INTRODUCTION

OCCIDE, VERBERA, VRE!
WHAT ABOUT VIOLENCE IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES?

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Seneca's words in the seventh epistle to his friend Lucilius are highly indicative of the role violence played in Roman society during the First Century of our era. The terms used by the Stoic philosopher refer to acts based on violent principles. Consequently, *occido* (kill), *uerbero* (wound or beat), *uro* (burn or destroy) are verbs that express violent acts and it is in this sense that Seneca uses them.

After referring to a recreational program, where he highlights fights in the arena between hunters and animals of prey, as well as professional gladiators, Seneca critically reflects on the mid-day entertainment, where the condemned, as well as the executioner — who in turn becomes victim in subsequent combats — face off in an enactment of justice, or affirmation of power that could not be questioned.[1] Seneca's text accurately illustrates what a Roman spectator would expect to see in the arena (*Ep.* 1.7.4-5).:

> In the morning they throw men to the lions and the bears; at noon, they throw them to the spectators. The spectators demand that the slayer shall face the man who is to slay him in his turn; and they always reserve the latest conqueror for another butchering. The outcome of

[1] About this issue, see e.g. N. S. Rodrigues, "*Quae fuerat fabula, poena fuit*. Mythology and Justice in the Roman Arena", *Culture. History and Theory of Ideas Magazine* 30, 2012, 125-140; M. C. C.-M. S. Pimentel, "The Games in Ancient Rome", *Diana* 3-4, 2002, 99-149; K. M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions staged as mythological enactments", *JRS* 80, 1990, 44-73; C. Vismara, *Il supplizio come spettacolo*, Roma, Edizioni Quasar, 1990; M. Clavel-Lévêque, "L'espace des jeux dans le monde romain: hégémonie, symbolique et pratique sociale", *ANRW* II.16.3, 1986, 2405-2563.

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> every fight is death, and the means are fire and sword. This sort of thing goes on while the arena is empty. You may retort: "But he was a highway robber; he killed a man!" And what of it? Granted that, as a murderer, he deserved this punishment, what crime have you committed, poor fellow, that you should deserve to sit and see this show? In the mourning they cried "Kill him! Lash him! Burn him! Why does he meet the sword in so cowardly a way? Why does he strike so feebly? Why doesn't he die game? Whip him to meet his wounds! Let them receive blow for blow, with chests bare and exposed to the stroke!" And when the games stop for the intermission, they announce: "A little throat-cutting in the meantime, so that there may still be something going on!" Come now; do you not understand even this truth, that a bad example reacts on the agent? Thank the immortal gods that you are teaching cruelty to a person who cannot learn to be cruel.[2]

Any Twenty-First Century reader looks at the words written by Seneca over almost two thousand years ago and interprets and classifies the actions described within as "violent". The philosopher is also aware of this because only a few lines earlier he mentions that he headed to the amphitheater to watch the *meridianum spectaculum*, in hopes of finding something that would alleviate his eyes of the sight of human blood (1.7.3). But as Seneca himself affirms: *contra est!* He encountered exactly the opposite.

This does not however mean that Seneca condoned everything he saw in the arena. As M. Wistrand notes, "Seneca does not pity the executed; they were robbers and murderers and deserved to be punished. Seneca's concern is for the spectator, who did not deserve such a spectacle."[3] Seneca's position derives above all from the violent nature of the acts carried out in the amphitheatre.

Did all Romans share Seneca's point of view? Certainly not, as Wistrand concludes in the book cited above. But the question we pose here leads us to another not less pertinent: what was considered violent or violence in Seneca's time? Could what we consider as a violent act today have been considered as such in the First Century A.D.? Or in the time of Ramses II? Or Solomon? Or William the Conqueror's? Is there an objective way to define "violence"?

[2] Transl. by Gummere.

[3] M. Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome. The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.*, Göteborg, Acta Uniuersitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992, 17.

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Objectively, violence refers to the behaviour of one individual towards another with the aim of causing him physical or psychological harm or damage.[4] The modern word "violence", in English as well as in Portuguese, Castilian, French or Italian, derives from the Latin term *uiolentia,* which in turn stems from the root of the noun *uis*, whose etymology is common to the Greek *is* ("strength", but also "masculine").

Thereby, if the first Latin term means essentially "impetuosity", "ferocity" or "rapture", the second may be described as "force", "power", "authority", "attack" or "vigor". *Violentia* is therefore a form of expression of *Vis*, or, as Y. Micaud refers, "force in action".[5] Associated to both these terms is also the verb *uiolo*, whose meaning is "to treat with violence", "do violence", "outrage", "offend", "revile" and "transgress".

This last meaning appears particularly significant to define the word violence in that the idea, in itself, implies another form of transgression or excess in regard to a norm. Namely, violence occurs when the rules established or instituted by a determined community are overtaken using force. This notion is therefore very close to what the Greeks understood as *hybris*.

Thus, if what is understood as violence depends greatly on the norm instituted by a society, then the norm and social rules are in great part determined and instituted case by case in relation to acts of violence.[6]

We must, however, stress that the norm varies in accordance with geography and chronology, with the place and time. Effectively, "violence means different things in different cultures and even to members of the same culture".[7] Sequences of this nature are what led N. Richer

[4] P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 575.

[5] *Apud* N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction" in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 9; see also R. Muchembled, *A History of Violence. From the End of the Middle Ages to Our Days*, Lisbon, Editions 70, 2014, 17-18.

[6] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction" in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 10, 12-14.

[7] C. Krohn-Hansen, "The anthropology of violent interaction", *J. Anthropol. Res.* 50, 1994, 367-381.

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to state that: "un acte violent doit donc être considéré comme tel surtout si le regard des contemporains permettait de le qualifier ainsi".[8] Even so, we take into consideration the possibility of this analysis is influenced by anachronism.

By this we mean to say that there is always the chance of an act being considered violent at a moment, or by a society, after its execution in its own time, depending on the categorization criteria of the agent, which reflects the phenomena and the society that it is a part of. This type of reflection does not seem inadequate, or even invalid, so long as the researcher is conscious of the anachronic character of his/her reflection, which will ultimately reveal as much about the time he/she is studying, as about the one he/she is living in, and that as a historian or social scientist he/she does not use it as a simple opinionated or ideological formulation.

N. Elias wrote about the civilizational process and the tendency for the decline of aggression in societies, as well as limiting violence in individuals throughout time.[9] Elias' supposition, however, which argues that societies have advanced towards philanthropy, can hardly be interpreted as social or historical law. History has in fact shown us that several societies throughout time have asserted themselves through significant peaks of violence.[10] Otherwise how could the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries massacres of the Amerindian populations be interpreted as a slowdown in violent acts in relation to Antiquity or the Middle Ages? Or the *autos-de-fé* (acts of faith) of the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions, the night of St. Bartholomew in 1572, the 1692 Salem witch-hunts, the royal processions to the guillotine in Paris in 1792 (Robespierre defended the use of terror as a revolutionary strategy), the Holocaust during the Second World War or even the more recent 2001 attacks in New York City? These are but a few

[8] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction", in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 10.

[9] N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2000.

[10] Even though efforts to pass a law about the manifestation of Violence in History were not lacking; see e.g. F. H. Denton, W. Phillips, "Patterns in the History of Violence", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 12/2, 1968, 182-195, in particular pg. 190.

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examples that we can use to demonstrate our idea.[11] In this regard, it would be pertinent to recall the words of W. Burkert: "Aggression and human violence have marked the progress of our civilization and appear, indeed, to have grown so during its course that they have become a central problem of the present".[12]

Even so, N. Elias' position is not unusual seeing as on the one hand the individual and collective condemnation of violence has been instituted largely following the consolidation of consciousness and appreciation for Human Rights by communities in general (or at least for the majority of them) and due to the creation of a society of information and its diffusion amongst individuals; on the other hand, because we are seeing a general tendency in the decrease in violent acts in human societies, not excluding of course the exceptions.[13] As R. L. Walker notes, "people have always been capable of both kindness and extreme cruelty… as far as we know, there are no forms of social organization, modes of production, or environmental settings that remain free from interpersonal violence for long".[14]

One could ask about what, actually, provokes violence. The theories are numerous and come from a variety of areas such as biology and sociology to psychology, integrated into several schools of thought such as structuralism, evolutionism, functionalism, essentialism, constructionism and behaviourism. For some time, it was believed that, as a general phenomenon, human violence could be related to the lack of, and insufficient food. Other researchers however, in comparing man to other animal societies, namely mammals, stressed that factors for potential triggers of acts of violence were lack of space and having to live in overpopulated environments.[15] Some thinkers

[11] Cf. P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 584-587.

[12] W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983, 1. P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 584-587, refers to "Myth of our Pacifist Past".

[13] See F. H. Denton, W. Phillips, "Patterns in the History of Violence", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 12/2, 1968, 182-195.

[14] P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 590.

[15] P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 573-596; C. Russell, W. M. S. Russell, "The Natural History of Violence", *Journal of Medical Ethics* 5/3, 1979, 108-116.

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however suggest that human beings simply have an innate predisposition for violence. Others in turn believe that agression is a response to intolerable frustration and violence is a symptom of the tension in human societies and their relationship with their surrounding environment.[16] Still others consider that when a system is characterized by instability and intense political disputes, it too is defined by intense and generalized violence.[17]

It is not our objective to research or even make this dominion problematic. We are, however, interested in researching and reflecting on manifestations of violence throughout history, more specifically during periods designated as Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and within this framework on how it manifests itself on human productions, namely literature and the fine arts.

Violence is pluralistic and it may manifest itself in the most diverse forms. This diversification is patent in the ordering of mythical-religious thought as well as in the socio-political organization of human communities. This is particularly visible in Ancient and Medieval societies. The first category features two examples from Classical Antiquity, already mentioned by Richer. In the first of these examples, the *Theogony* by Hesiod, violence manifests itself through a mythological type narrative: descending from divine generations occurs through a series of violent acts that range from Ouranos' castration to the Kronos' theophagy in relation to his own sons. The second example pertains to how the functions of sacrifice are encompassed in Ancient religions, but not only. It is interpreted by authors like R. Girard and W. Burkert as ritualized forms, domesticated even, of violence, which here is interpreted as being necessary to the taxis of human societies. R. Girard even refers to it as "la bonne violence".[18] And once more, the words of Burkert make absolute sense: "blood and violence lurk fascinatingly at the very heart of religion… *homo religiosus* acts and attains self-awareness as *homo necans*".[19]

[16] C. Russell, W. M. S. Russell, "The Natural History of Violence", *Journal of Medical Ethics* 5/3, 1979, 108.

[17] F. H. Denton, W. Phillips, "Patterns in the History of Violence", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 12/2, 1968, 183; see also R. Muchembled, *A History of Violence. From the End of the Middle Ages to Our Days*, Lisbon, Editions 70, 2014, 19-21.

[18] R. Girard, *La violence et le sacré*, Paris, Hachette/Éditions Albin Michel, 1990, 61.

[19] W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983, 2-3.

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Following Girard's line of thinking, violence may present itself as something horrifying to man's point of view but it may also be accepted as a pacifying process[20] or as even cathartic. Girard is naturally thinking of the sacrifice's religious function, more specifically a blood sacrifice. But this author's premise is equally valid in a socio-political context. The institutionalization of the arena *ludi* in Rome perhaps best exemplifies this reality (actually, some games, namely the gladiatorial ones, started out as being ritualized forms of funerary sacrifice and homage).[21] But not the only one. If we consider that the penalty for a certain punishment can be proportional to the violence of the crime that motivated it, then the effect of the collective social catharsis should be understood as one of the legislator's objectives in establishing social control. M. Foucalt's reflections on crime were in great part based on this idea.[22] Richer simularly notes that "la peine est bien une réponse violente (et réfléchie) de la communauté à un acte violent… d'un ou plusieurs membres de la même communauté".[23]

In this domain, reflections revolving around the formulas of punishment applied to transgressions become relevant, since this one, as well as the others can be interpreted as being violent. Social context and definitions associated to it are equally pertinent themes in these analyses. Using once more an example from Classical Antiquity, also cited by Richer, we note how in the *Odyssey*, the deaths that occur in Ithaca after the return of Ulysses are presented as violent punishments that clearly define the social status of those involved.

Thus, while Penelope's suitors are a target of *mnesterophonia* falling prey to the swords and arrows of the king of the island, her maidservants (and their accomplices) are punished by hanging. These are two violent actions towards the body which work as an evident form of

[20] R. Girard, *La violence et le sacré*, Paris, Hachette/Éditions Albin Michel, 1990, 60.

[21] D. G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London, 1998; M. Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome. The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.*, Göteborg, Acta Uniuersitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992.

[22] M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, Gallimard, 1993; cf. R. Muchembled, *A History of Violence. From the End of the Middle Ages to Our Days*, Lisbon, Editions 70, 2014, 27-29.

[23] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction", in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 15.

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social differentiation of those involved resulting in mental and moral repercussions for those who witness these acts.[24] Violence can therefore also have a didactic function. Effectively, the past is often understood to be the master of all that pertains to violence.[25] But it may also be appropriated by the political elites as a didactic form of social control and therefore, ideologically manipulative. In this sense, violence is sometimes presented as an insurmountable stage in a founding action. To a certain extent, this function is present in Hesiod's *Theogony* when the poet transmits the idea that power does not pass to the next generation without violence manifesting itself, or without an act of violence. In their essence, all the myths about the great flood, from the Sumerian biblical versions to the Ovidian, rest on this idea: the renovation of the world, and humanity, does not happen without the almost total destruction of the one that precedes it. N. Richer also highlights this point, focusing on Greek and Roman history and using as examples the founding and moments of the passage from Monarchy to Republic, in 509 B.C., being the legend marked by the violation of Lucretia; the tyrannicide in Athens in 510 B.C; and the proscriptions used by Sulla in 82-81 B.C., which are at the root of the events that determined the passage from Republic to Principate.[26] In Portuguese Medieval history for example, we can cite cases from the founding of the kingdom of Portugal in 1139, marked by Afonso Henriques' rebellion against his mother, Teresa de León, and the end of the first dynasty, and the passage to the House

[24] About the relationship between punishment/social status, see e.g. N. Loraux, *Du châtiment dans la cité. Supplices corporeles et peine de mort dans le monde antique*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1984; see also G. Hoffmann, *Le châtiment des Amants dans la Grèce Classique*, Paris, De Boccard, 1990; E. Cantarella, *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma*, Milano, Rizzoli Libri, 1991; T. Viljamaa, A. Timonen, C. Krötzl, eds., *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and Medieval World*, Turku, Krems, 1992.

[25] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction", in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 30.

[26] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction", in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 17; about this matter, we would like to refer that Richer cites W. Sofsky, to whom "violence created chaos and and order created violence". About the processes that we have referred here, see A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1968.

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of Aviz, also marked by events from 1383 to 1385, which included their fair share of blood and violence.

If from an ideological standpoint, violence frequently appears as the founding element of a new order, it can then be evoked as an excuse whose objective is to maintain this order, and justify its continued use. Part of this violence manifests itself in an environment of war, where violence is frequently used as a physical, as well as a psychological weapon. As various authors before us have stated, war has a pivotal role in many of these societies.[27] Antiquity and the Middle Ages are particularly rich in demonstrative examples of this reality, which have reached us mainly through literature. Poetry and historiography, which both have distinct sociological and cultural functions, are excellent sources for studying representations of violence in these contexts.

The *Iliad* is a festival of blood, which occasionally drifts into an apology of violence. Evidently, this option can be justified by inserting it into the cultural context that determines it. But it is equally indicative of what we have reffered above. We cite only one example – *Il.* 5.65-68:

> After him Meriones pursued,
> and when he had come up with him, smote him in the right buttock,
> and the spear-point passed clean through even to the bladder beneath the bone…[28]

The rich detail the poet makes a point of using in his verses, and which have contributed to philologists calling it the "beautiful death" (*kalos thanatos*)[29] of the Homeric hero, product of a sentiment that is of exaltation and horror simultaneously, evidences the importance that the image of violence could take on in these societies. It is actually fundamental for the characterisation of the hero in this context. There is unlikely to be a "beautiful death" without a considerable dose of violence.

[27] See e.g. H. van Wees, *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, London/Swansea, 2000.

[28] Transl. by Murray.

[29] N. Richer, "La violence dans les mondes grec et romain. Introduction", in J.-M. Bertrand, *La Violence dans les Mondes Grec et Romain*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 26.

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If poetry is, according to Aristotelian theory, a discourse that could have been, then historiography is the narrative of what must have been. In this respect, the objectives of this type of literature are markedly distinct from those of poetry, revealing its agenda as a didactic, but also an ideologic function as we referred above.

Accordingly, the political discourse underlying Assyrian historiography manifested itself through a rhetoric of violence materialized in the form of impalement. In the annals of Assurbanipal (Seventh Century B.C.) it states that:

> I built a pillar over against his city gate, and I flayed all the chief men who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skins; some I walled up within the pillar, some I impaled upon the pillar on stakes, and others I bound to stakes round about the pillar; many within the border of my own land I flayed, and I spread their skins upon the walls; and I cut off the limbs of the officers, of the royal officers who had rebeled.[30]

Assurbanipal's discourse, particularly imbued with violence, is part of a rhetorical victory which is made by recounting what may or must in fact have happened — and in this case the rhetoric of violence works as an ideological act upon the vanquished, as well as all those who witnessed the victory as it also conveys an idea of the key players' power and prestige. In this respect, the text arises as an ideological weapon of propaganda portraying an image which is meant to be, above all, effective. In any case, violence is at the service of both, and is a means of affirming an idea of power based on another of political, and mostly military prestige.

In the historiography of Israel, the descriptions are equally violent confirming the use of the *topos* by its perpetrators. The biblical account of the invasion of Israel by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C. for example cites that (2Rs 25,6-7):

> So they took the king, and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they gave judgment upon him. And they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon.[31]

[30] Transl. by Luckenbill.
[31] King James Version.

In the same 2 Book of Kings, references to the siege of Samaria by Ben-Hadad are so cruel the reader is given a vivid insight into the violence inherent to war (2Rs 6,26-29):

> And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, "Help, my lord, O king". And he said, "If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barnfloor, or out of the winepress?" And the king said unto her, "What aileth thee?" And she answered, "This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to day, and we will eat my son tomorrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son".[32]

The theme of violence in times of war (where pathetic scenes of mothers and fathers killing and then devouring their own children stand out) are amongst the most explored in Ancient and Medieval literature. Greco-Latin historiography is also very rich in this recourse. But in the context of bellicose references, the work of Thucydides is particularly important. When he talks about the barbarities carried out by the Thracians in Mycalessos, a small city of Beotia, during the Peloponnese war, the historian writes (7.29.4-5):

> So the Thracians burst into Mycalessus and fell to plundering the houses and the temples and butchering the people, sparing neither old nor young, but killing all whom they met just as they came, even children and women, aye, pack-animals also and whatever other living things they saw. For the Thracian race, like the worst barbarians, is most bloodthirsty whenever it has nothing to fear. And so on this occasion: in addition to the general confusion, which was great, every form of destruction ensued, and in particular they fell upon a boys' school, the largest in the town, which the children had just entered, and cut down all of them. And this was a calamity inferior to none that had ever fallen upon a whole city, and beyond any other unexpected and terrible.[33]

Thucydides is careful to stress the role the Thracians, whom he compared to *barbarikoi*, played in these events. But the fact is that the same Thucydides does not refrain from citing other cases where violent acts were commited by Greeks, namely Athenians, as if he was

[32] King James Version.
[33] Transl. by Smith.

conscious that there is something perennial in this type of behaviour. He goes on to refer to the "horrors that usually happen in situations like this"[34] as if violence was something innate to humanity.

The same tone of violence can be read in Tacitus, in the description the Latin historian makes of the punishment Nero decreed on the Christians accused of setting fire to Rome in 64 A.D. (Ann. 15.44.4):

> The first to be seized were those who confessed, then, on their information, a mighty number was convicted, not so much on the charge of the conflagration as for their hatred for the Human race. And, as they perished, mockeries were added, so that, covered in the hides of wild beasts, they expired from mutilation by dogs or, fixed to crosses and made flammable, on the dwindling of daylight they were burned for use as nocturnal illumination. Nero had offered his gardens for the spectable…[35]

Medieval literature is no exception to the rule. It too introduces the theme of violence. In the chronicle of Pedro I, for example, chronicler Fernão Lopes narrates the vengeance, masked as justice, that the king executes over the torturers of Inês de Castro, a Galecian lady, whom the king alleged have secretly married and who had fallen prey to the political intrigue fabricated by the noblemen of the Portuguese court and by King Afonso IV. Once king, Pedro I persecutes Inês' executioners and the chronicler recounts what took place (Fernão Lopes, *Chronicle of Pedro I,* 31):

> The way they met their end, if told in detail, would make a very strange and cruel story, for he ordered Pêro Coelho's heart to be torn out through his chest, and Álvaro Gonçalves's through his back. It would be truly painful to hear the words that were spoken and about the executioner, who had little experience of his task. Finally he had them burnt…[36]

To a great extent, the Middle Ages had, as a matrix, a set of texts that are defined by the violence of the themes they were based on. Naturally, we are referring to the hagiographies and above all the martyrologies, where the lives of those considered saints served as behavioural models for anyone hoping to achieve the gift of eternal life in heaven at the right hand of God.

[34] Thuc. 3.81.5; see other examples of violent descriptions in 4.48.1-6; 5.116.3.
[35] Transl. by Woodman.
[36] Transl. by Thomas Earle.

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The Corpus, compiled by Jacob de Voragine in the Thirteenth Century, which became known as *The Golden Legend* (originally called *Legenda sanctorum*), turned into one of the most read and renowned books in the Middle Ages, right after the Bible. The designation "legenda", meaning "that which should be read", shows the relevance of this text in the context of Medieval Christianity. The Corpus compiles information on the lives of over 130 saints collected from diverse sources the author had had access to. A well-known example is that of St. Sebastian, who was the target of a particularly intense devotion during the Middle Ages. Below an extract on how Jacob de Voragine describes the saint's torment:

> But Diocletian gave the command to tie him to a post in the center of the camp, and ordered the soldiers to shoot him full of arrows. They shot so many arrows into his body that he looked like a porcupine, and left him for dead.[37]

Voragine's description essentially coincides with what we have read in the version attributed to Arnobius (Fifth Century A.D.) about the Passion of St. Sebastian, which was broadly diffused throughout Medieval Hispanic liturgy.[38] Consequently, whether in a historiography *stricto sensu*, literature in general or even in metaliterature, the theme of violence is constantly present in Ancient and Medieval cultures although its function and form may vary. If from a victim's perspective violence is a synonym of oppression, it may also be a sign of power from the perspective of those who perpetuate it. Violence is in fact sugar-coated as a political weapon, a form of social control and a reaction to social tension.[39]

But violence also has a sensationalist facet which we should not overlook as it has been frequently used throughout time. As R. H. Cleves notes, "tales of bloodshed and pain serve to attract audiences";[40] and

[37] Transl. by Ryan.

[38] See M. J. Toscano Rico, *São Sebastião*, Lisboa, CEC, 2013, 20, 75 (§ 101 da *Passio Sebastiani*).

[39] R. H. Cleves, "On Writing the History of Violence", *Journal of the Early Republic* 24/4, 2004, 644.

[40] R. H. Cleves, "On Writing the History of Violence", *Journal of the Early Republic* 24/4, 2004, 665.

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P. L. Walker adds, "people seem to have a deep-seated fascination with violence, especially if the victim was a stranger".[41]

We therefore feel that compiling a set of studies dedicated to the theme is pertinent. This is exactly what we are preposing in this edition, from a diachronic perspective, situated between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. We present a set of works that offer up the research results conducted by several authors on the common theme of violence from the time of Ancient Egypt, where violence represented the Pharaoh in an essentially ideological and ritualistic discourse, to the upheaval caused by the student movements in the Portuguese Middle Ages.

We would like to publicly thank our colleague Leonard V. Rutgers who invited us to include this volume in a collection he is directing at Peeters. Also, a word of gratitude to those who collaborated on this task: Ricardo Duarte, Luísa Resende, Gabriel Silva, Ivan Figueiras and Martim Horta. A huge part of this book is due to them. In fact, in the name of justice, the original idea that challenged us to undertake the enterprise of studying violence in Antiquity and the Middle Ages came from them.

[41] P. L. Walker, "A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30/2001, 584.

VIOLENCE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

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THE DAWN OF HUMAN VIOLENCE: A READING OF POSIDONIUS, LUCRETIUS AND SALLUST[1]

Nicoletta BRUNO

The wide repertoire of anthropological and historical texts on the rise of violence among men and, in particular, on the violent fight for the pursuit of power, compels me to be brief. For this reason, I shall focus my attention only on short sections of three authors: Posidonius, paraphrased by Seneca in *Epistle* 90, 3-6 (F 284 EK), Lucretius 5, 1105-1160, and Sallust, *Cat.* 2. The aim of my paper is to consider, as clearly as possible, if there are links among these texts, and to find out their sources and whether each of one them can be considered as the source of the others. *Posidonius. Epistle* 90 is one of the most discussed and popular texts by Seneca. In this epistle, Seneca takes issue with Posidonius of Apamea and paraphrases his doctrine about the dawn of mankind, the origins of political life and material culture, and the relationship between knowledge and technology.

In what follows, I shall consider the early chapters of Seneca's letter (90, 3-6). Here, Seneca sets out the Posidonian concept of the leading process in the creation of the early communities. Two stages of corruption and a strong explosion of violence are to be recognised among the *primi mortalium*,[2] initially *incorrupti*, but then victims of perversion (διαστροφή) and *vitium* (90, 6). These steps can be summarized synthetically as follows:

a. Men, still *incorrupti* (90, 4), used to live with everything in common, thanks to the lack of private property (90, 3);[3]
b. Phase of διαστροφή, due to *avaritia* and *luxuria*: it is a term used by Stoic philosophers, meaning a form of perversion and deviation from

[1] I am deeply grateful to Stephen Harrison, Irma Ciccarelli and Antonio Stramaglia for reading and improving this paper.

[2] Diog. Laert. 7, 142 (Posidon. F 13 EK) ascribes to the Stoics the view that the first living beings originated from the mixture of the elements (water, air, earth, fire), and cites Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater.

[3] At first sight, it seems clear that Posidonius was the source for Lucr. 5, 1105-1160.

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the pursuit of virtue and *recta ratio*, the main goal of the perfect Stoic wise man;

c. The *primi mortalium* were subdued by the *sapientes reges* (90, 5);

d. A golden phase: human life became happy, the subjects obeyed the power of the wise kings (90, 5);

e. New phase of corruption, where vices prevailed, the kingdoms were transformed into tyrannies and the need for laws arose. These were created by wise legislators (Solon, Lycurgus, Zaleucus, Charondas).

The silence of Seneca about the Posidonian work, employed as a source for this letter, does not prevent us from conjecturing that Posidonius had used, as a source, the *Histories* of Polybius, in particular 6, 5, 7-12 and 6, 7, 6-8 (especially related to the context of *Ep.* 90, 3-6). Moreover, it is highly likely that Posidonius, in turn, was the source of inspiration of the well-known description of the early history of mankind by Diodorus (1, 8). Seneca briefly rephrased the Posidonian thought about corruption among men and need for the intervention of the *sapientes reges* (90, 3-5):

> *Haec docuit colere divina, humana diligere, et penes deos imperium esse, inter homines consortium. Quod aliquamdiu inviolatum mansit, antequam societatem avaritia distraxit et paupertatis causa etiam iis quos fecit locupletissimos fuit. Desierunt enim omnia possidere, dum volunt propria. Sed primi mortalium quique ex his geniti naturam incorrupti sequebantur, eundem habebant et ducem et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio. Naturae est enim potioribus deteriora summittere. Mutis quidem gregibus aut maxima corpora praesunt aut vehementissima. Non praecedit armenta degener taurus, sed qui magnitudine ac toris ceteros mares vicit. Elephantorum gregem excelsissimus ducit: inter homines pro summo est optimum. Animo itaque rector eligebatur, ideoque summa felicitas erat gentium, in quibus non poterat potentior esse nisi melior. Tuto enim quantum vult potest, qui se nisi quod debet non putat posse. Illo ergo saeculo quod aureum perhibent penes sapientes fuisse regnum Posidonius iudicat. Hi continebant manus et infirmiorem a validioribus tuebantur, suadebant dissuadebantque et utilia atque inutilia monstrabant; horum prudentia ne quid deesset suis providebat, fortitude pericula arcebat, beneficentia augebat ornabatque subiectos. Officium erat imperare, non regnum. Nemo quantum posset adversus eos experiebatur per quos coeperat posse, nec erat cuiquam aut animus in iniuriam aut causa, cum bene imperanti bene pareretur, nihilque rex maius minari male parentibus posset quam ut abiret e regno* (Seneca, *Epistle* 90, 3-5).[4]

[4] "Philosophy has taught us to worship that which is divine, to love that which is human; she has told us that with the gods lies dominion, and among men,

While men shared all their goods, no one felt the need to own more wealth than others (90, 3). The meaning of *incorrupti* (90, 4) might suggest a primordial purity, a lack of defects. Seneca, by contrast, in chapters 35-38 argues his own theory: here, it seems that men were really *incorrupti* and used to lead an idyllic community life.[5] Chapters 4-5 show the Posidonian scenario of the Golden Age: apart from being extremely brief, they are also very distant from Seneca's version in chapters 35-38. This difference stands out: both Posidonius and Seneca were Stoic philosophers, though living

fellowship. This fellowship remained unspoiled for a long time, until avarice tore the community asunder and became the cause of poverty, even in the case of those whom she herself had most enriched. For men cease to possess all things the moment they desire all things for their own. But the first men and those who sprang from them, still unspoiled, followed nature, having one man as both their leader and their law, entrusting the themselves to the control of one better than themselves. For nature has the habit of subjecting the weaker to the stronger. Even among the dumb animals those which are either biggest or fiercest hold sway. It is no weakling bull that leads the herd; it is one that has beaten the other males by his might and his muscle. In the case of elephants, the tallest goes first; among men, the best is regarded as the highest. That is why it was to the mind that a ruler was assigned; and for that reason the greatest happiness rested with those peoples among whom a man could not be the more powerful unless he were the better. For that man can safely accomplish what he will who thinks he can do nothing except what he ought to do. Accordingly, in that age which is mantained to be the golden age, Posidonius holds that the government was under the jurisdiction of the wise. They kept their hands under control, and protected the weaker from the stronger. They gave advice, both to do and not to do; they showed what was useful and what was useless. Their forethought provided that their subjects should lack nothing; their bravery warded off dangers; their kindness enriched and adorned their subjects. For them ruling was a service, not an exercise of royalty. No ruler tried his power against those to whom he owed the beginnings of his power; and no one had the inclination, or the excuse, to do wrong, since the ruler ruled well and the subject obeyed well, and the king could utter no greater threat against disobedient subjects than they should depart from the kingdom". (Transl. by R. M. Gummere).

[5] In particular see Sen. *Ep.* 90, 36 *Secutast fortunata tempora, cum in medio iacerent beneficia naturae promiscue utenda, antequam avaritia atque luxuria dissociavere mortales et ad rapinam ex consortio discurrere. Non erant illi sapientes viri, etiam si faciebant facienda sapientibus.* ("Next there come the fortune-favoured period when the bounties of nature lay open to all, for men's indiscriminate use, before avarice and luxury had broken the bonds which held mortals together, and they, abandoning their communal existence, had separated and turned to plunder. The men of the second age were not wise men, even though they did what wise should do", transl. by R.M Gummere).

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in different periods, but Posidonius' conception is indeed rather negative. That is to say, as long as men did not know *philosophia*, they lived like beasts, in a state of decay. In contrast, according to Seneca and to all the Stoic philosophers, men were born with a predisposition to good, *inscii scelerum* (Sen. *Nat.* 3, 30, 8), while evil must be explained the διαστροφή, the perversion that diverts man from the path of Stoic virtue, the Socratic and Platonic legacy of the achievement of ἀλήθεια (truth). Man was corrupted by the awareness of worldly allurements and the seduction of pleasures (Sen. *Ep.* 116): this experience ended up bringing the individual to recognize the autonomy of pleasure, through *luxuria* (*malorum mater omnium*, Cic. *Leg.* 1, 47 = *SVF* 3, 229b).

Doubtless, the mythological Golden Age of Hesiod was the happiest moment for humans:[6] Posidonius, however, declared that without the wisdom of *sapientes reges*, the desire to increase wealth would have degenerated into corruption and violence, and men would have been stuck in a feral state of decay. The first men suffered διαστροφή,[7] but their vicious and violent impulses were repressed by s*apientes reges*. Without the competence (γνώμη) of the wise men, the strongest would have overwhelmed the weakest and there would not have been any justice (δίκη) just like in the Iron Age described by Hesiod (*Op.* 192). What criterion was chosen by the *primi mortalium* to select

[6] The *Bíos Helládos* by Dicaearchus of Messana (F 49 Wehrli = F 56 A Mirhady; Porph. *Abst.* 4, 2, 1-9) cites Hesiod's description of the Golden Age. The Peripatetic philosopher summarizes Hesiod, but rejects what is too legendary (τὸ λίαν μυθικόν) Dicaearchus tries to historicize Hesiod's myth, explaining that happiness consisted of harmony, wellness, due to lack of effort and work. Men, unaware of any technology, did not have to work. They picked fruit from trees, and therefore they did not have to fight each other, because they did not know anything about what was worth fighting for. Despite the differences, the Posidonian description has nothing mythical, but is completely historical, like those of Polybius and Diodorus. The exposition of the Epicurean social theory, nevertheless, reflects the basic layout of the report drawn up by Democritus (F B 5 DK), and according to Cole 1967 the universal anthropological description by Diodorus (1, 8) derives from Democritus. See also Kidd 1988, vol. II, 961-3 and Saunders 2001, 237-54.

[7] Without the coming διαστροφή, there would not have been any need of leaders and rules, but the φιλαλληλία among men would have been spontaneous. Seneca, in chapters 35-38, does not allude to *reges* or *leges*: the honest and unaware of vice do not need the enforcement of rules (see also Ov. *Met.* 1, 89ff. and Tac. *Ann.* 3, 26, 1-3).

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sapientes reges? According to Posidonius, they used the simplest of criteria: the natural one (*naturam sequi*). Polybius states much the same (6, 5, 4-9):

> Ποίας οὖν ἀρχὰς λέγω καὶ πόθεν φημὶ φύεσθαι τὰς πολιτείας πρῶτον; ὅταν ἢ διὰ κατακλυσμοὺς ἢ διὰ λοιμικὰς περιστάσεις ἢ δι' ἀφορίας καρπῶν ἢ δι' ἄλλας τοιαύτας αἰτίας φθορὰ γένηται τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, οἵας ἤδη γεγονέναι παρειλήφαμεν καὶ πάλιν πολλάκις ἔσεσθ' ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ, τότε δὴ συμφθειρομένων πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τεχνῶν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν περιλειφθέντων οἷον εἰ σπερμάτων αὖθις αὐξηθῇ σὺν χρονω πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, τότε δήπου, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων συναθροιζουμένων - ὅπερ εἰκός, καὶ τούτους εἰς τὸ ὁμόφυλον συναγελάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν - ἀνάγκη τὸν τῇ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τόλμῃ διαφέροντα, τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν ἀδοξοποιήτων ζῴων θεωρούμενον τοῦτο χρὴ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινώτατον νομίζειν, παρ'οἷς ὁμολογουμένως τοὺς ἰσχυρότατους ὁρῶμεν ἡγουμένους, λέγω δὲ ταύρους, κάπρους ἀλεκτρυόνας, τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς εἰκὸς τοιούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίους, ζωηδὸν συναθροιζομένων καὶ τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἑπομένων· οἷς ὅρος μέν ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχύς, ὄνομα δ' ἄν εἴποι τις μοναρχίαν (Polybius 6, 5, 4-9).[8]

But again, who were the *meliores*? The submission of the first men to the *sapientes* is something natural and spontaneous, and the masses bestowed power, because of their superior morality. The origins of monarchy have always been a leading topic in the history of ancient

[8] "What then are the beginnings I speak of and what is the first origin of political societies? When owing to floods, famines, failure of crops or other such causes there occurs such a destruction of the human race as a tradition tells us has more than once happened, and as we must believe will often happen again, all arts and crafts perishing at the same time, then in the course of time, when springing from the survivors as from seeds men have again increased in numbers and just like other animals form herds — it being a matter of course that they too should herd together with those of their kind owing to their natural weakness — it is a necessary consequence that the man who excels in bodily strength and in courage will lead and rule over the rest. We observe and should regard as a most genuine work of nature this very phenomenon in the case of the other animals which act purely by instinct and among whom the strongest are always indisputably the masters — I speak of bulls, boars, cocks, and the like. It is probable then that at the beginning men lived thus, herding together like animals and following the lead of the strongest and bravest, the ruler's strength being here the sole limit to his power and the name we should give his rule being monarchy". (Transl. by W.R. Paton)

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philosophy. For instance, according to Plato (*Leg*. 680e-681d), after the age of Cyclopes and patriarchs, men joined in larger communities, choosing the legislators able to establish rules: after an early form of aristocracy, there comes the monarchy itself.

It is a widely accepted principle in ancient literature that the best in virtue, body, beauty and spiritual qualities should govern.[9] Polybius and Posidonius share the theory, founded on the observation of animal's behaviour, that monarchy is based on natural principles.[10] In Polybius' description, primitive society was grounded in ἀσθένεια (weakness = *imbecillitas*, see Cic. *Rep*. 1, 39), so men were compelled to create an ἀγέλη (herd), in order to hide their weakness by creating a monarch, who was the strongest and bravest man.[11] Without the beneficial action of *sapientes reges* there would not have been any Golden Age, and men would have fallen prey to disorder and violence. On the other hand, according to Posidonius, primitive men tend to organize themselves in aggregations and communities, to follow a social impulse. Unlike Polybius, Posidonius studied man as a part of the universal κόσμος, in a theory that recalls Panaetius' thought. Posidonius conceived humanity as an integral part of the organic unity of the whole universe and, in the overall framework, it occupied an intermediate position between the animal and divine world.[12]

[9] Suffice it to mention Gorg. B 11, 6 DK; Democr. B 267 DK; Thuc. 5, 105, 2; Plat. *Grg.* 483c-d; *Leg.* 3, 690b; Cic. *Rep.* 1, 51; 3, 36; Sen. *Ep.* 65, 24

[10] Comparisons between the sovereign and dominant males of herds are present in Hom. *Il.* 2, 48; M. Aur. *Med.* 11, 18, 1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 3, 50. Lucr. 5, 1113-1116 refers in particular to the strength and beauty of men who had been chosen to dominate. See Zago 2012, 80, n. 72.

[11] See Walbank 1957, vol. I, 650.

[12] Epicurus, on the contrary, rejected this concept of humanity. The Epicurean idea was summed up by Lactantius (*Inst. Div.* 3, 17, 42). Humanity has to be considered as a mere agglomerate of individuals, each of whom is intent on achieving his own good and happiness, just as the entire universe, materialistically, which is not a combination of individual atoms. Individualism entailed a rejection of a solidarity among men, and Epicurus suggested that there is no society based on nature. But Epicureans believed in friendship more than the other Hellenistic schools. The light esteem of friendship among Epicureans is well expressed by the words of Torquatus, see Cic. *Fin.* 1, 65. Epicurus considers the polis as an associative artificial structure, the result of a mutual defense. See Warren 2004, 161-212; Brown 2009, 179-96.

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A similar concept about the origin of monarchy is expressed in Cic. *Off.* 2, 41-42, read as a Panaetian theory (see Panaetius, F B28 Vimercati):[13] men were subject to a leader who was morally superior, and the first kings were righteous and wise men. After the Golden Age, according to Posidonius, vices arose and the power of the kings turned into tyranny (90, 6):

> *Sed postquam subrepentibus vitiis in tyrannidem regna conversa sunt, opus esse legibus coepit, quas et ipsas inter initia tulere sapientes. Solon, qui Athenas aequo iure fundavit, inter septem fuit sapientia notos; Lycurgum si eadem aetas tulisset, sacro illi numero accessisset octavus. Zaleuci leges Charondaeque laudantur; hi non in foro nec in consultorum atrio, sed in Pythagorae tacito illo sanctoque secessu didicerunt iura quae florenti tunc Siciliae et per Italiam Graeciae ponerent* (Seneca, *Epistle* 90, 6).[14]

Why did such a process of degeneration happen? In the light of the Stoic principle that sages are free from passions and vices, it is really unlikely that *sapientes reges* became vicious and tyrannical. Presumably, corruption occurred in the following generation, among the descendants of the kings, and again there is no lack of points of contact with Polybius 6, 7, 6-9:[15]

> Ἐπεὶ δ'ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ γένος τὰς ἀρχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἕτοιμα μὲν εἶχον ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἕτοιμα δὲ καὶ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν τροφήν, τότε δὴ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἑπόμενοι διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν ἐξάλλους μὲν ἐσθῆτας ὑπέλαβον δεῖν ἔχειν τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῶν ὑποτατομένων, ἐξάλλους δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ παρασκευάς, ἀναντιρρήτους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων τὰς τῶν ἀφρδισίων χρείας καὶ συνουσίας. **ἐφ' οἷς μὲν φθόνου γενομένου καὶ προσκοπῆς,**[16] ἐφ'οἷς δὲ μίσους ἐκκαιομένου

[13] See Dyck 1996, 421-22.

[14] "But when once vice stole in and kingdoms were transformed into tyrannies, a need arose for laws; and these very laws were in turn framed by the wise. Solon, who established Athens upon a firm basis basis by just laws, was one of the seven men renowned for their wisdom. Had Lycurgus lived in the same period, an eighth would have been added to that hallowed number seven. The laws of Zaleucus and Charondas are praised; it was not in the forum or in the offices of skilled counsellors, but in the silent and holy retreat of Pythagoras, that these two men learned the principles of justice which they were to establish in Sicily (which at that time was prosperous) and throughout Grecian Italy". (Transl. by R.M Gummere).

[15] See Walbank 1957, vol. I, 655.

[16] A Polybian influence on Lucr. 5, 1126-7.

καὶ δυσμενικῆς ὀργῆς, ἐγένετο μὲν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τυραννίς, ἀρχὴ δὲ καταλύσεως ἐγεννᾶτο καὶ σύστασις ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἡγουμένοις· ἣν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν χειρίστων, ἀλλ'ἐκ τῶν γενναιοτάτων καὶ μεγαλοψυχοτάτων, ἔτι δὲ θαρραλεωτάτων ἀνδρῶν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοιούτους ἥκιστα δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν ἐφεστώτων ὕβρεις

(Polybius 6, 7, 6-9).[17]

Thus, it seems clear that the successors of *sapientes reges* were appointed κατὰ γένος, or according to other criteria, they were considered unworthy to hold that position. The desire to possess (*avaritia*) was the main reason for the end of the Golden Age and why the monarchy degenerated into tyranny. Therefore, the creation of laws became necessary (90, 6 *opus esse legibus coepit*). Unlike Polybius (6, 7, 6) and the eighth book of Plato's *Republic*, Posidonius does not intend to list a chronological series of the constitutional forms, but he merely explains the merits of the wise legislators who invented the laws, such as Solon, Lycurgus, Zaleucus and Charondas.[18]

Lucretius

"It is becoming a commonplace of modern scholarship that *De rerum natura* is a political work, and like most commonplaces, this is more true than false"[19] wrote Don Fowler in a fundamental essay, and Lucretius' reconstruction of the causes of evolution in Book 5 (in particular in lines 1105-1160), more indirectly, could also be read as

[17] "But when they received the office by hereditary succession and found their safety now provided for, and more than sufficient provision of food, they gave way to their appetites owing to this superabundance, and came to think that the rulers must be distinguished from their subjects by a peculiar dress, that there should be a peculiar luxury and variety in the dressing and serving of their viands, and that they should meet with no denial in the pursuit of their amours, however lawless. These habits having given rise in one case to **envy and offence** and in the other to an outburst of hatred and passionate resentment, the kingship changed into a tyranny; the first steps towards its overthrow were taken by the subjects, and conspiracies began to be formed. These conspiracies were not the work of the worst men, but of the noblest, most high-spirited, and most courageous, because such men arte least able to brook the insolence of princes". (Transl. by W.R. Paton).

[18] Much more negative is the thought of Kritias, *TrGF*, I, 43, F 19, 1-2 Snell.

[19] See Fowler 2007[2], 400.

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a commentary on contemporary Roman history.[20] Through these two short and strong formulas "do not take part in politics" and "live unknown", the literary and philosophical ambition of *DRN* aspires to provide a lesson for all people of all ages. It must be said, but it is quite obvious, that evolution and progress in the Lucretian framework of Book 5 are never teleological, and are non-providential, and historical events are mechanical and unpredictable. Lucretius attacks the madness of a political system, based on the irrational desire of wealth and power, in distinct sections, better if read together: in Book 2, 9-16, in Book 3, 59-93 and 995-1022 and in Book 5, 1123-1135.

In 5, 1105-1112, Lucretius narrates how men who are "pre-eminent in genius[21] and strong in mind", the natural leaders for their beauty, strength and intelligence,[22] improved the quality of life by the discovery of new ways and of fire, well described in the previous lines.

> *Inque dies magis hi victum vitamque priorem*
> *commutare novis monstrabant rebus et igni,*
> *ingenio qui praestabant et corde vigebant.*
> *Condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare*
> *praesidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque,*
> *et pecus atque agros divisere atque dedere*
> *pro facie cuiusque et viribus ingenioque;*
> *nam facies multum valuit viresque vigebant* (Lucretius 5, 1105-1112).[23]

During an early phase of kingship — seen as the first form of political constitution, as in Posidonius — private property was invented and gold was discovered.[24] Now kings began to found cities and to

[20] Cf. Teophrastus *apud* Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5, 73, 3 (F 631 Fortenbaugh) and Tac. *Ann.* 3, 26, 1-3.

[21] Note that *ingenium*, that means 'talent' is different from *animus*, used by Seneca in chapter 4, that means 'consciousness'.

[22] It seems to recall the theory of the leaders among beasts, see footnote 6 *supra*. It could remind what was said about the Ethiopians in Hdt. 3, 20, 3, Strab. 17, 822, Pompon. 3, 86. Cfr. Schrijvers 1996, 224.

[23] "More and more daily they were shown how to change their former life and living for new ways and for fire by those who were pre-eminent in genius and strong in mind. Kings began to found cities and to build a citadel for their own protection and refuge; and they divided cattle and lands, and gave them to each according to beauty and strength and genius; for beauty had great power, and strength had importance, in those days". (Transl. by W.H.D. Rouse).

[24] Cf. Sen. *Ep*. 90, 3 during the phase of the διαστροφή.

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build citadels for their own protection — from the envy of their subjects[25] — and as refuges (1108-9). Kings became the symbols of a natural meritocracy: they are the most gifted members of the community, and distribute flocks, cattle and lands. No negative consequence emerges from this innovation. The men who were able to change the primitive living conditions, according to Robin, are the *sapientes reges*, mentioned by Seneca / Posidonius (F 284 Kidd = Sen. *Ep*. 90, 4-13). A wise king, leading the people towards progress and an improvement in economic and social life, represents the ideal monarch, the best and the most virtuous of men, according to the Cynics (cf. D. Chrys. *Or*. 4, 24). Lucretius distinguishes these men from the kings, as Bailey rightly argued: they must be seen as a form of primitive aristocracy. Line 1107 is characterized by a perfect and symmetrical structure with a final 'enjambement': the verbs *praesto* and *vigeo* insist on the intellectual and physical superiority of these men (cf. Lucr. 4, 1156 and Sall. *Cat.* 2, 1). The difference between the meaning of the two synonyms, *ingenium* and *cor*, is more relevant: while the first means 'talent', 'skill', 'competence' (cfr. Ernout-Meillet 1959[4], s.v. *geno,* 271), *cor* is properly the 'predisposition', the 'spirit', closer to *animus*, as in the Ennian 'iunctura', *egregie cordatus homo* (*Ann.* 329 Sk.), and frequently used by comic playwrights and Cicero (cf. *ThlL* s.v. *cor* IV, 933). In lines 1109-1112, Lucretius focuses on the moment when, inside this primitive aristocracy, made up of extraordinarily talented men, with *praestantia*, *facies*, *ingenium* and *cor*, the *reges* emerge, clever men who created new inventions and managed to transform their natural superiority into power. Line 1108 is characterized by the presence of a change of temporal action, very common in Lucretius: the continuity and the repetition of past actions, well expressed by the presence of the imperfect, is interrupted by the perfect *coeperunt*. The first form of monarchy, experienced by mankind, starts to found cities and fortresses. These *reges* are neither the wise kings, mentioned by Seneca (*Ep*. 90, 3-5), nor the first Roman monarchs (Cic. *De or*. 1, 9, 35). It is highly likely that Lucretius, by using a nonspecific plural, *reges*, instead of the singular, *rex*, refers to the global category of the primitive monarchy, experienced in the history of the Mediterranean and the Eastern civilizations (see Costa 1984, *ad loc.*). Beauty (*facies*) and strength (*vis*), emphasized by the

[25] Bailey 1947, vol. III, 1501.

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remarkable alliteration of line 1112 *valuit viresque vigebant* (see also Enn. *Ann.* 481 *viresque valentes*) and especially in lines 1114-16 (*validus, pulcher, fortis*), are the main characteristics among men, and they represent the canons of natural beauty and intellect (καλοκἀγαθία), see in particular see Hdt. 3.20, Polyb 6, 5, 7-9; Diod. 3,9,4, Pompon. 3, 86 about the Ethiopians (*mos est cui potissimus pareant specie ac viribus legere*).

> *Posterius res inventast aurumque repertum,*
> *quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem;*
> *divitioris enim sectam plerumque sequuntur*
> *quamlibet et fortes et pulchro corpora creti.*
> *Quod siquis vera vitam ratione gubernet,*
> *divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce*
> *aequo animo; neque enim est penuria parvi* (Lucretius 5, 1113-1119).[26]

The first symptoms of moral debasement arise after the invention of private property, and especially when the lands and cattle, distributed by the kings, were inherited and became a privilege of wealth, to the detriment of meritocracy and individual qualities and skills. However, everybody wanted to be safe and protected and they aspired to become richer than others (1115, note the gnomic sentence). This sort of anxiety and worry about the death and the loss of everything, appeared when private property was invented: the end of an age of happiness and peace (1113-1114).[27] What was the result? The consequence of evils, such as ambition and avidity, was a phase of violence and warfare. The other men, according to Lucretius, who were aspiring to kingly rule and ἀσφάλεια (security), used terrible struggles to achieve power, brought anarchy and almost destroyed the

[26] "Afterwards wealth was introduced and gold was discovered, which easily robbed both the strong and the handsome of their honour; for however strong and handsome in body, men for the most part fellow the party of the richer. But if one should guide his life by true principles, man's greatest riches is to live on a little with contended mind; for a little is never lacking". (Transl. by W.H.D. Rouse).

[27] The Epicureans divided human history into two phases: the first phase, *vitamque priorem* (5, 1005) consisted of a simple pastoral society, united by a pact of friendship, *foedus amicitiae*. The second phase is the political one, developed when the fear of death created irrational desires, such as greed and ambition, that destroyed the pact of friendship and humanity and all the pleasure of life, see Konstan 1973, Gale 2013, 25-50 and the for the texts the useful anthology of Long-Sedley 1987, vol. II, 129-43.

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human race; the latter compelled to escape the violence, surrendered to laws (5, 1143-1147). Once wealth becomes worth pursuing for its own sake, fame and power arise as attending social goals, on the equally false assumption that they are essential to the preservation of wealth itself and the possibility of leading a quiet life (1120-1122). Lucretius concludes this section with an attack against the vanity of political ambition, whose polemical target is timeless (1120-1135, see Epicurus, *RS* 37).

According to Plato (*Rep.* 415a, 417a-b, 465c-d), private property was the key reason for war and represented a serious threat to peace, as well as a form of social conflict. It is well known that Plato imagined a government based on the egalitarian community of philosophers, who ruled the city in the light of truth and of the Good, without any personal interest (the wise man will not handle money, see *Rep*. 347b-e). Aristotle, on the other hand, recognizes man's need for property, allowing him to live a distinguished existence (*Nic.* 1178b, 35, comparable with Epicur. *RS* 14) and contrasts with this both excessive wealth and extreme poverty: he ends up pointing out that the only ideal condition for a political community is one in which all citizens belong to a social middle class (*Pol.* 1261ff.). The Cynics and the Stoics are more radical according to a handful of sources (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1, 89ff.; Sen. *Ep.* 90, 37; Tac. *Ann.* 3, 26), for them private property was not a natural need, but had arisen only from human greed. Although it is undeniable that man has the right to possess property and handle money, Cicero (*De Off.* 1, 7), on the other hand, argues that it has to be acquired by occupation, by conquest, or by law.

Moreover, lines 1115-16 emphasize, through a complex syntactical structure, how the mass began to obey those who were richer (*divitior*) and those who previously governed, the beautiful and the strong, in order to abide by a timocratic criterion. Again, it is highly likely that *divitior* is a subtle allusion to the famous Marcus Licinius Crassus, called *Dives*, for his enormous amount of money (cfr. *RE* vol. XIII, 1, 270-72).

Overall, in lines 1117-18, the concept of *vivere parce* paraphrases almost literally Epicur. *SV* 25, a concept that recalls Democritus (cf. F B 283-84 DK), also translated by Sen. *Ep.* 4, 10 *magnae divitiae sunt lege naturae conpositae paupertas*. Epicurus explains that all natural and necessary human desires are easy to achieve: thus, it is useless for

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humans to exceed the limit of the pleasures (see also *DRN* 5, 1432-33). Wealth belongs to unnatural and unnecessary desires and cannot be wholly satisfied — consequently, a rich man is poor indeed, because of his perpetual dissatisfaction (Epicur. *Ep. Men.* 129-130). However, the desire to get rich leads to an irrepressible addiction and ambition to reach the highest peaks of power and prestige and, according to Epicurus, it originates in an excessive form of ἀσφάλεια ('security') and a pathological fear of poverty.[28]

At claros homines voluerunt se atque potentis,
ut fundamento stabili fortuna maneret
ut placidam possent opulenti degere vitam,
nequiquam, quoniam ad summum succedere honorem
certantes inter infestum fecere viai,
et tamen e summo, quasi fulmen, deicit ictos
invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara taetra
invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant
plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cumque;
ut satius multo iam sit parere quietum
quam regere imperio res velle et regna tenere.
Proinde sine incassum defessi sanguine sudent
angustum per iter luctantes ambitionis;
quandoquidem sapiunt alieno ex ore petuntque
res ex auditis potius quam sensibus ipsis,
nec magis id nunc est neque erit mox quam fuit ante

(Lucretius 5, 1120-1135).[29]

[28] cf. Epicur. *RS* 6, 7, 15, paraphrased by Cic. *De Fin.* 1, 46 *natura divitias quibus contenta sit et parabilis et terminatus habet*, see Classen 2008, 175-188.

[29] "Yet men desired to be famous and powerful, that their fortune might stand fast upon a firm foundation, and that being wealthy they might be able to pass a quiet life: all in vain, since in the struggle to climb to the summit of honour, they made their path full of danger; and even down from the summit, nevertheless, envy strikes them sometimes like a thunderbolt and casts them with scorn into loathly Tartarus; since envy, like the thunderbolt, usually scorches the summits and all those that are elevated above others; so that it is indeed much better to obey in peace than to desire to hold the world in fee and to rule kingdoms. Leave them then to be weary to no purpose, and to sweat blood in struggling along the narrow path of ambition; since their wisdom comes from the lips of others, and they pursue things on hearsay rather than from their own feelings. And this folly does not succeed at the present, and will not succeed in the future, any more than it has succeeded in the past". (Transl. by W.H.D. Rouse).

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Lucretius' theory of social evolution shows itself to be distinctive and innovative, even within the context of Epicurean doctrine. If in primitive society survival depended on cooperation and a non-aggression pact,[30] this failed after 'the gold rush' and because of excessive ambition for power. Thus, the social contract and the rise of violence among men no longer sufficed as a deterrent. Rules were set up to control this situation through threats of punishment and to make men aware of the need to stop violence. The transition to a state of law, after the fall of kings, degenerated into tyrants (1136-1137),[31] is explained clearly in terms of a state of emergency: in order to abolish the struggles and fights, developed after a period of anarchy, when men were tired of living in violence, they willingly decided to obey rules (1146-1160), and also to ban irrational vengeance and every form of self-applied justice. [32]

The Greek term ἀσφάλεια, social and economic security, is translated by Lucretius with a periphrasis, *fundamento stabili* (line 1121). Men entrust their destiny to this solid base, represented by wealth (*ut … fortuna maneret*): but it is clear that this will produce a complete illusion. *Fortuna* is one of the most insidious Latin *voces mediae* (cf. *OLD*[2] s.v. *fortuna* 1b, in the sense of fortune, distinguished as good or bad): Fate is changeable and inconstant, like the soul, and cannot be firm because of its wavering nature (see Ov. *Tr*. 5, 14, 3).

In line 1122, which echoes 2, 1094 *quae placidum degunt aevum vitamque serenam*, Lucretius continues to explain the desire of men to become rich (*opulenti*), in order to spend a quiet life (*placidam … vitam* in a framing hyperbaton). This predictable illusion hides a deception: a useless condemnation to unhappiness, since the balanced life of the Epicureans did not aspire to the possession of material goods. The only way to achieve katastematic pleasure, the highest form of wealth and control of the passions, is through ἀταραξία (freedom from emotional disturbance), theorized by Epicurus in the

[30] Although it was not perfect, primitive society respected the social pact (5, 1024-1027).

[31] The rise of tyrants is well expressed by *superba sceptra*, a reference to Tarquin the Proud?

[32] There could be an allusion to the most famous myth on the birth of justice and social progress, the *Oresteia*, the only surviving trilogy by Aeschylus. The primitive blind violence, that leads men to revenge, had to be punished by a regular legal system.

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Epistle to Menoeceus, and the principal Epicurean contrast with the Cyrenaic doctrine.[33]

Can glory be achieved? The path, expressed by the synonyms *iter* and (archaic) *viai*, to *succedere summum honorem* is dangerous and sinister (cf. *OLD* s.v. *succedo* 3 'to advance to a higher level'), and all the ambitious men need to struggle hard (*certantes*).

Although the peak of glory and prestige has been achieved, the price to pay is envy. In Lucr. 3, 59-86 (see also Epicur. *RS* 7) the lust for wealth was attributed to the fear of death, considered by the mortals the most dramatic form of anxiety (see O'Hara 2007, 76; Kenney 2014, *ad loc.*). From line 1126, Lucretius points out that only ambition can motivate men to increase their wealth, the sole instrument of power (from line 1113), which leads to glory, fame, even though it entails troubles and anxieties.

However, it is well recognised that many politicians in the first century BC followed the Epicurean doctrine,[34] although the political commitment was considered a disturbance to the fulfilment of inner psychic balance. By contrast, a political career was not forbidden, but highly recommended to the politicians who were not able to live without the *curae* of a public life, as reported in Philodemus' treatise *De bono rege secundum Homerum* (= PHerc. 1507, see Dorandi 1982, 73-120; Gigante 1987, 285-98; Fish 2002, 187-232; McConnell 2010, 178-98).

In lines 1125-28 Lucretius compares envy to a lightning-bolt (*fulmen*): it throws (*deicit*) the men it strikes (*ictos*) into the darkness of Tartarus. He alludes to the myth of Typhon, described by Hesiod (*Theog.* 821-880): the monstrous son of Tartarus (mentioned in 1126) and Gaea wanted to be the ruler of all gods and men, but was defeated by Zeus. Typhon is similar to Sisyphus: they were linked by the same ambition and desire to excel and exceed the limit, somehow they triggered the divine punishment, impelled by the φθόνος or envy (cf. Dodds 1951; Lloyd-Jones 1971).

[33] See on this topic Mitsis 1988; Warren 2013.

[34] For the extensive bibliography on Roman Epicureanism, see Farrington 1939, Momigliano 1941, Nichols 1976, Minyard 1985, Canfora 1993b, Penwill 2009, Garbarino 2010, Cocatre-Zilgien 2012, Reinhardt 2014.

