeit in Betracht ziehen, dass er, ähnlich wie Iphikrates und eine Reihe anderer Athener, unter Konon und Pharanbazos in der persischen Flotte diente. Verschiedene Indizien lassen diese Interpretation als die wohl wahrscheinlichste erscheinen, eine Variante die im Folgenden kurz skizziert werden soll. Zuvor ist es jedoch angebracht, einen kurzen Blick auf jene Nachrichten zu werfen, welche uns Auskunft über die soziale Herkunft des Chabrias geben können. Schon Davies wies auf den außergewöhnlich dürftigen Befund hin, welcher uns für eine derartig prominente Familie erhalten ist.[36] Von seinen Vorfahren ist uns lediglich sein Vater Ktesippos bekannt, den man als alleinigen Trierarchen in IG II² 1604 (Zeile 87) wiederzufinden glaubt. Für Davies genügt diese Mitteilung, um die Familie des Chabrias als fest in der Oberschicht verankert anzusehen. Allerdings datiert die Inschrift ins Jahr 377/6 v. Chr., ein Umstand, der zwei bemerkenswerte Feststellungen erlaubt. Erstens scheint Ktesippos bei seiner Trierarchie über 70 Jahre alt gewesen zu sein[37] und zweitens fiele somit die früheste Nachricht, welche uns Aufschluss über die finanziellen Verhältnisse der Familie ermöglicht, in eine Zeit, in welcher Chabrias bereits von seinen lukrativen Aktivitäten im Dienste des ägyptischen Pharaos zurückgekehrt war.[38] Es ist also durchaus möglich, dass diese Trierarchie ein erstes Zeichen für den sozialen Aufstieg der Familie darstellte. Ferner beziehen sich auch alle weiteren Nachrichten über die Finanzkraft seiner Person bzw. Erzählungen über seinen aufwendig geführten Lebensstil auf die Zeit nach der Ägyptenepisode und der Schlacht von Naxos (376 v. Chr.).[39] Berücksichtigt man diese Indizien, scheint es, als sei Chabrias, genauso wie Iphikrates, erst durch seine militärischen Erfolge zu seinem später attestierten Reichtum gelangt, welchem seine Familie den sozialen Aufstieg verdankte.

36 Davies 1971: 560-61.

37 Strasburger 1939.

38 Diod. 15.29.2; Dem. 20.76; Corn. Nep. *Chabr.* 2; Pritchett 1974: 73; Kirchner 1899: 2017-18.

39 Für eine ausführliche Aufstellung incl. Quellen siehe Davies 1971: 560-61; frühester Ausdruck des persönlichen Reichtums des Chabrias ist sein Sieg im Viergespann bei den Pythia 374 v. Chr. (Dem. 59.33).

Die Zeit nach der Schlacht von Knidos soll hier erneut als Ausgangspunkt für die weiteren Überlegungen dienen, wobei den Bemühungen des Pharnabazos und des Konon am Hellespont besondere Aufmerksamkeit zukommen muss. Wie bereits dargelegt, fuhr die siegreiche Flotte im Spätsommer 394 v. Chr. die ionische Küste entlang und befreite auf ihrem Weg mehrere Poleis, darunter Ephesos, Chios, Mytilene und Samos, von ihren spartanischen Besatzungen.[40] Erst Derkylidas bremste ihren Fortschritt bei Abydos und Sestos, welche er erfolgreich behaupten konnte. Den Spartanern unter Mithilfe ihrer lokalen Verbündeten gelang es also, ihre Präsenz am strategisch so bedeutsamen Hellespont zumindest zum Teil zu erhalten. Die den Winter andauernden Rüstungen für das folgende Jahr könnten allerdings nicht nur für den gegen Lakonien gerichteten Feldzug von 393 v. Chr. gedacht gewesen sein, sondern auch den Ursprung des „chabrischen" Kommandos gebildet haben. Denn obwohl der Bericht des Xenophon den hellespontischen Schauplatz von 393 bis 390 v. Chr. vollkommen außer Acht lässt, scheint es äußerst unwahrscheinlich, dass Pharnabazos und Konon keine eigenen Kräfte in diesem so wichtigen Raum unterhielten. Chabrias wäre demnach, wie bei anderen Personen nachweisbar[41], mit seinen Soldaten, jenen Peltasten, die ihn 390/89 nach Korinth und später 389/8 v. Chr. nach Zypern begleiten sollten[42], in der Region stationiert worden, um der verbleibenden spartanischen Präsenz entgegenzuwirken. Eine solche ihm explizit zugeschriebene und schon besprochene Episode dieser Auseinandersetzungen fand auf diesem Weg Einzug in das Werk des Polyän.[43] Die Annahme, er verfügte zu diesem Zeitpunkt über ein eigenständiges Truppenkontingent, stützt sich übrigens nicht ausschließlich auf jene Passage und die ergänzte Zeile der Inschrift. Da verschiedene antike Autoren die Ablöse des Iphikrates durch Chabrias in Korinth tradieren, entstand in der modernen Forschung der Eindruck, dass beide denselben Truppenkörper in

40 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.1-2; Dem. 20.88; Paus. 8.52.4; Asmonti 2015: 157-58.

41 So wie Nikophemos auf Kythera stationiert wurde (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8) oder Iphikrates bei Korinth.

42 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.10; Dem. 20.76; Corn. Nep. *Chabr.* 2

43 Polyän. 2.22-23.

zeitlicher Abfolge kommandierten.[44] Xenophon unterscheidet jedoch explizit zwischen den 1200 Peltasten und acht Trieren, welche Iphikrates 389/8 zum Hellespont folgten und den 800 Peltasten und 10 Trieren, die Chabrias unterstanden, als er mit der Waffenhilfe für Euagoras beauftragt wurde.[45] Laut Xenophon setzten sich nämlich die Truppen des Iphikrates mehrheitlich aus jenen zusammen, mit denen er schon vor Korinth gedient hatte, weshalb Chabrias spätestens nach dessen Aufbruch an den nordägäischen Kriegsschauplatz über keine Soldaten mehr verfügt hätte. Es wäre nötig gewesen, für die Zypernexpedition ein neues Kommando auszuheben, wogegen allerdings die Formulierung „μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρᾳ, πελταστάς τ᾽ ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὁπλίτας“[46] spricht. Vielmehr scheint Chabrias vor der Abfahrt mit seinen bereits vorhandenen Kräften (800 Peltasten, 10 Schiffe) in Athen eingelaufen zu sein, wo seine Streitmacht durch weitere Schiffe und athenische Hopliten unter dem Kommando des Demainetos ergänzt wurde.[47] Iphikrates und Chabrias verfügten also über voneinander unabhängige Söldnerverbände, die offenbar fest an ihre Kommandanten gebunden waren und diese im Verlauf des Korinthischen Krieges begleiteten. Eine Beobachtung von Howan deutet ebenso in diese Richtung. Sie setzte sich eingehend mit einer anderen Passage in Xenophons *Hellenika* auseinander, in welcher der Historiograph den Rückzug des Agesilaos aus Akarnanien im Jahre 388 beschreibt.[48] Dieser wurde von einer athenischen Flotte unbekannter Größe blockiert, die im Hafen von Oiniadai vor Anker lag. Ohne hier auf Details eingehen zu wollen, plädiert Howan dafür, das Kommando über jene Flotte dem Chabrias zuzuschreiben. Auch sie bezieht sich auf die oben zitierte Stelle Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.10 und

44 Die Forschung stützt sich bei Vertretung dieser Ansicht vor allem auf die Passagen bei Diod. 14.92.2; Harpokr. s.v. Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ; Dem. 4.24, wo eine ähnlich starke Differenzierung in Bezug auf die Kommandoverhältnisse (Archon vs. Strategos) und die einzelnen Truppenkörper, wie wir sie bei Xenophon vorfinden, fehlt. Siehe Pritchett 1974: 63.

45 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.34; 5.1.10. Die Soldaten des Iphikrates waren laut Xenophon die gleichen, die er vor Korinth kommandierte.

46 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.10.

47 Vgl. Howan 2005: 25.

48 Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.14; Howan 2005: 18-33.

kommt zu dem Schluss, der athenische Feldherr habe vor seiner Fahrt nach Zypern ein weiteres Kommando zur See innegehabt, nämlich genau jenes, welches den Rückzug des Agesilaos aus Akarnanien behinderte. Unter Umständen fand diese Intervention auf dem peloponnesischen Kriegsschauplatz schon im Rahmen der in mehreren literarischen Quellen erwähnten Operationen auf der Peloponnes statt[49], welche Chabrias irgendwann im Zeitraum zwischen 390 und 388 durchführte. Wenngleich nur wenige Hinweise über sein dortiges Handeln überliefert sind[50], muss unter allen Umständen festgehalten werden, dass es sich hierbei, wie bereits dargestellt, keinesfalls um eine Übernahme der Truppen des Iphikrates durch Chabrias handelte, sondern dieser lediglich die Aufgaben des Erstgenannten in der Peloponnes übernahm und mit seinen eigenen Söldnern ausführte. Thompsons Versuch, Scholia zum *Panathenaikos* des Aelius Aristides insofern zu interpretieren, dass Chabrias bereits zu einem Zeitpunkt vor 390/89, ähnlich wie Kallias, eine dem Iphikrates übergeordnete Position bei Korinth einnahm, muss zurückgewiesen werden, da Chabrias während seiner Operationen im Korinthischen Krieg, welche er im Verbund mit athenischen Hopliten unternahm, selbst von einem Strategen begleitet wurde.[51]

388/7 v. Chr. realisierte er mit seinen Söldnern die athenische Unterstützung für Euagoras, über welche bedauerlicherweise ebenfalls keine ausführlichen Beschreibungen sondern lediglich einige wenige allgemeine Erwähnungen seiner erfolgreichen Kriegsführung vorliegen.[52] Noch auf seinem Weg nach Zypern griff der athenische Feldherr jedoch auf Aigina ein, von wo aus die Spartaner und ihre Verbündeten gegen den attischen Schiffsverkehr vorgingen und Überfälle auf Attika selbst

49 Diod. 14.92.2; Harpokr. s.v. Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ; Dem. 4.24.

50 Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 172.3; 172.4

51 Thompson 1985: 51-57. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist es entweder, dass es sich tatsächlich um Nachrichten über sein Handeln ab 390/89 auf der Peloponnes oder um eine Verwechslung mit Iphikrates handelt. In jedem Fall überliefern auch die Scholia in diesem Zusammenhang einen weiteren athenischen Strategen, nämlich Diotimos, den wir später erneut mit Iphikrates 388/7 v. Chr. bei der Belagerung von Abydos finden (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25). Erneut wird also einem Söldnerführer ein regulärer athenischer Beamter beigeordnet.

52 Dem. 20.76; Corn. Nep. *Chabr.* 2.

durchführten.[53] Ohne auf die spezifischen Vorgänge auf Aigina eingehen zu wollen, die Xenophon recht umfangreich darlegt[54], beinhalten seine Beschreibungen die entscheidende Information, dass auch Chabrias, ähnlich wie Iphikrates, ein regulärer athenischer Beamter mit Namen Demainetos beigeordnet war, der das Kommando über die attischen Hopliten führte.[55] Neben dem spartanischen Harmosten Gorgopas starben noch 350 Männer aus den Reihen der Lakedaimonier und Aigineten, ein Erfolg, der es den Athenern erneut ermöglichte, ihren Schiffsverkehr ungehindert zu betreiben.[56] Bis zum Abschluss des Antalkidasfriedens kämpfte Chabrias zur Unterstützung des Euagoras auf Zypern.

Berücksichtig man all diese Begebenheiten, lässt sich das Bild über Chabrias' Aktivitäten im Korinthischen Krieg zu einer zusammenhängenden Abfolge von militärischen Operationen verdichten, die gemeinsam mit den Unternehmungen des Iphikrates noch einmal zusammengefasst und in ein chronologisch stabiles Gefüge eingeordnet werden müssen. Aufgrund der problematischen Situation in Bezug auf die präzise chronologische Abfolge der Ereignisse des Korinthischen Krieges zwischen 393 und 387 v. Chr. stellt die Aufgabe, der soeben präsentierten Ereigniskette plausible Datierungen zu geben, ein nicht minderes Problem dar. Im Wesentlichen folgen die hier angegebenen Datierungen der Arbeit Pascuals, welcher sich eingehend mit der problematischen Chronologie der Ereignisse zwischen 394 und 386 v. Chr. auseinandersetzte.[57] Wie darin eingehend dargelegt wird, kann dabei ausschließlich das Werk des Xenophon als chronologisches Gerüst bei der Betrachtung dieses Zeitraums dienen.

Sowohl Iphikrates als auch Chabrias waren aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Teil jener athenischen Personengruppe, die sich nach dem Ende des

53 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.1-10; Dem. 20.76.

54 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.10-13; Dem. 20.76; Polyän 3.11.12.

55 Auch aus den Beschreibungen des Xenophon geht klar hervor, dass Chabrias das Kommando über Peltasten und Demainetos die Hopliten führt: ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ συνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται (*Hell.* 5.1.10) bzw. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον (*Hell.* 5.1.12).

56 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.12-13.

57 Pascual 2009: 75-89.

Peloponnesischen Krieges um Konon auf Zypern sammelte und in der Folge als dessen Offiziere dienten. Für beide Karrieren war der Winter 394/3 von besonderer Bedeutung, denn die am Hellespont betriebenen Rüstungen Konons und Pharnabazos' konstituierten wohl den Ursprung jener Söldnerkontingente, als deren Kommandanten sie sich ihre ersten militärischen Meriten erwarben. Während Chabrias aber vermutlich bis 390/89 v. Chr. am hellespontischen Kriegsschauplatz verblieb, wurde Iphikrates, als die persische Flotte im Mai bzw. Juni des Jahres 393 v. Chr. Korinth erreichte, dort als Anführer von 1200 Peltasten stationiert. Nachdem es im Winter 390/89 v. Chr. dann zu Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Iphikrates und den führenden Kräften in Korinth kam, im Zuge derer er samt seiner Truppen[58] der Stadt verwiesen wurde, ersetzte ihn Chabrias im Frühjahr 389 v. Chr. mit seinen eigenen Leuten in diesem Einsatzgebiet, wo er unter Umständen im Herbst desselben Jahres den Rückmarsch des Agesilaos aus Akarnanien behinderte. Im Frühjahr 388 v. Chr. wurden beide Feldherren erneut entsandt, Iphikrates an den Hellespont und Chabrias nach Zypern, wo sie bis zum Abschluss des Antalkidasfriedens im Einsatz waren.

Die präzise Analyse ihrer Aktivitäten offenbart einige aufschlussreiche Einzelheiten und ermöglicht es außerdem, bemerkenswerte Parallelen in den frühen Karrieren des Iphikrates und Chabrias festzustellen. Zu diesen zentralen Beobachtungen zählt beispielsweise der Umstand, dass beide Feldherren ursprünglich in persischen Diensten standen und im Verlauf des Korinthischen Krieges von Athen „geerbt" wurden. Dieser Übergang in ein attisches Dienstverhältnis, welcher mit dem Tode Konons anzusetzen wäre, bedingte jedoch keineswegs ihren Einzug in die athenische Beamtenschaft. Weder Chabrias noch Iphikrates bekleideten während des Korinthischen Krieges die *strategia*, erkennbar an der Tatsache, dass sie in dieser Zeit keine Bürgersoldaten kommandierten. Waren solche Truppen an ihren Operationen beteiligt, findet sich immer ein „regulärer" Stratege, welcher diese anführt. Auch scheinen ihre jeweiligen Söldnerkontingente für die Dauer der militärischen Auseinandersetzungen an die beiden Führungspersönlichkeiten gebunden gewesen zu

58 Die Truppen des Iphikrates wären von Korinth wohl als ebenso großer Unsicherheitsfaktor wahrgenommen worden sein, was die Berufung des Chabrias samt seiner Söldner notwendig machte.

sein, wie die bereits beschriebene Vorgehensweise bei der Ablösung des Iphikrates in Korinth nahelegt. Mit ziemlicher Sicherheit folgten ihnen diese Mannschaften auch in die nach dem Antalkidasfrieden eingegangen Dienstverhältnisse.

Für Iphikrates bedeutete dies ein dreizehn Jahre andauerndes Engagement beim Thrakerkönig Kotys[59], bis er 374/3 v. Chr. erneut auf persischer Seite bei der Befriedung Ägyptens mitwirkte. Als es im selben Jahr zum Bruch zwischen ihm und Pharnabazos kam, folgte nach seiner Rückkehr nach Athen sein erstes Kommando als attischer Stratege, wo er 373/2 Timotheos ablöste und gemeinsam mit Chabrias und Kallistratos einen Feldzug nach Kerkyra unternahm.[60]

Chabrias hingegen verschlug es nach seinen Operationen auf Zypern nach Ägypten. Dort trat er wahrscheinlich zwischen den beiden persischen Invasionen 386-383 v. Chr. und 377-374 v. Chr. in die Dienste des ägyptischen Pharao Akoris, den er bei seiner Aufstandsbewegung unterstützte, bevor er 379 v. Chr. nach Athen zurückkehrte und seinerseits zum ersten Mal die *strategia* bekleidete.

Für beide stellte diese Zeit jedoch erst die Basis ihrer später hervorragenden Stellung innerhalb der athenischen Politik dar und ermöglichte damit einhergehend den sozialen Aufstieg ihrer Familien. Sowohl Iphikrates als auch Chabrias repräsentieren somit eine neue Kategorie athenischer Politiker, deren politischer Aufstieg eng mit ihrer militärischen Expertise und der Fähigkeit, solche Operationen erfolgreich durchzuführen, verbunden ist.

Zusammenfassend kann also gesagt werden, dass eine militärische Aktion im Dienste Athens keinesfalls automatisch in Verbindung mit der *strategia* gesetzt werden darf, selbst wenn es sich bei der ausführenden Person um athenische Bürger handelt. Wie hier gezeigt werden konnte, hält eine solche Behauptung oft einer sorgfältigeren Untersuchung nicht stand und verfälscht die Bewertung der historischen Abläufe nachhaltig. Vielmehr müssen die verschiedenen Phasen in den Karrieren der infrage kommenden Persönlichkeiten sorgfältig unterschieden werden, um das komplexe Verhältnis des athenischen Staates zu diesen quereinsteigenden Berufssoldaten besser verstehen zu können.

59 Harris 1989: 264-71; Peake 1991: 24.
60 Peake 1991: 24.

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C. VALERII CATULLI *CARMEN* 66: A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

By Kristoffer Maribo Engell Larsen

Summary: This article presents a new critical edition of Catullus' *Carmen* 66 along with an introduction, a translation and a textual commentary. The text, based on fresh collations of the manuscripts *O* and *G*, deviates from the Oxford text by R.A.B. Mynors in 27 cases. Furthermore, it is the first edition to consider the conventional first two lines of Catullus 67 as the last two lines of Catullus 66, an idea independently conjectured by Alex Agnesini in 2011 and Ian Du Quesnay in 2012.[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

This article presents a new critical edition of Catullus' *Carmen* 66 with an introduction, a translation and a textual commentary. The introduction is divided into five sections. The first section gives a brief survey of the textual transmission of Catullus from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. The second section provides more detailed information on the three principal manuscripts of Catullus, *O*, *G* and *R*. In the third section I describe my editorial principles. The fourth section presents a stemma, a description of *sigla codicum* and a bibliography of the works mentioned

1 This article is a slightly revised version of a paper I wrote in 2016 at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford. I am immensely grateful to my supervisor, Professor Stephen Harrison, for his generous help and supervision.

Kristoffer Maribo Engell Larsen 'C. Valerii Catulli *Carmen* 66: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Textual Commentary' *C&M* 67 (2019) 109-52.

in my *apparatus criticus*. Finally, in the fifth section I list my 27 deviations from R.A.B. Mynors' Oxford edition (corrected reprint, 1960) which I take to be the standard edition of Catullus in the English-speaking world. The translation is meant to express my understanding of the sense of the poem as closely as possible. I have therefore chosen to translate the poem into prose rather than within the metrical restrictions of verse. In the textual commentary I explain the reasons behind my choice of a broad selection of readings. All translations from Latin and Greek into English are my own.

1.1 THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF CATULLUS

The textual transmission of Catullus' poetry is almost uniquely sparse and famously corrupt.[2] From late Antiquity until the fourteenth century Catullus has not left many traces.[3] One of the few and very significant traces is the Carolingian manuscript ***T*** (*Codex Thuaneus* after its sixteenth-century owner Jacques-Auguste de Thou), a late ninth-century *florilegium* which includes 66 lines of poem 62. *T* is the oldest direct witness we possess to Catullus' poetry; but since the manuscript does not contain Catullus 66 I do not make use of it in this paper.

Shortly after 1300 an extant manuscript of Catullus was discovered in Verona; but by the end of the century it had disappeared again, a fate shared by numerous codices in that period.[4] This manuscript, commonly referred to as ***V*** (*Codex Veronensis* from its place of discovery), is consid-

2 Propertius seems to be the only other major Latin poet with an equally sparse and corrupt transmission. For convenient surveys see Tarrant 1983a: 43-45 (on Catullus) and 1983b: 324-26 (on Propertius).

3 For recent accounts of the reception of Catullus from Antiquity to the fourteenth century see Kiss 2015a: xiii-xvii; Gaisser 2009: 166-75; 1993: 1-18; Butrica 2007: 15-30. Ullman 1960: 1028-38 gives a comprehensive survey of the scattered reception of Catullus in medieval writers.

4 Cf. Reynolds & Wilson 2013: 141: "the humanists also had a capacity for losing manuscripts. Once they had carefully copied a text, they were liable to have little interest in the manuscript which had preserved it."

ered the pre-archetype of all the preserved extant manuscripts of Catullus.[5] Its rediscovery is famously described in an enigmatic epigram probably written between 1303 and 1307 by the Vincentine notary Benvenuto dei Campesani (1250-1323).[6]

Before the disappearance of *V*, the equally lost ***A*** was presumably copied directly from it. *A* is considered the archetype of the manuscripts ***O*** (*Codex Oxoniensis* from its current location), undated but from approximately 1360, and ***X***, now also lost. By the end of the fourteenth century the manuscripts ***G*** (*Codex Sangermanensis* after its former location), dated to 1375, and ***R*** (*Codex Romanus* of the Vatican Library), c. 1390, were copied from *X*. *R* was copied for the influential Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, whose hand, identified as R^2, has added 133 variant readings to the manuscript.[7] In comparison, *G* contains 93 variant readings (G^1, the hand of the scribe, and G^2, a later hand), while *O* does not contain any. The three late fourteenth-century manuscripts *OGR*, all written in Northern Italy, constitute our principal extant witnesses to the text of Catullus. I will describe these manuscripts in further detail in section two of this introduction.

5 D.S. McKie was the first to suggest the existence of a manuscript between *V* and *OX* in his doctoral dissertation (Cambridge 1977). McKie's unpublished dissertation has not been available to me, but his view of *V* as the pre-archetype and *A* as the archetype of *OX* is widely accepted. See recently Kiss 2015a: xviii and Trappes-Lomax 2007: 16.

6 The epigram, preserved in the fourteenth-century manuscripts *G* and *R*, runs as follows (the codex is the narrator): *Ad patriam uenio longis a finibus exul. / Causa mei reditus compatriota fuit, / scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen, / quique notat turbe pretereuntis iter. / Quo licet ingenio uestrum celebrate Catullum, / cuius sub modio clausa papirus erat*; 'As an exile I arrive to my fatherland from distant borders. / The cause of my return has been a fellow-citizen, / that is, a man to whom France has given her name on account of his writing, / and who notes the journey of the crowd that passes by. / Thanks to his intelligence you may celebrate your Catullus, / whose papyrus has been shut beneath a bushel.' See Kiss 2015b: 2-6 for a recent discussion of the epigram.

7 Ullman 1960: 1040: "The ownership is attested by Coluccio's peculiar pressmark on fol. 1: "71 carte 39", the word *carte* standing for *chartae*, leaves or folios, the number before it being the number in Coluccio's library, apparently. This same type of entry appears in most of Coluccio's books, of which I have seen well over one hundred."

Catullus' poetry might have been rediscovered in the fourteenth century; but his poems were in a very poor condition. The corrupt state of the manuscript tradition was a source of frustration for its earliest scribes. Thus, the scribe of *G* wrote an apology to the reader on the last page of his edition (folio 36r). Whether the scribe formulated the complaint himself or copied it from *X* is not entirely clear;[8] but it certainly bears witness to just how poorly preserved Catullus' poetry was in the century of its rediscovery:

> Tu lector quicumque ad cuius manus hic libellus obvenerit Scriptori da veniam si tibi cor[r]eptus videtur. Quoniam a corruptissimo exemplari transcripsit. Non enim quodpiam aliud extabat, unde posset libelli huius habere copiam exemplandi. Et ut ex ipso salebroso aliquid tamen sugge[re]ret decrevit pocius tamen cor[r]uptum habere quam omnino carere. Sperans adhuc ab aliquo alio fortuito emergente hunc posse cor[r]igere. Valebis se ei imprecatus non fueris.[9]

During the fifteenth century a considerable amount of manuscripts were copied from *R*, a few were copied from *G*, while none were copied from *O*. The fertility of *R* is probably explained by Coluccio Salutati's influential position in the Italian cultural classes.[10] Of these manuscripts, commonly known as the *codices recentiores*, more than 120 are identified.[11]

8 Thomson 1997: 32 argues with reference to McKie's unpublished dissertation (Cambridge 1977) somewhat convincingly that the unscholarly scribe of *G* can hardly be the author of the complaint.

9 'You, the reader into whose hands this little book has come, please excuse the scribe, if the book will seem corrupt to you. For he has transcribed it from a highly corrupt exemplar. There did not exist anything else, from which he could have had the opportunity to copy this book. And in order to take anything out of this rough exemplar he decided that it was better to have it in a corrupt condition than to lack it altogether, in the hope that another copy might emerge from which he could correct it. Farewell, if you will not curse him.'

10 Kiss 2015b: 14. Kiss further suggests that *O* "may have seemed a hopelessly corrupt manuscript of Catullus rather than one of the best ones available, so there seems to have been no reason to copy it."

11 For a recent study of the *codices recentiores* see Kiss 2015b and 2015c, where the manuscripts are numbered and listed.

Due to the corrupt state of the manuscript tradition the scribes usually compared and added readings from other manuscripts, which resulted in a high degree of contamination. Accordingly, the *codices recentiores* do not seem to contribute significant information on Catullus' textual transmission. Their chief and very significant contribution lies in their conjectures and emendations, to which the *apparatus criticus* of every modern edition of Catullus bears solid witness.

The great age of Catullan conjectures, however, arose in the subsequent centuries. After the publication of the Venice *editio princeps* in 1472 manuscripts quickly stopped being copied. Instead, humanist scholars began producing commentaries and emending the corrupt text.[12] The vigorous activities of these Renaissance humanists can hardly be overestimated.[13] Numerous conjectures of theirs are today accepted readings; and even when they are wrong, their conjectures can be of great help in showing the modern reader and editor where the paradosis might be corrupt.[14]

As in many other fields of classical philology, Catullan studies flourished in the nineteenth century, and another great age of Catullan conjectures arose.[15] My present edition of Catullus 66 has benefited greatly from conjectures by scholars such as Emil Baehrens (1848-1888), Theodor Heyse (1803-1884) and Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). The nineteenth century also saw the revival of the principal manuscripts *OGR* and the first employment of *O* and *G* in critical editions. Ludwig Schwabe (1866) was the first editor to base his text on *G*, while *O* was rediscovered in the Bodleian Library and presented by Robinson Ellis (1867), who famously failed to acknowledge its importance. Emil Baehrens (1876) was the first editor to make full use of the manuscript in his edition. Finally, *R* was rediscovered in the Vatican Library by William Gardner Hale in 1896.[16] But it was

12 Gaisser 1992: 207-16.

13 Cf. Reynolds & Wilson 2013: 142 on the fifteenth-century humanists: "A glance at the apparatus criticus of many classical texts – Catullus is a good example – will show how frequently scholars of this period were able to correct errors in the tradition."