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Lucretius intensifies his condemnation and disdain for ambition in lines 1131-35: his advice and precepts become a clear admonition to let men fight and clash with each other, in vain.[35]

Ergo regibus occisis subversa iacebat
pristina maiestas soliorum et sceptra superba,
et capitis summi praeclarum insigne cruentum
sub pedibus vulgi magnum lugebat honorem;
nam cupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum.
Res itaque ad summam faecem turbasque redibat,
imperium sibi cum ac summatum quisque petebat.
inde magistratum partim docuere creare
iuraque constituere, ut vellent legibus uti.
Nam genus humanum, defessum vi colere aevom,
ex inimicitiis languebat; quo magis ipsum
sponte sua cecidit sub leges artaque iura.
Acrius ex ira quod enim se quisque parabat
ulcisci quam nunc concessumst legibus aequis,
hanc ob rem est homines pertaesum vi colere aevom.
Inde metus maculat poenarum praemia vitae.
Circumretit enim vis atque iniuria quemque
atque unde exortast, ad eum plerumque revertit,
nec facilest placidam ac pacatam degere vitam
qui violat factis communia foedera pacis.
Etsi fallit enim divom genus humanumque,
perpetuo tamen id fore clam diffidere debet;
quippe ubi se multi per somnia saepe loquentes
aut morbo delirantes protraxe ferantur
et celata [mala] in medium et peccata dedisse (Lucretius 5, 1136-1160).[36]

[35] I am most grateful to Luciano Canfora for the mention of an interesting historical and legal reading of these lines by Cocatre-Zilgien 2012, 101-58. I would like to address a special word of thanks to Professor Canfora, who first encouraged me to undertake working on Book 5 of *DRN*.

[36] "Kings therefore were slain; the ancient majesty of thrones and proud sceptres lay overthrown in the dust; the illustrious badge of the topmost head, bloodstained beneath the feet of the mob, bewailed the loss of its high honour; for men are eager to tread underfoot what they have once too much feared. So things came to the uttermost dregs of confusion, when each man for himself sought dominion and exaltation. Then there were some who taught them to create magistrates, and established law, that they might be willing to obey statutes. For mankind, tired of living in violence, was fainting from its feuds, and so they were readier of their own will to submit to statutes and strict rules of law. For because each man in his wrath

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The formula *regibus exactis* indicates the expulsion of the kings and it is much more frequent in Latin than *regibus occisis* (see the traditional expressions *regibus exactis*, *post reges exactos*). The word *exactio* means properly the expulsion (see the verb *exigere*, the action to get away, to step aside, cf. *OLD*[2] s.v. *exigo*, 2). *Occidere* remarks the drastic method to stop the action of the kings, by killing them. In these lines Lucretius recounts the act of a palace conspiracy. There are many examples of aristocratic conspiracies in ancient history, and it can be argued that this is a common form of transition from one government to another, which occurs cyclically.[37]

In line 1136 the plural *reges* is repeated again, as in line 1109, instead of a more predictable *rex*. The plural indicates the universal figure of the monarch, beyond a precise historical period or a specific geographical country, therefore, there are two ways to read these lines: on the one hand, Lucretius alludes to the Roman monarchy, on the other hand, he is referring to the Hellenistic monarchy.[38] Cocatre-Zilgien 2012, 118-121 proposes an original hypothesis: he did not read *reges* in the literal meaning of "kings", but more intuitively as "those who exercise some form of *regnum*", such as the

would make ready to avenge himself more severely than is permitted now by just laws, for this reason men were utterly weary of living in violence. Hence comes fear of punishment that taints the prizes of life; for violence and injury enclose in their net all that do such things, and generally return upon him who began, nor is it easy to pass a quiet and peaceful life for him whose deeds violate the bonds of the common peace. For even if he hide it from gods and men, he must yet be uncertain that it will forever remain hidden; seeing that often many men, speaking in dreams or raving in delirium, are said to have discovered themselves, and to have disclosed deeply hidden matters and their sins". (Transl. by W.H.D Rouse).

[37] See Polyb. 6, 7. An example for all can be the fall of the tyranny at Athens in 509 BC (cfr. Thuc. 6, 54) contemporary with the fall of Tarquin in Rome; on the subject see also Cocatre-Zilgien 2012, 117.

[38] There is a broad bibliography on this topic, cf. Momigliano 1941, Conti 1982, Minyard 1985, Fowler 1989, Schiesaro 2007. Lucretius perhaps provides some *exempla*, that were referred to the contemporary mentality of the *civis Romanus*. The lexicon in this group of lines mentions the political institutions of the Republican Rome, for instance *rex, maiestas, magnus honos, imperium*. According to Boerwinkel 1956 and Costa 1984, *ad loc.*, Lucretius was referring to the Hellenistic kings, who ruled in Asia and in Africa, contemporary to Epicurus. I tend to believe in a proper allusion to the famous murder of the tyrants Hippias and Hipparchus, reported by Thucydides (6, 54): it would represent a further mention of the Thucydidean *Histories* in the *DRN*.

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Gracchi or a consul for four consecutive years (87-84 BC), like Lucius Cornelius Cinna. Cocatre-Zilgien 2012, 120-21 argues: «sa *dominatio* fut sanglante, ce qui suggère une autre interprétation de l'*insigne cruentum* du vers 1138. Nous tendons à croire qu'il s'agit des faisceaux où se nichaient les *secures* des licteurs, ces haches avec lesquelles les magistrats à *imperium* pouvaient en principe faire exécuter ceux qu'ils avaient décidé de frapper de cette mesure ultime de coercition».

The brief and concise description of the fall of the monarchy, by the adverb *ergo*, and the birth of the Republican system, ruled by laws, has been read, for a long time, in the light of the sources on the history of the origins of Rome (Liv. 1, 59-60). The two epithets in line 1137, *pristina* and *superba*, are easily related to Tarquin the Proud,[39] but the historical context was quite different and the equivalence is not quite correct. The last king was removed, not killed, and there is no historical evidence of a following period of anarchy, as described in lines 1141-42.

Therefore, Lucretius seems to narrate a general tale, about the birth of laws in the history of the world, more similar to the Greek myths, rather than an accurate overview of the development of the history of Rome. A further proof to support this is the use of a proper lexicon: the hypallage *sceptra superba* is a symbolic image of the royal power. *Sceptrum* means, both literally (cf. *OLD*[2] s.v. *sceptrum* 1, Cic. *Sest.* 57) and figuratively (*OLD*[2] s.v. 2), the power symbolized by a sceptre and, in general, the sovereignty, the kingship. The epithet *superbus* is typically referred to kings, and it is a part of the stereotyped image of the tyrants (see Polyb. 5, 11, 6 and Cic. *Rep.* 2, 45).

Therefore, it can be argued that Lucretius referred to a precise historical period: the 6th century BC, when the early Greek lawmakers (Solon, Lycurgus, Zaleucus, Charondas), after a difficult period of anarchy, reorganized the legal system in Greece and Magna Graecia.[40] Nevertheless, this assumption is not completely convincing:

[39] See Gale *ad loc*.

[40] Although Posidonius is not to be considered a source for Lucretius, cf. Sen. Ep. 90, 6 *sed postquam subrepentibus vitiis in tyrannidem regna conversa sunt, opus esse legibus coepit, quas et ipsas inter initia tulere sapientes. Solon … Lycurgum … Zaleuci leges Charondaeque laudantur*. Schrijvers 1999, 117 reasonably argues that the sources of Lucretius' lines are Greek.

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the lawmakers did not lead to the fall of the tyrants, but they helped them to build a good government.

Lines 1138-40 focus on a contrast between the height of the power (*caput, summus, praeclarus, insignis*) and the lowness of the people (*sub, pes, vulgus, conculco*), who proudly brought down the symbols of royalty. *Inde*, at the beginning of line 1138, specifies a definite chronological break from the earlier age to the established society, ruled by the laws. The concentration of the legal language in these lines is clear (cf. *magistratum*, *iura*, *constituere*, *leges*, *poena, iniuria*) and a legal reading by Cocatre-Zilgien 2012 seems to be the most convincing. The establishment of the laws was created to benefit all, despite the necessary but essential restriction of individual freedom, it serves to ensure the rules of peaceful civil coexistence.

Hermarchus, the disciple and the next chief of Epicurus' Garden, was concerned with the origins of the laws (cf. Porph. *Abst.* 1, 8, 2). He described with admiration the work of the first lawmakers: they were distinguished from the others thanks to their φρόνησις, "sense, wisdom". However, Lucretius did not have a positive judgement about the role of punishment imposed by the laws, thanks to their deterrent power: the fear of punishment damages the rewards of life and increases irrational forms of anxiety among men (see line 1151, *inde metus maculat poenarum praemia vitae*).

I am not convinced at all that Lucretius' target was only a condemnation of his contemporary time and the impending civil strife. The interesting essay by McConnell 2010, 98 points out "the Epicurean treatment of civil strife" and "Lucretius' engagement with the topic in the context of this tradition". In this way, the στάσις was read as a 'topos' into a tradition of historiographical texts (see the narrative technique of Thuc. 3, 70-85 and several fragments by Democritus, F B 245-266 DK, that strikingly influenced the Epicurean thought on physics, ethics and anthropology). In the *Republic*, Plato described στάσις as a dangerous form of political degeneration (8, 1, 543). According to this view, after the timocratic government, ruled by the aristocrats, the oligarchic government succeeded, ruled by the rich. The oligarchy was followed by the popular insurrection and the established democracy degenerated into the worst form of government, the tyranny.

Framing Lucretius as part of a precise political party is useless: a subtle preference for an early form of monarchy can be glimpsed in

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Book 5, but open political references are abstract and hard to translate into a concrete political program.[41] Therefore, I completely agree with Alessandro Schiesaro when he writes: "The *DRN* shows that a return to nature is the key not just to the happiness of the individual, but also to the salvation of the state. What Rome needs is a fresh social compact based on mutual respect, non-aggression, and, first and foremost, rejection of all false idols: fame, honour, armies, money, *religio*. Tinkering with party politics would not address any of these issues. Clearly, what is needed is not constitutional reform, but philosophical conversion".[42]

Sallust

Political ambition *per se,* considered as the pursuit of wealth and power, and its consequent debasement in the mean feeling of *invidia* "envy" (3, 75; 5, 1126), is seen by Lucretius as a total misunderstanding of authentic and rational reality. Men can avoid, if they want to, the insatiable love of wealth: much of Sallust's description of greed, as always endless and almost unavoidable (*Cat*. 2, 3-6), seems to be Lucretian. Sallust's brief tale of ancient times, following the rise of monarchy and the power of natural leaders, particularly gifted in virtue, intelligence and beauty, is full of Lucretian reminiscences both in content and in lexicon. Note the same use of *ingenium* in *Cat.* 2, 2 and in Lucr. 5, 1107, and that a synonym of *praesto* and *vigeo* is the Sallustian *excerceo*.[43]

[41] Minyard 1985, 22-35 sees the *DRN* as offering a radical redefinition of the values enshrined in the *mos maiorum*; it is part of what he terms "the intellectual crisis of the Late Republic", the recognition that "the inherited system was corrupt and meaningless". Catullus and Caesar are also engaged in this process of redefinition, but in very different ways. See the deep though brief review by Momigliano of Farrington's *Science and Politics in the Ancient World* (London 1939), which is still the most stimulating essay on Epicurean political theory (Momigliano 1941, 375-88). Lucretius' allegorization of the Sisyphus myth at 3, 995-1002 is the most direct reference to contemporary political life. See also Canfora 1993b, 291-301; Kennedy 2013, 51-67.

[42] Schiesaro 2007, 54.

[43] It is not so easy to link Sallust to Lucretius, but already Schiesaro 2007 and Gale 2009 found an echo in *Cat.* 2.

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Igitur initio reges — nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit — divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua quoique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis conpertum est in bello plurumum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est; verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur (Sallust *Catiline* 2, 1-6).[44]

Unlike in Lucretius, here we can find precise historical references. Sallust cites Cyrus, noted for his conquest of Medes, Lydians, Babylonians in Asia (mid-6th cent. B.C.), as Herodotus narrated, and the conquests of the Spartans and Athenians, who began to subdue various city-states in mainland Greece and in the Aegean in the 6th and 5th centuries. B.C. But in 2, 4-6, Sallust begins to allude to a degeneration of customs ("when hard work is replaced by laziness, self-restraint and evenhandedness by wilfulness and insolence, there is a change in fortune accompanying the change in character"), that can change fortune, even if sovereignty always remains "transferred to the best man from the hands of his inferior". A large group of gnomic

[44] "And so, in the beginning kings — for that was the first title of sovereignty on earth — adopted different courses, some employing their intellect, others their body; men were still living their lives at that time without greed; each person was quite content with his own possessions. But after Cyrus in Asia and the Spartans and Athenians in Greece, had begun to subdue cities and peoples, to treat their lust for dominion as a justification for war, to equate the greatest glory with possession of the greatest empire, then finally it was ascertained from perilous enterprises that in war the intellect can accomplish the most. But if the mental excellence of kings and commanders were as just as vigorous in peace as in war, human affairs would mantain a more even and steady course; you would not behold power shifting to and from and everything in turmoil and confusion. For sovereignty is easily preserved by those practices which brought it into being in the first place. But when hard work is replaced by laziness, self-restraint and evenhandedness by willfulness and insolence, there is a change in fortune accompanying the change in character. Thus sovereignty is always being transferred to the best man from the hands of his inferior". (Transl. by J.C. Rolfe).

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sentences in 2, 3-6 are typical of Sallustian style and the *inconcinnitas*, brevity and abruptness.

Blaming wealth and luxury for the corruption of pristine virtue and nobility is familiar in Roman literature, especially of the late Republic and early Empire, "but Lucretius gives to the cliché a specifically Epicurean twist, by opposing insatiable thirst for riches and power not to selfless public service (Sall. *Cat.* 7, 10),[45] but to an apolitical quietism (1129-35), in line with Epicurus' injunction not to take part in politics (Diog. Laert. 10, 119)".[46]

A few years before Lucretius and Sallust, Varro blamed the arrogance and the *nobiles*, who were competing for wealth as well as power, in the following passages:[47]

> *Itaque in qua terra culturam agri docuerunt pastores progeniem suam qui condiderunt urbem, ibi contra progenies eorum propter avaritiam contra leges ex segetibus fecit prata* (Varro, *Res Rusticae* 2, *praef.* 4).[48]

> *Tanta porro invasit cupiditas honorum plerisque ut vel caelum ruere, dummodo magistratum adipiscantur, exportent* (Varro, *De vita populi Romani* F 121 Riposati = Nonius 802L).[49]

Sallust amplified the vices of Catiline with a useful digression on the corruption of public morals that followed the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Thus Varro, Lucretius and Sallust describe in a similar way the avarice, arrogance and lust for office: the aristocracy (*nobiles*) acts in its own interest without any restriction in the pursuit of wealth and power.

> *Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere,*

[45] The political life is inevitably the subject of *invidia*. Many Lucretian passages (especially in Book 3) are compared by Fowler 2007², 418-9 with Sallust, in particular 5, 1125-9 with 3, 74-77 and *Cat.* 20, 7-8.

[46] Gale 2009, 193

[47] Cfr. Wiseman 2010, 35-39.

[48] "And so, in the land where the shepherds who founded the city taught their descendants agriculture, their descendants have made pasture out of cornfields, from avarice in defiance of the laws". (Transl. by T.P. Wiseman).

[49] "Besides, most of them have been infected by so great a lust for honors that they'd even long for the sky to fall, provided they get their magistracy" (Transl. by T.P. Wiseman)

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> *omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex iustissumo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum* (Sallust, *Cat.* 10, 3-6).[50]

It is not surprising that Cicero's *De re publica* offers an articulate alternative to Lucretius' *DRN* about evolution, history and politics, in particular on the centrality, according to Cicero, of our world in a balanced and geometric *kósmos*, regulated by providence: for instance, it suffices it to remember that, in *De re publica*, Romulus is deified (2, 4-19), while in *DRN* Epicurus is the only (metaphorical) god. In Book 5, the fall of kings recalls the end of the Roman monarchy (note that Sallust offers a comparable interpretation in *Cat*. 6, 7; 7, 1-4; 10-11; *Jug.* 41; *Hist.* 1, 10), and it is not difficult to see allusions to the dying days of the Republic (5, 1123-1135). In addition, it is highly likely that Lucretius is alluding to his contemporary *tempora* and to the imminence of the civil war in the latter half of 50 or in 49-48 BC.[51]

[50] "Hence a craving first for money, then for power, increased; these were, as it were, the root of all evils. For avarice subverted trustworthiness, integrity, and other virtuous practices; in place of these, it taught insolence, cruelty, to neglect the gods, to set a piece on everything. The desire for advancement drove many mortals to become false; to have one thought locked in their breast, another ready on their tongue; to value friendships and enmities not on their merits but by the standard of self-interest, and show a good front rather than a good heart. These vices grew little by little at first; from time to time they were punished; later, when the disease had spread like a deadly plague, the community was changed and governmental authority, instead of being the most just and best, because cruel and intolerable". (Transl. by J.C. Rolfe).

[51] Penwill 2009, 64: "That Lucretius is to be regarded as a poet of the 50s I take as axiomatic. It seems to me that Memmius' trial and conviction for bribery in late 54 has to be the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the poem as we have it; while Lucretius may be consciously ironic in his choice of addressee (picking one whose observed behavior is quite antithetical to the lifestyle the poem appears to be advocating), it is highly improbable that he would be attributing that quintessentially political undertaking to 'be there for the common good' (*nec… communi desse saluti,* 1, 42-3) to someone whose political ambition was already dead in the water". Penwill is not convinced by the argument of Hutchinson 2001, following Canfora

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Conclusion

In summary, despite the differences, there is something that links Posidonius, Lucretius and Sallust. After the end of the Golden Age, which coincided with the Posidonian wise kings, those who succeeded the wise men began a process of degeneration, corruption and envy: which Polybius called tyranny. But can Posidonius' theory (reported in Se. *Ep.* 90) be a source for Lucretius? And again, may Lucretius have been a source for Sallust? It is not easy to answer these questions: however, it can be argued that Seneca must have been aware of *DRN* in his analysis of the Posidonian doctrine, and it is easy to assume that he used Lucretius to translate "in Latin terms" the thought of the Greek philosopher. I believe that the doctrine of Posidonius about the origin of civilization represents a complex product of a plurality of sources. The similarity of content with the texts of Hesiod, Democritus, Plato and Dicaearchus is obvious, as it is highly likely that the Posidonian theory is a reworked version, with some differences, of the text of Polybius, as we have seen. But this does not mean at all that he had read all the Polybian sources.[52] In addition, I am quite convinced that Lucretius knew the Posidonian theory, even if he did not know precisely the works of Posidonius. He chose to provide his own version, which could be the Epicurean answer in opposition to the Stoic conception of the world. Although we cannot affirm that Lucretius is garnering a precise social theory from Epicurus, his polemical target is more likely to be the Peripatetics, especially Theophrastus and Dicaearchus, than the Stoics.[53] The early Sallustian chapters are undoubtedly a 'topos' present in many historical works (for instance, Livy, *Praefatio*, 12 or the Thucydidean 'Archaeology'), but a subtle hidden polemic about the contemporary events of the complex years of the First Triumvirate

1993, that the *DRN* was a product of the early 40s (specifically the period between March 49 and August 48 B.C.). The *De re publica*, instead, is dated 54-51 BC.

[52] It is not easy to answer the question if Lucretius was in polemics with other contemporary schools of thought, the Stoic philosophers, as argued Bailey 1947, and see in particular Kleve 1978, 39-75. By contrast, Furley 1966, 13-33, Sedley 1998, 91-3 and Warren 2007, 19-32.

[53] While Dicaearchus saw in the mythical Golden Age the prototype of natural human unity, Lucretius imagines the first men as wild beasts, isolated and scattered, engaged in the struggle for their own survival (5, 958-61).

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has to be seen both in Lucretius and in Sallust. Perhaps, a proof of these plausible political references could be found, in a similar way, in the ultimate purpose of Seneca's *Epistles*, a manifesto of Stoic morality, but also a condemnation of Julio-Claudian Rome, dominated by luxury, power and cruel violence.

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VIOLENCE AND THE FEMININE: THE ELEGIAC WOMAN IN ACTION

Arcangela CAFAGNA

Less than a century ago Julien Benda, one of the most renown intellectuals of the early xxth century, wrote his *Properce ou les amants de Tibur*, where he fancied a dialogue with the protagonists of a great elegiac love.[1] "Je voyais — Benda admitted, carried away by sentiment — cet amant compliqué n'être point poussé vers celle qu'il aime par le seul aiguillon de l'amour, mais aussi par celui de l'amitié, de la sympathie humaine";[2] he even felt him "vibrer d'une joie qui est manifestement celle de la tendresse autant que de l'amour".[3] Incurable romantics as we are today, even at the beginning of a two thousand year-old romantic relationship, we expect to find an idyllic atmosphere, full of languid glances and amiable smiles. Yet Propertius' fate is rather different for he experiences, from the very beginning, the sufferings and the grief of a long-loving suitor, when his infatuation for Cynthia is still far from actual concretization. Everything starts with a paradox, explicitly stated in the programmatic opening elegy of the poem (vv. 1-6):

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis,
contactum nullis ante Cupidinibus.
Tum mihi constantis deiecit lumina fastus
et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus,
donec me docuit castas odisse puellas 5
improbus, et nullo vivere consilio.[4]

[1] *Properce ou les amants de Tibur* was edited in 1928 by Grasset, in Paris.
[2] Benda 1928, 62.
[3] Benda 1928, 63.
[4] "Cynthia first with her eyes ensnared me, poor wretch, that had previously been untouched by desire. It was then that Love made me lower my looks of stubborn pride and trod my head beneath his feet, until the villain taught me to shun decent girls and to lead the life of a ne'er-do-well" (Goold 1990, 43).

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The modern reader is not surprised by the fact that the poet fell in love with Cynthia at first sight, and neither would the ancient reader be, used to as he was, to the Hellenistic *topos* of a sudden infatuation by virtue of a sole glance.[5]

However, to mar the standard context surrounding a lover's encounter, we have in the opening verse of the elegy, a first linguistic sign that leaves no room for misunderstanding or ephemeral illusions; a verb, directly borrowed from the *sermo castrensis*, with a semantic origin that alludes to the conquest of a city, connoting the moment of conquest with an act of forceful violence: *cepit*, emphasized by the triple apophonic alliteration *Cynthia …cepit …ocellis*, expresses the disruptive, bursting violence with which passion breaks into Propertius' mind and encloses the real paradox of a poet who, from conqueror, is conquered by the sole power of Cynthia's glance, wielding it in the same way she would brandish an invincible weapon. The wise disposition of terms with the woman's first name (*Cynthia*) in *incipit* and the pronoun *me* in the second hemistich, confirms the process of assimilating the elegiac love to a painful condition of servitude to one woman alone.

From the signs of a hinted capitulation, implied in vv. 1-2, we come in vv. 3-4 to the explicit representation of a lover with his eyes lowered to the earth, for he cannot hold his beloved's glance any longer: at the very climax we have an ideal scene of conflict, in which the god Love, with a belligerent assurance, treads on the defeated man's head, thus sanctioning his ultimate submission. Cynthia and Love are, therefore, cooperating in synergy, albeit somewhat differently. Cynthia imposes her domain by the power of her glance whereas Love does it with the brutal violence of a warrior.[6] In this *incipit* of the elegy, we almost have the impression of watching a martial confrontation: in fact, it is precisely this expression of violence, hereby obviously illustrated in a different way, which translates typical situations of a love relationship into a bloody warlike scenario.

[5] The examples of the *topos* of infatuation kindled by a glance are collected in Librán Moreno 2011, 158.

[6] For the iconographic representation of Love as a fighter and a warrior, see Hermary – Cassimatis – Vollkommer 1986, 911-12.

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It is visibly clear, through the mythical example of Milanion and Atalanta (vv. 9-16), that the price to pay for the conquest of Cynthia consists in the acceptance of every manifestation of violence:

Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit Iasidos.
Nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris,
rursus in hirsutas ibat et ille feras;
ille etiam Hylaei percussus vulnere rami
saucius Arcadiis rupibus ingemuit.
Ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam:
tantum in amore preces et benefacta valent.[7]

The proverbial *asperitas* of Iaso's daughter, according to tradition adverse to love and given to living in the woods,[8] is opposed to a humble, obliging Milanion. It is not by chance that this mythical narrative, as well as the personal history, rests on a paradox. On the verbal plane, in the happy ending the lover is able to *contundere* his beloved's *saevitia* (vv. 9-10): far from being understood as really concrete, *contundere* metaphorically alludes to the actual successful enterprise by Milanion, who cunningly vanquishes his beloved's *duritia*. It is enough, however, to stress the ironic nuance implied by the verb, when one thinks of Milanion's situation, who tries to defend Atalanta from an assault by two centaurs, with the aim of winning her favour, but ends up being cudgelled by one of them (vv. 13-14).[9] This paradoxical image of a Milanion who succeeds in the hard task of vanquishing his beloved's *saevitia,* but who is

[7] "It was, friend Tullus, by shrinking from no hardship that Milanion broke down the cruelty of harsh Atalanta. For now he wandered distraught in the glens of Parthenius, and now he would go to confront shaggy wild beasts. He was also dealt a wound from the club Hylaeus bore, and on the rocks of Arcady he moaned in pain. Thus he was able to subdue the swift-footed girl: such power in love have devotion and service"(Goold 1990, 43. 45).

[8] On Propertius' identity of Atalanta, who is not to be confused with the Boeotian Atalanta, unbeatable in race, but rather as the huntress, daughter to Iaso, Arcady's king, see Apollod. 3, 9, 2.

[9] Schubert 2010, 345-47 is wrong when he proposes to correct the bequeathed, impossible *psi*(*y*)*lli* in *Rhoeci* instead of in *Hylaei,* like some more recent editions have done: he seems to ignore the context in which Ovid (*Ars* 2, 191 *sensit et Hylaei contentum saucius arcum*), alluding to Propertius, only mentions Ileo, without considering Roico at all.

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hurt by a centaur's club, is paralleled by Propertius', once a proud-looking *civis* and later forced to surrender and assume the supplicant's role.

It is known that the *exordia* are always difficult, and a reader who is not acquainted with the successive turns of the plot would legitimately define Propertius' love for Cynthia as one with a harsh *exordium*. Actually, however, this is just the beginning of a long queue of torments for the suitor. The clearest expression of the elegiac lover's *servitium amoris* is a submissive, resigned acceptance of every form of abuse or violence, starting with the verbal.

On many occasions, in fact, the poet, once completed the suit of seduction, becomes the object of his beloved's darts every time she behaves arrogantly and despotically, being faithful to her role as *domina*. Already in the third elegy of the first book Cynthia, angered by Propertius' long absence at night, addresses him not with devious or subtle insinuations, but with direct accusations (vv. 35-38):

> *Tandem te nostro referens iniuria lecto* 35
> *alterius clausis expulit e foribus?*
> *Namque ubi longa meae consumpsti tempora noctis,*
> *languidus exactis, ei mihi, sideribus?*[10]

The two interrogatives, wisely disposed in climax, move from an insinuation of betrayal to a statement of an actual probability of the truth of such accusation. At a first approach, both would seem to introduce a dialogue with the beloved, but this is meant to quickly turn to quite a different reality. The former, in fact, is far more than a rhetorical question, for we are in the presence of the formulation of a precise accusation of betrayal, discernible both in the erotic meaning of *iniuria*[11] and in each element of v. 36 (the insinuation of a clandestine relationship implicit in *alterius*, the abrupt interruption and the ending of the night adventure, emphasized by the word *expulit* and reiterated by *clausis …e foribus*).

[10] "Has another's scorn then at last brought you to my bed, expelling you from doors closed in your face? For where have you spent the long hours of the night which was due me, you who come, ah me, exhausted, when the stars are driven from the sky?" (Goold 1990, 53).

[11] For the use of *iniuria* with reference to love betrayal and to the violation of the *foedus amoris*, see Reitzenstein 1912, 26 ff. and Fedeli 1980, 131.

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Still more inquisitive is the tone of the question in vv. 37-38, where the malicious ambiguity of *languidus*, epithet attributed to the poet (not by chance), who Cynthia fancies to have worn out after a night of revelry, follows in v. 39 the singular apostrophe (*improbe*), by which Propertius' behaviour is taxed with dishonesty. Only in an elegy of the second book will the poet, constantly flailed by Cynthia's insults, find the strength to repay his beloved in kind, in a burst of independence, giving her the same spiteful epithet (2, 8, 14 *improba*):[12] however, it will be no more than a feeble reaction of no consequence at all and with no repercussion whatsoever on the state of affairs.

Cynthia's *duritia* towards her lover, often turned to violence, is not shown through her infamous accusations alone. Her blatant verbal outpourings sometimes alternate with an almost derisive distance and coldness: so when Propertius tells her that he is immensely concerned about his own fate (1, 15, 3 *aspice me quanto rapiat fortuna periclo*),[13] Cynthia pays no attention to his words and prefers, frivolous and distant, to linger about her reflection in the mirror and to retouch her makeup with exasperating indolence (vv. 5-6):

> *et potes hesternos manibus componere crines* 5
> *et longa faciem quaerere desidia*.[14]

Propertius is clearly annoyed and his sorrow for such ungrateful detachment is already evident in v. 4: *tu tamen in nostro lenta timore venis*, in which *lenta*, clearly patent at the beginning of the pentameter's second hemistich, underlines Cynthia's insensitivity and indifference.[15] With increasing disillusion and bitterness, Propertius comes to ascertain her cruel *perfidia*, hidden behind a captivating

[12] About the frequent use of the epithet *improbus* in love rebukes, see Opelt 1965, 273 and *ThlL* VII 1, 693, 13 ff.

[13] For the several hypotheses regarding the nature of the *periculum* incurred by Propertius, see Fedeli 1980, 338-339.

[14] "And you have the nerve to finger and reset your hair disordered since last night, and spend idle hours trying to improve your looks" (Goold 1990, 87. 89).

[15] The epithet does not mean, as asserted by Shackleton Bailey 1956, 42, that Cynthia lingers before she visits sick Propertius. Pichon 1902, 186 had already made clear that in the elegiac language of love "*lentus* dicitur saepe qui amantem non redamat, sed frigidus remanet".

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glance (the very same which was responsible for his infatuation), and her artful, calculating attitude[16] (vv. 39-40):

quis te cogebat multos pallere colores
et fletum invitis ducere luminibus?[17] 40

The interrogatives with which the poet expresses his total disappointment for a love experience, marked by continuous lies, end in the pathetic, conclusive exclamation (v. 42 *o nullis tutum credere blanditiis*!), in which we find, isolated in *explicit* in the verse, the very term which defines false flattering that seduces, but is also the source of great distress.[18]

The traditional repertoire of the elegiac woman also contemplates gestures and actions that imply a lack of prejudice and inhibition such as to induce fear of possible betrayals. Betrayal itself is a form of violence, against the trust that the infatuated poet accords to Cynthia, and it is aggravated by the fact that, once acquired the certainty of the infidelity, he is unable to react and finds nothing better than to accept it. It all starts with a suspicion insinuated in the lover's mind which will never be appeased. Propertius usually reacts in an apparently contradictory way, for at first he assumes the role of a ruthless, implacable accuser, ready to fling at his treacherous lover the most infamous accusations, then surprisingly he becomes a defender engaging in a passionate harangue to justify Cynthia's guilt (this is, for instance, the case in 2, 32). The frightful danger of a rival will soon become real.[19] In elegy 2, 9 Cynthia, cruel *domina* as she is, consumes the poet in jealousy with her impudent, provocative attitude (vv. 19-22):

at tu non una potuisti nocte vacare,
impia, non unum sola manere diem! 20

[16] The absence of candour in Cynthia's attitude is reflected in the expression *ducere fletum*, alluding to non spontaneous tears; on 'iunctura', which corresponds to *exprimere lacrimas*, see Shackleton Bailey 1956, 277.

[17] "Who forced you to blench and turn all colours and to draw tears from your reluctant eyes?" (Goold 1990, 91).

[18] On the *blanditiae* in love poetry, see Ramírez de Verger – Librán Moreno 2011, 311-14.

[19] About the conventional presence of a rival in love poetry, besides Fedeli 1990, 121-55, see López Gregoris 2011, 369-71.

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Quin etiam multo duxistis pocula risu:
forsitan et de me verba fuere mala.[20]

Cynthia is caught in full genial society while entertaining her new lover: to cheer them there is wine, the ideal accomplice of a date that cannot be fancied in terms of moderation or just measurement (vv. 21-22). The suspicion of betrayal has become a certainty, and in vv. 35-36 the bitter charge of inconstancy in love is addressed not only to Cynthia, but towards the whole feminine universe:

Non sic incerto mutantur flamine Syrtes,
nec folia hiberno tam tremefacta Noto,
quam cito feminea non constat foedus in ira, 35
sive ea causa gravis, sive ea causa levis.[21]

It almost seems as if Propertius, set to accuse his beloved, but wishing to inscribe her guilt in a general disrespectful behaviour, has forgotten the so-preached *pudor* of ancient women, Penelope being the first instance, invoked at the beginning of the elegy as an example of chastity[22] (vv. 3-4 *Penelope poterat bis denos salva per annos* / *vivere*, *tam multis femina digna procis*) and later implied, along with every other woman, in the accusation of *levitas*.

In love poetry a man is not allowed that which a woman may dare with despotic violence: whereas it is legitimate for Cynthia to indulge herself in erotic licentiousness, Propertius may not have any affairs, and a single suspicion of infidelity aroused in the woman's mind is sufficient for her to unleash an uncontrolled fury. Far from the idealised image of a *docta puella*, an obvious projection of the poet's longing, Cynthia does not hesitate to display a manly attitude and even manifestations of physical violence towards her suitor: at the beginning of 3, 8 we have the description of a furious struggle

[20] "But you could not do without a man for a single night, impious one, could not remain alone for a single day! (…) Moreover the pair of you prolonged your drinking with much merriment, and no doubt made nasty remarks about me"; Goold 1990, 147, who however, after v. 20, transposes, as Housman (1888, 2) does, vv. 29-30: anyway see Fedeli 2005, 290.

[21] "Not so quickly do the Syrtes shift in a veering wind or the leaves flutter in a wintry gale as a woman's promise is broken when she is angry, be the matter serious or be it slight" (Goold 1990, 147).

[22] On this *topos* see Otto 1890, 272 s.v. *Penelopes* [1] and Wüst 1937, 483-84.

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starring an inebriated, violent Cynthia, with the unfortunate Propertius as a victim (vv. 1-4):

> *Dulcis ad hesternas fuerat mihi rixa lucernas,*
> *vocis et insanae tot maledicta tuae,*
> *cum furibunda mero mensam propellis et in me*
> *proicis insana cymbia plena manu*.[23]

An intoxicated Cynthia overturns the table, throws cups of wine at her lover, grabs him by his hair and scratches his face, all this just on a suspicion of betrayal. It is difficult to assess which part of this scene is the result of a jealous drive and which one of a studied, planned acting: the fact is that such an outburst of violence is up to her lover's expectations, for it gives him the illusion of witnessing a true passion. In fact, afterwards Propertius defines such reaction of his quarrelsome beloved as a *dulcis rixa* in vv. 9-10; there the poet shows his pleasure at such a furious outfit of his woman's wrath; he even finds in it a visible evidence of Cynthia's loving passion on his behalf.[24] It is clear that before situations that hardly will have their match in real life a modern interpreter is bound to suspect them to belong to a literary tradition; in this special case, it is more than legitimate to suppose so, because similar paradoxical situations may be found in Ovid's *Amores*. In fact, Ovidian Corinna is not estranged from this kind of furious, blind, raging outbursts when, gnawed by a suspicion of treachery, she allows herself the same manifestations as Cynthia and violently bumps into her lover, tearing his hair off and attacking his face with her nails (*Am*. 2, 7, 7-8).[25] Bearing a memory of similar scenes, Ovid knows how to cunningly and effectively avert furious outbursts of wrath in his *Ars* (*Ars* 2, 445-456).

As for Propertius, he will never have the courage to respond with determination: only once he will try to do it, but with the sole tragic-comical consequences narrated in the eighth elegy of the fourth

[23] "I enjoyed the lamplight brawl we had last night and all the abuse of your frenzied tongue. (…) When, crazed with wine, you knock over the table and fling full cups at me with frenzied hand"; Goold 1990, 281.283, who however places vv. 3-4 after v. 8.

[24] See Fedeli 1985, 283.

[25] Similar scenes of jealousy are conventional in elegiac love poetry: the examples are collected by McKeown 1998, 149 and by Janka 1997, 338.

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book[26]. With the pretext of a visit to the sanctuary of Lanuvio, Cynthia shows herself off in a scandalous excursion along via Appia, escorted by an occasional lover. Propertius, exasperated by her permanent provocations, in a burst of megalomania decides to enact a grotesque attempt of reprisal. We have an accurate description of the context in which the poet's original revenge should take place: in the role of an exuberant producer, Propertius oversees the organization of the feast with extreme care, starting with the choice of two courtesans called to gladden his solitude: forward, demanding women, inclined to the pleasures of wine, with whom Propertius is to share, not by chance, one small couch (vv. 29-36):

Phyllis Aventinae quaedam est vicina Dianae,
sobria grata parum: cum bibit, omne decet.
Altera Tarpeios est inter Teia lucos,
candida, sed potae non satis unus erit.
His ego constitui noctem lenire vocatis
et Venere ignota furta novare mea.
Unus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba.
Quaeris concubitus? Inter utramque fui.[27]

To cheer up the party some curious characters arrive in a merry procession: a flute player and a player of castanets, who are supposed to bring joy to the feast with their musical 'performances', along with an ungracious dancing dwarf (vv. 37-42):

Lygdamus ad cyathos, vitrique aestiva supellex
et Methymnaei grata saliva meri.
Miletus tibicen erat, crotalistria Byblis
(haec facilis spargi munda sine arte rosa),
Magnus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus,
iactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus.[28]

[26] For a conclusive analysis of all the passages of 4, 8 see the new commentary by Fedeli 2015, 1005-1101.

[27] "There is a girl named Phyllis, who lodges near Diana of the Aventine: sober, she pleases little; tipsy, she is all charm. There is another, Teia, from the groves of Tarpeia, a pretty thing, but when she is drunk, it takes more than one man to satisfy her. I decided to beguile the night by inviting these, and add new experience to my amorous ventures. A couch for three was set out in a garden screened from view. You ask how we were placed? I was between the two" (Goold 1990, 421).

[28] "Lygdamus was in charge of the cups; there was a summer glassware service and a Lesbian wine of choice vintage. Miletus was our piper, Byblis played the

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The feast's perfect organization will not suffice to guarantee its success. There are sad presages to anticipate the event's unhappy outcome, from the lantern's flickering flame to the sudden faltering of the table and the sinister image of its collapsing over itself (vv. 43-44):

Sed neque suppletis constabat flamma lucernis,
reccidit inque suos mensa supina pedes.[29]

A deafening rumour of banging doors sees Cynthia's irruption into the treacherous lover's room while he, astounded and terrified, turns pale and drops the wine goblet from his hand (vv. 49-54):

Cum subito rauci sonuerunt cardine postes,
nec levia ad primos murmura facta Lares.
nec mora, cum totas resupinat Cynthia valvas,
non operosa comis, sed furibunda decens.
Pocula mi digitos inter cecidere remissos
pallueruntque ipso labra soluta mero.[30]

The effects of Cynthia's wrath are represented with an emphasis worthy of the description of a warring encounter. The woman thrusts herself in the first place against the two love rivals with an appalling physical violence, such as to make them run away; then, victorious like a surviving general returning from a winning battle, gives free rein to the attack against Propertius: she thunders upon him with slaps and bites that leave indelible marks upon him and does not forget to punish the slave who was an accomplice of the unlawful affair (vv. 55-70):

Fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saevit,
spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit.
Phyllidos iratos in vultum conicit ungues:
territa "Vicini," Teia clamat, "aquam!"

castanets (she in her artless elegance happy to be pelted with roses); and Lofty himself, his limbs shrunken into his knotted frame, clapped stunted hands in time to the boxwood flute" (Goold 1990, 421-23).

[29] "But though the lamps were full, the flame kept flickering, and the table-top fell upside down upon its trestles" (Goold 1990, 423).

[30] "When without warning there was the strident sound of the gate opening and a loud hubbub arose at the front of the house. Straightway Cynthia flings right back the folding-doors, her hair disordered, yet attractive in her fury. The cup fell from my slackened fingers, and my lips, though steeped in wine, actually turned pale" (Goold 1990, 423).

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Lumina sopitos turbant elata Quirites,
omnis et insana semita voce sonat.
Illas direptisque comis tunicisque solutis
excipit obscurae prima taberna viae.
Cynthia gaudet in exuviis victrixque recurrit
et mea perversa sauciat ore manu,
imponitque notam collo morsuque cruentat,
praecipueque oculos, qui meruere, ferit.
Atque ubi iam nostris lassavit bracchia plagis,
Lygdamus ad plutei fulcra sinistra latens
eruitur geniumque meum protractus adorat.
Lygdame, nil potui: tecum ego captus eram.[31]

All the poet can do is surrender *supplicibus palmis*: the image of his submission is a prelude to the rigid prescriptions dictated by Cynthia to her lover, in a solemn, imperative tone, before stipulating peace in bed (vv. 71-88):

Supplicibus palmis tum demum ad foedera veni,
cum vix tangendos praebuit illa pedes.
Atque ait: "Admissae si vis me ignoscere culpae,
accipe, quae nostrae formula legis erit.
Tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra
nec cum lascivum sternet harena Forum.
Colla cave inflectas ad summum obliqua theatrum,
aut lectica tuae se det aperta morae.
Lygdamus in primis, omnis mihi causa querelae,
veneat et pedibus vincula bina trahat".
Indixit leges. Respondi ego: "Legibus utar"
Riserat, imperio facta superba dato.
Dein, quemcumque locum externae tetigere puellae,

[31] "Her eyes flashed fire and she raged as only a woman can: the scene was as terrible as the sack of a city. Angrily she makes for Phyllis' face with her fingernails; terrified, Teia cries out: 'Help, neighbours! Fire!'. Screams of abuse awaken the sleeping citizens, and the whole street resounds with angry voices. With hair torn and clothes ripped the girls take refuge in the first tavern they find in the dark. Cynthia rejoiced in her spoils and triumphantly hastens back to bruise my face with the back of her hand, marks my neck, drawing blood with toothbites, and especially pokes at my guilty eyes. Then when she had exhausted her arms in beating me, Lygdamus, who was hiding on the left at the back of the couch, is dragged forth and, on his knees, appeals to my guardian-spirit. (Lygdamus, I was powerless, a captive like you!)" (Goold 1990, 423-25).

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suffiit et pura limina tergit aqua,
imperat et totas iterum mutare lacernas, 85
terque meum tetigit sulpuris igne caput.
Atque ita mutato per singula pallia lecto
respondi, et toto solvimus arma toro.[32]

Once again, we are looking at a paradox: Cynthia, who is treacherous and unfaithful by nature, has the nerve to lecture the poet on fidelity, while he is only guilty of intent, and displays her irrepressible satisfaction with a mocking, triumphant laughter that closes her long sermon. Thus Cynthia reveals her despotic character, which has no scruples in recurring to violence against her beloved. Julien Benda had figured it, right after the first romantic sighs, when he depicted Cynthia as "une femme qui semblait le type de l'amante sans tendresse: violente, autoritaire, sportive; concevant l'amour dans la dureté et non dans l'abandon; dans les mœurs de la guerre et non de la communion; que la sentimentalité ennuie, qui la méprise" and Propertius as "le pauvre amant constamment déçu, rudoyé dans les régions de son cœur les plus sensibles; attendant toute sa vie la douce parole qui jamais ne vient".[33]

The contradictory element is so present in the elegy that, in its conclusion, we witness a reversed acting of the relationship between the lover and his beloved, in perfect accordance with the rules of the elegiac world, but not so with the rules of daily life. One cannot obviously think that Propertius may really have believed — from the first book of elegies — in an inverted world characterised by man's *servitium amoris* towards a woman; moreover, it would be grotesque

[32] "Then at last, holding out my hands in supplication, I came to terms; and then she scarcely let me touch her feet and said: 'If you wish me to pardon the offence you have committed, listen to the conditions of my settlement. You are not to dress up and walk abroad in Pompey's colonnade, or when the sand is strewn for holiday in the Forum. Beware of turning round in the theatre to look at the gallery or allowing an open litter to offer itself to your gaze. And Lygdamus in particular, the cause of all my wrongs, shall have his feet shackled and be put up for sale'. Such was the settlement she imposed: 'I shall abide by the law', said I. She laughed, exulting in the dominion I had given her over me. Next she fumigated every spot touched by the girls brought in, and mopped the threshold with clean water; she bade me change anew all the oil in the lamps, and thrice with burning sulphur touched my head. Then after every sheet on the bed had been changed, I made my obeisance, and on the couch we knew so well made peace". (Goold 1990, 425. 427).

[33] Both quotations are drawn from Benda 1928, 64.

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to discover a timid sign of the progressive emancipation of women in the 1st century Rome B.C.E in this elegy. One must not be surprised by the fact that Cynthia emphatically recites her part, by her display of unsuspected oratory skills, or even by her furious, uncontrollable outbursts of rage or wrath, this behaviour being unconceivable for any woman in Propertius' time: it is exactly through this overturn of reality that the poet fiercely reasserts the existing order and thus exorcises the feared danger of a thoroughly feminine domain. Therefore, if we consider the presumed feminine violence from this perspective, we will find that it is no more than a refined, elegant manner of representing man's violence over women as the only legitimate violence.

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN ROMAN IMPERIAL SOCIETY: GIVING ABUSED WOMEN A VOICE

Margherita CARUCCI

> D[is] M[anibus] |ET QVIETI AETERNAE |IVLIAE MAIANAE, FEMININAE SANTCISSIMAE, MANV |MARITI CRVDELISSIMI[i] INTER|FECT[ae], QUAE ANTE OBI[i]T QUAM FAT[U]M|DEDIT; CVM QVO VIX[it] ANN[os] XXVIII, EX|QUO LIBER[os] PROCREAV[it] DVOS, PVER[U]M | ANN[orum] XVIII, PVELLAM ANNOR[um] XVIII. |FIDES! O PIETAS! IVL[ius] MAIOR, FRA|TER SORORO DVLCISS[imae], E[t, Inge]NVINIVS |IANVARIVS, FIL[ius] EIVS, P[c Su] B A D (*CIL* 13.2182; *ILS* 8512)[1]

This third century C.E. inscription from Lugdunum (Lyon, France) decorated the funerary altar that was erected in memory of Iulia Maiana by her brother and son. She is described as a very devoted wife, who was murdered by her husband after 28 years of marriage. The text does not intentionally mention the name of Iulia Maiana's husband as an act of *damnatio memoriae*[2] which has the intent of depriving this cruel man of his social identity. Nor does it mention the reason why this holiest woman was killed by her husband. The adjective "most cruel" (*crudellisimi*) to describe the husband, in contrast with the "holiest" (*sanctissimae*) and "sweetest" (*dulcissimae*) used to portray the woman, and the apostrophe of "faithfulness" (*Fides*) and "devotion" (*Pietas*) seem to suggest that Iulia Maiana was the innocent victim of a violent man. This epitaph stands in strong

[1] "To the spirits of the deceased and for the eternal rest of Iulia Maiana, holiest woman, who was killed by hand of a most cruel husband. She died before the fate had decreed it. She lived with him for 28 years and gave birth to two children, a boy aged 19 years and a girl aged 18 years. O faithfulness, o devotion, for his sweetest sister her brother Iulius Maior and her son Ingenuinius Ianuarius set up and consecrated while yet under the trowel.". Carroll 2006, 81. All translations are my own.

[2] The *damnatio memoriae*, which literally means "condemnation of memory" was a Roman practice whereby an individual was condemned to oblivion by eradicating his/her images and inscriptions as he/she had never existed.

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contrast with the high number of inscriptions on Roman funerary monuments of married couples which constantly praise marital harmony through the use of standard formulas, such as stating that husband and wife lived together during a certain amount of years *sine ulla querella* ("without any disagreement").[3] These funerary inscriptions recording domestic devotion and harmony tell us more about the cultural constructions of norms and ideals formulated and imposed by middle- and upper-class Roman males rather than the real, observed facts. Iulia Maiana's case, in fact, suggests that reality was slightly different from the ideal of harmony extolled in funerary inscriptions. Quarrels between Roman spouses did occur and sometimes they escalated into the battering of those wives, ending ultimately in murder. Had the death of Iulia Maiana, by hand of her husband, happened in our contemporary society, it would have been reported as a case of domestic violence. It was only through the Women's Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s that public awareness for the extent and seriousness of violence against women was raised.[4] Until then, wife abuse was viewed as a private matter or as a problem that occurred only occasionally between a few dysfunctional couples. However, as Iulia Maiana's death by her abusive husband shows, violence against women is not a recent problem. Wright Mills correctly points out that a problem does not become a social problem until it is viewed as a public issue.[5]

What is domestic violence? In this still evolving field of research there is little consensus on how to define domestic violence because of the variety and complexity of behaviours that are involved. Even if researchers agreed on a single definition, the same definition and typology might not be adequate when applied to diverse cultural groups,[6] not to mention cultures of past times such as the Roman. Bearing in mind the limits of the cultural contingency, it would be, however, useful to have some kind of definition by which domestic violence could be understood and conceptualised. It could then be easier to test this modern definition against cases of domestic violence

[3] For some epigraphical examples including this formula, see Lattimore 1942, 279.

[4] Renzetti and Kennedy Bergen 2005, 1-12.

[5] Wright Mills 1959.

[6] Krauss 2006.

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in Roman society. Technically speaking, the umbrella of "domestic violence" includes all forms of abuse occurring within a family regardless of the identity of the victim (child, spouse, sibling, or elder). For the purposes of this article, which focuses on a specific aspect of domestic violence, i.e. abuse against any woman who maintains an intimate relationship with a man, I have chosen the definition used by the World Health Organization in its information sheet on "Intimate partner violence". In this text, intimate partner violence is described as "any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship"; examples of this type of behaviour are acts of physical violence, sexual violence, emotional abuse, and controlling behaviours.[7] On the basis of this definition, I will discuss a number of Latin textual sources from Imperial times that describe or allude to the physical, sexual or mental harm that Roman men inflicted on their partners. Drawn from the terminology used in modern research, the terms "intimate partner violence", "wife beating", and "spouse abuse" will be used synonymously whilst bearing in mind that these expressions do not exist in the Latin language. The lack of a specific term or other equivalents for "domestic violence" does not necessarily mean lack of experiences, phenomena, or ideological traditions to which that modern term refers. An analysis of the literary evidence will show that in their social practices ancient Roman women also experienced what in Western culture is referred to as abusive relationships.

The huge number of publications on domestic violence bespeaks the great variety and complexity of aspects related to this topic.[8] Due to space limitations, some aspects related to intimate partner violence will be necessarily left out of this discussion or barely touched upon. I will not analyse in detail the reasons why Roman men used violence, or the conditions that upheld and maintained that violence — these topics have been the focus of a large amount of research today, thus resulting in the elaboration of a number of explanatory theories.[9]

[7] World Health Organisation 2012. The report also stresses that "Although women can be violent in relationships with men, often in self-defence, and violence sometimes occurs in same-sex partnerships, the most common perpetrators of violence against women are male intimate partners or ex-partners."

[8] Just to mention a few recent publications: Crowell and Burgess 1996; Mignon et al. 2002; O'Toole et al. 2007.

[9] Crowell and Burgess 1996, 51-61.

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Rather, the discussion will focus on the Imperial Roman women, who were victims of male abuse, and the ways they experienced and reacted to domestic violence. This task proves to be difficult, as any scholar interested in the history of women in classical antiquity knows, for the ancient texts were written by male members of the upper class, who were uninterested in, or unaware of, certain aspects of women's lives.[10] Specific references to spouse abuse in Imperial times are very few, especially when compared with the higher number of textual references to spousal violence in the Late Antique literature.[11] Notwithstanding, these scattered references suggest that wife abuse did occur across different social classes of Roman society, though statistical accounts of this phenomenon cannot be generated nor can regional or chronological variations be traced. Similarly, today, in spite of the wider documentation and quantification of the available data, it is not possible to estimate with absolute certainty the prevalence of intimate partner violence in a given society, since most of the cases of domestic violence are not reported.

In his collection of historical anecdotes written to exemplify human vices and virtues, the historian Valerius Maximus speaks without reproach about a husband who beat his wife to death in Republican times:

> *[Egnati Meceni]…uxorem, quod uinum bibisset, fusti percussam interemit, idque factum non accusatore tantum, sed etiam reprehensore caruit, uno quoque existimante optimo illam exemplo uiolatae sobrietati poenas pependisse. et sane quaecumque femina uini usum immoderate appetit, omnibus et uirtutibus ianuam claudit et delictis aperit* (Val. Max., 6.3.9).[12]

This passage addresses the common belief among male members of Roman society that women were naturally prone to dangerous excesses, and unable to control themselves unless they were punished or threatened with disciplinary restraints that sometimes, as in the case reported by Valerius Maximus, might end in a violent death.

[10] Dixon 2000.

[11] Clark 1998; Schroeder 2004; Dossey 2008.

[12] "[Egnatius Mecenius] killed his wife by beating her with a club, because she had drunk wine. No one brought a charge against him or even reproached this deed. Everyone judged that she had paid the penalty for outraging sobriety with a very good lesson. For indeed any woman who seeks to use wine immoderately closes the door to all virtues and opens it to every vice."

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The traditional idea of physical abuse against wives as an effective form of discipline and as a means of reminding "wicked" women of their responsibilities and obligations to their husbands is the main reason why domestic violence has never been addressed as a significant problem until recently. As Valerius Maximus' passage shows, in Roman times, spouse abuse was deemed as normative, expressly carried out in the interest of domestic harmony and order. The male notion or idea of abuse as a form of discipline emerges in all ancient accounts regardless of the specificity of cases, dynamics, and social identity of the spouses. The historian Tacitus refers that:

> *Post finem ludicri Poppaea mortem obiit, fortuita mariti iracundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis adflicta est* (Tac., *Ann.*, 16.6).[13]

In his description of the same event, the biographer Suetonius adds that the emperor's reaction had been caused by Poppaea herself, who had scolded him for coming home late from the races.[14] These accounts of Poppaea, who belonged to the Roman Imperial family, show the dramatic reality that even the most privileged woman could fall victim to domestic violence,[15] though it was commonly held among the members of the upper class that maltreatment and abuse of wives was a common occurrence in lower-status families. In his *Satyrica*, Petronius describes a scene of domestic quarrel between the freedman Trimalchio and his wife Fortunata during a dinner-party held at their house:

> *Itaque Fortunata, ut ex aequo ius firmum approbaret, male dicere Trimalchionem coepit et purgamentum dedecusque praedicare, qui non contineret libidinem suam. Vltimo etiam adiecit: "canis!". Trimalchio contra offensus*

[13] "Poppaea met her end through a chance outburst of anger on the part of her husband [Nero], who felled her with a kick while she was pregnant.".

[14] Suet. *Nero*, 35.

[15] A further example of domestic violence within the Imperial family, though not directed against a wife, is recorded in Suetonius' account on the relationship between Agrippina Minor and her father-in-law, the emperor Tiberius: "Novissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere velle, Pandatariam relegavit conviciantique oculum per centurionem verberibus excussit." ("At last, falsely accusing her [Agrippina] to want to take refuge, now at the statue of Augustus and now with the armies, he [Tiberius] exiled her to Pandateria, and when she loaded him with reproaches, he had her beaten by a centurion until one of her eyes was destroyed." (Suet. *Tib.*, 53)

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> *convicio calicem in faciem Fortunatae immisit. Illa tanquam oculum perdidisset, exclamavit manusque trementes ad faciem suam admovit. Consternata est etiam Scintilla trepidantemque sinu suo texit. Immo puer quoque officiosus urceolum frigidum ad malam eius admovit, super quem incumbens Fortunata gemere ac flere coepit* (Petr., *Sat.*, 74).[16]

This scene of spousal quarrelling with its violent and vulgar overtones offers the writer the opportunity to highlight the humble origins both of Trimalchio and his wife, and to reinforce the upper-class' belief that visible domestic discord is solely a lower-class behaviour. However, as literary evidence shows, forms of domestic violence also occurred among families of the upper-class and in fact in the Imperial family. Regardless of the social status of the victims and perpetrators of spouse abuse, in these male-authored passages, acts of domestic physical brutality tend to be described as the normative patriarchal discipline of a deviant woman. Nevertheless, they may have also been elusively defined as reprehensible violence, when no rational correlation between the misdemeanour of the woman and the corrective punishment of her husband could be established. Tacitus, for example, refers that:

> *Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur* (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.22).[17]

[16] "So Fortunata, to assert her rights at law, started to reproach Trimalchio and to cry in public that who does not restrain his lust is a dirty disgrace. At last she also added: "You hound." Trimalchio, on the other hand, annoyed at her cursing, threw a cup in Fortunata's face. And she, as if she had lost her eye, cried aloud and lifted her trembling hands to her face. Scintilla was frightened too and shielded her quivering friend with her arms. While an officious slave held a cool little jar to her cheek, Fortunata leaned over it and began to groan and cry."

[17] "The praetor Plautius Silvanus, for reasons not ascertained threw his wife Apronia headlong. Brought before the emperor by his father-in-law L. Apronius, he answered the accusation with incoherent replies like that he was fast asleep and unaware of what was happening and that his wife had procured herself death. Without any hesitation, Tiberius went straight to his house and examined the bedroom in which were visible traces of her struggle and resistance."

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Tacitus maintains that, while a judicial committee had been formed to judge the case, Silvanus was given a dagger by his grandmother. Because of the woman's friendship with the empress, Silvanus concluded that even the Imperial family did not believe in his innocence and thus suggested that he would kill himself before the final sentence: he then arranged for his arteries to be opened. Another case of domestic violence amongst the Roman elite resulting in the woman's death and her husband's trial is attested in Philostratus. The Greek sophist reports that when Regilla was eight months pregnant, Herodes ordered his freedman Alcidemon to beat her for trivial reasons; consequently, she died in premature childbirth from a blow to her abdomen.[18] The charge was brought by Regilla's brother, who considered Herodes as ultimately responsible for his sister's death. However, through the intercession of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, the politician and rhetorician Herodes was exonerated and only his freedman Alcimedon was charged as guilty.[19] Apronia's and Regilla's cases have been recorded because of the murder charge that their families had brought to their violent partners, but we do not know how often these elite women were physically abused before meeting death. Had Apronia and Regilla been reasonably chastised by their husbands for their wicked behaviour, would their families and writers have blamed the men for the use of physical violence against their wives? Or would they rather have silently accepted their violence as an acceptable form of physical correction of deviant wives, even if such brutality ultimately ended with their deaths? That the wife's kinsmen were not necessarily always ready to monitor the woman's relationship with her husband is suggested by Quintilian, who reports the fictitious case of an abused woman:

> *Venefica capite puniatur. Saepe se verberanti marito uxor amatorium dedit, eundem repudiavit: per propinquos rogata ut rediret non est reversa: suspendit se maritus. Mulier veneficii rea est* (Quint., *Inst.Or.*,7.8.2).[20]

[18] Philost., *V S*, 555.

[19] This case is thoroughly analysed by Pomeroy 2007.

[20] "A woman who is a poisoner shall be liable to capital punishment. A wife gave a love-potion to her husband who used to beat her. She also divorced him. On being asked by her relatives to return to him, she refused. The husband hung himself. The woman is accused of poisoning".

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This fictional case shows that a woman might have tried to soften her husband's rage with love potions and, when unsuccessful, resorted to the then extreme solution of divorce. However, the woman's relatives' attempt to persuade her to go back to her husband suggests that Roman women faced social pressure to stay in violent marriages.

There was, however, one sphere in which male abuse against women was justified, or could at least be expressed with relative impunity: romantic passion and jealousy. Tacitus does not find it difficult to believe that a husband so in love and desirous of children as Nero was with Poppaea, could have beaten his wife during a moment of rage against her. The historian's reproach is directed at the emperor's inability to control both his passions and love for his wife, which Tacitus defines as *obnoxious* ("liable to injury or danger"), resulted in tragic consequences (in this case the death of Poppaea). Similarly, Suetonius states that Nero loved Poppaea very dearly and explains the emperor's reaction as caused by his wife's reproaches.

In a similar outburst of anger Ovid laid a violent hand upon his mistress, as the poet recounts in one of his elegiac love poems:

> At nunc sustinui raptis a fronte capillis
> ferreus ingenuas ungue notare genas.
> adstitit illa amens albo et sine sanguine vultu (Ov., *Am*, 1.7.48-50).[21]

In the whole poem there is no expression of regret shown by the poet. Rather, the violent action against a woman seems to be justified by the voyeuristic pleasure that the man obtains. In fact, the mistress' disarray of clothing and hair, her discomfort, and fear enhance her beauty and desirability, traits which the poet is only able to reveal by disparaging her. Moreover, the mistress' position as a helpless victim reinforces the male control over women.[22] In the fictional story of the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius tells of a jealous husband who ordered his servant Myrmex to keep his wife Arete under constant surveillance during his absence:

[21] "I held her back by the hair I grabbed from her forehead and marked her delicate cheeks with cruel nails. She stood there, stupefied, with pale and bloodless face."