14 This principle applies to conjectures in general. Cf. Nisbet 1991: 70, 75.

15 Goold 1983: 12 counts 147 corrections to the text made in the nineteenth century compared to 37 in the seventeenth and 16 in the eighteenth.

16 Hale 1896.

not until the middle of the twentieth century that the relationship between *OGR* was fully realised and utilised in a critical edition, namely R.A.B. Mynors' edition from 1958.[17]

The twentieth century has seen ten critical editions of Catullus' *opera*,[18] and several editions devoted to single poems.[19] Additionally, Robin Nisbet's seminal article "Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Catullus" (1978) has inspired a new wave of conjectures and revivals of forgotten conjectures on Catullus. This conjectural activity has in recent years been greatly helped by Dániel Kiss' online repertory of conjectures on Catullus, which has also made high resolution digital images of *O* and *G* available to its readers.[20] However, two important tasks on the text of Catullus still need to be done. First, there is a need for a new critical edition of Catullus, which employs more conjectural solutions than usual in the text and *apparatus criticus*.[21] Secondly, the *codices recentiores* need to be further identified, analysed and put into a *stemma*. Dániel Kiss is currently working on the *codices recentiores*; and I hope that with this edition of Catullus 66 I may be able to demonstrate, however modestly, some of the editorial principles from which a future edition of Catullus might benefit.

17 Cf. the review of Goold 1958: 95. Ellis 1902 and Kroll 1928 use *OGR* in their editions but do not recognize the importance of *R*. See also description of the *sigla codicum* in Cazzaniga 1941: xv [unnumbered page], who does not recognize *R* as a descendant of *V*.

18 Thomson 1978 (revised 1997); Goold 1983; Eisenhut 1958 (new edition 1983); Bardon 1970 (revised 1973); Mynors 1958 (revised 1960); Schuster 1949; Cazzaniga 1941; Kroll 1923; Lafaye 1922; Ellis 1904.

19 For instance Harrison 2004, a text and translation of Catullus 63; Marinone 1997, a double edition of Catullus 66 and Callimachus fr. 110. In addition, Gail Trimble has an edition of Catullus 64 coming through the Cambridge University Press.

20 Kiss 2013.

21 Further elaboration and documentation in section 1.3 of this paper.

1.2. THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF CATULLUS 66 (*OGR*):

- *O* (*Oxoniensis Canonicianus* class. lat. 30 in the Bodleian Library)

The *Codex Oxoniensis* is the oldest of the three principal manuscripts. It was probably written in Venice in 1360. The manuscript is written on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule, also known as *Rotunda*. Its unknown scribe is considered to have been a competent copyist but a poor Latinist.[22] The scribe appears to have focused more on the layout of his codex than on the text itself.[23] As a result *O* does not contain any of the variant readings assumed to have been present in *V*.[24]

O is not known to have left any descendants. The manuscript was rediscovered at the Bodleian Library in 1867 by Robinson Ellis, who did not recognize the importance of his discovery. In 1876 Emil Baehrens acknowledged the importance of *O*, which he used as the foundation of his text alongside the manuscript *G*.

- *G* (*Parisinus* lat. 14137 in the Bibliothèque National de France)

The *Codex Sangermanensis* is the second oldest of the principal manuscripts. It was written in 1375, most likely in Verona.[25] Its scribe has been identified as Antonio da Legnago, who wrote the manuscript on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule and added a few titles and marginal readings to the text, which he otherwise left unfinished. The other variant readings in *G* are by a later scribe, commonly referred to as G^2, who

22 Cf. Mynors 1958: v: (O), *optime scriptus ab homine uix satis docto, sedulo tamen ac modesto, et qui saepe quod non intellexisset describere mallet quam textum coniecturis sollicitare* ('*(O)*, written perfectly well by a scarcely learned, though diligent and moderate man, who often prefers to copy what he does not understand, rather than disturbing his text with conjectures').

23 Thomson 1997: 28-29.

24 Cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 16.

25 Parisinus lat. 14137 (= *G*), fol. 36r: *1375 mensis octobris 19* ('19 October 1375').

took the readings from the manuscript *m*, an early copy of *R*.[26] Seven of the 93 variants are on poem 66.[27]

G is held to have been copied from the lost manuscript *X*, a brother of *O*. C.I. Sillig (1830) was the first modern editor to make use of *G*, but the manuscript was not used properly until Schwabe's edition in 1866.

- ***R*** (*Ottobonianus* lat. 1829 in the Vatican Library)

The *Codex Romanus* is the brother of *G*, copied for the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, probably in 1390. Like its brother, *R* was copied from the lost codex *X*, the brother of *O*, and like *O* and *G* the manuscript is written on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule. The hand of Coluccio Salutati, commonly referred to as R^2, has added 133 variant readings to the manuscript. 17 of these variants are on poem 66.[28]

R was dramatically rediscovered by William Gardner Hale in 1896 when he realized that the Vatican Library had miscatalogued the manuscript. Hale never managed to publish a full collation of *R*, which was instead published by D.F.S. Thomson in 1970. The first editor to make use of *R* was Ellis in 1902, but the importance of *R* was not acknowledged properly until Mynors' edition in 1958.

1.3. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In 2000 Stephen Harrison published an article on the need for a new text of Catullus. In Harrison's view the existing editions of Catullus are too reluctant to emend the text and present too few alternative readings in

26 See McKie 1989 on the manuscript *m*.

27 66.21 (Et / al. at), 66.24 (nunc / al. tunc), 66.35 (Sed / al. si), 66.54 (asinoes / arsinoes), 66.55 (-que / al. quia), 66.56 (aduolat / al. collocat), 66.57 (legerat / al. legarat).

28 66.5 (sublimia / al. sublamia uel sublimina), 66.21 (et / al. at), 66.24 (nunc / al. tunc), 66.29 (mictens / mittens), 66.29 (que / quae [que]), 66.35 (sed / al. si), 66.45 (atque / al. cumque), 66.48 (celitum / al. celorum, al. celtum), 66.53 (mutantibus / nutantibus), 66.54 (asineos / al. arsinoes), 66.56 (aduolat / al. collocat), 66.57 (ciphiritis / al. zyphiritis), 66.63 (uindulum / uuidulum), 66.71 (parce / pace), 66.74 (qui / al. quin), 66.79 (quem / al. quam), 66.86 (indigetis / al. indignis, al. indignatis). Cf. the collation of Thomson 1970: 13.

their apparatus.[29] Harrison argued that, since the textual transmission of Catullus is considerably flawed, there is a greater need than usual for conjectures in the text and for alternative readings in the apparatus. The only edition of Catullus that meets the demands for emending the text, Goold's text from 1983, does not supply an apparatus. Accordingly, the ideal text should combine the conjectural boldness of Goold with an extensive and conjecturally informative apparatus. Harrison summarised his views by suggesting three editorial principles:[30]

1. The text should have an *apparatus criticus* which is free of minor orthographical variants. Since the apparatus will already be more than usually extensive due to the mentioning of variant readings, recordings of orthographical variants without any bearing on the meaning should be avoided.
2. The apparatus should cite the three main manuscripts *OGR* singly rather than using the sigla *V*, *X* or *A* to indicate accordance between the manuscripts. *OGR* vary sufficiently at crucial points to make this a significant help to the reader.
3. Due to the poor transmission of Catullus' poetry the text and the apparatus should contain more conjectural solutions than usual. Numerous conjectures worth mentioning have been made in the past; and there are still many unsolved problems and good conjectures to be made.

I find these editorial principles convincing and I have strived to use them throughout my text.[31] In addition, I have applied Dániel Kiss' practice of

29 Harrison 2000: 66-70. The need for a new edition of Catullus has recently been repeated by Tarrant 2016: 147.

30 Harrison 2000: 69-70. Tarrant 2016: 145 might be said to express these principles in general terms: "A minimal definition of a satisfactory edition might be one that accurately reports the essential manuscript evidence and reflects the current state of thinking about a text well enough to provide a basis for further study."

31 In contrast to Thomson 1997 I do not record minor orthographical variants and misspellings such as *himeneo* (O, line 11), *assirios* (OGR, line 12) and *dissidium* (GR, line 22). My employment of the two other editorial principles should be evident throughout my text and apparatus. My apparatus is positive rather than negative; for the distinction between these two styles see Tarrant 2016: 162-63.

citing the *codices recentiores* individually rather than using collective *sigla* like Mynors and Thomson.[32] Since Kiss has identified and listed some 129 of the *codices recentiores*,[33] I believe that citing the manuscripts individually will be of great help to the reader who wishes to check the references given in the apparatus. I cite the manuscripts in accordance with Kiss' identification of them, and I list them in section 1.4.2 of this introduction. Finally, neither of the manuscripts *O*, *G* and *R* is considered decisively superior to the others in establishing the text of Catullus. When the manuscript readings differ, I therefore choose to print whichever reading (or conjecture) I find is of greatest merit.[34]

The present edition is based on my own transcription and collation of the manuscripts *O* (fols. 28r-29v) and *G* (fols. 26v-27v) which are accessible in high resolution digital images on Dániel Kiss' *Catullus Online. An Online Repertory of Conjectures on Catullus*.[35] The manuscript *R*, located in the Vatican Library, has not been available to me. When referring to *R* I primarily rely on D.F.S. Thomson's collation of the manuscript; where I suspect that Thomson has collated incorrectly (for instance in lines 17, 18, 35, 82) I rely on the information given in Kiss' *apparatus criticus*.[36]

32 Kiss 2013; Thomson 1997; Mynors 1958.

33 Kiss 2015c.

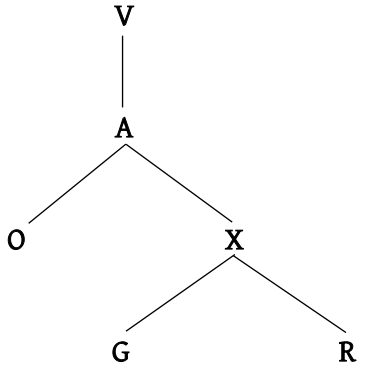
34 Cf. Tarrant 2016: 57 on the manuscripts: "when G and R agree against O, the two readings have equal stemmatic value, and the reading of the archetype can only be ascertained by weighing the relative merits of the readings." See also Trappes-Lomax 2007: 1: "There is only one criterion: *si melius est, Catullianum est*."

35 Kiss 2013.

36 Thomson 1970; Kiss 2013.

1.4. STEMMA, SIGLA CODICUM AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

1.4.1 Stemma[37]



1.4.2 Sigla codicum[38]

O = Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicanus class. lat. 30	c. 1360
G = Parisinus lat. 14137	1375
G^2 = a later hand in *G*	
R = Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1829	c. 1390
R^2 = Coluccio Salutati	
MS 4 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Diez. B Sant. 37	1463
MS 8 = Bologna, Bibliotheca Universitaria 2621	1412
MS 28 = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. VII 1158	1460-1470
MS 31 = Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana 606	1457
MS 46 = London, British Library Add. 11915	1460
MS 52 = London, British Library Egerton 3027	1467
MS 59 = Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera AD xii 37	1450

37 I use the traditional *sigla* of the manuscripts, although they do not indicate that *V*, *A* and *X* are lost (cf. section 1.1).

38 The information on *OGR* is taken from Thomson 1997: 97; cf. Harrison 2004: 514. Information on manuscripts other than *OGR* is derived from Kiss 2015b: 173-77.

MS 78 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7989	1423
MS 122 = Vicenza, Bibliotheca Civica Bertoliana G 2.8.12 (216)	1460
MS 129a = 'The Codex Tomacellianus', in private hands	1448-1458

1.4.3 Works mentioned in the apparatus criticus[39]

Agnesini, A. 2011. 'Catull. 67.1s.: *incipit* della *ianua* o *explicit* della *coma*?' *Paideia* 66: 521-40.

Ald. = Avancius, H. & A. Manutius. 1502. *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius*. Venetiis.

Avancius, H. 1495. *Hieronymi Auancii Veronensis artium doctoris in Val. Catullum* ... Venetiis.

Avancius, H. 1535. *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Gallus restituti per Hieronymum Avancium, Cardinali Farnesio dicantur* ... Venetiis.

Baehrens, E. 1872. *Analecta Catulliana*. Ienae.

Baehrens, E. 1876. *Catulli Veronensis Liber, Volumen I.* Lipsiae.

Bentley, R. 1697. *Notae ad Elegiam Catulli de Coma Berenices* in T.J.G.F. Graevius (ed.) *Callimachi Hymni, Epigrammata, et Fragmenta* ... Ultrajecti, 436-38.

Calphurnius, J. 1481. [*Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii Carmina et Statii Siluae*], Vicentiae.

Canter, G. 1564. *Gulielmi Canteri Ultraiectini Novarum Lectionum Libri Quattuor.* Basileae.

Corradinus de Allio, J.F. 1738. *Cajus Valerius Catullus in integrum restitutus,* Venetiis.

Ed. 1472 = [*Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii carmina et Statii Siluae*, Venezia] – Catullus' *editio princeps*; editor identified as Hieronymus Squarzaficus; printed by Vindelinus de Spira.

Friedrich, G. 1908. *Catulli Veronensis liber*. Lipsiae & Berolini.

Gigli, A. 1880. *I carmi di C. Valerio Catullo Veronese novellamente espurgati, tradotti ed illustrati per uso delle scuole Italiane.* Roma.

Guarinus, A. 1521. *Alexandri Guarini Ferrariensis in C. V. Catullum Veronensem per Baptistam Patrem Emendatum Expositiones* ... Venetiis.

Haupt, M. 1837. *Quaestiones Catullianae.* Lipsiae.

39 The bibliographical information is derived from Kiss 2013.

Hertzberg, W.A.B. 1862. 'Anmerkungen' in W.A.B. Hertzberg & W.S. Teuffel *Die Gedichte des Catullus in den Versmaßen der Urschrift übersetzt*. Stuttgart, 107-50.
Heyse, T. 1855. *Catulls Buch der Lieder in deutscher Nachbildung*. Berlin.
Lachmann, K. 1829. *Q. Catulli Veronensis Liber ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni*. Berolini.
Larsen, K.M.E. 2017a. 'Catullus 66.53 and Virgil, *Eclogues* 5.5' *CQ* 67.1, 304-7.
Larsen, K.M.E. 2017b. 'Through the Airy Waves. Catullus 66.55' *Mnemosyne* 70, 521-24.
Lenchantin de Gubernatis, M. 1928. *Il libro di Catullo Veronese*. Torino.
Lobel, E. 1949 [on 66.78 in R. Pfeiffer (ed.) *Callimachus*. Vol. I. *Fragmenta*, Oxford, 121].
Marcilius, T. 1604. *In C. Valerium Catullum Asterismi*. Parisiis.
McKie, D.S. 2009. *Essays in the Interpretation of Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.
Muretus, M.A. 1554. *Catullus. Et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti*. Venetiis.
Nisbet, R.G.M. 1978. 'Notes on the Text of Catullus' *PCPhS* 204, 92-115.
Owen, S.G. 1893. *Catullus: with the Pervigilium Veneris*. London.
Palladius, F. 1496. *In Catullum commentarii*. Venetiis.
Parthenius, A. 1485. *In Catullum commentationes*. Brixiae.
Pisanus, B. 1522 [marginal notes in a copy of Calphurnius 1481, now in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Inc. Magl. A. 3. 39].
Pleitner, K. 1876. *Studien zu Catullus*. Dillingen an der Donau.
Politianus, A. 1472-94 [annotations in his copy of the *editio princeps* of 1472, now in Rome].
Postgate, J.P. 'Catulliana' *JPh* 17, 226-67.
Puccius, F. 1502 [marginalia taken over from Puccius by Pisanus 1522].
Puteolanus, F. 1473. *Val. Catulli Veronensis poetae doctissimi liber ad Cornelium ...* Parmae.
Rehm, B. 1934. 'Catull 66, 1 und der neue Kallimachosfund' *Philologus* 89, 385-86
Riese, A. 1884. *Die Gedichte des Catullus*. Leipzig.
Schmidt, B. 1887. *C. Valeri Catulli Veronensis Carmina ... Editio Maior*. Lipsiae.
Schrader, J. 1776. *Liber Emendationum*. Leovardiae.

Skutsch, O. 1970. 'Zur Überlieferung und zum Text Catulls' *Acta Philologica Aenipontana* 3, 68-69.
Statius, A. 1566. *Catullus cum commentario Achillis Statii Lusitani.* Venetiis.
Trappes-Lomax, J.M. 2007. *Catullus: A Textual Reappraisal.* Swansea.
Trappes-Lomax, J.M. 2012. 'Further Thoughts in Catullus' *Paideia* 12, 633-45.
Vossius, I. 1684. *Cajus Valerius Catullus et in eum Isaaci Vossii observationes.* [London].
Watt, W.S. 1990. 'Notes on Three Latin Poets' *CPh* 85, 129-31.
Zwierlein, O. 1987. 'Weihe und Entrückung der Locke der Berenike' *RhM* 130.3/4, 274-90.

1.5 Deviations from R.A.B. Mynors' edition (1960²)

	Mynors (1960²):	Larsen (2019):
1.	dispexit *Calphurnius*	despexit *OGR*
1.	lumina *OGR*	limina *Rehm*
8.	Beroniceo *OGR*	Bereniceo *'codices omnes' teste Avancio*
9.	multis *OGR*	uotis *McKie*
9.	dearum *OGR*	deorum *MS 120*
11.	nouo *OGR*	nouis *Aldine*
11.	hymenaeo *OGR*	hymenaeis *Aldine*
12.	iuerat *ed. 1472*	ierat *OGR*
17.	intra *OGR*	citra *Nisbet*
21.	et *OGR*	aut *Hertzberg*
43.	oris *OGR*	orbe *MS 44*
47.	facient *OGR*	faciant *Puteolanus*
47.	cedant *OGR*	cedunt *Harrison**
53.	nutantibus *OGR²*	motantibus *Guarinus in comm.*
55.	aetherias *OGR*	aerias *Trappes-Lomax*
55.	umbras *OGR*	undas *Zwierlein*
59.	†hi dii uen ibi† *OGR*	hic liquidi *Friedrich*
74.	ueri *MS 31*	imi *Nisbet*
77.	dum *OGR*	iam *Harrison**
77.	fuit omnibus *OGR*	muliebribus *Skutsch*
83.	casto *OGR*	casti *Gigli*
83.	cubili *OGR*	cubilis *Gigli*
85.	a *OGR*	uae *Trappes-Lomax*
91.	tuam *Ald.*	tui *Calphurnius*
93.	utinam *GR*	iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio*
94.	fulgeret *OGR*	fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio*
95-96.	*om.*	*add. Agnesini*

C. Valerii Catulli *Carmen* LXVI
Coma Berenices

Omnia qui magni despexit limina mundi,
    qui stellarum ortus comperit atque obitus,
flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur,
    ut cedant certis sidera temporibus,
ut Triuiam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans
    dulcis amor gyro deuocet aerio;
idem me ille Conon caelesti in lumine uidit
    e Bereniceo uertice caesariem
fulgentem clare, quam uotis illa deorum
    leuia protendens bracchia pollicita est,
qua rex tempestate nouis auctus hymenaeis
    uastatum finis ierat Assyrios,
dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,
    quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis.
estne nouis nuptis odio Venus? anne parentum
    frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis,
ubertim thalami quas citra limina fundunt?
    non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint.

1 despexit *OGR*, dispexit *Calpurnius 1481*, descripsit *McKie 2009* limina *Rehm 1934*, lumina *OGR* **2** obitus *MS 59 1450,* habitus *OGR* **4** certis *GR*, ceteris *O* **5** sub latmia *MS 122 1460*, sublamina *O*, sublimia *GR* (*al.* -lamia *uel* -limina R^2), sublatmia *Calphurnius 1481* relegans *MS 122 1460*, religans *OGR* **6** gyro *ed. 1472*, guioclero *OGR* **7** in lumine *Vossius 1684*, numine *OGR*, lumine *Canter 1564*, limine *MS 46 1460* **8** e bereniceo *'codices omnes' teste Avancio 1495*, ebore niceo *OGR* **9** uotis ... deorum *McKie 2009,* multis ... dearum *OGR*, cunctis ... deorum *Haupt 1837*, templis ... deorum *Pohl 1860* **11** qua rex *Puteolanus 1473*, quare ex *OGR* nouis auctus hymenaeis *Ald. 1502*, nouo auctus hymeneo *OGR*, nouo auctatus hymenaeo *Goold 1969* **12** uastatum *MS 31 1457*, uastum *OGR* ierat *OGR,* iuerat *ed. 1472* **15** est ne *OGR* anne *MS 52 1467*, atque *OGR* parentum *OGR*, maritum *Schmidt 1887* **16** falsis *OGR*, salsis *Heyse 1855* **17** ubertim *GR*, uberum *O* citra *Nisbet 1978,* intra *OGR* limina *MS 31 1457*, lumina *OGR* **18** diui *MS 78 1423*, diu *OGR*, di ut *Statius 1566* iuerint *ed. 1472*, iuuerint *OGR*

id mea me multis docuit regina querelis
inuisente nouo proelia torua uiro.
aut tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,
sed fratris cari flebile discidium?
quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas!
ut tibi tunc toto pectore sollicitae
sensibus ereptis mens excidit! at <te> ego certe
cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam.
anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adepta es
coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis?
sed tum maesta uirum mittens quae uerba locuta es!
Iuppiter, ut tristi lumina saepe manu!
quis te mutauit tantus deus? an quod amantes
non longe a caro corpore abesse uolunt?
atque ibi me cunctis pro dulci coniuge diuis
non sine taurino sanguine pollicita es,
si reditum tetulisset. is haud in tempore longo
captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.
quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu
pristina uota nouo munere dissoluo.
inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi,
inuita: adiuro teque tuumque caput,
digna ferat quod si quis inaniter adiurarit!
sed qui se ferro postulet esse parem?

21 aut *Hertzberg 1862*, et *OGR* (*al.* at G^2R^2), an *Puccius 1502* non *GR*, uno *O* **22** fratris *GR*, factis *O* **23** quam *Bentley 1697*, cum *OGR* **24** tibi *OR*, ibi *G* tunc OG^2R^2, nunc *GR* sollicitae *MS 122 1460*, solicitet *OGR* **25** te *add. Avancius 1535* **26** magnanimam *MS 31 1457*, magnanima *OGR* **27** quo *Puccius 1502*, quam *OGR* adepta es *Calphurnius 1481*, adeptos *O*, adeptus *GR* **28** fortior *GR*, forcior *O*, fortius *MS 129a 1450* ausit *Puccius 1502*, aut sit *OGR* **29** tum *GR*, cum *O* **31** tantus *OGR*, tantum *MSS recentiores*, *iterum coni. Schrader 1776* **32** abesse *OR*, adesse *G* uolunt *OGR*, ualent *Baehrens 1876* **33** me cunctis *Puccius 1502*, pro cunctis *OR*, pro cuncis *G* **34** taurino *om. O* **35** si G^2R^2, sed *OGR* tetulisset *MS 28 1460-70*, te tulisset *OGR* haud *Ald.* 1502, aut *OGR*, haut *Statius 1566* **41** ferat quod *GR*, feratque *O*, feret quod *Puccius 1502* adiurarit *Ald. 1502*, adiuraret *OGR*

ille quoque euersus mons est, quem maximum in orbe
progenies Thiae clara superuehitur,
cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus
per medium classi barbara nauit Athon.
quid faciant crines, cum ferro talia cedunt?
Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat,
et qui principio sub terra quaerere uenas
institit ac ferri stringere duritiem!
abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores
lugebant, cum se Memnonis Aethiopis
unigena impellens motantibus aera pennis
obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equus,
isque per aerias me tollens auolat undas,
et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.
ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat,
Graia Canopitis incola litoribus.

43 quem *GR*, quae *O* maximum *Puccius 1502*, maxima *OGR* orbe *MS 44 1474*, oris *OGR* **44** Thiae *dub. Vossius 1684, sine dub. Bentley 1697*, phitie *O*, phytie *GR*, Phthiae *Parthenius 1485* **45** cum RG^2, tum *OG* peperere *MS 122 1460*, propere *OGR*, rupere *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum coni. Pleitner 1876* cumque OR^2, atque *GR* **47** faciant *Puteolanus 1473* (ῥέξωμεν *Callimachus*), facient *OGR* cedunt *Harrison** (εἴκουσιν *Callimachus*), cedant *OGR* **48** Chalybon *Politiano 1472-94 attributum* (Χαλύβων *Callimachus*), celerum *O*, celitum *GR* (*al.* celorum R^2, *al.* celtum R^{2bis}) **50** ferri *MS 31 1457*, ferris *OGR* stringere *Heyse 1855*, fingere *O*, fringere *GR* **51** fata *GR*, facta *O* **52** memnonis *O*, menonis *GR* **53** motantibus *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum coni. Larsen 2017a*, nutantibus *OG*, mutantibus *R* (n- R^2), nictantibus *Bentley 1697* **54** arsinoes OG^2R^2, asinoes *GR* Locridos *Bentley 1697*, elocridicos *OGR* ales *MS 31 1457*, alis *OGR* **55** isque *O*, is que *GR* (*al.* quia G^2) aerias ... undas *Larsen 2017b*, aethereas (-rias *O*) ... umbras *OGR*, aerias ... umbras *dub. Riese 1884, iterum coni. Trappes-Lomax 2012*, aetherias ... undas *Zwierlein 1987* auolat *O*, aduolat *GR* (*al.* collocat G^2R^2) **56** collocat *O*, aduolat *GR* **57** Ζεφυρῖτις *Callimachus*, cyphiritis *OG*, ciphiritis *R* (al. zy- R^2) legarat *O*, legerat *GR* **58** Graia *Lachmann 1829* (Graiia *Baehrens 1874*), Gracia *O*, Gratia *GR*, grata *Ald. 1502* Canopitis *Statius 1566* (Κανωπίτου *Callimachus*), conopicis *O*, canopicis *GR*, canopeis *Calphurnius 1481*

hic liquidi uario ne solum in lumine caeli
ex Ariadnaeis aurea temporibus
fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus,
deuotae flaui uerticis exuuiae,
uuidulam a fluctu cedentem ad templa deum me
sidus in antiquis diua nouum posuit.
Virginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis
lumina, Callistoe iuncta Lycaoniae,
uertor in occasum, tardum dux ante Booten,
qui uix sero alto mergitur oceano.
sed quamquam me nocte premunt uestigia diuum,
lux autem canae Thetyi restituit;
(pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia uirgo,
namque ego non ullo uera timore tegam,
nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis,
condita quin imi pectoris euoluam:)
non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae uertice discrucior,

59 hic liquidi *Friedrich 1908*, hi dii uen ibi *OGR*, inde Venus *Postgate 1888* lumine *MS 8 1412*, numine *OG,* mumine *R*, limine *MS 52 1467* **60** ariadnęis *MS 122 1460*, Ariadneais *Ald. 1502*, adrianeis *OGR* **61** nos *GR*, uos *O* **62** exuuie G^2R, exunie *O* **63** uuidulam *Guarinus 1521*, uindulum *OGR* (uiridulum *corr.* G^2, uuindulum R^2) deum me *MS 31 1457*, decumme *OGR* **65** Virginis *GR*, Virgis *O* **66** Callistoe iuncta Lycaoniae *Parthenius 1485*, calixto iuxta licaonia *OGR* **69** quamquam *GR*, quicquam *O* **70** autem *MS 4 1463*, aut *OGR* thetyi *Ald. 1502*, theti *OR*, then *G* restituit *Politianus 1472-1494*, restituem *OGR* **71** parce *OGR* (*corr.* R^2) hic *OGR*, haec *Puteolanus 1473*, hoc *Owen 1893* Rhamnusia *A. Guarinus 1521*, ranumsia *O*, ranusia *GR*, ramnusia *Calphurnius 1481* **72** ullo *O*, nullo *GR* **73** si me *MS 52 1467*, sine *OGR* discerpent *MS 31 1457*, diserpent *OGR* dictis *GR*, doctis *O*, diuis *Avancius 1535*, dextris *Bentley 1697* **74** condita *OR*, candita *G* quin R^2, qui *OGR* imi *Nisbet 1978*, uere *OGR*, ueri *MS 31 1457*, nostri *Watt 1990* euoluam *Puteolanus 1473*, euolue *OGR*, (quae ueri pectoris) euoluo *Baehrens 1885* **75** afore *Statius 1566*, affore *OGR* **76** afore *Statius 1566*, affore *OGR* discrutior *OGR*

quicum ego iam uirgo quondam muliebribus expers
unguentis una uilia multa bibi.
nunc uos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda,
non prius unanimis corpora coniugibus
tradite nudantes reiecta ueste papillas,
quam iucunda mihi munera libet onyx,
uester onyx, casti colitis quae iura cubilis.
sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio,
illius uae! mala dona leuis bibat irrita puluis;
namque ego ab indignis praemia nulla peto.
sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia uestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.
tu uero, regina, tuens cum sidera diuam
placabis festis luminibus Venerem,
unguinis expertem non siris esse tui me,
sed potius largis affice muneribus.
sidera corruerint, iterum ut coma regia fiam;
proximus Hydrochoi fulguret Oarion!
o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,
salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope!

77 qui cum *OGR* iam *Harrison**, dum *OGR* muliebribus *Skutsch 1970,* fuit omnibus *OGR* **78** uilia *Lobel 1949*, milia *OGR* **79** quas *Calpurnius 1481*, quem *OGR* (*al.* quam R^2) **80** prius *Palladius 1494*, post *OGR* unanimis *Marcilius 1604*, uno animus *OGR* **81** reiecta *MS 122 1460*, retecta *OGR* **83** casti ... cubilis *Gigli 1880*, casto ... cubili *OGR* colitis que *R*, colitisque *O*, queritis que *R* **85** dona leuis bibat *ed. 1472*, leuis bibat dona *OGR* uae! mala *Trappes-Lomax 2007*, amala *OGR* **86** indignis (*al.* indignatis) R^2, abindignatis *O*, ab indigetis *GR* **87** uestras *MS 52 1467*, nostras *OGR* **91** unguinis *Bentley 1697*, sanguinis *OGR* siris *Lachmann 1829*, uestris *OGR* tui *Calphurnius 1481*, tuum *OGR*, tuam *Ald. 1502* **92** affice *MS 52 1467*, effice *OGR* **93** corruerint *Lachmann 1829*, cur iterent *OGR*, cur retinent *Puccius 1502*, cursum iterent *Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928* iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio 1738*, utinam *GR*, utina *O* **94** hydrochoi *ed. 1472*, id rochoi *OR*, idrochoi *G* fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio 1495,* fulgeret *OGR,* fulgeat *Ald. 1502* **95-96** [Cat. 67.1-2] *add. Agnesini 2011* (χ[αῖρε] φίλη τεκέεσσιν [τοκ- *Lobel 1952*] *Callimachus*)

C. Valerius Catullus: *Carmen* 66
The Lock of Berenice

He who looked down on all the boundaries of the great universe,
Who learnt the risings and settings of the stars,
How the flaming brightness of the rapid sun grows dark,
How the constellations fade at certain times,
How, secretly banishing Selene beneath the rocks of Mount Latmos,
Sweet love calls her down from her airy orbit;
That man, Conon, saw me in the heavenly light,
A flowing lock of hair from Berenice's head,
Shining brightly, whom she promised with vows to the gods,
As she stretched out her smooth arms,
At the time when the king, blessed with a new wedding,
Had set out to lay waste the Assyrian borders,
As he carried sweet traces of the nocturnal war,
Which he had waged over virginal spoils.
Is Venus hated by new brides? Or do they deceive
The joys of their parents with false tears
Which they shed abundantly on this side of the marriage chamber?
They do not, so may the gods help me, grieve truly.
So my queen taught me with her many laments,
When her new husband had gone off to the grim battles.
Or did you not, abandoned, weep for your deserted bed,
But rather the lamentable separation from your dear brother?
How deeply did anguish devour your mournful marrow!
How then, as you were troubled in all your heart,
Was your mind cut off when your senses failed! Yet certainly I
Have known you as courageous since your early maidenhood.
Or have you forgotten that noble deed, by which you obtained a royal
Marriage, a deed no stronger man would have dared?
But when you, depressed, sent your husband away, which words did you speak!
By Jupiter, how often did you dry your eyes with your hand!
Which mighty god changed you? Or is it because lovers
Do not wish to be far away from the body of their beloved?

And there to all the gods for the sake of your dear husband
Not without blood from bulls you vowed me,
If he should come back. In no time at all
He had added Asia to the borders of Egypt.
For these achievements I, given as due to the heavenly crowd,
Discharge those former vows with a new gift.
Unwillingly, o queen, did I leave your head,
Unwillingly: I swear by you and your head;
May anyone who swears falsely by this get what she deserves!
But who can claim to be equal to iron?
Even that mountain was overthrown, the greatest in the world
Over which Thia's illustrious descendant is carried,
When the Persians gave birth to a new sea, and when the youth
Of the Orient sailed with the fleet through the middle of Mount Athos.
What can locks of hair do, when such things succumb to iron?
By Jupiter, may the whole race of the mining Chalybes perish,
And he who first began to search for veins underground
And to increase the hardness of iron.
Just after I was severed my sister locks were mourning my fate,
When the brother of Ethiopian Memnon showed himself,
Beating the air with his rapidly moving wings,
The winged horse of the Locrian Arsinoe,
And lifting me through the airy waves he flies away,
And places me in the chaste bosom of Venus.
For this reason Zephyritis herself had chosen him as her messenger,
The Greek inhabitant on the Canopian shores.
Then, so that not only the golden crown from Ariadne's temples
Should be fixed in the diverse light
Of the clear sky, but that I too should shine,
The devoted spoil of a blond head,
As I came a little wet from the billow to the temples of the gods,
The goddess placed me as a new constellation among the old.
For touching the Virgin's and the savage Lion's
Lights, close to Callisto the Bear, daughter of Lycaon,
I move to my setting, as a guide before the slow Bear-keeper,
Who is barely dipped in the deep ocean late at night.

But even though the steps of the gods trample me by night,
The dawn, however, restores me to white-haired Thetys;
(Allow me at this point to speak, virgin Nemesis,
For I will not hide the truth through any fear,
Not even if the constellations rend me with their hostile words;
I will on the contrary express the secrets from the bottom of my heart:)
I am not as happy at this as I am tormented at being absent
Forever absent from my mistress' head,
With whom I already as a virgin, devoid of matrimonial
Perfumes, once drank many cheap scents.
Now you, whom the marriage torch has united on the longed-for day,
Do not yield your bodies to your loving husbands,
While you bare your breasts with your garment thrown away,
Until the perfume jar pours delightful presents to me,
Your perfume jar, you who honor the laws of the chaste marriage bed.
But she who gives herself to filthy adultery,
That cursed woman, may the light dust drink her wicked,
useless gifts;
For I do not seek any rewards from unworthy persons.
But rather, o brides, may ever harmony inhabit,
May ever continuous love inhabit your homes.
You indeed, my queen, when you, looking at the constellations,
Will propriate the goddess Venus with festal lights,
Do not allow me to be without your perfume,
But rather present me with plentiful gifts.
May the constellations fall down, so that I again could become a royal
lock;
Let Orion the Hunter shine next to Aquarius the Water-bearer!
O queen, delightful to your sweet husband, delightful to your parent,
Farewell, and may Jupiter enrich you with good help!

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

1. despexit *OGR*, dispexit *Calphurnius 1481*, descripsit *McKie 2009*:

Modern editors all adopt Calphurnius' conjecture *dispexit*, 'he discerned', and with good reason. The key sense of the paradosis *despexit* is 'looking down' which fits awkwardly with the context of looking at the sky; and *dispexit* in the sense of perceiving heavenly phenomena is indicated in *OLD* (s.v. 3) and, more importantly, paralleled in Catullus' contemporary Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.741-42: *nam cum caecigeni, solis qui lumina numquam / dispexere*[40]

As in Catullus, the paradosis in Lucretius is *despexere* which has later been emended into the now universally accepted *dispexere*. Thus, there is a strong possibility that Calphurnius' conjecture *dispexit* is the correct reading in Catullus 66.1 as well.

However, I believe that the first line of Callimachus' poem, unknown to Calphurnius,[41] is instructive in establishing the right verb in Catullus. Pfeiffer (1949: 112) notes that γραμμαί is an astronomical *terminus technicus*: "γραμμαί *h.l. non solum lineae, quibus caelum in partes dividitur, sed etiam delineationes 'geometricae' siderum esse videntur*".[42] Pfeiffer (1949: 112) goes on to suggest that Callimachus in lines 1 and 7 perhaps juxtaposes the act of looking down on an astronomical map and of looking up at the sky. In a note to his translation of the line Trypanis (1958: 81) also suggests that "on the charts of the stars the sky was divided by lines into sections. This is probably the meaning of ἐν γραμμαῖσιν." Finally, Harder (2012: 802) agrees that Conon "studied the maps of the stars or an astronomical globe and then discovered the shape of

40 Lucr. 2.741-42: 'For when those born blind, who have never seen the lights of the sun.'

41 Apart from a few ancient testimonia Callimachus' poem was unknown until the publications by Vitelli 1929 and Lobel 1952. For a schematic presentation of the transmission of the poem see Hansen & Tortzen 1973: 32.

42 Pfeiffer 1949: 112: 'γραμμαί seem in this place not only to be the lines, by which the sky is divided into parts, but also the 'geometrical' sketches of the constellations.'

the new constellation, which was not yet in the maps, in the sky (cf. 7 ἐν ἠέρι)."

This sense of juxtaposition between looking down at the maps and then looking up at the sky is perfectly expressed by the paradosis *despexit*, but it is lost in Calphurnius' and McKie's conjectures. Barrett (1982: 136) notes that Latin "has no equivalent to γραμμαί" and concludes that *despicere* "which usually implies looking down from a height, is a splendid verb to use of an omniscient astronomer who can survey the whole universe by looking down at his charts." Although Catullus uses *despicere* in the sense of 'despise' in 64.20, which is the only other place in his *opera* where the verb is transmitted, I agree with Barrett that Catullus, in order to elucidate the sense of looking down in Callimachus' ἐν γραμμαῖσιν, might have written *despexit* in place of the neutral ἰδών, 'having looked at', in Callimachus. Therefore, I think that the manuscripts are right in transmitting *despexit*, although Calphurnius' conjecture is very elegant indeed.

limina *Rehm 1934*, lumina *OGR*:

In connection with *magni ... mundi* (66.1), 'of the great universe', Rehm's conjecture is a natural translation of Callimachus' astronomical *terminus technicus* ὅρον, which, according to the parallels to Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* given in Pfeiffer (1949: 112), means something like 'the limit of the sky'; cf. Trypanis (1958: 82) who translates πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὅρον as "having examined all the charted (?) sky", and Nisetich's (2001: 164) translation: "He who conned the sky mapped out from end to end on charts". For the erroneous paradosis see Catullus 66.17 where *OGR* clearly mistake *limina* for *lumina*. Since *limina* is not a *terminus technicus* in itself the corruption may have been caused through normalisation by a scribe unfamiliar with the Greek technical term or through a confusion of *i* (one stroke) and *u* (two strokes).

2. obitus *MS 59*, habitus *OGR*

The conjecture *obitus* agrees with the familiar pairing of *ortus* and *obitus*. See for instance:

- Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.59: *nam et signorum ortus et obitus definitum quendam ordinem seruant.*[43]
- Cic. *Fat.* 17: *signorum ortus obitusque perdiscere.*[44]
- Verg. *G.* 1.257: *nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus.*[45]

For words being corrupted by an initial *h* see Nisbet (1991: 87).

5. sub Latmia *MS 122*, sublamina *O*, sublimia *GR*:

MS 122's conjecture fits nicely with the mentioning of *Triuia*, i.e. Artemis/Selene, and *dulcis amor*, 'sweet love', in the next line. The object of Artemis/Selene's desire, Endymion, is held to have dwelled on Mount Latmos (e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 20.37-39 and Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.57-58). The strokes in *-tmi-* could have been read as *-min-* (O) by an inattentive scribe. A later, more attentive scribe could in turn have corrected the nonsensical *sublamina* into *sublimia* (GR), 'lofty', in order to make it agree with *saxa*, 'rocks'.

relegans *MS 122*, religans *OGR*:

The reading of the manuscripts is unmetrical. The conjecture *relegans*, 'banishing', fits well with the context of a goddess' shameful submission to a mortal. For the strong wording of *relegans* see Callimachus' contemporary Apollonius Rhodius' description of the affair between Selene and Endymion in *Argonautica* 4.57 and 4.62-64.

7. in lumine *Vossius 1684*, numine *OGR*, lumine *Canter 1556*:

Canter's conjecture *lumine*, 'the light', with Voss' addition *in* matches Callimachus' ἐν ἠέρι, 'in the sky'. The reading of *OGR* might be explained by the corruption *caelesti(i)n(l)umine*.

43 Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.59: 'For both the risings and the settings of the constellations keep a certain fixed order.'

44 Cic. *Fat.* 17: 'To learn thoroughly the risings and the settings of the constellations.'

45 Verg. *G.* 1.257: 'Nor in vain do we observe the risings and the settings of the constellations.'

9. uotis ... deorum *McKie 2009*, multis ... dearum *OGR*, cunctis ... deorum *Haupt 1837*:

In the context it does not seem clear at all why Berenice would promise the lock of hair to 'many of the goddesses' as the paradosis reads, especially since the paradosis in 66.33-34 says that she promised the lock *cunctis diuis*, 'to all the gods'. This prompted Haupt to suggest *cunctis ... deorum*, 'to all of the gods', which is somewhat supported by Callimachus' πᾶσιν ... θεοῖς, 'to all the gods', unknown to Haupt. The partitive in Haupt's conjecture is, however, unparalleled in both Greek and Latin. Given the mentioning of *pristina uota*, 'the former vows', in 66.38, which would otherwise stand unexplained, McKie's conjecture seems to be the best reading, although Haupt's conjecture does agree with the sense in Callimachus. For a parallel to the genitive in *uotis ... deorum*, 'with vows to the gods', see:

- Livy *praef.* 13: *cum bonis potius ominibus uotisque et precationibus deorum dearumque*[46]

Palaeographically *uotis* is not far from *multis*, and it could very well have been corrupted by a scribe yet unfamiliar with *pristina uota* in 66.38. Additionally, *dearum* and *deorum* look similar in miniscule manuscripts and can easily be confused.

11. nouis ... hymenaeis *Ald. 1502*, nouo ... hymeneo *OGR*:

The paradosis *nouo auctus hymenaeo*, 'blessed with a new wedding', presents a hiatus after *nouo* which Catullus generally avoids.[47] The reading of the Aldine edition is in better accordance with Catullus' general practice than the paradosis by (i) avoiding the hiatus and (ii) using the plural of *hymenaeus*. Catullus uses the plural of *hymenaeus* in two other places, both unanimously transmitted by *OGR*, in the sense of 'wedding', whereas he does not use the word in singular in that sense. Cf.:

- Cat. 64.20: *tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos*[48]

46 Livy *praef.* 13: 'With good omens, rather, and with vows and prayers to the gods and the goddesses'.

47 Cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 3, 9-10 on hiatus in Catullus.

48 Cat. 64.20: 'Then Thetis did not despise a mortal wedding.'

- Cat. 64.141: *sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*[49]

auctus *OGR*, **auctatus** *Goold 1969*

Goold's reading *auctatus*, 'enlarged by', avoids the hiatus in the manuscripts; but the transmitted *auctus* is in better accordance with Catullan practice. Catullus uses the participle of *augeo* twice (64.25, 64.165) in the sense of 'blessed with' (*OLD* s.v. 6b), transmitted by the manuscripts, but he does not use the participle of *aucto* anywhere else; instead he uses the verb once (67.2), transmitted by the manuscripts as well. Thus, the Aldine reading *nouis auctus hymenaeis* (see previous entry) will be the best way to avoid the hiatus transmitted by the manuscripts.

12. **uastatum** *MS 31*, **uastum** *OGR*:

The unmetrical paradosis must have been caused by haplography.

ierat *OGR*, **iuerat** *ed. 1472*:

The paradosis is usually corrected into *iuerat*. But according to Marinone (1997: 96) a long *ī* in the perfect sense of *eo* is well-attested in the comic poets: *īeram* (Plaut. *Amph.* 401), *īero* (*Capt.* 194; *Stich.* 484), and *īerant* (Ter. *Ad.* 27). The lock generally speaks in an archaic and colloquial manner which fits well with Roman comedy.[50] Therefore, I see no need to emend the paradosis here.

15. **anne** *MS 52*, **atque** *OGR*:

A disjunctive conjunction is needed, since the second question poses an alternative to the first question. The reading *anne* is in accordance with line 27, and it is palaeographically close to the paradosis.

17. **citra** *Nisbet 1978*, **intra** *OGR*

Catullus uses neither *intra*, 'within', nor *citra*, 'on this side of', elsewhere in his poems. Therefore, the choice of reading depends on the tricky sense of *thalami*. According to *LSJ* (s.v.) θάλαμος can

49 Cat. 64.141: 'But a happy marriage, but a long-desired wedding.'

50 Cf. for instance the many contracted forms in the lock's speech, such as *cognoram* for *cognoveram* (66.25), *alis* for *alius* (66.28) and *tristi* for *trivisti* (66.30). For morphological contraction as a part of colloquial diction in Roman comedy see Karakasis 2014: 568.

mean (i) an inner room or chamber; (ii) a women's apartment in the house; (iii) a bedroom; (iv) a bride-chamber / bedroom of an unmarried son; (v) the house in general. According to *OLD* (s.v.) *thalamus* can mean (i) an inner chamber or apartment, esp. for sleeping; (ii) the bedroom or apartment occupied by a married couple. The noun is attested twice in Callimachus (*Ep.* 5.9; *Hymn* 6.112), but never in relation to marriage. In Catullus, the noun is attested in two other places:

- Cat. 61.185: *uxor in thalamo tibi est*[51]
- Cat. 68.103-4: *ne Paris abducta gauisus libera moecha otia pacato degeret in thalamo*.[52]

In 61.185 the sense is clearly (ii) 'marriage-chamber', whereas the sense in 68.104 is probably (i) 'bedroom'. However, as Catullus 61.76-106 tell how *noua nupta*, 'the new bride' (cf. 66.15), weeps as she walks out of the doors of her family house to the bridegoom's *cubile*, 'bed', I find Nisbet's conjecture attractive. As a possible parallel Nisbet (1978: 101) points to Medea's return in:

- Ov. *Met.* 7.238: *constitit aduenies citra limenque foresque*[53]

The corruption may have occured through a scribe misreading *ci* for *in* or through normalisation, since *intra* is a commoner preposition than *citra.*

limina *MS 31*, **lumina** *OGR*

In the context *lumina*, 'lights', does not make any sense, while *limina*, 'thresholds', fits well with *citra* and *thalami*, marking the boundaries outside of which the brides shed their tears. The noun *lumina* occurs frequently throughout the poem, but in this place as in 66.1 the manuscripts must have mistaken *limina* for *lumina.*

18. iuerint *ed. 1472*, **iuuerint** *OGR*:

Fordyce (1961: 332) argues that *iuerint* "is in origin an *s*-aorist optative formation" and shows that the form is attested in Plautus,

51 Cat. 61.185: 'Your wife is in the wedding-chamber'.

52 Cat. 68.103-4: 'Lest Paris might spend undisturbed leisure in a peaceful chamber after having enjoyed his abducted paramour.'

53 Ov. *Met.* 7.238: 'When she arrived she stopped on this side of the threshold and the doors'.

Terence and Propertius. The parallels to Roman comedy fits well with the lock's general manner of speech (cf. entry 12 on *ierat*). The change into *iuuerint* has probably occured through normalisation.

21. aut *Hertzberg 1862*, et *OGR* (*al.* at G^2R^2), an *Puccius 1502*:

The paradosis does not seem the right way of beginning the line. What is needed is rather a disjunctive conjunction introducing the question. Puccius' *an* is certainly a possibility. But given *et* and the alternative *at* in the manuscripts, I think that Hertzberg's conjecture is better. The first letter is separated from the rest of the line in *O*; and monosyllables at the beginning of a line are in general liable to corruption (Kenney 1958: 65). Sometimes (though rarely) *aut* is abbreviated to a^t in medieval manuscripts (Cappelli 1982: 34). If the first letter was lost in the manuscript, the scribe could easily corrupt *aut* into *et*. For *aut* introducing an alternative question see Catullus 29.21.

23. quam *Bentley 1697*, cum *OGR*:

Bentley's *quam* turns the line into an exclamation which fits the context. The corruption may have occured through a scribe misreading *quam* for *quom* and a later scribe correcting *quom* into *cum*. Cf. *quom* in the sense of *cum* in the Gallus fragment (Plate IV in Anderson, Parsons and Nisbet 1979 [unnumbered page]). Trappes-Lomax (2007: 19) even argues that Catullus "spelled the conjunction *quom* not *cum*."

25. te *add. Avancius*

The addition of *te* is necessary (i) in order to make a long syllable of the naturally short *at* before the two short syllables *<te> ego* (with elision) and (ii) as a direct object for *cognoram*. It has probably been lost due to double haplography: *at(te)ego*.

27. quo *Puccius 1502*, quam *OGR*:

Puccius' conjecture expresses the instrumental sense of *facinus*, 'deed'. The medieval abbreviations of *qui* and its oblique forms are liable to be confused.

28. fortior *GR*, forcior *O*, fortius *MS 129a*

The reading of the manuscripts qualifies Berenice, while the conjecture qualifies *facinus*, 'deed'. Both of these readings make good sense in the context. I choose to print the paradosis partly because it is the *lectio difficilior* (it is easier to imagine *fortior* being corrupted into *fortius* because of *quod* than the other way around), and partly because the adjective fits well with Berenice's display of bravery when she had her adulterous first husband, Demetrius the Fair, killed as she caught him in bed with her mother.[54]

31. tantus *OGR*, tantum *MSS recentiores*:

The conjecture *tantum*, 'so much', expresses the extent to which Berenice has been changed from her previous brave state of mind (66.27-29) into her present sorrowful condition. The paradosis indirectly expresses the extent to which Berenice has changed by referring to the greatness of the god who has changed her (probably Amor). The reading of the manuscripts could be a corrupted form due to assimilation, agreeing with *quis*, but it is not unparalleled:

- Verg. *Aen.* 2.281-82: *o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum, / quae tantae tenuere morae?*[55]

Since the paradosis is definitely the *lectio difficilior* and attested in Vergil, who famously echoes Catullus 66 elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (Cat. 66.39-40 in *Aen.* 6.460 and 6.492-94), I choose to print *tantus*. Finally, for *tantus deus* in the sense of 'mighty god' see:

- Stat. *Theb.* 3.309-10: *tantosque ex ordine vidi / delituisse deos*[56]

33. me *Puccius 1502*, pro *OGR*:

Puccius' conjecture is certainly a necessary correction of the nonsensical paradosis. The corruption may have occured

54 For the colourful historical background see Thomson 1997: 448-49 and Gutzwiller 1992: 362.

55 Verg. *Aen.* 2.281-82: 'O light of Dardania, o most reliable hope of the Trojans, what great delays have held you?'

56 Stat. *Theb.* 3.309-10: 'and I saw the mighty gods hide all in a line.'

through an inversion of *pro* later in the same line in order to make it agree with *cunctis*.

35. haud ***Ald. 1502*****, aut** ***OGR*****, haut** ***Statius 1566*****:**

The Aldine conjecture is necessary to the sense. It could have been corrupted into *aud*, later corrected into *aut*, at a time where the *h* was not pronounced. I prefer the Aldine reading to Statius' conjecture of the archaic form, as *haud* is the standard spelling in Catullus and generally (see e.g. Lindsay 1894: 616).

41. adiurarit ***Ald. 1502*****, adiuraret** ***OGR*****:**

The verb needs to be in the future perfect in order to express the unfulfilled condition for the main clause. The corruption may have been caused by a scribe with insufficient Latin or by a confusion of the similar-looking *-i-* and *-e-*.

43. orbe ***MS 44 1474*****, oris** ***OGR***

The paradosis *oris* is not found anywhere else without a defining adjective. The conjecture is an easy correction, but it does suggest that the poet is exaggerating, since Mount Athos is not larger than Mount Olympos, for instance.

44. Thiae ***Bentley*****, phitie** ***O*****, phytie** ***GR*****, Phthiae** ***Parthenius 1485*****:**

Parthenius' conjecture is the most attractive palaeographically, but it does not seem to make sense that the agent of the sentence should be a descendant of Achilleus or a Phthian woman. Thia's descendant is either her son the Sun or her grandson Boreas. I believe that the Sun is meant, since he is traditionally carried across the sky in his carriage (e.g. *Hymn. Hom.* 31.8-9, 14-16); but the northern location of Mount Athos might point towards Boreas.

45. peperere ***MS 122*****, rupere** ***Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum Pleitner 1876*****, propere** ***OGR*****,**

The paradosis is, once again, unmetrical. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 212) recommends Guarinus' conjecture by referring to *OLD* s.v. 4a, where the sense of *rumpo* is given as "to make or open up by bursting (a passage, hole, or sim.)." However, as the direct object

of the verb is *nouum mare*, 'a new sea', and not *montem*, 'the mountain', *rupere* seems to make little sense. Better still is the conjecture of *MS 122*, *peperere*, with the sense of 'create', 'produce' or indeed 'give birth to' (*OLD* s.v. 1, 4, 5) a new sea. The corruption may have been caused by haplography or by failure to recognise a rare verb-form.

47. faciant *Puteolanus 1473*, facient *OGR*:

The paradosis is good and well-attested Latin. Cf.:

- Ov. *A.A.* 3.655: *quid sapiens faciet, stultus cum munere gaudet?*[57]

However, in view of the subjunctive in Callimachus' ῥέξωμεν, 'what can we do', unknown to Puteolanus, I tend towards the conjecture *faciant*. For a similar subjunctive see:

- Verg. *Ecl.* 3.16: *quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures*?[58]

The letters *a*, *e* and *u* look rather alike in minuscule manuscripts and can easily be confused.

cedunt *Harrison, cedant *OGR*:**

I interpret *cum* as a *cum temporale* which normally requires a verb in the indicative (cf. Rubenbauer-Hofmann §253a). Harrison's unpublished conjecture has the further advantage of reproducing the indicative mood of Callimachus' εἴκουσιν, 'they yield to'.

50. ferri *MS 31 1457*, ferris *OGR*

The paradosis is a grammatically correct form of *ferrum*, but it is unattested in Latin and is probably the result of dittography here. The conjecture of *MS 31* is paralleled in:

- Varro *Rust.* 2.9.15: *ne noceat collo duritia ferri.*[59]
- Plin. *HN* 36.127: *quid ferri duritia pugnacius?*[60]

stringere *Heyse 1855*, fingere *O*, stringere *GR*

Heyse's conjecture is palaeographically elegant given *ferris fringere* in GR. The conjecture reproduces some of the sense of

57 Ov. *Ars am.* 3.655: 'What will the wise man do, when the stupid man is happy?'
58 Verg. *Ecl.* 3.16: 'What can proprietors do, when thieves dare such things?'
59 Varro *Rust.* 2.9.15: 'lest the hardness of the iron harms the neck.'
60 Plin. *HN* 36.127: 'What is more obstinate than the hardness of iron?'

Callimachus' τυπίδων ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην, 'they taught the working of hammers', as *stringere* is a *terminus technicus* for increasing the hardness of a metal (*OLD* s.v. 1b).

53 motantibus *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum conieci*, nutantibus *OGR²*, mutantibus *R*, nictantibus *Bentley 1697*:

I suggest that *motantibus ... pennis*, 'with rapidly moving wings', describes the rapid, vigorous movement of Callimachus' κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερά, 'having whirled its swift wings', better than the paradosis and Bentley's conjecture. The use of *motantibus* in relation to Zephyrus is paralleled by Vergil, who echoes Catullus 66 in the *Aeneid* (see entry 31) as well as Catullus 62 and 64 in *Eclogues* 4 and 6:[61]

- Verg. *Ecl.* 5.5.: *siue sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras*[62]

The rare participle *motantibus* could very well have been corrupted into the much commoner *nutantibus* (OG) and *mutantibus* (R) through acts of normalisation.