[22] Greene 1998, 84-77; id. 1999. Richlin (1992) argues that Ovid encourages the reader to enjoy violence inflicted upon women.

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Tunc obstinato animo vehementer anxius Myrmex nec usquam dominam suam progredi sinebat et lanificio domestico districtam inseparabilis adsidebat ac tantum necessario vespertini lavacri progressu adfixus atque conglutinatus, extremas manu prendens lacinias, mira sagacitate commissae provinciae fidem tuebatur. Sed ardentem Philesitheri vigilantiam matronae nobilis pulchritude latere non potuit (Apul., *Met.*, 9.17).[23]

The tale continues stating that the cunning Philesitherus was able to bribe the servant with a reward in money, and to spend a night with Arete because of (or thanks to) her gender's fickleness (*genuina levitate*).[24] In the Apuleian tale of the jealous husband, the master's use of a servant to monitor his wife's actions in his absence is described as an action that was commonly accepted and as a form of behaviour that was even expected from a husband in ancient society.

So far I have discussed cases of physical abuse against women by the male members of their family. However, the modern definition of domestic violence also includes what is variously called psychological or emotional violence, that is, any non-physical abuse that controls the other through the use of fear, humiliation, verbal assault, threats, and social isolation. The most emblematic example of an emotionally abused wife is Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and first wife of Nero. Octavia was praised as an ideal wife due to her exemplary virtues: tolerance, obedience, modesty, and chastity. However, her admirable virtues did not protect her from an abusive husband who soon grew tired of living with her. In Tacitus' and Suetonius' description of the relationship between Octavia and Nero,[25] the categories of what is defined today as a psychologically

[23] "Myrmex, intensely anxious, firmly refused to let his mistress leave the house. He sat by her side while she worked at her household chores of spinning wool, and was close behind when Arete went to the baths in the evening, holding the hem of her robe in his hand, displaying admirable tenacity in the demanding role with which he was entrusted. But it was not possible to hide the noble lady's beauty from Philesitherus' ardent gaze."

[24] The portrait of the distrustful husband and abused wife arises again in the tale of Cupid and Psyche that Apuleius inserts in his novel. Again, the god of love keeps his mortal wife Psyche segregated in a palace by preventing her from leaving the home or meeting her sisters. Psyche's act of disobedience is punished by Cupid by deserting her and allowing his mother Venus to inflict violent humiliations on her through whipping and torturing (*Met.* 6.9-10).

[25] Tac. *Ann*. 14.59-63; Suet. *Nero*, 35.

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abusive relationship emerge. After many vain attempts to strangle her (threats and fear), Nero divorced Octavia on the pretext of sterility and married his mistress Poppaea twelve days after the separation (humiliation). The emperor then banished Octavia to the island of Pandateria (social isolation) on the false charge of adultery (verbal assault) which caused protests among the citizens of Rome. Subsequently, Octavia was sentenced to die: she was bound, her veins were opened, and finally suffocated in a steam bath. Tacitus remarkably points out that for Octavia the day of her marriage had been virtually the same as the day of her funeral.[26]

The texts written by members of the male upper-class tend to justify the man's burst of anger against his wife who is mainly portrayed as the one who enables domestic disagreement and quarrels. In Valerius Maximus' account, a man had the right to beat his wife to death because her wine-drinking confirmed the lack of those idealised virtues which were the expectations of Roman husbands: control of self, sobriety, and also subordination and obedience to the male authority in the household. Trimalchio and Nero were implicitly exempt of their violent behaviour against their wives: a woman who reproaches her husband for trivial reasons, such as kissing a slave boy, for Trimalchio, or coming home late from the races, for Nero, undermined the male ability of free action. However, as Apuleius' tale and Ovid's poem clearly show, male abuse was justified even towards a partner who displayed loyal and discreet obedience, if the man's actions and decisions were prompted by excessive jealousy.[27] This tendency to blame the woman for disrupting domestic harmony, and to exempt the man from his violent behaviour, is still present in contemporary society. Data from the Eurobarometer 51.0 "Europeans and their views on domestic violence against women", which collected interviews from 13.457 Europeans of 212 cities of all member states of the EU at the time of the survey (1999), show that 46% of European Union citizens thought that the provocative behaviour of women was mostly the cause of domestic violence.[28]

[26] Tac. *Ann.* 14.63.

[27] Modern studies of domestic violence have found that the unfounded jealousy of the abusive husband often leads him to isolate his wife from contact with others by monitoring and controlling her actions.

[28] European Commission 1999. For a discussion of this report, see Gracia and Herrero 2006.

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This form of victim blaming, which makes it more difficult for a woman, as a victim, to break the silence and seek help, promotes social passivity and contributes towards maintaining a climate of social tolerance for intimate partner violence.[29] Studies of male violence have also found that men who have been exposed to parental violence during their childhood, or who have been raised in patriarchal family structures, which encourage male power over women and children, are more likely to become violent adults.[30] In a society as the Roman where violence was institutionalised (see, for example, the execution of the *damnati ad bestias* during the amphitheatre games) or legitimised as the right of the free born man,[31] male abuse against women was accepted as a form of social behaviour that was learned by observing the behaviour of others and was reinforced by the positive results that such violence had.[32]

The male blaming attitude against women does not mean that domestic violence was always justified as a necessary form of disciplinary restraint or accepted as the normative behaviour of the superior head of the household. Tacitus' account of Apronia seems to grasp on a veiled reproach against her abusive husband. The historian ends his account with the remark that, after Silvanus' suicide, his first wife — who had been previously charged with contriving her husband's insanity through the practice of spells and philtres — was deemed innocent. Thus the historian elusively suggests that Silvanus was not a good husband. More explicitly, Cato the Elder used to say that a man who beat his wife or child laid violent hands on what was most sacred, as Plutarch refers in his account of this Roman statesman and censor of the early 2nd century B.C.E.[33] The record of Cato's remark by the Greek writer after three centuries suggests that the censor's teaching was still deemed worthy of being remembered in Imperial times.[34] Cato's remark seems to suggest that wife battering was not always accepted or praised by the male members of Roman society. Given the widespread acceptance of disciplining violence in

[29] Thapar-Björkert and Morgan 2010.
[30] Crowell 1996, 62-63.
[31] Fagan 2011.
[32] This is the basis of the social learning theory.
[33] Plut., *Cat. Mai*, 20.2.
[34] The difference between Greek and Roman attitudes toward wife beating is discussed by Dossey 2008.

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Roman society, Cato's view might have appeared markedly progressive. However, because of the censor's well-known conservatism and attempts to preserve the *mos maiorum*, it is arguable that Cato did not condemn domestic violence, if it was aimed at chastising and correcting wicked wives. Instead, the censor seems to warn against the irrational, unmotivated abuse that may cross the boundary of corrective punishment and turn into unjustified cruelty. This seems to be confirmed by a number of ancient philosophical and moral writings (e.g. Seneca and Plutarch), which warn the master against the excessive use of violence against women, servants, and children of his household.[35] However, as the male-authored texts of Imperial times show, there was a general tendency toward the acceptance of the physical chastisement of wives as conforming to the social and cultural norms that were firmly established on traditional ideology. This is not surprising in a society based on a patriarchal system that needed the subordination of the "Other" (women, children, and servants) as a means to reinforce male authority.[36] Hence, the necessary and convenient portrayal of women as naturally unable to control themselves, except under male guidance, in its all extreme forms, — such as physical abuse — was not imposed from the outset.

As this contribution focuses on Roman women as victims or survivors of male abuse within the domestic setting, women's own descriptions of their external and internal realities and their perceptions of their experiences would certainly expand our understanding on how Roman women experienced intimate abusive relationships.[37] Had the ancient women been given the opportunity to describe their feelings, experiences, and thoughts about intimate partner violence, their stories probably would not be much different from the descriptions that contemporary abused women in therapy groups give of their own experiences, regardless of the differences related to factors

[35] For a full discussion of anger and, more specifically, the ideology of anger control in antiquity, see Harris 2001.

[36] The concept of patriarchy — the system of male control over women — has been widely used in feminist research on the roots of violence against women. For a discussion of the patriarchy theory see Hunnicutt 2009.

[37] This approach is used by Chang (1996) in her analysis of psychological abuse of women in marriage.

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such as age, race, social status, education, and religion.[38] Unfortunately, the silence of ancient texts about Roman women's experiences does not allow us to legitimate women's voices as a source of knowledge. Nor is there a Roman Jane Austen who can provide us with the opportunity to explore women's domestic experiences in her time through fictional characters. How can we describe the domestic experience of spousal violence from the perspective of the abused women? How did mistreated women experience, feel, understand, and explain being abused by their spouses? How did they respond to the physical and emotional violence inflicted on them by their husbands? What strategies did they, as survivors of domestic violence, adopt to cope with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)? The literary arrangement of the ancient accounts on episodes of domestic violence leaves these questions unanswered, since its main focus is either on the man's actions, or the texts are used by the author as a statement of male ideology. The male writers were simply not interested in describing or exploring the emotional world of their contemporaneous women. They do not explore the circumstances which precede the onset of domestic violence or explain the reason why the women behaved as they did. Why did Egnatius Mecenius' wife drink wine? How much did she drink to justify being beaten? What happened to Fortunata after Trimalchio's threat?[39] From Tacitus' account (*Ann*. 4.22) why did Silvanus kill his wife? What had she done or said? What were the trivial reasons that justified Regilla's being beaten by a freedman? And was that the first time it had happened?

It is also difficult to reconstruct the emotional experience of the ancient women during and after the specific episodes of domestic violence. When ancient authors occasionally describe women's reactions to male violence, they briefly refer to the typical responses of women to emotional distress: trembling with fear, weeping, and crying. Women's response is thus described by male writers with a few words that do not go beyond the visual and auditory level. Nothing is said about how a battered woman felt, what emotions she released

[38] In a phenomenological study on battered women from a multiethnic population in Hawaii, the researchers found more similarities than differences among cultures (Taylor et al. 2001).

[39] Petronius continues the description of the dinner party without alluding to any other comments on Fortunata.

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or repressed, or how she perceived both herself and her perpetrator. Written texts also fail to mention how an abused woman continued her daily life and conjugal relationship after the occurrence of a violent reaction from her husband, though some inferences can be drawn from Roman literature. The lack of information about what happened after the episode of domestic violence, when it did not result in the woman's death, suggests that after a quarrel between spouses, domestic life went back to normality, wherein normality meant male authority and female silence. This is clearly announced in the last two lines of Ovid's poem:

> *neve mei sceleris tam tristia signa supersint, | pone recompositas in statione comas!* (*Am.*, 1.7.66-67).[40]

Telling his mistress to remove any sign of his misdeed suggests the poet's desire to subjugate the woman to the authority of the man. This is also revealed through the poet's conduct; hence, commanding his mistress to fix up her hair appears to be the final and imperative act which resumes their relationship, as though nothing had ever happened. From the poet's perspective, which coincides with the male view — constantly emerging from textual sources — the woman's silence and her capacity to forget seem to be the conditions necessary for restoring domestic *concordia* and male authority. This is clearly stated by Valerius Maximus, when he writes:

> *Quotiens uero inter uirum et uxorem aliquid iurgi intercesserat, in sacellum deae Viriplacae, quod est in Palatio, ueniebant et ibi inuicem locuti quae uoluerant contentione animorum deposita concordes reuertebantur. dea nomen hoc a placandis uiris fertur adsecuta, ueneranda quidem et nescio an praecipuis et exquisitis sacrificiis colenda utpote cotidianae ac domesticae pacis custos, in pari iugo caritatis ipsa sui appellatione uirorum maiestati debitum a feminis reddens honorem* (Val. Max., 2.1.6).[41]

[40] "That the sad signs of my wickedness may not survive, rearrange your hair and put it back in place.!"

[41] "Whenever there was some quarrel between husband and wife, they used to go to the shrine of the goddess Viriplaca on the Palatine Hill. There each in turn stated what they wanted and after they had put aside their quarrelsome feelings, they went back home in harmony. The goddess is said to have obtained this name from placating husbands; she certainly deserves to be venerated and honoured with special and exceptional sacrifices, as the guardian of daily and domestic peace, who by her very title grants the respect owed by wives to the superior rank of husbands within the yoke of equal affection."

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It is interesting, but perhaps not surprising, that in male ideology domestic harmony depended upon the female capacity to placate husbands. In fact, the term *Viriplaca*, to designate the divine guardian of domestic peace, literally means "who placates men." Since the ancient Romans believed that men's anger was caused by female misbehaviour, it was then a woman's duty to placate her husband by showing him due respect to male authority. In line with other male-written reports, Valerius Maximus' account reinforces the male belief that a woman who employs the techniques of patience, subservience, and placation can restore domestic harmony. By contrast, a woman who actively attempts to placate her abusive husband with other means, rather than subservience, is bound to destroy the unity of the family and, as a result, herself within her social identity, as the fictitious case reported by Quintilian suggests. The rhetorician's statement that "A woman who is a poisoner shall be liable to capital punishment" (*Inst. Or.* 7.8.2) also suggests the high probability of failure in women who try to gain some control over their husband's legitimate power. Like in all patriarchal cultures, women were taught to be submissive, passive, dependent, and obedient to men. If they were disobedient, it was perfectly acceptable for the males of the family (and also expected by the community) to use violence to discipline those women, and to maintain control over the household and the community.[42] The attitude of silence as a form of submissiveness was thus deemed as the only form of good behaviour for the Roman woman.

There are many forms of silence in interaction, just as there are many motivations for silence.[43] There is the unintentional silence, when an individual is not given the opportunity to speak up or to be heard. There is the intentional silence, which arises from the unwillingness to talk about feelings that cannot be freely expressed without disrupting the *status quo*. These forms of silence also seem to have permeated the daily experience of ancient Roman women: they were silenced by their husbands, who expected their wives to show them respect and *obsequium*, after imposing physical or verbal chastisement; they were also silenced by the male writers, who, in their narratives, did not give a woman experiencing domestic violence a space or voice

[42] Taylor et al. 2001, 567.
[43] Oduro-Frimpong 2007.

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with which to express her feelings and thoughts.[44] The suppression of women's voices in the textual sources seems to suggest that, in reality, Roman women were meant to be silent and to repress or deny their anger. From an emotional point of view, we would expect to unearth many angry Roman women who had not been given the opportunity to express their emotions, such as humiliation, frustration, and rejection, feelings that a woman who has been subjected to intimate partner violence likely experiences. Tacitus explicitly states that in his description of Octavia:

> *Octavia quoque, quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem caritatem omnes adfectus abscondere didicerat* (*Ann.* 13.16).[45]

It is arguable that, as Roman women learnt to construct their social identity and gender relations on the basis of male values and expectations, they would have ended up internalising this oppressive system which legitimated gender violence as an acceptable form of control that men were entitled to exercise over women's behaviour and actions.

On the other hand, Roman women may have deliberately chosen to be silent to avoid confrontation with a hot-tempered husband, or to avoid being judged as bad wives according to the normative societal practices. For some women, being silent would have been a means of safety within the context of their experiences, in order to avoid further beatings or violent threats. Silence as a strategy and as a substitute for direct expression of negative emotion in order to manage conflict, is adopted by Ovid's mistress after the poet has physically abused her:

> *pavido est lingua retenta metu*
> *sed taciti fecere tamen convicia vultus;*
> *egit me lacrimis ore silente reum* (Ov., *Am.*, 1.7.20-23).[46]

[44] See Gold 2007 for the specifically silent women in the *Elegies* of Propertius.

[45] "Octavia, too, in spite of her young age, had learned to hide her grief, her affection, and every emotion".

[46] "Her mouth was checked by her trembling fear. But her silent face still showed reproof: She accused me with speechless mouth, in tears."

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The expressions "silent face" and "speechless mouth" highlight the female use of silence as a semiotic form of nonverbal communication along with other nonverbal, visual symbols (fear and tears) which aim at directing the poet toward self-chastisement ("reproof," "she accused"). Silence thus helped the battered woman to contain a situation of conflict that could have potentially escalated to further abuse and destructive consequences, if she had chosen to give way to a verbal expression, as the cases of Fortunata and Agrippina show. This silent attitude may appear to us, modern viewers, as if Roman women were the passive victims of the patriarchal system. And to some degree they were. However, women's silence about their emotional experience cannot be merely taken as acceptance, since ancient writings about women were done by men. As a woman living in a postmodern Western society, I tend to think that ancient women would have wanted to live differently, if they had been given the chance. In fact, I doubt whether intelligent women accepted domestic violence as the normative of intimate relationships without feeling uncomfortable or humiliated for being battered by their husbands. However, I want to think that, because of their intelligence, Roman women understood the positive aspect of silence as a conflict management strategy in intimate relationships. The silence to which Roman men reduced their women in literature, as well as at home, was perceived in the patriarchal system as a manifestation of male power over the Other and as a sign of female respect for the holders of authority. In the emotional experience of Roman women, by contrast, silence may have been used in response to violence as a strategy for managing situations of conflict and to preserve the integrity of their social identity as devoted wives. It is by virtue of their silence that Roman wives were the really active protectors of the ideal of conjugal *concordia*.

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DUEL AND VIOLENT DEATH IN PROPERTIUS' ELEGY 4,10

Irma Ciccarelli

Propertius' elegy 4,10, with its strict circular structure, punctuated by four programmatic opening verses that match the four concluding verses, displays a clear aetiological purpose: that of explaining *Feretrius'* etymology, considering the means by which the *spolia opima* have been conquered or taken by the Roman *duces* in order to be brought in offering to Jupiter. The *magnum iter* the poet proposes is developed through the reconstruction of the three episodes in which the Roman *duces* have taken possession of the spoils of an enemy leader, after duelling him. Therefore, to disclose the origins of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius means to recall the wars that concluded with the victories won by Romulus, Cossus and Claudius Marcellus, with a decisive leap beyond the conventional opposition between aetiological and epic gender.

In elegy 4,10, Propertius explains, in three successive scenes pervaded by an increasing violence, the military praxis that, in the course of time, has determined the conquest of the *spolia opima*:

Nunc Iovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri
armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus.
Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires:
non iuvat e facili lecta corona iugo.
Imbuis exemplum primus tu, Romule, palmae
huius, et exuvio plenus ab hoste redis,
tempore quo portas Caeninum Acrona petentem
victor in eversum cuspide fundis equum.
Acron Herculeus Caenina ductor ab arce,
Roma, tuis quondam finibus horror erat!
Hic spolia ex umeris ausus sperare Quirini
ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo.
Hunc videt ante cavas librantem spicula turres
Romulus et votis occupat ante ratis:
«Iuppiter, hic hodie tibi victima corruet Acron!».
Voverat, et spolium corruit ille Iovi.
Vrbis virtutisque parens sic vincere suevit,

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qui tulit a parco frigida castra lare.
Idem eques et frenis, idem fuit aptus aratris,
et galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba.
Picta neque inducto fulgebat parma pyropo,
praebebant caesi baltea lenta boves.
Cossus at insequitur Veientis caede Tolumni,
vincere cum Veios posse laboris erat.
Necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus, ultima praeda
Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae.
Heu Veii veteres, et vos tum regna fuistis
et vestro posita est aurea sella foro!
Nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti
cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.
Forte super portae dux Veiens astitit arcem
colloquiumque sua fretus ab urbe dedit:
dumque aries murum cornu pulsabat aeno
vinea qua ductum longa tegebat opus,
Cossus ait:«Forti melius concurrere campo».
Nec mora fit: plano sistit uterque gradum.
Di Latias iuvere manus: desecta Tolumni
cervix Romanos sanguine lavit equos.
Claudius at Rheno traiectos arcuit hostes,
Belgica cui vasti parma relata ducis:
Virdomari; genus hic Brenno iactabat ab ipso,
nobilis e rectis fundere gaesa rotis.
Illi virgatis iaculanti ante agmina bracis
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula.
Nunc spolia in templo tria condita: causa Feretri,
omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem;
seu quia victa suis umeris haec arma ferebant,
hinc Feretri dicta est ara superba Iovis.[1]

[1] "Now shall I begin to tell the origins of Feretrian Jupiter and the three sets of arms he won from three chiefs. I am scaling a great height, but hope of glory gives me strength: a crown plucked from an easy summit brings no pleasure. You, Romulus, first set the example of such a prize, returning from the foe laden with his spoils, when you vanquished Caeninian Acron as he attacked the gates of Rome, and with a spearcast felled him upon his fallen steed. Acron sprung of Hercules, chieftain from Caenina's citadel, once inspired terror in Roman territory. Daring to hope for spoils from Quirinus' shoulders he surrendered his own, and these he drenched in his own blood: him Romulus sees as he brandished his javelin before the hollow towers, and forestalls him with a vow that was fulfilled: 'Jupiter, today shall this victim, Acron, fall in your honour'. The vow was made, and Acron fell as

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Romulus was the first to vaunt such honour and to establish the link between the *arma* captured from the enemy and Jupiter, as deduced from the inscription evoking his victory in a duel with Acronis, king of Caenina[2]. *Opima* were, consequently, *spolia* won by a Roman *dux* from an enemy *dux* after the latter's killing, conquered in a decisive duel for the achievement of victory. Such spoils were offered by the winner to Jupiter Feretrius and were kept in the god's temple. Both at the beginning and end of elegy 4,10 (vv. 2. 45) Propertius underlines that only on three occasions was a Roman *dux* granted the honour of consecrating the *arma* won from an enemy to *Iuppiter Feretrius*, in a period of time between Romulus' victory over Acronis and the success obtained by Claudius Marcellus over the Gaulish *dux* Virdumarus in 222 B.C.E.

the spoil of Jupiter. Thus the father of Rome and father of valour was wont to conquer, whose frugal home trained him to endure the rigours of the camp. He was a horseman skilled at handling alike the bridle, alike the plough, and his wolfskin helmet was decked with a shaggy plume. His was no gaudy shield shinning with overlay of golden bronze; his tough belt was furnished by hide of slaughtered kine. Next comes Cossus through his slaying of Tolumnius of Veii, when it took much effort to conquer Veii; not yet had the sound of war been heard beyond Tiber's banks: Nomentum and the three acres of captured Cora were Rome's farthest prey. Alas, ancient Veii! You too were then a mighty kingdom, and a throne of gold was set in your marketplace: now within your walls sounds the horn of the loitering shepherd, and men reap cornfields over your graves. It chanced that Veii's chief stood on the tower above the gate and trusting to guile gave parley from the city. While the ram with its brazen horn battered the wall, where the long mantlet shielded the advance of siege-work, Cossus said: 'Better for the brave to fight in the open'. Without more ado both stood on the level plain. The gods aided the Latin's arm, and the slashed neck of Tolumnius bathed Roman steeds with blood. Then Claudius beat back the enemy that had crossed the Rhine, when back to Rome was brought the Belgic shield of the giant chief, Virdomarus. Boasting descent from Brennus himself, he was adept at hurling the Gallic spear from the chariot he drove: as he stained his striped trousers with his own blood, the twisted necklace fell, a prize, from his severed throat. Now the three spoils are laid up in a temple: hence Feretrius' name, because with heaven's sure favour chief smote chief with the sword: or perhaps the proud altar of Feretrian Jupiter is so called because victors bore on their shoulders the armour of those they vanquished" (*Propertius. Elegies*. Edited and translated by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 18. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[2] *Inscr.It.* XIII,3,70 *Romulus …et isque primus dux duce hostium Acronis …interfecto spolia opima Iovi Feretrius consecravit.*

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In vv. 1–2 (*Nunc Iovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri / armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus*) the mention of three episodes is included in a programmatic declaration, in which the connection between the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and the three *arma* kept within it is clearly stated; Propertius solemnly announces the purpose (*incipiam*) of going back to their remote origin. The incoactive valour of *incipere* that, thanks to the connection of *in* with *capere*, gains the meaning of "assigning oneself a task" to see it through to the end[3], is enhanced by *aperire*, which expresses the idea of giving light to an obscure matter by means of an elucidation[4]. The hexameter focuses on the purpose of revealing the origins of the title *Feretrius*[5], shown by the hyperbaton in the frame narrative, whereas the plural *arma*, at the beginning of the pentameter, i.e., in a traditionally elegiac position, recalls the *Eneid*'s *incipit* and the numerous Propertian programmatic passages characterizing the epic poetry[6]. The aetiological intent expressed by *incipiam aperire causas* has the aim of reconciling the apparent incompatibility between epics and elegy[7].

Propertius' subject will, therefore, be an epic one: three spoils won by means of violence (*recepta*)[8] from three war lords. The use of the numeral, declined in a sort of polyptoton (*trina …tribus*)[9], allows Propertius to set a precise boundary in his research and to connect the origins of Jupiter Feretrius' temple with three specific, isolated events: such a rare honour[10] goes well with both the aetiological purpose of the composition and the epic tone with which the duels between the Roman *duces* and their enemies are described.

The limited number established by tradition for the conquerors of *spolia opima* also justifies the elegy's short form (which, according to

[3] See Henry in *Aen.* 2,13.

[4] For this use of *aperire* see *ThlL* II 218,18 ff.; *pandere* in Lucr. 1,55 *disserere incipiam et rerum primordia pandam* has the exact same meaning.

[5] On the use of *causa* as a synonym for *origo* with reference to a specific denomination, see Liv. 1,13,8; Ov. *Fast.* 3,839; *Her.* 15,358; Plin. *Nat.* 7,54; 9,130.

[6] See. e.g. 1,7,2; 2,1,18. 35; 2,34,63; 3,1,7.

[7] See Fox 1996, 175.

[8] The participle *recepta*, built with *de* together with the ablative case, as usual in contexts of war concerning verbs like *capere* or *ferre*, alludes to the violent capture of the *arma* in possession of the *duces* (see *OLD* s.v. [6]).

[9] See Ov. *Fast.* 2,573 *et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit*.

[10] See Liv. 1,10,7 *adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit*.

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some scholars, reproduces the temple's small dimensions), as well as its articulation: at the end of a distich (vv. 3–4) underlining the difficulty of the matter, with the purpose of giving proper emphasis to the expected hope of praise, vv. 5–44 are dedicated to the tight evocation of the three episodes with a chronological criterion. In the four ending verses, thanks to a dense plot, thick with recalls and correspondence with the opening distich, the outcome of the aetiological research started in vv. 1–2 is exposed, with a perfect awareness of *ascendere magnum iter*.

The author considers it essential to underline the rising peril incurred by Rome in the transition from one vicissitude to another, and equally essential to parallel it with the growing relevance of the three military campaigns that allowed the progressive enlargement of Roman borders, in order to give a proper emphasis to the decisive duels between the *duces* and to justify their increasingly bloodier outcome. This *gradatio* is in apparent contrast with the decreasing reduction of the space reserved for the description of each episode, though it is an inversion that can be explained by the elegy's aetiological purpose. In fact, Propertius cannot help dedicating a greater number of verses to Romulus, precisely because he intends to recall the origin of an enemy's *arma* offered to Jupiter Feretrius.

In v. 5, in fact, Propertius addresses Romulus a solemn apostrophe for having inaugurated[11] a true model, which will be the archetype of this palm of victory, and introduces a series with the same gravity[12]. To raise the high tone of the apostrophe we have *primus*[13], sending

[11] On *imbuere* with the meaning of *initiare*, *experiri* see Ov. *Ars* 1,654 with the comment by Hollis and *ThlL* VII 1,429,26 ff.

[12] Plutarch, too, as well as Livy, recognizes this honour to the king (*Rom.* 16,35 ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὖθις θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέσχε); (1,10,6 *Iuppiter Feretri, inquit, haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent*).

[13] Although the main codices agree on *primae*, there are several proposals, after van Jever's, who conjectures *primus*, to correct v. 5: Heyworth 2007, 494, who emulates him in the text, believes that Propertius' aim is to emphasize the chronological order in which the three Roman war leaders captured the *spolia opima*. The passage from *primus* to *primae* would have been induced by the presence of *palmae* at the end of the verse that, in *iunctura* with *primae*, creates an alliterating link in homeoteleuton. Both v. 23 (*Cossus at insequitur*), suggesting the idea of a chronological series, as the *elogium* in a Pompeian inscription (*CIL* I² p. 189), in which

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us back to the traditional epic formulary used to define the first warrior winning a struggle or fallen by the hand of a worthy enemy. In the pentameter Propertius associates to the solemn mention of Romulus as the first war leader to achieve this "palm of victory" (*palmae huius*) the epic image of the king who returns *ab hoste* full of spoils (*exuvio plenus*)[14]: to recall Romulus' success over the enemy we have *redire*, the technical verb for a glorious return after a triumph[15], as well as *exuvio plenus*, in which the use of the *hapax exuvium* clarifies that we are in the presence of the first of the *trina arma* of v. 2.

Before describing the essential moments of the duel between Romulus and Acronis, Propertius anticipates its success in vv. 7–8, according to a scheme that will also be used in the other two episodes (see vv. 23–24. 39–42). Set in a remote age by the solemn adverbial formula *tempore quo*, the Roman *dux*'s enterprise is worthy of honour because it has been achieved against an extremely dangerous foe. To underline it we have, in v. 7, *portas petentem* which, emphasized by the hyperbaton and the alliteration, evokes the image of Acronis when he threateningly turns against the gates of Rome[16]. In the pentameter, Romulus is opposed to the enemy *dux*, whose name appears isolated in the hexameter along with the epic epithet *Caeninus*, to indicate his provenance[17]. The verse's high tone, expressed both by the initial *victor*[18] and by its echo in Verg. *Aen.* 2,329 (*fundit equus*

Romulus is defined as *primus dux* to have dedicated the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius, are in favour of *primus*; Fest. 204,1–4 L. *trina contigerint nomini Romano* alludes to a similar chronological order*: una, quae Romulus de Acronis; altera, quae [consul] Cossus Cornelius de Tolumnio; tertia, quae M. Marcellus <Iovi Feretrius de> Viridomaro fixerunt*).

[14] The exemplary value of the enterprise achieved by Romulus is illustrated by the parallel of the representation of his triumph to the one of Aeneas, when carrying Anchises on his back and holding Ascanius by the hand, in two statuary groups exposed in the exedra of the Forum of Augustus (see Ov. *Fast.* 5,563–6).The association of the subjects, also reproduced in two wall pictures of the façade of the *Casa Polybiorum* at Pompeii (IX,13.5: see Pugliese Carratelli–Baldassarre X 2000, 359 and Small 1994, 640–1), shows the intention of connecting an *exemplum pietatis* to an *exemplum virtutis* (see Zanker 1989, 215–7).

[15] See Enn. *Ann.* 299 Sk.; Verg. *Aen.* 2,275; Liv. 41,28,9; Ov. *Fast.* 5,578; Claudian. *Rapt. Pros.* 2 *praef.* 40; *CIL* I² 626.

[16] On *petere* as a technical term of the military lexicon, see *ThlL* X 1,1952,50 ff.; 1954,9 ff.

[17] For similar epic formulae see Moskalew 1982, 82.

[18] See Liv. 1,10,6 *haec tibi Victor Romulus rex regia arma fero.*

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victorque Sinon) and 11,691 (*Buten aversum cuspide fixit*), has the aim of underlining the decisive character of the king's victory over Acronis. Romulus' belligerent action, in fact, gives him no rest: overthrown by the Roman *dux's* spear[19], Acronis falls with his whole weight over his horse, that collapses ruinously and lies reversed on the ground (*in eversum equum*).

After having described Romulus' victory over the enemy *dux petens portas*, in the following distich Propertius lingers on Acronis. His heroic bearing, which constitutes the success of the connection of the origins with military skills, according to a scheme that takes us back to Homer[20], is sung in v. 9. Dignified by his Herculean ancestry, Acronis leads his army as the king of Caenina. This is stressed by the archaic, solemn *ductor*[21], as well as by the reference to the *arx Caenina*, illustrated by the triple alliteration so often used by Ennius[22]: since the most remote times the fortress was the place in the city meant to welcome and protect the kings[23]. Rome stands witness to the serious threat posed by the king of Caenina, a solemn apostrophe being addressed to the city in the pentameter. Though it is projected to a remote time by *quondam*, the terrible fear inspired by Acronis' military intervention was not brief, as can be seen by the use of the imperfect tense with the word *horror*, which, by metonymy in the sense of "motive of dread", amplifies the deep terror inspired by Acronis. *Tuis finibus* evokes the idea of the *horror* that not only endures, but rather spreads throughout the territory belonging to Roma[24].

[19] On *fundere* with the meaning of "abbattere" see *OLD* s.v. [13 b].

[20] See e.g. *Il.* 13,170–5. 427–433; 16,327–9.

[21] See Verg. *Aen.* 6,334 with Norden's comment; Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 2,14 *'ductores' sonantius est quam 'duces': quod heroum exigit carmen*.

[22] See Enn. *Ann.* 214 Sk.; for *spolia* followed by *ex* with the ablative case, see Prop. 3,7,14 with Fedeli's comment.

[23] See Lucr. 5,1108–9 *condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare / praesidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque* with Bailey's comment.

[24] Both Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy emphasize the belligerent impetus and the temerity with which the Caeninians dared to invade the Roman territory, without any support from their allies (see Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 2,33,2; Liv. 1,10,3). Probably, Acronis was offered the possibility of leading the army alone against the Roman territory because of Caenina's close proximity to Rome (see Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 2,33,2).

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The danger of an epic foe is increased by the latter's temerity in expecting to capture Romulus' spoils (v. 11): this expectation is manifest in the image, borrowed from Ennius, of the spoils stolen from the enemy's back[25]; however, it is meant not only to fail, but also to witness an unexpected turn, as shown, thanks to the 'enjambement', by *ipse dedit,* at the beginning of v. 12. Juxtaposed to *dedit*, the emphatic *ipse*[26] stresses the sudden exchange in roles between victor and vanquished. It is not surprising that such an overthrow of Acronis' hopes has occurred in bloodshed: the killing of the opponent *dux* was a necessary condition for the consecration of the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius[27]. The adversative emphasizes this essential feature, while the solemn succession of τρία σίγματα once again borrowed from Ennius, and the litotes (*non sicca*) enhance the image of the *spolia*, from which the leader's blood is dripping. Acronis' defeat is, therefore, irreversible; by means of a significant timely inversion, Propertius anticipates here the success of the struggle, with the aim of connecting the terrible panic inspired in Rome by the Caeninan leader with his audacious expectations, while describing, in vv. 13–16, the stages that immediately precede his killing.

From a registration of the historical data (*dedit* v. 12) the poet passes, in v. 13, to the direct narrative of the moment preceding the duel between Romulus and Acronis, as shown by the juxtaposition of the deictic to the present tense *videt*: Propertius follows closely Romulus' glance, when he recognizes Acronis and focuses on his movements. It is then Romulus who has an advantage over his enemy: not only does he behold him while he fights, as he forestalls his actions by a vote made to Jupiter. Acronis is described as while, in precarious balance, striking his javelin in a certain direction (*librantem spicula*) *ante cavas turres*: in an extreme protective attempt, he fights in the open, before his city towers[28], which are hollow because

[25] See *Ann.* 618 Sk.

[26] *Ipse* has this very same meaning in Enn. *Ann.* 7 Sk. *terra corpus, quae dedit, ipsa capit*.

[27] See Plut. *Rom.* 16,6; *Marc.* 8,10; on Acronis' death by the hand of Romulus, see Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 2,33,2; Liv. 1,10,4; Val. Max. 3,2,3; *CIL* I² p. 189.

[28] The historical sources do not clarify whether the duel between the two *duces* was held at the gates of Rome or Caenina; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant.* 2,33,2) and Livy (1,10,4) place it at the end of the persecution of the remaining Caeninian army by the Roman army; the fact that Caenina, deprived of its defending soldiers

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they are meant to hide and guard the soldiers when they are ready for attack.[29].

The distich's paratactic rhythm's aim is to point out the relation of immediate temporal succession between the visual action (first, the Roman *dux* sees Acronis) and the formulation of his preventive vote. To ensure his victory, Romulus anticipates (*occupat ante*)[30] his foe's reaction and, as underlined by the plural *votis*, addresses Jupiter repeated invocations, meant to be granted (*ratis*). The archaic participle *ratus*, underlined by the alliteration in the frame narrative,[31] confers gravity to the certainty of a positive success on Romulus' vote, which proves to have been decisive for the achievement of victory[32].

Romulus' *votum* is brief and imperative, precisely because it is expressed shortly before the duel's conclusion. Solemnly invoked at the opening of v. 15, Jupiter is the beneficiary of the offer, as a *victima,*[33] of the enemy killed by Romulus. Since his *vota* are *rata*

(see Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 33,2), was soon conquered by Romulus after Acronis' death (see Liv. 1,10,4 *duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit*) proves that the duel took place close to the enemy city, not close to Rome.

[29] See *OLD* s.v. [3a]; the Teucrians recur to similar defensive means to face their enemies' advance in Verg. *Aen.* 9,40–46 (see Hardie's comment on this). In fact, they *armati cavis expectant turribus hostem*, according to Aeneas' command for them not to overtly deploy in battle.

[30] On the hiper-characterization of the verb's meaning by the use of *ante*, see Plaut. *Asin.* 818; Cic. *Orat.* 138 and Hofmann– Szantyr 1965, 798.

[31] We have this same use of *ratus* in Enn. *Ann.* 71 Sk. *occiduntur*: *ubi potitur ratus Romulus praedam*: we can see the influence of Ennius' fragment on Propertian poetry through the alliteration (*Romulus ratus*) that solemnly enhances the king's military success (see Skutsch *ad loc.*).

[32] See Plut. *Rom.* 16,19–20; on the decisive function of the *votum* addressed to the gods in a duel, Ov. *Fast.* 4,891–6). On the other hand, according to Livy (1,10,4), the ruinous, fast defeat of the Caeninian army was made possible by Roman notorious military superiority, based on their strength as well as their fury.

[33] NFL's *haec victima* doesn't seem plausibile: in order for the *votum* to be accomplished, in fact, it is essential that Acronis is overthrown in duel; only after his death will he become a *victima* to be offered to Jupiter. Hence it is not logical that Romulus points him to the god as his *victima* before the struggle's conclusion. As agreed by Hutchinson and Heyworth, P's *hic* may be an adverb of place or a deictic referring to *Acron*. The interpretation of *hic* as «qui» is supported by the religious formulary: attested since Ennius (*Trag.* 307 Joc.), the juxtaposition of the adverb of place *hic* to the adverb of time *hodie* is frequently seen in comedy (examples in Jocelyn *ad loc.*), but it is also used by Livy (1,24,8 *ut ego hunc porcum hic*

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(v. 14), Romulus seems to be aware of this concurrence, as shown by the future tense *corruet*, that evokes the image of his enemy's disastrous downfall. In v. 16 the vote expressed shortly before (*voverat*)[34] is swiftly and irresistibly accomplished, as illustrated by the efficient juxtaposition of the temporal plans within a paratactic structure, symmetric to the one in vv. 13–14, as well as by a) the polyptoton in the frame narrative (*Iuppiter Iovi*), b) the repetition of the verb *corruere*[35] and c) the passage from *victima* to *spolium*. The use of the singular *spolium*, seldom employed with regard to the plural, seems to allude to the image of Romulus returning from the enemy *exuvio plenus* (v. 6). Romulus' *pietas*[36] is opposed to Acronis' haughtiness, the Roman warrior being properly framed in a set of political, military and moral attributes (vv. 17–20). There is a clear reference to Augustus, to whom the exact same qualities are ascribed, as deduced by the title *urbis virtutisque parens* at the opening of v. 17. Such link is also reinforced by the reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius completed by Augustus, the building's new founder.

Romulus' solid, almost natural possession of the belligerent *virtus* contributed to Acronis' fatal defeat at the former's hands, together with the indispensable divine protection, both factors favouring the king's habit of winning victories more and more frequently. *Sic* has, therefore, a conclusive value concerning the description of the favourable outcome of the vote to Jupiter (v. 16) while, at the same time, suggesting that Romulus had founded his military successes on the repetition of that same procedure. In vv. 19–22 Propertius makes

hodie feriam) precisely with regard to a sacrifice. However, I would prefer to consider *hic* as a deictic in relation to *Acron*, as shown by the hyperbaton on the frame narrative, then recovered in v. 16 by *ille*. According to traditional liturgical praxis, Romulus clearly states to Jupiter the object of his vote, whereas *ille* sanctions its positive outcome.

[34] The past perfect *voverat* reiterates the condition, already acquired (see Ov. *Fast.* 5,578 *voverat, et fuso laetus ab hoste redit*), that makes Acronis' violent death inevitable.

[35] On the symmetry between *corruit ille Iovi* e *tibi corruet Acron* see Plut. *Rom.* 16,19–20 εἰ κρατήσειε…αὐτόν καταβάλλει κρατήσας.

[36] Livy (1,10,5), by his turn, ascribes the exposition and the laying of the spoils in the area where the temple in honour of *Iuppiter Feretrius* was to be built to Romulus' determination to exhibit his great achievements: in fact, Romulus reserves to victory, which is the success of Roman military, tactical superiority, a worthy celebration, its climax consisting of the temple's dedication.

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Romulus a champion of the *mores maiorum*, in line with the central role Augustus had given them in his programme of moral reformation: the king's life style, oriented by frugality and moderation, had favoured him with customary victory (v. 18). In accordance with the principles of the Latin *paideia*, Romulus gave proof of ability both when riding a horse for *miles* and in handling the plough (v. 19); his military gear was of simple, strict manufacture (vv. 20–22).

The sixteen verses that describe the duel between Cossus and the Veientine *dux* Tolumnius have as a background the Roman expansion against the neighbouring cities. Cossus, the second leader, in chronological order, to boast the capture of the *spolia opima*, places himself in the immediate line of succession after Romulus (v. 23 *insequitur*[37]) due to the killing of the Veientine Tolumnius.

The duel's success, anticipated since v. 23, is solemnly recalled by the names of the two *duces*, who confront each other both at the beginning and end of the verse, the alliteration (*Cossus…caede*) and *caede*, that reiterates the condition allowing Cossus to place himself in the limited series of the victorious war lords inaugurated by Romulus, i.e., the killing of the enemy *dux*[38].

By means of *caede*, therefore, Propertius does not limit the comparison between Romulus and Cossus to their common skill in killing the opponent *dux*[39], but he underlines the parity in Romulus' duel against Acronis to that of Cossus against Tolumnius. This is

[37] Employed with reference to a selective list (based on chronological, spatial or thematic criterion, see *Thll* VII 1867,23 ff.), *insequitur* recalls the purpose of *aperire arma trina recepta de ducibus tribus* in v. 2 (see Val.Max. 3,2,4 *ab Romulo proximus Cornelius Cossus*) and Romulus' presentation as the *primus* to offer an example of this kind of victory in vv. 5–6.

[38] It is possible that with *caede* Propertius alludes to the circumstances leading to the killing of Tolumnius: Livy (4,17,1–7) presents the war against the Veientines as a Roman revenge against the slaughter of four ambassadors ordered by Tolumnius; it is, therefore, in the name of the *Manes* of those legates that Cossus, to avenge the outrage, launches a duel against Tolumnius, defined as *ruptor foederis humani violatorque gentium iuris* (see Liv. 4,19,3–4). In Cicero's time there still stood a group of statues representing the four ambassadors (see Cic. *Phil.* 9,4–5 *statuae steterunt …et huic* (sc. *Cn. Octavio*) *et Tullio Cluvio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et C. Fulcinio qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt…mors honori fuit*; Plin. *Nat.* 34,24 *hoc a re publica tribui solebat iniuria caesis*). The reference to Cossus' aim to avenge the equally violent death of the four legates is hidden in *caede*.

[39] This is Welch's opinion 1999, 206.

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confirmed by the use of a similar scheme, based on the mention of the adversary's name together with an epithet stating his place of origin (see v. 7 *Caeninum Acrona*), the anticipation of the outcome (see v. 8) and the reference to the difficulty of the enterprise in v. 24 (see v. 10)[40]. In v. 24 there is peremptory information stating the difficulty of the conquest of Veii: this is emphasized by the alliteration (*vincere…Veios*) and by the juxtaposition of *vincere posse* to *laboris erat* that solemnize the reference to the unquestionable trouble the Romans had in submitting the city[41].

After having set the conquest of Veii on the background of Lazio's primitive settlement, where soon enough the rising power of Rome was established to the damage of Nomento and Cora (vv. 25–26), with a sudden overturn Propertius sets against the ancient greatness of the Etruscan Veii (vv. 27–28) its present decadence (vv. 29–30). To elaborate this antithesis he evokes a series of long-lived traditional reasons, from the instability of fortune or wealth to the existence of dead cities[42]. In a distich of an intense, pathetic tone, the words *veteres* and *fuistis* bring back the remembrance of a remote time, in which the royal dignity and the strength of Veii were equal to Rome's[43]: Veii was once a kingdom, but no longer. The continuity between the Etruscan city and Rome is enhanced in the pentameter, where *in vestro…foro* confers to the Etruscan city the character of a place mirrored to Rome[44]. The slow rhythm created by the polysyndeton

[40] The continued relation between Romulus and Cossus is confermed by Livy 4,20,3: when the triumph for the victory against Tolumnius was celebrated, while Cossus carries the *spolia opima* captured from the king, *in eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere*. Therefore it is not by chance that the spoils are deposed in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius *prope Romuli spolia* (see also Val.Max. 3,2,4 *Cosso quoque multum adquisitum est, quod imitari Romulum valuit*).

[41] The frequent wars begun under the monarchy and concluded with the final conquest of Veii in 396 a.C. by Furius Camillus are proof enough that the city's submission was not an easy task for Rome, in spite of its geographical propinquity. A summary of the circumstances and of the old and present motives that make the conquest of the city an exhausting, but necessary condition, is made clear in Appius Claudius' long speech in Liv. 5,4,1. 11–14.

[42] See Labate 1991, 167–8. 172.

[43] This is stressed by *et*, which is to be understood in the sense of *et etiam* (See *ThlL* V 2,892,55 ff.), as well as the emphatic plural *regna*.

[44] Rome assimilates the symbols that feature Veii's royal tradition, in line with the ideological motives of the integration and the *consanguineitas* with the Italic peoples; see Giardina 1994, 23–36.

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accentuates the recollection of the space where the *aurea sella*, the symbol of Veii's ancient royal dignity, was located.

In v. 29 the spondaic rhythm and the assonance underline the description of a gloomy, desolate landscape, animated by the sound of a shepherd's horn alone, that had already taken the place of the urban settlement of old, bordered by walls. From the ancient city of Veii nothing else remains but the stretches of a land suitable for reaping, which takes place on top of long buried bones (v. 30). The end of Veii has therefore determined the re-conquest of the urban space by nature; in the description of such a return to origins it is frequent to recall the image of the plough, which marks not only the founding, but also the end of a vanquished city[45].

The pathetic recollection of the greatness and the end of Veii sheds a tragic light on Tolumnius' last image when he, protected by his city's walls, agrees to a parley with Cossus while the Romans are besieging the city (vv. 31–34). In v. 36, *forte astitit*, a typical form for an epic narrative prologue[46], creates a climate of expectation that introduces the description of the moments immediately before the final duel between the two *duces*. Tolumnius possesses the military valour of someone who feels his position well secured in the tower of one of the access gates to the city, as well as the honour conferred by his role as *dux Veiens*: the almost formulary repetition of the toponym and its correspondent epithet enhance the greatness of Veii that, inevitably, has its reflection upon the king. Although the occurrence of the link *colloquium dare* in belligerent context is normally connected with the planning of a truce, in which words have a temporary role of *negotia bellica*[47], *forte* gives the idea that the Veientine *dux*, who is still safe for a brief period (*fretus*)[48] in his city, had certainly not counted on listening to Cossus' speech, nor could he expect from the latter a proposal of peace while Veii's siege was still afoot. Vv. 33–34 confirm it, since they describe a detail of the

[45] This praxis is codified in a precise juridical ruling (see Mod. *Dig.* 7,4,21 *si … aratrum in ea* [sc. *civitate*] *inducatur, civitas esse desinit, ut passa est Carthago*. On the literary testimonies of this image, see Prop. 3,9,41 with Fedeli's comment).

[46] See e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6,171 with Norden's comment and *ThlL* VI 1,1130,67 ff.

[47] See Caes. *Civ.* 2,27,2; Liv. 32,37,6; 34,30,5.

[48] Employed in an absolute sense and documented from Propertius (see Liv. 10,5,5; Stat. *Theb.* 4,182–3; Nepotian. 1,2,3; Coripp. *Ioh.* 4,114; Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8,537; Fulgent. *Myth.* 3 *praef.*), *fretus* is a particularly solemn archaic epithet taking back to Gnaeus Nevius (see *Bell.Poen.*10 Strz.).

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attack launched by the Roman soldiers against the walls of Veii; while, under the effective protection of the *longa vinea*[49], the battering ram's increasingly violent strokes fall upon the city gate, as emphasized by *pulsabat* that evokes its rhythmical thumping, by its iterative, intensive value and its onomatopoeic effect[50]. Cossus looks still braver when, in a resonant hexameter, like the one attributed to Romulus in v. 15[51], specially solemnized by the triple alliteration, he invites Tolumnius to a single combat in the middle of a siege which was to be a sure success. The brief, imperative *sententia* pronounced by the Roman *dux* in v. 35 is opposed to the long, articulated speeches, usual in historiography and epics, with which military leaders or warriors summon their foes to a struggle[52]. In *forti melius* (sc. *est*) *concurrere campo* the comparison between the one who is *fortis*, i.e., being gifted with valour and daring and willing to fight on flat ground[53] and one, like Tolumnius, who will rather rest sheltered among his city's walls is implicit. Cossus' words show his despise for Tolumnius[54], who is *fretus* thanks to the walls' protection (v. 32): the *sententia* uttered by Cossus, however, will swiftly come to pass, as underlined by *nec mora fit* at the beginning

[49] This was achieved by its long stretching and its mobile, light structure, consisting of an arbor formed by horizontal and vertical poles with different heights, covered by wickers on either side, made to ward off the arrows and boulders thrown by enemies; its upper part was layered with wet skins and fabric to avoid fires (see Athen.Mech. 10,3–4 with Whitehead and Blyth's comment; Vitr. 13,2; Veget. 4,15). The *vinea* was, as was the battering ram, an indispensable means of besieging a city protected with excepcionally solid walls, as was the case of Veii (see Liv. 5,2,7; 5,7,2).

[50] See e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12,706 *moenia quique imos pulsabant ariete muros*; the use of *pulsare* also refers to the way the homonymous animal usually attacks (besides Veg. *Mil.* 4,14, *appellatur aries …vel quod more arietum retrocedit, ut cum impetu vehementius feriat*, see Vitr. 13,1–2).

[51] On the connection between the elegiac distich and the royal speeches, see Barchiesi 1994, 13.

[52] See e.g. Liv. 25,18,6; Verg. *Aen.* 11,705–8; 12,889–893.

[53] The *campus,* i.e., a territory in which *nullus collis nec mons nec locus altus invenitur* (see Verec. *in cant.* 6,6) is the ideal place to fight (see *ThlL* III 214,13 ff.), even if it is a highland, like the one on which Veii appeared (see Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 2,54,3).

[54] The despise for this behaviour, documented since Enn. *Ann.* 92 Sk., particularly concerns important or powerful characters, who reveal their own cowardice when they refuse to fight a duel.

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of v. 36. This means that both *duces* go from words immediately into action: *uterque* emphasizes the synchronic stand of the two warriors in position (*sistit gradum*) in the wide, flat groundings, so that no obstacle may hinder their viewing of one another.

The duel's outcome is a bloody one: supported by the choral intervention of the gods, who favour the Romans, as emphasized by the juxtaposition of *di* to *Latias* at the beginning of the verse, as well as *iuvare*, Cossus' victory is enhanced by the description of his enemy's beheading. In fact, *desecta cervix*, underlined by the 'enjambement', illustrates the bloody detail of the Veientine king's head that, severed from its base, is sharply torn off the body[55]. The image of the blood, abundantly flowing from Tolumnus' newly cut-off head, so as to stain the Roman horses, is placed in a choral frame[56]; the relation *sanguine lavit* solemnizes this detail that evokes the motive, dear to Ennius, of the blood bath[57]. Livy, too, mentions Cossus' relentless wrath against the Veientine *dux*: the description of the duel's stages is concluded with the epic image of a triumphant Cossus showing the spoils captured from Tolumnio and his severed head stuck on a pole. At this point the Roman *dux* routs the rival army, which has been terrified by their king's slaughter[58].

The connection between Cossus and Claudius Marcellus, the protagonist of the Roman victory at *Clastidium* in 222 a.C. against the Insubres led by Virdumarus, is reiterated by *Claudius at* at the beginning of v. 39, that symmetrically repeats *Cossus at* in *incipit* of v. 23; the juxtaposition of *Claudius* to *Rheno* shows us that the limit of the conquering wars had just been broadened while, on the other hand, constituting a homage to the role played by the *gens Claudia* in the

[55] Lavishly documented in the epic duels since Homer, the *topos* of the beheading of the defeated is most often the culminant, decsive moment of the heroes *aristeiai* (see Kroll 1964, 305–7. 335–7); atrocious images and pathetic severed hands are already present in Enn. *Ann.* 483–4 e 485–6 Sk.

[56] The presence of enemy blood all over the Roman horses is a clear presage of victory (see Frontin. Strat. 1,12,4 Sertorius *cum equitum scuta extrinsecus equorumque pectora cruenta subito prodigio apparuissent, victoriam portendi interpretatus est, quoniam illae partes solerent hostili cruore respergi*).

[57] See Enn. *Trag.* 180 Joc.

[58] See Liv. 4,19,3–5 with Ogilvie's comment.

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defence of Rome against foreign foes[59]. As in the scheme already employed for Acronis (v. 9) and Tolumnius (vv. 23 and 31), for this last duel the place of origin of the opponent *dux* is stated (*Rheno*) and in v. 40 its outcome is anticipated (see vv. 6–8. 23).

The only vanquisher of Virdumarus' shield, as underlined by *cui relata est*, Marcellus has carried out a harsh enterprise that has decreed his triumph: this is illustrated by *vastus*, stressed by the hyperbaton, that evokes the terror inspired by the gigantic demeanour of the opponent *dux*[60], and by *referre*, a technical verb belonging to the military lexicon when referring to spoils or trophies[61].

Virdumarus' name, isolated between two strong pauses[62], is emphasized at the beginning of the hexameter, according to a usual scheme in elegy (see vv. 7, 9, 15, 23, 37). Propertius lends him a heroic demeanour, in which a distinguished lineage is linked to military skills (v. 42); the same emphasis having previously been made with regard to Acronis in vv. 9–10. In *iactabat genus Brenno ab ipso* the epic motive of ancestry's praise is combined with the defiant, incessant boast by which Virdumarus vaunts his alliance with Brennus. This inevitably reminds us of the episode of the sack of Roma (390 a.C.)[63].

In v. 42 *nobilis*, synonym to *notus*[64], clarifies that Virdumarus' fame has to do with the huge amount of javelins (*gaesa*) he incessantly

[59] See Suet. *Tib.* 2,1; this role is attested by the victories achieved by Augustus' stepsons (Drusus and Tiberius) against the Rhetians and the Vindelicians in 15 a.C. (see Hor. *Carm.* 4,4,73–76; 4,14,29 with Ciccarelli's comment). The magnification of the glorious fate that will connect Augustus' stepson Marcellus, prematurely killed, and his distinguished ancester is prominent in the epicedium composed by Propertius for the young man (see 3,18,33–34 with Fedeli's comment). It is probable that the victor at *Clastidium* has been object of a special cult by his descendants (see Weinstock 1971, 295).

[60] See Flor. *Epit.* 1,20,1 *Gallis Insubribus …corpora plus quam humana erant* e *OLD* s.v. [3].

[61] See e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4,93 with Pease's comment; *Inscr.It.* XIII 1,79 *is spolia opima rettulit duce hostium Virdumaro ad Clastidium interfecto* and *OLD* s.v. [1b].

[62] On the encroachment of the *dux*'s name at the beginning of the hexameter, see Fraenkel 1964, 79.

[63] Crixus has the same behaviour in Sil. 4,150–1 *ipse, tumens atavis, Brenni se stirpe ferebat* / *Crixus*.

[64] On *nobilis* i.q. *notus* see e.g. Q. Cic. *Pet.* 12 *qui nequaquam sunt tam genere insignes quam vitiis nobiles*; on the construction with the Infinitive (*fundere*) see Hor. *Carm.* 1,12,26 … *hunc equis, illum superare pugnis* / *nobilem* and *OLD* s.v. [2c]).

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thrusts while driving his chariot (*e rectis rotis*). Naming the weapons and specifying the characteristic Gaulish warfare ways have the purpose of enhancing the character's epic, perilous bearing[65].

At the duel's conclusive moment, Virdumarus combines every feature that makes him an extremely dangerous foreign opponent (v. 43): with his striped arms, as is typical in Barbarians[66], he practises Gaulish warring tactics by violently thrusting javelins in front of his own formation, in order to dishevel his enemies' ranks and thus favour his soldiers' attack.[67]. It is the loss of one element of his gear that decrees the ultimate defeat of Virdumarus: the twisted collar[68] that had just shortly before shone on his body suddenly falls off his neck, severed by Claudius Marcellus (v. 44)[69]. Several resources are employed to enhance the bloody scenario: the phonic effects, like the constant repetition of gloomy sounds, the assonance produced by the juxtaposition of *incisa* to *decidit*, evoking the swift succession between the neck's neat severing and the collar's downfall, as well as the use of *gula*[70] that, being chosen instead of the poetic *guttur*, confers a lively realism to the decapitation scene.

[65] The reference to the names of foreign peoples' typical weaponry is well attested in epic poetry: see e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 381. 526 Sk.; Verg. *Aen.* 1,420; 4,259; 8,662 with Eden's comment; on Gaulish tactical warfare see Caes. *Gall.* 4,33,1.

[66] The Gauls' clothing had a characteristic striped decoration: besides Verg. *Aen.* 8,660 *virgatis lucent sagulis* with Eden's comment, see also Ov. *Ars* 3,269 with Gibson and Saglio's comment 1877, 746.

[67] See Caes. *Gall.* 4,33.

[68] The Gauls used to wear precious jewelry in battle: Polybius 2,29,8 confirms it, describing the Gauls in the first rank adorned with golden collars and bracelets, like Virdumarus did, arrayed in front of his troops and exhibiting his *torquis*.

[69] The main sources that tell us about Marcellus' victory do not mention Virdumarus' beheading or the detail of the *torquis* falling from his severed head: see Pol. 2,34,6–9, in which no reference is made whatsoever about the two leaders' duel; Plut. *Marc.* 7,1–3. It is possible that Propertius had in mind another famous episode, first narrated by Claudius Quadrigarius (fr. 10 b Peter *apud* Gell. 9,13,4–19) and later resumed by Livy (7,10,7–12), with Titus Manlius Torquatus as a protagonist in 361 a.C.: the brave Roman soldier confronted an arrogant, imposing Gaulish warrior in duel and, after having beheaded him, he wore his collar still tinged in his blood. As from that moment, Manlius and his descendants were given the *cognomen Torquatus* (for a comparison between the two passages, see Ambrosetti 2000, 10–15.

[70] On the employment of *gula* in poetry see Ov. *Met.* 8,846 with Bömer's comment.

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Projected on a background featuring grievous events from the past, as suggested by the reference to Brennus, whose worthy descendant Virdumarus vaunts to be, Marcellus' victory over the Gaulish *dux* is symbolically represented by the collar falling from his severed head. The conquest of Virdumarus' *spolia* is the success of a confrontation between different civilizations, in which the Roman clearly prevails. On the other hand, the unusually short final episode may have been due to Propertius' awareness that such confrontation was still ongoing, and that members of the *gens Claudia* still played a first-class role in military campaigns against the Germanic peoples.

Propertius can, however, count on a certainty in his own time: *nunc spolia in templo tria condita* (v. 45): the *arma trina recepta de ducibus tribus*, which in v. 2 constituted one of the two objects of his aetiological research, which thanks to Augustus have been worthily, definitely placed *in templo*, i.e., a sacred space enjoying not only divine approval, but also bearing witness to the official relationship between *religio* and *res publica*, precisely for the fact that they harbour the *spolia opima*.