55. aerias ... undas *scripsi*, aethereas (aetherias) ... umbras *OGR*:

I suggest that *aerias ... undas*, 'the airy waves', matches the sense of Callimachus' ἠέρα ... ὑγρόν, 'the wet air', better than the paradosis. I have combined the conjecture *aerias ... umbras*, 'the airy shadows', by Trappes-Lomax (2007) with the conjecture *aetherias ... undas*, 'the ethereal waves', by Zwierlein (1987). The expression *aerias ... undas* is paralleled in Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.152: *quo tardius ire / cogitur, aerias quasi dum diuerberat undas.*[63]

It might be worth mentioning that the *aurae* seem to be the habitat for winds in the *Aeneid*:

61 The song of the Fates (Cat. 64.326-81) is echoed in Verg. *Ecl.* 4.46-47, while *Vesper Olympo* (Cat. 62.1) seems to be echoed in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.86 (and in *Aen.* 1.374 and 8.280).

62 Verg. *Ecl.* 5.5: 'or under the shades that are uncertain because the west winds move about'.

63 Lucr. 2.152: 'Therefore it is forced to go more slowly, while it sort of cleaves the airy waves.'

- Verg. *Aen.* 1.58-59: *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum / quippe ferant rapidi secum uerrantque per auras.*[64]

58. Graia *Lachmann 1829*, Gracia *O*, Gratia *GR*, grata *Ald*, Graiia *Baehrens 1874*:

The word in Callimachus is not preserved; but the paradosis in Catullus suggests that Callimachus used an ethnic adjective to balance K]ανωπίτου, 'of Canopus'. Thomson (1997: 457) rejects Baehrens' *Graiia* as unmetrical because "it would surely have to be scanned" as a dactyl. But Lachmann's conjecture *Graia*, 'Greek', scans perfectly well. Cf.:

- Ov. *Met.* 15.9: *Graia quis Italicis auctor posuisset in oris / moenia*[65]
- Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1.599: *Graia novam ferro molem commenta iuventus*[66]

These parallels make it plausible that the correct reading is *Graia* in Catullus. Pfeiffer (1932: 202-4) rejects the reading of Γραῖα in Callimachus because it would mean "old" rather than "Greek". But even if this is correct and Callimachus used a more obscure ethnonym such as Φθῖα, 'from Phthia', Catullus could have grasped the ethnic sense and written the straightforward *Graia*.

59. hic liquidi *Friedrich 1908*, hi dii uen ibi *OGR*, inde Venus *Postgate 1888*:

These words are severely obscured in the manuscripts. Postgate's suggestion is ingenious, but suffers from revealing divine agency earlier than in Callimachus' version, unknown to Postgate. Friedrich's conjecture has the attraction of adding an adjective to *caeli*, 'of the sky', and thereby balancing *uario … lumine*, 'the diverse light'. For *liquidum caelum*, 'the clear sky', see:

- Ov. *Met.* 1.23: *et liquidum spisso secreuit ab aere caelum*[67]
- Stat. *Theb.* 4.7: *liquido quae stridula caelo / fugit*[68]

64 Verg. *Aen.* 1.58-59: 'If he did not do this, the rapid <winds> would surely take seas and lands and the lofty heaven with them and sweep through the air.'

65 Ov. *Met.* 15.9: 'which ancestor had placed the Greek walls on Italian ground.'

66 Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1.599: 'When the Greek youth had created a strange devise with iron.'

67 Ov. *Met.* 1.23: 'and separated the clear sky from the dense atmosphere.'

68 Stat. *Theb.* 4.7: 'which fled whistling through the clear sky.'

Friedrich (1908: 419-20) argues that *uen* in the sense of *Venus* is "eine übergeschriebene erklärende Glosse" like *uen* for *diua* in Cat. 64.8 (*O*, fol. 21r). This leaves us with the manuscript reading *hi dii ibi* which is close to *hic liquidi*, as *cl* and *d* are easily confused in the manuscripts (cf. Cat. 7.5: *oraclum*] *oradum* OR, *ora dum* G).

63. uuidulam *Guarinus 1521*, uindulum *OGR*:

The paradosis is unmetrical. The conjecture matches Callimachus' λουόμενον, 'washed', unknown to Guarinus, and is in accordance with Catullus' predilection for coining diminutives.[69] The strokes in *-uui-* are likely to be read as *-uin-* by an inattentive scribe. As mentioned above, *-a-* and *-u-* are so paleographically close that confusion easily occurs.

66. Callistoe iuncta *Parthenius 1485*, calixto iuxta *OGR*:

Parthenius' conjecture corresponds to the Greek dative -οῖ (Trappes-Lomax 2007: 214). For a parallel use of *-oe* for -οῖ elsewhere in Catullus see:

- Cat. 64.255: *euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes*.[70]

For another Greek dative in Catullus see 66.70: *Tethyi*, 'to Tethys'. The final vowel in the paradosis *iuxta* is long and therefore unmetrical. The conjecture restores the metre.

71. hic *OGR*, haec *Puteolanus 1473*, hoc *Owen 1893*:

The paradosis marks a narrative parenthesis. The suggested conjectures all make perfect sense, but since there is no problem with *hic*, 'here, at this point', I do not see any reason to emend it.

73. dictis *GR*, doctis *O*, diuis *Avancius 1535*, dextris *Bentley 1697*:

I understand *infestis ... dictis* as an instrumental ablative, 'with hostile words', and I do not see any reason to question the reading of *GR*. The antropomorphism of Bentley's conjecture seems to strecth the meaning too much. The lock is the narrator of the

69 For diminutives elsewhere in Catullus' *carmina maiora* see 61.22, 53, 57, 174; 62.52; 63.35, 66; 64.103, 131, 317; 65.6. See also Sheets 2007: 198-99 and Goold 1983: 6 for this distinctive feature of Catullus' diction.

70 Cat. 64.255: 'euhoe they ragingly shouted, euhoe while shaking their heads.'

poem, and it is therefore natural for her to utter words (and probably also for the stars to understand them).

74. imi *Nisbet 1978*, uere *OGR*, ueri *MS 31*:

As Nisbet (1978: 91) notes, "*vere* is not an adverb naturally found with *euoluere*, which is not primarily a verb of speaking." The conjecture *ueri* is attractive and generally accepted in modern editions, but it is also unparalleled. Nisbet's conjecture *imi* is palaeographically close to the paradosis (cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 216) and reasonably paralleled in:

- Cat. 64.198: *<querelas> quae quoniam uerae nascuntur pectore ab imo*[71]
- Lucr. 3.57-58: *nam uerae uoces tum demum pectore ab imo / eliciuntur*[72]

77. iam *Harrison, dum *OGR***

If we accept Skutsch's conjecture *muliebribus* for *fuit omnibus* (see next entry), the verb is removed from the *dum* clause, which is not really needed. Callimachus' ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, 'when I was still', can easily be expressed by Harrison's unpublished *iam*, 'already (as)'.

muliebribus *Skutsch 1970*, fuit omnibus *OGR*:

Skutsch's conjecture agrees with Callimachus' γυναικείων, 'of married women', whereas the paradosis is not to be found in Callimachus. Although Catullus in 64.338 and 66.91 uses *expers*, 'without', with the normal genitive, the ablative according to *LS* s.v. is "ante-class.", and (based on the examples given) quite Plautine. This agrees with the lock's archaic and colloquial manner of speech (cf. entry 12 on *ierat*). The use of *expers* with ablative is attested in Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.1092: *<natura uidetur> ipsa sua per se sponte omnia dis agere expers*[73]

71 Cat. 64.198: 'For <the complaints> are truthfully born from the bottom of my heart.'

72 Lucr. 3.57-58: 'For only when true words are being drawn from the bottom of the heart.'

73 Lucr. 2.1092: 'Nature appears to do everything herself of her own accord without the gods.'

- Lucr. 6.1181: *lumina uersarent oculorum expertia somno*[74]

78. uilia *Lobel 1949*, milia *OGR*:

Lobel's conjecture matches Callimachus' λιτά, 'plain'. It has probably been corrupted into the similar-looking *milia*, 'thousands', through an act of normalisation.

80. prius *Palladius 1494*, post *OGR*

Palladius' conjecture corresponds to *quam*, '(before) that', in line 82. The medieval abbreviations of *post* and *prius* look alike and can easily be confused by an inattentive scribe (cf. Cappelli 1982: 15).

83. casti ... cubilis *Gigli 1880*, casto ... cubili *OGR*:

The ablative in the paradosis does not qualify *iura*, 'the laws', very clearly (is the sense instrumental or locative?). Gigli's conjecture makes the sense of *iura* clear. For a possible parallel see:

- Ov. *Her.* 16.286: *<metuis> castaque legitimi fallere iura tori*[75]

85 dona leuis bibat *ed. 1472*, leuis bibat dona *OGR*

The correction by the *editio princeps* restores the metre which has been corrupted through a transposition of *dona*.

uae! mala, *Trappes-Lomax 2007*, amala *OGR*:

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 218) argues that the exclamatory *a* does not fit the context. Instead he suggests the exclamation *uae!* "as prophetic of well-deserved misfortune." This parenthetical exclamation is suitable for an imprecation (*OLD* s.v. 2b), and it finds parallels in:

- Ov. *Ib.* 205: *tot tibi uae! misero uenient talesque ruinae*[76]
- Ov. *Am.* 3.6.101: *Huic ego, uae! demens narrabam fluminum amores!*[77]

74 Lucr. 6.1181: 'they rolled their eyes which were devoid of sleep.'

75 Ov. *Her.* 16.286: 'Are you afraid to deceive the chaste laws of a lawful marriage-bed'?

76 Ov. *Ib.* 205: 'So many and such destructions will come down upon you, cursed, miserable man!'

77 Ov. *Am.* 3.6.101: 'To such a stream I, cursed one!, was so foolish as to tell the love-stories of the rivers!'

91 unguinis *Bentley 1697 438*, **sanguinis** *OGR*:

Bentley's conjecture certainly fits the context better than the paradosis. The corruption may have been caused by normalisation, since *sanguis*, 'blood', would be the normal thing to offer to a deity, as in Catullus 66.33-34 and 68.75-76.

tui *Calphurnius 1481*, **tuum** *OGR*, **tuam** *Ald. 1502*:

In 66.77-78 the lock distinguishes between the scents of married women and the cheap scents of maidens. A similar specification may be seen in 66.82-83 where the lock stresses that the new brides should make offerings from their own perfume jars. Calphurnius' conjecture fits well with this context, as it specifies that the newly wed Berenice should make offerings of her own perfume to the lock. The Aldine conjecture *tuam (me)* is an idiom frequently found in Latin love poetry; but as the lock is not Berenice's lover, and Nisbet and Hubbard furthermore note that this expression is unparalleled in Greek,[78] from which Catullus translates, I find Calphurnius' conjecture most attractive. The corruption may have been caused by dittography: *tuim me*, and a later scribe correcting the nonsensical *tuim* into *tuum* without acknowledging the gender of the speaker.

93 corruerint *Lachmann 1829*, **cur iterent** *OGR*, **cur retinent** *Puccius 1502*, **cursum iterent** *Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928*

Lines 93 and 94 are notoriously difficult. Every conjecture in line 93 needs to make sense of the miraculous proximity in 66.94 of the normally widely separated constellations Aquarius and Orion. Neither Puccius' conjecture ('why do the stars restrain me?') nor that of Lenchantin de Gubernatis ('may the stars repeat their course') seem to explain the proximity of Aquarius and Orion in 66.94. Lachmann's conjecture is closest to enabling this proximity, as the two constellations certainly could be shining next to each other, if all the constellations had fallen from the heaven. Critics sometimes object that this destruction of the universe would kill Berenice and so prevent the lock from optaining her wish to be reunited with the queen; but as Heyworth (2015:

78 Nisbet & Hubbard 1970: 295. Cf. Du Quesnay 2012: 177.

136) has recently argued, the line could simply illustrate that the lock is so eager "to return to Berenice's head that it wishes for the destruction of the universe in order to bring this about." The further implications of the proposed catastrophe should probably not be taken too literally.

iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio 1738*, utinam *GR*, utina *O*

The sense of the line seems to require an indication that the lock wishes to return to her previous state. This sense is made clear by the conjecture of Corradinus de Allio. The corruption may have happened at some point after *corruerint* was corrupted into *cur iterent* through an act of haplography due to the similarity of *iterent* and *iterum*. This would have left *ut* which may in turn have been corrected into *utinam* (GR) in order to make it agree with the wish seemingly to be expressed in the subjunctive *fiam*, 'I wish I could become'.

94 fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio 1495*, fulgeret *OGR*, fulgeat *Ald. 1502*:

For the verb to agree with the present subjunctives in 66.93, it needs to be in the present tense. The conjecture ascribed to an old manuscript by Avancius is closer to the paradosis than that of the Aldine edition, and it is paralleled in Statius' description of Sirius, the brightest star in the night sky:

- Stat. *Theb.* 4.784: *Icarii quamuis iuba fulguret astri*[79]

95-96 [Cat. 67.1-2] *add. Agnesini 2011*

In every printed edition of Catullus 66 the poem ends after line 94, and poem 67 begins with the lines:

- Cat. 67. 1-3: *o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,*
salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,
ianua, quam Balbo dicunt seruisse benigne[80]

79 Stat. *Theb.* 4.784: 'even though the mane of the Icarian star should shine.'

80 Cat. 67.1-3: 'O you, delightful to the sweet man, delightful to the parent, I salute you, and may Jupiter enrich you with good help, you door, whom they say served Balbus in a friendly manner.'

However, although the last part of the poem by Callimachus is in a severely fragmentary condition, the poem seems to have contained two further lines. According to Harder (2012: 852) an initial χαῖρε, 'farewell', "seems fairly certain", while the papyrus also attests the words φίλη τεκέεσσι, 'dear to (your) children'. Lobel (1952: 98), the first editor of the papyrus, suggested in his commentary that the correct reading might have been φίλη τοκέεσσι, 'dear to (your) parents'.

It is well-established that "divisions between poems in Catullus should always be open to editorial judgement", as *OGR* mark very few divisions themselves.[81] Thus, *O* has no division between poem 66 and 67, while *G* and *R* have in their margins a rubricated sign, written in a different ink, of a division after 66.94. But in view of the words *iucunda parenti / salue* in Catullus 67.1-2, which, translated as 'farewell (my queen), delightful to your parent', is an almost precise translation of the few attested words in Callimachus (with Lobel's suggestion): χ[αῖρε] φίλη τοκέεσσι, 'farewell (my queen), dear to your parents', I think that Agnesini (2011: 527-40) and Du Quesnay (2012: 181-83), who have separately come to the same conclusion, are right in suggesting that the couplet *o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti, / salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope* is in fact the conclusion of poem 66 and not the beginning of poem 67. As Du Quesnay (2012: 182) rightly notes, *dulci ... uiro* neatly picks up *dulci coniuge* in 66.33, and Heyworth (2015: 136) further demonstrates that poem 67 can begin in a perfectly intelligible and Catullan manner with the vocative *ianua* (67.3). For parallels to the sense of *salue* as 'farewell' at the end of an address or a hymn and to its similarity to the Greek χαῖρε, see the list and discussion in Heyworth (2015: 136-37).

81 Heyworth 2015: 135.

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THE RE-IMAGINATION OF A LETTER-WRITER AND THE DE-CONSTRUCTION OF AN OVIDIAN RAPE NARRATIVE AT *ARS AMATORIA* 1.527-64

By Despina Keramida

Summary: Ovid's writing is infused with the re-telling of known myths and the portrayal of heroes and heroines, whose *figurae* held a central role in Greek and Roman literature. This article argues in favour of reading Ariadne's story at *Ars am.* 1.527-64 as a rape narrative. The exploration of the passage in question and its comparative reading with other poems (such as Prop. 1.3 and the Ovidian version of the rape of the Sabine women), illustrates and explains why Ovid re-imagines Ariadne as a victim of erotic violence.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is generally acknowledged that Ovid's work is characterised by different types of repetition, especially in his earlier works such as the *Heroides* and the *Ars Amatoria*.[1] Nevertheless, this re-introduction of heroines and mythological narratives is not limited to mere *repetition*. On the contrary, it often takes the form of *re-interpretation* and *re-imagination* of well-known stories. One of the most well-known examples of Ovidian repetition and – as this article suggests – of *re-imagination* is that of Ariadne,

1 As Sharrock 2002: 150 underlines 'much of Ovid's amatory work is infused with an aesthetics of repetition: of material, of style, of himself, and in his characters'. On Ovidian repetition within the *Ars Amatoria* in particular see Martelli 2013: 68-103.

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whose story appears three times in the poet's corpus,[2] with the first extant account appearing at *Heroides* 10, continuing in the *Ars Amatoria* (1.527-64) and concluding in the *Fasti* (3.459-516). The scholarly approach to the Ovidian accounts of this mythological story displays a certain tendency to discuss the three passages either in relation to each other or in comparison to the Catullan *ecphrasis* that presents the first extensive version of Ariadne's myth, focusing on matters of allusion.[3]

This article diverges from other scholarly readings by discussing and focusing primarily on the second Ovidian version of *Ariadne* – as it is narrated in the *Ars Amatoria* – aiming to illustrate its major narrative variation. Of the three Ovidian passages, the *Ars Amatoria* version appears to have drawn little scholarly interest (in comparison to the other two passages), mainly because of its length and its function as a digression. The general consensus concerning this particular version is that it establishes allusion to both the Catullan Ariadne and the Ovidian Ariadne of *Heroides* 10. However, as this article suggests, Ovid shatters the intrinsic web connecting the two pre-existing versions of Ariadne's story, de-constructs her *imago* and transforms her from a lamenting deserted heroine with a *vox*, who expresses her complaints verbally and is heard (at least by the external readers), to a deserted heroine who loses her voice and is portrayed as the victim within a rape narrative.

The de-construction of the *figura* of a lamenting and abandoned Ariadne within an epistolary framework and its *re-imagination* and subsequent *re-labelling* as the *figura* of a rape victim at *Ars am.* 1.527-64 is crucial because it demonstrates the major change that Ovid brings to the treatment of the specific heroine, creating an interesting variation from pre-

2 I do not consider the account in the *Metamorphoses* (8.171-82) as one of the main accounts for two reasons; firstly it is very brief and secondly it does not include a monologue or a speech of the heroine. However, when necessary the passage will be included in the discussion.

3 Selected studies on allusion in Latin literature in general include Conte 1986; Hinds 1998: 99-122. On Ovidian allusion see Barchiesi 2001: 79-103, 141-54. On Ovidian allusion in the *Heroides* in particular see Barchiesi 2001; Jolivet 2001: 193-229. On Ovid's allusion to Catullus 64 within the boundaries of *Her.* 10 see Armstrong 2006: 221-41. On Ovidian allusion and self-reflexive allusion at *Ars am.* 1.527-64 and *Fast.* 3.459-561 see Armstrong 2006: 241-60.

vious representations of Ariadne (including his own portrayal of the heroine as a letter-writer). In support of this argument, not only previous treatments of the story will be taken into consideration, but also two rape narratives involving other elegiac heroines, namely the Propertian Cynthia (1.3) and the Ovidian Sabine women (*Ars am.* 1.89-134),[4] as well as scholarly approaches of Ovidian rape narratives, addressing *how* and *why* Ovid introduces this novelty to his second treatment of Ariadne.

2. THE RE-IMAGINATION AND THE DE-CONSTRUCTION OF ARIADNE AS A RAPE VICTIM

Ovid's portrayal of Ariadne as a letter-writer within the boundaries of his epistolary collection involves a de-construction in his second version of the heroine. In *Heroides* 10, his first extant version of the story, Ariadne as the supposed letter-writer and narrator delivers a monologue that aims to convince both the internal reader (Theseus) and the external readers of her dire situation and the need for her rescue.[5] The monologue, as a technique, enables the poet to focus on the heroine and her feelings in a specific temporal moment (enriched with the inclusion of past memories and worries for the future).

However, the *Ars* offers a better treatment of the particular story as a whole than the letter, despite the substantial reduction in length (the digression covers merely thirty-seven lines):

4 I follow the Oxford edition for Ovid (Kenney 1994) and Propertius (Heyworth 2007a); the Teubner edition for Catullus (Eisenhut 1983) and Vergil (Conte 2009). However, I use *v* instead of *u* and *i* instead of *j*. For the translations of Greek and Latin texts I follow the Loeb editions, unless stated otherwise.

5 On the relationship between writer and reader in the epistolary collection see Fulkerson 2005: 23-29, who discusses the familial relationships between heroines such as Phyllis, Dido, Ariadne and Medea; Fulkerson 2005: 122-42 explores the familial relationship between Ariadne and Phaedra in particular. On Ariadne as part of a landscape of deserted heroines see Spentzou 2003: 52-56, 70. On female letter-writing in the collection see Lindheim 2003: 13-77. On the male readers of *Ars Amatoria* 1 and 2 see Holzberg 2006: 40-49.

Cnosis in ignotis amens errabat harenis,
qua brevis aequoreis Dia feritur aquis;
utque erat e somno, tunica velata recincta,
nuda pedem, croceas irreligata comas,
Thesea crudelem surdas clamabat ad undas,
indigno teneras imbre rigante genas.
clamabat flebatque simul, sed utrumque decebat;
non facta est lacrimis turpior illa suis.
iamque iterum tundens mollissima pectora palmis
'perfidus ille abiit: quid mihi fiet?' ait;
'quid mihi fiet?' ait; sonuerunt cymbala toto
litore et attonita tympana pulsa manu.
excidit illa metu rupitque novissima verba;
nullus in exanimi corpore sanguis erat.
ecce, Mimallonides sparsis in terga capillis,
ecce, leves Satyri, praevia turba dei.
ebrius, ecce, senex pando Silenus asello
vix sedet et pressas continet arte iubas.
dum sequitur Bacchas, Bacchae fugiuntque petuntque,
quadrupedem ferula dum malus urget eques,
in caput aurito cecidit delapsus asello;
clamarunt Satyri 'surge age, surge, pater.'
iam deus in curru, quem summum texerat uvis,
tigribus adiunctis aurea lora dabat.
et color et Theseus et vox abiere puellae,
terque fugam petiit terque retenta metu est.
horruit, ut steriles, agitat quas ventus, aristae,
et levis in madida canna palude tremit.
cui deus 'en, adsum tibi cura fidelior' inquit;
'pone metum, Bacchi Cnosias uxor eris.
munus habe caelum: caelo spectabere sidus;
saepe reget dubiam Cressa Corona ratem.'
dixit et e curru, ne tigres illa timeret,
desilit (imposito cessit harena pede)
implicitamque sinu, neque enim pugnare valebat,
abstulit: in facili est omnia posse deo.

pars 'Hymeneae' canunt, pars clamant 'Euhion euhoe';
sic coeunt sacro nupta deusque toro.

('The Cretan maid wandered distractedly on the unknown sand, where little Dia is lashed by the sea waves. Just as she came from sleep, clad in an ungirt tunic, barefoot, with yellow hair unbound, she cried upon Theseus over the deaf waters, while an innocent shower bedewed her tender cheeks. She clamoured and wept together, but both became her; nor was she made less comely by her tears. Again she beats her soft bosom with her hands, and cries, 'He is gone, the faithless one; what will become of me?' 'What will become of me?' she cries: then o'er all the shore cymbals resounded and drums beaten by frenzied hands. She fainted for fear, and broke off her latest words; no blood was there in her lifeless frame. Lo! Bacchanals with tresses streaming behind them, lo! wanton Satyrs, the god's forerunning band; lo! drunken old Silenus scarce sits his crook-backed ass, and leaning clings to the mane before him. While he pursues the Bacchanals, and the Bacchanals flee and again attack, and while the unskilful horseman urges his beast with a rod, he falls off the long-eared ass and topples head-foremost and the Satyrs cry, 'Come, get up, father, get up!' And now on his car, that he had covered with grape-clusters, the god was giving the golden reins to his yoked tigers: voice, colour–and Theseus, all were gone from the girl; thrice she tried flight, thrice fear stayed her. She shuddered, as slender stalks are shaken by the wind, or as the light rush that trembles in the watery marsh. 'Lo, here am I', said the god to her 'a more faithful lover; have no fear, Cretan maid, thou shalt be the spouse of Bacchus. For thy gift take the sky; as a star in the sky thou shalt be gazed at; the Cretan Crown shall often guide the doubtful bark.' He spoke, and lest she should fear the tigers leapt down from the chariot; the sand gave place to his alighting foot; and clasping her to his bosom (for she had no strength to fight) he bore her away; easy is it for a god to be all-powerful. Some chant 'Hail Hymenaeus!' some shout 'Euhoe, Euhian!' So do the bride and the god meet on the sacred couch.')

The story in the *Ars* is divided into three parts and, unlike the letter, it covers Ariadne's present and future situation in a clear chronological or-

der, with the first two parts creating explicit allusions to both the Catullan *ecphrasis* and the Ovidian letter.[6] The episode begins with the introduction of Ariadne and the description of her desertion on the shores of Dia by Theseus (*Ars am.* 1.527-36), which reflects the first section of the letter where the heroine describes her own actions on the island after she has realised her situation (*Her.* 10.7-58).

Despite the differences in length, structure and perspective, a verbal and thematic sequence occurs from one account to another. Most importantly, the *Ars* story continues from where it stops in the *Heroides*. Ariadne's last words in the letter summarise and highlight the three features that reflect her lamentation, i.e. her hands (*Her.* 10.145-46), hair (*Her.* 10.147) and tears (*Her.* 10.150-51). The new account re-introduces all three features (*Ars am.* 1.530, 534, 535). The end of the first account then is alluded to thematically and verbally by the beginning of the second. Ovid leaves Ariadne weeping at *Her.* 10.148 (*per lacrimas oro*) and that is the motif he stresses at *Ars am.* 1.533 (*clamabat flebatque simul, sed utrumque decebat* 'she clamoured and wept together, but both became her'), creating a thematic and visual bridge between the two texts. The *imago* of a lamenting heroine on the shore becomes the connecting thread between the two Ovidian passages.

The second part is devoted to the arrival of the Maenads that interrupts Ariadne's brief speech. In this part, a description of the Maenads and of Silenus is incorporated which functions as an introduction to the god Bacchus (*Ars am.* 1.537-48). In the third part Bacchus himself finally appears, addresses Ariadne and offers marriage to her, thus supplying her with specific means of rescue and a clear solution to the problem faced by the abandoned heroine (*Her.* 1.549-64). Interestingly, her meeting with Bacchus replaces in the new account her encounter with Theseus, which is presented in the letter in the form of a digression to the past and a mnemonic recalling of the fateful meeting that leads the heroine to her static position as a deserted heroine within an epistolary setting (*Her.* 10.59-110). What is more, the heroine's epistolary monologue ends with her terror that she will die on the island without the proper funerary rituals, as well as with her final address to Theseus, hoping to

6 On the so-called 'double allusion' that is evident in this passage see Murgatroyd 1994.

convince him to return for her (*Her.* 10.119-52). The new account provides an answer to her cries for help with the arrival of the god and cleverly stages a wedding ceremony, which replaces the funerary ritual described in the letter (*Her.* 10.119-24, 137-38).

It is evident that the story in the *Ars* has a beginning, middle and an end (or at least that is the illusion created) as it manifests a linear structure and story-line, something that does not occur in the letter. Unlike the letter, Ariadne's story in the *Ars* is presented as a digression narrated by the male *praeceptor amoris*,[7] supplementing and explaining an argument in the main text, and following thus Catullus' incorporation of the heroine's story within another story in the epyllion.[8] In contrast to the epistolary version of Ariadne, the narrator's perspective dominates this new account and most importantly the male character's perspective (i.e. Bacchus) is introduced for the first time in a Roman treatment of the story.[9] On a first reading, this variation does not seem out of place since the god of wine and tragedy appears within the *Ars Amatoria* as part of the *praeceptor amoris*' amatory advice to his male readers. On a second reading, however, the god's appearance is attributed an importance, not

7 Ovid creates the persona of the *praeceptor amoris* as a means of reflecting and strengthening the didactic aspect of his new poetic endeavor. On the persona of the Ovidian *praeceptor amoris* see Watson 2002: 149-51; on *erotodidaxis* in elegy see James 2003a: 161-66.