The poet marks the compatibility between epics and aetiology by means of a double reiteration in the four concluding verses, each of them concerning *Feretrius*' etymology. In the first one, based on the connection between *Feretrius* and the verb *ferire*, Propertius juxtaposes the reference to the duel to the *omen certum*, i.e., the auspice by which the Roman commander assigned himself an indisputable victory; in the second etymology, where the image of the *duces* who personally carry the spoils in order to offer them to Jupiter is greatly enhanced, the poet recollects the conclusion of the duels of Romulus and Claudius Marcellus. He then evokes the founder of the temple, rebuilt by Augustus, and an important member of the *gens Claudia*, whose descendants still went on winning victories against foreign peoples under the *princeps'* auspices. Propertius thus succeeds to bring to a close the *magnum iter* he had announced in the exordium.

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THE WRATH OF GODS FALLS UPON MEN: THE CASE OF ANCIENT ARKADIA[1]

María Cruz Cardete

Greek mythology displays an inordinate amount of violence that takes pride of place in the order of the Cosmos and is present in the world from the very moment when Erebus and Nyx are born from Chaos, as described by Hesiod in his *Theogony*[2]. This violence is thus neither unjustified nor arbitrary (although human beings may sometimes perceive it as such); it is the consequence of an inevitable destiny, marked by human actions and inexorable divine responses. It is not restricted solely to the field of myth, but can also be seen in ritual practice in the sacrifice of the animal victim, and in daily life, often through gruelling tests that punish non-fulfilment of rituals and norms. Although the most disadvantaged social groups, especially women, are usually the main target of divine violence, mythical as well as real, it also extends to the privileged social classes, who are not spared the rage of gods, as the curse of the Alcmaeonidae shows after the murder of the followers of Cylon.[3]

In spite of the fact that the violence associated with religion in the Greek world was assumed to be normal, there were certain cults and historical moments that took this mythical violence to the level of cult or ritual. The case of Ancient Arkadia is probably the most paradigmatic. In Arkadia we could find the practice of lycanthropy, human sacrifice, anthropophagy, the wrath and revenge of gods, with their terrible therianthropic features, and a violent theolepsy by one of the most disturbing gods of the Greek pantheon, strongly associ-

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[2] Hes. *Theog*. 116.

[3] Thuc. 1.126; Plu. *Sol* 12.

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ated with Arkadia, Pan,[4] and ecstatic cults. Such variety is difficult to find in any other place and its analysis helps us understand the mechanisms of usage and justification of violence in the Greek world.

The majority of Arkadia's violent myths, cults and rites are found in Parrhasia, located on its southwestern frontier, an area beset by conflict that was constantly under threat, particularly from the Spartans, for centuries. Moreover, we should not forget the political and military harassment that it suffered from other Arkadian powers, especially Tegea and Mantineia,[5] until it was integrated into the synoecism of Megalopolis in 369 BC.[6]

One way to face the real dangers confronting the Parrhasians was to transfer them to a religious level, to myth, ritual and cult. The Parrhasians chose to do this by deliberately constructing an archaic time, taking shelter in a tradition which was proud to be ancestral, neither built nor changed by man, but established *in illo tempore* by the old gods. These gods were unconventional, therianthropic, thirsty for sacrifice and expiation and deeply connected to the communities that worshipped them, which felt secure in their religious difference and used the rites and myths to guarantee their unity. This tradition, which was intentionally kept secret and mysterious, served as a veil which only allowed them to see the myth, their own difference highlighted in powerful images like Mount Lykaion. Mount Lykaion was the cultic core of the Parrhasian community, which was symbolically structured around the mount. Its most meaningful place, Mount Saint Elias (1382 m), dedicated to Zeus *Lykaios*, was never monumentalized because the holy strength the Mount emitted did not need architectural adornment.

It is important to note that the absence of monumentalization does not imply that the cult was less important or that economic resources were scarce. It is true that sometimes the representative elements of a community are monumentalized. Elites tried to legitimize them in this way, creating the illusion that the physical materiality of the

[4] Cardete 2008.

[5] Thuc. 5.33.1-3 and 67. 2. Cardete 2005a, 133-146; Forsén 2000, 52-53; Nielsen 1996, 89; Pretzler 2009, 97.

[6] Diod. Sic. 15.72.4 and 15.94.1-3; *IG* 5.2.1; Paus. 8.27.1-8. Cardete 2005b; Dusanic 1970, 319; Hejnic 1961; Hornblower 1990; Jost 1986; Moggi 1974, 98-100 and 1976, 293-325; Nielsen 2002, 428; Roy 1968, 1972, 1996 and 2000, 308; Sealey 1976, 435.

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signifiers prevents their meanings from being changed. But monumentalization *per se* implies neither physical nor ideological fossilisation because the monument is under the rules of historical context and change, in the same way that ritual, myth, cult and beliefs are.

In the case of Zeus *Lykaios*, perception sacralized the landscape without artificial elements; the code of community values gave the landscape full meaning and reinforced the unity of those who belonged to the group, excluding those who did not. As with monuments, the value codes were presented as static, but in fact they were totally dynamic and relational, that is to say, historical.

Around Mount Lykaion, first the Parrhasians, then the Arkadians and finally the Greeks built a triangle of violence whose vertices were human sacrifices, cannibalism and lycanthropy. It became a highly significant example of how violence was an intrinsic part of religious belief in the Greek world, acting as an essential element that set the limits of the human community, separating civilization from barbarism, being closer to the former but not forgetting the latter, because one depends on the other. The first to allude to human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion was Plato, referring to the "μύθῳ ὃς περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου ἱερὸν λέγεται". According to Plato: "ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχνου, ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἑνὸς ἐγκατατετμημένου, ἀνάγκη δὴ τούτῳ λύκῳ γενέσθαι".[7] Plato, through Socrates, doubted that lycanthropes existed, but did not doubt human sacrifices and anthropophagy which, although not very common, were still found in Greek mythology through well-known characters like Tereus, Tantalus or Thyestes.[8]

The references that follow mention sacrifices on Lykaion as being contemporary, and express indignation because the Greeks practised atrocities associated with barbarians, especially the Carthaginians,[9] or shrouded them in impenetrable mystery.[10] Despite the obvious

[7] Pl. *Resp.* 565 D-E: "The legend that is told of the shrine of Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia; who tastes of the one bit of human entrails minced up with those of other victims is inevitably transformed into a wolf"; *τίς*; *ἔφη*. ". Translated by Paul Shorey in *Plato in Twelve Volumes, Vols. 5 & 6*. Cambridge-London, 1969.

[8] Tereus (Ov. *Met* VI); Tantalus (Eur. *IT*. 366-388; Nonnus *Dion*. 18.25-35); Thyestes (Aesch. *Ag*. 1090-1097, 1184-1194, 1217-1223 and 1583-1602; Eur. *El*. 699-734 and *Or*. 811-817; Sen. *Thy*).

[9] Pse. Pl. *Minos* 315 C; Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2.

[10] Paus. 8.38.7.

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rejection of these practices, most of those who spoke about them used common words for sacrifice to describe them (like θυσία, σφάττειν, σφαγιάζεσθαι),[11] ignoring the fact that Lycaon combined in his bloody offering the two basic features of barbarian human sacrifices, those which, seemingly, differentiate them from Greek custom: on the one hand the frequency, institutionalization and ritualization of the practice,[12] which turned human sacrifice into a custom rather than an exception that we can only imagine in times of crisis and therefore became acceptable; on the other hand, personal rather than communal motivation,[13] which eliminated the meaning of the sacrifice because in theory it should only take place at times when the community is under serious threat, and must benefit and be accepted by everyone.[14]

But the contradictions do not end here: Lycaon knows how to carry out the sacrifice well and, with this practice, he shows his usual piety, and his respect for the power of the gods.[15] Pausanias himself, despite mentioning the sacrilege, neither looks down on Lycaon as an unworthy king nor underlines his defects, as he does in the case of his neighbouring Trapezus, whose crimes are far less outrageous.[16] Apollodorus forgives Lycaon, blaming his eldest son, Maenalus, for the sacrifice. Moreover, Lycaon's act, though considered sacrilege, establishes a rite and is therefore pleasing to the gods, worthy of preservation for all time, even if only in the form of a memory.[17]

Although in general terms, research into Lycaon's sacrifices has focused on whether or not they actually took place, I do not think this is the main question. Whether real or not, the Parrhasians used human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion to express their deep religious needs, their feelings of inclusion and belonging and a concept of cosmic order. It reinforced the renewal and extinction of life, a notion we are still unable to understand today, but which was profoundly significant for them. So beyond its factual reality, the terrible violence

[11] θυσία (Paus. 8.2.3 and 38.7; *Suda* v. Λυκάων); σφάττειν (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1); σφαγιάζεσθαι (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.31).

[12] Pse. Pl. *Minos* 315 C; Hdt. 4.103.

[13] Diod. Sic. 4.47.2.

[14] Eur. *Hec.* 223-224; Eur. *Heracl.* 406-409 and 488-491.

[15] Detienne 1977, 211.

[16] Paus. 4.17.2-6; 4.22.7 and 8.5.12.

[17] Piccaluga 1968, 43.

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of the sacrifices had its place in their system of cult and myth, whose ultimate purpose was to re-establish the order which would allow the community to survive. The gods who were supposedly offended by such macabre sacrifices were the same gods who, when angry, demanded the community's blood to rid it of the dangers that could destroy it. They would not help the community without this supreme sacrifice.[18] Moreover, the gods demanded the most precious forms of life, one that is immaculate, such as a sacrificed animal,[19] youth (of either sex) or even a child, so beloved by its parents and by a society that sees children as its descendants.[20] In the case of Lycaon this is very clear, because the victim is either a child,[21] possibly even a son of Lycaon,[22] or one of the king's guests,[23] who is, therefore, protected by the laws of hospitality.

Barbarism does not end with sacrifices, it is also associated with lycanthropy and cannibalism, creating a triangle of despicable practices difficult to ignore.

How and when Zeus *Lykaios* became associated with wolves is a complex issue and has been much debated,[24] commonly focusing on mythical and even psychiatric aspects of lycanthropy. Recently, however, socio-political interpretations have appeared that attempt to explain lycanthropy as another element of the social, political and territorial configuration of the Parrhasian communities.

The two best known interpretations have been considered antagonistic, but I think they are compatible and can enrich each other when they are both taken into account. I refer to the hypotheses that

[18] Plu. *Mor*. 163 A-C; Hom. *Il*. 10.460-464; Eur. *Hec*. 107-109; Paus. 7.21.1-5; Porph. *Abst*. 2.55.3; Plu. *Arist*. 9.1 and *Them*. 13.3.

[19] Georgoudi 1999, 71-74; Henrichs 1981, 217.

[20] Istros (*FGrHist* 334 F 48) is referring to the sacrifice of children to Cronos in Crete and Lycophron (*Ale.* 229), calling Palemon *Brephoktonos* or "murderer of newborns".

[21] Paus. 8.2.3.

[22] Nonnus (*Dion*. 18.21) specifies that the child was Nyctimus, one of the sons of Lycaon. Pindarus (Schol. *Ol.* 9.78) says that the victim was Azan, and Hyginus (*Astr*. 2.4) argues that the victim was Arkas.

[23] Serv. 1.731. Ovid (*Met*. 1.226-227) talks about a Molossian.

[24] Cook 1914-1925, 63-68 and 255-258; Farnell 1977, 42; Frazer 1913, 386; Gernet 1980, 98; Immerwahr 1891, 22-24; Jost 2002, 183; Mannhardt 1905, 341-344; Müller 1851, 22-38; Nilsson 1941, 397-401; Piccaluga 1968, 52-84 and 99-146; Zolotnikova 2005.

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defend the rites on Mount Lykaion as rites of passage and/or initiation rites or transgression-regression rites.[25] Merging the two theories and recognising cult as historical fulfilment (as opposed to rite understood as a way of modelling religious action)[26] allows us to gain a fuller and more historical sense of the terrible violence which took place at Mount Lykaion. Whether it was symbolic and/or real, at a ritual level, it was undoubtedly part of the cultic expression of the Parrhasian communities[27] so we can say that the practice was constructing reality.[28]

We do not know when or how often the festival was celebrated, although, according to Xenophon,[29] and looking at certain anthropological parallels, it probably took place sometime between March and May.[30] During the festival, the young men of the community would gather at night on the peak of Mount Lykaion[31] and eat sacrificial meat, taking part in a rite of passage.

The setting was favourable for these practices. The summit of Mount Saint Elias is home to the altar of Zeus *Lykaios,* and twenty metres below is the *temenos* dedicated to the god. Mount Lykaion was used as a sanctuary from the Late Neolithic to the Roman period,[32] although, in spite of its antiquity and importance, we do not find imposing altars, temples or magnificent buildings there,[33] but only

[25] Rites of passage: Bonnechere 1994, 94, 165-173 and 311-314; Bremmer 2007, 71-72; Burkert 1983, 88-91; Dacosta 1991, 38; Farnell 1977, 41-42; Frazer 1913, 190; Gernet 1980, 136-150; Hughes 1986, 185 and 197-199. Jeanmaire 1939, 568 proposed initiatory rites in a clan of werewolves. Transgression-regression rites: Jost 2005.

[26] Christensen 2009, 15-16.

[27] Human sacrifice is helping to construct what Bonnechere (1994, 314-327 and 2009, 192) calls "contre-valeur", which is as necessary as the norm.

[28] In fact, Burkert (1983, 93-134) analyses the relationships between mythical cannibals like Tantalus or Thyestes (and others who are less obvious, such as Odysseus) and Lykaion's rites, comparing their similarities and their importance in the constitution of rites of passage and/or communal rites.

[29] Xen. *An*. 1.2.10.

[30] Burkert 1985, 237-242; Fougères 1904, 1433; Jost 1985, 268; Piccaluga 1968, 22; Simon 1983, 92-104; Zolotnikova 2005, 112.

[31] Bonnechere 1994, 168; Burkert 1983, 89; Gernet 1980, 142-143.

[32] Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 45-46.

[33] The built part of the sanctuary is in the Kato-Kambos valley, between Mount Saint Elias and Mount Saint Stefanus, where we find some buildings (including a *xenon*, bath facilities or fountain houses), a hippodrome, a stadium, or a *stoa*

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a "γῆς χῶμα"[34], as Pausanias says, the remains of two columns (crowned with eagles, according to Pausanias),[35] a mixture of sherds from Early Helladic to Hellenistic times and items such as a rock crystal lentoid seal, a double-headed iron axe and various bronze tripods, according to archaeological studies.[36] There are no human bones.

As previously mentioned, the strength of Greek religion does not end with its monuments. The culture is not limited to commemorative practices, which are public and visible in time and space (as with monumentalization); it also implies embodied practices, a broad spectrum of physical and sensory experience in the form of rites, processions, burials, feasts or votive offerings. They all bring social ideology alive through repetition.[37] These practices are important in order to understand the use of extreme physical and mental violence on Mount Lykaion. At night,[38] highly charged with fear and anxiety,[39] a form of ancestral cult, beloved by gods, brought the whole community together. Each participant believed that when the rites finished he would either be a full member of the community, if he successfully passed into adulthood, or a bloody lycanthrope fed with the remains of a human sacrifice. A temple is not necessary to create this atmosphere, but cult and ritual offered to the god are indispensable.

We can identify the *abaton,* connected to the summit by the route of a procession, of which only some square bases from the classical period have been preserved (Jost 1985, 181). It is one of the sacred

(Jost 1985, 180-183; Kourouniotis 1909, 187-193; Romano 2005, 384-389; Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 47). In the area of the *temenos* there is nothing but bedrock, although some bronze figurines have been found to the east (Romano and Voyatzis 2010, 46).

[34] Paus. 8.38.7: "a heap of stones".

[35] Paus. 8.38.7.

[36] Kourouniotis 1904; Jost 1985, 180; Lamb 1925-1926, 145; Romano and Voyatzis 2010.

[37] Alcock and Van Dyke 2003, 4; Barrett 2001, 154; Chapman 2009, 10; Connerton 1989; De Certeau 1980; Garwood 1991, 13; Meskell 2007, 218; Rowlands 1993.

[38] Darkness is a hypothesis based on the mystery which surrounds the cult and is an essential part of the rite; on the name of one of Lycaon's sons, Nyctimus, and on ethnological inferences (Bonnechere 1994, 168; Bremmer 2007, 70; Burkert 1983, 89; Gernet 1980, 142-143).

[39] Bonnechere 1994, 173; Burkert 1983, Detienne 1991.

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enclosures on Mount Lykaion whose boundaries could not be crossed.[40] Those who broke the law would suffer terrible punishments (losing their shadow,[41] death within a year,[42] stoning to death[43], banishment to Eleuthera[44]). These punishments are not directly related with human sacrifices, as the sacrificial victim is not a convict or a prisoner, but someone who gives him or herself up to the god voluntarily. However, these punishments are associated with the atmosphere of ritual violence that pervades the mountain and of which sacrifices are the ultimate expression. Crossing the boundaries of the *abaton* was considered an offence to the god, a stain on a sacred area chosen by the god for his epiphany,[45] which is why the punishments were so harsh.

Thus, those who did not recognize sacred boundaries did not belong to the community, because it was defined by the observance of rules. Those who broke the laws imposed by the gods, the non-written laws sanctioned by tradition and which only tradition could change, showed that they were not mindful of the well-being of the community and did not deserve to belong to the group. Sacred laws worked as a metaphor for human laws and in both cases, the rebel was impious.

Therefore, those who did not break the taboo of cannibalism became part of the community[46] and were able to return to their villages as elements of the umbilical cord that linked their ancestors with life (rite of passage). To make their return possible it was necessary for others to cross over to the wild side, in a primitive stage where their ancestors had been in touch with Zeus *Lykaios*: civilization begins and ends at the limits of barbarism (transgression-regression). It was not a personal decision, but chance when choosing a piece of meat that differentiates the lycanthropes from those accepted by the community. This personal fate was terrifying because there was no

[40] Paus. 8.38.5.
[41] Paus. 8.38.5; Plu. *Quaest. Grae*. 39; Polyb. 16.12.7-10 quoting Theopompus.
[42] Paus. 8.38.5.
[43] Plut. *Quaest. Grae*. 39.
[44] Plut. *Quaest. Grae*. 39.
[45] The origin of the taboo is unknown. Borgeaud (1979, 59) proposed that perhaps lightning sacralised the place for ancient Greeks, because lightning was the instrument chosen by Zeus to destroy Lycaon and his sons.
[46] Burkert 1983, 89-90.

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civic reason or ritual order to it.[47] This horror reinforced the initiation experience and the highly complementary nature, rather than opposition, of initiation and regression, which were opposite sides of the same coin, both necessary to the community, as suggested above.

Nine years after they had turned into wolves, young anthropophages returned to their human state, provided they had not tasted human flesh during that time.[48] If they had controlled their instincts, they would be able to keep their propensity for regression under control and retain the taboos concerning the use of violence which helped to shape human society. This was the case of Damarcos, who, after living as a werewolf for nine years, won the Olympic Games. The story is told but also criticized by Pausanias.[49] He does not believe it, not because he considers it irrational but because, had it been true, such an extraordinary event would have been inscribed on the statue of Damarcos at Olympia. However, the statue only refers to his Pharrasian origin.[50]

Leaving aside the impossible physical reality of lycanthropy, it is a truly powerful symbol: a person who is outside the community is not human because only by belonging to the group, and to the community ruled by certain laws, does he share the essence of what it is to be human thus separating him from beasts. So when a man breaks the taboo and eats human flesh (when he regresses) the community expels him, and this expulsion turns him into an animal, because he no longer belongs and there is no civilized life outside the group. Exile would be the punishment for sacrilege and would take the metaphoric form of lycanthropy.[51]

However, the community needs men who cross the line that separates them from barbarism, because going back to the time of Lycaon means temporarily recovering the time when men invited gods to the banquet, the time when men shared their tables with their gods and the boundaries between barbarism and civilization had not yet been defined. Thus human sacrifice, cannibalism and its most direct consequence, lycanthropy is both a punishment and a special distinction,

[47] Halm-Tisserant 1993, 132.
[48] Paus. 8.2.6.
[49] Paus. 6.8.2.
[50] Hyde 1903, 28; Moretti 1957, 112.
[51] This is R. Meuli's idea, summarised by Jost 1985, 264.

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a transgression of the taboo and a communal initiation. Once the temptations of getting lost in a wild universe had been overcome, anthropophagic wolves that turn into men could once again prove their value, because they had survived the test of the gods, and the whole community benefited from this.

Through the example of Mount Lykaion we can see how fear of untamed nature is an instinctive reaction against the disorder that threatens established society and how religious violence, embodied in the terrible process that links cannibalism and lycanthropy is, contradictorily, a proof of communion with the dictates of civilization. This is so because after a certain time (nine years was probably purely symbolic), the community forgives the wolf and accepts him back, allowing him to return to his human state, thus allowing barbarism to fuel civilization. It is a way of gaining ground from nature, once again exerting power over it, because the community can expel their members as well as redeem and accept them back, cleansing them from the effects of life in the wild.

On Mount Lykaion they did not stint on barbarism. They used it to embellish their cult, making it appear more ancient and magnificent, precisely because that barbarism made it even more civilized. Firstly, the place for the celebration: a mountain is essentially a dangerous place, largely beyond the reach of human understanding, because it belongs to the gods. Secondly, the certainty that one of them would die so that the others could grow, change the way they live, and mature. Finally, the misfortune which would bring cannibalism to some, followed by its corresponding punishment (lycanthropy) and an organized society governed by rules for others, the awareness that some had to be sacrificed for others, and that both were necessary.

Before the foundation of Megalopolis, the southwestern frontier of Arkadia desperately needed efficient ways to defend itself against the Spartan enemy. After that, the area became the symbol of a desired (not real) pan-Arkadian power, capable of defeating the Spartans. In both cases, human sacrifice and its violence were necessary. It was, therefore, a way of keeping tradition alive, of slowing down social time by incorporating it into cult and/or ritual, of building a community landscape that offered meaning to the existence of barbarism and victory over it, in favour of a civilization which needed it to exist, just as the gods needed human beings to honour them as they deserved.

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WHY DOES ZEUS RAPE? AN EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE[1]

Susan Deacy

Introduction: insects, gods, men and rape

The male scorpionfly has an anatomical clamp whose only apparent purpose is to hold the wings of the female in place for forced copulation.[2] Where most other species are concerned, humans included, explanations for sexually coercive mechanisms need to be sought in psychological terms. How such a psychology should be conducted has been a subject of — sometimes impassioned — debate, particularly in the wake of Thornhill and Palmer's argument (2000) that rape might have evolved to enhance male reproductive success. Some have asked whether such an investigation should be conducted in the first place. For example, Gee (2000) regards evolutionary inquiry into the causes of rape as "distasteful and unnecessary."[3] For many, the proposition that sexually coercive behaviour can be understood in the context of evolution is at odds with feminist approaches to

[1] My thanks to the organising committee of the *Violence in the Ancient and Medieval World* conference for their invitation to deliver one of the keynotes. I am grateful for the audience feedback, both at Lisbon and in subsequent correspondence, especially from Gabriel Herman, José Magalhães and Filipe Soares. This chapter builds on the case I made at the event for Zeus as a particular rapist type, particularly by clarifying my position on how to apply the term rape "rape" to the behaviour of a god whose partners show varying degrees of desire. The University of Roehampton, London awarded me a term's research sabbatical during which I wrote this chapter. Joseph Carroll, Mike Edwards and Fiona McHardy made invaluable comments on an initial draft. The comments of the volume's anonymous peer-reviewers helped inform the final version.

[2] E.g. Thornhill and Palmer 2000, McKibbin et al. 2008, 87, Li, Sng and Jonason 2012, 57.

[3] Other criticisms include Brown 2003. Thornhill and Palmer (2003) argue that an adherence to extreme view of rape as about power and violence not sex has shaped reviews of their work. Recurring criticisms of Thornhill and Palmer are evaluated in Pinker 2002, 359-71and Gavey 2005, 94-7.

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rape as motivated by a desire for control over women and as learned behaviour.[4] But the scholarly environment is changing, fuelled by research into the convergence of genes, organisms and the environment,[5] and to the ongoing debate —within and across disciplines — over what constitutes rape and also what constitutes sexual coercion, which is increasingly used as a replacement term.[6] The rise of feminist evolutionary theory further demonstrates the potential for a dialogue between biological and cultural approaches.[7] One recent contribution to the study of the origins of rape from an evolutionary perspective has been to change the question from the one posed by Thornhill and Palmer. Thornhill and Palmer asked why rape emerged as a mating strategy that any man might use in specific circumstances. The new question being asked is as follows: is it in fact only certain types of men who are disposed to rape?[8]

This chapter set outs what a study of classical evidence can contribute to addressing this question. More broadly, it responds to the call for new contexts where evolutionary theories can be applied, including in disciplinary areas that might appear to fall outside the remit of the evolutionary sciences.[9] Indeed, my title adapts the title of one of the evolutionary studies, whose methodology I shall be applying: McKibben et al. 2009: "Why Do Men Rape?

[4] See, here, Pinker 2002, 359-71. Thornhill and Palmer 2003 responds to the criticism of "ardent adaptationism" made against evolutionary psychologists, including against the authors themselves.

[5] See e.g. Gavey 2005, 94-7, Tooby and Cosmides 2005, 30-41, Vrize, Iacono and McGue 2012.

[6] Studies of rape include Brownmiller 1975, Thornhill and Palmer 2000, Brown 2003, Lalumière et al. 2005, Gavey 2005, McKibben et at. 2008, Vandermassen 2011. Sexual coercion and its relationship to rape is addressed from an evolutionary perspective in Malamuth, Huppin and Paul 2005, and Li, Sng and Jonason 2012, and from a constructionist perspective in Gavey 2005. The terms can be used interchangeably. For example, Malamuth, Huppin and Paul's definition of sexual coercion as involving "acts that involve sexual behaviors whereby one of the individuals does not fully consent" and where "[u]sually some use of physical force, threat, or some other form of coercion is used" (2005, 394) is based on same commitment to consent that underpins Brownmiller 1975. I discuss the relationship between rape and consent later in this chapter.

[7] E.g. Smuts and Smuts 1993, Vandermassen 2011.

[8] See Lalumiére et al. 2005, Malamuth, Huppin and Paul 2005, McKibben et al. 2008.

[9] See Buss 2005b, Camilleri and Quinsey 2012, 258.

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An Evolutionary Psychological Perspective." The potential for Greek mythology to add a further dimension to evolutionary research has been briefly considered, from an evolutionary perspective by Lalumière et al. (2005), as part of an overview of the role played by rape behaviour throughout history. Their key question is as follows: "[w]hat is it about the characteristics of some men, and the interaction of these characteristics with certain contexts, that increases the likelihood of rape?" (61). Their answer includes a brief exploration of one of the best known abduction stories from classical mythology: the abduction by Hades of Persephone (15). Thus, in order to inform their study of what causes certain men to perpetuate rape, they explore such behaviour not among men but among gods. I shall show that this slippage from men to gods can be justified: gods are not men, but male mating strategies are encoded in ancient Greek mythology.

My focus will be on the potential of research into specific rapist types to frame a study of Zeus, arguably the most rape-prone of all the Greek gods. As part of her investigation into a Greek mythological rape culture, Keuls saw Zeus as nothing short of a "master rapist" (1985, 51).[10] Yet, as analysed by Lefkowitz (1993), "rape" is the wrong term to use to describe this god's mating behaviour, because those whom he deflowers appear to consent to sex. Even more, they seem to enjoy their mating experiences and go on to boast about them as proud mothers of illustrious sons rather than women whose lives have been blighted by rape. At play here is not just how to read where myth stands between rape/seduction or consent/coercion, but also how to understand the cosmic order expressed by Zeus as either inimical or friendly to humankind.[11] I shall offer an evolutionary-informed solution which holds on to Zeus as the most proficient of mythological rapists while also allowing for other Zeuses, including Zeus the lover who engages in mutually consenting sex acts. I shall begin by explaining what I mean by "encoding" in a mythological context. Then I shall consider what it means to describe the mating behaviour of Zeus as rape. Then I shall explore how Zeus fits the profile of a particular hypothesised type: the high mating-effort rapist.

[10] See Dowden 2006, 39-49, although Dowden remains taciturn over whether or not Zeus impregnates his female partners through rape.

[11] See esp. Lloyd-Jones 1983, Dowden 2006, 61-85, Allan 2006.

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Myth and the adapted mind

This chapter builds upon attempts that have been made in recent decades to use evolutionary psychology to frame discussions of mythology and other imaginative creations, including art, literature, music, folktale and film.[12] Such an approach currently goes under various names — as reflects its still-emerging status across Humanities disciplines — including, to date, "evolutionary literary theory," "literary Darwinism," "biopoetics," and "bioculturalism." While much classical research, like other work in the Humanities, continues to be grounded in culturally focused approaches,[13] the analysis of classical evidence in relation to evolutionary theory is gathering momentum, and includes, to date, studies of Homeric epic (Gottschall 2008, Boyd 2009), Athenian revenge culture (McHardy 2008) and the Oedipus myth (Scalise-Sugiyama 2001).

Many evolutionary-sighted studies by Arts and Humanities researchers are fuelled by a conviction that human cognition and culture are shaped by the same mechanisms that determine the full range of biological behaviours. On the one hand, as argued by Panksepp and Panksepp, humans have evolved as "a linguistically adept story-telling species" (2000, 127). On the other hand, myths are considered to reflect the evolved human mind. This encoding is typically done via figures who express human dispositions and urges but without straightforwardly copying human nature. According to Carroll, "characters can be…wholly imaginary — fairies, angels, talking animals, ghosts, demons, gods," but "no matter how fanciful or unrealistic…[t]hey must operate within the range of behaviors that are intelligible and meaningful to our evolved psychology" (2005, 944).[14] Such an approach provides a literary Darwinistic perspective on what Daly and Wilson had already argued: that myths, along with folktales, reflect and symbolise "themes of psychological insight" while also manipulating these themes (1988, 118).

Evolutionarily-informed classical research has already charted how far representations of gods, Zeus included, conform to evolved forms of human behaviour. The Homeric gods as analysed by Gottschall

[12] See e.g. Carroll 2005, Carroll et al 2012.
[13] On the pervasiveness of this model, see, most recently, Herman 2014.
[14] Cf. Deacon 1997, 22.

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constitute "a pantheon…deranged by petty vanities" (2008, 4-5) which matches the status-obsessed world of the mortal warriors. McHardy and I have argued (Deacy and McHardy 2013) that the uxoridic acts perpetuated by ancient Greek gods, including those carried out by Zeus against his pregnant partners Metis and Semele, conform to the behaviour of ancient Greek males depicted across a range of genres, and match evolutionary research into male proprietorial behaviour. The current chapter extends these initial attempts to situate depictions of Zeus in relation to evolved human forms of behaviour by considering how far the mating strategies deployed by the god likewise match possible evolutionary dispositions. By taking this approach, I shall offer an additional, "universalist" layer of interpretation to previous research into the mating strategies of Zeus, which have discussed the rape behaviour of the god in relation to the patriarchal structure of ancient Greek culture (Keuls 1985, esp. 51-2), sexual fantasies (Robson 1997), and interstate politics (Arafat 1997, 101-15).

Does Zeus rape?

This section offers two answers to the question posed in its title, firstly that all of the mating behaviour of Zeus constitutes rape, as Keuls contended, and secondly, that could be that none of it is, as Lefkowitz argued. Then I shall ask whether there is third, less polarised, way to respond to the question.

It is possible to build a case for Zeus as the *patēr* par excellence who populates the divine and mortal realms through rape,[15] and who, as a power, as well as a personality, is repeatedly associated with violently destructive actions. After all, Zeus is the god of the ferocity of nature, who wields the thunderbolt, which can blast apart an opponent in a moment.[16] Zeus as power and personality converge in the ferociously elemental and sexual circumstances expressed at Pind. *Ol.* 7.34-8 where, as a snow shower, the god barrages the island of Rhodes at the moment when Athena is born. Athena is — here —

[15] On Zeus as *patēr*, see Dowden 2006, 29-30.

[16] On the thunderbolt-wielding Zeus *keraunios*, and associated guises, see Dowden 2006, 101.

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the result of the deluge of divine sexuality upon the island. Likewise, when the god streams into Danaë's prison as a shower of gold to impregnate her with Perseus (e.g. Apollod. 2.2.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 63), his whole being is shooting into the body of the young woman. On a Nolan amphora by the Berlin Painter (London, British Museum E 313), a woman, possibly Semele,[17] flees from Zeus who is wielding the thunderbolt, looking as though he is about to hurl it at the fleeing woman (**fig. 1**). Again, Zeus is represented as a destructively violent god whose sexual behaviour cannot not be violent. This erotic pursuit scene looks like a particularly clear instance of a woman fleeing aggravated rape — that is, rape involving additional harm to the victim. In addition to his own aggressive sexual behaviour, Zeus endorses the predatory behaviour of other gods, including that of Hades, who carries off Persephone "much against her will" (ἀεκαζόμενος: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 30) with his brother's blessing (30-33) and Hephaistos, whose attempt to deflower an unwilling Athena is sanctioned by Zeus according to certain sources (e.g. Lactant., *Div. Inst.* 1.17, Fulg. *Myth* 2.4, Hyg. *Fab.* 166).

Likewise, it is possible to argue that the women with whom Zeus mates do not, in fact, experience rape. Even the fleeing woman on the Berlin Painter's amphora (fig. 1), who seems about to experience the power of Zeus in terms that are violently and sexually destructive, might be showing some degree of acceptance of the god's advances. She is looking back at her pursuer and holding out a hand to him.[18]

Thus there exist two divergent ways to interpret the mating behaviour of Zeus, each of which can be supported by ancient sources. One way to reconcile these differences would be by noting the flexibility of Greek deities, Zeus included — and Zeus more than many. The invocation to Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ'ἐστίν ("Zeus, whoever he is") at Aes. *Ag.* 160 points to an awareness in antiquity of the flexibility or even instability of the concept of Zeus. It might therefore appear in line with Greek concepts of Zeus that the god should fail to conform to any one form of sexual behaviour, raping some females, while creating a more pleasant experience for others. But, for all that deities are flexible, they are also recognisably individuated figures each with

[17] On the possible identity of the woman as Semele, see Arafat 1990, 83-4.

[18] On the interplay between consent and coercion intimated by this gesture, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1987.

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Fig 1. Thunder-bolt wielding Zeus in pursuit of an unnamed female, possible Semele. Line drawing by author after London E 313, Nolan amphora by the Berlin Painter

a common portfolio of traits. Indeed, I shall now question just how different the behaviour of Zeus as analysed by Keuls is from the god's behaviour as analysed by Lefkowitz. I shall do this by exploring his mating behaviour in light of the move advocated across several disciplinary areas away from an understanding of rape based around consent/coercion.

The studies by Keuls and Lefkowitz were published at a time when the overriding definition of rape was, as articulated by Estrich, of an act perpetuated by a man "against [a woman's] will and without her consent" (1987, 8).[19] More recently, Gavey has argued for "a whole realm of sexual experience" that "falls uncertainly into the cracks" between the extremes of consent and coercion (2005, 2), including "stories of situations…that fell short of actual or threatened physical force, but which the woman felt unable to resist, as well as encounters where a man was rough and brutish, and the woman described letting sex happen because she felt unable to stop it" (136). Recent classical research has, likewise, considered representations of acts that inhabit the ground between rape and mutually consenting sex. Rabinowitz (2011) has explored the complexity of the responses of the Danaids, Kreousa and other mythological females to a violent, yet — as the women articulate it — desirable, male sexuality in examples from Athenian tragedy. In a previous study (Deacy 2013), I explored how

[19] The key study of rape in this respect is Brownmiller 1975.

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Persephone and Europa are constructed both as victims and as desiring agents who even create the conditions for their own abduction. The delightful flower meadow where these, and other, mythological women encounter gods is so seductively erotic that normal rules of consent and coercion come to be suspended. Greek mythology here perpetuates an ancient equivalent of one of the most pervasive of modern "rape myths:" that a woman will only be raped if she desires so to be.[20] By abducting young women from their delightful flower-filled meadows, Zeus is a rapacious god concerned with sating his sexual appetite. However, the god is also depicted as responding to the emerging sexuality of the young women, whose sexuality rouses the eroticism of the meadow. The location is a rapist's paradise in part because its inhabitants make it such.[21]

Recent work into the ambiguities that can surround representations of rape is, therefore opening up fresh, more subtle, ways to analyse the mating behaviour of Zeus. I shall now explore how an evolutionary-informed approach can offer further ways to understand this behaviour. A recent development in evolutionary research, sexual conflict theory, has located rape behaviour along a continuum of sexual acts. The key premise of this theory is that men and women have evolved divergent mating strategies, based on differences in the minimal parental investment required for each sex: for males, there needs only to be a minimal investment, up to the point of ejaculation, whereas women bear responsibility for carrying, bearing and nurturing any resulting offspring. To ensure reproductive success, a man might seek as many mating opportunities as possible, while a woman would be likely to seek a high-quality mate likely to provide the resources necessary for her offspring to thrive.[22] As a result, all heterosexual sex potentially gives rise to sexual conflict. Rape could be an extreme manifestation of such conflict, which developed to facilitate male reproductive success by preventing women's mating

[20] On this, and other, rape myths, see Holmes and Holmes 2009, 223-5.

[21] This perception of women determining whether or not they can be violated is matched, negatively, in the case of Io's flight from the meadow where Zeus will satisfy his desire for her at Aes. *PV* 631-95. Herodotus's comment that "if [the women abducted between Europe and Asia] had not wanted, they would not have been abducted" (1.4.2) constitutes an ancient equivalent of the modern "rape myth."

[22] See e.g. Li, Sng and Jonason 2012, Camilleri and Quinsey 2012.

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strategies.[23] This approach opens up the possibility of a more nuanced approach still to Zeus's mating behaviour, whereby he is the highest-status male of all yet falls short of the qualities of a high-quality mate. Precisely because his mating strategy is in line with evolved male behaviour, it is duty-bound to create sexual conflict because it is at odds with women's mating behaviour. This is necessarily the case whether the god is circumventing women's mating strategies by raping them, or whether he is creating scenarios where they are unable to resist his seductive power.

I shall now offer a further, more specific, way to explore the god's behaviour by contextualising it in relation to one of the rapist types proposed by McKibben et al. (2008). This approach will bear out my analysis of the mating strategy of Zeus as one that is predatory and geared towards short term encounters, and which potentially — though not invariably — involves rape. However, this approach will also open up a fresh perspective on the variability of the god. In some respects, his mating behaviour corresponds not with evolved male behaviour but with the strategy taken by women to facilitate reproductive success.

Zeus: high mating-effort rapist?

McKibben et al. (2008) hypothesise five kinds of rapists: disadvantaged men who resort to rape in the absence of other mating opportunities; specialised rapists aroused by violence coercive stimuli; opportunistic rapists who turn to rape when women are not receptive to sex; high-mating-effort rapists who exhibit dominance behaviour, and who are often psychopathic, and partner rapists. I shall examine Zeus in relation to the fourth category, the high mating-effort rapist — I shall explore the others in a future study, because some will have the potential for further exploration of the circumstances that trigger

[23] Cf. Camilleri and Quinsey 2012, 258. There has been extensive debate over whether rape is an evolved mating strategy to deal with differing mating strategies of males and females or a by-product of other evolved mating mechanism, for example the desire on the part of males for low-cost sex. The debate is appraised by Pinker (2002, 359-71), who argues that its either/or terms has been regretfully reductive.

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specific kinds of sexual behaviour by the god.[24] The first of the five characteristics proposed by McKibben et al. for the high-mating strategy rapist is to have high levels of facial symmetry, a signal of high genetic quality. I shall pass over this first trait: even the gorgon, the epitome of Greek concepts of ugliness, is depicted symmetrically. The other, more applicable, characteristics are: a tendency towards displays of aggressive and dominant behaviour combined with high levels of self-esteem; a tendency towards psychopathy; a tendency to be highly sexually experienced and to pursue a large number of partners without tending to show concern for their future wellbeing or for the wellbeing of any resulting offspring; and finally, a tendency not invariably to use rape, but to resort to rape behaviour when other mating strategies fail.

Of all the major deities, Zeus is especially given to aggressive and domineering behaviour as befits his role as the head of a pantheon of status-obsessed deities, each of which is supreme within a particular field of competence. It is Zeus's violent disposition that propels him to power, leading him to overthrow his father and subjugate his various enemies, including Typhon, whom he smites with the thunderbolt, the most deadly of all divine weapons.[25] The thunderbolt subsequently underpins this rule, as where, at *Il.* 8 404-5, he warns that, should Hera and Athena disobey his orders, "not in the space of ten circling years shall they heal themselves of the wounds with which the thunderbolt will smite them" (Loeb tr. adapted by author). However, as ever, Zeus cannot easily be confined to any given category. Confirming how representations of the god constitute a spectrum — from behaviour kindly to humans to behaviour that is violently destructive — the *Iliad* also portrays a Zeus capable of deep affect, who regrets the fate of Sarpedon, Hektor and the Trojans (e.g. 4.44-9, 16.445-52, 22.179-80).

[24] For example, an application of the final category offers the potential for a fresh reading of Zeus's marital relationships. The many forms that Zeus adopts to have sex could be analysed in relation to the second category, of the rapist aroused by coercive stimuli. Such an approach could build on Robson's argument (1997) that bestial rape myths reflect Greek sexual fantasies by exploring how Zeus bears the traits of a sexual fantasist.

[25] On the circumstances of Zeus' rise to power, see Detienne and Vernant 1978, 57-105.

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The case for Zeus as a psychopath is less straightforward to make, especially in view of the challenges around pinning down psychopathic qualities and of diagnosing any individual as such. Hare (1995), summing up some of the generally-agreed qualities of psychopaths, describes them as deceitful individuals who might manage to simulate human emotions but who are unable to feel remorse or guilt. As individuals "lacking in conscience and empathy," they "take what they want and do as they please, violating societal norms and expectations without guilt or remorse". According to Millon et al., psychopathic behaviour is consistently "repugnant to the social mores of the time" (1998, 3). However, whereas criminal psychopaths — the type most extensively studied to date — habitually behave in antisocial ways, the ruthlessness of "career-successful" psychopaths (Babiak 2007) enables them to flourish in corporate and political life.[26] In terms of their sexual behaviour, psychopaths tend to exhibit qualities of both "criminal" and "corporate" subtypes: they act on their own terms, with no regard for the feelings of their partners, and perpetuate behaviour that is self-seeking, predatory and often coercive. They also tend to be indiscriminate in their choice of partners,[27] and to form relationships that are brief and superficial.

Zeus creates and watches over world order. From this perspective, his behaviour is hardly antisocial: rather, he is a principle of cosmic stability. The manner by which he maintains his power, however, matches the "corporate" psychopath who rises to a position of power and influence. Indeed, the major gods as a group might be interpreted as a pantheon of power-hungry egocentrics whose behaviour mimics that of ordinary humans while falling short of acceptable moral standards — with Zeus at their head, the greatest psychopath of them all. Likewise, the violent and domineering behaviour of Zeus matches psychopathic tendencies, as does his tendency towards deceptive behaviour in relation to those who are seduced by the beauty of his animal transformations, at least until he carries them away from the seductive meadow. Conversely, although the god's extramarital sexual relationships tend to be brief, his choice of partners is hardly indiscriminate, directed as it is towards high-status females: heroines, princess and goddess, each of whom is a suitable mother his offspring.

[26] See further Ronson 2011.
[27] See Widiger and Lynam 1998, 176.

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In part, the next trait of the high mating-effort rapist matches Zeus more straightforwardly. Zeus is the most sexually experienced of the gods, with a history of high mating success, including numerous one-off sexual relations and longer-term relationships. At *Il.* 14.317-27, he runs through a number of his conquests:

> the wife of Ixion, who bore Peirithous, the peer of the gods in counsel… Danaë of the fair ankles, daughter of Acrisius, who bore Perseus, pre-eminent above all warriors…the daughter of far-famed Phoenix, who bore me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthys…Alcmene in Thebes who produced Heracles, her son stout of heart, and Semele [who] bore Dionysus, the joy of mortals…Demeter, the fair-tressed queen… glorious Leto (tr. Loeb adapted by author).

From other sources, we can add — among others — Leda (resulting in Helen and Polydeuces), Antiope (Zeuthus and Amphion), Persephone (Zagreus), Taygete (Lacedaemon) and Nemesis (Helen).[28] This mating success is matched by the range of mating strategies adopted by the god, who has sex in varied forms. For example, he mates with Leda as a swan (e.g. Apollod. 3.10.7, Eur. *Hel.* 16-22, 257-9, Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 49-51, Hes. fr. 23a.7-10). He mates with Nemesis in swan form too (Apollod. 1.3.6, Sappho fr. 166 Voigt). He has sex with Europa as a bull (e.g. Apollo. 2.5.6, 3.1.1, Hyg. *Fab*. 155, 178), with Persephone as a snake (e.g. Callim. fr. 43.117, Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.23.58), with Asterie as an eagle (e.g. Apollod. 1.4.1., Callim. *Hymn* 4.35-40), and — possibly — with Hera as a cuckoo (Paus. 2.17.4). He impregnates Rhodes and Danaë as, respectively, showers of rain and of gold (see above, this chapter). His mating strategy is, therefore, directed towards sex with a large number of partners. Furthermore, in line with tendencies of the high mating-effort rapist, he often shows minimal parental investment, instead leaving behind an impregnated female who will bear and then nurture the offspring. However, on some occasions, the god combines high-mating effort behaviour with the nurturing behaviour that, as hypothesised in sexual conflict theory, characterises female rather than male mating strategies. He intervenes directly to prevent the death of Alkmene once she has been impregnated with Herakles (e.g. Apollod. 2.4.6–8, Diod. Sic. 4.9; Hyg. *Fab.* 29). At *Il.* 8.362, Athena states that her

[28] For overviews and references, see Robson 1997, 83-88.

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many interventions to rescue this particular son were carried out on the orders of Zeus. Semele's pregnancy is transferred to Zeus after the god has blasted his partner with the thunderbolt and sewn the foetal Dionysos into his thigh; he subsequently bears Dionysos out of this thigh (e.g. Apollod. 3.26, Pl. *Rep.* 381d). At Hes. *Th.* 890, after the pregnant Metis is put down by Zeus into the god's belly — or womb (the Greek, νηδύς, can denote either) — his body nourishes Athena until she, too, is born out of one of his body parts, this time the head. Thus, in some respects, Zeus shows the minimal parental investment characteristic of this rapist type. Yet the god also plays a part in carrying, bearing and nurturing his offspring.

Just how varied the mating behaviour of Zeus can be is evident, too, in relation to the final trait identified by McKibben et al., namely a tendency towards a range of forms of sexual behaviour. As we have seen, some of his sexual encounters fall at the extreme end of sexual coercion, yet others fall into the "cracks" identified by Gavey (see above) between mutual consent and coercion, including the Berlin Painter's amphora (**fig. 1**), which combines intimations of aggravated rape with female acquiescence. Zeus cannot be resisted, but within this coercive frame, an encounter with Zeus can be desirable.

Summary and future directions

The behaviour of Zeus merits interpretation in relation to toolkits developed by evolutionary psychologists for the study of coercive sexual behaviour. The mating strategy adopted by the god is directed, in many instances, towards minimal parental investment, non-nurturant behaviour and sex with a large number of partners. The god is repeatedly represented as highly sexually-experienced, and he tends towards aggressive, dominant and psychopathic behaviour. However, Zeus is not, invariably, represented in ways that correspond with the high-mating strategist. Other representations show a tendency towards parental — even maternal — investment in his offspring. Zeus encodes human behaviour, but the behaviour that he encodes can vary. Lalumière et al. were right: classical mythology can inform an understanding of rape behaviour, but it does not merely reflect evolved behaviour. It refracts it as well. In future work, I shall take this model further, to offer a new reading of Zeus as a moral principle, who

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judges the behaviour of humans, yet is perpetuates behaviour that is morally ambiguous if not downright abhorrent. I shall also explore the potential for an evolutionary-informed study of the outcome of Zeus's mating behaviour: the numerous gods and humans that he fathers, and sometimes, mothers. I shall explore how far it is viable to divide these children to two groups: those who result from their father's high mating-effort behaviour, and the smaller, but distinguished, group who owe their survival, and potentially their peculiarities, to their father's parental investment. Staying with the sexual behaviour of Zeus, but moving beyond the god's mating behaviour, I shall add to existing classical research into the abduction of Ganymede by reading it in relation to studies into the evolution of homosexuality by Barash (2012) and others. In addition to building on this chapter's exploration of Zeus, I shall use evolutionary theory to frame a reading of other ways in which mythological evidence provides imaginative space for exploring psychological concerns, including those that might be rooted in human evolution. This will include a study of how the Athena-Hephaistos sexual encounter reflects and refracts male and female mating strategies, and an evolutionary-informed reading of the mating behaviour of young men in Menander. Thus I plan to continue to continue what I have begun to demonstrate here, that classical research can inform the work of evolutionary psychologists, and that an evolutionary perspective can to open up new ways to read ancient evidence.

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THE MOTIF OF *VERBERARE PUELLAM* IN LATIN ELEGIAC POETRY

Rosa Alba Dimundo

A socially widespread phenomenon, violence against females, is an issue which sadly fills the crime columns of newspapers on a daily basis. However, stories of abused women and violent episodes of feminine abuse are not only a sign of the degeneration of today's society, since they exist in literature of every age, clearly reflecting the terrible real life situations.

The aim of my research is to trace and analyse the documentary evidence that shows the presence of violence against women in the elegiac poets; such literary examples — fruit of a thorough artistic elaboration, that concedes much space to fantasy — are unlikely to provide reliable facts for social historical analysis.

The opening octaves of *Orlando furioso*'s fifth *canto* bear significant testimony to the 'persistence' of the subject when Ariosto denounces husbands' wrath against their wives as unnatural and ferociously criticises abusers, through his verses: "parmi… / che l'uom faccia / contra natura e sia di Dio ribello, / che s'induce a percuotere la faccia / di bella donna, o romperle un capello" (text no. 1, st. 3). Anyway, the subject of violence against women has ancient origins, going back at least as far as Menander (in *Perikeiromene*), who probably develops the subject in *Rhapizomene*, which has only reached us in fragmentary form. The influence of Menander's works is not only found in theatre plays,[1] but also in other literary genres, from elegy to epistolography and epigrammatic until Late antiquity.[2]

Although sometimes the *verberatio* to the injury of the beloved is totally uncalled for (Ov. *Am.* 1,7) or is enacted by Love (Tib. 1,10) the evidence in our possession shows that in most cases jealousy unleashes violence. Vv. 52-54 of the aforementioned *Perikeiromene*

[1] The works of Plautus (*Bacch.* 859-860; *Cist.* 523 ff. and *Truc.* 926-927) and Terentius (*Ad.* 120-121 and *Eun.* 646) are exemplary.

[2] See *e.g.* Philostratus (*Ep.* 16 e 61) and Paul the Silentiary (*AP* 5,248).

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are a good example of this. They incisively summarize a complex, dramatic pronouncement. In fact, in strict succession, we notice a) first, the culprit's predisposition to violence (v. 52 'σοβαρὸς ἡμῖν ἀρτίως καὶ πολεμικός'[3]); b) then his insane act (v. 53 'ὁ τὰς γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐῶν ἔχειν τρίχας'[4]) and c) finally the protagonist's repentance (v. 54 'κλάει κατακλινείς'[5]). If, besides being jealous, the man is inebriated, then violence can become overwhelming and desperate.[6] In the complex articulation of Latin elegy, finally, it will not surprise us that the motif of violence against women converges to erotic instruction, becoming a true *praeceptum*, meant to 'lighten' the unfortunate lover's pockets.

In Latin elegy, the theme of *verberare puellam* is introduced by Tib. 1,10. Characterized by a solid programmatic structure, holding strong contact points with the book's opening composition,[7] the elegy "provides an apt conclusion to the first book."[8] From v. 51, with a passage that most interpreters deem too brisk and 'detached' from the rest of the composition, Tibullus speaks of love brawls that should be condemned because, besides being a clear sign of *rusticitas*, they betray a typical military demeanour — the kind of life Tibullus

[3] 'Our swaggering soldier of an hour ago'.

[4] 'The one who won't let ladies keep their hair'.

[5] 'Now lies upon his couch in tears'.

[6] Theocritus bears significant witness to this in *Id.* 14,29-38 ἤδη δ' ὧν πόσιος τοὶ τέσσαρες ἐν βάθει ἦμες, / χὠ Λαρισαῖος 'τὸν ἐμὸν Λύκον' ᾄδενἀπ' ἀρχᾶς, / Θεσσαλικόν τι μέλισμα, κακαὶ φρένες· ἁ δὲ Κυνίσκα / ἔκλαεν ἐξαπίνας θαλερώτερον ἢ παρὰ ματρί / παρθένος ἑξαετὴς κόλπω ἐπιθυμήσασα. / τᾶμος ἐγώ, τὸν ἴσαις τύ, Θυώνιχε, πὺξ ἐπὶ κόρρας / ἤλασα, κἄλλαν αὖθις. ἀνειρύσασα δὲ πέπλως / ἔξω ἀποίχετο θᾶσσον. 'ἐμὸν κακόν, οὔ τοι ἀρέσκω; / ἄλλος τοι γλυκίων ὑποκόλπιος; ἄλλον ἰοῖσα / θάλπε φίλον. τήνῳ τεὰ δάκρυα; μᾶλα ῥεόντω'. "Anyhow, the four of us were deep in drink, and the man from Larisa sang 'My Wolf' from the beginning, a Thracian song, the mischief maker, and Cynisca suddenly started crying more copiously than a girl of six beside her mother when she wants a cuddle. Then I — you know how I am, Thyonichus — I gave her a slap round the head, and the another. She gathered up her robe and made off pretty quickly. 'You wretched girl, aren't you satisfied with me? Have you someone cuter to cuddle? Go and warm up your other boyfriend. Are you tears for him? Let them flow as big as apples'".

[7] As it happens in the opening elegy, the background themes are, not by chance, the refusal of military life (often chosen for needless violence and lack of money, rather than for respectable political or civil order reasons) and the vindication of a quiet life, aiming for a serene old-age ending in the middle of the fields.

[8] See Maltby 2002, 340.

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programmatically rejects —, and certainly not belonging to a lover (text no. 2).

The solemn religious atmosphere evoked by the reference to the sacred woods ('e luco … vehit' drives back from the grove'[9]) and recollecting, at the same time, the theme of the sacrifices drenched in abundant wine in vv. 47-48 ('*sucos condidit uvae, / funderet ut nato testa paterna merum.*'[10]), is weakened by the euphemistic litotes 'male sobrius',[11] directly hinting to a prediction of how the situation will develop. Once at home — *vino adiuvante* — the peasant, with an unstoppable fervour and with a rather heavy hand, fights Venus' battles ('*sed Veneris tunc bella calent.*'[12]), that make his poor wife succumb. In spite of the gravity of the event, the Tibullian scenario features a 'medium' tone, while the poet's attention shifts to the consequences of violence: in v. 55 '*flet teneras subtusa genas, sed victor et ipse*'[13] woman's tears (almost surprisingly, as shown by the adversative *sed* after the caesura) are joined by the culprit's ones, and he is rightly called *victor*. Nevertheless, it is no more than a fleeting moment of glory, because, at the beginning of the following pentameter, the anaphora of *flet* clearly expresses a kind of deep regret felt by *rusticus* because of the misdeed (*tam valuisse*) accomplished by his *dementes manus* (vv. 55-56 'sed victor et ipse / flet sibi dementes tam valuisse manus'[14]). Precisely, the process of his 'absolution' starts at the hands' personification and culminates in vv. 57-58 'at lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat, / inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet':[15] it is Love, in fact, who, *lascivus*,[16] after having provoked the brawl, sits in complete indifference (*lentus*[17]), between the understandably angered couple (*inter…iratum …utrumque*).

[9] V. 51 drives back from the grove

[10] Vv. 47-48 stored the grape juice that from the father's jar might pour wine for the son

[11] V. 51 half sober

[12] V. 53 Then love's war rages hotly.

[13] V. 55 the fair weeps for the buffets on her tender cheek; but the conqueror.

[14] Vv. 55-56 *'but the conqueror weeps too that his mad hands were so strong'.*

[15] *'while freakish Love feeds the feud with bitter speeches, and sits in unconcern between the angry pair'.*

[16] The epithet is perhaps to be understood in the sense of '*modum excedens*': *ThlL* VII 2,983,71.

[17] «La posizione di *lentus* nel verso riproduce quella di *Amor* che siede tra i due innamorati» (Perrelli 2002, 308).

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The poet's following intervention (vv. 59-60 'A lapis est ferrumque, suam quicumque puellam / verberat: e caelo deripit ille deos.'[18]) is fervent, as shown by the hexameter's opening interjection, by means of the dittology 'stone-iron' and the reference to the impious Titans who wanted to dethrone Jupiter,[19] and condemns anyone who hits his own *puella*.[20] Soon afterwards, dressed as a love *tutor*, Tibullus advises lovers to keep (themselves) away from the extremes of violence (vv. 61-64). The parallelism contained in the expressions anaphorically introduced by *sit satis* accentuates this concept with the clarity required by precepts. Even when extremely angered, it seems, it is fitting not to overreact: it is sufficient to ravage at her clothes (that also due to their *tenuitas*, may be reduced to shreds[21]), to ruin her neat hairdressing ('sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comae'[22]), or simply to lead the girl to tears (v. 63 *sit lacrimas movisse satis* ['be it enough to cause her tears to flow'] where the employment of the *distractio* of the locution *sit satis*, anaphorically repeated in the previous verses, is noted). After the Homeric *makarismós* formula,[23] an effective closure of the preceptive parenthesis, in vv. 65-66 ('sed manibus qui saevus erit, scutumque sudemque / is gerat et miti sit procul a Venere'[24]) Tibullus accurately establishes the range of action suitable to the man who *minibus …saevus erit*: weaponry and stakes to fence the military camp are his competence, but he cannot, of course, take 'gentle' Venus with him. The religious formula *sit procul*[25] is in line with the sacred features of the conclusive chant for *Pax*, which echoes the modulations of an invocatory hymn.

[18] *'Ah, he is stone and iron who would beat his lass: this is to drag the gods down from the sky'.*

[19] See Hes. *Theog.* 617 ff. and Ov. *Met.* 1,151 ff. The parallel indicates the assimilation of the woman to a deity, according to a literary custom also found in *AP* 5,137 (Meleager) and in Catullus (68,70 *mea…candida diva*).

[20] See *verberat*, emphasized by its position in *incipit* and by the successive pause.

[21] In *perscindere* the preverbal particle intensifies the action of 'shredding' and constitutes an internal reference to the *scissi capilli* of v. 53.

[22] v. 62 *'be it enough to disorder the fair arrangement of her hair'.*

[23] *Od.* 5,306; in Latin, reference is made to Hor. *Carm.* 1,13,17, to Verg. *Aen.* 1,94 and to Ov. *Ars* 2,447-8: see Nisbet - Hubbard 1970, 177.

[24] *'but he whose hands are cruel should carry shield and stake and keep afar from gentle Venus'.*

[25] See *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* 6,258 *procul o procul este profani* "Away! Away! You that are uninitiated!".

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In Propertius, the theme of *verberare puellam* is articulated in several ways, but in particular it is elegy 2,5 that offers an especially significant version, because it allows us to capture the sense of variation when compared with the Tibullian model (text no. 3).

In the elegy, which possesses every characteristic of a *renuntiatio amoris,*[26] even if not definitive,[27] we have the description of the behaviour Propertius should assume towards Cynthia, who is accountable for yet another betrayal. The poem's structure allows us to identify two very different stages: in the first one (1-16), the development seems to foreshadow a definitive *discidium*; while in the second (vv. 17-30), a thematic inverse movement gradually directs Propertius towards a more reasonable stance. A decidedly more placating tone follows the threatening accents of the previous verses, chiefly when the poet admonishes Cynthia not to defile herself by offensive behaviour regarding her *fides*, because even the quietest known animal, if provoked, may radically change its nature (vv. 17-20). Although vv. 21-24 mention the wrath manifestations roused by Cynthia's treachery, which, by the way, the poet will never dare to enact, his tone is threatening only in appearance: this is illustrated by the anaphora of *nec*, that emphasizes the beginning of every verse in the pressing progression of violent acts. The serious cause that gives way to the lover's wrath (the break of the *foedus amoris*, mentioned in v. 21 with the expression periuro de corpore'[28]) determines the apparently illogical succession (for it is inverted) of the violent conduct (in vv. 21-22 'I shall not tear the clothes from your perjured body, nor let my anger shatter your locked door', the motif of *scindere vestem* precedes the one for *praeclusas frangere …fores*). Moreover, in v. 22 with 'mea … ira'[29] (sc. *ego iratus*, with the employment of the abstract instead of an actual person), Propertius ascribes to anger the responsibility — slight, on the other hand, because violence was unleashed against a lifeless object — of doors' demolition. Soon

[26] The literary motif was carefully studied by Cairns, 1972, 79-82.

[27] Advisedly, Fedeli 2005, 173 underlines that "nei numerosi casi da Cairns citati … sarebbe opportuno distinguere fra quelli che configurano un addio definitivo (il *divortium*, come il c. 11 di Catullo o 3,24-25 di Properzio) e quelli che rinviano a una fase di *discidium* e lasciano la porta aperta a una conciliazione (come il c. 8 di Catullo e la 2,5 di Properzio)."

[28] *'from your perjured body'*

[29] *'my anger'*

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afterwards, however, the poet presents himself as the virtual author, in the first person, of violence towards the girl, who, is defenceless, and so would render his act still more despicable. Taken by an uncontainable *furor*, in fact, the betrayed lover assails, in the first place, her carefully dressed hair (in *conexos carpere crines* the alliteration gives the succession of terms a lively expression), then strikes *duris… pollicibus* the woman so as to injure her (v. 24 *laedere*).[30]

The Propertian reaction, *per contrarium,* signals a sharp variation with regard to the Tibullian model, which is explicit through an identical positioning of *rusticus* in *incipit* (Prop. 2,5,25 'Rusticus haec aliquis tam turpia proelia quaerat';[31] Tib. 1,10,51 *rusticus e lucoque vehit*). At the same time, the term skips the opposition between the love poet's way of life — whose bearing is dainty, as well as his verses — and the *rusticus aliquis*, who has not been perfected by poetical practice, the only 'civilizing' power recognized by Propertius (v. 26 'cuius non hederae circuiere caput'[32]).

However, the poet does not give up his reprisal at all, so he will try to get revenge by disparaging Cynthia with his verses, that time will not be able to erase. Thus physical violence is hereby replaced by a no less devastating verbal and moral aggression (vv. 27-28 'Scribam igitur, quod non umquam tua deleat aetas: / 'Cynthia, forma potens: Cynthia, verba levis'[33]). The *aprosdóketon* is emphasized by the perfect parallelism of the pentameter's members and the use of isosyllabic

[30] The Propertian context, with a slight prescriptive tone, is a model for Ovid in his *Ars* III book where, according to the work's programmatic purpose, the didactic aim is emphasized. With the sole exception of the replacement of *rusticus* by *pueri aetate calentes*, all the elements listed by Propertius are present: vv. 565-572 *Ille vetus miles sensim et sapienter amabit, / multaque tironi non patienda feret: / nec franget postes, nec saevis ignibus uret, / nec dominae teneras adpetet ungue genas, / nec scindet tunicasve suas tunicasve puellae, / nec raptus flendi causa capillus erit. / Ista decent pueros aetate et amore calentes; / hic fera composita vulnera mente feret.* "But the veteran will come gradually and prudently to love, and will bear much a recruit would not endure; he will not break doors nor burn them with fierce flames, nor attack with his nails the soft cheeks of his mistress, nor rend his own nor his lady's clothes, nor will torn tresses be a cause of weeping. Such doing suit lads aflame with youth and love; but he will bear bitter smarts composedly".

[31] *'Let some boorish clown pick these vulgar quarrels'.*

[32] *'one whose head no ivory has ever circled'.*

[33] '*So I shall write what you can never live down or cancel: "Cynthia, mighty beauty; Cynthia, fickle in speech'.*

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and isoprosodic terms: where the first hemistich exalts Cynthia's beauty, the second one stigmatizes her *levitas*, the main cause for her betrayals that, in this way, will become public. The whole is garnished with an abundant dose of threats in the final couplet, by an iambic-Archilochian tone[34] (vv. 29-30 'Crede mihi, quamvis contemnas murmura famae, / hic tibi pallori, Cynthia, versus erit').[35]

In spite of his *reprimenda* on the use of violence in love, Propertius incurs in serious fault and does not behave like a gentleman at all because, in a love relationship, verbal aggression is to be banished as much as physical violence. This is stated by Ovid in the second book of *Ars* where, having underlined that quarrels are a prerogative of wives and that refraining from them makes all the difference in a relationship with a man's beloved,[36] he exhorts the *pauper amator* not to 'verbally' outrage his beloved (text no. 4). In a different manner to that of his rich rival, who has no need for the *praeceptor amandi* because he can count on his riches (vv. 161-162) to conquer the girl, the destitute poet must recur to the strategy of *obsequium*, the main ingredients of which, besides the verses which are naturally dedicated to the beloved woman (vv. 165-166), are the *patientia* and the sweet words (vv. 167-168). The biographical memory introduced by *memini* (v. 169), validating the just administered *praeceptum*, represents an episode of violence — the very same that is described in greater detail in *Am.* 1,7 — with recourse to the usual elements, typical of the scenes of violence against the beloved woman (dishevelled hair, overwhelming wrath, shredded tunic).

Under the perspective of love precepts, then, the wrath of the *pauper amator* is marked by a high level of disadvantage. Propertian *lena* knew this well when, using a perspective opposite to that of Ovid's teachings, her purpose was precisely that of making a profit from the unaware suitor, hence she taught the applicant *meretrix* to get some profit even from a possible *verberatio* (text no. 5).

[34] See Leo 1960, 207.

[35] *'Believe me, however much you disregard the mutterings of gossip, this is a verse which will make you pale'.*

[36] *Ars* 2,153-156 *lite fugent nuptaeque viros nuptasque mariti / inque vicem credant res sibi semper agi; / hoc decet uxores; dos est uxoria lites: / audiat optatos semper amica sonos*. "With quarrels let wives pursue husbands and husbands wives, and deem that they are ever at issue with each other; this befits wives; the dowry of a wife is quarrelling: but let your mistress ever hear welcome sounds".

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The main objective of Acanthis' precepts aims at the strategy of pretence (v. 27 *mendacia vincant*), and it is not by chance that the first *praeceptum* suggested to her *protégée* to feign the existence of a rival who, besides rousing her suitor's jealousy, renders the *meretrix* more precious to his eyes. In fact, spurred by competition, even though a fake one, he will tend to raise the stakes in order to ensure the exclusivity of his amorous relationship. Acanthis, however, knows well that she must not overdo and limits the *praeceptum* to one *nox* alone, which hereby euphemistically means their love date.[37] Intending the existence of a rival could rouse her *amator*'s jealousy, leading him to violence: in such case, too, the girl should use the situation to her own advantage, since her possible suffering (v. 31 *si tibi forte …vexaverit*) will soon become useful, as confirmed by the juxtaposition in the hexameter of *vexaverit* and *utilis ira*. Blinded by jealousy, the lover does not only wreck the girl's neat, complex hairdressing, but imposes a real 'torment' to her hair. The expression *comas vexare*[38] not only gives the idea of the violent action directed at her hair, usually expressed by verbs like *scindere*, *turbare*, *lacerare* or *laniare*, but also stresses a great *pathos,* by means of the *prosopopeia*: in fact, in Propertius *vexare* always has a person as an object.[39]

The hexameter's closure (*utilis ira*) shows the reverse of the elegiac *ethos* under the perspective of the courtesan's speech. Since the reason for the jealous lover's anger was caused by the violation of the *foedus amoris* thereby inducing revenge,[40] it is transformed into an efficient instrument of profit. It is not by chance that *utilis* suggests the motif of the shrewd exploitation of the καιρός, anticipated in v. 29 by *utere causis*. The procuress clarifies her meaning in the pentameter, which emphasizes the sententious imprint not only by the alliteration and the assonance, but also by the strength of the gerundive (*postmodo mercata pace premendus erit*). Driven by the desire for an immediate gain, the *lena* establishes a precise timing: *postmodo*, marking the temporal coordinates of the desired gain, underlines the need to

[37] See *OLD* s.v. [3c].

[38] *Vexare* here has the meaning of 'torturing': the connection reappears in Ovid, *Am.* 1,14,24 and in Iuven. 11,19.

[39] See 2,20,29; 2,26,37 and 3,15,43.

[40] Medea's behaviour in Eur. *Med.* 93–94; 171–172, is paradigmatic in this sense; Ov. *Her.* 12,208–212; Sen. *Med.* 916. 953: see Bessone 1997, 278.

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profit from the situation, without tarrying for too long in a hostile behaviour towards the lover. Because of a fatal error and before meeting her, the duped lover will then be made to bargain for peace with his beloved. In line with the singular trade, Acanthis employs the expression *mercata pace*, in which *mercari*, a typical term of the financial lexicon, reduces to a purely contractual sense the meaning of *pax*, which in elegiac lexicon defines lovers' accord before or after a love *rixa*.[41]

The most amplified and systematic development of the theme *verberare puellam* appears in *Am.* 1,7, in which Ovidian originality, in comparison with other elegiac versions, derives from the combination of reference models. While we cannot actually deny the influence of Menander's *Perikeiromene*, mainly with regard to the motif of remorse felt by the lover for having beaten his woman,[42] as well as in the poem's dramatic structure, the influence of declamation exercises, that preferred themes like violence against one's parents or against the gods, is also obvious.[43] As usual, however, the adoption of various sources does not constitute the only original element regarding tradition because to such combination Ovid confers an ironic development destined to parodically twist the pathetic, sentimental components, which characterize the precedent elegiac versions (text no. 6).

Ovid immediately enters in *medias res* and the apostrophe to a fictitious recipient — heart-broken and with hints of prayer language[44] — sets the action in motion. The poet wants, at all costs, to sternly punish the hands that, while his unwise anger persists, must not be stained with yet another reproachful guilt such as that. However, there

[41] See *e.g.* 3,8,34; Ov. *Ars* 2,175. 413. 460 and La Penna 1951, 194.

[42] The title itself of Menander's comedy recalls the assail to *puella*'s hair, which has a significant role in Ovidian elegy.

[43] Actually, the variety of sources employed by Ovid are only apparent, because not only the erotic terms were a usual ingredient in declamations, but also rhetoricians drew fully on the comic repertoire, mainly from Menander. This is also confirmed at least by Quintilianus Inst. 10,1,69, when he states *Menander, qui vel unus meo quidem iudicio diligenter lectus ad cuncta quae praecipimus effingenda sufficiat* "Now, the careful study of Menander alone would, in my opinion, be sufficient to develop all those qualities with the production of which my present work is concerned".

[44] It is not by chance that *adesse* indicates the presence of a god: see *Her.* 6,44, the refrain of Catull. 62 («Hymen, …hither, O Hymenaeus!»; *Hymen… ades o Hymenaee*); Verg. *Aen.* 1,734 and *ThlL* II 923,79.

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is an obvious irony arising from the dialogue, because the request to tie his hands is addressed to his friend only when the poet, having now come to his senses, will not hit his woman a second time. Instead, in a conventional situation, the appeal to his friends to block the poet's *furor* is made within the act, in order to prevent excessive forms of violence. In v. 3, the anaphora of *furor*, placed in the same position in the previous pentameter and in both cases preceded by a monosyllable, puts the motif of irrational anger in the foreground, typical of someone who has lost control of the situation. Yet the beloved woman, in the eyes of the poet, has a most respectful role, as we can infer from the reference to the *servitium amoris* implied in the word *domina* (v. 3); but the sudden degrading of the feminine figure is marked by *puella*, which in v. 4 outlines the pathetic image of a tearful woman, a logical consequence of the insane deed. Being capable, as we have seen, of beating his beloved, the poet would dare to hit his own parents or even the gods themselves, a still more blasphemous action ('Tunc ego vel caros potui violare parentes / saeva vel in sanctos verbera ferre deos'[45]). The *exempla* (vv. 7-10) raise the condition of someone who is accountable for a vile outrage towards his beloved, reducing the seriousness of the violent act, while the obvious inadequacy between this situation and the one lived by the aforementioned heroes generates an inevitable ironic effect.[46]

Starting from v. 11, the poet lingers on details, focusing on some dramatic moments of the violent episode. As previously, the constant mingling with myth aims, on one hand, to diminish the gravity of Ovid's behaviour, while on the other hand his purpose is to regain *puella*'s love, with recourse to the usual motif of her beauty's praise. In spite of her dishevelled hair, due to Ovid's outraging act, in fact, his woman is always attractive; rather, her disordered hairdressing even offers the poet an occasion to celebrate her unaltered beauty and

[45] Vv. 5-6 *'Twas in me to lay hands on even the parents I love, or to deal out cruel strokes even to the holy gods!'.*

[46] The use of noble models also determines an obvious change of style: it can be seen mainly by the employment of *septemplex*, which, along with Homeric ἑπταβόειος, Virgil had devised with reference to Turnus' shield in his decisive struggle against Aeneas. The Virgilian hexameter has an identical structure, with the adjective in 12,925 *clipei extremos septemplicis orbis* "the sevenfold shield's outermost circle"; the Virgilian devise will become poetic and, particularly, epic: see Val. Flacc. 6,367 and Stat. *Theb.* 7,310.

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to create another mythological *excursus*, with distinguished examples of feminine beauty as an object («*talem Schoeneida dicam / Maenalias arcu sollicitasse feras; / talis periuri promissaque velaque Thesei / flevit praecipites Cressa tulisse Notos; / sic, nisi vittatis quod erat Cassandra capillis, / procubuit templo, casta Minerva, tuo*»[47]). From the three examples mentioned, however (Atalanta, Ariadne and Cassandra), only the last one appears to be fitting: the obvious paradox originates the irony that, emphasized by the partial correspondence with the mythical parallels, mitigates the gravity of the offence.[48]

The tumultuous feelings troubling the poet's soul are effectively expressed in v. 19 ('Quis mihi non 'demens!' quis non mihi 'barbare' dixit?'[49];) by the anaphora of *quis* and the employment of epithets, which underline that an outrage to a beloved one, besides being typical of an insane man (*demens*), is unworthy of a Roman (*barbarus*[50]). However, the woman does not react, not even verbally, petrified as she is by fright. The strong emotive weight that, in the previous verses, had exploited the co-existence of real experience with mythical example surprisingly suffers a halt in the expression *ipsa nihil*, at the opening of v. 20 ('Ipsa nihil; pavido est lingua retenta metu'[51]). In fact, the poet's furious attitude is opposed by Corinna's disarming passivity, while the expressive intensity is assured by the verb's ellipsis, by the significant use of *ipsa* — which assumes, as often we find in

[47] Vv. 13-18 *'Such, I should say, was Schoeneus' daughter when she harried the Maenalian wild; such the Cretan maid as she wept that the headlong winds of the south had borne away both sails and promised of perjured Theseus; thus was Cassandra — except that fillets bound her hair — when down she sank at thy shrine, O chaste Minerva'.*

[48] The first two examples, where the dishevelled hair of Atalanta and Ariadne is not mentioned, are introduced by *talis* (see v. 13 e v. 15). *Sic formosa fuit* of v. 13 (with reference to Corinna), as well as *sic …procubuit* of vv. 17-18 (with reference to Cassandra), are on the same conceptual plan. In the last example, however, hair is mentioned again: if the hair band had not contained it, it would have been in disorder. Because of disordered hair, therefore, Cassandra's is the most fitting parallel with the behaviour of Ovid's woman.

[49] *'Who did not say to me: 'Madman!' who did not say: 'Barbarian!'.*

[50] In the sense of *incultus, ferus*, said 'de hominibus', *barbarus* is employed since Plaut. *Bacch.* 121; often documented in Cicero, it reappears in the Augustan poets, with a special preference shown by Propertius and Ovid: see *ThlL* II 1739,6 ff., 1743,27 ff. and, on the use of the adjective, Dauge 1981.

[51] 'Herself said naught; her tongue was kept from it by trembling fear'.

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erotic language, an identical semantic value as *domina*[52] — and by the combination with the comical 'iunctura' *retinere lingua.*[53]

Although Corinna is transfixed by fear, her face and tears become faithful interpreters of her feelings, that place Ovid's vicious act under accusation ('Sed taciti facere tamen convicia vultus; / egit me lacrimis ore silente reum'[54]). Silence defines Corinna's attitude, but it is rendered expressively lively by the 'iunctura' *convicia facere*, of comical origin,[55] avoided by Vergil and Horace, but not by elegiac poets.[56]

Following the poet's furious invective against his own arms ('Ante meos umeris vellem cecidisse lacertos; / utiliter potui parte carere mei. / in mea vaesanas habui dispendia vires / et valui poenam fortis in ipse meam'[57]), the part concerning the punishment to inflict on his *sacrilegae manus* is closed with an imperative request for a penalty ('Quid mihi vobiscum, caedis scelerumque ministrae? debita sacrilegae vincla subit manus!'[58]), introduced by the formula *quid mihi*. This is a typical phrase of colloquial language and a favourite of Ovid's, placed in evident contrast with the epic-tragic tone of the second hemistich (*caedes, scelus, ministra*). In v. 28 there is a return to all the conceptual, formal elements already mentioned in v. 1: in fact, where *debita vincla* is semantically placed on the same level as *meruere catenas* and *in vincla* in v. 1, the injunction *sacrilegae…subite manus* (v. 28) constitutes a clear reference to the *adde manus in vincla* in *incipit*.

[52] Also see *Ars* 2,171; *Rem.* 305; 636; *Met.* 10,557 and Mart. 1,109,1, about which Citroni 1975, 336.

[53] Attested by Afran. *Com.* 39 R.^{3}; from *ThlL* VII 2,1450,31 ff., it can be deduced that this is a formula dear to Ovid, more than to any other author; he uses *lingua retenta* in the same place of the verse in *Rem.* 642; *Her.*9,102 and 11,48; also see *Fast*. 2,602.

[54] Vv. 21-22 *'But her face, for all her silence, uttered reproaches none the less; tears charged me with my crime, though her lips were dumb.'*

[55] Sending back *e.g.* to Plaut. *Merc.* 235; *Most.* 617 and to Ter. *Ad.* 180.

[56] See Prop. 1,6,15 and then Ovid. *Am.* 3,3,41; *Her.* 18,211; 21,79 and *Pont.* 2,6,7.

[57] Vv. 23-26 *'I would that my arms had sooner dropped from their shoulders; I could better have done without a part of myself. I have used my maddened strength to my own cost, and myself have been strong to my own hurt.'*

[58] Vv. 27-28 *'What have I with you, ye ministers of blood and crime! Unholy hands, submit to the shackles you deserve!'.*

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After the artful union between autobiographical experience and myth, characterizing the first part of the elegy, there follows in the second part a more intimate and serious tone from v. 29, while the poet fills his vehement outbursts with realistic details and precise references to juridical-legal procedures ('An, si pulsassem minimum de plebe Quiritem, / plecterer — in dominam ius mihi maius erit?'[59]). The resounding term *Quiris* which, instead of the generic *Romanus*, indicates the full possession of civil rights, creates a singular contrast with the attribute *minimus*, that is furthermore combined with *de plebe*. Even the humblest of Roman citizens was always attributed to the category of *Quirites* and if Ovid attempted to hit a *civis Romanus* he would rightfully be liable to serious punishment. The suspension created between *an* and *plectere,* with the use of a verb referring to a penalty usually given to slaves,[60] also helps to confer some elegance to the verse.

Vv. 31-34 display a more intimate use of the mythological material, by means of a continuous combination of personal experience with *exemplum* ('Pessima Tydides scelerum monimenta reliquit. / ille deam promus perculit — alter ego! / et minus ille nocens. mihi, quam profitebar amare / laesa est; Tydides saevus in hoste fuit'[61]). The wrath that drove Diomedes to injure Aphrodite gives way both to a double comparison (Diomedes/Ovid; Corinna/deity) and to a hyperbolic result: in fact, the poet has not only hit a goddess — soiling himself with sacrilege, as Diomedes had — but he has also hit the one he had claimed to love, showing himself to be liable to a much more serious penalty.[62]

A further variation of tone characterizes the following section (vv. 35-40) that is dedicated to the description of the triumph over

[59] Vv. 29-30 *'If I had struck the least of the Quirites among the crowd, should I be punished – and shall my right o'er my lady-love be greater?'*

[60] The paradoxical character of v. 30 is plain where, by means of the term *domina*, Ovid mentions the reason for the *servitium amoris*: as his woman's slave, then, he cannot claim major rights (*in dominam ius mihi maius erit?*), neither can he even enjoy them!

[61] Vv. 31-34 *'The son of Tydeus left most vile example of offence. He was the first to smite a goddess — I am the second! And he was less guilty than I. I injured her I professed to love; Tydeus' son was cruel with a foe'.*

[62] Ovid recurs to the noble Homeric example also at the beginning of *Rem.* 5-6 and in *Pont.* 2,2,13.

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the girl and is not exempt from touches of bitter sarcasm,[63] clearly shown in the initial presentation of the guilty poet in the clothing of a *triumphator* ('*I nunc, magnificos victor molire triumphos, / cinge comam lauro votaque redde Iovi, / quaeque tuos currus comitantum turba sequetur, / clamet 'io! forti victa puella viro est!' / ante eat effuso tristis captiva capillo, / si sinerent laesae, candida tota, genae*; *vir fortis*').[64] As already seen in vv. 11-18, also in this instance it is the untidy hair that immediately discloses the battered demeanour of the *tristis captiva* (v. 39 *effuso…capillo*), while in v. 40 the chromatic contrast between the woman's *candor* and the blush of the *laesae genae* renders the description extremely lively. The following verses have a clear Tibullian influence (1,10,61-64), underlining Ovid's repentance, hinting a desired but unfulfilled erotic *pugna* and stating the proper way to behave towards a beloved one ('*aptius impressis fuerat livere labellis / et collum blandi dentis habere notam. / denique, si tumidi ritu torrentis agebar, / caecaque me praedam fecerat ira suam, / nonne satis fuerat timidae inclamasse puellae, / nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas, / aut tunicam a summa diducere turpiter ora / ad mediam? — mediae zona tulisset opem.*'[65]). The 'butcher's' shameful indifference is evidenced by *at*, which at the beginning of v. 49 imposes a forceful turn around in the poet's arguments. The immediately successive *nunc* prospects the sad reality with yet another image of the disordered hair and the scratches tarnishing the girl's

[63] On the motif of triumph in Latin elegy, see Galinsky's nowadays classical study (1969, 75-107).

[64] Vv. 35-40 'Go now, victor, make ready mighty triumphs, circle your hair with laurel and pay your vows to Jove, and let the throning retinue that follow your car cry out: 'Ho! Our valiant hero has been victorious over a girl!' Let her walk before, a downcast captive with hair let loose — from head to foot pure white, did her wounded cheeks allow!'. (v. 38) is an archaically solemn 'iunctura', attested since '*El. Scip.* (CLE 7,2 B.) and documented in Naev. *Bell. Poen.* 47 Strzelecki and Plaut. *Asin.* 557 (Libanus' words are in epic style and he presents himself as a triumphant general).

[65] Vv. 41-48 *'More fit had it been for her to be marked with the pressure of my lips, and to bear on her neck the print of caressing tooth. Finally, if I must needs be swept along like a swollen torrent, and blind anger must needs make me its prey, were it not enough to have cried out at the frightened girl, without the too hard threats I thundered? Or to have shamed her by tearing apart her gown from top to middle? — her girdle would have come to the rescue there'.*

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face;[66] its description is also continued in the following distich ('Adstitit illa amens albo et sine sanguine vultu, / caeduntur Pariis qualia saxa iugis'[67]). The reference to her *pallor* — an obvious sign of the fear felt by the *puella* — is sharpened by the use of terms and expressions in strict succession and semantically cognate (*albus* and *sine sanguine*). The comparison with Paros' marble (v. 52), a metaphorical transposition of the woman's terrified stillness, marks the passage to the elegy's final section, marked by the poet's progressive awareness of his vile act. Placed in *explicit* in v. 53, *vidi* emphasizes the objects (*exanimis artus et membra trementia*) that favour Ovid's repentance; in particular, the *membra trementia* inspire singular comparisons to the poet (the winds that caress the poplars' foliage, make the reeds quaver or the waves ripple slightly), followed by the moving description of Corinna's weeping ('*Exanimis artus et membra trementia vidi — / ut cum populeas ventilat aura comas, / ut leni Zephyro gracilis vibratur harundo, / summave cum tepido stringitur unda Noto; / suspensaeque diu lacrimae fluxere per ora, / qualiter abiecta de nive manat aqua.*'[68]).

Only when the beaten woman reacts, even if only by weeping, Ovid understands that he has acted foolishly; her tears put an end to his anger, indeed they become one with her blood ('*tunc ego me primum coepi sentire nocentem — / sanguis erant lacrimae, quas dabat illa, meus.*'[69]). His sudden regret, underlined also by the poem's stylistic, quick transition to the 'Ich-Stil' (*ego me …meus*), after the long series of verses dedicated to his beloved, is the element that sets

[66] In v. 50 the 'iunctura' *ingenuas genas* is built with a clever playing assonance between attribute and noun, which underlines the pristine beauty of the *puella*, whose cheeks were so cruelly scratched. In the expression *ungue notare* Ovid follows the Propertian model of lovers' brawl; in fact, addressing Cynthia, Propertius had exclaimed (3,8,5-6): *tu vero nostros audax invade capillos / et mea formosis unguibus ora nota*.

[67] Vv. 51-52 *'She stood there bereft of sense, with face bloodless and white as blocks of marble hewn from Parian cliffs'.*

[68] Vv. 53-58 *'I saw her limbs all nerveless and her frame a-tremble — like the leaves of the poplar shaken by the breeze, like the slender reed set quivering by gentle Zephyr, or the surface of the wave when ruffled by the warm South-wind; and the tears, long hanging in her eyes, came flowing o'er her cheeks even as water distils from snow that is cast aside'.*

[69] Vv. 59-60 *"'Twas then that first I began to feel my guilty — my blood it was that flowed when she shed those tears".*

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the plot back into action. The plot had risked languishing due to Ovid's inflexible attitude (see v. 50 *ferreus*) and by the woman's petrifying fright. The decisive moment of the action is announced by the anaphora of *ter* (vv. 61-62), which clearly raises the tone of the discourse, by means of the epic triplication[70] that portrays the poet's triple attempt for redemption, to which corresponds the woman's triple refusal of his *formidatae …manus* ('*ter tamen ante pedes volui procumbere supplex; / ter formidatas reppulit illa manus.*'[71]). Nevertheless, the contrite attitude, — that induces Ovid to become humble before the outraged girl — and the latter's reluctance, afraid of those hands that now appear to be supplicant, create such a dramatic atmosphere, that the reader doubts the poet's sincerity. In the same way that he has been excessively cruel when beating his beloved, moved by the need to obtain her forgiveness, Ovid now directs an excessively desperate apology to the woman. The adversative, signalling a brisk change of tone, introduces a firm exhortation for the woman to take on for herself the vehemence, to treat him cruelly and repay him in kind (*protinus*): the poet is certain that the girl's pain will be appeased after being avenged ('At tu ne dubita – minuet vindicta dolorem - / protinus in vultus unguibus ire meos. / nec nostris oculis nec nostris parce capillis: / quamlibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus'[72]). However, following such an outburst, in the final distich the tone, suddenly quieter, is in accordance with surprising exhortations to the *puella* ('*neve mei sceleris tam tristia signa supersint, / pone recompositas in statione comas!*' or at least, that the sad signs of my misdeed may not survive, once more range in due rank your ordered locks»[73]). According to Ovid, in fact, it suffices to redress her hair to make every trace of conflict or old resentment disappear. It is not surprising that, once again, the poet's attention is focused on the woman's hair, which during the whole poem has been the central

[70] See *e.g. Il.* 22,463-5; 24,14-18; Apoll. 3,654. 683-687; Ovid also uses this device in *Her.* 14,45-46.

[71] Vv. 61-62 *'Thrice, none the less, I would have cast myself before her feet a suppliant; though thrice thrust she back my dreadful hands'.*

[72] Vv. 63-66 'But you, stay not - for your vengeance will lessen my grief - from straight assailing my features with your nails. Spare neither my eyes nor yet my hair: however weak the hand, ire gives it strength'.

[73] Vv. 67-68 'Or at least, that the sad signs of my misdeed may not survive, once more range in due rank your ordered locks'.

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subject (dishevelled hair was an evident sign of conflict and had given the poet an occasion to celebrate his *puella*'s beauty, as well as to introduce refined mythical parallels). It is then understandable that the image of the battered woman's dishevelled hair, not Ovid's sincere repentance, constitutes the elegy's main topic, as the final distich clearly confirms: the hair is the real protagonist, if it is enough to fix it in order to recover the love relationship dangerously damaged by the poet's foolish act.

With the reading of *Am*. 1,7 it is possible to appreciate, at its best, Ovid's mechanism for elaborating a motif, which not only exploits a combination of models, but also originally reinterprets the previous elegiac versions through an ironic filter. This filter will allow Ovid to play "con se stesso, coinvolgendo il lettore in questa sua nuova concezione della poesia erotica."[74] This is a very refined *lusus*, not only the equivalent of a "mockery" of the model, which also implies a rather more complex operation, such as to distort the elegy's sense, as well as the function of its motifs. In this way, he often generates voluntary ambiguous effects, as far as the reading and reception of texts are concerned.[75] It is worth emphasizing, however, that in the case of *Am.* 1,7, the saucy way in which Ovid plays when composing and recomposing his models, thus determining an obvious ironic effect, paradoxically ends by annulling the drama of the theme, i.e., violence inflicted on women.

At this point the research conducted indicates that a deeply dramatic theme such as violence against women can become material for poetic language; in Ovid, in particular, the seriousness of the gesture is reduced by the use of irony, which paradoxically finishes by justifying the perpetrator of the violence.

Ovid's ironic attitude marks the beginning of a process of minimization and comical 'addition' to the subject of feminine violence, which in Italian cinematographic literature has at least two famous occurrences. In the movie *Amore mio aiutami* (1969), produced and starred in by Alberto Sordi, together with an excellent Monica Vitti, in an unending scene set in a coastal background, the sequence of action

[74] This is Fedeli's remark (1998, XVIII).

[75] Baldo 1996, 7-43 has some useful comments about Ovidian parodies assuming a typical expression of irony.

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traces the usual modes of the *verberatio*, in which the man rages at the woman's hair, body and clothes.[76] In *Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto* (1974) a movie written and directed by Lina Wertmüller, equally exhilarating, splendidly framed by Cala Luna, in Sardinia, there is the scene of blows (with the typical doses of scratches, punches and hair dishevelment) in which the uncouth protagonist (Giancarlo Giannini) rages at his partner, the Milanese *snob*, an extraordinary Mariangela Melato.[77] In spite of the seriousness of the actions, both situations are characterized by a level of comedy that erases every sentiment of indignation that one could feel for the outrage suffered by women.

Texts

1. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* 5,1-3

Tutti gli altri animai che sono in terra,
o che vivon quieti e stanno in pace,
o se vengono a rissa e si fan guerra,
alla femina il maschio non la face:
l'orsa con l'orso al bosco sicura erra,
la leonessa appresso il leon giace;
col lupo vive la lupa sicura,
né la iuvenca ha del torel paura.

Ch'abominevol peste, che Megera
è venuta a turbar gli umani petti?
che si sente il marito e la mogliera
sempre garrir d'ingiuriosi detti,
stracciar la faccia e far livida e nera,
bagnar di pianto i geniali letti;
e non di pianto sol, ma alcuna volta
di sangue gli ha bagnati l'ira stolta.

Parmi non sol gran mal, ma che l'uom faccia
contra natura e sia di Dio ribello,
che s'induce a percuotere la faccia
di bella donna, o romperle un capello:

[76] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHBDaw3kc3I.
[77] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ma4Q7z1Xii0.

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ma chi le dà veneno, o chi le caccia
l'alma del corpo con laccio o coltello,
ch'uomo sia quel non crederò in eterno,
ma in vista umana un spirto de l'inferno.

2. Tib. 1,10,51-68

Rusticus e lucoque vehit, male sobrius ipse,
uxorem plaustro progeniemque domum.
Sed Veneris tum bella calent, scissosque capillos
femina perfractas conqueriturque fores.
Flet teneras subtusa genas, sed victor et ipse
flet sibi dementes tam valuisse manus.
At lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat,
inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet.
A, lapis est ferrumque, suam quicumque puellam
Verberat: e caelo deripit ille deos.
Sit satis e membris tenuem perscindere vestem,
sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comae,
sit lacrimas movisse satis: quater ille beatus,
quo tenera irato flere puella potest.
Sed manibus qui saevus erit, scutumque sudemque
is gerat et miti sit procul a Venere.
At nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto,
perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus

3. Prop. 2,5,17-30

At tu per dominae Iunonis dulcia iura
parce tuis animis, vita, nocere tibi.
non solum taurus ferit uncis cornibus hostem,
verum etiam instanti laesa repugnat ovis.
nec tibi periuro scindam de corpore vestis,
nec mea praeclusas fregerit ira fores,
nec tibi conexos iratus carpere crines,
nec duris ausim laedere pollicibus:
rusticus haec aliquis tam turpia proelia quaerat,
cuius non hederae circuiere caput.
scribam igitur, quod non umquam tua deleat aetas
'Cynthia, forma potens: Cynthia, verba levis.'
crede mihi, quamvis contemnas murmura famae,
hic tibi pallori, Cynthia, versus erit

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4. Ov. *Ars* 2,169-176

Me memini iratum dominae turbasse capillos:
haec mihi quam multos abstulit ira dies!
Nec puto, nec sensi tunicam laniasse; sed ipsa
dixerat, et pretio est illa redempta meo.
At vos, si sapitis, vestri peccata magistri
effugite, et culpae damna timete meae.
Proelia cum Parthis, cum culta pax sit amica,
et iocus, et causas quicquid amoris habet

5. Prop. 4,5,27-32

Sperne fidem, provolve deos, mendacia vincant,
frange et damnosae iura pudicitiae!
Et simulare virum pretium facit: utere causis!
Maior dilata nocte recurret amor.
Si tibi forte comas vexaverit, utilis ira:
postmodo mercata pace premendus erit.

6. Ov. *Am.* 1,7

Adde manus in vincla meas – meruere catenas –
dum furor omnis abit, siquis amicus ades!
nam furor in dominam temeraria bracchia movit;
flet mea vaesana laesa puella manu
tunc ego vel caros potui violare parentes
saeva vel in sanctos verbera ferre deos!
Quid? non et clipei dominus septemplicis Aiax
stravit deprensos lata per arva greges,
et, vindex in matre patris, malus ultor, Orestes
ausus in arcanas poscere tela deas?
Ergo ego digestos potui laniare capillos?
nec dominam motae dedecuere comae.
sic formosa fuit. talem Schoeneida dicam
Maenalias arcu sollicitasse feras;
talis periuri promissaque velaque Thesei
flevit praecipites Cressa tulisse Notos;
sic, nisi vittatis quod erat Cassandra capillis,
procubuit templo, casta Minerva, tuo.
Quis mihi non 'demens!' quis non mihi 'barbare!' dixit?
ipsa nihil; pavido est lingua retenta metu.
sed taciti fecere tamen convicia vultus;
egit me lacrimis ore silente reum.
Ante meos umeris vellem cecidisse lacertos;
utiliter potui parte carere mei.

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in mea vaesanas habui dispendia vires
et valui poenam fortis in ipse meam.
quid mihi vobiscum, caedis scelerumque ministrae?
debita sacrilegae vincla subite manus!
An, si pulsassem minimum de plebe Quiritem,
plecterer – in dominam ius mihi maius erit?
Pessima Tydides scelerum monimenta reliquit.
ille deam primus perculit – alter ego!
et minus ille nocens. mihi, quam profitebar amare
laesa est; Tydides saevus in hoste fuit.
I nunc, magnificos victor molire triumphos,
cinge comam lauro votaque redde Iovi,
quaeque tuos currus comitantum turba sequetur,
clamet 'io! forti victa puella viro est!'
ante eat effuso tristis captiva capillo,
si sinerent laesae, candida tota, genae.
aptius impressis fuerat livere labellis
et collum blandi dentis habere notam.
denique, si tumidi ritu torrentis agebar,
caecaque me praedam fecerat ira suam,
nonne satis fuerat timidae inclamasse puellae,
nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas,
aut tunicam a summa diducere turpiter ora
ad mediam? – mediae zona tulisset opem.
At nunc sustinui raptis a fronte capillis
ferreus ingenuas ungue notare genas.
adstitit illa amens albo et sine sanguine vultu,
caeduntur Pariis qualia saxa iugis
Exanimis artus et membra trementia vidi –
ut cum populeas ventilat aura comas,
ut leni Zephyro gracilis vibratur harundo,
summave cum tepido stringitur unda Noto;
suspensaeque diu lacrimae fluxere per ora,
qualiter abiecta de nive manat aqua.
tunc ego me primum coepi sentire nocentem –
sanguis erant lacrimae, quas dabat illa, meus.
ter tamen ante pedes volui procumbere supplex;
ter formidatas reppulit illa manus.
At tu ne dubita – minuet vindicta dolorem –
protinus in vultus unguibus ire meos.
nec nostris oculis nec nostris parce capillis:
quamlibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus.
neve mei sceleris tam tristia signa supersint,
pone recompositas in statione comas

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VIOLENCE AS A MANIFESTATION OF 'PIETAS'

Paolo Fedeli

1. Violence consists in bullying victims. It may therefore appear absurd to define it as a manifestation of *pietas*, for this word implies the utmost respect for the highest ethical values. Nevertheless, such is one of the possible interpretations of Aeneas' act, when, at the conclusion of the *Aeneid*, he decides to kill his Italic rival Turnus, instead of granting him his life. The title of my intervention will not necessarily coincide with the result of my reflections: it is more a problematic view than a conclusion, and actually a question mark would be more fitting than a full stop. The finale of Virgil's *Aeneid* is one of the most notorious pages in literature of all times; evidence, if needed, lies in the endless discussions that it has originated and continues to spawn; so many in fact as to discourage any possible attempt to summarize them.[1] Luckily the gist of these discussions is already present in the argumentations of the most ancient commentators.

[1] Bibliography on the final scene of Vergil's epic poem is endless and often repetitive. As such, to sum it up would be a hopeless task, hence I only mention recent contributions that seem to me particularly relevant. Above all stand out Alfonso Traina's commentaries, for their fine interpretation and for their sensibility to the Virgilian style. Particularly exemplary is his whole contribution to book XII (Traina 1994, 75–89) as well as the analysis of the *Aeneid*'s conclusive verses (Traina 1997, 164–188), and the ample entries on the subjects of *Pietas* (Traina 1988, 93–101), *Turnus* (Traina 1990, 324–336) and *Violentia* (Traina 1990a, 548–9) for the Vergilian Encyclopedia. The innumerous contributions by Michael C.J. Putnam are also remarkable, although I am not always in agreement with them, but they are almost exclusively based on English bibliography (for instance, Traina's name, and I am giving one example only, never shows in the bibliography). Putnam's works have been collected, readapted and gathered in one volume (Putnam 2011; particularly, on Aeneas' hesitation before the vanquished Turnus, see Putnam 1995, 152–171). I have learned much from the analysis of Otis 1964, Feeney 1983, Lyne 1983, Gaskin 1994, Di Benedetto 1996 and Conte 1998. Among the most recent contributions, I distinguish Aricò 2010 and Ceccarelli 2012.

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Aeneas and Turnus have accepted to put an end to the war that storms upon the Latium with a decisive duel. Turnus, now deserted by Juno and without the support of his divine sister Juturna, has lost every hope of victory; he cannot even wield his sword, so he tries to thrust a mace at Aeneas, but it is too heavy to hit its target. Aeneas does not fail to profit from the favourable occasion and with all his might throws a powerful shaft that pierces Turnus' thigh, forcing him to bend his knee on the ground to his soldiers' dismay, who understand that their leader's defeat is also their own. From this moment on, only the two protagonists remain in the scene and attention is shifted to the defeated one (12,930–938a):

Ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem 930
protendens 'Equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit.
'Vtere sorte tua! Miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, 935
redde meis. Vicisti et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx.
Vlterius ne tende odiis![2]

Now that he has reduced himself to imploring to Aeneas, Turnus may rightly be defined as *humilis* and *supplex* (v. 930): he is *humilis* not only because he humbles himself in pleading to his vanquisher, but also because the epithet, etymologically understood in its relation to *humus*, indicates that he has his knee bent on the ground; he is *supplex* because he follows the ritual gestures of a supplicant, lifting his hands towards Aeneas as in prayer and raising his imploring eyes to him. Being forced to admit that he has earned defeat (v. 931 *equidem merui*), in a burst of pride he proclaims that he does not intend to pray Aeneas to spare him (*nec deprecor*), but rather invites him to fully

[2] "In supplication he lowered his eyes and stretched out his right hand: 'I have earned it', he cried, 'and I ask no mercy; use your chance. If any thought of a parent's grief can touch you, I beg you — you too had such a father in Anchises — pity Daunus' old age, and give me — or, if you prefer, my lifeless body — back to my kin. You are the victor; and the Ausonians have seen me stretch forth my hands as the vanquished: Lavinia is your wife; do not press your hatred further'" (*Virgil. Aeneid*. Books 7-12, Translated by H. R. Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library 64. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

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use his vanquisher's rights (v. 932 *utere sorte tua*), with an implicit reference to his right to kill the defeated.

However Turnus is well aware, as are the *Aeneid*'s readers, that Aeneas is by definition a *pious* man, so he tries to move him deeply to breach into his feeling of *pietas*. With great cunning he uses as leverage both the *clementia* due to the vanquished, attitude that Anchises himself had advised Aeneas to resort to at the time of his descent into the underworld (6,853 *parcere subiectis*), as well as the image of his old, unfortunate father. Then, hoping that Aeneas might feel some compassion, he associates the memory of Anchises to the thought of Daunus, who is about to lose his son. Having done with his supplication, he addresses a double invitation to Aeneas: either to return him to his people alive (vv. 935–6), or to give them his body back. His last words are an invitation for Aeneas not to let himself go any deeper in his hatred (v. 938 *ulterius ne tende odiis!*): his plead is then an appeal to clemency for the vanquished, an exhortation to peace that, once victory has been achieved, should take the place of hatred. It is, however, in vain, because after the initial hesitation, at the sight of Pallas' shoulder belt on Turnus' shoulders, Aeneas will show no mercy.

2. In the *Aeneid* the epithet that connotes and always characterizes its heroic protagonist is *pious*. At the beginning of the IVth century AD., the Christian Lactantius expresses a totally different opinion. In his *Divinae institutiones* (5,10,1–9) he argues vivaciously with the 'par excellence' exponent of the pagan *pietas*, because of his decision, *furiis accensus et ira*, to kill Turnus without giving heed to his supplication: *Quisnam igitur* — Lactantius asks himself — *hunc putet aliquid in se virtutis habuisse, qui et furore tamquam stipula exarserit et Manium patris per quem rogabatur oblitus iram frenare non quiverit?* It is inevitable that criticizing Aeneas should turn into a criticism of Vergil: it is not Aeneas' fault, *qui litteras non didicerat*, sustains Lactantius, but rather the author is to blame; and addressing Vergil, he accuses him of having ignored the essence of *pietas* and having passed off Aeneas' vile deed as a legitimate duty dictated by it (*culpa non illius fuit …sed tua: qui cum esses eruditus, ignorasti tamen quid esset pietas et illud ipsum quod nefarie, quod detestabilior fecit, pietatis esse officium credidisti*).

Vergil and his hero soon found their defenders, between the end of the IVth and the beginning of the Vth centuries AD. in the great

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pagan commentators: for Servius (in his commentary, of 12,940) both his hesitation and the decision to kill Turnus are manifestations of *pietas* (*et ex eo quod hosti cogitat parcere pius ostenditur et ex eo quod eum interimit pietatis gestat insigne*), because Aeneas *Evandri intuitu Pallantis ulciscitur mortem*; for Claudius Donatus (in his commentary, of 12,947-9) *servata est in persona Aeneae pietas, qua volebat ignoscere, servata religio Pallanti, quia interfector eius non evasit*.

These are the first expressions of a debate that has never stopped and that, for a long time now no longer contaminated by the pagan and Christian concepts of *pietas*, continues to see two opposing fronts face each other in the guise of the many authors and their contributions on the final part of Vergil's epic poem. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that in the numerous pages dedicated to the *Aeneid*'s conclusion a verdict of condemnation or absolution is passed with regard to Aeneas and, implicitly, to Vergil. However, the problem is perhaps more complex and should be faced and solved in a different way, without any moralizing stance.

In the first instance we should always bear in mind that the Vergilian heroes live under the shadow of the Homeric heroes, and that, therefore, in the *Aeneid*'s Iliadic section their actions echo the bellicose enterprises and behaviour of the glorious Achaean and Trojan models and are deeply conditioned by them. So, like their Homeric counterparts, Vergil's heroes obey the laws of the epic code that regulate engagements and duels. Consequently, still more important than noticing the analogies, is the search for the differences that are the hallmarks of another era and a different concept of life in all its bloodiest manifestations. In the course of their endless fight, Aeneas and Turnus change their Homeric models: while the initial phases recall the duel between Paris and Menelaus in the *Iliad*'s books III–IV, in the final stages the two protagonists live under the shadow of Hector and Achilles in book XXII. When Turnus reacts to Aeneas's provocations (12,889–893), showing full awareness of having been deserted by the gods and particularly by Jupiter, who is now hostile (vv. 894–5 *non me tua fervida terrent / dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*), he finds himself in an identical situation as Hector when Jupiter, having weighed on his golden scale his fate and Achille's, decreed the end of the Trojan hero. Hector, too, is aware of this, for he exclaims: "alas! Really the gods are calling me to death!" (*Il.* 22,297).

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As always, however, the differences are more important than the affinities, which in this case are substantial and allow us to understand Vergil's attitude and the message he intends to pass on to his readers. The goal Aeneas seeks to achieve is different and his intention is nobler, because he expects to put an end to the war, and to the grief it implies, by means of the duel. The Homeric Achilles only looks to avenge Patroclus' killing in the duel against Hector. Both in Homer and in Vergil the defeated assumes a supplicant's position; however, unlike Hector, Turnus didn't suffer a deadly wound; so while the Trojan hero, now dying, implores Achilles to give his corpse back to his father Priam, Turnus still has the strength to utter an ample, wellarticulated prayer. On the other hand, in his background he not only has Hector's losing model, but also Priam's, who managed to have Achilles deliver Hector's dead body to him (*Il.* 22,338–343). The Vergilian hero knows well that this is the alternative ascribed to him by the model, but he also knows that Aeneas is a *pious* man and, strengthened by that knowledge, he exploits the double Homeric situation to his own purpose: Hector's plea leads him to pray Aeneas to give back his dead body, while Priam's plea, instead, inspires him the memory of the torment of the fathers who lose their sons in the war, as well as his appeal for mercy, unprecedented in the Homeric *epos*.

Turnus' final stance as *humilis* and *supplex,* imploring Aeneas' mercy, astonishes the reader who, until that final duel, had seen him act with determined arrogance. The famous philologist and Vergilian commentator Juan Luis de La Cerda, between the mid XVIth and the mid XVIIth centuries, will find Turnus quite different. According to him, the wish to attribute him with a tragic dimension caused Vergil to represent "Turnum …in toto opere nobilissimum, fortissimum, generosissimum, pulcherrimum, magna adgredientem et maiora molientem, ut cum postea in acie cadat permoveatur qui legit, horreatque ad atrocem caedem". Actually, if we exclude the duel's final stages, Turnus' actions and behaviour are always expressed using the lexicon of violence and fury. *Audax* (9,3. 126; 10,276), *turbidus* (9,57), *acer* (10,308): Turnus is often represented by means of the metaphor of a devastating fire: *ignescunt irae* and *dolor ossibus ardet* in him (9,66), and he *implacabilis ardet* when he sees the Latins weakened by failure (12,3). Even when Amata implores him to give up fighting the Trojans (12,60), Turnus *ardet in arma magis* (12,71).

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The first man to expose Turnus' violent character is precisely Aeneas who, when, following Evander's advice, shows up at the Etrurians' camp and in order to persuade their sovereign Tarchon to ally himself to him, presents as a decisive argument the *violenta pectora Turni* (10,151). The prompt confirmation that such judgment, meant to be established with formulary expressions, coincides with the author's point of view and is found in the successive book: there we can read that, as a reaction to Drances' invitation to *ponere animos* and to step aside for the common good, *exarsit …violentia Turni* (11,376). Then at the beginning of book XII, when Turnus reacts violently to the resignation that is spreading among the Latins, the metaphor of flame, already used in the expression *implacabilis ardet* in v. 3, is resumed and completed when used in parallel with a wounded, infuriated lion: *haud secus* — we read in the Aeneid — *accenso gliscit violentia Turnus* (12,9). Servius Danielis *ad loc.* observes that *veteres 'gliscit' incremento ignis ponebant*. Even in the eyes of Latinus, it is a *ferox virtus* (12,19–20) that guides Turnus' mind: even when Latinus peacefully alludes to the oracle about Lavinia's husband-to-be, which he had neglected when he promised her hand to Turnus, *hautquaquam …violentia Turni / flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo* (12,45–46). *Violentia*, therefore, constitutes the peculiar trait of the Rutulians' leader: he is the one to initiate hostilities (9,47–53), to commit slaughter and massacres (9,526–7; 10,310–344), to kill without mercy (9,749–755), to be distinguished in battle for his ferocity (12,382. 511–2) and to have no scruples in breaking the pacts solemnly sealed (12,324 ff.). But it is above all his wrath and his fury that characterize his actions: *furens* is most of times his epithet (9,691; 11,486. 901), *furor* and the slaughter's *insana cupido* urge him, *ardens*, against his enemies (9,760–1), his disposition boils with anger (9,798) and he is an easy prey for the Furies (7,445–470); on the verge of the decisive encounter he *agitur furiis*, sparks scintillate on his face and flames flash in his eyes (12,101–2), and by the end he is thoroughly in the power of the Furies after Jupiter and Juno have concluded the agreement that condemns him (12,845–6).

The cult for his own individuality have led Turnus to realize, only too late, that he is no more than a pawn in the designs of fate: dramatically only then, in his warlike pride, there appear reasons for doubt, for hesitation, for dejection, that confer a more human dimension to his character. Yet Latinus' prophetic words should have put

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him on guard, for since the very first struggles the former had recognized how impossible it was to oppose the devastating power of fate (7,594 *frangimur, heu, fatis …ferimurque procella!*) and he had even foretold Turnus about his miserable fortune with a tardy resort to divine assistance (7,596–7 *te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit / supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris*). Moreover, the gods will soon make their decision. Jupiter himself, in view to the duel of Turnus and Pallas, is peremptory against Hercules who is on behalf of Evander's son and, after having reminded him that death expects every mortal on an assigned day, he assures him that *etiam sua Turnum / fata vocant metasque dati pervenit ad aevi* (10,471–2). This means that Turnus has now reached the end of his life and every attempt made by his divine sister to lengthen it shall be hopeless and vain. Even Juno, who in contrast with the manifest designs of fate had tried, until the end, to hinder Aeneas, before the decisive encounter tells Juturna that, while in the past she has protected Turnus and the besieged city, she now understands that he is fighting an unequal strife with fate (12,149 *nunc iuvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis*): Juturna may try to help her brother, but she must know that in doing so she will only delay his final fate.

As Turnus realizes the gods' changing moods, his arrogant ferocity gives way to bewilderment and resignation. He becomes way too different from the man he was before. His soldiers realize this as they watch him approach the altar with a pale face, taciturn, his eyes fixed upon the ground (12,219–221). Pallor, silence and downcast eyes are a clear presage of death; Turnus has now realized that everything has been decreed by fate, against which his warring virtue has no power. When he hears the news of Amata's suicide and the Latins' defeat, he addresses the Manes (12,646–7 *vos o mihi, Manes, / este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas!*) with noble words that exclude the resort to flight and extol a heroic death in battle: "behind the Achillean *furor* that until now has characterized him — Traina observes — Hector's unfortunate *virtus* begins to transpire".[3] Before admitting that he is vanquished by fate, however, he has to see the city falter under the Trojans' assault: only then, resigned to his own doom of death, Turnus exhorts Juturna not to continue the vain attempt of delaying the fate that awaits him (12,672–5). In order to

[3] Traina 1994, 77.

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avoid the dishonour of surrender, he is going, in full awareness, to meet a pre-determined destiny and the only request he makes to his sister is to be able to vent upon his enemies the same fury he once had. After this last explosion of raging violence, he will be the one to invite the warriors to a halt so that the decisive duel may take place (12,693–5). Then the events will hastily develop: Turnus has the proof that Jupiter's scale is not inclined to his favour (12,725–6) when his sword breaks and leaves him defenceless (12,731–4). Later, in the imminence of the conclusive duel, Jupiter will invite Juno to give up helping Turnus, for already fate has decided (12,793–5). Deserted by the gods and chased by fate, Turnus is assailed by a sudden terror (12,867–8 *illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor, / arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*).

3. There he is, at last, before Aeneas, who now appears, in turn, to be a prey of the same Homeric *furor* that seized Achilles and ruthlessly shows an aggressive demeanour that ends in cruelty and fierceness (12,887–895):

Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
ingens arboreum et saevo sic pectore fatur:
'Quae nunc deinde mora est? Aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?
Non cursu, saevis certandum est comminus armis.
Verte omnis tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
sive animis sive arte vales; opta ardua pinnis
astra sequi clausumve cava te condere terra.'
Ille caput quassans: 'Non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.[4]

Instat (v. 887) contains the idea of aggressiveness to which we add the violent opposition inscribed in *contra*: Aeneas wields a powerful shaft that he swiftly whirls in the air. *Saevo* (v. 888) adds to the formulary clause *pectore fatur* the traits of cruelty that feature his

[4] "Aeneas presses on against the foe, brandishing his great tree-like spear, and thus he cries in wrathful spirit: 'What more delay is there now? Why, Turnus, do you still draw back? Not in a race, but hand to hand with savage weapons, must we contend. Change yourself into all shapes, muster all your powers of courage or skill; wing your flight, if you will, to the stars aloft, or hide within earth's hollow prison!' The other, shaking his head: "Your fiery words, proud one, do not daunt me; it is the gods who daunt me, and the enmity of Jove'".

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implacable words. While in the Iliad, in the duel between Hector and Achilles the first to speak is the hero destined to succumb, here the same task is left to Aeneas, who by his implacable behaviour has confined his opponent to a secondary role. Aeneas provokes Turnus with stinging, offensive words, accusing him of avoiding him and preferring to escape rather than to fight (vv. 889–895): this is the same strategy used by Achilles who, before his duel with Hector, had exhorted him, with sarcastic accents, to show that he was a warrior and could fight with valour (*Il.* 22,268–9). Turnus replies with a few dejecting words to Aeneas' speech, arrogantly offensive and closed by three insulting *adynata*: he does not fail to point out that his opponent is behaving like a wild beast (v. 895 *ferox*) and defines his *dicta* as *fervida* (v. 894). In this way, *fervidus*, alliterate and assonant with *ferox*, establishes a semantic link between the two epithets that evoke Aeneas' *hybris* and his arrogant insolence. However, the full awareness of being deserted by the gods, especially by Jupiter, sounds like a sure presage of defeat (12,895): Turnus has the resignation of a loser. Before Aeneas' sarcastic arrogance the reader draws the neat impression that Vergil looks at Turnus' inescapable situation with a sympathy he shares, his defeat having already been decreed by fate; the author is warmed by the "sympathetic sentimentality"[5] that, in other circumstances, induces him to solidarity with the fate of the vanquished.

Turnus, in truth, is in no mood to talk and the formulary nexus *nec plura effatus* ends his speech quite briskly (12,896-914a):

Nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis.
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus; 900
ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem
altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.
Sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem
tollentemve manu saxumve immane moventem;
genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis. 905
Tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus
nec spatium evasit totum neque pertulit ictum.

[5] This is a happy definition by Conte 1998, 47.

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Ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri 910
succidimus (non lingua valet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur):
sic Turnus, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
successum dea dira negat.[6]

Being deprived of his sword, Turnus looks around him (v. 896 *circumspicit*) and sees a huge rock, unwieldy for human hands: painfully he heaves it and tries to throw it at Aeneas (vv. 901–2). His knees falter, though, ice overruns his members and the blood curdles in his veins, a clear symptom that his vital strength is waning (vv. 903–5). The rock doesn't fly, but rather rumbles in the void (v. 906). Failure is certain and the two negatives of v. 907 are the evidence of its real dimension: Turnus has neither been able to have the rock make its full course nor reach its target (vv. 906–7). The similarity to an anguishing dream (vv. 908–914) enhances the nightmare atmosphere into which he has already subsided. The contrast between his *virtus* and the *dea dira*, i.e., one of the Furies whom Jupiter has commanded to hinder him (vv. 913–4), gives the exact measure of the tragedy he is undergoing: when a *dea*, and mainly a *dira* (therefore a teller of misfortune) opposes any possibility of success, this means that Turnus is no more the maker of his own fortune, because his efforts are destined to go against the divine hostility, hence they may never succeed in such an uneven fight.

Realizing that he is no longer the maker of his own destiny, Turnus is filled with fear and dismay, facing a death that he deems inevitable:

[6] "Saying no more, he glances round and sees a huge stone, an ancient stone and huge which by chance lay upon the plain, set for a landmark to keep dispute from the fields. Twice six chose men could scarce lift it on their shoulders, men of such frames as earth now produces: but the hero, with hurried grasp, seized and hurled it at his foe, rising to his height and at swiftest speed. But he does not recognize himself as he runs, nor as he moves, as he raises the mighty stone in his hand and throws it; his knees buckle, his blood is frozen cold. The very stone, whirled by the hero through the empty air, did not traverse the whole distance, nor drive home its blow. And as in dreams, when languorous sleep has weighed down our eyes at night, we seem to strive in vain to press on our eager course, and in mid effort collapse helpless: our tongue lacks power, our wonted strength fails our limbs, and neither voice nor words will come: so to Turnus, however bravely he sought to win his way, the dread goddess denies fulfilment".

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his eyes wander from the soldiers to the city and he assumes the behaviour of someone who is aware that, together with his life, he will lose everything that is dear to him; so he addresses everything he is about to leave with wishful regret (12,914b–8):

Tum pectore sensus
vertuntur varii: Rutulos aspectat et urbem 915
cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit,
nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem,
nec currus usquam videt aurigamve sororem.[7]

Aeneas immediately profits from his hesitation (v. 916 *cunctatur,* then v. 919 *cunctanti*) and acts lucidly and promptly (12,919–929):

Cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto 920
eminus intorquet. Murali concita numquam
tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti
dissultant crepitus. Volat atri turbinis instar
exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit
loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbes; 925
per medium stridens transit femur: incidit ictus
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
Consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit
mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.[8]

In *sortitus fortunam oculis* (v. 920) we have the importance of a choice that is guided by fate, rather than by human will. Aeneas summons all his strength (*corpore toto*) and thrusts the powerful shaft that, dashing through the air like a grim swirl, strikes Turnus and, ripping the edges of his armour and the outer hem of his seven-layered shield, pierces his thigh. *Incidit* (v. 926) indicates Turnus' immediate down-

[7] "Then shifting fancies whirl through his mind; he gazes on his Rutulians and the town, he falters in fear, and trembles at the death that looms; he sees nowhere to escape, nowhere to attack his foe; he cannot see his chariot anywhere, or his sister, the charioteer".

[8] "As he wavers, Aeneas brandishes the fateful spear, seeing a favorable chance, then hurls it from afar with all his strength. Never do stones shot from a siege engine roar so loud, never do such great crashes burst from a thunderbolt. Like a black whirlwind the spear flies on, bearing fell destruction, and pierces the corslet's rim and the sevenfold shield's outermost circle: whizzing it passes right through the thigh. Under the blow, with his knee bent down to earth beneath him, huge Turnus sank. The Rutulians start up with a groan; all the hills re-echo round about, and far and near the wooded slopes send back the sound".

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fall; it is not exactly a collapse of his whole body, but the shaft that pierced his thigh forces him to fall on his knee. Therefore, the stroke is not mortal, and it should not be, lest Vergil would not be able to create the conditions to favour Turnus' appeal, which will be the projection into the Augustan age of Priam's supplication to Achilles, and will make Aeneas face the dilemma of sparing or killing his vanquished, supplicant foe.

The *ille* …*heros* in vv. 901–2 (whose strength had so been emphasized by the extraordinary hyperbaton in the frame narrative) — is forced to assume the position of the defeated, reduced to implore his vanquisher (12,930–938a):

> *Ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem* 930
> *protendens 'Equidem merui, nec deprecor' inquit:*
> *'utere sorte tua. Miseri te si qua parentis*
> *tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis*
> *Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae*
> *et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,* 935
> *redde meis, vicisti et victum tendere palmas*
> *Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx:*
> *ulterius ne tende odiis.'*

The once arrogant hero has to humble himself and recognize that he has deserved defeat (vv. 930–1); at the beginning, he rules out the need to plead with Aeneas and rather exhorts him to profit from the rights befitting the winner (v. 932). At this point, however, there is a decisive overturn in his demeanour: right after the caesura in v. 932, Turnus evokes the usual *clementia* to the defeated, recommended to Aeneas by his father Anchises. Persuaded that the reference to his father Daunus' torment will move Aeneas, he cleverly associates in the same verse Daunus with Anchises (12,934) in the motif of the *cura parentis* and proposes to Aeneas the alternative of giving him back to his people alive or giving them his dead body back.