8 On the relation between the main story and the secondary story of the *ecphrasis* within the Catullan passage see Armstrong 2006: 190; Warden 1998: 398-413; Deroux 1986; Duban 1980: 777-78; Putnam 1972; Kinsey 1965: 911-12. For a compelling cultural reading of Catullus 64 see Dufallo 2013: 39-73, who concludes (at p. 73): 'Poem 64, in short, does not emerge from or produce a stable impression of image or text, past or present, Greekness or Romanness, but offers its audience an ironic and yet sympathetic perspective on a kind of cultivated play blurring these categories as they intersect with others: objecthood and subjecthood, love and heroism, the personal and political.'

9 Cf. Catull. 64.249-64. The Neoteric poet offers a description of the arrival of the god and of his entourage, that does not include a speech of the god. This omission offers a narrative opportunity that Ovid exploits successfully. The second Ovidian version re-introduces Bacchus clearly, echoing Catullus to a degree, but it develops the god's role in a more explicit manner than his model by including a brief speech by the god (*Ars am.* 1.555-58).

evident in previous versions of the story or scholarly readings. As the discussion will demonstrate, the god's arrival and his very presence are crucial pieces in the construction of the rape narrative, as is the confinement of the heroine's speech to two verses (*Ars am.* 1.534-35), that limits significantly the importance of the female perspective in this new narrative.

Rape stories are common in Ovid's poetic *corpus*, especially in his later works, such as the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, and thus have attracted the attention of many scholars. Paradoxically, the Ariadne passage in the *Ars* is generally not considered an Ovidian rape narrative.[10] In fact, previous treatments of the heroine's myth do not include the rape theme explicitly. This re-interpretation of the digression as a rape narrative was initially triggered by an argument made by Wiseman who, in his discussion of the Catullan *ecphrasis*, suggests that the Neoteric poet is alluding to a version of the story that indicated Bacchus' intention as being not marriage but rape at Catullus 64.253: *te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore* ('looking for you, Ariadne, and on fire with passion for you').[11] To strengthen his argument, the scholar offers as proof a comment on a painting of the god in Pausanias 1.20.3 (Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἥκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἁρπαγήν 'Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysus on his arrival to carry off Ariadne'),[12] where the Greek word ἁρπαγή indicates rape.[13] Despite the scholar's intriguing reading of the Catullan version, there are

10 Both Murgatroyd 2000: 75 n. 2 and Richlin 1992: 166 suggest that there are only two rape stories in the *Ars Amatoria*: the rape of the Sabines and the tale of Achilles and Deidamia. Richlin has detected specific features that appear repeatedly in rape stories throughout the Ovidian poetic corpus. The application of her approach (although it is not as detailed as Murgatroyd's) also strengthens the argument in favour of the construction of a rape setting at *Ars am.* 1.527-64. Only Armstrong 2006: 246-47 suggests that the parallel between Ariadne's depiction at *Ars am.* 1.551-54 and the Sabine women at *Ars am.* 1.117-20 and *Ars am.* 1.125-26 highlights the rape theme, but she does not explore the entire episode as a rape narrative. The same applies for Blodgett 1973: 325 who casually mentions '[t]his is rape' but does not elaborate further.

11 For the translation of Catullus 64 I follow Godwin 1995.

12 Wiseman 1977: 179.

13 *LSJ* s.v. ἁρπαγή A.

two main issues with this approach. On the one hand, Wiseman's approach is based on the use of a later author. None of the previous Greek accounts of the myth use the particular word when referring to Bacchus' attitude towards Ariadne. On the other hand, the Catullan text itself does not appear to create explicitly a rape setting, but rather a wedding ceremony.[14] However, the same cannot be said for the Ovidian text, where the lines between salvation and victimisation are blurred.

It becomes obvious that Ovid implicitly de-constructs his previous version of Ariadne as a static *figura* of an abandoned heroine depicted in a letter and attributes to her new traits that are in keeping with a rape victim within the boundaries of his new poetic work. As mentioned earlier in the discussion, the god's arrival is central to this re-interpretation of the text, as it enables the male reader to envision a new storyline for Ariadne as a rape victim and it triggers what Murgatroyd considers one of the functions of a stereotypical Ovidian rape narrative. Murgatroyd has suggested a very detailed narratological approach to rape stories in the *Fasti* in particular, which applies as well to earlier works such as the *Ars Amatoria*. The scholar argues that there are twenty-six functions in the *Fasti* rape stories and that these functions appear in three different stages,[15] although these stories do not have all the functions or stages.[16] The first stage includes the events before the rape, the second stage refers to the act of rape itself, whereas the third stage includes the subsequent events related to the rape. With a simple reading it becomes evident that all three stages appear during the narration of Ariadne's story in the *Ars*. To be more precise, out of the four functions of the first stage the one that appears is the 'arrival' of the rapist (Bacchus) at verse 549.[17] However, before this divine appearance, the readers are provided with an *imago* of the soon to be victim at the beginning of the passage. Ariadne

14 Regarding the Catullan wedding ceremony see Forsyth 1980, who suggests that Catull. 64 constructs a marriage between Ariadne and Bacchus rather than a rape and bases his argument on verbal evidence from the poem itself.

15 Murgatroyd 2005: 67. For reasons of brevity I will mention only the functions directly applied to the specific passage.

16 Murgatroyd 2005: 67.

17 On this function see Murgatroyd 2005: 67.

has just been awakened from sleep (*utque erat e somno*, 1.529),[18] with her loose dress (*tunica velata recincta*, 1.529), bare feet (*nuda pedem*, 1.530) and her dishevelled blond hair (*croceas irreligata comas*, 1.530) creating the impression of her sexual availability and a possible consensual encounter with the god.[19] What is noteworthy regarding this description of Ariadne is that it echoes the description of Corinna at *Am.* 1.5.9 with the repetition of the phrase *tunica velata recincta*. This is intriguing for the re-interpretation of the Ovidian Ariadne; *Amores* 1.5 is one of two examples of elegies – along with Prop. 2.15 – describing a successful sexual encounter between the *amator* and his *puella*.[20] By connecting the two passages with

18 On the importance of *somnus* (combined, however, with wine) in Ovidian rape narratives see Hejduk 2011: 21, whose discussion focuses on rape narratives in *Fasti* book 2.

19 The reference to blond hair seems to foreshadow Ariadne's marital status since it is often used within the context of marriage. Cf. Hollis 1977: 122 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.530, who suggests that it alludes to the ξανθὴν Ἀριάδνην (Hes. *Th.* 947). Armstrong 2006: 242 n. 49 explains that the adjective *croceas* of hair is used only by Ovid, while none of his predecessors uses it. It occurs 7 times in Ovid, of which it is used to characterise hair only here and Ov. *Am.* 2.4.43.

20 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.5.9: *ecce, Corinna venit, tunica velata recincta* ('Io, Corinna comes, draped in tunic girded round'). McKeown 1989: 110 ad loc. notes the verbal repetition of the phrase *tunica velata recincta* at *Ars am.* 1.529 (during the portrayal of a deserted by Theseus Ariadne) and *Fast.* 3.645 (where a fleeing and victimised Anna, whose flight is triggered by the appearance of Dido's ghost, is finally deified and becomes Anna Perenna). See Ov. *Fast.* 3.645-46: *cumque metu rapitur tunica velata recincta, / currit ut auditis territa damma lupis* ('and as soon as terror carried her, clad in her ungirt tunic, she ran as runs a frightened doe that hears the wolves'). At Ov. *Am.* 1.5 the poet not only names his *puella* for the first time, but he also offers a detailed description of Corinna (with a focus on her body at *Am.* 1.5.19-21) before the successful sexual encounter. Cf. Ovid's use of the adjective *nuda* for both Corinna and Ariadne at Ov. *Am.* 1.5.24: *et nudam pressi corpus ad usque meum* ('and I clasped her undraped form to mine'). Also cf. an interesting use of the same adjective at Ov. *Met.* 5.602-3: [...] *tanto magis instat et ardet, / et, quia nuda fui, sum visa paratior illi* ('So much more he pressed on and burned with love; naked I seemed readier to his taking'). In particular, the naked Arethusa flees from her rapist and, thus, is portrayed as 'a rare heroine, defeater of a rape attempt', as characterised by Anderson 1996: 557. Contrary to Ariadne, the heroine herself, Arethusa, is the one offering the visual and emotional portrait. What is even more intriguing is that she explicitly connects her nudity with male desire and in fact uses the former as an explanation for the latter. It becomes

the imagery of a loose tunic and dishevelled hair,[21] Ovid attributes a distinctive sexual availability to Ariadne, suitable for a *puella* within an amatory work.

This display of the woman's body preceding the rape appears often in these narratives.[22] In the *Ars* passage, the description of the heroine's *figura* justifies her victimisation under the male gaze of the god and of the reader(s), a gaze that dominates the text. Ariadne's perspective is non-existent at this point of the narrative and the readers are to assume that her gaze is distorted, hence the inclusion of *somnus*. The lamenting heroine has just woken up; she is still under the influence of sleep and her mind is in a state of haze, meaning that what she *sees* and what she *perceives* as *real* could simply be a figment of her post-sleep confusion and imagination – or at least that is the illusion created by the *praeceptor amoris*.

Because of the sleep-induced haziness, Ariadne's reaction to the god's arrival echoes another main feature of an Ovidian rape scene – the combination of fear and flight:[23] Ariadne's fear upon seeing the god is com-

evident that nudity, within the context of these passages, indicates the objectification and victimisation of these heroines.

21 On the erotic connotations of the loose tunic at Ov. *Am*. 1.5.13-14 cf. McKeown 1989: 113-14 ad loc. Regarding women's loose hair in love-scenes see Bömer 1958: 135-36 on Ov. *Fast*. 2.772.

22 Richlin 1992: 162.

23 Richlin 1992: 162. The scholar offers a few *exempla* of fleeing rape victims from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, such as Daphne fleeing from Apollo. See Ov. *Met*. 1.525-30: *plura locuturum timido Peneia cursu / fugit cumque ipso verba imperfecta reliquit, / tum quoque visa decens; nudabant corpora venti, / obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes, / et levis impulsos retro dabat aura capillos, / auctaque forma fuga est.* ('He would have said more, but the maiden pursued her frightened way and left him with his words unfinished, even in her desertion seeming fair. The winds bared her limbs, the opposing breezes set her garments aflutter as she ran, and a light air flung her locks streaming behind her. Her beauty was enhanced by flight.') Leucothoe is portrayed as fearful during the rape at Ov. *Met*. 4.230-33: *ipse timor decuit, nec longius ille moratus / in veram rediit speciem solitumque nitorem; / at virgo quamvis inopino territa visu / victa nitore dei posita vim passa querella est.* ('Her very fear becomes her. Then he, no longer tarrying, resumes his own form and his wonted splendour. But the maiden, though in terror at this sudden apparition, yet, overwhelmed by his radiance, at last without protest

bined with an unsuccessful attempt to flee (*terque fugam petit, terque retenta metu est* 'thrice did she essay flight, thrice did fear restrain her', *Ars am.* 1.552). The concept of fear triggering an endeavour to escape vividly recalls rape stories narrated by Ovid at a later stage of his career.[24] What is more, the use of similes constitutes another feature of Ovidian rape narratives.[25] In the passage in question, the simile creates the *imago* of Ariadne shaking, a reaction triggered by her fearful state (*Ars am.* 1.553-54). The choice of verbs (*horruit* and *tremit*) illuminates the heroine's new fear of a possible rape.[26]

From the second stage, then, of a stereotypical Ovidian rape narrative three out of ten functions are evident in the episode: the 'flight' of the victim (in this case unsuccessful) at verse 552 that is followed by the rapist's attempt to reassure and 'calm' the victim at verse 556 (*pone metum*

suffers the ardent wooing of the god.') Europa's fear is the cause of new beauty at Ov. *Fast.* 5.608: *et timor ipse novi causa decoris erat* ('and her very fear lent her fresh grace'). Additionally, Lucretia is the victim of her rapist's gaze at Ov. *Fast.* 2.757-58: *hoc ipsum decuit: lacrimae decuere pudicam, / et facies animo dignaque parque fuit.* ('The gesture was becoming; becoming, too, her modest tears; her face was worthy of its peer, her soul.') See Robinson 2011: 479 on Ov. *Fast.* 2.757, who underlines the verbal and thematic similarity with Ov. *Ars am.* 1.533.

24 Ov. *Ars am.* 1.553-54: *horruit, ut steriles, agitat quas ventus, aristae, / ut levis in madida canna palude tremit.* ('She shuddered, as when dry stalks are shaken by the wind, as when the light rush trembles in the watery marsh.')

25 Murgatroyd 2000: 81. Additionally, similes are interconnected in the *Metamorphoses* with transformation and function as a prelude of the *metamorphosis* itself, which creates an implicit connection with its equivalent function in the specific passage from the *Ars*. See Von Glinsky 2012: 7-15 on the association between *metamorphosis* and simile.

26 Cf. the equivalent verbs at *Her.* 10.139-40 (*horret* and *tremente*). In the letter the heroine herself offers another simile to highlight her fear and subsequent trembling, ten lines before the end of the letter, where the letter-writer constructs a different kind of setting (namely a funereal setting). The simile within the *Ars* has a clear allusive purpose, as it underlines Ovid's authorial self-awareness by inserting a simile that echoes verbally his previous treatment. However, the two similes function in a different manner within the context of each text; in the letter, the simile functions as means of a vivid description of the heroine's fear of death, whereas in the *Ars*, the simile functions as a means of emphasising the heroine's fear of a possible rape. Also see Battistella 2010: 104 ad loc. who notes that trembling is characteristic of only one other letter-writer, Canace (as she awaits her father's arrival) at Ov. *Her.* 11.75-79.

says Bacchus to Ariadne)[27] as well as the implied rape at verse 561 with the use of *pugnare*.[28] The implication and the creation of subtle rape imagery are common in Ovid, as his rape narratives are not explicit.[29]

The victimisation of the heroine is highlighted further with the explicit 'recompense' offered to her. In general in later Ovidian rape narratives (especially in the *Metamorphoses*) the act of rape is often followed by a transformation of the rape victim, which is usually presented as punishment.[30] However, in this passage 'recompense' and not 'punishment' is offered to the heroine, which again is not unusual; 'recompense' in the form of both marriage and a gift at verses 556-58 is one function (out of the 11 mentioned by Murgatroyd) that appears in the third stage of a typical Ovidian rape narrative.[31] The god promises that the heroine will

27 The exact phrase *pone metum* is repeated in the narration of Lucretia's rape at Ov. *Fast.* 2.759: *'pone metum, veni!' coniunx ait* [...] ('Fear not, I've come' her husband said'), although it is associated with her husband, not her rapist. See Robinson 2011: 480 ad loc. on Lucretia's behaviour that deviates from the ethos of the 'dignified Roman matron' and resembles the behaviour of the elegiac *puella*.

28 On these functions see Murgatroyd 2005: 68. Also cf. the double use of the verb at Ov. *Am.* 1.5.14-15 (*pugnabat/pugnaret)*: the poet describes Corinna's (unsuccessful) attempt to cover herself with her loose tunic. Cf. McKeown 1989: 114 on Ov. *Am.* 1.5.14, who notes the erotic connotations of the verb not only in these lines, but also at Ov. *Ars am.* 1.561, as well as its association with the *militia amoris* motif; as he suggests Corinna resembles 'a city under siege'. On the sexual connotations of the verb see also Adams 1982: 147.

29 On this subject see Richlin 1992: 162-63, who explains that this lack of explicit rape imagery is substituted by Ovid's depiction of violence within the rape narratives and offers Philomela's story as a convincing example (Ov. *Met.* 6.424-674). Philomela's rape story is infamous for the brutality and violence inflicted upon the victim. The heroine loses her tongue (literally) and subsequently her ability to verbally recollect the assault inflicted upon her (Ov. *Met.* 6.555-60). For a detailed discussion of speech and victimisation in Ovid see Fulkerson 2016: 66-72 who discusses *exempla* of speech that prove 'dangerous' for its speaker. Amongst the examples, she lists rape victims from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. The scholar (in p. 73) also notes that 'readers of Ovid cannot help but notice that women are a primary category of those victimised within the poetry'.

30 Richlin 1992: 165.

31 On this function see Murgatroyd 2005: 68. Regarding the technical matters of rape narratives, an Ovidian rape narrative should cover a passage of minimum ten verses and have at least three functions and two stages, according to Murgatroyd 2000: 75.

be transformed into a star, after he announces that she will become his wife (*Ars am.* 1.556-57). Contrary to the Catullan characterisation of Bacchus as *incensus amore* (Catull. 64.253), Ovid does not explicitly mention Bacchus' love for Ariadne. The story begins with the justification of the god's favouring of *amantes* (*Ars am.* 1.525-26): he too feels the flames of love, or is it lust? But Ariadne is not *amans*; she is *amens* (*Ars am.* 1.527), a word that encompasses the combined emotion of amatory frenzy.[32] The obvious Ovidian wordplay purposefully creates the image of an emotional heroine, out of control, whose reactions cannot be trusted. Simultaneously, the focus on male perspective is magnified: the readers perceive Ariadne in a manner that is suitable for the text. Ariadne is *out of* control, whereas the god is *in* control. Hence, he is inserted into the narrative and offers marriage and transformation to the heroine. The god's speech has a dual function: on the one hand, it establishes his role in her rescue and, on the other hand, strengthens the argument that the gifts

The Ariadne narrative evidently fulfils all three criteria: it covers more than ten verses; it has five functions and three stages. It is clear, then, that this new version of Ariadne's story displays the features of a typical rape narrative as it is staged in Ovid's later works, which indicates that the poet's approach to rape stories is identical throughout his works, despite the chronological gap between them.

32 Murgatroyd 1994: 89 suggests that Ovid alludes to Catullus by highlighting Ariadne's mental state. He argues that the word *amens* may be linked with various verses in Catullus, e.g. 64.54: *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores* ('Ariadne watches bearing uncontrolled madness in her heart'); 64.124: *saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furentem* ('often, they say, she was raging with a blazing heart'); 64.165: *externata malo, quae nullis sensibus auctae* ('out of my mind with sorrow speaking to winds which are endowed with no senses'); 64.197: *cogor inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore* ('helpless, blazing, blind with mindless madness'). On Ariadne's frenzy in Ovid see also Morrison 1992, who argues that the heroine's portrayal at Ov. *Am.* 1.7.15-6 alludes to four instances of frenzy at Catull. 64.53-54, 94-95, 124, 192-97. It is clear then that Ovid's treatment (in both poems) is influenced by Catullus. The problem is whether Ovid is simply alluding to Catullus and varying his version, as Murgatroyd suggests, or this characterisation of the heroine has a new role to play in the new account. Cf. Ariadne's new status at Ov. *Fast.* 3.469-70: *flebat amans coniunx spatiataque litore curvo / edidit incultis talia verba comis.* ('His loving spouse wept and pacing the winding shore with dishevelled locks she uttered these words.') On the *Fasti* version as a 'direct continuation' of the *Ars* version see Harries 1989: 181; on its mnemonic allusions see Armstrong 2006: 48-50.

are a double retribution for the rape.[33] Marriage functions, then, as a form of recompense within an Ovidian rape narrative, which explains its presence in the passage.[34]

3. THE METAMORPHOSIS OF A LAMENTING HEROINE: A PRELUDE TO TRANSFORMATION STORIES

Once we acknowledge the re-interpretation of this passage as an Ovidian rape story, then it is possible to detect another parallel with the subsequent rape stories, that of the connection with aetiology. The rape stories in the *Fasti* function as means to offer *aetia*, a role that the Ariadne story has as well.[35] The aetiological aspect of Ovidian rape narrative is also evident in the *Ars* version of Ariadne, which presents an *aetion* associated with a dual transformation, creating a prelude of the transformation stories of the *Metamorphoses*.[36]

33 The *praeceptor amoris* offers various advices to his students and readers, including the offering of gifts to the *puella*, such as fruit etc. (cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 2.261-70). He also mentions that gifts are expected by the *puella* on special occasions, such as birthdays (cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.417-20). In the Ariadne episode, Bacchus offers significant gifts, which indicates that his gift giving is not simply following the instructions of the *praeceptor amoris*. For an overview of the attitude and instructions of the *praeceptor amoris* in the *Ars* see James 2003a: 198-209. On the work's 'problematic narrator' see Fulkerson 2016: 40.

34 Cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.564: *sic coeunt sacro nupta deusque toro* ('so do the bride and the god meet on the sacred couch'). The reference to the marital union between the god and the heroine on a first reading seems to contradict this opinion. The marriage imagery initially appears to break the illusion of the rape setting, as it creates an inconsistency within the narrative. However, marriage often functions as recompense for rape, as it is indicated by Murgatroyd 2005: 68.

35 Murgatroyd 2000: 84-86 explains that these rape narratives sometimes begin with a concern for origins, thus they are connected with aetiology. What is more, their endings usually involve aetiology, reversal of fortune, a new status (amongst others). In the Ariadne episode, these elements appear clearly.

36 As Richlin 1992: 162 highlights the rape narratives of the *Metamorphoses* are often associated with twisted versions of love, death, divine punishment, nature, wars and transformation itself, whereas in the *Fasti* they are interwoven with the aetiology of the Roman religious calendar.

The re-imagination and transformation of the heroine's status is further highlighted with the explicit incorporation of the theme of catasterism, which is attested already in the Greek literary tradition. It appears in four Greek accounts, prior to Ovid; Pherecydes' account in the scholia on the *Odyssey* 11.322, in Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi* 5, in Aratus' *Phaenomena* 71-73 and in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 3.997-1004. A brief overview of the sources on the catasterism reveals one variant element of Ovid's account: the image of Ariadne being transformed into a star and not her crown. All the surviving sources (three of which are Hellenistic) name the crown as the transformed star, none names Ariadne.[37] Only in Ovid is the heroine herself said to be transformed into the star (*caelo spectabere sidus*, *Ars am.* 1.557). This differentiation by no means implies that Ovid is not aware of the well-known story of the crown's transformation. On the contrary, the poet's awareness of the catasterism of the crown is suggested by its inclusion in his later re-writings of the Ariadne mythos at *Met.* 8.174-82 and *Fast.* 3.459-516.[38] The name given to the star (*Cressa Corona, Ars am.* 1.558) is proof of his familiarity with this detail regarding the catasterism already in the *Ars*, whereas Ovid's use of the noun *corona* at *Met.* 8.178 and *Fast.* 3.513 suggests that he perceives the crown's catasterism as an established feature of the tale. Thus, the poet includes two types of transformation in his treatment: both the heroine and the crown are transformed. The former, which is mentioned first, is Ovid's variation of the story, whereas the latter provides the opportunity to establish allusion to the preceding Greek treatment of *Ariadne*.

37 For a concise discussion of the pre-Ovidian sources of the catasterism see Armstrong 2006: 312-15.

38 Ov. *Met.* 8.176-79: [...] *desertae et multa querenti / amplexus et opem Liber tulit, utque perenni / sidere clara foret, sumptam de fronte coronam/ immisit caelo; tenues volat illa per auras.* ('To the deserted and much complaining girl Liber brought caresses and help, and, that she might be famous with her own fixed star, he took the crown from her forehead and set it up in the sky', transl. Hill 1992.) Ov. *Fast.* 3.513-16: *sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae, / Volcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi.' / dicta facit, gemmasque novem transformat in ignes: / aurea per stellas nunc micat illa novem.* ('and I will see to it that with you there shall be a memorial of your crown, that crown which Vulcan gave to Venus, and she to you.' He did as he had said and changed the nine jewels of her crown into fires. Now the golden crown shall sparkle with nine stars.')

It is interesting that Ovid offers a narrative that leads not only to the transformation of the crown to a star, but also to the transformation of the heroine. One plausible and reasonable interpretation is the one given by Hollis,[39] who argues that Ovid is including in the *Ars* episode a rare account attested in Propertius which presents Ariadne elevated and transformed into a star at 3.17.7-8: *te quoque enim non esse rudem testatur in astris / lyncibus ad caelum vecta Ariadna tuis* ('for you are not without experience: to that, carried by your lynx-drawn chariot to heaven, Ariadne bears witness among the stars').[40] But, it is not simply a matter of alluding to another source that presents another kind of catasterism and transformation. Ovid clearly favours an obscure account of the catasterism, instead of the popular version. He has already succeeded in differentiating his version from the Catullan *ecphrasis*, as the latter does not mention the catasterism at all. So, the question still remains as such: why incorporate the heroine's catasterism?

The answer can be found in the re-imagination of the letter-writer and her portrayal as a rape victim. This new Ovidian version of Ariadne differs both from his own previous version of Ariadne as a letter-writer and from the Catullan Ariadne as the speaking *figura* of an *ecphrasis* by embedding one element of the story that does not exist and is not even implied in either of them. The transformation of the heroine functions as a recompense for the rape, just like the offer of marriage. The heroine's transformation (by being an obscure feature of the myth) would immediately draw the readers' attention, offering a new perspective on *Ariadne*.

Transformation is the feature of the myth highlighted at the end of this passage. The act of *metamorphosis* itself is triggered by a deity, and it focuses on the external appearance of a hero or a heroine; his or her *imago*. As indicated by Ariadne the letter-writer, the emotion of fear, present in her first Ovidian portrayal, is interlinked with the appearance of

39 Hollis 1977: 124 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.557-58.

40 Cf. Heyworth 2007a: 134 who prints *amoris* instead of *in astris* at Prop. 3.17.7; 2007b: 375 ad loc. suggests that these Propertian lines justify the poet's 'belief that the god should be sympathetic to the lover'. The same notion is echoed by the Ovidian inclusion of the god in the *Ars*.

gods; Ariadne establishes this fear at verse 95 of her letter (*caelum restabat: timeo simulacra deorum* 'the sky remains – yet there I fear visions of the gods').[41] The word *simulacrum* is the Latin equivalent for the Greek word εἴδωλον,[42] which indicates that its use alludes possibly to the concept of catasterism, already from the Ovidian epistle, where there is no other function other than allusion to previous versions of the story. However, the new version establishes another function: Ariadne has been fearful of the *simulacra deorum* for a valid reason; the god's appearance will trigger a new narrative. As the victim of a rape narrative she will be forced to undergo a transformation of her own *imago*.

41 There are numerous interpretations of this epistolary line. Knox 1995: 250 on Ov. *Her*. 10.95 suggests that the phrase means 'images of the gods', particularly those in temples, and that the heroine's crime against her family creates her fear of gods. Both Barchiesi 2001: 23 and Volk 2003: 349 agree that the phrase *simulacra deorum* indicates Ariadne's fear of divine punishment. What is more, Barchiesi 2001: 23 underlines the triple meaning of the word *simulacra* (i.e. ghosts, statues of gods and constellations) and suggests that it foreshadows the constellation in the *Ars* and the deification in the *Fasti*. See for the latter Barchiesi 2001: 25 and 168 n. 39. Battistella 2010: 86 ad loc. indicates the repetition of the phrase *timere simulacra* that first appears at Ov. *Am*. 1.6.9. Interestingly, in the *Amores* passage the poet as the *exclusus amator* attempts to gain access to his *puella*, by addressing the *persona* who he considers as the main obstacle, the *ianitor*. Regarding the interpretation of the noun *simulacra* see Ryan & Perkins 2011: 69 ad loc., who comment that it recalls 'descriptions of visits to the Underworld, and this is especially humorous when we realise that this 'underworld' consists of nocturnal visits to his beloved.'

42 *OLD* s.v. *simulacrum* 2.c. Cf. the use of the Greek word εἴδωλον at Aratus *Phaen*. 71-73: αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνος Στέφανος, τὸν ἀγαυὸν ἔθηκε / σῆμ' ἔμεναι Διόνυσος ἀποιχομένης Ἀριάδνης, / νώτῳ ὕπο στρέφεται κεκμηότος εἰδώλοιο. ('There too the famous Crown, which Dionysus established to be an illustrious memorial to the departed Ariadne, circles close to the back of the labouring figure', transl. Kidd 1997: 79.) Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 3.1000-4: ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ νηός, ἐπεί χόλον εὖνασε Μίνως, / σὺν τῷ ἐφεζομένη πάτρην λίπε· τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ / ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσῳ δέ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμαρ / ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης, / πάννυχος οὐρανίοις ἐνελίσσεται εἰδώλοισιν. ('But she, once Minos had calmed his anger, even boarded his ship with him and left her country; and even the immortals themselves loved her, and in the midst of the sky her sign, a crown of stars they call Ariadne's, turns all night among the heavenly constellations.')