Much has been said about this anomalous request from Turnus who, unlike the Homeric Hector, gives his vanquisher the alternative to kill or to spare the defeated. It is way too easy to make any claim about the legitimacy of changing the model, as long as one realizes that we are not talking about a simple literary *lusus*, but that such variations are filled with meaning. Although Jupiter himself, when talking to Juno, had admitted that the impossibility of changing the war's fortune did not exclude the possibility of evading Turnus from

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his death fate (10,622–7), Vergil has often anticipated that such is the closure assigned to Turnus by fate and Turnus himself has shown his full awareness of the fact. Now Turnus has admitted defeat and its consequences: nevertheless, though he knows well the destiny that the epic code assigns to the defeated, he comes to envision the vanquisher the possibility of sparing his life: in contrast, in the Homeric *epos* it is possible for the defeated to implore for mercy, but its refusal represents a norm that Vergil too shares.

In the *Aeneid* too, as in every epic poem, there is no clemency for the one who succumbs: deaf to the pleas of Orsilochus, Camilla rages upon him with an axe, striking until she makes his brain squirt on his face (11,696–8). Aeneas himself, while Mago embraced his knees, beseeching him to spare his life in the name of Anchises' Manes, in disregard for his prayers, for the memory of his father and the promise of riches, plunges his sword into his neck (10,521–536). Later, when young Liger, knocked down from his chariot together with his dying brother, begs him for mercy and to spare his life, he sarcastically invites him to share the same fate of his brother and without hesitation pierces his chest (10,595–601). As for Mezentius, Aeneas killed his young son, who had tried to shield his father with his own body; although hurt, Mezentius seeks revenge but in vain. When Aeneas unhorses him and throws himself upon him, sneering at him, just like he did to Turnus at the beginning of their duel (10,897–8 *ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa / effera vis animi?*), Mezentius proudly reminds him that *nullum in caede nefas* and does not give him, like Turnus did, an alternative, but only asks to be buried next to his son: the dead body's tomb, as he himself recognizes, is the sole *venia* for a vanquished foe. Then he offers his neck to Aeneas, who kills him without further words (10,903–6). Therefore, the reader expects Turnus to behave in the same way as the defeated Mezentius, and Aeneas to act like he did with Mezentius.

Still, now, as he faces a defeated, bent Turnus, Aeneas hesitates (12,938b–941a):

> *Stetit acer in armis*
> *Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;*
> *et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo* 940
> *coeperat*;[9]

[9] "Fierce in his armour, Aeneas stood still shifting his eyes, and restrained his hand; and now, as he paused, these words began to sway him more and more".

Aeneas impends over Turnus with his usual aggressive demeanour (v. 938, *acer in armis*) and we expect the final act from him: but *stetit* represents him motionless in his stance. Aeneas is full of doubt; he does not know what to do, and the *volvere oculos* contributes to reiterate his indecision, completed in *climax* by *dextram …repressit* (v. 939). Actually, from doubt and uncertainty he does seem intent on deciding not to strike, staying the hand that would smite his fallen enemy. Claudius Donatus stresses this sensation in his commentary of v. 939: *quod dixit 'stetit' nec statim victoris aviditate percussit, ostendit verbis deprecantis esse commotum. Quod autem volvebat oculos, tractantis fuerat signum: indices enim sunt oculi, qui tacito pectore sententia dubitante volvuntur. Non enim ignoscere temere oportuit aut ferire: stetit, oculos volvit*. About *dextram …repressit*, Claudius Donatus observes that *qui haec fecit proximus fuit ut ignosceret potius quam necaret*. It really seems that Aeneas is going to give in as he hears Turnus' words: this is confirmed by his growing hesitation (v. 940 *iam iamque magis cunctantem*) and then by an 'enjambement' that lengthens the phase of suspension and indecision (vv. 940–1 *flectere sermo / coeperat*), which shows a progressive drooping and seems to prelude a merciful gesture towards the fallen. Moreover, Turnus has not uttered Anchises' name only to exploit Aeneas' affections: as a character of the *Aeneid* he knows well, as well as its readers, that to link Anchises to his situation and his appeal means to remind *pious Aeneas* of the exhortation to *parcere subiectis* his father had addressed him when they met in the underworld (6,853). For this motive, therefore, by admitting his defeat, Turnus has made clear his condition as *subiectus* and has confessed the humiliation of being so before his own soldiers: the implicit appeal to Aeneas' traditional *pietas* thanks to his father's memory aims, therefore, his sense of *clementia* towards the defeated.

The Augustan Anchises of the *Aeneid*'s book VI, in fact, in his exhortation, had more ample and involving horizons in mind and his concern rested on the peoples that the Romans would have to rule after having vanquished them. Meant as a rule for the future founders of the *imperium*, Anchises' *parcere subiectis* is an exhortation not to strike those who submit to the power of Rome. Turnus, however, understands those words from his point of view and he turns them into an invitation not to kill someone who, like him, has admitted to his own defeat. Aeneas should not *ulterius tendere odiis* because now his killing will not make any sense.

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Aeneas, in turn, understands well enough what disruptive news such interpretation of the Vergilian *parcere subiectis* would introduce into the world of the epic heroes: no Homeric reader would expect Hector to be spared by Achilles, and we may think that no learned, aristocratic Augustan reader would imagine a different fate for Turnus: not only because of the model, but also and mainly due to the conventions of the epic gender. It is not the first time the Vergilian hero is placed before a distressing choice (it will suffice to think of his forced desertion of his beloved Dido): nevertheless, he always made his choice with his eyes on the future, accepting the will of fate, albeit sometimes unfair or disagreeable, in name of a quest whose effects will go much further beyond his heroic experience. In the present situation, Aeneas stipulated a pact that foresees peace among the peoples at war when the duel between their leaders is concluded. Such purpose has been achieved with Turnus' defeat and, once the conventions of the epic code are put aside, it is irrelevant whether Turnus lives or dies, now that he has admitted his defeat. Aeneas is aware of this and also knows that, where fate or the gods shall not decide, he is the one who has to make a choice. The Vergilian hero hesitates, differently from the cool determination shown in other circumstances when he rapidly eliminated the vanquished, because he realizes that the sense of the fallen enemy's words goes much beyond his supplication for his life, but it travels into the future till it includes the fate of the peoples who will be subdued to the domain of *Troia resurgens* and whom one must clarify how to deal with. The path to run had been signalled by Anchises with his *parcere subiectis*, which anyway was connected with *debellare superbos*.

Turnus has appealed to Anchises and to his words of mercy towards the vanquished, but he had not reckoned that those same words would afterwards imply his conviction: for this reason, too, Aeneas hesitates, while the reader, in turn, has the right to expect either the mercy or the final blow.

4. The *cum* 'inversum' (12,941b–4) marks the sudden overturn of the situation and puts an end to Aeneas' hesitation:

infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis

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Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.[10]

Infelix (v. 941) anticipates the ominous character of Pallas' shoulder belt, doomed to be worn by the defeated (first Pallas, then Turnus) and at the same time a reminder of gloomy memories to Aeneas. *Vmero*, resumed in hyperbaton by *alto*, makes us understand that Aeneas' glance — over his opponent, bent to the ground — that glance that first was unsure and wandering now looks at the top of Turnus' shoulders: only now — as *apparuit* indicates — Aeneas realizes that Turnus is wearing Pallas' shoulder belt, and the violence of such unexpected finding is such as to put an end to every hesitation, for it shows him not a humble supplicant, but a violent, bloodthirsty Turnus.

Surely, Turnus' *hybris* is well known to the *Aeneid*'s readers, because it had been manifested more than once: Turnus is not content with just killing enemies, but he drives his chariot over their bodies (12,338–9); he not only plunges his sword's blade into the agonizing men's throats, but he insults them while he deprives them of their lives (12,356–8). After he killed Pallas, he had an unexpected startling moment of *pietas* when he exhorts the Arcadians to give back to Evander his son's dead body (10,491–5); immediately afterwards, however, he treads on the lifeless body and, after having torn off his shoulder belt, he abandons himself to a wild exaltation (10,500 *quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus*). His act of *hybris* is so violent as to arouse an outraged reaction in the poet himself (10,501–2 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!*), immediately followed by a grim prediction of misfortune (10,503–5 *Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum / intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque / oderit*).

The right to seize an enemy's spoils does, however, represent a norm, not only in the Homeric *epos* but also, aside from the myth, in the Roman world: the *spolia opima* remind us of this rule, having been won in different ages from three enemy leaders by three Roman chiefs, and then sacred in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and solemnly

[10] "When high on the shoulder the luckless baldric met his gaze, and the belt flashed with its well-known studs — the belt of young Pallas, whom Turnus had wounded and stretched vanquished on the earth, and now he wore on his shoulders his foeman's fatal emblem".

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chanted by Propertius in the Xth elegy of his IVth book. It goes without saying that such an act, besides being legitimate, carried a high prestige to the vanquisher while it constituted a great dishonour to the defeated. In order to stay in the world of the Vergilian *epos*, Pallas himself, while he arrogantly heads towards his deadly encounter, proclaims that it will be a motive of glory for him either to succumb to a noble death or to have a victory over Turnus and seize his spoils (10,449–450). Evander had given him the same example, when at the time of their goodbyes he lamented his youth and recalled the death of Erilus, whose weapons he had seized (8,560–7). In turn Aeneas, after having killed Haemon, leaves to trustworthy Serestus the task to carry the dead man's spoils (10,541–2).

All testimonies agree on the legitimacy of the *rapere spolia*; but none allude to the possibility of wearing the defeated foe's spoils. The case of Mezentius, a grim *contemptor deorum*, is significant for us to understand that this is a deed that only the impious accomplish: in fact, Mezentius not only gives his son Lausus the weapons of the defeated enemy and the plume to fasten to his crest (10,700–1), but he even promises to clothe him with the spoils he expects to win from Aeneas after killing him (10,774–6). When Aeneas sends him Lausus' dead body, Mezentius, his mind distraught by the fury of revenge, rides his horse with the fierce purpose of returning with Aeneas' decapitated head and with his bloody spoils (10,860–6). In absence of a sacred place in which to dedicate the spoils taken from a vanquished enemy to a deity (as the three Roman chiefs have done, laying the *spolia opima* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius), it was a custom to hang the spoils from a tree and offer them to a deity. This is what Aeneas did: once he vanquished and killed Mezentius, he hung the weapons, the shattered shafts, the armour and the sword wrested from his foe from an oak (11,5–11). In the course of Pallas' funerary procession, the trophies and weapons taken from the enemies were exhibited and then hung from tree logs (11,83–84); when, finally, Aeneas and Tarchon care to burn the bodies of the fallen on the beach, the spoils wrested from the enemies (helms, swords, bridles, chariot wheels) are thrown in the flaming pyres (11,193–5).

Instead, Turnus has not only taken possession of Pallas' spoils after having killed him, but he dares to wear his shoulder belt, thus accomplishing a deed of unprecedented arrogance. Hence the reason why it is only at the end of the duel that Aeneas notices that the shoulder

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belt worn by Turnus is the very same one that Pallas used to wear: for he would never had imagined Turnus to go that far, and it is this circumstance that now presents the *humilis supplex* to his eyes as a *superbus*.

In v. 943, framed by the names of Pallas and Turnus, the genitive *pueri* emphasizes Pallas' early youth and underlines the disproportion between the extremely young fighter and the skilled hero who has confronted and killed him in an unequal struggle. At the same time a violent contrast is made between Aeneas' condition, doubtful about his decision and strongly inclined to spare his enemy's life, and Turnus' haughty, bloody deed, when before the defeated, wounded youngster — just like himself, presently defeated and wounded — he showed no mercy, but killed him without scruple (v. 944 *straverat*): the past perfect evokes the culminating moment in which Turnus had struck the fatal blow that caused Pallas' body to fall heavily to the ground, giving the idea of the act's sudden violence.

5. The once hesitating, nearly forgiving Aeneas suddenly becomes an easy prey to the Furies and he looks terrible in his wrath (12,945–9):

> *Ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris* 945
> *exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira*
> *terribilis: 'Tune hinc spoliis indute meorum*
> *eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas*
> *immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'*[11]

In the exordium of his brief, ultimate verbal outburst, *tune* (v. 947) expresses the incredulity, mixed with contempt, as he realizes that it is Pallas' killer who dares to present himself at his eyes wearing the spoils of his young friend and to try to escape his revenge (*eripiare mihi?*). *Tu* is placed at the beginning of the interrogative, while *mihi* is placed at the end; the duellers face each other for the very last time, without any possibility of reconciliation now that Aeneas is prey to a raging wrath and has realized that there is no space for *pietas*, but rather the respect for *fides* that imposes on him the role of the avenger.

[11] "Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in the trophy, that memorial of cruel grief, ablaze with fury and terrible in his wrath: 'Clad in the spoils of one of mine, are you to be snatched from my hands? Pallas it is, Pallas who sacrifices you with this stroke, and takes retribution from your guilty blood'".

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It is true that in this Aeneas giving in to ruthless violence and blinded by rage (vv. 946–7 *furiis accensus et ira / terribilis*) we do not recognize any more the suffering hero *tristi turbatus pectora bello* of the beginning of the hostilities (8,29) and who afterwards is distraught by the thought of the mourning the war will provoke (8,537–540); nor do we recognize the *bonus Aeneas* who, after having granted the Latins a truce for them to bury their fallen (11,108–119), with noble accent clarifies that he has not come to Latium to fight, but rather to follow fate's will. We do not recognize any more the Aeneas who was not only ready to grant *requies* to the dead, but also wanted to grant peace to the living: anger shows him far different from the Aeneas who, his head bare and weapon less, after the Rutulians had violated the truce, had tried to stay the anger of his peoples with a distressing appeal (12,313–4 *quo ruitis? …/ O cohibete iras!*).

It has to be said, however, that if in the *Aeneid* Turnus is the champion of raging violence, this does not mean that *pious Aeneas* will always be exempt from it, even if we need to make a clear distinction: in the "Odysseic" part of the *Aeneid*, the *furor* that subdues Aeneas during the fall of Troy identifies with his despair and dejection at the sight of the city in flames, in the first place, and then with his vain search for Creusa (2,316. 595. 771). It is after Pallas' killing that *furere*, *furor*, *ira* and their synonyms stress Aeneas' changed behaviour: in the heart of battle he *furit* (10,545), mutilating and slaughtering the foes he finds in his way, and his homicidal fury is compared to a torrent in its full or a black swirl (10,602–4). Again Aeneas *furit* (10,802) when Lausus tries to save his wounded father. He rejoices that the war resolves with the duel against Turnus; however, not less *saevus* than his opponent, with the weapons given to him by Venus he *acuit Martem et se suscitat ira* (12,108). Wounded, in turn, by an arrow, *saevit* (12,387), *acerba fremens* (12,398); healed by Venus' providential aid, *avidus pugnae* he suffers no delay and again throws himself into the fray (12,430–1). When Messapus' shaft cuts the plum from the top of his helm, *tum vero adsurgunt irae* (12,494): Aeneas thrusts himself against his foes and *terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem / suscitat irarumque omnis effundit habenas* (12,498–9).

Irrational *furor*, associated with the wrath that enhances it, represents the antithesis of a noble virtue like *pietas*. Moreover, in the *Aeneid*'s conclusion *furor* and *ira* are manifest after a supplication that

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appeals precisely to the vanquisher's *pietas*, after an intense pause of reflection inspired by *pietas* for the fathers who the war deprives of their sons. To distinguish here between a *furor impius* and a *furor pius* may be a brilliant exercise, but not convincing at all, because *furor* is *impius* in its own nature: Jupiter clarifies it since the beginning of the *Aeneid*, as he augurs to Venus the fortune of Aeneas and the dooms of Rome, when having arrived to the age of Augustus he foresees the end of the wars and describes *Furor impius*, impersonated, who bound by a hundred chains tries in vain to get free (1,294–6). Already before Vergil had pointed out that in riots *furor arma ministrat* and in order to placate them there is the need for a *vir pietate gravis ac meritis* (1,150–1).

Now there remains the conclusive gesture to accomplish. The spondaic rhythm of v. 950 stresses the slow plunge of Aeneas' sword as it deeply dives into Turnus' chest (12,950–2):

> *Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit*
> *fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra*
> *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.*[12]

Most contemporary critics continue to see in Turnus' killing a gesture of Aeneas' *pietas*: we saw at the beginning that this was the position assumed by Servius, according to whom Aeneas shows his *pietas* not only when he considers sparing Turnus' life, but also when he kills him, because his is an act of *pietas* as far as Evander is concerned. In my opinion, rather than *pietas*, it is more appropriate to talk about *fides* as a decisive element in Aeneas' choice: when he arrives in Latium, an unknown, hostile land, Evander, besides harbouring and advising him wisely, also had entrusted him with his son so that he might get used to a life in arms by following his example (8,514–9). Having received the news of Pallas' death, Evander sends a solemn, compromising message to Aeneas: if he had decided to go on living, he had done so only to wait for him to avenge him (11,176–181). Aeneas, who owed Evander a debt of hospitality and friendship, has now the duty to repay him: Evander himself had recollected it by using the verb *debere* when he had said

[12] "So saying, in burning rage he buries his sword full in Turnus' breast. His limbs grew slack and chill and with a moan his life fled resentfully to the Shades below".

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that Aeneas' right hand owed Turnus, with regard to Pallas and himself (11,178–9): *Turnum gnatoque patrique / quam* (sc. *dextram tuam*) *debere vides*. On the other hand, this is the principle ruling the *officia* which Aeneas cannot evade, for respect for the word he gave compels him to avenge Pallas.

There is still another reason to prompt Aeneas to kill Turnus: Traina had noticed it when he highlighted that in the *epos* world the cruellest and most odious death is that of the sons slain before the eyes of their fathers. Instead, it is exactly what Turnus wishes would have happened to Pallas (10,443 *cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*) and it is this attitude of *impietas* that makes his appeal to Aeneas' *pietas* vain, although he names his father Anchises.[13]

Vergil, however, cared to legitimate, or at least to justify, the ultimate deed accomplished by Aeneas, because both *immolat* and *poenam sumit*, which significantly frame v. 949, confer to the supplicant's killing, on one hand, the character of a sacrifice, where Turnus will have the role of victim, and on the other hand of a just chastisement that he will pay with his blood: a criminal blood, because Turnus, from Aeneas' point of view, is guilty of a real *scelus* by having killed the youngster Pallas. The iteration of *Pallas*, a subject both of *immolat* and of *poenam sumit*, strongly reiterates that if Aeneas has the assignment of executing the sacrifice, actually the sacrificer will be Pallas: he will be the one to punish Turnus' *hybris*, his indifference for his early youth, the outrage made to Evander and his people by taking possession of his son's shoulder belt and the arrogance he had shown by rejoicing over his dead body and wearing his spoils. Only in two other occasions, both of them in book X, does Vergil employ *immolare*, a verb belonging to the sacred language the etymology of which recalls the sacred flour (*mola*) that used to be sprinkled over the victims' heads: in vv. 540–1 the verb indicates, not by chance, the gesture by which Aeneas sends into the world of shadows Haemon's son, "a priest of Phoebus and Trivia, his temples crowned with a sacred headband"; the other occasion is the human sacrifice made by a raging Aeneas, distraught by wrath due to Pallas' death (v. 519), just like at the end of the poem anger and fury unsettle him when he sees Pallas' shoulder belt.

[13] Traina 1988, 98.

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Turnus's killing, therefore, in Aeneas' mind assumes the character of a true, proper sacrifice: nevertheless, while the verb *immolare* has here a definite religious sense because it defines the punishment for Turnus' *hybris*, on the other hand the fact that Aeneas accomplishes his sacrificial gesture in an outburst of anger does not allow us to completely assign him a real priestly function. The reader has, in fact, the impression that Turnus' killing is a revenge, just like the human sacrifice ruthlessly ordered by Aeneas after Pallas' violent death: in that circumstance Aeneas had captured the four young sons of Sulmon and the four sons of Ufens and sacrificed them to the shadows (10,519 *inferias quos immolet umbris*), flooding with their blood the flames of Pallas' pyre (10,520). In the procession that brings Pallas' body to Evander, after the booty taken from the enemy there come, with their hands tied behind their backs, the prisoners destined to the sacrifice (11,81–82). In that circumstance Aeneas behaved exactly like his Homeric model: Achilles too, after Patroclus' death by Hector's hand, had made a terrible slaughter amongst his enemies, before he realized that some of them had taken shelter among the cliffs along the river; he had driven out twelve of them, all of them youngsters, and after having tied their arms with strong belts had them taken to the ships so that they were sacrificed on Patroclus' pyre, 'as a compensation' (*Il.* 21,28) for his death. This was the promise that he had sworn over his young friend's body during the funerary vigil (*Il.* 18,336–7: "I will cut the throat of twelve noble Trojan sons in front of your pyre, angered by your death"). Therefore, Vergil, by employing the sacrificial verb (*immolat*) and by transferring the wrath motif to the moment in which Turnus is killed, recalls the Homeric episode also at the end of the *Aeneid*: Aeneas' words would confer to Turnus' killing the character of a sacrificial gesture, but the strength of the model invites us to rather regard it as an act of cruel revenge. This is still more surprising because from this act depends peace, as well as the cessation of hatred and violence, with which the Vergilian poem is closed.

6. Is it, then, an extreme act of brutal violence that closes the Vergilian poem, or Aeneas' act has the value of a sacrifice? It is true that there is great wisdom in the exhortation judging Aeneas' attitude not with our modern eyes and sensibility of nowadays, preferring forgiveness to violence, (which is refused), but rather with the

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ideological code of Vergil's time. Considered from this point of view, there is no doubt that the *Aeneid* has an expected finale: Turnus must die, because such is the rule of the epic code that does not allow mercy to be granted to the defeated, and because such is the Homeric model, that induces us more and more to identify Turnus' doom with Hector's and Aeneas' attitude with that of the raging, avenging Achilles. These were undoubtedly the expectations of the ancient reader in the time of Vergil: but, as we have seen, the expectations of the scholars of later ages were quite different. Yet, I think that Vergil's greatness lies precisely in opening up to both possibilities, so that he suggests both reading keys, and I believe that he pays homage to the reader and his intelligence: for the reader, anyway, must always do his part, thus ensuring an everlasting life to those texts that every age re-reads with its own, changing judgment criteria.

The Augustan reader knows well that the norm decrees the killing of the defeated, but Aeneas' hesitation, in open contrast with the ideological code of his time, is such as to cause his convictions to falter; he knows a *pious* Aeneas, and too often he discovers him in prey to irrational emotional drives that have nothing to do with *pietas*. Aeneas' attitude is emblematic when young Lausus interposes between him and his father Mezentius, who, wounded in his groins, is trying to escape his fury (10,802 *furit Aeneas*). Ignoring his filial *pietas,* though he recognizes it (10,812 *fallit te incautum pietas tua*), Aeneas plunges his sword into Lausus' body (10,816); as he watches him die, however, he cannot help feeling anguish and his mind is upset by the *patriae pietatis imago* (10,824). After a grieved outburst in which he finds a way to exalt his own *pious* nature, Aeneas not only does not take Lausus' spoils, but he also decides to give his body back to his father and he himself lifts the body from the ground, blaming the youngster's hesitating soldiers.

This leads the reader to ask himself about the contradictions of a character who seems to be subject to a double literary status, and even about the meaning of an epic poem "in which the contradictions are not avoided nor even composed, but instead they are left open".[14] Vergil's intentions in the *Aeneid* were the praise of the values on which Augustus' *imperium* stood. As the protagonist of an epic poem that signals the connection of that *imperium* with the remote origins

[14] Conte 1998, 38.

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of Rome, Aeneas is the depositary and the guarantee of the memory of the past, but he is also aware of the future successes of his offspring. In the underworld, in fact, Anchises had revealed and shown him the task entrusted to the Romans, who in the lead of their *imperium* should never forget to *parcere subiectis* and to *debellare superbos*. Yet the *Aeneid*'s finale does not correspond to expectations, and "this bloody curtain that briskly falls over the *Aeneid* under the sign of an archaic *pietas,* without the catharsis that lightens the end of the Homeric poems, is ambiguous and disquieting. For the poet could have prevented it".[15]

Vlterius ne tende odiis: Turnus had so exhorted Aeneas in his appeal. In such words we can unquestionably see an immediate reference to the personal situation of the defeated: I, however, believe that the plural *odiis*, disproportionate when we only think of the condition of the vanquished leader, allows us to understand that the succumbing hero's glance looks farther away, to a contrast among peoples that will not be solved by Aeneas' conclusive act and the cessation of hostilities, to a future of violence and wars that will go on weighing for a long time on Roman conscience. At the same time, the reader has the right to imagine Aeneas who, at the moment of his hesitation and doubt, not only reflects on past events, but also meditates on future ones, particularly those that will culminate in the war which again will oppose the Romans to the Italic peoples. To what extent, then - I ask myself- does the memory of the *bellum sociale* and, with it, the weight of unsolved tensions still ponder upon the *Aeneid*, mainly its bloody conclusion?

7. Vergil, like the other Augustan poets, never explicitly alludes to the dark page in the history of Rome represented by the *bellum sociale*: but we cannot exclude that he indirectly does it, and that in the background of Aeneas' vicissitudes in Latium we may perceive the general history of a hard integration, that of the Romans and the Italic peoples. This integration had not been peaceful at all and only some decades before, after the dramatic developments of the social war, could the Romans have the illusion of having achieved it. Anyway, it is significant that in the very poem destined to celebrate Rome's mission, the protagonist, loyal to the will of fate, has founded

[15] Traina 1994, 88.

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a state to which the gods have entrusted the task of creating, in the course of the centuries, an empire without spatial or temporal limits, and that all this may be accomplished only through a bloody war with the Latins and with the Italic peoples. Aeneas lives the drama of a peace that can be achieved only through the violent elimination of his enemies.

The traditional interpretation, which sees in the *Aeneid* the evidence of an achieved detachment in the collective conscience from the past conflicts between Rome and the Italic peoples, seems too narrow and does not take into account either the complexity of the Vergilian project or the tensions contained in his poem. In the *Aeneid*, it is not the Trojans and their allies who want war, but the Latins and the Italic peoples: Aeneas explains this to Evander, clarifying that the design of the peoples led by Turnus is to subdue *omnem Hesperiam* and to occupy every territory bathed by the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian (8,147–9). However, the will of fate opposes their attempt to subdue the whole of Italy, and therefore war becomes, to Aeneas, the only possible solution. Yet the situation is reversed if we consider Turnus' point of view: in fact, it is significant that when one of the Furies appears to him in a dream and inspires him the suspicion of an alliance between the Latins and the Trojans (7,421–434), the Rutulian leader commands his peoples to take up arms to defend Italy (7,649 *tutari Italiam*) from the enemies that threaten it.

The composition of the two opponent blocks in the *Aeneid*, in the catalogues of books X (vv. 166–214: Aeneas' allies) and VII (vv. 647–802: Turnus' allies) is emblematic: at the side of the exiled Trojans led by Aeneas fight the Etrurians and Evander's Greeks. In this array, besides an intention sending back to the composite origins of the Roman civilisation, we can perceive how many (Etrurians and Magnogreeks), in the course of the *bellum sociale*, had soon ceased the hostilities or had sided for Rome. The Latins oppose them, witnesses of an enduring resistance of the Roman hegemony, as well as some Italic peoples, who Vergil lists: it is significant that the list includes, besides the peoples of Latium and the neighbouring ones, also the peoples from the inner lands, some of whom had not only opposed Rome as the city progressively conquered Italic soil, but had also fought against Rome in the far more recent social war.

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The catalogue of Turnus' Italic allies gives the impression of a disordered fragmentation, probably a symbolic representation of the unstable and unruly pre-Roman Italy. The leaders of the Italic peoples are then the expression of a primitive violence that Aeneas (hence, projecting his action into the future, Rome) must necessarily tame. Their rudimentary weaponry sends back to an archaic, backward world and such a rabble of warriors, especially *agrestes* and *horridi*, gives the idea of a tumultuous, disordered gathering of peoples whose only common link is their uncouth primitive character. On the contrary, Aeneas' soldiers and their allies are distinguished by their efficiency and their orderly military array: their weapons shine in the sun and everything about them shows a perfect experience in the arts of war, as their impeccable leaders ride their horses with their glowing crests. All this clearly means that Aeneas' victory will put an end to the absence of an ethnical identity of the Italic peoples, symbolizing the victory of order over chaos.

If then Vergil wants his readers to understand Aeneas' vicissitudes in Latium in the light of the *bellum sociale*, he found a way to explain and legitimate, by means of the conclusion of the bloody conflict between Aeneas and the Italic peoples, the achievement of a pacification obtained by the sole means of violence. Considered under this perspective, the *bellum sociale* had really been the way to favour the Italics' integration. To Vergil, the war may be execrable for the sour mourning it causes, but it constitutes the indispensable lever for the unification of the Italics, naturally under the future ruling of Rome. The *Aeneid* should therefore be read, too, as the history of an attempted, but substantially failed unification, because the defeat of the Italics did not work for a limited process of integration with Rome, but were meant for a wider, more ambitious design of an empire with no boundaries of space or time.

It is singular that the *Aeneid* does not close with the reconciliation of vanquished and vanquishers, or the stipulation of a *foedus* establishing precise terms. It is almost as if Vergil wanted to leave an open window for future contrasts. The real conclusion of the *Aeneid*, the one that, after Aeneas's victory, the reader expects but does not find, Vergil had actually already written, when, as he featured his hero, he had foreseen his role as a promoter of the integration of Trojans and Italics thanks to the victory they had achieved. It is not by chance that Evander had greeted him as *fortissimus ductor Teucrum atque*

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Italum (8,513). Juno herself, when she realized that she could do nothing against Jupiter's will, in her last conversation with her divine spouse had hoped that, anyway, Latium would survive through the centuries and particularly that would be *Romana potens virtute propago* (12,828). This allows us to glimpse a future of conciliation and integration, which however will not be confirmed by the outburst of violence with which Vergil closes his epic poem.

8. The *Aeneid*'s last image is Turnus' groan as life abandons his body to reach for the world of shadows (v. 952 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*). Why *indignata*? Of the three interpretations given by Servius for *indignata* (*vel quia post preces veniam non meruerat; vel quia Laviniam fore sciebat Aeneae; vel quia …discedebat a iuvene*: "because he had not been granted the implored mercy; because he had realized that Lavinia would belong to Aeneas, or because he was being cut off from life in the prime of life"), the last is certainly the correct one, because the technical word in funerary epigraphs is *indignus*, which indicates someone who is dead prematurely. Turnus' life escapes *cum gemitu* e *indignata* just like Camilla's, in a formulary verse that has precisely been employed to describe Camilla's death (11,831). This is the extraordinary way in which Vergil wanted to pay homage to Homer in his epic poem's closure: for Homer had featured in the same way, with a formulary verse, in his *Iliad*, the premature deaths of both Patroclus and Hector (11,856–7; 22,362–3): "his soul flew from the body and went away to Hades, crying for his fate and his lost strength and youth". Turnus, therefore, is *áoros* like Patroclus, like Hector and like Camilla: it is clear then that Camilla's wails, as well as Turnus', are also Vergil's lament for the *mors immatura* of so many youngsters, who the war condemns to a cruel doom.

"In the *Aeneid* —Alfonso Traina wrote — there is a tension between the opposed poles of history and utopia. History is violence, the *lacrimae rerum*; utopia is peace, the *aurea saecula*. For the characters, violence is the present and peace the far-away future, for which they suffer and die: Aeneas's *pietas*, in order to triumph over Turnus' *violentia*, must do violence to itself".[16] It is significant that the word *umbra* closes the epic poem, the same word that had closed the first

[16] Traina 1990a, 549.

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Vergilian bucolic (*maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae*). There the evening shadows had no appeasing function, but they emphasized the sad fate of Meliboeus, who was forced to leave his own lands; here, in the closure of the *Aeneid*, the *umbrae* of the afterlife are also the grim shadows that the ruthless reality of a history of oppression and violence projects over the splendour of the *aetas Augusta*.

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VIOLENCE IN PRAYER: GOD'S "OTHER SIDE" IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS. A LITERARY APPROACH

Maria FERNANDES

The Book of Psalms is one of the most beautiful collections of prayers in man's heritage. The different types of psalms range from hymns of praise and thanksgiving to poignant pleas for help. While in some psalms we can find radiant, bucolic images that fill our hearts with longing and blissful hope, in others the tone expresses the most distressing sorrow and, in some of them, a deep, tearing anger that sometimes bursts out in stark images of cruelty which defy our fiercest imagination.

I propose to analyse the violence contained in those texts, while trying to understand what caused its inclusion in the prayers, as well as their purpose and function, bearing in mind that what we call the "Book of Psalms" does not consist of a unit, but rather of a compilation of different traditions, with different origins and different historical periods.[1] Although the historical and social context of the psalmists should be considered, the emotions displayed are not new: the 21st century man feels the same anger, suffering or joy experienced by man in the 10th century B.C.E. We may ask, however, whether believers are still talking about the same God, or whether they see him with the same eyes as the psalmists did.

Violence has been defined as "the attempt of an individual or group to impose its will on others through any nonverbal, verbal, or physical means that inflicts psychological or physical injury, the act of mistreating someone, physically or psychologically, harming, abusing or outraging, ravaging, forcing, or compelling," but may be summed up in

[1] In order to avoid multiple footnotes, psalms are quoted in brackets. For the English translations I generally used the on-line NRSV, which I compared with the Hebrew (*BHS* 27th ed., 1994) and the Portuguese versions (*Bíblia Sagrada* 2nd ed., 2000).

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two words: "forcible interference."[2] Carlson makes a distinction between violence and force: while the former lies outside the domain of reason, the latter is legitimate, even morally appropriate, whenever social constraints are at stake. As the author underlines, it is justifiable to use force whenever the means and the ends require it.[3] Zenger distinguishes between *violentia*, which he defines as repressed violence, and *potestas*, the so-called legitimate violence. Fretheim points out that the usual definition of violence is incomplete, because a) we need a broader designation comprehending both human and divine violence and b) it neglects many forms of systemic violence that we usually do not notice because it is already institutionalized.[4]

The biblical psalms are classified in hymns or songs of praise/thanksgiving, royal, songs of Zion, liturgical, wisdom and penitential or laments.[5] Expressions of violence are mostly found in the latter, although they are also included in the other types. More than just laments, some may be regarded as psalms of malediction or execration,[6] if we consider their aggressive intent. As we go through the book, we find three different ways of expressing violence:

1) The narrative or description of the subject's environment, the society he lives in and his feelings about his enemies or detractors;
2) Direct pleas for violence against them;
3) Vivid, repeated references to God's anger and its consequences.

1. The Psalmist's Environment

Royal Psalms were created for the theological legitimization of the Hebrew monarchy. Although they intended to celebrate events in the king's life, such as enthronements or weddings, they also mirrored the warring society of the time. They speak of rebellion, evil plots, conspiracies or battles, and some of them contain gratitude for victories against the enemies or prayers asking for God's assistance to defeat them.

[2] *OLD* 1968, 2068/2069; Tanner 2007, 5; Carlson 2011, 7-22. Nessan 1998, 451 quoted by Collins 2003, 4.
[3] Carlson, *ibidem*.
[4] Zenger 1996, 28; Fretheim 2004, 18-28.
[5] Limburg 1992, 522-536.
[6] Girard 1999, 387-392.

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In a theocratic regime, in which the king was the Lord's anointed one and his delegate on earth, the monarch possessed the same warring attributes he ascribed to his God. Like the king of the universe, who restores order over chaos, the Hebrew king engages in a holy war to subject the peoples to the Lord's yoke; thus the people of Israel went into battle to help the Lord, who they trusted to endorse them with his own superior power in battle, as stated in Ps 44:5: "Through you we push down our foes; through your name, we tread down our assailants." Hence the king sings his praise to the Lord who "trains his hands for war, so that his arms can bend a bow of bronze" (18:34). God himself, as the fierce warrior he is, similarly to the Ugaritic Baal, "sent out his arrows and scattered (the enemies of Israel), flashed forth lightning and routed them" (18:14), "aims at his enemies' faces with his bows" (21:12), "breaks them with a rod of iron, and dashes them in pieces like a potter's vessel" (2:9). In Ps 18, the warrior-king makes a description of his dramatic victory over his opposers: "I pursued my enemies and overtook them; and did not turn back until they were consumed. I struck them down, so that they were not able to rise, they fell under my feet. (…) I cast them out like the mire of the streets." Finally, he chants blessings to "the God who gave him vengeance and subdued the peoples under him," thus "delivering him from the violent" (37-38; 40; 42; 48). This verse clearly states that the opposers he defeated were the violent ones, whereas he, who does not fall under such classification, is the messiah appointed by God to protect his people and save them from the wicked nations. The king "will sit at the Lord's right hand until he makes his enemies his footstool" (110:1), i.e., he will stand before his God and contemplate his glory as the defeated lie in the dust under his feet. He proclaims the Lord's kingship over the nations, together with his warriors, with "high praises (…) in their throats and two-edged swords in their hands, to execute vengeance on the nations and punishment on the peoples, to bind their kings with fetters and their nobles with chains of iron" (149:6-8).

God as a fearful warrior is also present in the lament Psalms. "If the wicked does not repent, he will whet his sword; he has prepared his deadly weapons, making his arrows fiery shafts" (7:12-13). We find prayers for the Lord "to deliver the supplicant's life from the wicked, by his sword," (17:13), to "take hold of shield and buckler, (…) and draw the spear and javelin against his pursuers" (35:2-3).

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In the Bible, war has two different features. The kind of speech we have been looking at refers to military conquest of lands and peoples who worship idols and do not recognize the God of Israel, and therefore are considered unholy, violent and wicked. Hence it is essential to maintain the integrity of Israel's identity and its sovereignty over the land.[7] The other type was the so-called *ḥerem* war, or ban war, fought in particularly critical moments in the story of ancient Israel, and is found only in three books: Numbers (21:1-3), Joshua (6-7) and the first book of Samuel (15). This particular type of war seems to have originated in the old Canaanite beliefs in which God required human sacrifices as sacred offerings. In order to obtain victory over their enemies, the Israelites vowed to exterminate them and their families and to raze their cities. Commanded by God, the *ḥerem* war restored the order menaced by chaos and established his justice on the lands contaminated by unholy peoples.[8] If the *ḥerem* would not be carried out, the deity, deprived of the sacrifice of people and booty, would punish his own without mercy and make them surrogates for the sacrifice they had denied him, as recalled in Ps 106: "They did not destroy the peoples as the Lord commanded them." Instead, they mingled with them and "(…) poured out innocent blood, the blood of their sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan… Then the anger of the Lord was kindled against his people and he abhorred his heritage. He gave them into the hands of the nations…, their enemies oppressed them… (and they) were brought low through their iniquity (34; 38; 40-43)."

The so-called "penitential psalms," or laments, are filled with comparisons with wild animals and hunting strategies, which were surely also employed to ambush the enemies, and seem to have been quite common. The references to pits, nets and other entrapping devices are abundant: "they make a pit, digging it out and fall into the hole that they have made" (7:15); "the nations ("heathens" in the Portuguese version) have sunk in the pit they have made" (9:15); "the arrogant have hidden a trap for me, and with cords they have spread a net; along the road they have set snares for me" (140:5).

[7] Selengut 2011, 89-98; 2003, 25.
[8] Niditch 1993, 41.

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The distress felt by the subject in danger makes him compare his foes with the most ferocious animals which he knew would prey on men, mainly lions and wild bulls:

> They lurk in secret like a lion in its covert… they stoop, they crouch, and the helpless fall by their might (10:9-11). Many bulls encircle me, they open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion… for dogs are all around me, a company of evildoers encircles me … (22:12-13; 17). I lie down among lions that greedily devour human prey; their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords (57:4).

The frequent mention of scavengers shows how often battles and fights occurred, and how death was a common scene. Ps 79 mourns the destruction of Jerusalem with pictures of desolation and inhuman cruelty: "The nations have defiled your holy temple; they have laid Jerusalem in ruins. They have given the bodies of your servants to the birds of the air for food, the flesh of your faithful to the wild animals of the earth. They have poured out their blood like water all around Jerusalem, and there was no one to bury them" (79:1-3). But such sight can also be found in a collective psalm of thanksgiving (68), believed to be a liturgical hymn to celebrate God's covenant with the people of Israel,[9] which contains ghastly images mingled with rejoicing verses stressing the people's triumph. The Lord will "bring (their foes) back from the depths … so that they may bathe their feet in blood, so that the tongues of their dogs may have their share from the foe" (21-23).

Often the lament describes the subject's anguish due to enemy attacks and persecutions:

> Those who seek my life lay their snares; those who seek to hurt me speak of ruin and meditate treachery all day long (38:12). Have they no knowledge, those evildoers, who eat up my people as they eat bread, and do not call upon God? (53:4). I see violence and strife in the city; … iniquity and trouble are within it; … oppression and fraud do not depart from its market-place (55:9-11). Protect me from those who are violent, who plan evil things in their minds and stir up wars continually (140:1-2).

[9] Limburg 1992, 522-536.

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During exile, the distressing tone is more bitter, and the conquered people reminisce on the misery they suffered: "Your foes have roared within your holy place, they set your sanctuary on fire, they desecrated the dwelling-place of your name, bringing it to the ground. They burned all the meeting places of God in the land" (74:4; 7-8). "They crush your people, o Lord, (…) they kill the widow and the stranger, they murder the orphan" (94:5-6). The believers' voices rise against these afflictions, first in hope, then with certainty, emphasizing their Lord's power and his actions to punish their offenders:

> The enemies have vanished in everlasting ruins, their cities you have rooted out; the very memory of them has perished; the wicked shall depart to Sheol, all the nations that reject God (9:6; 17). On the wicked, he will rain coals of fire and sulphur; a scorching wind shall be the portion of their cup (11:6). He will repay my enemies for their evil (54:5, with a parallel in 1Sam 23:19-29).

While on the topic of "those who work iniquity", the supplicant assures that "their bones shall be strewn at the mouth of the Sheol" (141:7). However, these images conjured by the praying subject in distress are not sufficient to console his heart, and in many passages we can see that he longs for revenge: "The righteous will rejoice when they see vengeance done; they will bathe their feet in the blood of the wicked" (58:10). "Happy shall they be who pay you back what you have done to us! Happy shall they be who take your little ones and dash them against the rock!" (137:8-9). These awful expressions assess the horrors suffered by the conquered. They wish their enemies to suffer the same terrifying pain which had been inflicted upon them, according to the principle of retaliation, whereby a punishment should correspond in degree and kind to the offense.

2. Direct Pleas to God for Vengeance

The psalms illustrate the customary practice of the *lex talionis*, since it was natural to expect God to inflict upon one's offenders the exact same deeds they had committed against him. McCann observes that, when people are victimized, their wish is to do unto others what they have endured, thus expressions of rage are a sign of health. The psalms' prayers show that the psalmist surrendered his vengeance to God, instead of taking it into his own hands; as such, those

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expressions can be considered as acts of non-violence.[10] The same opinion is expressed by Brueggemann, who feels that our destructive yearnings of rage, resentment and hatred are somewhat sublimated when we pour them into our prayers, entrusting them to God:[11] "Strike my enemies on the cheek and break the teeth of the wicked," (3:7) "break the arm of the wicked and evildoers," (10:15) "O God, break the teeth in their mouths! Tear out the fangs of the young lions, o Lord!," (58:6) "let the avenging of the outpoured blood of your servants be known among the nations before our eyes" (79:10). In Ps 94:1 we finally come across a passionate cry: "O Lord, you God of vengeance, you God of vengeance, shine forth!" It is interesting that this psalm, particularly dear when in times of national crisis, is part of a collection which speaks of a God of justice in eschatological terms, the God who will come to judge those who have been violent and who will restore harmony on a desolated land, and is meant to be recited every Wednesday.[12]

The most emblematic example of an imprecatory prayer is given by Ps 109 (according to Gunkel, "the only pure psalm of imprecation in the psalter")[13], in which the psalmist invokes the Lord and complains about his detractors, who have slandered him and brought him to trial under false accusations. Verses 8-15 are a string of powerful curses, although there is an ongoing controversy between scholars as to the subject who utters them, mainly due to philological issues. Whereas some opine that the poet quotes his enemies' curses against him (the NRSV translation follows this view), which he asks the Lord to turn against them in v. 20, others believe that these "horrendous imprecations" are the poet's own feelings towards either his enemies, or the unprincipled judge that has been appointed to try his case (as in NIV's translation).[14] McCann gives both views setting side by side the two different translations, NIV's and NRSV's, while underlining that "certainty is not possible and commentators are divided almost equally on the issue", although, like Dahood, he prefers the NIV's version,[15] which I am quoting hereby:

[10] McCann 1993, 115.
[11] Brueggemann 1985, 152.
[12] McCann 1993, 45-46; Limburg 1992, 522-536.
[13] Quoted by McCann 1996, 1124.
[14] Dahood 1970, 99; 102.
[15] McCann 1996, 1125.

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> May his days be few, may another take his place of leadership. May his children be fatherless and his wife a widow. May his children be wandering beggars; may they be driven from their ruined homes; may a creditor seize all he has; may strangers plunder the fruits of his labour. May no one extend kindness to him, or take pity on his fatherless children. May his descendants be cut off; their names blotted from the next generation. May the iniquity of his father be remembered before the Lord, may the sin of his mother never be blotted out. May their sins always remain before the Lord, that he may blot out their name from the earth. (8-15).

In this passage the subject goes so far as to curse his enemy for three generations, his parents and his children alike, asking God to erase their very existence, as he continues: "He loved to curse; let curses come on him!…He clothed himself with cursing as his coat, may it soak into his body like water, like oil into his bones; may it be like a garment that he wraps around himself, like a belt that he wears everyday" (17-19).

We can observe than many passages do not only invoke calamities upon the subjects' enemies, but they also pray for the annihilation of their children, who are supposedly innocent and therefore do not deserve any punishment. Ps 127 shows us the importance that ancient peoples conferred to their children: "Sons are indeed a heritage from the Lord, the fruit of the womb, a reward. Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are the sons of one's youth" (3-4). As such, imprecations against them would be the worst possible tragedy bestowed upon an enemy.

3. God's Anger

Let us finally consider the repeated pronouncements of deep indignation in relation to God's feelings. Israel knows that the Lord will not bear the wicked to last, for he "puts an end to those who are false" to him (73:27). "He will speak to them in his wrath and terrify them in his fury" (2:5). "The Lord will swallow them up in his wrath and fire will consume them;" he will "destroy their offspring from the earth and their children from among humankind" (21:9-10). Ps 18, which has a parallel in 2Sam 22, gives us an impressive description of the Lord's anger, when "smoke went up from his nostrils, and

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devouring fire from his mouth; glowing coals flamed forth from him; there broke through his clouds hailstones" (18:7-8; 12).

Sometimes, the Lord's anger arises against his own people, who warily try not to awaken such feelings, "or he will be angry, and they will perish in the way, for his wrath is quickly kindled" (2:12). Whenever they sin, their punishment is violent:

> The anger of God rose against them and he killed the strongest of them and laid low the flower of Israel… (So) he made their days vanish like a breath and their years in terror…They provoked him to anger with their high places; they moved him to jealousy with their idols. When God heard, he was full of wrath, and he utterly rejected Israel… Fire devoured their young men and their girls had no marriage song. Their priests fell by the sword and their widows made no lamentation (78:31; 33; 58-59; 63).

In their distress, the people ask: "How long, o Lord, will you be angry forever? Will your jealous wrath burn like fire?" (79:5) "Will you be angry with us forever? Will you prolong your anger to all generations?" (85:5). They are completely helpless before the raging wave that sweeps them away: "Your wrath has swept over me, your dread assaults destroy me; they surround me like a flood all day long, from all sides they close on me" (88:16-17). "Your wrath is as great as the fear that is due to you" (90:11). "Therefore he said he would destroy them — had not Moses, his chosen one, stood in the breach before him, to turn away his wrath from destroying them" (106:23). Hence it is no surprise that the people of Israel try to divert their God's wrath by evoking the behaviour of the unbelievers: "Pour out your anger on the nations that do not know you and on the kingdoms that do not call your name" (79:6).

4. The Presence of Violence before God

The Book of Psalms contains every sentiment any human being can experience, and there is no doubt that violence is, indeed, one of its most pervasive aspects. In spite of mirroring ancient societies, the book encompasses much of our own feelings and reminds us that, in one way or another, we all suffer violence, or impose it onto others. Whether we call it force, *potestas*, or legitimate it with arguments which might be more or less just, we all have to accept violence in

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order to live with one another. It is part of our nature, of our most basic instincts of survival. It is, then, more than natural that men include it in their prayers, although such primal drives are not allowed in Christian doctrine.

Among the many expressions of violence we have analysed, there are some so ferocious that our wildest imagination cannot fathom them; for instance, the terrible description of Ps 68, in which the people bathe their feet in their enemies' blood. In the hymn, even dogs (apparently regarded as despicable animals, if we think of the comparisons made between dogs and evildoers or wicked foes) are entitled to a portion of the enemies' bloodshed. We are not considering just another execration or imprecation; according to the psalm, this was a promise God had made to his people. This shows us that such situations did happen in a war context. However, we are in the presence of an epic recounting of the history of Israel and the people's triumph over the nations. Although their annihilation is to be included in the anamnesis, it would suffice to recall Og's defeat; how should we then explain the extreme violence it contains? It is as though Israel wanted to butcher their enemies again. Alternatively, the chosen people could be (re)enacting the *ḥerem*, (re)presenting their fallen enemies to their God in a sacred offering. Niditch tells us that the ban validated the enemy as a worthy human being, since it is valued by God as a sacrifice; on the one hand, he was considered as a mirror of the self, therefore he is not the unclean other; on the other hand, when trying to explain the underlying psychology of this act, she admits that in order "to cope with the horror of the killings the enemy must be felt as not being of human stock."[16] Ultimately, then, the enemy is perceived as inferior in value (like a ram or a dove), though acknowledged by their God as a worthy blood sacrifice, meant to obtain his favour and forgiveness. One of God's facets portrays a thirsty, jealous deity, requiring bloodshed in order to turn his attention to his creatures, though later on these Baalian characteristics fade away.

Some psalms depict their God with strong, frightening colours. Like a dragon, he sends forth a blazing fire that scorches both land and people; like a warrior-king, he breaks his enemies' teeth and arms and shatters their shields, armours, and skulls; he is a skilled archer,

[16] Niditch 1993, 50.

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throwing deadly spears and javelins. As the king of the universe, God rules the peoples with a rod of iron, so he is harsh and severe and his discipline is strict. Rather than showing mercy, he slashes his enemies as if they were grass.

According to many scholars, however, the biblical God is not cruel. Wrath and violence are not divine attributes, but responses to human sin, thus implying the use of violent human agency (Assyrians, Babylonians, etc.) or natural agency, such as waves, tempests, draughts, etc. The Lord has two aims: judgment and salvation.[17] If there was no human violence, there would be no divine wrath or judgment.

Some of these scholars go even further in their analysis: Brueggemann says that the violence assigned to Yahweh is to be understood as counter violence, which has the function of eliminating other violence.[18] God's violence has salvific purposes for his creation, threatened by man's sin. Fretheim claims he "seeks to accomplish loving purposes."[19] The intention of these prayers would be to eliminate violence, not to encourage it. Selengut tells us that the Bible's portrayal of God as a warrior also shows mercy and justice, since he uses battle to create a peaceful and just world. When facing certain turmoil, wherein man's reaction is disapproval, God's "is something no language can convey." Violent human actions lead to violent consequences, which are a result of divine judgment. Fretheim does admit that it is not easy to understand "how God relates to the movement from sin to consequence," and resorts to Hos 4:1–3 to try to explain it: human "swearing, lying, murder, stealing, adultery, and bloodshed have highly adverse effects" not only upon mankind, but also upon the land and the animals.[20] Therefore, when the wicked sins, he is punished not by God's will, but by the logic of creation itself. Since men are part of this creation, such reasoning would explain why God would make human agency his instrument to punish their own kind.

As such, the loving, forgiving Christian doctrine has either turned into a metaphor or estranged itself from the creator's dark features.

[17] Alter 2007, 164; Fretheim 2004, 22.

[18] Quoted by Fretheim 2004, 25.

[19] Fretheim 2004, 27; 18.

[20] Silber 2013, 116-132; Selengut 2003, 20; Heschel quoted by Fretheim 2004, 21.

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It converts the fierce, blood-thirsty God into a stern father whose heart aches as he must chastise his children, thus recognizing God's need to punish men for their terrifying sins, as well as the cathartic function of the calamities sent to them.

Insofar as we accept such explanation, we could use Zenger's *potestas* to define divine violence, thus assuming that God is incapable of violence. However, if we refuse that opinion, we would have to add *violentia* to the Lord's attributes, whenever his wrath goes beyond the boundaries of legitimacy. We have considered, for instance, that when Israel went to battle to help the Lord, performing the savage killing of enemies in flight, their humiliation and extermination was agreeable to God, and he punishes the people simply out of jealousy. These actions were not only the Lord's punishment, but also his "vengeance on the nations." Thus, the Lord himself sanctions sheer violence and revenge.

Who is then to decide, or set up the boundaries, between *potestas* and *violentia*? If the Lord responds to man's iniquity with the same violent disproportion (especially from the point of view of many 21st century beliefs), should man counteract by labelling his fatherly anger as *violentia*? However, we cannot ignore that even nowadays some believers still acknowledge the harsh, jealous God who commands them to engage in war, violence and mass murder, on behalf of religious truth and divine revelation. They are not allowed the choice between violence and nonviolence, because they are fighting the Lord's battles and proclaiming his message to the entire world, preparing the way to a messianic world of peace and harmony.[21] Therefore, their God still possesses most of the fierce characteristics we have been considering thus far.

Does violence presuppose malice? For those who are fighting the Lord's battles —provided their devotion is sincere — certainly not. It is deep, blind faith that drives them, not wickedness (although much has been, and should be, studied about the fundamentalism that pushes them towards these actions). As for the Lord, Ps 18:26 observes that God "with the pure shows himself pure, and with the crooked (in the *BHS 'iqeš*, "devious") he shows himself perverse" (in Hebrew, he will "emulate him"). It is undoubtedly a bold statement, which allows God's dark side to uncover and justifies *violentia,* at least when-

[21] Selengut 2003, 17-19.

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ever someone is threatened by mischief or viciousness. In such cases, we may find a plain apology of the "just war" and try to defend its legitimacy, but there remains the problem of whom, or how, one applies for in order to define concepts such as viciousness or evilness.

Therefore, when the psalmist curses, be it an execration (expression of abhorrence, uttering of curses) or an imprecation (invocation of evil through a spoken curse), he does not feel he is offending his God, or violating his laws. On the contrary, his God is the "God of vengeance," and he is sure that he will smite his enemies without mercy. He is the God of wrath, whose burning fury guarantees the warrior-king's victory against the unbelievers, the God of rigour, whose righteousness ensures the believer that he will obtain the due payback which will comfort him from the wrong deeds committed against him.

Both Heschel and McCann remind us that anger is a sign of health, because it sublimates our socially unacceptable impulses or idealisations and, in certain ways, anger is a blessing we need against malice. Without it, we would be reduced to utter compliance and eventually to a disaster as harmful as unrestrained fury may provoke. Heschel even states that "complete absence of anger stultifies moral sensibility."[22]

Hence, when I picture the worst possible horror which could annihilate my enemy, somehow I sublimate what I cannot accomplish in practice. Violent expressions give voice to unthinkable actions experienced by man, so all languages and speeches are appropriate. As Brueggemann puts it, the subject allows himself to "face his own imagery of beastliness,"[23] and such catharsis is healing. Once he has spoken the execration words, or commended the vengeance to God, the enemy becomes virtually dead.

The Lord's dark attributes match those of man's: rather than "make humankind in his image, according to his likeness" (Gen 1:26), the author of the execration psalms made God in his own image, according to his likeness. As a stern, mighty punisher, God satisfies the natural, healthy need for revenge buried deep within most human beings' hearts whenever they are cruelly wronged. Thus, God's dark features maintain a sense of balance in this world, by sustaining those who feel aggrieved in their quest for justice.

[22] Heschel 2001, 360; McCann 1993, 115.
[23] Brueggeman 2001, 14.

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THE RHETORIC OF VIOLENCE AND EROTIC MASOCHISM IN THE EPISTLES OF PHILOSTRATUS

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Assiduous readers of fictional epistolary works of the Late Greek period, as well as those approaching this genre for the first time, will perceive that, despite the many common features shared by all examples of this form, there is something that patently distinguishes Philostratus from the other epistolographers (Alciphron, Aelianus, Aristaenetus or Theophylact). The reason for this may liein the fact that this sophist is regarded as the most authentic representative of the erotic epistolary genre, since most of his compositions coincide almost effortlessly with what was defined in the epistolary precepts and corpus of τύποι ἐπιστολικοί in Antiquity as an "erotic letter," namely "that through which we offer words of love to a beloved."[1] Such a view also requires a generous interpretation of the supposedly autobiographical nature of Philostratus's work, of the importance accorded to the greater or lesser task of rhetoric dexterity or the irresponsible and random use of the conventions of the epistolary genre prescribed in Antiquity, and lastly, of the validity ascribed to the sexual orientation of the missive, since it should be borne in mind that, although the definition attributed to Libanius (or Proclus) is conceived from a clearly heterosexual perspective, thirty of Philostratus's love letters are addressed to a man who, in most cases, is also the subject of the sender's adulation.

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[1] Ps.-Lib., *Epist. Char.* 44 (Förster): ἐρωτικὴ (*sc.* ἐπιστολή) ἐστι δι' ἧς ἐρωτικοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἐρωμένας προσφέρομεν λόγους.

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Indeed, the supposedly autobiographical nature and almost complete absence of a narrative element might endow Philostratus's work with a more intimate and subjective tone, which nonetheless contrasts with the exacerbated but also enervated passion for the object of desire or recipient of the epistle. The intimate erotic aura of Philostratus's epistles fluctuates between its own personal Scylla and Charybdis: on the one hand, it is set alight by a hyperbolic and metaphorical language, further supported by an emphatically visual depiction of erotic desire;[2] and on the other, it is deflated, degraded and debased by having as a recipient or discursive basis an object of desire who is entirely undeserving of such forms, a rhetorical practice that constitutes a beautiful example of the progymnasmatic inversion that has been called "paradoxical encomium."[3]

The immediate result of this type of literary schizophrenia is to arouse in the reader the impression of being confronted by an exercise bordering on the grotesque or on an absurd paradox, but, above all, it elicits the perception of a particular organisation, in form and content, which steers Philostratus's composition towards a distinct style of romantic expression contrived under the mandate of an obsessive or even manic-compulsive demeanour, which serves him as a two-pronged tool to achieve the ultimate goal of erotic persuasion: the manifestation of fetishism and, when this is taken to its extreme, an inclination towards the expression of masochistic or almost sadistic tendencies.

If we accept that the most important behavioural disorder in an obsessive-compulsive pathology is the subject's loss of capacity for making a choice[4] and we transpose this, with all the necessary

[2] *Sic* Walker 1992, 141.

[3] Philostratus's *Letters* are a singular example of the literary reuse of virtually all the preparatory exercises prescribed for schooling in rhetoric: ethopoeia (speech in character), ekphrasis (description), maxim, synkrisis (comparison), commonplace, thesis and the pairs of opposites that would be so in accordance with the Sophistic taste for *variatio*: refutation and confirmation, and encomium and invective. However, despite being immersed in the literary trends imposed by the Sophistic movement prevailing at the time, Philostratus appears frankly reluctant to merely adhere to the standards of this form of creation. We discuss this subject in more detail in Gallé Cejudo 2015.

[4] Please note that the use throughout this paper of concepts pertaining to the scientific field of psychiatry does not imply an intention to invade, or even encroach on, the sphere of influence of this medical discipline. Rather, the aim is merely to

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qualifications, to Philostratus's erotic literature, there is no doubt that the majority of the epistles that make up his collected letters are permeated by an obsessive and pathological impulse. Love is seen as a war, as a fire, as a siege, as slavery, as torture or barbaric sacrifice, and so on; nothing surprising or that has not been read before with some frequency in the semantic field of the *exclusus amator* theme. However, as already noted, this impulse is accentuated when the hyperbolic expression focuses on minute fetishistic details such as a bare foot, bright eyes, a lock of hair or incipient facial down. Although there is no shortage of other examples to illustrate this assertion, if the subject's loss of capacity for making choices is the pathological hallmark of this amatory behaviour, then Philostratus's *Epistle* 10 is undoubtedly the most consummate example of this obsessive impulse. The sender, always identified with the author, loses his capacity for reasoning at the mere sight of his beloved young man. He is, therefore, incapable of perceiving reality, and can only see his beloved transfigured into mythological or natural elements of paradigmatic beauty.