Out of the other features that function as signs of an Ovidian rape narrative, one deserves further discussion: the loss of voice creates the impression that it functions simply as a means of allusion to previous portrayals of Ariadne, but in fact establishes a common characteristic of an Ovidian heroine within a rape narrative. Fear is connected with loss of voice, especially while the woman in danger is wandering on shore, which is considered a common rape setting.[43] Of course the most famous wandering heroine, Ariadne, is more than suitable to acquire and adapt to this new role. Ovid constructs the rape setting clearly: Ariadne is depicted wandering on shore (*Ars am.* 1.527), whereas the sight of Bacchus causes the heroine's loss of voice (*vox abiere puellae*, *Ars am.* 1.551).

According to the narrator, the heroine's fear leads her to faint, thus ending her speech (*Ars am.* 1.539). This sudden interruption of her speech deprives the heroine of control over the story. Ovid plays with the idea that without Ariadne's voice manipulating the readers to see the story from her perspective the heroine has no narrative control over the text, which creates a playful, yet antithetical allusion to the Ovidian letter. The juxtaposition with Ariadne's previous speech in the *Heroides* is established with the phrase *novissima verba* that is inserted by Ovid as a remark concerning the epistolary monologue. The monologue creates the impression that the end of Ariadne's letter signifies an end to her status as a speaking heroine. The phrase *novissima verba* indicates not simply the 'final' words, but it could also mean 'the last [words] before one's death'.[44] This association of the phrase with death is already evident in Vergil, who employs a similar phrase for Dido's final words: *incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba* ('she threw herself on the couch and spoke her last words', Verg. *Aen.* 4.650).[45] Ovid's use of this Vergilian phrase, combined with the use of the verb *errabat* at *Ars am.* 1.527 (clearly echoing *Aen.* 6.451), establishes the allusion to the Vergilian Dido's *novissima verba*.[46]

43 Richlin 1992: 165.

44 *OLD* s.v. *novissimus* 2 and 3. Armstrong 2006: 245 argues that 'the words here [*Ars am.* 1.539-40] suggest an ending to the episode, even death, and certainly an end to speech'.

45 Armstrong 2006: 245 n. 57.

46 Cf. the Ovidian's Dido variation of and wordplay on *novissima verba* at the beginning of her letter at *Her.* 7.6: *cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est.* ('after wretched

The poet implies a connection between his version of Ariadne and Vergil's Dido to create certain expectations; as the *praeceptor amoris* he guides his readers and moulds their interpretation of *Ariadne*. Any educated reader would immediately recognise the dialogue with the Vergilian epic and would naturally assume that the heroine is about to face an *ending*, echoing Dido's fate. Initially, the Ovidian illusion established through this explicit verbal recalling of Dido is that a tragic deadly end awaits Ariadne as well. But, the readers are aware that the Roman version of the myth, established by the Catullan *ecphrasis*, has a *happy ending*. Intriguingly, in the Ovidian version not only are the lines between happy and un-happy ending blurred, but they do not put forth a definitive answer: Ariadne, as the readers are told at the end of the digression, escapes death in the literal sense and is gifted with marriage and catasterism (*Ars am.* 1.557-58; 1.563-64). Under the gaze of the male readers, the picture created is a happy one: the divine epiphany brings salvation to Ariadne. Unfortunately for her, salvation comes with a price that rape victims within an Ovidian text seem to share: the deprivation of voice that is illuminated with the heroine's transformation into a star.

The end to Ariadne's story, as readers know from previous versions, is highlighted even further with the Ovidian selection of vocabulary. Before the god's appearance, the use of specific verbs creates the appropriate foreshadowing of an imminent rape, although the chosen language does not appear on first reading to have erotic connotations. The combination of the verb *surge* at 548 with *pugnare* at 561 (with the former having clear sexual connotations as the male Satyrs urge Bacchus to 'get up')[47] constructs an intense erotic setting that creates expectations

losing, the losing of words is a matter slight indeed.') Also cf. the association between death and the ending of her letter at *Her.* 7.111-12: *Durat in extremum vitaeque novissima nostrae / prosequitur fati, qui fuit ante, tenor* ('The lot that was mine in days past still follows me in these last moments of life and will pursue to the end'). Interestingly, the Ovidian Dido establishes her status as Aeneas' wife (*coniunx* at 7.113). On Ovid's re-interpretation of Dido and allusion to the Vergilian model see Miller 2004: 57-62. On the echoes between the Ovidian Ariadne and the Vergilian Dido see Battistella 2010: 28-29.

47 *OLD* s.v. *surgo* 1.d. 'to become erect'. Interestingly the *OLD* offers an example from Ovid regarding 'the sexual parts'. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.15.25-26: *sed puto, te nuda mea membra libidine surgent, / et peragam partes anulus ille viri* ('but methinks my passions would

within a work like the *Ars.*[48] The imagery created especially with the description of the dishevelled Maenads (*Ars am.* 1.541), the out-of-control crowd of Satyrs (*Ars am.* 1.542) and drunken Silenus (*Ars am.* 1.543) introduces the erotic element explicitly, adding to it a humorous tone. Silenus' unsuccessful pursuit of the Maenads (*Ars am.* 1.545) foreshadows the god's pursuit of Ariadne and attempts to lighten the tone of the passage,[49] although Bacchus' attempt, unlike Silenus', is successful. As the *praeceptor amoris*, towards the end of the digression, makes a remark concerning divine power: [...] *in facili est omnia posse deo* 'easy is it for a god to be all-powerful' (*Ars am.* 1.562). The antithesis between the two attempts is another feature of Ovidian rape narrative:[50] the successful, yet implicit, rape of the heroine is juxtaposed to the unsuccessful attempt against the Bacchants. The power-play dynamics are clearly in favour of the omnipotent god.

Yet, the abrupt ending to the heroine's speech is indicated not only by the phrase *rupitque novissima verba* (*Ars am.* 1.539), but also in the actual interruption of Ariadne's speech by the noise created from the cymbals announcing the god's imminent arrival: *'quid mihi fiet' ait; sonuerunt cymbala toto / litore* [...] ('What will become of me?' she cries: then o'er all the shore cymbals resounded', *Ars am.* 1.537-38). Finally, the heroine's fear is stated explicitly with *excidit illa metu* (*Ars am.* 1.539), which echoes

rise at sight of your fairness, and I, though naught but that ring, would play the human part'). This specific elegy focuses significantly on the erotic aspect of the *amator*'s relationship with his *puella.* Ovid offers Corinna a gift and specifically a ring that is considered a common amatory gift by the Romans. In the *Amores* passage it is attributed phallic connotations. Regarding the erotic connotations of *membra*, *libido*, *surgo* see Adams 1982: 46 and 57.

48 The verb *rumpo*, in addition to its earlier interpretation, has the meaning of 'penetrate', which could be used within erotic connotations. See *OLD* s.v. *rumpo* 3.a. On the sexual connotations of the verb see Adams 1982: 151. Although the verb is not attributed to the male god and it does not appear to have clear erotic connotations in this passage, its inclusion foreshadows implicitly the violent setting of the rest of the passage, as it follows after the noun *metus* at 539.

49 Hollis 1977: 123 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.545: '[...] presumably the Bacchae provoke Silenus by running towards him and then away'.

50 Murgatroyd 2000: 79 offers examples from the *Fasti* of successful rapes contrasted or foreshadowed by unsuccessful rapes.

a similar phrase in the letter *excussere metus somnum* (*Her.* 10.13). However, a variation occurs. In the *Ars* fear paralyses Ariadne and deprives her of the ability to speak, whereas in the *Heroides* fear awakens her and makes her active. The difference lies in the source of her fear in each text. In the former, the heroine's fear derives from the presence of new characters. In the latter, Ariadne's fear emerges due to the absence of her lover. What is more, by echoing the same phrase, Ovid underlines that the change in perspective – from the female perspective of a letter-writer to the male perspective of the *praeceptor amoris* – has affected the narrative as well.

Additionally, this absence of the female *vox* – originating in fear – echoes the portrayal of the Ovidian *puella*. Once again, Ariadne's depiction reflects Corinna's reaction to Ovid's violent behaviour towards her at *Am.* 1.7,[51] a similarity which stresses the former's depiction as an elegiac *puella* in danger. The parallels between the *puella* of the *Amores* and one of the *puellae* of the *Ars* are drawn already from *Am.* 1.7.15-16, where the elegiac poet compares Corinna to Ariadne, focusing on the dishevelled *imago* of the mythological heroine.[52] A few lines later, Corinna is left speechless from fear: *ipsa nihil: pavido est lingua retenta metu* ('Herself said

51 Armstrong 2006: 243 also stresses the element of violence which connects the *Ars* episode with Ov. *Am.* 1.7. However, she focuses mainly on the attribution of *amens* to both Ariadne (Ov. *Ars am.* 1.527) and Corinna (Ov. *Am.* 1.7.51). For an analysis of the function of violence in the portrayal of the elegiac *puella* in general see Fredrick 1998. On women and violence in the *Amores* see Greene 1998: 67-92 and in particular pp. 84-91 for Ov. *Am.* 1.7. In fact, the scholar comments (in p. 87) that these women of myth, despite their sufferings, are 'seen as beautiful objects of desire, and on top of that, they receive *fama* as a result of their liaisons with men who abuse and/or degrade them', thus justifying the violence inflicted upon them. On violence in Ovidian rape narratives see Johnson 1996, who suggests that Callisto's story in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* is in fact another rape narrative. Also see Richlin 1992: 168, who suggests that 'a poet who sees love as comparable to battle might well see violence as part of love.'

52 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.7.15-16: *talis periuri promissaque velaque Thesei / flevit praecipites Cressa tulisse Notos* ('such the Cretan maid as she wept that the headlong winds of the south had borne away both sails and promises of perjured Theseus'). On the comic undertone of this poem and its allusion to New Comedy see McKeown 1989: 162. On the comparison of Corinna to three distinctive women of myth (Atalanta at lines 13-14, Ariadne at lines 15-16, Cassandra at lines 17-18) see McKeown 1989: 171-75 ad loc.

naught; her tongue was kept from it by trembling fear', *Am.* 1.7.20). Thus, a pattern emerges: an Ovidian *puella* in danger has no voice and is dominated by fear.

It has become evident that, within the context of the *Ars*, both the loss of voice and the display of fear are signs of a rape setting because they are combined with features of such a setting. Ovid demonstrates how the re-introduction of the same language and imagery can be attributed a completely different function in order to fit the generic requirements of the *Ars*. Although, the poet is employing the same vocabulary and constructing the same visual *imago*, the identity of the heroine has been transformed; the elegiac lamenting *puella* within an epistolary collection has become the elegiac lamenting *puella* within a rape narrative.

4. ORIGINS AND PARALLELS OF OVIDIAN RAPE NARRATIVES: ARIADNE, CYNTHIA AND THE SABINE WOMEN

As the discussion has demonstrated, Ovid creates at *Ars am.* 1.527-64 an early form of the scene of the rape of a heroine by a god and the subsequent transformation, which is perfected later in the *Metamorphoses*. What remains to be addressed is the function of such a narrative within the boundaries of a didactic-amatory work that breaks away from the simple elegiac representation of love and teaches how the male (in the first two books) can remain in control of the situation or at least appear to be in control.[53]

Despite the differentiation from his fellow elegists, Ovid's work is obviously informed by the elegies of his predecessors, especially by the

53 Watson 2002: 148 explains briefly this change occurring in the *Ars* compared to earlier elegy. Also see Harrison 2002: 82-84 for a brief discussion of the changes occurring from the *Heroides* to the *Ars Amatoria* to the *Remedia amoris* in terms of genre; James 2003b: 101-2 who suggests that the *Ars* 'constitutes Ovid's commentary on Roman love elegy' and that 'the male-female relations of the *Ars* [...] constitute a continuation, perhaps even a completion, of the male-female relations of elegy'. For a discussion of the different perspectives (male and female) as they are explored in the three books of the *Ars Amatoria* see Rimell 2006: 70-103.

Propertian elegies.[54] For the purposes of this discussion, Propertius' elegy 1.3 is attributed a significant role since it is acknowledged that the pattern of the comic unsuccessful rape appears in the Propertian passage in the same way it is presented by Ovid in the *Fasti* rapes.[55] In a manner, Propertius is Ovid's model for rape narratives within the boundaries of works such as the *Ars* and the *Fasti*, works that have clear generic affinities. As mentioned earlier in the discussion, the *Fasti* rape stories can provide insight into how Ovid treated the theme, both in his earlier and in his later works. The main trait of such scenes is their consistency, despite their incorporation into different works. Once we take into consideration that Ovid uses the aforementioned Propertian elegy as a model for later rape narratives, then it is more than plausible that he uses it as a model for at least some of his earlier rape narratives.

In this Propertian elegy, the poet admits that he has been drinking and that he is seized by both *Amor* and *Liber*.[56] The connection of *Liber* and *Amor* is echoed by Ovid at the beginning of the Ariadne passage (*Liber ... amantes, Ars am.* 1.525); Bacchus himself has fallen in love (thus the link with *Amor*) and for that reason he assists lovers in symposiums (hence the connection with drunkenness). Lyne offers a very intriguing interpretation of the Propertian verse, as he suggests that the verse *hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus* (Prop. 1.3.14) underlines the poet's temptation to rape, which is overwhelmed by his fear of Cynthia's reaction and is replaced by his decision to offer her *munera* (Prop. 1.3.26),[57] just like

54 On the immense impact and influence of Propertian poetics in Ovid's *Amores* in particular see Morgan 1977; Weiden Boyd 1997: 19-48. On the relation between Propertius and Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* see Gibson 2007.

55 Tatham 2000: 51. Also Tatham 2000: 49 suggests in her study of Prop. 1.3 that the function of such a situation (rape setting) is to create a comic outcome, if we take into account that in the context of comic plays, such as Terence's *Eunuch*, the staging of the rape of a sleeping girl has a comic effect.

56 Prop. 1.3.9: *ebria cum multo traherem vestigia Baccho* ('when home I came dragging footsteps unsteadied by much wine'); Prop. 1.3.14: *hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus* ('for the two inexorable gods, on this side Love, on that Bacchus').

57 Lyne 2007: 5. The general scholarly interpretation of this Propertian line has not only erotic connotations, but – more importantly – suggests rape. Harrison 1994: 21 highlights the erotic connotations of *durus* and reminds us that the image of a Maenad by a river is that of a possible rape victim. Furthermore, Harrison 1994: 19 identifies

Bacchus offers gifts to Ariadne (*munus*, *Ars am.* 1.557). Of course, there is one notable difference: the former's gifts are apples (Prop. 1.3.24), while the latter's are a wedding and a transformation (*uxor eris, Ars am.* 1.556; *caelo spectabere sidus*, *Ars am.* 1.557).

Since rape is not a theme that appears in Ariadne's myth explicitly before Ovid, it is evident that the poet has been influenced by Prop. 1.3: a poem that offers the *imago* of another heroine, the sleeping Cynthia as vulnerable to rape. Ovid, of course, is influenced primarily by Prop. 1.3 in the representation of Ariadne as an elegiac sleeping *puella* (already in *Heroides* 10),[58] which should be considered as additional evidence that the same poem functions as his inspiration for introducing a new narrative element into the story, which clearly did not exist explicitly in any previous treatments. All the evidence leads to the Propertian elegy (1.3) influencing the rape setting in the Ariadne episode, which justifies this innovative re-telling of the story. The rape, on the one hand, enhances the elegiac tone because it reminds the readers of other elegiac passages with similar content, namely Prop. 1.3, that begins with a juxtaposition of the elegiac *puella* to the sleeping Ariadne. On the other hand, it lends a playful (comic) tone to the episode, as it recalls similar scenes from

Propertius with Bacchus and hence both are linked with rape. Booth 1995: 24 discusses the erotic connotations of the vocabulary used at Prop. 1.3.15-16 and highlights the concept of rape. The scholar indicates that at verses 27-30 the poet imagines that the sleeping Cynthia's *timores* derive from fear of rape from an unwanted lover. Hubbard 2001: 21 mentions that Propertius 'thinks of rape' and then reconsiders.

58 Although any possible similarities between Ovid's treatment of Ariadne and Propertius' treatment of Cynthia in 1.3 could be initially indebted to a common model, i. e. Catullus 64, it is important to take into consideration the fact that Propertius' literary influence on Ovid is evident throughout his poetic career. On the Catullan influence on Prop. 1.3 see Breed 2003. Prop. 1.3 begins with Cynthia being compared to three mythological heroines, the first of which is Ariadne, in order to define two of her traits, the *puella* has been abandoned and she is sleeping (Prop. 1.3.1-2, 25), which is echoed by Ovid's brief reference to Ariadne at *Am.* 1.7.15-16. On Ovidian allusion to Propertius 1.3 see Morgan 1977: 70-72, who discusses the intertextual dialogue between *Amores* 1.10 and the Propertian elegy.

comedy and establishes a connection to theatre and dramatic performances. Of course, this playful tone is strengthened with the description of the god's entourage.[59]

However, Ariadne is not the only Ovidian heroine that is portrayed as a rape victim within the first book of the *Ars Amatoria*. The rape of the Sabine women is narrated at lines 89-134, which precede the Ariadne story; hence, Ovid has already composed one rape narrative within the context of this book, which suggests that the outcome of the comparison will be valid. The first major similarity between the two passages is found in their introduction as aetiological stories.[60] Both episodes offer *aetia*, explaining simultaneously the incorporation of these female characters within the work. On the one hand, Ovid uses the Sabine women episode to justify the advice aimed at his male readers: the best meeting place is the theatre (*Ars am.* 1.89) and it has been since the time of Romulus, as it becomes evident by the abduction of the Sabine women and their characterisation as *rapta* (*Ars am.* 1.102). Additionally, the theatre is a suitable meeting place for both his male readers and women. The *praeceptor amoris* begins the narration of the story with the explicit reference to theatre in order to offer an *aetion* for women's presence there: they come to the theatre 'to see' and 'to be seen' (*spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae, Ars am.* 1.99). Thus, according to male perspective, theatre is also beneficial to women, who within the amatory world of the *Ars Amatoria*, are both spectators and spectacle. The *imago* of female heroines within the work is constructed carefully, as the poet plays with the boundaries of female portrayal. On the other hand, the *praeceptor amoris*' reference to *Liber*, prior to the Ariadne episode, offers an amatory explanation for the incorporation of the heroine's story; the god assists lovers, because

59 Cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.543-44: *ebrius, ecce, senex pando Silenus asello / vix sedet, et pressas continent ante iubas* ('Io! Drunken old Silenus scarce sits his crookbacked ass, and leaning clings to the mane before him'); 1.546-47: *quadrupedem ferula dum malus urget eques, / in caput aurito cecidit delapsus asello* ('and while the unskilful horseman urges his beast with a rod, he falls off the long-eared ass and topples head-foremost and the Satyrs cry').

60 On the aetiological and humorous tone of the Sabine women episode see Hollis 1973: 105; Watson 2002: 152. On the 'erotic aetiology' of this episode and its cultural connotations see Labate 2006. For a comparative reading of the rape of the Sabine women in Livy (1.9-13) and Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* see Beard 1999.

he is also consumed by the *flammae* of *amor* (*Ars am.* 1.525-26). The passages are subtly interlinked: *Liber* is associated with dramatic performances and music, as highlighted by the text itself,[61] creating a visual and acoustic nod to the image of spectators and spectacles at the theatre. Not only is the god associated with these images, but by the end of the episode Ariadne herself becomes the epitome of a spectacle, as both her *figura* and her crown are transformed into a star, thus providing an *aetion* for the *Cressa Corona* (*Ars am.* 1.558).[62]

In addition to the aetiological aspect, which is considered a main function of later Ovidian rape narratives, both stories portray their heroines as rape victims. To begin with, the association of paleness and fear, foreshadowing the rape, appears in both episodes. The image of a *puella* losing her *color* because of fear becomes a connecting thread between the Sabine women and Ariadne (*constitit in nulla qui fuit ante color* 'in none remained her former colour', *Ars am.* 1.120; *et color et Theseus et vox abiere puellae* 'voice, colour and Theseus all were gone from the girl', *Ars am.* 1.551). Additionally, fear is connected not only with absence of colour, but also with the heroines' attempt to flee; with the imagery of flight, triggered by fear, indicated with the verbs *fugit/timuere* in the case of the Sabines at verses 118-19 and the nouns *fugam/metu* in the case of Ariadne at verse 552 respectively. What seems to be the common factor in both episodes is that the portrayal of a frightened woman or women seems to

61 Cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.111-14: *dumque, rudem praebente modum tibicine Tusco / ludius aequatam ter pede pulsat humum, / in medio plausu (plausus tunc arte carebant) / rex populo praedae signa petita dedit.* ('And while to the Tuscan flute-player's rude strains the dancer struck thrice with his foot the levelled floor, in the midst of the applause (the applause then was rough and rude) the king gave to the people the expected sign of rape'.) Ov. *Ars am.* 1.537-38: *'quid mihi fiet?' ait: sonuerunt cymbala toto / litore, et attonita tympana pulsa manu*. ('What will become of me?' she cries: then all the shore cymbals resounded and drums beaten by frenzied hands.')

62 Cf. McKeown 1989: 173 on Ov. *Am.* 1.7.15-16, who suggests that the characterisation *Cressa*, attributed to Ariadne, could be an implicit reference to the Cretans' reputation as liars and creates the impression that 'a woman whom one might have expected to be deceitful has been deceived.' Ryan & Perkins 2011: 78 ad loc. offer a different interpretation and suggest that this particular reference might be indicative of the heroine's 'passivity and vulnerability'. Regarding the Ariadne digression in the *Ars*, it is evident that the heroine's vulnerability is highlighted through this reference. On the heroine's vulnerability in the *Ars* see Armstrong 2006: 244.

enhance their attractiveness in the eyes of the husband(s) to be,[63] which is used to 'justify' their construction or, in Ariadne's case, de-construction as rape victims.

Moreover, the victimisation of both the Sabine women and Ariadne is made explicit with the use of specific language in relation to these female characters. The attribution of the adjective *raptae* at verse 125 to the Sabine women underlines their image as 'abducted' heroines, taken by force (hence their characterisation as *praeda* in the same verse). This *imago* of 'abducted' heroines continues with the use of the verb *repugnarat* at verse 127 to establish the ever-changing status of the heroines, who 'transform' from spectators, to the object of male gaze,[64] to *raptae puellae,* to *praeda*, to *uxores*.[65]

63 Richlin 1992: 168.

64 See Hollis 1977: 56 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.121-24, who suggests that it is possible that Ovid is influenced by 'some pictorial representation' in his visualisation of the Sabine women.

65 Cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.125: *ducuntur raptae, genialis praeda, puellae* ('the captured women are led off, spoil for the marriage couch'); Ov. *Ars am.* 1.127-28: *si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque negarat, / sublatam cupido vir tulit ipse sinu* ('if any struggled overmuch and resisted her mate, up-borne on his eager breast he carried her off himself'). Hollis 1977: 56 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.125 highlights that the phrase *genialis praeda* indicates that the women are seen as a 'spoil for the marriage bed'. Their association with bed imagery establishes an implicit connection with Ariadne, or at least with her ecphrastic origins. Also, it is notable that in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid attributes the characterisation *rapta* to Ariadne, although in connection to Theseus. In this brief narration of the story with just one word, Ovid implies that the heroine is taken by force the first time (by Theseus) and then with the use of another word (*amplexus*) hints at her vulnerability and helplessness as Bacchus embraces her. See Ov. *Met*. 8.174: *protinus Aegides rapta Minoide Diam* ('straightway the son of Aegeus, taking Minos' daughter'); 8.177-79: *amplexus et opem Liber tulit, utque perenni / sidere clara foret, sumptam de fronte coronam / inmisit caelo.* [...] ('Bacchus brought love and help. And, that she might shine among the deathless stars, he sent the crown she wore up to the skies'). The use of *amplexus* reminds us of another rape victim within the world of the *Metamorphoses*. The comment of Johnson 1996: 11 on the scene between the deceitful Jupiter – transformed into Diana – embracing Callisto is poignant: '*Amplexus* (433) is perhaps a deliberately tacky euphemism [...] for she is as unsuspecting and helpless as he is invincible.'

Therefore, even though the situation is not identical, both episodes indicate explicitly the forthcoming marital status of the women in question, associating it with a 'romanticisation' of amatory violence.[66] In the Sabine women episode, the *praeceptor amoris* comments on the fact that if any of the women attempted to fight back, then the husband-to-be would carry her off and offer marriage to her (*quod matri pater est, hoc tibi' dixit 'ero.',* 'saying: what your father was to your mother that will I be to you', *Ars am.* 1.130).[67] In the Ariadne episode, the heroine (unlike some of the Sabine women) does not have the strength to fight and surrenders (*neque enim pugnare valebat, Ars am.* 1.561), though she attempts to escape (*Ars am.* 1.552). The use of the verb *pugno* in association with the negative *neque* creates an interesting parallel with the Sabines' attempt to fight back. Whereas at least some of the Sabines choose fight and not flight, Ariadne chooses flight because her *battle* is un-even (*Ars am.* 1.562). However, exactly like the Sabine women, she is offered a new marital status (*uxor eris*, *Ars am.* 1.556), which is fulfilled by the end of the episode as indicated by the use of *nupta* at verse 564. As demonstrated by the text itself, male gaze and male speech are the dominant features of these passages. Women within the boundaries of these two passages have no voice (in the Sabine women digression) or lose their voice (in the Ariadne digression), which is contrasted with the dominance of the male voice of *the praeceptor amoris* and his male *exempla*. Bacchus' speech echoes that of the un-named man in the Sabine episode as they are both characterised by an amatory and paternalistic tone:[68] the women in question are *told* their fate without any possibility of challenging it, as it is indicated with the repetition of the future tense of the verb *sum* (*ero* and *eris*). Their resistance and attempt to fight is a necessary *inconvenience* for the male *suitors* and a central component of their amatory struggle within the *Ars*, that will be overcome with the instructions of the *praeceptor amoris*.[69]

66 The term 'romanticisation of force' and its function as a motif for the first book of the *Ars Amatoria* in particular is suggested by Sharrock 2006.

67 Hollis 1977: 56 ad loc. suggests that this line indicates that Ovid alludes to traditional justifications of rape.

68 For this element in the Sabine rape narrative see Richlin 1992: 167.

69 On the notion of 'feminine resistance that is portrayed as a necessary part of the game' in the Sabine women episode see Labate 2006: 214.

The striking similarities between the rape of the Sabine women and the Ariadne episode suggest that the poet is creating the setting of another rape in the latter. The main difference, however, between the two episodes is that in the former the rape is mentioned clearly, while in the latter it is simply hinted at. What is more, the abduction of the Sabine women, similarly to the desertion of Ariadne, is a story that finds its place more than once within the Ovidian corpus. The story is re-introduced in the *Fasti* (3.187-234), where the rape narrative once again leads to marriage.[70] But as Richlin rightly points outs, 'a text about rape may also be about something else, but it is still a text of rape.'[71]

Echoing the episode of the Sabine women in the *Ars,* the Ariadne digression is narrated and perceived as a light-hearted rape.[72] Ovid re-imagines the *figura* of Ariadne: she is no longer the lamenting letter-writer, whose misfortune creates emotions of empathy in her readers; she is a voiceless *figura* whose new misfortune is given a light-hearted tone, under the dominant male gaze. This tone is suitable for the amatory-didactic purposes of the *Ars Amatoria*: the male readers of the first two books are to be educated and entertained by the *exempla* offered by the *praeceptor amoris*.[73] By re-interpreting such a famous tale and de-constructing such a notable woman of myth, Ovid affirms his role as the *teacher of love* and illustrates his ability to re-imagine a heroine, who – albeit her Greek literary origins – was a literary model for the portrayal of women in Latin literature.