> […] κάλλος δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς ῥυὲν οὐκέτ᾽ ἄπεισιν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ καταγωγίου. οὕτω κἀγώ σε ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φέρω πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων δικτύοις, κἂν τ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὄρος τι ἔλθω, ποιμαίνειν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ καθῆσθαι πείθων τοὺς λίθους, κἂν τε ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔλθω, ἀνάγει σε ἡ θάλαττα, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ βυθός, ἄν τε ἐπὶ λειμῶνα, αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐξέχεις. […] καὶ μὴν καὶ ποταμοῦ πλησίον γενόμενος τὸν μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἠφάνισται, σὲ δὲ ῥεῖν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου νομίζω καλὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ πολὺ μεῖζον τῆς θαλάττης. ἀπιδὼν δὲ ἐς οὐρανὸν τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἡγοῦμαι πεπτωκέναι καὶ κάτω που βαδίζειν, ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ σὲ φαίνειν ὃν ἐγὼ βούλομαι. εἰ δὲ γένοιτο καὶ νὺξ, δύο βλέπω μόνους ἀστέρας, τὸν ἕσπερον καὶ σέ (*Ep.* 10 [Μειρακίῳ]).[5]

employ the utmost expressive and definitory precision with regard to certain concepts of modern sexual pathology and sexual paraphilias in order to subsequently transpose them to the field of erotic literature, with the sole purpose of furnishing scientific support (at least conceptually) for this type of obsessive and paraphilic behaviour in the epistles of Philostratus.

[5] Philostr., *Ep.* 10 *[To a young lad]: […] when beauty has once made its way into the eyes, it never again departs from that dwelling place. So I too have become your abode and carry you everywhere in the snare of my eyes; and if I go to the hills, you appear to me as a shepherd who even seated is capable of seducing the rocks themselves; and if I go to the sea, the sea make you emerge like Aphrodite from the depths; and if to a meadow, you excel among the very flowers. […] And truly, when I am beside a*

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This example of erotic catasterism or deification of the beloved is prevalent throughout the epistles of Philostratus. One of the most interesting cases, perhaps because of its semi-allusive nature, appears in *Ep.* 53. The sophist confides in the educated reader's complicity in order, through a Pindaric quote, to compare the beloved woman, the recipient of the letter, to the sun.

> Τὴν νεφέλην τῶν ὀφρύων ἀφαιρεῖν ἄμεινον, ὡς μηδὲν κατηφὲς εἴη σοι περὶ τὴν ὥραν […] ἢν εἴ μοι θολώσεις, "ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ κλεπτόμενον" δόξεις. εἰ δὲ ἐκ Πινδάρου ταῦτα, κἀκεῖνό που κατὰ Πίνδαρον τὸ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ πηδῶσαν εἶναι "τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μητέρα" (*Ep.* 53 [Γυναικί τινι]).[6]

The Pindaric verses underlying this passage are those of *Paean* 9.1-3 (frg. 52k). This catasterism is further enhanced by a redundancy, since to the direct quotation is added an allusive game in the second paraphrased loan, the object of greater intertextual tension.[7] Indeed, "the ray of light that shines from you is the mother of my eyes" leads the reader, already alerted, to Pindar's "ray of sun…mother of the eyes".[8]

As already indicated, one of the means for channelling this obsessive behaviour is fetishistic practice. The American Psychiatric Association's

river, it fades from sight - I do not understand how - and, in its place, I think that it is you who flows, beautiful, vast, much vaster than the sea. And when I look at the sky I think that the sun has set and is wandering about in some lower depths, and in its place shines he whom I love. And if night falls, I see only two stars, the Hesperus and you. This, as with the other translations of Philostratus appearing in this chapter, is based on the Spanish translation by Gallé Cejudo 2010.

[6] Philostr., *Ep.* 53 *[To a certain woman]: Better to brush the cloud away from your brow, so that nothing overshadows your beauty […] If you alter it for me you will seem "the loftiest star snatched away in broad daylight." If this comes from Pindar, then in some way too from Pindar comes that of the ray of light that shines from you is "the mother of my eyes."*

[7] *Paean* 9.1-3 (frg. 52k): Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, τί πολύσκοπε μήσεαι, / ὦ μᾶτερ ὀμμάτων, ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον / ἐν ἀμέρᾳ κλεπτόμενον; *Beam of the sun! O thou that seest afar, what wilt thou be devising? O mother of mine eyes! O star supreme, reft from us in the daytime!* (trans. J. Sandys). Always provided that we accept the form κλεπτόμενον (Hermann's conjecture) in the Philostratean passage rather than the βλεπόμενον of codicological tradition, thus negating the possibility that Philostratus could *mutuari et mutare* the words of Pindar.

[8] Indeed τὴν ἀκτῖνα τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ πηδῶσαν εἶναι 'τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μητέρα' regards to Pindar's Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, […] ὦ μᾶτερ ὀμμάτων.

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Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) places fetishism among the paraphilias, and it belongs (along with paedophilia, masturbation, gerontophilia, bestiality, necrophilia and vampirism) to the group of so-called *object choice disorders*. The core symptoms of this disorder include intense, recurrent sexual urges and arousing sexual fantasies involving the use of inanimate objects (fetishes) or which endow excessive importance to physical attributes that alone are capable of kindling the subject's desire, possibly to the extent of showing no interest in the sexual organs (genitals), which in severe cases may lead to an effective disregard for the person, who is considered merely as the circumstantial bearer of the fetish. Thus, transposing these medical and theoretical premises about sexual pathology to the field of literary erotica (with the necessary conceptual reinterpretation), it can be asserted that the letters of Philostratus clearly reflect a kind of erotic fetishism that encompasses the eyes, hair, facial down and feet from among the parts of the body, and roses and cosmetics from among material objects. Furthermore, other fetishist attitudes could also be added to this list, such as a fetish for particular trades, embodied in an attraction towards waitresses, whores and male prostitutes (*Ep.* 60, 19 and 38), a fetish for forbidden love, represented by the encomium to adultery (*Ep*. 30 and 31) and a letter which borders on paranecrophilia (*Ep.* 64).

The concluding lines of *Ep.* 37 could be cited as evidence of the proximity between erotic fetishism and masochism. Together with letters 18 and 36, this epistle forms part of a group in which Philostratus creates one of the most unique progymnasmatic inversions of the encomium (the aforementioned paradoxical encomium). In them, the obscure object of desire is the same: the bare foot (ἀνυπόδητος) of the beloved. But in *Ep.* 37, the fetishistic and podophilic tone of the letter reaches its zenith in the concluding masochist outburst: ὦ ἄδετοι πόδες, ὦ κάλλος ἐλεύθερον, ὦ τρισευδαίμων ἐγὼ καὶ μακάριος, ἐὰν πατήσητέ με.[9]

[9] *Ep.* 37: *Oh, feet untethered! Oh beauty released! Oh a thousand times happy and jubilant me, if you were to tread on me!*. In *Anacreontics* 22.15 s. (Brioso) we can read a variation on this type of paraphilic submission: καὶ σάνδαλον γενοίμην· μόνον ποσὶν πάτει με (*I wish I were a sandal and that you only trod on me!*).

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As regards masochism (or algolagnia), the *DSM* lists it among the *disorders of practice* (together with exhibitionism, voyeurism, oralism, analism, urethralism, frotteurism, coprophilia, telephone scatophilia or rape). The whiff of masochism permeating Philostratus's epistles was first pointed out by P.A. Rosenmeyer.[10] And indeed, the aetiological parameters and basic symptoms that define this paraphilia lead to the conclusion that Philostratus places expressions inclining towards masochistic practice into the mouths of some of his letters' protagonists, always in the context of the consequences of derangement or literary *furor amoris*. Masochism is a sexual need or arousing fantasy that involves the act (real or simulated) of being beaten, bound, gagged, and humiliated or subject to any kind of suffering. However, this does not mean that the masochistic desires such suffering (an attitude that would border on sadism), but that he is trying to highlight his submission to the point of willingly accepting any type of physical or mental abuse.

It should be borne in mind that the Philostratean collection is positively imbued with suffering due to unrequited love. The aloof attitude of most of the letters' recipients, as *detractores amoris*, also leads to a generalisation of the suffering for love theme, in turn taken to its extreme in the form of expression. Although this is not uncommon, in the hyperbolic language and context of the *exclusus amator*, there is however a small group of letters in which this expression of the assumption of suffering for love and the explicit resignation to accept any type of suffering as evidence of his love (always understood on the figurative level of erotic hyperbole), reaches the level of assimilation or verisimilitude in respect with the masochistic semantics. *Ep.* 7 and 23 have the same content, although the first is of a homoerotic nature and the second heterosexual. This is a πλούτου ψόγος (invective on wealth), or conversely may be understood as an encomium to poverty. The argument in defence of the poor lover as against the rich one concludes, in both cases, with a self-sacrificing and masochistic declaration of submission. In the first, the lover, who has already expressed his willingness to suffer slavery, now even offers to die for the beloved on the battlefield:

[10] Cf. Rosenmeyer 2006, 137: "a streak of masochism runs through the collection."

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> […] τίς δύναται παραμεῖναι νοσοῦντι; τίς συναγρυπνῆσαι; τίς συνεξελθεῖν ἐς στρατόπεδον; τίς αὐτὸν προτάξαι πεμπομένου βέλους; τίς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πεσεῖν; ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι πλουτῶ (*Ep.* 7 [Μειρακίῳ]).[11]

The lover in the second letter who has already surrendered to the orders of his *dominatrix* concludes his argument by offering to bear any kind of torture as evidence of his love, which of course, a rich lover would never do:

> […] πρόσταξον ὡς ἔοικέ σοι, καὶ πείθομαι· πλεῖν κέλευσον, ἐμβαίνω· πληγὰς ὑπομεῖναι, καρτερῶ· ῥῖψαι τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ὀκνῶ· δραμεῖν διὰ πυρός, οὐ ἀναίνομαι. τίς ταῦτα πλούσιος ποιεῖ (*Ep.* 23 [Γυναικί]). [12]

The lover in *Ep.* 59 would rather die if he cannot see nor hear his beloved, who has left for the countryside:

> […] τί οὖν μέλλω ποιεῖν, ἐὰν ἐξελάσῃς ἐς ἀγρόν, ὡς πέρυσι, καὶ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς καταλίπῃς; ἡγοῦμαι ἀναγκαῖον σαφῶς ἀπολωλέναι μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἡδὺ μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε ὁρᾶν. […] εἰ δὲ καὶ σκάπτειν δέοι, λήψομαι τὴν δίκελλαν· εἴτε κλᾶν, θεραπεύσω τὰς ἀμπέλους· εἴτε ἐπάγειν λαχάνοις ὕδωρ, ὁδοποιήσω τὸν δρόμον… (*Ep.* 59 [Γυναικί]).[13]

Whereas the lover in *Ep.* 57, unable to stop the passage of time and grant immortality to his lover, offers his own life in exchange. The emphasis of the scene leads Philostraus to break with the convention of the genre through the use of the theme — incompatible with the epistolary style — of *parousia* (presence): even while writing, he "appears" to his beloved tightening the noose around his neck:

[11] Philostr., *Ep.* 7 *[To a young lad]: […] Who is capable of staying with you when you are sick? Who to sit in vigil? Who to follow you into battle? Who to stand in the way of a flying arrow? Who to fall for you? In all that I am rich.*

[12] Philostr., *Ep.* 23 *[To a woman]: […] Order as you think best: I obey. Order me to sail, and I embark; to sustain blows, and I endure; hurl my life away, and I do not hesitate; run through fire, and I do not say no. What rich man does this?*

[13] Philostr., *Ep.* 59 *[To a woman]: […] What am I going do if you have gone to the countryside like last year and have abandoned your distractions in the city for many days? In my case I think it is a wise necessity to die when I have nothing sweet to hear nor see. […] And if digging is required, I will take up the hoe; if pruning is needed, I will take care of the vineyards; if water must be conveyed to the vegetables, I will dig the channel…*

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> […] μὴ φθονήσῃς ἐραστοῦ σεαυτῷ δοῦναι μὲν ἀθανασίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος, τὴν δὲ αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔχοντος. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς, ἕτοιμος ἀποθνήσκειν, ἂν ἐπιτάττῃς τοῦτο, νυνί. εἰ δὲ πλέκω τὸν βρόχον, ἀπάνθρωπε, οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεις (*Ep.* 57 [Μειρακίῳ]).[14]

Lastly, epistles 5 and 47, the first of a homoerotic nature and second heterosexual, have the same progymnasmatic nature: the βαρβαροφρόνων ψόγος or censure of the wild and uncouth behaviour of the beloved. Incomprehensibly, however, at the end there is an acceptation of any type of violence inflicted by the lover. This type of composite structure is characteristic of Philostratean prose. It is a priamelic construction, but negatively oriented. Compared with the traditional priamelic structure in which there is a rejection of objects, concepts or values contrasted with an unparalleled element alleged to be superior, the sender of these two letters, after enumerating the many reasons why these *detractores amoris* are not from any Greek region but belong to some barbaric race, accepts, rather than rejects his beloved perhaps with an even more intense and self-destructive passion. In the first case, the sender of *Ep.* 5 eventually offers himself as the sacrificial victim of the inhuman and barbarous rites of the young object of his desire:

> […] Σκύθης μοι δοκεῖς καὶ βάρβαρος ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀξένων θυμάτων. ἔξεστιν οὖν σοι τὸν πάτριον τιμῆσαι νόμον. Εἰ δὲ σώζειν οὐ θέλεις, λάβε τὸ ξίφος· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, μὴ φοβηθῇς· ἐπιθυμῶ κἂν τραύματος (*Ep.* 5 [Μειρακίῳ]).[15]

In the case of *Ep.* 47, the sender resorts to dramatic deception as the culmination of his masochistic impulse. After concluding that his beloved is none other than Hypermnestra, the barbarous Danaid, the rejected lover is willing to renounce the role of Lynceus, so as not to be deprived of his beloved's touch, even if this is to kill him:

[14] Philostr., *Ep.* 57 *[To a young lad]: […] Do not refuse to surrender to a lover who, although he cannot give you immortality, offers you his own life. Although you do not believe me, I am ready to die; and if you so order me, right now. If I braid the rope, inhuman, will you not remove it from me?*

[15] Philostr., *Ep.* 5 *[To a young lad]: […] You seem to me a Scythian and a barbarian of that altar and its inhospitable sacrifices. You can, therefore, honour your native customs. So, if you do not want to save me, seize up the sword. I will not ask for indulgence, fear not; I even desire a wound.*

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> […] Δαναός σοι πατὴρ καὶ χεὶρ ἐκείνη καὶ λῆμα φονικόν· ἀλλὰ κἀκείνων τις τῶν ἀνδροφόνων παρθένων νεανίσκου φιλοῦντος ἐφείσατο. οὐχ ἱκετεύω σε· οὐ δακρύω· πλήρωσον τὸ δρᾶμα, ἵνα μου ψαύσῃς κἂν ξίφει (*Ep.* 47 [Γυναικί]).[16]

These last two examples have served to highlight the stylistic and compositional complexity of Philostratus's texts, especially as regards the change in genre register. We have argued elsewhere the poetic nature of Philostratus's epistles.[17] Here, thanks to the final *aprosdóketon*, we argue that the sophist is a follower and emulator of the greatest representatives of the epigrammatic genre. Indeed, Philostratus proposes an amphibological wink that would allow him to situate himself at a higher parodic level by employing ξίφος, "the sword," and the request to be touched by it, since the sexual connotations that this term, as with other long and hard weapons (*sc.* δόρυ, ἔμβολος, κέντρον, etc.) has in Greek are well-known.[18]

From the preceding pages we can conclude that the supposed autobiographical fiction and the often noted visual trait of the erotic desire that characterize the Philostratean epistle, result in a constraint of form and content, and a special literary channeling. The letter appears as the vehicle for a peculiar form of erotic expression governed or dictated by an obsessive behaviour, manic-compulsive even, self-injurious or masochistic, always at the service of the erotic persuasion. Indeed, according to some of the etiological parameters or basic symptoms that define this paraphilia (traditionally called *algolagnia,* listed by the DSM IV among the other paraphilic disorders, is related to disorders like exhibitionism, voyeurism, oralism, analism, urethralism, frotteurism, coprophilia, telephone eschatophilia and rape), it can be concluded that the protagonists of a large number of the epistles of Philostratus border or fall into the expression of masochistic practice, but always (it must be understood) in the framework of the consequences of the literary *furor amoris.* In this paper we aim to

[16] Philostr., *Ep.* 47 *[To a woman]: […] Your father is Danaus, that, your hand and criminal intent. But one of those young women who murdered their husbands also took pity on the young man who loved her. I will not entreat you. I will not cry. Let this tragedy accomplishthe last act, so that you can touch me, although it be with a sword.*

[17] Cf. "Prosa poética o poesía en prosa: las fronteras genéricas en las *Cartas de amor*" in Gallé Cejudo 2010, 26-43.

[18] Cf. our conclusions in this regard in Gallé Cejudo 2013, 370-1.

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prove that, far from being an anecdotal or circumstantial choice of contents or the portrayal of an obscene literary amusement, this insistent rendering of these obsessive contents follows from a rhetorical manipulation process characteristic of epistolary fiction that is implemented in three phases: the generic deconstruction of the rhetorical preparatory exercise (mainly the *ethopoeia*), the isolation and atomization of the constituent and defining elements of the *progymnasma* and the *amplificatio* of any of these *topoi* or minimal units of the generic composition.

The thematic variants articulating suffering and the way in which submission is assumed are manifold. As lexical support for this notion of suffering that permeates the Philostratean collection, there is a recurrent vocabulary belonging to a series of related semantic fields. By way of appendices, a large corpus of this lexical wealth is given below. Needless to add that the following graphs do not reflect the many other contextual, stylistic and rhetorical resources that underline the core notions: rhetorical questions, interjections, anaphora, rhetorical *amplifications*, hyperbole, etc. have as much or more power to explicitly or implicitly denote the same notions of suffering, pain, violence, death, *Labilität* or misfortune.

Suffering

- dejection: κατήφεια (*Ep.* 24)
- painful: λυπηροτάτης (*Ep.* 4), ὀδυνηρόν (*Ep.* 31)
- regret: λύπης (*Ep.* 31), λυπεῖσθαι (*Ep.* 12), λυπεῖ (*Ep.* 24), λυπεῖν (*Ep.* 25), λυπεῖς (*Ep.* 36)
- sad (angry): σκυθρωπότερος (*Ep.* 24), σκυθρωπόν (*Ep.* 25)
- tears: δακρύων (*Ep.* 39 and 47)
- to be grieved: ἀνιᾶσθαι (*Ep.* 31), ἀνιᾷ (*Ep.* 36)
- to be unable to endure: δυσχεραίνειν (*Ep.* 37)
- to suffer: ἔπασχον (*Ep.* 7), παθών (*Ep.*16), πέπονθας (*Ep.* 61)
- to weep: κλαίει (*Ep.* 16), δακρύεις (*Ep.* 16), κλάεται (*Ep.* 16), δακρύῃς (*Ep.* 25), κλαῦσον (*Ep.* 29), κλάειν (*Ep.* 39)
- wretched: δυσανασχετοῦσαν (*Ep.* 63)

Pain and the wounds

- blood: αἷμα (*Ep.* 3), αἵματος (*Ep.* 4 and 36)
- blow: πληγάς (*Ep.* 23)
- castration: τομῇ (*Ep.* 15)

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– knife: μαχαιρῶν (*Ep.* 16), μαχαίραις (*Ep.* 58)
– sacrifice: θυμάτων (*Ep.* 5), ἐθυες (*Ep.* 47)
– sword: ξίφος (*Ep.* 5 and 47), ξιφῶν (*Ep.* 57)
– thorn (of roses): ἄκανθα (*Ep.* 4), ἀκάνθαις (*Ep.* 25), ἄκανθαν (*Ep.* 55)
– to be sick: νοσοῦντι (*Ep.* 7), νοσούντων (*Ep.* 18), νοσοῦντα (*Ep.* 18)
– to bite (flesh): δακεῖν (*Ep.* 18)
– to cut: ἐκτεμών (*Ep.* 16), ἐκτεμεῖν (*Ep.* 21), τέτμηνται (*Ep.* 61)
– to cut (hair): ἀποκείρεται (*Ep.* 16), ἀποκείρας (*Ep.* 16), περιέκειρεν (*Ep.* 16), ἐξέκοψας (16), περιέκειρα (*Ep.* 61), περιέκειρεν (*Ep.* 61)
– to kidnap: ἡρπαγμένην (*Ep.* 59)
– to poison: πεφαρμαγμένα (*Ep.* 21)
– to prick: ἔκνισεν (*Ep.* 4), κεντεῖν (*Ep.* 25)
– to torture: βασανίζε (*Ep.* 36)
– to tread on: πατήσητε (*Ep.* 37)
– wound: τραῦματος (*Ep.* 5 bis), τραυμάτων (*Ep.* 16), τραύματα (*Ep.* 18), τραύμασιν (*Ep.* 43), τρωθέντες (*Ep.* 43)
– wreck: ναυάγιον (*Ep.* 50)

Forms of violence: physical violence

– against will: μὴ θέλοντα (*Ep.* 50)
– atrocity: δεινά (*Ep.* 61)
– battle: μάχας (*Ep.* 7), μαχιμώτερος (*Ep.* 16), μάχη (*Ep.* 29), μάχεται (*Ep.* 34)
– battlefield: στρατόπεδον (*Ep.* 7)
– blows withstand: πληγὰς ὑπομεῖναι (*Ep.* 23)
– Discord: Ἔριδος (*Ep.* 62)
– enemy: πολεμίους (*Ep.* 3), ἐχθρός (*Ep.* 55), πολεμίων (*Ep.* 61)
– hurt: βλάβην (*Ep.* 36)
– illegaly ill-use: οὐ δικαίως (*Ep.* 39), παρανομεῖται (*Ep.* 62)
– mercenary: μισθοφόροι (*Ep.* 19), μισθοῦ στρατευόμενων (*Ep.* 38)
– prisoner: αἰχμάλωτον (*Ep.* 61)
– rival (in love): ἀντεραστάς (*Ep.* 7), ἁμίλλης (*Ep.* 9), ἀντεραστήν (*Ep.* 29)
– seizure: ἀνδρολήψιον (*Ep.* 50)
– servitude (bitter): θητείαν πικράν (*Ep.* 29)
– siege (beleaguered): πολιορκίαν (*Ep.* 11), πολιορκούμενοι (*Ep.* 56)
– to accuse: κατηγορεῖ (*Ep.* 40)
– to captivate: αἱρεῖ (*Ep.* 60)
– to compel: βιάζονται (*Ep.* 29)
– to confound: θολώσεις (*Ep.* 53)
– to draw: ἕλκεις (*Ep.* 27), σύρουσιν (*Ep.* 29), ἐπάγεται (*Ep.* 34), ἕλκεις (*Ep.* 50), σύρεις (*Ep.* 50), ἑάλω (*Ep.* 56), ἑλκομένους (*Ep.* 59), ἐφόλκιον (*Ep.* 59)

– to fear: δέδοικα (*Ep.* 13 and 46), φοβηθῇς (*Ep.* 18), φοβουμένη (*Ep.* 22), ἐφοβήθης (*Ep.* 25), φοβεῖσθαι (*Ep.* 31), φόβου (*Ep.* 34), φοβούμεθα (*Ep.* 38), φοβοῦμαι (*Ep.* 60)
– to get hold: ἁπτόμεθα (*Ep.* 19)
– to parch: ἀπώλεσεν (*Ep.* 26)
– to restrict: στενοχωρώμεθα (*Ep.* 28), κατάσχε (*Ep.* 38)
– to rival: παρευδοκιμείτω (*Ep.* 34), ἐρίζετε (*Ep.* 62)
– to rub: ἀποστεροῦ (*Ep.* 25), κλεπτόμενον (*Ep.* 53)
– to seize (acropolis, city, town): κατέλαβες (*Ep.* 12), καταλαμβάνουσιν (*Ep.* 12), ἁλίσκεται (*Ep.* 16)
– to strip off: σεσυλημένος (*Ep.* 18), στερηθείς (*Ep.* 39), σφαλείς (*Ep.* 39)
– to tie: δέου (*Ep.* 36), δεδέσθαι (*Ep.* 36)
– to trouble: ἠνώχλει (*Ep.* 46), ἐνωχλεῖτω (*Ep.* 58)
– tyranny: τυραννίς (*Ep.* 50)
– war: πεπολέμηκας (*Ep.* 16), πολέμου (*Ep.* 18), πολεμικά (*Ep.* 43), πολέμῳ (*Ep.* 62)
– xenophobia (to rid the country of foreigners): ἀξένων (*Ep.* 5), ξενίας ἁλῶναι (*Ep.* 8), ξενηλασίαν (*Ep.* 28)

Forms of violence: malignity (*κακοήθεια*)

– abominable: μιαροῦ (*Ep.* 48)
– anger (get angry): ὀργῆς (*Ep.* 24), θυμοῦ (*Ep.* 24 and 25), ὀργισθείς (*Ep.* 16), ἠγρίωτο (*Ep.* 24), ὀργίζεται (*Ep.* 24 and 25), ὀργιζομένην (*Ep.* 25)
– arrogance (becoming proud): ὑβρίζει (*Ep.* 7), ὑπερήφανε (*Ep.* 14), ὑψηλὸν ὁρᾷς (*Ep.* 38), μετέωρος βαδίζεις (*Ep.* 38), μέγα φρονεῖς (*Ep.* 64), αὐθάδη (*Ep.* 64)
– barbarous: βάρβαρος (*Ep.* 5, 47 and 61), βάρβαρον (*Ep.* 28), βάρβαροι (*Ep.* 16), βαρβάροις (*Ep.* 39)
– bold: θρασεῖα (*Ep.* 38)
– complaisant (in bad sense): εὔκολος (*Ep.* 38), χαρίζῃ (*Ep.* 6 and 38), χαρίζεσθαι (*Ep.* 44)
– cruel: θηριώδης (*Ep.* 13)
– deceitful: δολερόν (*Ep.* 22), δεδολωμένου (*Ep.* 27), δολεροῖς (*Ep.* 36), σοφισμάτων (*Ep.* 36), ἐψευσμένοις (*Ep.* 36), ἀπατηλόν (*Ep.* 36), ἀντισοφιζόμενον (*Ep.* 58)
– evil reputation: κακοδοξίας (*Ep.* 48)
– evil: κακός (*Ep.* 28)
– fastidious: ὀχληρόν (*Ep.* 37)
– fearsome: φοβερῷ (*Ep.* 3), φοβερώτερος (*Ep.* 16), φοβερά (*Ep.* 25)
– fond of strife: φιλόνεικον (*Ep.* 27)
– have not pity: οὐ ἐλεεῖν (*Ep.* 48)

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– insensible (to love): ἀτέγκτως (πρὸς ἔρωτα) (*Ep.* 5)
– Lacedaemonian (behave as): λακώνιζε (*Ep.* 28)
– low-minded: ἀγεννῶν (*Ep.* 28)
– negligent of love: ἀνεράστοις (*Ep.* 59)
– quarrelsome: δυσερί (*Ep.* 27)
– roguery: πανουργία (*Ep.* 27)
– rough: τραχεῖα (*Ep.* 25)
– savageness: ἀγροίκως ποιέω (*Ep.* 20), ἄγριον βλέπω (*Ep.* 25), ἀγρίου (*Ep.* 25), ἀγριῶντι (*Ep.* 47), ἀγριότητα (*Ep.* 64)
– shameless: ἀναίσχυντα (*Ep.* 29), ἀναίσχυντος (*Ep.* 38), ἀναιδοῦς (*Ep.* 61)
– silly: ἀνόητος (*Ep.* 61)
– to be angry: χαλεπαίνῃ (*Ep.* 25)

Forms of violence: the psychological violence

– contempt: ὀλίγωρος (*Ep.* 4), ὀλίγωρον (*Ep.* 8), ὀλιγωρίαν (*Ep.* 64)
– derision: σκωμμάτων (*Ep.* 37)
– envy: φθονερόν (δεινῶς) (*Ep.* 4), φθονεῖ (*Ep.* 15), φθονερός (*Ep.* 17), φθόνος (*Ep.* 39)
– fear (instil): φοβεῖς (*Ep.* 36)
– inhuman: ἀπάνθρωπε (*Ep.* 57), ἀπανθρωπότερον (*Ep.* 64)
– reproach: ἔγκλημα (*Ep.* 7), ἐγκλήματα (*Ep.* 37), μέμψεως (*Ep.* 38), ὀνειδίσῃς (*Ep.* 39)
– satire: κωμῳδίας (*Ep.* 37)
– to be neglectful: ἀμελήσασα (*Ep.* 56), ἀμελούμενον (*Ep.* 61)
– to censure: ἐμέμφατο (*Ep.* 37), ἀλιτήριος (*Ep.* 37), ἐλέγχει (*Ep.* 15)
– to despise (dishonour): δυσχεραίνειν (*Ep.* 27), ὑπερίδῃς (*Ep.* 28), ἠτίμησε (*Ep.* 28), καταφρονήσῃς (*Ep.* 38), ἄτιμος (*Ep.* 38)
– to hate: μισῶ (*Ep.* 29, 36), ἐμίσησας (*Ep.* 25)
– to offend: λυμαινόμενος (*Ep.* 27)
– to supplicate: ἱκετεύοντας (*Ep.* 39), ἱκετεύω (*Ep.* 47)

Forms of violence: instruments of violence

– danger: κινδυνεύω (*Ep.* 11), κινδύνῳ (*Ep.* 30), κίνδυνος (*Ep.* 31)
– fire: πῦρ (*Ep.* 4, 8, 12, 13, 19, 28 and 38), πυρί (*Ep.* 4 and 21), φλόγα (*Ep.* 11), πυρός (*Ep.* 9, 15 and 23)
– risk: σφαλερώτερον (*Ep.* 30), σφαλερώτατον (*Ep.* 31), σφαλερῷ (*Ep.* 33)
– to burn: αἴθεσθαι (*Ep.* 8), ἐμπρησμός (*Ep.* 11), καίεται (*Ep.* 11 and 12), καίεσθε (*Ep.* 12), καῖε (*Ep.* 13), ἐκαύθη (*Ep.* 21), καόμενον (*Ep.* 28), κάεται (*Ep.* 34), κατακαύσατε (*Ep.* 54)
– torches: λαμπάδες (*Ep.* 3), δᾳδοῦχοι (*Ep.* 12), δᾴδων (*Ep.* 55)

Death

– cease (die): παύσασθαι (*Ep.* 4)
– corpse: νέκρον (*Ep.* 64)
– death: φόνῳ (*Ep.* 16)
– depart from life: ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ βίου (*Ep.* 64)
– epitaph (funeral oration): ἐπιτάφιον (*Ep.* 16)
– expire: ἀπέπνευσε (*Ep.* 9)
– expiring soul: ψυχὴν ἐξιοῦσαν (*Ep.* 63)
– mourning: πενθοῦσα (*Ep.* 16), πενθεῖ (*Ep.* 16)
– murderer: ἀνδροφόνε (*Ep.* 16), ἀνδροφόνων (*Ep.* 47)
– murderous: φονικόν (*Ep.* 47)
– offer the own life: αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔχοντος (*Ep.* 57)
– plait the noose (hanging): πλέκω τὸν βρόχον (*Ep.* 57)
– reliquiae: λείψανα (*Ep.* 61)
– the Styx: Στυγός (*Ep.* 14)
– throw off the life: ῥῖψαι τὴν ψυχήν (*Ep.* 23)
– to be drowned (in the eyes): καταδύεται (*Ep.* 50)
– to be quenched: ἀμαυρά (*Ep.* 9), σβέννυται (*Ep.* 15)
– to corrupt: σαπῆναι (*Ep.* 64)
– to die: ἀπώλετο (*Ep.* 9), ἀποθνήσκειν (*Ep.* 57), ἀπολωλέναι (*Ep.* 59), τέθνηκε (*Ep.* 64)
– to fall (die): πεσεῖν (*Ep.* 7), ἐπίπτει (*Ep.* 9), πεσόν (*Ep.* 16), καταπεσών (*Ep.* 16), πίπτουσιν (*Ep.* 21)
– to lie (dead): κεῖνται (*Ep.* 61)

The ephemeral and unstable

– depart of the springtime: τὸ ἐὰρ ἀπελθεῖν (*Ep.* 13)
– ephemeral: ὠκυμόρον (*Ep.* 4), ὠκυμόρου (*Ep.* 13), ὠκύμορα (*Ep.* 21), βραχείας (*Ep.* 29), ἐφημέρου (*Ep.* 29), βραχύ (*Ep.* 51), ἐπιδημίᾳ (*Ep.* 55)
– exile: ἐπιδημίαι (*Ep.* 39), φυγάδα (*Ep.* 28 and 39)
– fickle: στρεφόμενοι (*Ep.* 14)
– fleeting: ἐπ᾽ἀπιοῦσι (*Ep.* 17), βραχείας (*Ep.* 29)
– foreigner: ξένος (*Ep.* 8, 28), ξένη (*Ep.* 8), ξένοι (*Ep.* 8), ξένα (*Ep.* 8), ξένον (*Ep.* 8, 28), ξένῳ (*Ep.* 28), ξένων (*Ep.* 28), ξένοις (*Ep.* 8), ξενίας (*Ep.* 8),
– haste: σπουδήν (*Ep.* 1), τῷ τάχει (*Ep.* 55), σπεύδῃ (*Ep.* 38)
– hurried: ἐπειγομένους (*Ep.* 32)
– just now: νῦν δή (*Ep.* 25)
– lasts one day: μιᾶς ἡμέρας (*Ep.* 10)

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- quick: ταχύ (*Ep.* 4), εὐθύς (*Ep.* 8 and 9), ταχέως (*Ep.* 12), ὀξεῖς (*Ep.* 14), ταχέως (*Ep.* 14, 34 and 38), εὐθέως (*Ep.* 7)
- to carry away the zenith: ἀπάγει τὴν ἀκμήν (*Ep.* 17)
- to cease to exist soon: μετὰ μικρὸν οὐκ ὄντος (*Ep.* 21)
- to efface the bloom: ἀφανίζει τὴν ὥραν (*Ep.* 17)
- to emigrate: μετοικούντων (*Ep.* 10), ἀπανάστασιν (*Ep.* 11), μεταβολαῖς (*Ep.* 28), μετοικοῦντα (*Ep.* 39), ἔφευγε (*Ep.* 8, 39), φεύγει (*Ep.* 39), φυγαί (*Ep.* 39), φεύγουσαν (*Ep.* 39)
- to fade: ἀπανθεῖν (*Ep.* 64)
- to outrun: παρατρέχοντας (*Ep.* 32)
- to pass the prime of youth: τὸ ὀξὺ τῆς ὥρας παρελήλυθεν (*Ep.* 15)
- to vanish: ἠφανίσται (*Ep.* 10)
- to whiter: μαρανθῇ (*Ep.* 2), ἐμαράνθη (*Ep.* 9), μαρανθῆναι (*Ep.* 21), μαραίνεται (*Ep.* 55)
- wandering: ἀλωμένους (*Ep.* 39)

Misfortune and failure

- defect: ἐλλιπές (*Ep.* 22 and 36), ἐνδεοῦς (*Ep.* 22)
- failure: μὴ τυγχάνων (*Ep.* 31), διαμαρτάνων (*Ep.* 48)
- misadventure: κακοπραγίᾳ (*Ep.* 48)
- misfortune: τύχης (τοιαύτης) (*Ep.* 18)
- to be in distress: κακῶς πράττοντα (*Ep.* 39)
- to be surpassed: παρευδοκιμούμενα (*Ep.* 9)
- to fail: ἡμαρτήθη (*Ep.* 36)
- unfortunate: δυστυχής (*Ep.* 48)
- unlucky: ἀλιτήριοι (*Ep.* 15)

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ANOTHER MEDEA?
VIOLENCE AND PROCNE'S FAMILY IN OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES* 6

Nikoletta MANIOTI

The Colchian princess Medea and the Athenian princess Procne are often juxtaposed in Latin poetry as examples of women who took revenge on their husbands by killing their own children.[1] Their balanced presentation in such passages, however, is in stark contrast to their appearance in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the poet spends no more than 4 lines on Medea's infanticide in Book 7, while assigning almost 90 lines to Procne's in Book 6.[2] Though Otis briefly highlights a difference in motivation between the two mothers when he argues that Ovid did not wish to repeat in his Medea episode "a motif (the child-murder) almost identical with that of the preceding Tereus-Procne,"[3] more recent studies do not reflect on motivation,[4] and even advance the opposite view. For example, Larmour's influential discussion of myth contamination highlights the similarities in the two tales, but disagrees with Otis, arguing that Procne's motive is the same as Medea's.[5] This paper picks up Otis' attribution of Procne's motive to her love for Philomela, and consequent outrage at what Tereus did to her,[6] in order to argue that, *pace* Larmour, the

[1] E.g. Ov. *Am*. 2.14.29-32; *Trist*. 2.1.387-90; ps-Virg. *Culex* 249-53; Stat. *Silu*. 2.1.140-2.

[2] Medea: *Met*. 7.1-424 (infanticide: 394-7); Procne: 6.424-674 (infanticide: 587-674).

[3] Otis [2]1970, 215.

[4] Thus Ciappi 1990, 450-55; Newlands 1997, 192-5; as Curley 2003, 187 puts it, "many of the Euripidean elements in [*Met*. 7.394-7] are to be found in the Tereus narrative, which provided the poet with the opportunity to tell the most famous Medea story without actually telling it. From a sequential perspective, a tragic tale of infanticide committed by a woman in a foreign land in retaliation against her husband is told in book 6; there is no need for another in book 7."

[5] Larmour 1990, 132-3.

[6] Otis [2]1970, 216: "Ovid's emphasis is wholly on the cruel, disruptive libido of Tereus and on Procne's affection for her sister. It is not sexual jealousy but

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characterisation of the two sisters throughout the episode makes it clear that, although both Medea and Procne resort to the same type of violence, in the case of Procne the dilemma she faces concerns not erotic jealousy but the importance of family bonds.

Let us first examine in detail the similarities between the two myths, by juxtaposing Ovid's Procne tale to Euripides' play as the most extensive account concerning Medea's infanticide. The two women commit the same act of violence to take revenge on their husbands, both of whom are foreign to their wives, and reject them for younger women: Thracian Tereus falls in love with Philomela, a *uirgo* (Ov. *Met*. 6.455, 524) who is accompanied by a nurse (462); Greek Jason falls in love with Creusa who is twice described as "young" (νέα) by a bitter Medea (Eur. *Med*. 967, 970). Moreover, both Jason and Tereus keep this relationship secret from their wives. Jason arranges to marry Creusa without telling Medea, as she herself complains: χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με / γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῇ φίλων ("if indeed you were not wicked, you should have persuaded me and then have this marriage, not do it secretly from those who love you," 586-7). Tereus "drags [Philomela] into a tall stable, hidden in ancient woods, and he shuts her in … there" (*in stabula alta trahit, siluis obscura uetustis, / atque ibi […] includit*, Ov. *Met*. 6.521-4), and later lies to Procne that her sister is dead (564-5). Medea also kills her rival Creusa and her father Creon; Procne, however, does not harm Philomela, even though both Philomela and the reader who has recognised the pattern established by the myth of Medea expect her to.

Indeed, immediately after her rape, Philomela tells Tereus that she is "due hostile punishment" as she was "made her own sister's rival" (*paelex ego facta sororis, / … hostis mihi debita poena*,[7] 537-8). Her

resentment of Tereus' brutal assault on Philomela that makes Procne avenge herself by the child-murder. In the Medea story the motivation is the other way around: she is the 'woman scorned' […]. It is not what Jason has done to another woman, but what he has done to her which motivates her vengeance."

[7] *Procne* has been proposed as an emendation for the MSS *poena* (but all emendations are summarily dismissed by Anderson in his 1977 edition). In his 1972 commentary ad 6.537-8 he argues for the preservation of *poena*, in order to avoid redundancy "for any *paelex* is automatically the wife's *hostis*." As it stands, it means that Philomela deserves the punishment of an enemy, which effectively amounts to the same idea as the one conveyed by the phrase *hostis mihi debita Procne*; the

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feelings of guilt and fears of punishment are evident also when she is rescued by Procne and led into the palace: Philomela "does not bear to lift her eyes" to look at her sister but "fixes her gaze to the ground," aware of being, again, "her own sister's rival" (*non attollere contra / sustinet haec oculos, paelex sibi uisa sororis / deiectoque in humum uultu*, 605-7). Thus Philomela sees herself as playing the role of Creusa, with Tereus a "double husband" (*geminus coniunx*, 538) who, like Jason, has taken a second woman to his bed, according to Medea's accusations (καινὰ δ' ἐκτήσω λέχη, Eur. *Med*. 489 "you have obtained a new marriage-bed"). Looking back to her departure from Athens, the reader may find a further confirmation of Philomela's similarity to Creusa. Philomela's father, Pandion, entrusts her to Tereus first by using a formula of betrothal (*hanc ego … do*, Ov. *Met*. 6.496-8),[8] and then, in a manner highly evocative of marriage, "when he asked for their two right hands as a pledge of faith, they gave them to him and he joined them together" (*utque fide pignus dextras utriusque poposcit / inter seque datas iunxit*, 506-7). Creon was also the one to hold the marriage ceremony between his daughter and Jason, as Medea points out to him: ἐξέδου κόρην / ὅτῳ σε θυμὸς ἦγεν ("you gave your daughter in marriage to the man to whom your heart led you," Eur. *Med*. 309-10).

But even if the Medea myth is put aside for a moment, a couple of epic models for this episode also offer a reason to expect Procne to feel envy against Philomela. To a certain extent Procne and Philomela can be seen as based on two earlier epic sisters, Dido and Anna in *Aeneid* 4: the setting is certainly the same, with two sisters and a man from abroad who is openly involved with one of them (perhaps the elder). When Dido asks Anna to mediate between her and Aeneas, she points out that Anna enjoys a special relationship with him: *solam nam perfidus ille / te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; / sola uiri mollis aditus et tempora noras* ("for only you that faithless man respects, he even entrusts you with his secret feelings; only you know the soft approach to the man and the right time for it," Verg. *Aen*. 4.421-3). Dido's words seem tinged with more than a hint of jealousy,[9] and

interchangeability of *poena* and *Procne* is made clear in Procne's later description *poenaque in imagine tota est* (*Met*. 6.586).

[8] Anderson 1972 ad loc.

[9] See e.g. Barrett (1970) 24.

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even though she is not married to Aeneas, this is how she conceives of the nature of their relationship.[10]

A much clearer parallel, however, can be found within the Ovidian poem itself: the story of Aglauros and Herse in Book 2 is similar to this episode thematically as well as verbally / stylistically. Both pairs of sisters are Athenian princesses, and the same triangle we encountered in Virgil is reproduced here with Mercury taking the place of the man from abroad. Moreover, the two Ovidian episodes are brought closer by the prominence of visual terms and the use of two similes, one highlighting Herse's and Philomela's near-divine beauty,[11] and another describing Mercury's and Tereus' passion by means of fire imagery.[12] Following the prompt to read the two episodes together, we could expect Procne, whom Tereus marries first, to be envious of her sister Philomela, just as Aglauros, whom Mercury approaches first, is infected with envy of her sister Herse.

Ovid's next clue for the attentive reader (or rather his next trap) is the use by Philomela of the phrase "double husband" to describe Tereus. This translation of *geminus coniunx* (*Met*. 6.538) would imply

[10] Cf. also Verg. *Aen*. 4.172 *coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam* ("she calls it a marriage, with that name she covered up her guilt").

[11] Cf. *quanto splendidior quam cetera sidera fulget / Lucifer, et quanto quam Lucifer aurea Phoebe, / tanto uirginibus praestantior omnibus Herse / ibat eratque decus pompae comitumque suarum*, Ov. *Met*. 2.722-5 ("as much brighter Lucifer shines than the other stars, and as much more golden Phoebe than Lucifer, so much more eminently than all the maidens Herse was going, and she was the glory of the procession and of her own companions"), and *ecce uenit magno diues Philomela paratu, / diuitior forma; quales audire solemus / naidas et dryadas mediis incedere siluis, / si modo des illis cultus similesque paratus*, 6.451-4 ("behold, Philomela comes, rich in great ornament, richer in beauty; such as we are used to hear that the Naiads and the Dryads walk in the middle of the forests, provided that you give them similar clothes and ornaments"); the simile goes back to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6 via — crucially — Dido in *Aeneid* 4 and Medea in *Argonautica* 3.

[12] Cf. *non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum / funda iacit: uolat illud et incandescit eundo / et, quos non habuit, sub nubibus inuenit ignes*, Ov. *Met*. 2.727-9 ("not differently did [Mercury] catch fire, than when a Balearic sling throws a bullet; it flies and as it goes it becomes red-hot and acquires heat under the clouds that it did not have before"), and *non secus exarsit conspecta uirgine Tereus, / quam si quis canis ignem supponat aristis / aut frondem positasque cremet faenilibus herbas*, 6.455-7 ("not differently did Tereus catch fire when he saw the maiden, than if someone lights up white corn from underneath or burns foliage and grasses stored up in barns").

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that Tereus was a "husband of two women," i.e. both Procne and Philomela.[13] Ovid would then point to variants of the myth where Tereus tricks Pandion into giving him Philomela in marriage by telling him that Procne is dead.[14] But there is another way to understand the phrase, and that is to take *geminus* in its literal meaning of "twin," thus activating another variant, in fact, the earliest attested account of the myth where, however, the names of the protagonists are different. This is the version of Homer's *Odyssey*, in which Penelope talks about the grief of the nightingale and reveals that in its human form as Aedon she accidentally killed her son Itylus (Hom. *Od*. 19.518-23). The scholiast supplies the other names and more information, drawing on 5th century BC historian Pherecydes' account, according to which the murder was motivated by Aedon's envy of her sister-in-law Niobe, who had married her husband's twin brother; she meant to kill Niobe's child but accidentally killed her own son (*Scholia uetera* in Hom. *Od*. 19.518).[15]

A final pointer in the direction of envy, which would encourage the viewing of the episode as a reworking of the Medea myth, is the presence of this emotion in what may be Ovid's main model, Sophocles' *Tereus*. Confirmation is provided not by the few surviving fragments of the text, but by its hypothesis which mentions Procne as "maddened by excessive jealousy when she found out the truth" (ἐπιγνοῦσα δὲ ἡ Πρόκνη τὴν ἀλή/θειαν ζηλοτυπ[ίᾳ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ / οἰστρηθεῖσα, *P. Oxy*. 3013, ll. 24-6). Any reader aware of tradition and receptive to Ovid's clues, not least the clearest one in Philomela's words, would expect Procne to be characterised by envy of her sister, just like Medea was envious of Creusa.

[13] As *TLL* 6.2.1744.8-9 understands it too: "6, 538 tu -us coniunx (*de Tereo tamquam et Philomelae coniuge*)".

[14] E.g. ps-Apoll. *Bibl*. 3.193-5, Hyg. *Fab*. 45.

[15] See esp. Ἴτυλον δὲ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀηδὼν ἀποκτείνει διὰ νυκτὸς, δοκοῦσα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφίονος παῖδα, ζηλοῦσα τὴν τοῦ προειρημένου γυναῖκα, ὅτι ταύτῃ μὲν ἦσαν ἓξ παῖδες, αὐτῇ δὲ δύο. ἐφορμᾷ δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Ζεὺς ποινήν· ἡ δὲ εὔχεται ὄρνις γενέσθαι, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀηδόνα. θρηνεῖ δὲ ἀεί ποτε τὸν Ἴτυλον, ὥς φησι Φερεκύδης ("His mother Aedon [= "Nightingale"] kills Itylus during the night, believing him to be the son of Amphion, as she was jealous of the latter's wife, who had six children while she herself had two. Zeus stirs up a punishment against her; she wishes to become a bird, and Zeus makes her into a nightingale. She mourns Itylus forever, as Pherecydes says"). It is perhaps not coincidental that the story of Procne in *Met*. 6 follows very soon after the story of Amphion and Niobe.

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Further corroboration of this thesis may be sought in the presence of a motif closely linked to envy in the Medea myth, namely violent revenge. At first glance there is a difference between Medea's animosity against three characters in Euripides' play (Creon, Creusa and Jason) as opposed to Procne's single enemy, Tereus. But this can be explained as creative imitation on Ovid's part: he turns the one-against-three structure of the Euripidean plot into a succession of three levels of revenge either using or punishing violence. First, Philomela threatens Tereus that she will exact her revenge by revealing she was raped by him; second, Tereus cuts Philomela's tongue as an answer to her threats; finally, Procne takes revenge on Tereus by killing Itys and feeding him to his father. But what kind of revenge is this, and why is Philomela not punished, if all Ovid does is rework the Medea myth?

The answer to both questions lies in the nature of the relationship between Procne and Philomela. This is revealed by Procne herself in her two consecutive monologues. Initially she ponders on the harm she would inflict on Tereus: she would either set the palace on fire and throw him in it (Ov. *Met*. 6.614-5), "or tear away with a sword his tongue and his eyes and his genitals that snatched away [Philomela's] innocence" (*aut linguam atque oculos et quae tibi membra pudorem / abstulerunt ferro rapiam*, 616-7). Though the rape is clearly prominent here in the direct reference to Tereus' eyes and genitalia, as well as being evoked indirectly through the highly multivalent verb *rapio*, the other harm done to Philomela, namely, the cutting of her tongue, is also evoked both in the reference to the organ itself and in the repetition of the same verb that described the act of Philomela's mutilation, again emphatically placed at the beginning of the line and immediately followed by the weapon used to inflict the violence (*abstulit ense*, 557). Wavering in this earlier monologue, Procne's mind settles on Philomela's mutilation when Itys enters the room and she utters her second speech: *inque uicem spectans ambos 'cur admouet' inquit / 'alter blanditias, rapta silet altera lingua?*[16] */ quam uocat hic*

[16] Until we analyse the line, *rapta* potentially applies to Philomela and evokes her rape; once we do, it becomes clear that it describes her tongue, and retrospectively provides the key for understanding the meaning of *rapio* in the earlier monologue: not "rape" but "tear off," repeating the violent mutilation of an organ rather than assigning a male penetrating role to Procne in her revenge.

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matrem, cur non uocat illa sororem?' ("and looking at both of them in turn she says 'Why does one use flatteries while the other is silent with her tongue torn off? Why does she not call sister the woman whom he calls mother?" 631-3). This is the crime that demands Procne's punishment, no longer (or not so much) sexual violence as mutilation and silencing. If there was a place for envy in the context of the rape, there is no longer such place here, and consequently no punishment for the woman who is cast up now in the role of the rival, not only in her own eyes, but also in the readers' who have picked up Ovid's false clues.

Still Procne could be seen as another Medea for using infanticide as the means by which to exact revenge on her husband; but there are crucial differences. Nowhere does Procne indicate that by killing Itys she is hurting Tereus, or severing their bond in the most irrevocable way, as did Medea to justify her action in Euripides.[17] Procne punishes Tereus for the violence he committed against her sister, and she is able to overcome her maternal instinct much more easily than Medea because there is another bond much more important for Procne, that between her and her sister Philomela.

As was mentioned above, Procne and Philomela are to some extent based on an earlier epic sister pair, namely, the Virgilian Dido and Anna. In examining the latter pair's representation as unanimous sisters, Roberta Strati advanced a model of unanimity characterised by deep affection and identification in feelings, emotions, and thoughts, all of which create a bond that could even go beyond death.[18] The following analysis of the episode of Procne and Philomela shows how this model can also apply to them.

Procne and Philomela share the same desire to see each other at the beginning of the episode; Procne says to Tereus that it would be "the equivalent of a great gift if [she] saw [her] sister" (*magni mihi muneris instar / germanam uidisse*, 443-4), and "because Philomela desires the same thing … she asks … that she may go see her sister" (*quid quod idem Philomela cupit … / … ut eat uisura sororem / …*

[17] See Eur. *Med.* 817, 1360, 1370.

[18] Strati 2002, 484: "l'idea di un intimo nodo affettivo, fatto di profonde affinità psichiche, intellettuali, sentimentali, morali, emotive, che coinvolgono fino alle radici stesse della vita, un legame che dovrebbe essere insidiato solo dalla morte e che può giungere a confrontarsi audacemente con essa."

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petit, 475-7). In her moment of distress, Philomela cries out to her father, sister, and the gods (*frustra clamato saepe parente, / saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia diuis*, 525-6), and the importance of her sister in this sequence is emphasised by the possessive adjective which accompanies it, and by the alliteration of *s-* in the first half of line 526. Philomela's enforced pain and silence is mirrored in her sister's empathetic reaction to the message revealing her plight: Procne "is silent; grief restrains her mouth" (*silet; dolor ora repressit*, 653). Finally, as they exact their vengeance, "Procne does not want to disguise her cruel joy" (*dissimilare nequit crudelia gaudia Procne*, 653), and "at no other time would [Philomela] rather be able to speak and declare her joy with deserving words" (*nec tempore maluit ullo / posse loqui et meritis testari gaudia dictis*, 659-60). This emphasis on emotional identification is further stressed by the position of *gaudia* on the fifth foot of each line.

The sisters' actions are indicative of shared intentions, thoughts and feelings. They both use flattery towards men to achieve their purpose of seeing each other, Procne towards her husband (*blandita uiro*, 440), Philomela towards their father Pandion (*patriosque lacertis / blanda tenens umeros*, 475-6). Philomela's similarity to a mourner after the rape (*lugenti similis*, 532) is evoked in Procne's reaction to the false news of her sister's death (*luget non sic lugendae fata sororis*, "she mourns the fate of her sister who ought not to be mourned in such a way," 570), and the narrator makes sure to repeat the verb in polyptoton. Their disregard of death is also comparable, especially as their ulterior motive is to show solidarity to one another. Philomela threatens to reveal the rape (544-8), and then sends a woven message to Procne (576-80) without ever fearing the risks these actions pose to her life; she even bares her throat to Tereus when he unsheathes his sword upon hearing her threats (553-4). For her part, Procne disguises herself as a Bacchant to go in the middle of the night, rescue her sister, and bring her back to the palace (587-600).

Complementing each other's actions offers another indication of their unanimity: when they murder Itys, "Procne strikes [him] with a sword" (*ense ferit Procne*, 641), "Philomela cuts [his] throat with a knife" (*iugulum ferro Philomela resoluit*, 643), and they both "tear apart [his] limbs" (*membra / dilaniant*, 644-5). In the next scene, they join forces to reveal to Tereus the content of his dinner, with Procne

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telling him "You have inside you the one you seek" (*'intus habes, quem poscis'*, 655), while Philomela "with her hair streaming from the infernal slaughter, … leapt forth and threw Itys' bloodied head in his father's face" (*sparsis furiali caede capillis, / prosiluit Ityosque caput … cruentum / misit in ora patris*, 657-9). Finally, to this identification on various levels, one should add the extensive use of kinship terms in their speeches and throughout the episode,[19] which is indicative of their deep affection for one another.

This characterisation of Procne and Philomela is confirmed and irrevocably fixed at the end of the episode. The narrator describes how all three surviving protagonists turned into birds; he does not, however, reveal which heroine becomes the nightingale and which becomes the swallow, but merely notes "one of them seeks the woods, the other goes under the roof" (*quarum petit altera siluas, / altera tecta subit*, 668-9). Whereas in other works Ovid is clear about which bird each heroine transforms into,[20] here the lack of precision has a significant effect: with a nudge to all possible variations of the myth, it also allows the two sisters to be forever interchangeable, taking their unanimity to a more literal level.

But what about Procne's relationship to Itys? One of the arguments in favour of Procne's assimilation to Medea is her apostrophe to Itys *'a! quam / es similis patri!'* ("Ah, how much you resemble your father!" 622). Larmour interprets this as giving Procne a psychological reason to kill Itys: he resembles Tereus so much that by killing her son she would feel she is killing her husband, which is what Medea also feels according to her own letter to Jason in Ovid's *Heroides* (*et nimium similes tibi sunt*, "and they [i.e. the children] resemble you too much," *Her*. 12.191).[21] But there is another way to understand these words which, after all, give expression to a motif often found in epic where a heroine talks of an actual or imaginary son who

[19] Use of kinship terms (in various cases): in Procne's speeches Ov. *Met*. 6.441, 442, 633 (*soror*), 444, 613 (*germana*); in Philomela's speech 535, 537 (*soror*); in the rest of the episode 476, 502, 526, 570, 604, 606, 610, 630 (*soror*); 523, 564, 582, 598 (*germana*).

[20] The various passages are listed in Ciappi 1998, 145, n. 12. He argues that Ovid adopts the version in which Procne becomes the swallow and Philomela the nightingale (147-8).

[21] Larmour 1990, 133.

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resembles his father.[22] This relationship between father and son is here extended to cover daughters too: just as Itys is incontestably "the son of Tereus," the phrase "daughter(s) of Pandion" is used four times in the episode for Procne and Philomela (*Met*. 6.436, 520, 634, 666), and crucially it is by this designation that Procne apostrophises herself at the end of her speech: *cui sis nupta, uide, Pandione nata, marito! / degeneras!* ("Look to what husband you are married, daughter of Pandion! You have become degenerate!" 634-5). If she pities Itys, she will betray her relationship to her father, as the verb she chooses voices her preference for her own *genus*. Thus, her natal family, of which Philomela forms part and, moreover, shares with Procne the same strong bond with their father Pandion, is the one that matters more than any bonds created by marriage, including that to her only child, Itys.[23] Unlike Medea, Procne's dilemma is aided by her relationship to the other woman in the triangle: Procne punishes her husband for the crime committed against her sister, and her motivation is not envy but sisterly unanimity, which justifies the infanticide in her mind.

To conclude, Procne's violence against a member of her family (Itys) punishes Tereus' violence against another member of her family (Philomela). Unlike Medea, she is not motivated by jealousy but by sisterly devotion and unanimity. Procne's bond to her natal family is stronger than that to the family she acquires through marriage to Tereus, and on that basis, if a parallel were sought among tragic heroines, it would not be Medea but Electra. The daughter of Clytemnestra turns against her mother, thus violating the same bond as Procne, that between mother and child. Electra can overcome her filial affection towards Clytemnestra because the latter has willingly removed herself from her family by entering a new marriage with Aegisthus; for Electra, there is no longer a natal bond between the two.[24] Like Procne who overcomes her feelings for Itys because Tereus

[22] E.g. Dido: *si quis mihi paruulus aula / luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret*, Verg. *Aen*. 4.328-9 "if only a small Aeneas was playing in my courtyard, who would still carry your likeness in his face"; Argia: *testisque dolorum / natus erit, paruoque torum Polynice fouebo*, Stat. *Theb*. 12.347-8 "the witness of my grief will be our son, and I will keep the marriage bed warm with a small Polynices."

[23] Visser 1986, 158, mentions Procne and Althaea as two examples of women sacrificing their maternal affection for the sake of their natal families.

[24] Aeschylus' Electra points out that Clytemnestra sold her children "in exchange" for Aegisthus (πεπραμένοι γὰρ νῦν γέ πως ἀλώμεθα / πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης, ἄνδρα δ'

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turns against her natal family, Electra goes on to punish Clytemnestra for her violence against the only two people whom Electra considers her own natal family, her father Agamemnon whom Clytemnestra murdered, and her brother Orestes whom she exiled.[25] Even though Electra's characterisation in all tragedians relies heavily on her piety as Agamemnon's daughter,[26] there is another detail that brings her close to Procne. As Electra's words to Orestes reveal (ὦ φίλτατ', ὦ ποθεινὸν ἥδιστόν τ' ἔχων / τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς ὄνομα καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν, Eur. *Or*. 1045-6 "Oh dearest, you who have the desired and sweetest name of your sister and one soul with her"), the love for her brother not only matches in strength and intensity that of Procne for her sister,[27] but it is also explicitly characterized by unanimity, the same quality that, as I hope to have shown in this paper, Ovid attributes to his Athenian princesses in *Metamorphoses* 6.