70 Hejduk 2011: 21 argues that the story of the Sabine women, as the abduction of Persephone, 'which culminate in stable marriages, are in a different category from the one-night lust-driven attacks that usually merit the name of 'rape'.'

71 Richlin 1992: 159.

72 Cf. Murgatroyd 2000: 80 n. 20, who argues that both the Sabine women episode and the Achilles-Deidamia episode are 'light-hearted rapes which poke fun at the Rapists'.

73 Hollis 1977: 125 on Ov. *Ars am.* 1.562 underlines the amusing tone of the Ovidian comment in the parenthesis: the *praeceptor amoris*' male reader will probably face difficulties in his amatory adventures, compared to the omnipotent god.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the discussion has illustrated, at *Ars am.* 1.527-64 Ovid presents a deconstruction of Ariadne's *imago* as the deserted lamenting heroine whose status as one of the letter-writers of the *Epistulae Heroidum* seems forgotten and is purposefully transformed into the voice-less and helpless victim of a rape narrative. This *metamorphosis* has its origins in the poet's playful dialogue with his fellow-elegist Propertius (1.3). Ovid alludes explicitly to both Catullus' original speaking heroine (64) and to his own representation of Ariadne not simply as a speaking heroine but as a letter-writer (*Her.* 10), establishing thus a connecting thread between these mirror *imagines* of Ariadne. However, the poet also alludes implicitly to Propertius' description of the ideal elegiac *puella* in 1.3, who – not coincidentally – is connected with the *imago* of Ariadne. Until this point, Ariadne is synonymous with amatory abandonment and lamentation. Ovid breaks the mould and adds a new characteristic: Ariadne is not simply a deserted heroine lamenting the loss of *amor*; she is a deserted heroine facing the consequences of what is labelled *amor* from a male perspective. Thus, the Ovidian reader embarks on a journey of re-interpretation and re-imagination, discovering along the way the origins and the transformation of one of the most famous Ovidian heroines.[74]

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DISCOURSE AND SILENCE IN MARTIANUS CAPELLA'S *DE NUPTIIS PHILOLOGIAE ET MERCURII*[1]

By Julieta Cardigni

Summary: The present paper analyzes Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* from a generic point of view, departing from Systemic Functional Linguistics, in order to establish parody as its main feature, in consistence with its generic adscription to Menippean Satire. As a result, we expect to prove that Martianus is attacking discourse and discursive knowledge, and proposing silence as an alternative category for the characterization of transcendence and truth. This perspective intends to show *De nuptiis* as a Menippean Satire which subverts all values exposed along the work, turning thus into an anti-didactic text.

1. PROBLEMS WITH AND PERSPECTIVES ON MARTIANUS' RECEPTION: A SHORT REVIEW

As modern readers, it may be difficult for us to approach Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* without ascribing a didactic purpose to it. Given the fact that a large part of the work (seven of its nine constituent books) consists of an exposition of the seven Liberal Arts, it

1 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Robert Kaster, who was my advisor during my research stay at Princeton as a Fulbright Visiting Scholar. His suggestions and comments were an invaluable guide to shape the ideas that are now part of the present article. I am also very grateful to Professor Joel Relihan for his inspiring opinions and remarks on the subject.

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seems plausible to assume that its main goal is to instruct in the disciplines displayed there. Medieval readers saw it precisely this way: they found in Martianus' work a cumulative and thematically organized (though somewhat incomplete and micro-structurally incoherent) corpus of ancient knowledge. To this corpus, the author attaches a seemingly allegorical fable that seems to act as an amusing introduction and frames the exposition of the Liberal Arts.

However, to assume from this that Martianus wrote a didactical work would be a mistake, and this is the main point that I will attempt to elucidate here. This generic formal label of "encyclopedia," forced upon the work over centuries of reception, doesn't provide much help in understanding it; it is an inadequate designation that fails to explain many of the work's aspects.[2] When considered according to this label, *De nuptiis* comes off as an encyclopedia that is bizarre and incomprehensible, and in addition to the problems that this causes, resistance to reevaluating its generic discursive pertinence is very strong. An overall result of this has been the prevailing idea that Martianus' work is a product that lies outside of time and space, one that is strange even for its own Baroque period, isolated from the literary universe, a kind of freak that lurks alone in the history of literature. Despite this use that posterity has made of *De nuptiis* ("use" rather than "reading" because medieval scholars seemed to be sharply aware of its many ambiguities),[3] I am convinced that true understanding of the work requires a new approach that will

2 Among these, as we will see, are the mixture of tones and registers found throughout the work, the Menippean mold that Martianus obviously applies, the alternating presence of seriousness and comedy, the strange presentation of the Liberal Arts (incomplete and sometimes incoherent), and the figure of the narrator: incompetent and ridiculous at any level of reading.

3 The Carolingian scholar John Scotus Eriugena certainly is, when he states about Martianus that: *(...) ita fuisse finxerit philosophus esse, veluti quidam histrio nominatus est, falsa quippe poetico usu veris philosophiae rationibus intermiscuit.* "Thus, he pretended to be a philosopher, as if he has taken the name from some actor, and for that reason he mixed false things, according to the poetic use, with the reasons of true Philosophy." (The Latin text is from Ramelli's edition 2006, and the translation is mine.) Eriugena understands Martianus' parodic game as well as his literary *persona* but, as a schoolmaster, he decides to read the text with a didactic purpose and in a fragmentary way, focusing on the treatises containing the Liberal Arts.

allow us to view it in its full scope. This approach must be literary and discursive, even though the content of the so-called treatises may be considered disciplinary. In fact, when we ask ourselves if that disciplinary exposition may itself be a *literary* resource, a different approach opens up, one that is more promising than simply pigeonholing the work either as a failed encyclopedia or a wearisome catalogue of silly puns – or the didactical monster that results from the wedding of the two. The internal logic of *De nuptiis* only appears in its full light when we consider it as a literary device belonging to a particular cultural context, generic universe and literary tradition with which it entertains a dialogue.

As I have suggested, the knot of conflict with regards to the reading of *De nuptiis* can be glimpsed if we observe the history of its reception. To begin with, we have no reference as to how Martianus' contemporaries might have read or made use of *De nuptiis.* His posterity, on the other hand, began immediately to read, reproduce and use it ostensibly, as can be seen from the number of manuscripts made of it during the 9th and 10th centuries, and especially from the profusion of didactic commentaries and annotations made on it from this same period onward.[4] By medieval times, scholars already lacked the numerous sources that Martianus had used to compose his work, and so it seems logical that they should seize upon the knowledge condensed in *De nuptiis.*[5] The problem lies in that these readings – legitimate and in their own way worthwhile – established a line of interpretation of the work that is didactic and of which, to the present day, it is difficult to let go, a didactic line of interpretation that places the text in an uncomfortable container, making deep understanding of it difficult.

Within this interpretive tradition, the approaches to Martianus' work, none of which has yet reached the status of *communis opinion,*[6] may be organized into these three broad classes:

4 On manuscripts of *De nuptiis* and their trajectories, cf. Leonardi 1955.

5 For a clear look at the reception of *De nuptiis,* cf. LeMoine 1972.

6 Regarding the *communis opinio* on Martianus' work, many other aspects are unclear, the date of composition of *De nuptiis* being one of them. For a *status quaestionis,* see Cameron 1986; Shanzer 1986; Relihan 1987. In agreement with these two latter scholars, we will place the composition of *De nuptiis* in the latter part of the fifth century.

a) The perspective in which the genre of *De nuptiis* is not a matter of discussion, since interest focuses instead on its philosophical content.[7] In some cases *De nuptiis* is categorized as a Menippean satire as a whole, but this label plays no real role in the general consideration of the work.[8]

b) The perspective that considers *De nuptiis* a didactical work in which the literary generic model of Menippean satire (if treated), the use of parody and the use of fictionalization all serve the purpose of encyclopedic instruction. This perspective implies a sort of division of the work into two discernible and isolated components: the introductory allegorical fable of Books 1-2 followed by seven "serious" Books in which each of the Liberal Arts is explained.[9]

c) The approach of Relihan 1987 and 1993[10] which shows more interest in the analysis of the discursive genre and its consequences for the reading of the work. Relihan goes as far as to propose that *De nuptiis* is a Menippean satire in which parody is a central issue, and encyclopedic knowledge is mocked. According to Relihan, who does not completely relinquish the notion of an ultimately pedagogical goal, this failed encyclopedia would seek to provide us with a lesson on confidence in bookish knowledge that takes for granted its own omniscient familiarity with the secret order of the world. In this direction we can also find the very recent (and far-reaching) approach of Cullhed 2015, which considers *De nuptiis* to be a critique of the mediation of fictional discourse, without which knowledge would be intransmissible. From Cullhed's perspective, more in accordance with Relihan's and ours, *De*

7 This is the case of Lenaz 1975 and Turcan 1954.

8 Shanzer 1986 accepts the Menippean label, but she does not deal with the ultimate implications of it since, as she advises the readers, she will focus on aspects of the work that are more related to its philosophical content.

9 Authors who approach the work from this perspective include Petrovicova 2010; Westra 1981; 1988. Bakhouche 2011 and 2015 observes the self-directed irony of the narrator, but limits this consideration to isolated episodes and does not project it out to the work as a whole.

10 Relihan 1993 not only proposes reading *De nuptiis* as a Menippean satire, but also gives us a history of the genre in Antiquity. This provides a cultural and traditional context within which the work can be read and enables it to enter into dialogue with its literary precedents and successors.

> *nuptiis* is a parody of itself, constantly mocking and destabilizing the literary genres present in it.[11]

Most of these approaches don't offer a systematic and thorough study of the discursive genre, and therefore they are not able to assess the aims of the work properly. More than being a mere formal tag, the concept of Genre should be considered functional and intimately related to the nature and purpose of the text (any text). *De nuptiis* is an example of this: if we are to consider that the work is a vehicle for friendly didacticism, it is necessary for modern criticism to postulate a mixture of Menippean satire and encyclopedia for which there are no known precedents in Ancient literature. Moreover, the expositions of the Arts are interrupted or, in some cases, left unfinished through the dismissal of an impatient host. Setting aside the practical use that readers of the Middle Ages might have made of the work, one can legitimately ask what the functional value of such an artifact could have been to Martianus' contemporaries. Although Relihan's approach goes far in stressing the importance of genre and its implications, I believe it is possible to go even further. In basic agreement with Cullhed's proposal, I will expand his view to include all forms of discourse, not only fictional discourse.

This exegetic movement that I propose is achieved by approaching the work from the standpoint of its literary genre, and its literary genre in turn from a functional perspective. Working in this way, at least three problems related to the interpretation of *De nuptiis* can be resolved:

> – the supposed *didacticism* of the work, which functions as an a priori notion, into agreement with which reading of the work and its generic adscription have been forced;

11 In a more general way, Rollo 2011 also mentions the issue of language in Martianus, although he elaborates little on the subject. The very recent work of Hernández Lobato 2017 speaks of a "poetic" of Late Antiquity, taking discourse and silence into account as significative elements. Although this compilation includes no study of Martianus Capella's work, the perspective it offers has characteristics similar to mine.

– the work's *fragmentary nature,* given that those who recognize the existence in it of parody, self-directed irony on the part of the narrator, and fictional elements, limit these to the first two books, placing the other seven in the separate category of "scientific knowledge";
– and finally, the resulting *disconnection* between the two parts of the work referred to just above.

Conceiving of *De nuptiis* as a Menippean satire implies the application of a prevailing critical agenda of parody, against which the didactic element can only be undermined, making the work a profoundly *anti-didactic* one. In addition, parody works as a *unifier* and *connector* of both sections. *De nuptiis* not only contains parody; it *is* a parody.

This being said, it must be recognized that, due to parody's ambiguous and elusive nature, any study of it requires the use of precise theoretical instruments. The phenomenon of parody is one that is easy to recognize if looked for, but apparently imperceptible if we refuse to recognize it – although such refusal can lead to problems of reading that are difficult to resolve – and difficult to establish and analyze systematically, even when we are convinced of its presence. For this reason, I apply the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), taken by the Sydney School from the Bakhtinian perspective. This provides concrete elements of discursive analysis for the purpose of approaching the study of parody.[12] According to this line of thinking, although the *prosimetrum* is traditionally the central feature from which Menippean satire is recognized, its formal nature makes it a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition. Many works alternate prose and verse, but not all of them are Menippean satires; it is necessary to perceive what function verse serves in order to activate one or another key of generic reading. Also, in SFL, the *social purpose* of a text is what determines its literary genre. For example, although we can find a certain systematization of knowledge in *De nuptiis,* it is not a didactic work if its social purpose is not that of instruction. If it is rather to unbalance or attack common cultural spaces by means of parody, then this feature – added, in context, to others that lead in the same direction – points to the destabilizing and critical genre

12 On SFL, see Eggins & Martin 2003; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Halliday 1989; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin & Rose 2007.

of Menippean satire. In this case we can then, as medieval scholars did, read the work in order to know (perhaps) what the rhetoric was about, but doing so does not mean that the social purpose of the work is necessarily that of a manual on Rhetoric. This does not hold up when we study the work as a whole or when we consider didacticism as a discursive phenomenon textualized through specific strategies recognizable by author and reader.

Added to this, the SFL concept of *contextual metaphor* is very enlightening with regards to detecting the presence of parodic register, and it helps explain the phenomenon of generic displacement that often arises in interpretations of polyphonic and heterogeneous works like *De nuptiis.* According to this idea, a genre can activate certain features that set the stage attributable to a determined genre; yet at the same time it can reverse this impression and frustrate the reader's expectations by bringing out features that resignify the generic adscription and, consequentially, the interpretation of the work. In the case of Martianus, perception of the parodic register resignifies this set stage and, at the same time, the discursive genre of the work, which goes from being a didactic manual to a Menippean satire. This rapprochement not only allows for an important flexibility in the study of literary genre, but also explains the confusion and imprecision with regards to the generic adscription of the *De nuptiis*, since didactic elements are indeed present in the work, but only insofar as to function as objects of parody and subversion.

Let's accept, then, that *De nuptiis* is a parody. But a parody of what? As we know, there is no such thing as harmless parody; there is always in its scope a set of values intended to subvert. The narrative situation of the epithalamium is parodied, the knowledges and their function as guides for the spiritual ascent are parodied, the *magister-discipulus* relationship is parodied, as well as its projections and possibilities. But most especially – and in a mustering up of all of these things – discourse is parodied: its possibilities as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge, its communicative possibilities, its capability for being a path to the truth, and finally, its function as a mediator between the human and the divine – in other words, all that is promised in the title through the image of nuptials, which end up never taking place. *De nuptiis* is, therefore, a liter-

ary text of which parody is a constitutive feature rather than a mere resource. The use of parody here is not only to criticize bookishness and learned knowledge, but to question the universe of discourse – even that very part of it of which the work is an example. Therefore, what is at issue here is the non-transcendent nature of verbal communication, both among human beings and between human beings and the divine.

2. PARODY, DISCOURSE, AND THE EMERGENCE OF SILENCE

So the moment has arrived to show how, by means of discursive analysis, the deep meaning of the work is revealed. Of course, within the scope of this article only a few representative examples can be treated: one which places in evidence the self-directed irony of the narrator, another related to the parodic presentation of the Liberal Arts, and finally a passage in which we can observe the withdrawal of parody and the appearance of silence as a category in opposition to that of the besieged discourse.[13]

De nuptiis begins with a hymn dedicated to Hymen (symbol of the cosmic union of the elements), full of Platonic (Porphyrian) allusions and even a trace of Lucretius:[14]

Tu quem psallentem thalamis, quem matre Camena
progenitum perhibent, copula sacra deum,
semina qui arcanis stringens pugillantia[15] vinclis
complexuque sacro dissona nexa foves,
namque elementa ligas vicibus mundumque maritas
atque auram mentis corporibus socias,

13 For an exhaustive study of Martianus Capella from this same perspective, cf. Cardigni, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii o la farsa del discurso. Una lectura literaria de Marciano Capela,* Editorial de Publicaciones de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires (pending publication 2018).

14 On the philosophical content of this verse prologue, cf. Schievenin 2007-2008; LeMoine 1972; Ramelli 2001.

15 Dick's *pugnantia* instead of *pugillantia* results in no change of meaning in the translation. Neither do the subtle changes in punctuation observed in the two Latin texts.

foedere complacito sub quo natura iugatur,
Sexus concilians et sub amore fidem;
o Hymenaee decens, Cypridis quae maxima cura es
(hinc tibi nam flagrans ore Cupido micat),
seu tibi quod Bacchus pater est placuisse choreas,
cantare ad thalamos seu genetricis habes,
comere vernificis florentia limina sertis
ceu consanguineo Gratia trina dedit:
conubium divum componens Calliopea
carminis auspicio te probat annuere.[16]

Following this hymn, and in strong contrast to it, is a prose prologue (1.1-2):

Dum crebrius istos Hymenae versiculos nescioquid inopinum intactumque moliens cano, respersum capillis albicantibus verticem incrementisque lustralibus decuriatum nugulas ineptas aggarrire non perferens Martianus intervenit dicens 'quid istud, mi pater, quod nondum vulgata materia cantare deproperas et ritu nictantis antistitis, priusquam fores aditumque reseraris, ὑμνολογεῖς? Quin

16 Since I wouldn't dare attempt a translation to English – a language not my own – I will use Stahl's translation for Martianus' text (1977). However, since Willis' edition (on which most modern editions and translations are based) had not been published yet, Stahl used Dick's edition (1925). I am following Willis' text, which has become canonical. Therefore, I will note any resulting differences of words or phrases and provide my own translation for these only when the differences are meaningful. With this in mind, here is Stahl's translation: "Sacred principle of unity amongst the gods, on you I call; you are said to grace weddings with your song; it is said that a Muse was your mother. You bind the warring seeds of the world with secret bonds and encourage the union of opposites by your sacred embrace. You cause the elements to interact reciprocally, you make the world fertile; through you, Mind is breathed into bodies by a union of concord which rules over Nature, as you bring harmony between the sexes and foster loyalty by love. Fair Hymen, you are the main object of the Cyprian's care. Desire, inflamed by Venus, glows on your face. Perhaps because you sing at weddings, which are the province of your mother; or perhaps because the three Graces granted you, their kinsman, the task of garlanding the thresholds blooming with spring flowers—for some such reason, Calliope is glad to have you bless the beginning of her poem concerning the wedding of a god."

> potius edoce quid apportes, et quorsum praedicta sonuerint revelato.' 'Ne tu' inquam 'desipis admodumque perspicui operis ἐγέρσιμον <non> noscens creperum sapis, nec liquet Hymenaeo praeliberante disposita nuptias resultare. si vero concepta cuius scaturriginis vena profluxerint properus scrutator inquiris, fabellam tibi, quam Satura comminiscens hiemali pervigilio marcescentes mecum lucernas edocuit, ni prolixitas perculerit, explicabo.[17]

A preliminary analysis of this twofold prologue shows that the text constructs the figure of the poet/narrator through three different concepts ("union," "elements of the world" and "Hymeneaus") constituted by synonyms and combined by collocation:[18] The first, alluding to the idea of "union," joins together: *copula*; *thalamis*; *conubium* and is reinforced by a list of verbal processes (*foves*; *socias*; *ligas*; *maritas*), united by a synonymic relationship of this last term (*maritas* with *conubium*). The second chain reunites the "elements of the world," expressed with the terms *mundum*, *elementa*, and *corporibus.* The third chain links the previous ones, and is determined by *tu*, later specified to refer to *Hymenaeus,* the subject of the

17 "While I was repeatedly reciting these verses of Hymen and pondering some original composition unimagined hitherto, Martianus interrupted me. He could not abide that a grey-haired man living in retirement because of his advance years should chatter stilly trifles, and he said: 'Father, why is it that you are in a hurry to recite before revealing your subject, and, like a sleepy priest, you chant a hymn before you open the entry and the portals? Tell us, rather, the burden and the meaning of your utterance.' I said to him: 'Surely you are joking; you do not recognize like the dawn the opening passage of the work you see me reciting? Since the poem is addressed to Hymen, is it not clear that my theme is a marriage? If, however, your question is serious, when you ask from what source my ideas have flowed, I shall unfold to you a story which Satire invented in the long winter nights and taught me by the dimming lamplight – that is, unless its length discourages you.'"

18 For purposes of this work, and in accordance with SFL, I understand "collocation" to mean the cohesive semantic relationship by which a term's use is *expected* according to the semantic field established by the use of a previous term. For example, if we find a text named *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, it is likely that we will find vocabulary related to the subject, such as "bride", "groom", "union", etc. We *expect* this, and the text either fulfills or frustrates our expectations, with consequences for the reading. Essentially, collocation works to create cohesion, linking thematic chains and terms.

whole invocation, and on which depends every other specification expressed by the relative clauses *(quem psallentem thalamis; quem matre Camena progenitum perhibent; qui complexuque sacro dissona nexa foves).*

These chains are crossed by another transverse chain, related to the process of singing and poetry (*cantare*; *psallentem*; *carminis*). This is thematically related to the "union" chain, since both are verbal processes directed to Hymen, the poetry serving as a means of propitiation. As we will see below, this makes Martianus the poet appear as analogous to Hymen.

Chain 1a "union"	Chain 1b "union" (verbal processes)	Chain 2 "elements of the world"	Chain 3 "conciliating agent"
copula *thalamis* *connubium*	*maritas* *cocias* *ligas* *foves* *cantare* *psallentem* *carminis*	*mundum* *elementa* *corporibus*	*tu* *Hymenaeus*

So in the second paragraph, the discursive verbal processes (mainly ὑμνολογεῖς) link the figure of Martianus – both as poet and narrator – with the first paragraph, in which he sang a hymn; but they also make him an equivalent of Hymen. At the level of poetic creation, Martianus is trying to harmonize the elements shown by the cosmic *harmonia* at the beginning. The path will be his literary work, and this is represented by a chain about its characteristics: *istos versiculos* (the deictic shows the extradiegetic level in which this paragraph takes place); *nescioquid inopinum intactumque*; *nugulas ineptas*; *fabella.* The announcement of "something never said or treated before" sounds promising and leads us to expect some kind of revelation. The creator of this narration is Martianus himself, referred to as *mi pater respersum capillis albicantibus verticem incrementisque lustralibus decuriatum*, and the first person of verbal processes (or the second, when Martianus Junior is speaking): *cano*, *deproperas*, *edoce*, *explicabo*. This chain is also linked by collocation to the term *Satura*,

inspiration of the work, and prosopopeia of the literary genre of *De nuptiis*. Both narrators, Satura and Martianus, are joined together by one of the few reiterations of the paragraph: the verb *edoceo*, predicated about both: *edoce/edocuit.* This comparison locates them in the hierarchic place of *magistri*, necessary in order to create a didactic instance, establishing a game of parallels: Satura teaches Martianus, and Martianus teaches his son. And so with the definition of the figure of the *discipulus,* the setting of the didactic stage is completed.

Hymen	*Cantare*	*Thalamos*
(Martianus)	*cantare*	*istos versiculos/fabella/ nugulas/*ἐγέρσιμον

Another chain mediates between narrator and listener, articulated through the axes of light and dark – very frequent metaphors in didactic literature – summing up the didactic project that this section is attempting to present. So we find *sapis/desipis*; *liquet revelato/creperum*; *nictantis/*ἐγέρσιμον:[19] some things are dark for Martianus Junior though clear for Martianus *pater* because of the revelation of the *fabella* inspired by Satura, which he will immediately reproduce. The word *creperum* can at first be seen as referring only to the initial hymn, the "obscure" thing Martianus Junior does not understand. But, in a metaphorical operation, the adjective can also be extended to wider and more abstract subjects, such as classical mythology or literature, or even classical culture. The whole of *De nuptiis* thereby becomes this revelation (ἐγέρσιμον), dedicated to clarifying these obscurities, and Martianus' task takes on major importance. Moreover, the work will create the necessary stimulus to "awaken" the reader to this intended cultural revelation, since, like Martianus Junior, he seems to be a bit lethargic.[20]

19 This chain establishes its relationship with the previous one by collocation, and not by synonyms, as the rest of the terms do. It is the analogy "to see/to awaken" that establishes the link.

20 On the meaning of ἐγέρσιμον in Martianus' work, cf. Schievenin 2007-2008; Suárez Martínez 2011. In this passage, we prefer the translation related to "beginning," which is more accepted and useful in terms of following the meaning of the text. However, the term also alludes to some "awakening effect," mainly in relation to

Chain 1 "literary work-Revelation"	Chain 2 "magister-narrator"	Chain 3 "discursive processes"	Chain 4 "light/darkness"
istos versiculos *nescioquid inopinum intactumque* *nugulas ineptas* *fabella* ἐγέρσιμον	*mi pater* *respersum capillis albicantibus verticem incrementisque lustralibus decuriatum* *nictantis antistitis Satura*	*edoce* *explicabo* *edocuit* ὑμνολογεῖς	*sapis* *desipis* *liquet* *creperum* *revelato* *nictantis* ἐγέρσιμον

Thus, opposites will be reconciled through singing and poetry, both represented by *De nuptiis.* Likewise, the objective of the *fabella* will be to illuminate the darkness, making participation in universal harmony possible. The literary work is the illumination, the revelation, the awakening (ἐγέρσιμον) to cosmic reality. Therefore, Martianus' narration is not only a *fabella* about the marriage of Mercury and Philology or about the union of discourse and knowledge:[21] it also embodies the possibility of union between the earthly and the divine. Nevertheless, this bonding entity is also discursive, as we can make out from the processes analyzed in the prologue (all verbs there are related to precise discursive operations),

nictantis, and in this context also means "open the eyes," thus indirectly referring to light. Martianus uses the term again (9.911), in the book dedicated to Harmony, to describe her performance.

21 This is one of the possible allegorical interpretations of the bride and the groom. Other readings suggest they represent the union of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, or the rational part of the soul (Philology) and the divine (Mercury). The complex system of allegories in Martianus includes the assignation of many allegorical referents to a single image, and, inversely, the presence of many images symbolizing only one referent. Thus, unless interpretations are in contradiction, we should not be forced to decide on one over the others, but we should accept that they are at work simultaneously. In any case, Mercury and Philology can represent the divine and the human, and the marriage is the possibility of their conjoining, via the ascent of Philology. On allegory in Martianus' work, cf. Gersh 1986; Shanzer 1986; Ramelli 2001.

and from the result of these processes itself, which is *De nuptiis*. Therefore, the general literary subject of the work is discourse itself and its ability to achieve illumination and conciliation.

Nevertheless, the tone of the second paragraph works against this solemnity, and especially against the image of Martianus as a revealed *vates*. The frame in which the didactical aims are presented becomes a little confusing to the reader, because of the irreverent and sometimes humorous tone, which delineates – even in this early stage of the work – an untrustworthy narrator, and a doubtful didactic scenario. This presentation recovers its parodic sense if we observe the strong existing reminiscences of *Asclepius,* a hermetic treatise widely known in Martianus' times. As we have already noticed, in the second paragraph Martianus is described as a priest who is about to share some revelation. Likewise, at the beginning of the *Asclepius*, Hermes says to Asclepius:

> deus, deus te nobis, o Asclepi, ut divino **sermoni** interesses, adduxit, eoque tali, qui merito omnium antea a nobis factorum vel nobis divino numine inspiratorum videatur esse religiosa pietate divinior. quem si intellegens videris, eris omnium bonorum tota mente plenissimus, si tamen multa sunt bona et non unum, in quo sunt omnia. alterum enim alterius consentaneum esse dinoscitur, omnia unius esse aut unum esse omnia; ita enim sibi est utrumque conexum, ut separari alterum ab utro non possit. sed de futuro **sermone** hoc diligenti intentione cognosces. tu vero, o Asclepi, procede paululum Tatque, nobis qui intersit, evoca. (...) **Hammone etiam adytum ingresso** sanctoque illo quattuor virorum religione et divina dei completo praesentia, competenti venerabiliter silentio ex ore Hermu animis singulorum mentibusque pendentibus, divinus Cupido sic est orsus dicere:[22]

22 The Latin text of the *Asclepius* is from Moreschini's edition 1991, and the translation to English is by Copenhaver 1992, who follows Nock's text 1960. Though the Latin texts are different in each case, the few differences in this passage are not relevant here. "'God, Asclepius, god has brought you to us so that you might join in a divine discourse, such a discourse as, in justice, seems more divine in its reverent fidelity than any we have had before, more than any that divine power inspired in us. If you are seen to understand it, your whole mind will be completely full of all good things – assuming that there are many goods and not one good in which all are. Admittedly, the one is consistent with the other: all are of one or all are one, for they are linked

Leaving aside obvious differences of scene and characters, the situations are analogous. There is an authority figure who will declare a revealing discourse on Truth, there are receptors – respectful and serious in this case – and we also have the figure of a Temple (in *Asclepius*, real; metaphoric, in *De nuptiis)*. Martianus is the parodic other side of the coin of this solemn and sacred beginning; the humorous comparison of his son points to this direction through lexical affinity: *ritu nictantis antistitis, priusquam fores aditumque reseraris* (*De nuptiis* 1); *Hammone etiam adytum ingresso sanctoque* (*Asclepius*). Both texts also share the dialogic form, the use of discursive verbs, and the future tenses (*explicabo*, *eris*, announcing some kind of transformation in the audience after listening to this revealing discourse), and the secret character of what is about to be revealed. Moreover, Martianus says to his son *operis ἐγέρσιμον <non> noscens creperum sapis*, while Hermes notices *quem si intellegens videris, eris omnium bonorum tota mente plenissimus*. There is, thus, an asymmetry traced by the axis of knowing / not knowing, which situates Hermes and Martianus as *magistri*, and their audience as *discipuli*. In this passage of *Asclepius* we also find a strong confidence in discourse (*sermo*) as a revealing agent, which Martianus seems to take up through parodic transformation only to discredit it (*istos versiculos*, *nescioquid inopinum intactumque*, *nugulas*, *fabella*).[23]

so that one cannot be separated from the other. But you will learn this by careful concentration from the discourse to come. Now go out for a moment, Asclepius, and call Tat to join us.' (...) When Hammon had also come into the sanctuary, the reverence of the four men and the divine presence of god filled that holy place; duly silent, the minds and thoughts of each of them waited respectfully for a word from Hermes, and then divine love began to speak."

23 At this point, we should remember that the *Asclepius* is the only text in the *Corpus Hermeticum* written in Latin, a translation of the lost Greek text *The perfect discourse of Hermes Trismegistus.* Throughout the work, the idea of discourse as a transforming force of initiation is demonstrated. In *De nuptiis,* Mercury is called *sermo* by Jupiter (1.92-94), but unlike Hermes, his character is somewhat weak and limited, showing no will or power of decision. This can be seen clearly in Book 1, which can be easily compared with a Plautinian comedy, with Mercury as an *adulescens amans* looking for a wife, all but forced into this by his mother and helped by his brother (Apollo). For an analysis of Mercury´s character, cf. Cardigni 2016.

On the other hand, the mild warnings of Hermes to Asclepius throughout the dialogue find a more vehement echo in the exchanges between Martianus and his son. In paragraph 2 of *Asclepius*, Asclepius speaks for the first time and asks his teacher after the introduction: *Non enim, o Trismegiste, omnis unius qualitatis est anima? O Asclepi, ut celeriter de vera rationis continentia decidisti!* ("'Is it not true, Trismegistus, that every soul is of the same quality?' 'Asclepius, how quickly you have lapsed from reason's true restraint!'"). Let us remember, in contrast, Martianus junior's question *('quid istud, pater?'),* and, in the same tone and register, his father's response: *'Ne tu' inquam 'desipis admodumque perspicui operis ἐγέρσιμον <non> noscens creperum sapis, nec liquet Hymenaeo praeliberante disposita nuptias resultare.'*

Therefore, on the hypotext of a hermetic discourse, Martianus constructs himself as a religious authority to declare his discourse, but the irreverent and humoristic context in which these references from *Asclepius* are actualized is completely inadequate for a hermetic revelation (or any other kind of revelation). The effort that Martianus is nevertheless willing to take in order to convince us is touching, but its efficacy is compromised from the very beginning. The work becomes less a revelation than a discursive misunderstanding.[24]

The perception of parodic register at this initial and programmatic point in the text is fundamental, since it is upon this extradiegetic structure that the remainder of the work will unfold (the *fabella*), establishing the breakdown of *auctoritas* and confidence in the narrator. This reading

24 We can also add to this reading the parody of the father-son literature, and recall an example that is similar: that of Macrobius. Two of his works are addressed to his son in the hope of educating him. At the beginning of the first of these, the *Commentarii*, he addresses Eustatius on two occasions, at the beginning of each book: *Eustathi fili, vitae mihi dulcedo pariter et Gloria* (1.1) and *Eustathi, luce mihi dilectior fili* (2.1.1). The second such address takes place in the Preface of *Saturnalia,* where Macrobius explains to his son his pedagogical intent: *Multas variasque res in hac vita nobis, Eustachi fili, natura conciliavit: sed nulla nos magis quam eorum qui e nobis essent procreati caritate devinxit, eamque nostram in his educandis atque erudiendis curam esse voluit, ut parentes neque, si id quod cuperent ex sententia cederet, tantum ulla alia ex re voluptatis, neque, si contra eveniret, tantum maeroris capere possent.* On father-son dedications in Roman literature, see also LeMoine 1991.

key establishes the dominance of the parodic register, as well as the subversion of the content presented.

As a consequence, in the Epilogue we face the final result of this long literary process (9.997-1000):[25]

> Habes anilem, Martiane, fabulam,
> miscillo lusit quam lucernis flamine
> Satura. Pelasgos dum docere nititur
> artes †cagris vix amicas Atticis.[26]
> sic in novena decidit volumina;
> haec quippe loquax docta doctis aggerans
> fandis tacenda farcinat, immiscuit
> Musas deosque, disciplinas cyclicas
> garrire agresti cruda finxit plasmate.
> haec ipsa namque rupta conscientia
> turgensque felle ac bili, 'multa chlamyde
> prodire doctis approbanda cultibus
> possemque comis utque e Martis curia;
> Felicis' inquit 'sed Capellae flamine,
> indocta rabidum quem videre saecula
> iurgis caninos blateratus pendere
> proconsulari verba dantem culmini
> †ipsoque dudum bobinatore flosculo
> decertum fulquem iam canescenti rota,†
> beata alumnum urbs Elissae quem videt[27]

25 Relihan 1987 has read this Epilogue in a metaliterary way, finding here the statement of the literary genre of Menippean Satire. We can certainly find all of its elements: the mixture, the parody, the dog barking (which links it to the genre's cynical origin), the split of the authorial voice. On the cynical elements in Menippean Satire see also McLuhan 2015.

26 This is a very corrupt passage, in which Dick conjectures *artes cathedris uix amias Atticis*. However, in his translation, Stahl's seems to be following Willis. (Indeed, he warns about the fact that he is taking Willis's notes of his forthcoming edition into account as he writes his book) and translates *cagris* as "flesh-hooks," which I accept.

27 Since this passage is extremely corrupt, and Ramelli's text differs from Dick's, I reproduce here Dick's text, since Stahl's translation is based on it: *Felicis' inquit 'sed Capellae flemine / indocta rabidum quem uidere saecula / iurgis caninos blateratus pendere, /*

iugariorum murcidam viciniam
parvo obsidentem vixque respersum lucro,
nictante cura somnolentum lucibus –
ab hoc creatum Pegaseum gurgitem
decente quando possem haurire poculo?'
testem ergo nostrum quae veternum prodidit
secute nugis, nate, ignosce lectitans.[28]

The subjects announced in the Prologue related to "literary work" are here developed, with some repetitions and some novelties; *anilem fabulam*; *miscillo*; *artes amicas Atticis*; *in novena volumina*; *fandis tacenda*; *Musas deosque*; *disciplinas cyclicas*; and finally, once again *nugis*, which takes up by synonym *nugulas* from 1.1. The novelty here is the mention of the disciplinary content of the work, which is absent in the Prologue and until the end of Book 2. It is still a *fabula*, and still *nugae,* though now the term adds an ironic meaning aside from that of the initial and topical modesty. But the pretended conciliation has now turned into a mixture (*lusit*, *immiscuit*), and the didactic purpose into a simple attempt (*docere nititur*).

proconsulari uero dantem culmini / ipsoque dudum bombinat ore flosculo / decerptum falce iam canescenti rota, / beata alumnum urbs Elissae quem uidit.

28 "And there, Martianus, you have an old man's tale, a mélange sportively composed by Satire under lamplight as she strove with difficulty to teach the Pelasgian arts dear to Attic fleshhooks. The work is complete in nine books. Our garrulous Satire has heaped learned doctrines upon doctrines, and crammed sacred matters into secular; she has commingled gods and the Muses, and has had uncouth figures prating in a rustic fiction about the encyclopedic arts. Herself distressed by awareness of the triviality of her composition, and swollen with gall and bile, she said: 'I could have come forth in a grand robe, to be admired for my learning and refinement, decorous in appearance, as if just coming from the court of Mars. Instead, I have been inspired by Felix Capella –whom ignorant generations have observed ranting as he passed judgment on barking dogs, giving to the high office of proconsul a bumble bee long separated from his blossoms by the sickle, and in his declining years; a man whom the prosperous city of Elissa has seen as a fosterling settled in a neighborhood of slothful herdsmen, barely managing on a small income, drowsy by day and blinking his eyes with effort – when I could fittingly quaff the Pegasean draught.' And so, my son, in accordance with the testimony of an old man, show indulgence, as you read, for the trifles which he has produced."

Likewise, the meta-literary Catullian resonances from the term *nugae*, both in the Prologue and the Epilogue, confront us with Martianus' irony, who clearly frustrates the reader's expectations on the work.[29] Moreover, the work is a total failure according to what both its narrators say about it, but this is no big surprise for us since the parodic tone at the beginning is a strong caveat of what we are about to read.

The "narrator" chain, incarnated by Martianus and Satura, has now two defined agents: Martianus attributes the narration to Satura, and she – with obvious criticism – to him. After splitting the narrative *auctoritas* between Martianus and Satura in a very confusing way – since at the beginning, Satura seemed just the inspiration of the work – the text shows both as ridiculous. Satura compares Martianus to a rabid dog – a recurrent image in *De nuptiis* – while she leaves furious and completes her attack taking up the image of somnolence established by Martianus junior in the Prologue. Light, which had a main function in the initial chains, is now reduced just to one occurrence *nictante lucibus* and absorbed by its antonymic chain of "darkness".

It is evident that the "awakening" effect that the work was looking for has not been achieved. Martianus himself accepts his defeat, and his last words ask for forgiveness: *secute nugis, nate, ignosce lectitans*.[30] Whatever the result of this accidental process of literary creation may be, it certainly has not fulfilled the mission of mediating between the human and the divine, and being thus an ascending path to transcendence: no one

29 One of the levels at which the parodic register operates in a more constant way is that of discursive genres. In this case, the parody is on Catullian *nugae*, since it is difficult to imagine something more contrary to them than *De nuptiis*. On other occasions, Martianus reconfigures other discursive genres in a context in which they look ridiculous, such as Epics in the introduction of book 6, full of Virgilian resonances, in order to introduce Rhetoric.

30 Likewise, the lines noticed in the Prologues and the Epilogue run through the rest of the work, intentionally interrupting and framing the expositions of the Liberal Arts. In fact, we have three more interchanges between Martianus and Satura (3.221-22; 6.575-77; 8.806). In all of them, the category of literary work proposed in the Prologue is discussed and the figure of the narrator is attacked and ridiculed because of his inadequacy. These arguments vary in their tone and character; however. Though they start as a kind dialogue in which Satura orientates her pupil, they soon turn into criticism and reproach. We have already seen how the relationship ends.

has learned anything, there has been no union (as there has been no marriage) and after all is said and done, we are left with a discourse that goes nowhere. So the result of parody is the failure of the work as a didactic text. On the other hand, *De nuptiis* makes a perfect Menippean satire precisely because of the presence of parody.

Now let's see what happens with the parodic register in the case of the presentation of the Liberal Arts, which is considered a "serious" section, and which has a decidedly different tone. When Arithmetic is about to begin her exposition (7.725), the topic of boredom (*taedium,* installed by Martianus junior in 1.2) continues. It has been present all along the Arts expositions, but is now reinforced by inadequacy, since it is Voluptas who is complaining, someone much more fitting to preside over a wedding celebration. This impatience reaches its climax before Arithmetic is introduced, when Voluptas again declares the inadequacy of the Arts' speeches, and explicitly suggests that they are delaying the wedding in a dangerous way (7.725):

> (...) tunc rursus dia Voluptas
> ipsius aetheria Cylleni immurmurat aure:
> 'cum doctas superis admirandasque puellas
> approbat Armipotens, tu optati lentus amoris
> gaudia longa trahis captumque eludis honorem?
> seria marcentem stupidant commenta maritum?
> talia complacita spectat fastidia virgo,
> nec te cura tori, nec te puer ambit herilis,
> nec mea mella rapis? quaenam haec hymeneia lex est?
> in Veneris sacro Pallas sibi vindicat usum;
> quam melius thalamo dulcis Petulantia fervet!
> casta maritalem reprimit Tritonia mentem
> et nuptae non aequa venit; poscenda Dione est,
> conveniensque tibi potius celebrare Priapum.'[31]

31 "Thereupon, heavenly Pleasure once again whispered in the Cyllenian's [Mercury's] ethereal ear: 'While these erudite bridesmaids are impressing the celestial company, and winning the approval of Pallas Athene, will you in your languorous mood put off the pleasures of love you yearned for, and let the prize slip from you when it is in your grasp? Do serious discourses dull the senses of a listless groom? The attractive

There are clearly two opposing chains here. One we can call *Hymeneia lex*: *Voluptas, maritum*; *cura tori*; *mea melle*; *hymeneia lex*; *thalamo*; *nuptiae*; *Dione*; *Priapus*. The other, headed by Pallas *(Pallas*; *doctas superis admirandasque puellas),* is explicitly opposed to the realization of marriage (*Casta maritalem reprimit Tritonia mentem*). Both chains join in the climax of Voluptas' speech – *In veneris sacro Pallas sibi vindicat usum* – a clause that very well defines the spirit of this entire erudite section, and the accompanying feeling of inadequacy. In the midst of it all sits Philology – *Talia complacita spectat fastidia virgo* – silent and observing, a secondary character at her own wedding.

Furthermore, in the same line, the final allusion to the necessity of invoking Priapus brings to light another movement of the text, one centered on "carnalizing" the supposedly spiritual matrimony of Philology and Mercury and reducing it to its sexual aspect. Thus, the final opposition is really between discourse and sex in an anti-allegorical movement that diminishes the value of the matrimony, limiting it to its corporal aspect. So by means of this contrast, the discourses come to represent the *inadequate,* since not only are they boring and useless in the context at hand, but also pose a serious obstacle to the wedding actually taking place.

And the finally we see how, in contrast to inadequate discourse, silence arises: a space in opposition. The most obvious indication of silence's privileged position within the universe of *De nuptiis* is in Philology's last prayer during her ascent to the heavens. Unlike those we have seen, this is a serious, introspective passage from which parody is absent. Philology has already prayed twice, to Juno and to Sol, but this third prayer is different. At the end of her ascent, the bride kneels and prays *in silence* (2.200-8):

> maiden observes your indifferent manner. Have you no thought for the nuptial couch; does Venus's son Cupid not entice you; will you not seize my pleasures? Are these the rules of Hymen? Pallas is usurping a rite that belongs to Venus. Far more appropriate for sweet Wantonness to glow in the marriage chamber! The celibate Tritonian [Minerva] depresses the nuptial spirits; she comes to a marriage ill-disposed to the bride. Call for Dione! Far better for you to pay homage to Priapus!'"

> iuxta ipsum extimi ambitus murum annixa genibus ac tota mentis acie coartata, diu silentio deprecatur, veterumque ritu vocabula quaedam voce mentis inclamans secundum dissonas nationes, numeris varia, sono ignota, iugatis alternatisque litteris inspirata, veneraturque verbis intellectualis mundi praesules deos eorumque ministros sensibilis sphaerae potestatibus venerandos, universumque totum infinibilis patris profundidtate coercitum, poscitque quosdam tres deos aliosque diei noctisque septimo radiatos. quandam etiam fontanam virginem deprecatur, secundum Platonis quoque mysteria ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς ἐπέκεινα potestates. Hic diutissime florem ignis atque illam existentem ex non existentibus veritatem toto pectore deprecata, tum visa se cernere apotheosin sacraque meruisse. quippe quidam candores lactei fluminis tractim stellis efflamantibus defluebant.[32]

There are two main chains in the first section (from the beginning to *torqueri*) consisting of movement verbs and contemplation verbs. The

32 "Philology herself leaped down from the palanquin, and saw enormous fields of light, the springtime of heavenly peace; she discerned at one moment the many varied aspects of the decan gods, at another moment she wondered at the eighty-four attendants standing by the heavens; she beheld the very sphere which contains the outermost periphery, driven on at astonishing speed, and the poles, and the quivering axis which from the highest point of heaven pierces the depth of earth and itself makes the whole mass and fabric of heaven revolve; she was aware that the god who was the father of such a work and so great a system had withdrawn even from the very acquaintance of the gods, for she knew that he had passed beyond the felicity that is itself beyond this world, and he rejoiced in an empyrean realm of pure understanding. On her knees, beside the wall of the outer periphery, concentrating the whole attention of her mind, she prayed long in silence, and according to ancient ritual, uttered certain words with her inner voice, words varying in number according to the practice of different peoples, words of unknown sound, made up of alternating combinations of letters. In these words she paid reverence to the presiding deities of the world of pure understanding, and to their ministers, to whom the powers of the sensible world owe veneration, and to the entire universe contained by the depth of the infinite Father; then she invoked those certain three gods and the others who shine on the seventh day and night. She prayed also, according to the mysteries of Plato, to those powers Once and Twice *hapax kai dis epekeina,* to the Maiden of the Source."

first chain (*desiliens*; *coercet*; *raptibus incitatam*; *vibratum*; *transmeare*; *coercitum*; as well as *defluebant* at the end of the paragraph) predominates in the first section and mainly describes the harmonic movement of the universe. The first action (*desiliens*) is the only one attributed to Philology who in this section is merely contemplating (*conspiceret*; *miraretur*; *videreat*). This verbal process correlates to some other nominal chains, related to "shine" (*luminis*; *fulgentes*) and "celestial bodies" (*siderum globos et circulorum*; *sphaeram*; *molem*; *stellis*). The entire description is full of words and expressions referring to the harmony and quiet of the scene, anticipating a silent atmosphere.[33]

In the second section (from *Tanti operis* to the paragraph's end), Philology is immersed in chains of knowing (*non nesciens*; *cognoverat*) and, most of all, worshipping and praying (*deprecatur*; *venerator*; *venerandos*; *deprecatur*; *poscit*; *deprecate*). She prays in silence (*silentio*; *vocis mente inclamans*), and to a series of deities she *knows* (*"non nesciens"*). Some of these belong to our world of the senses (*"praesules deos eorumque ministros"*; *"potestatibus"*) and others are superior to it, deities whom she knows are creators of what she is contemplating (*tres deos aliosque*; *fontanam virginem*; *potestates ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς ἐπέκεινα*).[34] These chains are analogous and synonymic, but operate in different ontological levels that the text establishes via two other chains: the universe, and a superior instance. In the first, that of the universe, we find *totam caeli molem* and *tanti operis tantaeque rationis,* and in the second that of the superior instance, we find, *extramundanas beatitudines*. From her place between them, Philology contemplates the lower instance, but is able to turn as well to transcendent space (*extimi ambitu murum*; *veritatem existentem ex non existentibus*). The Unknown Father, creator of the *machina universalis*, is above all, separated even from the gods, as Philology notes (*secessise ab ipsa notitia deorum*), *and encompasses everything* (*empyrio quodam intellectualique mundo gaudentem*).

33 Martianus does not even refer to the music of the spheres, as we may expect here, though he treatises it in Book 1. Perhaps the absence of the subject here is an attempt to emphasize silence.

34 The main philosophical source of this passage has been recognized as the Chaldaic oracles, but since Martianus speaks of *Platonis mysteria,* it is likely that his mention of it here is based on some Platonic source, possibly a Porphyrian commentary.

We also find a chain in which silence *("silentio")* predominates. This is articulated by many discursive terms, but all of these have been covered by the initial silence. They produce "*mentis voce,*" establishing a virtual parallel language that is unheard or unintelligible by humans, since it is non-discursive. Moreover, every term related to language is treated by means of an "estrangement" or "alienation," since the words are unknown and the sounds are mixed in various ways, the letters altered, the result being an unintelligible (non-discursive) language: *secundum dissonas nationes*; *ritu vocabula*; *numeris varia*; *sono ignota*; *iugatis alternatis litteratis inspirata.* At the end of the chain is *verbis*, working as a general term that involves all the previous elements.

With this action, Philology achieves the final goal: apotheosis, as the climax of the paragraph shows through its joining of many chains in one clause (movement, contemplation, transcendence): *tum visa se cernere apotheosin sacraque meruisse.* This is related synonymously to the previous *illam existentem ex non existentibus veritatem toto pectore deprecate*.

Philology

Movement	Contemplation	Knowledge	Prayer
desiliens *coercet* *raptibus incitatam vibratum* *transmeare* *coercitum* *defluebant*	*conspiceret* *miraretur* *videreat* *luminis* *fulgentes*	*non nesciens* *cognoverat*	*deprecatur veneratur venerandos deprecatur* *poscit* *deprecata*

Silence

silentio, vocis mente inclamans

=

Estrangement in Language

secundum dissona nationes, ritu vocabula, numeris varia, sono ignota, iugatis alternatis litteratis inspirata

Deities
World of the senses: *praesules deos eorumque ministros, potestatibus, totam caeli molem, tanti operis tantaeque rationis*
Superior world: *tres deos aliosque, fontanam virginem, potestates ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς ἐπέκεινα, extramundanas beatitudines*
Climax: Transcendence
tum visa se cernere apotheosin sacraque meruisse = illam existentem ex non existentibus veritatem toto pectore deprecata.

By means of the presentation of silence as a non-parodic instance, this part of the text seems to provide us with another key to reading. If the object of the attack is discourse, how can Martianus realize its opposite – silence – which is inexpressible? By placing the parodic register in retreat and leaving all joking aside with a moment of silence. In the face of union or the desire to attain knowledge, any discourse is inadequate, and we can only be silent.

So we see that as a dominant register – both when it controls and when its absence is significantly apparent – parody functions not only as a unifier but also as a provider of meaning, causing a coherent message to emerge from the work. The sections are neither separate nor disconnected; on the contrary, they are profoundly interconnected and derive their meaning from each other. Furthermore, the parodic reading key transforms the bizarre and unintelligible encyclopedia into a mocking Menippean satire, and all the problems of interpretation that arose from considering it a didactic work are resolved in a new Menippean universe. Martianus joins a tradition that he recognizes and with which he entertains a dialogue, and his social context is reconfigured as one of critique and mockery. The Liberal Arts and their discourses are not a means of didactic instruction, but rather the targets of parody, the product of the plume of a narrator who is misunderstood for his ineptitude. This parodic axis also allows us to detect the emergence of silence as a category that is just as relevant as that of discourse. Silence not only articulates the work's message more clearly; as we will see below, it situates Martianus within the Late Antique literary sphere.

3. MARTIANUS AND A "POETICS OF DISCOURSE" IN LATE ANTIQUITY

This point of view on discourse and on the silence that Martianus alludes to in *De nuptiis* is not out of keeping with the spirit of his time. The verbosity of the classical world appears to be questioned in Late Antiquity, through the constant problem posed by language and representation, giving way to what has been called "the poetic of silence" (Hernández Lobato 2017). Part of Late Antique reflection in Christian Rome, this phenomenon is the result of a series of inquiries that can be summed up as follows: Is it possible to say something? Is there any reason to continue writing in this context of the end of Antiquity? How is it possible to make discourse after discourse? Unlike certain other rhetorical concerns that had become popular in literary reflections of previous times, the problem now is not *what* to say or *when* to say it, but rather *whether* to say anything.[35]

Of course, the ineffable nature of truth was already an old and well-known problem in the tradition of Platonic philosophy. And discourse and all its fits and passions were the object of reflection by Christian authors as well, Augustine for instance, who concluded that silence was the only valid form of expression, since it represented the language of the heart (*Conf.* 9.10.23-24). Other writers of the period saw silence not only as an inevitable discursive category, but as something desirable, perhaps

35 In Platonic tradition, for example, "non-discursive" thought is always the preferred form as the path to union with the transcendent, since in theory, the truth cannot be comprehended through a discursive formulation. Basically, it is this distrust of discourse that led Neo-platonic thinkers to develop varied and precise strategies for reading, in order to adequately interpret the texts on which they based their reflections, texts whose truth was accepted as a given and considered a starting point. Within Christianity as well, thinkers who were near contemporaries of Martianus, such as Augustine, reflected on the silent instant of union with the divinity, which includes the explicit recognition that discourse is insufficient and to a certain extent futile and bothersome. As Cullhed 2015: 87 points out, Augustine rejects and dismisses fictitious discourse (and so all discourse, by its nature fictitious) that had played a polemical but dynamic role during Antiquity, at least from Homer and Hesiod onward.

because discourse is such a farce. Just decades later, in his work, Fulgentius the Mythographer (the first of Martianus Capella's immediate posterity to mention him and his work), reflected on silence as something to which all literary manifestation should aspire (*Myth.* 11.15-18): *Certos itaque nos rerum praestolamur effectus, quo sepulto mendacis Graeciae fabuloso commento quid misticum in his sapere debeat crebrum agnoscamus.*[36] The anonymous poet of the *Pervigilium Veneris* also makes reference to a concern for this notion of "discourse after discourse" (90-93), since he can only observe, distant and mute – like Philology[37] – the comings and goings of nature all about him, waiting for the arrival of a new and powerful voice with which to realize another type of love, of reality:

> Illa cantat, nos tacemus. Quando ver venit meum?
> Quando faciam uti chelidon, ut tacere desinam?
> Perdidi Musam tacendo nec me Phoebus respicit.
> Sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.[38]

Silence was one of the concerns of the era and directly affected the writing process, functioning paradoxically both as a constraint and as a stimulus for new forms of literary creation. It is no surprise then that Martianus places silence in a prominent position in his composition, though he doesn't appear to be as concerned with establishing the truth of silence as he is with underscoring the fictitious nature of discourse. His premise, then, would be more one of "a poetic of discourse," through which discourse, as the work's protagonist, is explored in all of its forms

36 "And so I seek the true essence of things; only when the fictitious invention of false Greece is buried in silence can we recognize what mystical things our understanding might find in them."

37 A significant difference can be noticed between both works, though, since in the *Pervigilium* the poet seems to be looking for a new voice to break the silence, unlike Martianus in *De nuptiis*. However, they are both concerned about silence, and the presence of this interest is my main point here, though of course it can be approached from different perspective in each case.

38 "She sings; we are silent. When shall my spring come? When shall I do as the swallow does and break my silence? In silence have I lost my Muse, and now even Apollo respects me not. Thus Amyclas, when no one spoke, was lost in silence." (The Latin text is Mandolfo's 2012, and the translation is mine).

and functions, observed to the point of becoming a category. The traditional consideration of *fabula-argumentum-historia* is thereby dismantled, and the falsity of all discursive formulations is established. They are, after all, but discourse. Silence, the positive pole in this system, does not appear to be so much a revelation of *inenarrabilitas*, as it is a proposal to rethink the relationship that discourse establishes with reality: that is, representation.

The function of parody in Martianus is to bring Classical Antiquity to a close, shutting off discourse and offering silence as a literary category. The question here is how to move forward, how to narrate silence, how to find a new voice for this new reality. By no means will we find the answer in a Menippean satire like *De nuptiis.* Martianus' *propositum* is rather to establish the critique and then back away with a joking gesture. No more can be asked of the work. Its purpose is to invite our reflection – whether it be solemn, nostalgic, indignant or amused— on the problem through which it makes itself a literary work and makes us readers at the same time: the problem of discourse.

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