ἀντηλλάξατο / Αἴγισθον, *Choeph*. 132-4 "for we have been banished, sold by the woman who gave us birth, and she took in exchange a husband, Aegisthus"), and that her hatred against them deprives her of the right to be called mother (ἐμὴ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐδαμῶς ἐπώνυμον / φρόνημα παισὶ δύσθεον πεπαμένη, 190-91 "my mother, possessing a godless mind against her children in no way appropriate to her name"). A similar sentiment is expressed by Euripides' heroine, namely that the children born of Clytemnestra's new marriage to Aegisthus have replaced Electra and Orestes (ἡ γὰρ πανώλης Τυνδαρίς, μήτηρ ἐμή, / ἐξέβαλέ μ' οἴκων, χάριτα τιθεμένη πόσει: / τεκοῦσα δ' ἄλλους παῖδας Αἰγίσθῳ πάρα / πάρεργ' Ὀρέστην κἀμὲ ποιεῖται δόμων, *El*. 60-63 "for the all-destructive daughter of Tyndareos, my mother, threw me out of the palace, doing her husband a favour; and bearing other children to Aegisthus, she treats Orestes and me as second-rate in her household"). Electra even generalises, based on her bitter experience with Clytemnestra, that "women love their husbands, not their children" (γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, ὦ ξέν', οὐ παίδων φίλαι, 265).

[25] As Euripides' heroine puts it, "what is dearer to me that they?" (τί γάρ μοι τῶνδέ γ' ἐστὶ φίλτερον; *El*. 243).

[26] E.g. Electra in all three tragedians mourns her dead father as soon as she starts speaking on stage (Aesch. *Choeph*. 87-8, Soph. *El*. 92-5; Eur. *El*. 59). Interestingly, in the following lines Sophocles' Electra compares herself in her constant mourning to "the nightingale, murderer of her child" (τεκνολέτειρ' ὥς τις ἀηδὼν, 107), and identifies with the "moaning bird, distraught with grief, that incessantly laments for Itys, Itys" (ἀλλ' ἐμέ γ' ἁ στονόεσσ' ἄραρεν φρένας, / ἃ Ἴτυν, αἰὲν Ἴτυν ὀλοφύρεται, / ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα, 146-9), i.e. with Procne.

[27] Electra's feelings for Orestes are also prominent in Aeschylus, where she calls him her "most beloved of mortals" (μοι τοῦ φιλτάτου / βροτῶν Ὀρέστου, *Choeph*. 193-4), and her "delightful eyes" (ὦ τερπνὸν ὄμμα, 238), explaining that he is the recipient of her love not only as her brother, but also as her father (now dead), her mother (despised), and her sister Iphigenia (also dead) (238-44).

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VIOLENCE AGAINST SLAVES AS AN ELEMENT OF THEATRE IN PLAUTUS

Marc Mayer i Olivé

If, as has been repeatedly mentioned, René Pichon saw the slave as "le roi de la comédie Plautine",[1] it is equally clear that, in a society such as the Roman one, the author had to introduce a foil that would make his approach "politically acceptable". As always when the collection of comedies that make up the *Corpus Plautinum* is studied, we have to turn to Eduard Fraenkel's seminal study, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, the most recent Italian edition of which was expanded and glossed with great care by the author himself.[2]

Fraenkel offers a new point of view on the predominance of the role of the slave in Plautus, paralleling it with the military references that the attitude of the successful intriguing slave echoes in his monologues. This undoubtedly represents a blatant satire on the dominant Roman class and its clearly stereotyped forms of expression, a way of producing ironical mirth that was subsequently to be adopted by the Roman genre *par excellence*: satire.

With great skill, E. Fraenkel emphasised some of the elements imitating the official expression of victory and triumph or even comments affecting institutional matters or public figures[3] uttered by slaves or parasites, which must have produced an effect among his public that could hardly be defined as solely comic. This was undoubtedly a dangerous approach, or at least a politically perilous one, which the author and the *grex* that performed his work could take advantage of. They could emerge from the venture successfully if the action was balanced by placing it in a context in which such

[1] Pichon 1924[9], 61.

[2] Fraenkel 1960, see especially the chapter entitled "Il predominio della parte dello schiavo", 223-241, as one of the elements comprising Plautus' originality. Not all scholars agree with this opinion and some of them envisage it as originating from Greek comedy; cf. Harsh 1955, 135 –142.

[3] Fraenkel 1960, 223-232. Here we should remember, for example, *Mostellaria* 1019-1024. Cf., on the subject of institutions, Gruen 2001, 83-94.

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superbia could somehow be set off against a background that offered a possibility of contrast which might imply to his audience that that was where the comparison ended and that there was no intention of taking the effect any further. Repetition of this literary device demonstrates that it was well accepted by the audience, which undoubtedly led Plautus,[4] who frequently reused ideas from his own works, to repeat it. The same happened with sometimes inopportune mythological references, word-play or proverbs which, in contrast, bring one closer to reality.[5] The heroic tone, pompous as in the meaning of *pompa*, is a technique that seems to have been infallible considering the frequency with which it is used before Plautus' public.[6] Much has been conjectured on this audience with relatively limited results, in view of our lack of information. It has even been supposed that the sad, humdrum nature of the everyday life of the majority was overcome through the liberating elements contained in Plautine comedy, which makes use of anachronism, through the application of Greek models, to provide vivid allusions to the contemporary state of affairs. Such an approach succeeds in converting those living on the fringes of society into likeable figures, as Romanticism would do much later, thus providing continuity to a literary device. Something similar can be said of the surprising yet descriptive names of Plautus' characters, which must have been an important source of information for his audiences, as well as, of course, a cause of merriment from the moment when they appeared on the stage.[7]

[4] Cf., for example, Paratore 1975, 29-71. Despite the existence of biographies, the personality of Plautus continues to hide itself from us; see, for example, Segal 2001a, XIX, where he states that Plautus might be a stage name.

[5] Cf. Beede 1949, 357–362; Fontaine 2010, 158-161 and chapter 5 "Double Entendre", 201-247. The existence of literary parody is evident in Plautus although we do not know to what extent the audience could appreciate it.

[6] See, for example, in general terms Beacham, 1991, 131-153; Handley 1975, 117-133. Sexuality plays an important role in the theatrical background of Plautus, as, even though the subject is not specifically dealt with, is made clear in Richlin 1992, 273, indicating that violence and punishment also have a well-defined sexual value.

[7] Leo1912², 108 note 7 on slaves' names, even including otherwise unknown names, at times shameful or descriptive within the general tone of this category, 106-110. In addition, López López 1991 and Llarena 1994.

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It is obvious that his comedies are appropriate for his public, and we should surely identify the key to Plautus' success, and that of the characters that he defines and employs in his works, as lying in his capacity for adaptation.[8] In this case, the role of the slaves was surely an exceptional means for expressing topical matters and current affairs, and thus one of the elements which the original nature of Plautus' works can be based upon.[9] Regarding this key point, we should remember the generally accepted consideration of the subject by E. Segal, who sees almost a world turned upside down, a reflection of the atmosphere of the *Saturnalia* in this Plautine world.[10] Other scholars have insisted on the use of slaves as narrators, a further example of their leading role also as judges of a story.[11] F. Della Corte was justified in speaking about the central role of slaves as "motori dell'intera commedia",[12] an aspect that, as will be seen below, cannot be overlooked despite the many qualifications that might be added; we should also remember that studies of Plautus' works are now so extensive as to make it impossible to refer to all of them, or to the

[8] Regarding Plautus' originality, the following works can be consulted: Lefèvre, Stärk, Vogt-Spira 1991, in which some of the elements that make up the key idea in six comedies, such as *Curculio*, to give but one example, like the "triumph of edacity", are examined; Prescott, 1932, 103–125. Westaway 1917, continues to be useful. For his Greek models, Gaiser, 1972, 1058-1063 and 1066-1076. For an application to a specific Plautine motif, Zagagi 1980, 130-131 in which the author also emphasises Plautus' fondness for the use of juridical terminology to describe experiences, which once again demonstrates another of Plautus' characteristic forms, may be useful. In addition, López Gregoris 2006, 111-130. Cf. the following note.

[9] Cf. for example, Perna 1955, 57-106; for what are named "tipi buffi", 135-160, among them the slaves, 154-157, especially the *servus currens*; see also the entire section entitled "Machiette comiche", 161-178, where the types of both male and female slaves as well as the model slave are studied, 170-176.

[10] Segal 1968, especially chapter IV, "From Slavery to Freedom", 99-136, where, on 99, he discusses the possibility of a ""Saturnalian overthrow" of the everyday Roman value system". Moore 1998, 189, following E. Segal, refers to a "Saturnalian inversion". In addition, Richlin 1992, 161, understands a cathartic meaning, imbibed by the *Saturnalia*.

[11] Slater 1985, 37-54, concerning *Persa*, where he finally points out, p. 53, that *Dordalus'* world is a world of tragedy as opposed to that of *Toxilus,* who lives in the world of comedy.

[12] Della Corte 1967[2],esp. the earlier work included in this volume: "L'essenza del comico plautino", appendix, 273-289 (= *Maia* 1953, 81-98), and in the same volume 280-285, for the subject of the *servus currens* and the personality of slaves.

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enormous range of points of view proposed either.[13] Other recent works have dealt with the subject of slaves in Plautus' works,[14] among which we should stress that by R. Stewart, in which she rightly concludes: "Plautus' window into the world of Roman slavery shows awareness of the problems of slavery for the slaves and suggests the responses of the slaves themselves"; and somewhat later she adds: "Slavery marked the body of the slave, and both violence against the slave was communal and the slaves' incapacity for reciprocal action was communal. The slave responded with desire for vengeance, terror, and an ideology of survival that did not challenge the legitimacy of the system".[15] In the pages that follow, I will try to offer a summarised view of the problem, paying particular attention to the forms in which it was expressed in Plautus, and examining how this message might have come across to his audience; a message that, as we shall see, combines transgression and its repair in accordance with the established norms, in which the threat of violence plays a crucial role.

With clear insight, E. Segal also considered the subject of violence and the punishment of slaves; he established that, in actual fact, the literary device seems to imply that, although Plautus' humour is based on the subject of punishment, in practice a situation of "non-punishment" is reached.[16] This is a valid observation that should not be forgotten, but which should be qualified with reference to the violence experienced by the characters, bearing in mind that it is a generalised and widespread trend, but not one that is automatically applicable to all cases. As W.S. Anderson reminds us, there is a considerable level of conformity with the established social situation in

[13] It suffices to think of the book by David Hughes 1975, which brings together 2328 entries up to the year 1973.

[14] For example: Schild 1917, with a catalogue of the dialogue types, pp. 7-20, and for dialogues between two slaves, pp. 33-34; Spranger, 1984, 96-98; C. Stace 1968, 64–77; K. McCarthy 2000, 14-15, where he interprets the slave as a hero to be a way of inverting the social hierarchies, a characteristic of the imagination of Plautus, who bases this inversion on the wisdom and craftiness of the characters; cf. however, especially the conclusion: "The slave's image in the masters' mind", 211-213.

[15] Stewart 2012, 191-192.

[16] Segal 1968, especially chapter V, "From Freedom to Slavery", 137-169, especially for "non-punishment", 137; it is also apparent that Plautus goes to considerable lengths to elaborate on the instruments of punishment and on the subject of the *pistrinum*, 138-141.

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Plautus' attitude and that of his public, and nothing leads us to suppose a plea in favour of equality or of protest against the inequalities of a slave-owning society.[17]

In this opening section, I have endeavoured to describe the parameters that have hitherto defined the question under consideration, and with which I can but state my broad agreement.

The social transgression of the slave as a Plautine motif

It is precisely what we might call the backdrop to the slave's behaviour that we aim to analyse in this paper: the element of balance that makes it possible to include what at first sight appears to be a social transgression that could hardly be tolerated by the ruling sector of Roman society. What was needed was a foil to counter this. Plautus' desire to adapt to his audience is more than evident and his complicity with the public is made apparent on the numerous occasions when the actors address the audience directly;[18] it is therefore clear that his slave characters' apparent freedom of behaviour is such that it must be counter-balanced.

This contrast, in my opinion, is none other than the possibility of punishment, the penalty that always preys on the slave's mind and weakens him in spite of his bravado, and which brings about, by itself, not only the audience's complicity with what is stated, but at the same time also a feeling of superiority to and pity for a person the public know to be weak despite his fleeting triumph and euphoria. This is a concept that could perhaps define the term *malum*, of long-standing Roman tradition; we should remember Naevius and the Metelli in this respect.[19]

[17] Anderson 1993, esp. chapter 6, "Plautus and His Audience: The Roman Connection", 133-151; for the question of a possible protest on the part of Plautus in the midst of a slave-owning society 141, where he also states that he is not convinced by the argument put forward by Dunkin 1946.

[18] Cf. Moore 1998 esp. the chapters "Actors and Spectators", 8-23, and "Character and Spectators", 24-49, for the role of the *servi callidi,* 37-43; his conclusions on the interaction between the actor and the auditorium are particularly important, 197-201.

[19] Far more trivial, but effective, is the example in *Persa*, 816-817, where *Dordalus* says: You kindly keep your hands off of me, or I'll give you a good sound thrashing with this cane! *Cave sis me attigas*, *ne tibi hoc scipione* / *malum magnum dem*.

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Violence and especially the violence experienced by slaves is an integral part of Plautus' work.[20] Within this, we should include contexts such as: rape, which lies at the origin and provides the plot for part of the confusion of the comedies; the exposure of newborn infants, another recurrent subject; the abduction of individuals; moral pressure, which is sometimes transformed into physical pressure; and the hunger, we might almost say the starvation, that parasites and slaves experience, transcending their greed or gluttony. To this should be added the well-known cliché of the *servus currens*, which is far from being merely a comic device[21] and expresses a real situation of humiliation and submission. Other cases such as the *servus dotalis* or the *atriensis* illustrate a less negative outlook.[22] Naturally, straightforward violence is present, and not simply implicit, to such an extent that it is possible for us to reconstruct a list of the punishments and harassments that were likely to be applied to a human being who had fallen into slavery. Be that as it may, it should be remembered that perhaps the most important element, as far as human drama is concerned, is the loss of identity, highlighted with great precision in the dialogue between *Dordalus* and the *virgo* in *Persa*, 635-641, which provides a lucid description of the process.[23]

In Plautus' works, the instruments of punishment themselves come alive in the form of personifications, as E. Fraenkel correctly emphasised, a further reason for appreciating his omnipresence.[24]

In his reasoning, Fraenkel pointed out that there was no need for this prominence of slaves to have been dependent on the models from which the works attributed to Plautus were derived; in fact, this wasone of his original contributions and he even speculated on

[20] Stewart 2012, esp. chapter 3, "Violence, Private and Communal", 80-116, and 95-104, for slaves.

[21] *Epid*. 208, *Epidicus* says: Wait a minute - let me have a breathing spell! *Mane, sine respirem, quaeso*. Cf. on the subject by Stärk 1991, 107-140, for the *servus currens* cf. 129 note 76 and for this comedy as a "Sklavenspiegel" 127; see also Lefèvre 1991, 71-105, esp. 102.

[22] For the *servus dotalis*, cf. Vogt-Spira1991, 11-69, esp. 19-20, 23, 26-28, 30-31, 65. *Asinaria is* a comedy in which *Saurea* the *atriensis* is, however, a *servus currens*, as is pointed out on 46.

[23] For the figure of the *virgo* in *Persa,* cf. Manuwald 2001, 155-176; in addition, Lowe 1989, 390–399.

[24] Fraenkel 1960, 101.

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the possibility that the leading role, whether of a slave or of a parasite, might have been performed by the *dominus gregis*, who could thus insist on the playwright producing a text and modifying the plot so that the director of the company could display his qualities as an actor.[25] We can but agree with this suggestion; however, if it is taken into account that these *greges* were generally made up by slaves and that the *dominus* of their members was really a *dominus* of his actors, there arises the paradox that the leading role of a slave might have been performed by the only member of the company of non-servile condition,[26] which also has implications for our considerations. We should also recall the allusions verbalised by the actors concerning their possible punishment if the *caput gregis* considered that they had not satisfied the audience or they had performed their role badly.[27] These are not just commonplaces; they reflect a harsh social reality.

I therefore believe that, in the audience's eyes, these background elements represent the foil that was particularly necessary to overcome the social scandal that could be entailed, leaving aside its fictional nature, by the criticism implicit in a substantial part of the monologues and dialogues in which the baton is left in the hands of a character who, because of his social condition, cannot be allowed to make such comments without disastrous consequences for him, a point that would have been in everyone's mind. It is evident that the military or triumphal language used by these characters, the driving force and momentary heroes of the action, a point well emphasised by E. Fraenkel,[28] is coupled with the solemn device of archaic Latin poetry, astutely observed by J. Blänsdorf,[29] providing a solemn, traditional rhythm, which once again seemingly contradicts the limited significance of the circumstances in which it is used and the situation

[25] Fraenkel 1960, 240-241.

[26] Cf. for the social condition of actors, Leppin 1992, 160-168 and 30-35, for their geographical origin. Brown 2002, 225-237, esp. 235, where it is pointed out that the majority of actors were slaves, but perhaps not the leading actor himself, following the information provided by the prologue of *Asinaria* 2-3.

[27] Thus, at the end of *Cistellaria*, 785, in the summary form: the actor that has made mistakes will get a thrashing, the one has not, a drink, *qui deliquit vapulavit; qui non deliquit bibet.* Cf. the commentary of Bieber 1961, 61, for *Cistellaria* 785.

[28] Fraenkel 1960, 223-231. Cf. in addition, Pascucci 1961-1962, 161-203.

[29] Blänsdorf 1967, 3-5.

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of the person using it. I am convinced that the transgressive nature of this resource, a characteristically Roman factor of mirth, cannot be disguised even though it appears intertextually. The same situation arises with the tragic tone of certain passages, the allusions of which cannot have escaped the attention of the audience, and which enabled Plautus to move away from colloquial language.

It is evident that the ideal protagonist, in accordance with the social norms of the time, would have been a good slave, *bonus servus*, whose code of conduct is revealed by the attitudes present in Plautine comedy and which, as has been emphasised, is occasionally made explicit.[30] Neither can there be any doubt that, in spite of these conditions, in Plautine comedy even the *bonus servus* breaks free from his chains and steps beyond the limits of this code, admittedly with good intentions and in a way acceptable to the public.[31] The *hybris* of the character, whether a *bonus* or *malus servus*, the consequence of his *calliditas*, must involve a *nemesis*, which is inevitable in the audience's eyes beyond the text of the comedy; for this reason, this situation is considered the natural order of things, which will lead the character to recognise his harsh reality, as the public sees it, with mirth and scepticism, and the fleeting nature of his success and triumph, which, in any case, could only be consolidated through the positive attitude of, and being rewarded by, those whom he had favoured. The latter, in turn, were free to consider that he had fulfilled his obligations as a *bonus servus* both astutely and ingeniously even though he had clearly stepped beyond social norms. In brief, we can state that the members of the audience were perfectly aware of what the character's prospects were in spite of his leading role: generally speaking, continuing the life of a slave, always

[30] In his addenda, Fraenkel 1960, 430, adds the real parallel of the "catechism of the duties of a good slave" with the text of the jurist Gaius contained in *Dig*. 21, 1, 18. See also Petrone 1977, 39-44, for the commentary in *Stichus* on this moral code that was so pleasing to the ears of the Roman public.

[31] Fraenkel 1960, 239-240, wonders why Plautus might have given slaves such a leading role compared with the Greek models and comes to the conclusion that the intense comic effects obtained by using these coarser individuals, rather than the usual characters found in Greek comedy reflected his own tastes and those of his audience. On the original elements to be found in this and other aspects, one may consult for its more general scope Anderson 1995, 171–180.

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with the distant hope of being freed, a goal that was rarely achieved,[32] unless we take into account the cases of female slaves who did achieve it if they were loved.[33] This fact is made particularly clear through the different attitude adopted by the characters once their conditions have been exchanged, one of the most frequently found confusions in the world of comedy in Antiquity. The case found in *Captivi* is particularly indicative.[34] Nevertheless, the fact that the slave is the "master of intrigue", to use Duckworth's term, implies an element of counterweight to reassure the audience and the society to which they belong as free citizens, since the moral tone must be kept within its parameters. W. Beare has defined Plautus, like the majority of Roman playwrights, as an adaptor of Greek drama to Roman tastes, a somewhat simple definition, a point that we will all agree on, but one which well defines a situation that Plautus surpasses in a manner that we can describe, without any risk of exaggeration, as brilliant.[35] Plautus' comedies succeeded in taking the pulse of Roman society and stretched its tolerance to the limits, but did so cautiously, leaving, through the possibility of punishment and acceptance of this punishment on the part of characters who, in spite of their leading role, are aware, in the same way as the audience is, of the ephemeral and even trivial nature of their triumph. Roman theatrical conservatism, which has been emphasised by N. Horsfall, was thus safeguarded.[36]

[32] The mirage of manumission might move wills, as is demonstrated, for example, by the proposal of the slave *Epidicus*, in the comedy of the same name, 274-280, concerning a female lyre-playing slave, by the name of *Acropolistis.* We should remember that in the same work, *Epidicus*, the slave himself looks forward to his freedom, even more so when faced with threats of death, 610-619 and of punishment, 680-690, until he finally achieves his freedom, 725-731. We should also cite the hopes of *Paegnium* in *Persa*, 285-286. Cf. in addition Stewart 2012, 117-155.

[33] We should remember the manumissions for this reason of *Philematium* in *Mostellaria* or of *Lemniselenis* in *Persa*. Cf. on the latter, Auhagen 2001, 95-111.

[34] Cf. the studies collected in Benz, Lefèvre, eds.,1998, and esp.Lefèvre 1988, 9-50,captures the spirit of *Captivi* well.

[35] Beare 1972[2], 49-55, esp. 49.

[36] Horsfall 1996, 25-32, for the theatrical tastes of the *plebs Romana*.

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Some significant cases of slave behaviour and attitudes in the face of violence

In order to demonstrate and evaluate what has just been expounded, a selection of episodes that are particularly significant because they reflect episodes of and references to violence against slaves to be found in Plautus' works has been drawn up. In a study such as the one that is proposed, it would be all but impossible to bring together all the data that can be gathered from Plautine comedy on this subject. For this reason, we will bring into play certain meaningful and very well-known examples often used for this purpose.

The *servus bonus*

I will start with the definitions of the *bonus servus*, which, however, are not exempt of a bitter taste.[37]

> Messenio says: This is your proof of a good servant who looks after his master's business, sees to it, gives it care and consideration — when he watches over his master's business in his master's absence just as diligently as if he was present, or even more so. The chap that's got his wits in the proper place ought to think more of his back than his gullet, more of his shanks than is belly. He'd better recollect how good-for nothings, lazy, rascally fellows, are rewarded by their masters: whippings, shackles, work in the mill, fag, famine, freezing stiff — these are the rewards of lazyness. I'm badly afraid of such bad things, personally; that's why I've made up my mind to lead a good life rather than a bad one. I can stand chiding a great deal more easily- but a hiding I can't abide, myself, and I'd very much rather eat the meal than turn the mill (*Menaechmi*, 966-979).[38]

[37] On the *bonus servus* and his definition, see for example Perna 1955, 173-176.

[38] In all the cases I use the translation of Paul Nixon, published in the Loeb Classical Library in five volumes (1916-1938). *Spectamen bono servo id est, qui rem erilem procurat, videt, conlocat cogitatque, ut apsente ero rem eri diligenter tutetur quam si ipse adsit aut rectius. tergum quam gulam, crura quam ventrem oportet potiora esse quoi cor modeste situmst. Recordetur id, qui nihili sunt, quid eis preti detur ab suis eris, ignavis, improbis viris: verbera, compedes molae, [magna]lassitudo, fames, frigu' durum, haec pretia sunt ignaviae. Id ego male malum metuo: propterea bonum certumst potius quam malum; nam magi' multo patior facilior verba: verbera ego odi,nimioque edo lubentius molitum quam molitum praehibeo.*

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> Strobilus: In the same way I hold that a slave ought to be his master's float, if is master's in Love, so as to support him and not let him go to the bottom like a probe in the sea (*catapirateria*)[39]. He's got to know his master's inclinations like a book so that he can read his wishes in his face. And as for orders, He must push 'em through faster tham a fast four-in-hand. If a chap minds all this, He won't be paying taxes on rawhide, or ever spend his time polishing a ball and chain with his ankles (*Aulularia,* 597-602).[40]

> Phaniscus: But personally, my plan is to beware of welts before my back begins to pain me. I feel it desiderable to keep a whole skin, as I have hitherto, and debar drubbings If I only control this article, I'll keep well roofed, and when it's raining weltson the rest of 'em, I won't get soaked. For a master's generally what his slaves choose to make him. If they're good, he's good; if they're bad, he gets bad. Now you see we've a houseful of slaves as bad as bad can be, that blow in all their savings on their backs. When they're called on to fetch their master home, it's: "I'm not going, don't bother me! I know what your hurry is — itching to be out some where! Oh yes you mule, now you want to be off to pasture!" That's all the thanks I got from them for being dutiful. I left 'em. Here I am, the only one of the whole gang to see master home. Tomorrow, when he finds it out, he'll give 'em a morning dose of cattle hide. Oh well, I consider their backs of less consequence than mine. They'll go in for tanning long before I do for roping (*Mostellaria*, 866-884).[41]

[39] The translation of *catapirateria* is mine in this case, following the edition by W.M. Lindsay in Oxford Classical Texts who accepted this Lambinus' proposal of integration of the text of Plautus.

[40] Cf. the commentary in Stockert 1983, 163-164. *Eodem modo servom ratem ese amanti ero aequom censeo, ut toleret, ne pessum abeat tanquam <catapirateria>eri ille imperium ediscat, ut quod frons velit oculi sciant;quod iubeat citis quadrigis citius properet persequi. Qui ea curabit apstinebit censione bubula,nec sua opera rediget unquam in splendorem compedis.*

[41] *Mihi in pectore consili****malam rem prius quam ut meum. Vt adhuc fuit mi, corium esse oportet, sincerum atque uti votem verberari. Si huic impetrabo, probe tectum habebo, malum quod impluit ceteris, ne impluat mi.Nam, ut servi volunt esse erum, ita solet. Boni sunt <bonust>; improbi sunt, malus fit. Nam nunc domi nostrae tot pessumi vivont, peculi sui prodigi, plagigeruli. Vbi advorsum ut eant vocitantur ero:"non eo, molestu'ne sis.Scio quod properas: gestis aliquo; iam hercle ire vis, mula, foras pastum.» Bene merens hoc preti inde apstuli. Abii foras. Solus nunc eo advorsum ero ex plurimis servis.Hos die crastini quom erus resciverit,mane castigabit eos bubulis exuviis.Postremo minoris pendo tergum illorum quam meum: illi erunt bucaedae multo potius quam ego sim restio.*

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Many other passages of the same type, in which fear and a certain respect for the norms of survival are mixed, often contrasting against a hostile reality, can be cited. In *Mostellaria* itself, this is reflected by 15-32, and also the possibility of punishment recalled by *Tranio*, 36: I take chances with my own hide thereby, not with yours, *mei tergi facio haec, non tui, fiducia*; or the punishment envisaged for the same character, 1167*:* You shall be flogged, strung up and flogged to tatters! *verberibus, lutum, caedere, pendens* [42] An opposite case can be found in *Persa*, 7-12, where *Sagaristio* recognises what his obligation is, but confesses that this does not go with his character.

In these passages the code of conduct of the slave who seeks coherence with that of his master, who, in turn, is by no means guaranteed to have had his own code of behaviour, is made clear.[43] Fear and the experience of maltreatment are the conditioning factors of the behaviour of a *bonus servus*, who in reality turns out to have been almost certainly marked by painful experiences.[44] As E. Segal has correctly pointed out, torture is a true obsession for this type of character in Plautus.[45]

The slave's own attitudes

Skilfully, surprisingly and paradoxically, the distress felt by a slave is put into the mouth of a free woman, the *virgo* in *Persa*, 361-363, who compares her fear with that of a slave: suppose a masterthreatens to flog a slave; even though he doesn't mean to do it, yet once the whip's in hand and the poor creature's tunic's laid aside, what misery he suffers! *eru'si minatus est malum servo suo / tamen etsi id futurum non est, ubi captum'st flagrum / dum tunicas ponit, quanta adficitur miseria.*

[42] Cf. for this comedy, Parker 1989, 233-246, also published in Segal ed. 2001, 127-137.

[43] Cf. Petrone 1977, 20-28, in which he detects a moralism of Catonian nature, and 44-47, for the anti-moral; McCarthy 2000,10-11, esp. note 14, for some of the moral interpretations of Plautus' comedies.

[44] Chiarini 1983[2], 21-30, referring to *Persa*, speaks of the slaves' attitude as a sociological-juridical paradox, and points out that even beforehand it presupposes the existence of a far from happy end.

[45] Segal 1968,140.

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Furthermore, it is interesting to observe how slaves adopt the attitudes and treatment that their masters show towards them when dealing with others of their own rank and mistreat each other in the same way; such is the case of *Mostellaria*, 1-19. Naturally, this may have been intended as a comic effect, but it hides a human drama that was surely not felt in this way in a slave-owning society. Thus in *Mostellaria*, *Tranio* announces *Grumio*, 55: will have you looking like a human sieve, *carnuficium cribrum* while, at the same time, 351-362, dreams of someone wanting to replace him in the torture that he believes to be waiting for him, and then goes on to describe a crucifixion; in *Persa*, *Dordalus* calls *Toxilus*, 795: you gallowstree, you whip-eradicator, *crux, stimulorum tritor.*[46]

In view of these parameters, the military vocabulary that marks the slaves' behaviour and exploits seems even more surprising and noteworthy; this was perhaps a result of the caricatures found in a world that combined vainglory with violence. Ultimately, everyday life made the axiom uttered by *Phaniscus* in *Mostellaria* 858-861 valid: Slaves that stand in awe of a trashing, even while they're free from fault, they're the ones that are apt to be useful for their masters. For when those that stand in awe of nothing, have once earned a thrashing, the course they take is idiotic, *Servi qui quom culpa carent, tamen malum metuont, / i solent esse eris utibiles. / Nam illi qui nil metuunt, postquam sunt malum meriti, / stulta sibi expetunt consilia*.

As they are so frequent, I have voluntarily omitted references to the violence practised in the form of psychological pressure, in other words insults and humiliation, as well as sexual abuse or harassment

[46] Other examples can be found *Persa*, for example in the dialogue between *Sagaristium* and *Paegnium*, where the former calls the latter, 278, *venefice*, poisoner, to which the latter replies, 279: *ulmitriba*, a glutton for the rod; to which *Sagaristio* later replies, 282:You'll get your dose to-day with a rope's-end, *caedere hodie tu restibus*. The dialogue continues in 282-301, where *Paegnium* calls *Sagaristio cuculus* and *morticius*, to which the latter in turn responds in 284 that *Paegnium* is *incubitatus*, to which the latter answers by saying that *Sagaristio* does it for free, 285. Crucifixion is mentioned subsequently, 296, and in 298 *Paegnium* says, "cum mica salis": As a matter of fact, my shadow's getting trashed inside here already, *Nam umbra mea hic intus vapulat*. In this respect, the farewell that *Dordalus* dedicates to *Toxilus*, 574: *i sis [in] malum cruciatum*, please, please go to hell, is also suggestive.

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against female slaves[47] or women supposed to be of slave condition; this is a leading theme in some of the comedies and in this case represents a contrast with the submission of husbands and sons to the rarely questioned authority of free women in their own homes.[48]

It is obvious that the behaviour of the slave is not always exemplary: the *servus malus* and the *servus callidus* are good examples of the exploitation of this sort of character in the theatre.[49]

Captivi and *Casina*: two ways of seeing violence

It should be stated that Plautus does not attempt to conceal or mask the everyday reality of slavery or to soften its circumstances, but instead, as a man of his time, he supposes that the members of his audience are sufficiently well-informed about this topic; it would have been pointless to insist on aspects well-known to them all, which might even hinder the action or influence the tone of his comedies, leading the audience in other directions, which, as will be seen below, is what took place in another, even more popular — if this is possible — theatrical genre. Even so, we can mention the presence of details of this type in *Captivi*, a comedy in which the description of the slaves' ties is patent, 203, 722 and 733-734 for example,[50] and the presence of violence is made clearly explicit when *Hegio*[51] punishes *Tyndarus*, who has pretended to be a free man in order to free his young master *Philocrates*, who in the end turns out to be the brother

[47] They do not escape corporal punishment either, as in *Mostellaria* 242. On the forced abortion *Truculentus* 201-202.

[48] On feminine roles, cf. Packman 1999, 245–258.

[49] G. Chiarini 1983[2], 40-41 for the *servus malus*, 67-70, for the *servus callidus*; other figures, such as the *ancilla lenonia*, are also noteworthy; cf. for all these groups the chapter entitled "I teatranti", 35-127.

[50] In 659 reference is made to the *manicae maximae* or *magnae* which will be used to tie him up, 667, although there is the real possibility of his hands being cut off, 668. This last punishment is also recalled in *Epidicus*, 11ª.

[51] In the final stages of the comedy, when *Hegio*, who passes himself off as a kind old man, makes up his mind to interrogate the slave *Stalagmus*, he does not hesitate to qualify him as a *statua verberea*, 951 In turn, once he is free, *Tyndarus* has no qualms about threatening *Stalagmus*, the slave who had abducted him, again, 1019. The form *statua verberea,* statue of cowhide, appears again in *Pseudolus* 911; cf. on this subject, Kruschwitz 1999, 350-353.

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of *Philopolemus,* the captive son of *Hegio* himself. The description of the punishments that await him, 596-597,[52] combined with his being sentenced to work in the quarries, maltreated and chained up day and night, 721-731, as well as 944-946, and the suffering described with its visible effects in 998-1004 and 1025-1028, constitute one of the most effective elements to be found in this comedy.[53]

In contrast, *Casina*[54] maintains a more distant level of violence in spite of *Cleostrata*'s latent but powerless resentment in her threatening intentions towards her husband, 148-164. Obviously, forced relationships between slaves, which are present in this work, cannot have surprised an audience that experienced this state of affairs on a daily basis; *Chalinus*, whose marriage to *Casina* has been planned, is not only an obliging slave, but he also wants to give the impression of being relatively satisfied with his situation, 293: If I were free, I should have to live my own costs; as it is, I live at yours, *Liber si sim, meo periclo vivam, nunc vivo tuo,* which must have created a degree of mirth among the audience even though this was a well-established cliché. Nevertheless, when he is referred to as being *litteratus*, branded with a red-hot iron, his situation does not seem so idyllic despite his statements, 401, and the same feeling is created in the immediately following scenes in which there are threats of violence, 404-412.[55] In turn, *Chalinus* refers to *Olympio* as a *stimulorum loculus*, club case, 447. In spite of some more relaxed situations, what is displayed before the audience's eyes is a panorama of characters who are insecure in their position as slaves and playthings at the mercy of others despite their cunning or experience.

[52] The mention is clear: it's black pitch that would torment you at the executioner's, and light up the head of yours! *pix atra apud carneficem agitet, tuoque capiti inluceat*. Neither should the threat to split his head open with a stone be left unnoticed, 600-601.

[53] Where the *compedae*, fetters, which need a locksmith to be opened, are referred to.

[54] Cf. Moore 2001, 161-175.

[55] We should not forget the attempts by his owner to rape his slaves, referred to in 457-462; or the threats by *Lysidamus* and *Olympio* 728-730, in Greek and not without a degree of literary affectation, which would have undoubtedly satisfied the public's tastes, although later on, in a humorous dialogue, *Chalinus* also alludes to his Massaliot customs, 963-966.

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The apparent tranquillity of certain Plautine comedies

Cistellaria seems to offer a peaceful backdrop for the subject studied here, provided the circumstances affecting the female characters are disregarded.[56] *Curculio* unfolds in a similar way although *Phaedromus*' expression referring to *Palinurus* as a *polluctus virgis servos*, the whip-fodder of a slave, and threatening him with a *cruciatus magnus* brings us back to reality, 193-194.[57] *Epidicus* displays the same characteristics, but the mention of a *pantherinum genus*, referring to the healed but scarred skin of a whipped slave, 18, is not absent, and again he recalls in 65: My back is going to lose its skin roof, *deagetur corium de tergo meo* and also in 121, *inrigatus plagis,* flogged till he's irrigated. In *Persa*,[58] 184, *Toxilus* calls *Paegnium* a *verberum caput*, beat-head, which represents a continuation of the *servus currens* figure, 190 and 198-199, and he receives a promise of a small *peculium*: I'll give you something all for yourself in return for it, *ob istanc rem ego aliquid et peculiabo* on the part of *Toxilus*, 192.[59]

The singular nature of *Amphitruo*

Plautus' *Amphitruo* contributes an unusual element, as well as the traditional insults using a greater or lesser degree of sophistication when addressing slaves,[60] namely the divine presence skilfully presented by

[56] Moore 1998, 10, recalls how the audience's complicity is sought in *Cistellaria* 782-785, p. 10.

[57] *Palinurus* laments, 215: Yes and for me, dying as I am of pummelling and loss of sleep! *egoquidem, qui et vapulando et somno pereo*. Torture in some of its forms, together with the threat of death, are present in 689-693 and 707. On this comedy see Benz 1999, 51-95.

[58] Cf. Wright 1974,12, for the insult *lutum lenonium* in *Persa* 406-410.

[59] On the subject of the vocabulary used in Plautus for wealth and poverty, cf. Crampon 1985,which, however, does not specifically deal with the limited possessions and the status of slaves. Cf., for the subject applied to Plautus, Stewart 2012, 50-55. It may be useful to consult Sergi 1997, 10-15, where the *res* is defined as a basic feature of Plautus' comedy. The *peculium* is a leitmotif in slaves' asides, and they always consider extravagance as a terrible vice.

[60] *Verbero*, 180, 284; *furcifer*, 285; *scelestissumus*, 552, which is combined immediately afterwards with a very hurtful play on words, 556-557: Well, by heaven now, I'll cut out that villainous tongue for you, you villain! *Iam quidem hercle ego*

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Mercurius in the prologue, 1-152, where he insists on the role of *Iuppiter* as an actor and on the role that he must perform himself. The speech by *Sosia* that opens the comedy recalls punishment at this early stage: Those eight strong wardens would pound my poor carcass just as if I was an anvil, *Ita quasi incudem me miserum homines octo validi caedant*, 160. The comedy is marked by *Sosia*'s fear of *Sosia-Mercurius'* strength and his punches, the *pugni* so often referred to in the dialogue, a fear increased by the threat of being whipped, which, added to his bewilderment, leaves him in a permanent state of anguish, *dentes pruri-ent,* my teeth do-itch!, he says in 295. This bewilderment does not prevent him from dreaming about freedom, 461-462: I hope to Jupiter he won't, so that I may save my hair off this very day and stick my bald head in a freeman's cap, *quod ille faxit Iuppiter, / ut ego hodie raso capite calvos capiam pilleum*.

The novelty of *Amphitruo* as regards the question dealt with here lies in the way *Mercurius* addresses *Sosia*, in the traditional form of a master addressing his slave, but the reflexion that the god makes concerning *Sosia*'s complaints about his condition is extremely significant, 176-179: It would be more in order for Mercury to do some of this grumbling about menial station-was free this very day, and now his father has made a slave of him. It's this fellow, a born drudge, that is grumbling, *Satiust me queri illo modo servitutem: / hodie qui fuerim liber, eum nunc / potivit pater servitutis; / hic qui verna natust queritur*. The same happens with the way *Iuppiter-Amphitruo* addresses *Mercurius-Sosia*, which cannot be distinguished from a master's usual form of addressing a slave, much to the delight of the members of the audience, who see how even the duplication of the characters does not alter the "status quo".[61] The role of the *bonus servus* is often recalled by *Sosia*, who concludes 959-961: Yes, and to my way of thinking, an honest servant ought to stick to this principle: be like

tibi istam / scelestam, scelus, linguam apscidam. We should also remember the dramatic passage in which *Sosia* recalls a punishment, 279-280: I don't think I ever did see a longer night-baring that one when I got whipped and was left strung up till morning, *Neque ego hac nocte longiorem me vidisse censeo, / nisi item unam, verberatus quam pependi perpetem.* On this type of insults, cf. Wright 1974, 11-12.

[61] On duplication as a literary device, cf. Dupont 2001, 176-188. For its literary roots, cf. Slater 2001, 189-202, where he deals with Plautus' use of Euripides' *Bacchae* as a source and insists on Plautine comedy being more than a parody of this work; cf. in addition Stewart 1958, 348-373.

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what his betters are, model his expression on theirs, be in dump if they are in the dumps, and jolly if they are happy, *Atque ita servom par videtur frugi sese instituere: / proinde eri ut sint, ipse item sit, voltum e voltu comparet: / tristis sit, si eri sint tristes; hilarus sit si gaudeant*.

VIOLENCE AND FEAR IN *ASINARIA* AND *BACCHIDES*

Asinaria presents us the figure of the *servus* as the *architectus doli*[62] personified in *Libanius.* This slave is surprised by the friendly treatment given to him by his master when seeking a favour, 51, which basically causes him *metus*. Aware of his condition as *servus peior* and *versutus*, 118-119, his master knows that he can trust him, a paradox that was undoubtedly pleasing for the audience and which is confirmed by the slave's monologue, 249-266. The castration of slaves is present in the mouth of the *lena Cleaereta*, 237. In the conversation between slaves there is once again a reference to this torture, starting with the greeting between *Libanius*, *gymnasium flagri,* whip developer*,* and *Leonida*, *custos carceris*, gaol guard, 297, which continues with *catenarum colonus*, fetter farmer, for *Libanius* and *virgarum lascivia*, rod tickler, for *Leonida*, 298. This is followed by the latter recalling the torture that he himself inflicted on *Libanius*, 299-302, who carries on with more indelicate details in 302-305. The complicity between the two is sealed with a new allusion to their destiny, 311: the public torturers will have a regular festival at our expense every day, *omnes de nobis carnuficum concelebrabuntur dies*, and It's a big prize and a big risk *magna est praeda cum magno malo,* 317, and the answer of Libanius: No matter if they all combine to pile the torments on, *Si quidem nos omnes coniurati cruciamenta conferant*, 318. Further memories of misfortune are interspersed in the conversation, 341-342, once again demonstrating that dialogues between slaves represent fertile ground for speeches of this type that would entertain an audience who could thus tolerate the slaves' superiority in the field of comedy. The fourth act and its contents provide further proof; we will only emphasise the range of instruments of

[62] Cf. Hurka 2010, 93-94. The excellent edition of this comedy by Danese 2004, is now available, with extensive critical apparatus. See also the interesting commentary by Slater 1985,esp. the chapter "Six Authors in Search of a Character - Asinaria as guerrilla Theatre", 55-69.

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torture, which must have stimulated the public's imagination,[63] 548-552: wiles we have defied hot irons and crosses and gyves, and thongs, chains, cells, shackles, fetters, collars and painters -painters keen as can be and intimate with our backs! *qui advorsum stimulos lamminas, crucesque compedesque / nervos, catenas, carceres, numellas, pedicas, boias, / inductores acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi, / qui saepe ante in nostras scaplas cicatrices indiderunt.*[64]

Bacchides openly recalls violence; this fragment of uncertain location may serve as an example, frag. II (V): shackles, whips, work in the mill: frightful cruelty gets to be more frightful, *vincla, virgae, molae; saevitudo mala / fit peior* representing a far-reaching sequence of punishments. This is equally clear in the words of *Pistoclerus*, the *adulescens* who defines himself as a slave, 92-93: I surrender myself to you, my lady: i'm your own; command me, *Mulier tibi me emancupo;/ tuus sum, tibi dedo operam*. The risk of violent acts is made clear in *Pistoclerus*' efforts to avoid *Chrysalus* being punished, 521-525, a fate that the slave himself expects, 686-688. *Chrysalus* himself states the characteristics that define a *servus callidus* in his monologue, 640-662 and tries to apply them when he realises the intentions of the *senex Nicobulus*, 770-798, and this is repeated in the following scene in which he is imprisoned, where, with feigned sympathy for himself, he shamelessly says, 816-817: He whom the gods love dies young, while he has his strength and senses and wits, *Quem di diligunt / adulescens moritur, dum valet, sensit, sapit*. The famous scene comprised between lines 842 and 924[65] and *Chrysalus*' triumphal speech, 925-978, remain without any foil of explicit violence, an unusually generous situation within Plautus' handling of such matters.

Certain significant features in other Plautine comedies: *Mostellaria*, *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*

As we have already seen, *Mostellaria* contains numerous elements worth considering, including some with a particular effect, such as the epithet *genus ferratile*, ball-and-chain club, 19, applied by *Grumio*

[63] On this topic, cf. Segal 1968, 145-146.
[64] Cf. Hurka 2010, 201-202.
[65] Cf. Schönbeck 1981, 131-157, "Die Cleomachus–Szene (842-924)".

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about *Tranio* when in 15-32 he recites a code of behaviour contrary to that of the *bonus servus* with respect to his young master.

In *Messenio*, Plautus' *Menaechmi*[66] presents the model of a *bonus servus*, 966-989, and immediately afterwards, 990-1049, *Messenio*'s faithfulness is put to the test in a scene of great violence when he is faced with *lorarii*, in which there is a whole series of misunderstandings as this is not the *Menaechmus* who was his master, thus implying that he obtained his freedom from the latter, a mistake that must have entertained the audience enormously, since the misunderstanding is maintained when he reminds his true master of his promise, 1050-1059. When the two twins recognise each other, *Messenio* does obtain his freedom, a very infrequent 'happy end', 1146-1153.

The slave *Acanthio* in *Mercator* confronts a *senex amator*,[67] his young master's father, in order to protect the young man's lover, a recurrent Plautine theme but undoubtedly a very successful one, as the first scene seems to indicate when the besotted *adulescens*, *Charinus*, speaks directly to the audience taking the role of the prologue. In spite of their close collaboration and apparent equality in the dialogue, *Acanthius* does not fail to mention the possibility of *cruciatus*, perhaps to tranquilise the public, 144 and 162, and, in addition, *Charinus*, does not fail to call him *verbero*, 189. The role of a female slave is perfectly described at a subsequent point when *Demipho* says to *Charinus*, 413-417: I'll buy your mother some big lusty wench, a good one, though not good looking, such as befits the mother of a family- some Syrian or Egyptian. She shall grind meal, cook, do her share of spinning, take her thrashings- a maid like that will bring no disgrace to our doors, *Ego emero matri tuae / ancillam viraginem aliquam non malam, forma mala, / ut matrem addecet familias, aut Syram aut Aegyptiam: /ea molet, coquet, conficiet pensum, pinsetur flagro, neque propter eam quicquam eveniet nostris foribus flagiti*, the possibility of *Pasicompsa* receiving freedom, which arises from love, demonstrates a brutal contrast. The other point of contrast is the female slave *Syra*, who replies to her mistress, who criticises *Syra* for walking slowly, that she cannot hurry because of the weight she is carrying,

[66] Cf. Segal 2001b, 115-126, where he highlights that this is a truly inventive creation on the part of Plautus. On this sort of comedies involving twins and doubles, cf. García Hernández 2001.

[67] On this theatrical type cf., for example, Ryder 1984,181–189; Bianco 2003.

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673-674: My eighty years and four, ma'm; with slavery, sweat, and thirst thrown in. These things I'm carrying me down, too, *Annos octoginta et quattuor: / et eodem accedit servitus, sudor, sitis: / simul haec quae porto deprimunt*. The image of female slavery is thus complete although *Syra* broadens its scope when she states: My, my! Women do live under hard conditions, so much more unfair, poor things, than the men's, *Ecastor lege dura vivont mulieres / multoque iniquiore miserae quam viri,* 817-818.

The world of *Miles gloriosus*

Miles gloriosus cannot be omitted from any overview of the subject that is being considered. Once again, in the second line after the introduction in this comedy, 157, we find the expression: I'll make rawhide of your ribs! *ego vostra faciam latera lorea*, in the mouth of *Periplectomenus*, which induces *Palaestrio*, indifferent to the possible suffering of others, to caution, 166-168: Someone fronm our house has been up to some mischief or other I take it, since our old friend commands 'em to crush my fellow-servants' bones. He exceptedme, though. Little I care what he does to the rest of 'em, *Nescio quid malefactum a nostra hic familiast, quantum audio: / ita hic senex talos elidi iussit conservis meis. / Sed me excepit: nihili facio, quid illis faciat ceteris.* Slightly later on, *Periplectomenus* bestows a rather rough stimulus on *Palaestrio*'s ingenuity, 215-216: If you're going to do anything, do it! Wake up, don't settle down to snooze- that is, unless you prefer to stand watch here pummelled to a piece of patchwork, *Age si quid agis, vigila, ne somno stude, / nisi quidem hic agitare mavis varius virgis vigilias*, where the alliteration and word-play do not disguise the lines' cruel contents. The same happens in the dialogues between the slaves *Sceledrus* and *Palaestrio*, two *conservi*, a frequently repeated term in this comedy, when the former says, 278-279: Oh Lord! That all sorts of trouble and torture are what every one of us slaves here is in for to-day! *Ne hercle hodie, quantum hic familiariumst, / maxumum in malum cruciatumque insuliamus.* In turn, *Palaestrio* foretells the possibility of a broad range of misfortunes for *Sceledrus*, 359-360: You'll soon have to trudge out beyond the gate in that attitude, , I take it- arms outspread, with your gibbet on your shoulders, *Credo ego istoc exemplo*

tibi esse pereundum extra portam, / dispessis manibus patibulum quom habebis. All these threats have no impact on *Sceledrus*, who proudly announces, 372-374: Enough of your threatening! I know the cross will be my tomb. There's where my ancestors rest- father, grandfather, great-grand father, and great-great-grandfather. These eyes can't be dug out for me by any threats of yours, *Noli minitari: scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum; / ibi mei sunt maiores siti, pater, avos, proavos, abavos. / Non possunt mihi minaciis tuis hisce oculi ecfodiri*. In its macabre harshness, this list must have seemed ingenious to the public, but from it emerges the true destiny of the slave, even one of the *vernae*. Threats between slaves continue in the dialogue between *Palaestrio* and *Lucrio*, warned by the former, 843: if you tell any lies, *Lucrio*, you'll be lying on a cross, *si falsa dices, Lucrio, excruciabere.* In contrast, *Lucrio* lives in fear of his master, as he explains when addressing the members of the audience as accomplices, 859-862:I'm done for! Master'll torture me, once he comes home and finds this out, because i…didn't tell him. I'll run away somewhere, by gad, and postpone my punishment for a while. Don't tell him for heaven's sake! *Perii! Excruciavit mihi erus, domum si venerit, / quom haec facta scibit, quia sibi non dixerim. / Fugiam hercle aliquo atque hoc in diem extollam malum. / Ne dixeritis, opsecro, huic, vostram fidem!* He sharply avoids *Palaestrio*, maliciously saying to him as he leaves the stage, 865-866: Just the same, if ther's any trouble doled out, and i'm away, you please take my share, just the same, *Quaeso tamen tu meam partem, infortunium / si dividetur, me apsente accipito tamen*. The *architectus doli*, *Palaestrio,* achieves his aims and is recognised as the true *architectus*, 901 and 902. The world turned upside down to be found in *Miles gloriosus* is completed in an unusual way at the end of the comedy, 1394-1425, with the threats of torture and mutilation normally reserved for slaves uttered by *Periplectomenus* against the *miles Pyrgopolinices*, although the latter finally manages to be let off with no more than a harsh *verberatio*, despite the orders of his master explained by the *cocus Cario*, 1398-1399: Bless you, sir, it's been itching this long time to dock his bestial belly and hang the trimmings round his neck now like a babys string of beads!*Quin iamdudum gestit moecho hoc abdomen adimere, / ut faciam quasi puero in collo pendeant crepundia*. There is thus a surprising end in which the *miles* himself recognises that he has been outwitted by *Palaestrio*'s *calliditas*.

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Poenulus and the audience's complicity

Significant information is provided at the beginning of *Poenulus* when the prologue alludes to the way in which slaves managed or tried to see theatrical performances, 23-24: let no slaves crowd in, but leave room here for free men, or else pay cash for manumission, *servi ne obsideant, liberis ut sit locus, vel aes pro capite dent*, the reversibility of slavery is as apparent as its presence.[68] The dialogue between *Milphio* and his master *Agorastocles*, 135-209, is an exchange of bitter jokes between the two characters, the *servus callidus, Milphio*, complains, 138-139: Now you blarneybait me: yesterday you wore out three ox-hides on my back and didn't bother you a bit, *Nunc mihi blandidicus es: heri tergo meo / tris facile corios contrivisti bubulos*, and he subsequently adds, 142-143: Just let me beat you the same as you did me, all for nothing at all, *sine te verberem / item ut tu mihi fecisti, ob nullam noxiam*. This imaginary world turned upside down encounters reality in the ingratitude that *Milphio* himself expects to receive from his master in spite of his good service, 819-820. Furthermore, a lengthy dialogue between two slaves *Syncerastus* and *Milphio*, 823-929,[69] resorts to the well-known clichés of fear and violence, with the former asking the latter, light-heartedly, to replace him in his punishment, 855-856.

Other important information in *Poenulus*[70] refers to those prostitutes who could afford to have slaves and the former's social condition; *Adelphasia*, a *meretrix*, literally refers to them as, 267: *servocolicolas sordidas*, slaveling courters; 270: *servolorum sordidulorum scorta diobolaria*, tuppenny sluts of scummy slavelings. We can be sure of the complicity of the members of the audience, who were well aware of the ins and outs of the plot and its accurate reflection of the society in which they lived.[71]

[68] For *Pseudolus* and its public, cf. Anderson 1993,133-134.

[69] Cf. Slater 2004, 291-298.

[70] On the literary devices employed in *Poenulus*, cf. Maurice 2004, 267-290, where he stresses *Hanno*'s success. The speeches in Punic may well have caused more hilarity than perplexity; on them cf., for example, Sznycer 1967; Rosól 2012, 89-95.

[71] Cf. Moore 1998, 13-14, where he mentions how in *Poenulus* 550-552, the author addresses the audience as an example of his being in tune with his public.

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The complexity of *Pseudolus*

Pseudolus can be considered a model of what a good slave can do, which does not mean that he is a *bonus servus*, but rather that he uses his condition as a *servus callidus* to fulfil his master's aims without any kind of violent conditioning factor or excessive fear of him intervening. However, a distant hope of benefit could be the background that leads him to choose between his two masters. There are at least two passages that enable us to see Plautus "winking" at his audience in this comedy; one of them appears when the slave *Pseudolus* states, 720-721: This play is being acted for the benefit of these spectators: they know how, having been here. You two I shall inform later, *Horum caussa. Haec agitur spectatorum fibula: / hi sciunt, qui hic adfuerunt; vobis post narravero*. The leading role of the *servus* is clear; this is a matter between him and the audience while the other characters are merely small parts to ensure that the plot unfolds. In addition, in this same dialogue with the public, we can highlight that Plautus also makes it clear why and how violence is used against the slave in the theatre in a monologue delivered by the *senex Simo*, 1238-1245:

That was a beauty I gave him, and wasn't it a beauty my slave landed on his enemy! Now I have decided to lie in wait for *Pseudolus* in another style than you see in other comedies where they do their waiting with clubs or whips. But I — ein I go this instant to produce the eighty pounds I promised, if he accomplished this; I'll bring it straight to him unasked. What a fellow he is — so clever, so shifty, so damned artful! Ulysses and that Trojan dodge are quite outclassed by *Pseudolus*. Well, I'll go in, produce the cash, and lie in wait for the liar.

> *Bene ego illum tetigi, bene autem servos inimicum suom.*
> *Nunc mihi certum est alio pacto Pseudolo insidias dare*
> *quam in aliis comoediis fit, ubi cum stimulis aut flagris*
> *insidiantur: at ego iam intus promam viginti minas*
> *quas promisi si ecfecisset; obviam ei ultro deferam.*
> *Nimis illic mortalis doctus nimi' vorsutus, nimi' malus;*
> *superavit dolum Troianum atque Vlixem Pseudolus.*
> *Nunc ibo intro, argentum promam, Pseudolo insidias dabo.*

The second scene of the first act lives up to the expectations of anyone that wishes to witness this Plautine device of evoking violence, when the *leno Ballio* addresses his slaves in the expected terms: men more like asses I never did see — ribs cudgelled callous! When you

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beat them, it's yourself you hurt most, *Neque ego homines magis asinos umquam vidi, ita plagis costae callent: / quos cum ferias, tibi plus noceas; eo enim ingenio sunt flagritribae* (136-137); and slightly later: I'll flog your flanks till they're perfectly polychrome, draperies *ita ego vostra latera loris faciam ut valide varia sint* (145); subsequently: this is where to turn your ears — to what I say, you assortment of crackscarriers! By the lord, your hide shan't be tougher than my rawhide here, never! What now? Does it hurt? There! That for a slave that scorns his master! *huc adhibete auris quae ego loquor, plagigera genera hominum. / Numquam edepol vostrum durius tergum erit quam terginum hoc meum. / Quid nunc? doletne? em sic datur, si quis erum servos spernit*. (153-155),continuing with a further sequence of orders, threats and descriptions of behaviour that must have fulfilled the audience's expectations. The insult *furcifer*, jail bird, (193) fits this context of violence perfectly, a background that also affects the women *Aeschrodora* (196-201) and *Phoenicium* (229). When the *senex Simo* considers that *Pseudolus* is leading his son astray, he does not hesitate to tell him, 446-448: He's the one that corrupts my son for me, the sink of iniquity! He's the leader, he's the lad's tutor in it, he's the one I long to rack! *Hic mihi corrumpit filium, scelerum caput; / hic dux, hic illist paedagogus, hunc ego / cupio excruciari*. Subsequently in the dialogue between this character and *Pseudolus*, there is a series of references to the *pistrinum*, the mill, 494, 499 and 500, with a conclusion by *Pseudolus*, 502-503, in order to justify his own silence: Because it was a choice of evils — immediate or impending, present or a bit postponed, *Quia illud malum aderat, istuc aderat longius; / illud erat presens, huic erat dieculae*, a pragmatic explanation with comical features given by someone who is well aware, as he subsequently states, 513, that he might be flogged, *virgis caedito*, in his own words, and once again the image of the *pistrinum* will prey on his mind, 534. The situation of the young slave who is disposed to do anything[72] to obtain money and make a gift to his master, *Ballio*, who has threatened him with punishment if he is not successful,

[72] 784-787: Lord, Lord! And yet I'm so fearfully, frightfully afraid of master now, if someone put something in my hand that made it heavier — no matter if they do say doing it makes you groan awfully- it does seem as if I could control my teeth somehow, *Atque edepol ut nunc male malum metuo miser, / si quispiam det qui manus gravior siet, / quamquam illud aiunt magno gemitu fieri, / comprimere dentes videor posse aliquo modo*.

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seems more dramatic, 767-789. He is in a state of desperation when his monologue reaches its high point, 781-783: So now, unless I send the pimp a present to-day, to-morrow I'll have to swallow the stuff that fullers use. Oh, dear, how tiny I am for that even now! *Nunc, nisi lenoni munus hodie misero, / cras mihi potandus fructus est fullonius. / Eheu, quam illae rei ego etiam nunc sum parvolus! Pseudolus'* drunkenness brings the play to a close amidst amusing scenes such as *Pseudolus*' *vae victis*, woe to the vanquished, in 1317 and his proud: What's the use of threats? I've got a hide, *Quid minitare? Habeo tergum*, 1325. A further nod to the public ends the play with *Simo*'s words: *Why don't you invite the spectators too? Quin vocas spectatores simul?*, to which *Pseudolus* quick-wittedly replies: Lord! Those chaps never think of inviting me, so I won't them, *Hercle mihi isti hau solent / vocare, neque ergo ego istos*, 1332-1333. Hence, there can be no doubt of the audience's complicity.

The moral of *Rudens*

Rudens is considered a moralising comedy, in which the dependency of *Diphilus*, 32, which is so easy to keep up yet so difficult to prove, is recognised. The doubtful sentence in 112-114: A slave must have money and merit to be so free of speech inhis master's presence and insult a gentleman, *Peculiosum esse addecet servom et probum, / quem ero praesente +praetereat+ oratio / aut qui inclementer dicat homini libero*, is undoubtedly a proverbial allusion to the situation of slaves explained at this point, precisely in a play where often obscene double entendres seem to play a noticeable part. It is symptomatic that the trade of the *venalis*, the slave dealer, is considered a cliché for lack of humanity, 584. The *leno Labrax* is equated with a slave when the *servus Trachalio* says to him, 721-722*:* I'll make a punching-bag of you the next minute, by heaven, I'll hang you up and hammer you, you big liar! *Extemplo, hercle, ego te follem pugillatorium / faciam et pendentem incursabo pugnis, periurissime*, although he does not dare to announce the punishments characteristically reserved for them, and the *senex Daemones* joins in, saying, 731-732: Look here, you! Unless you knock the eyes out of his head when I give you the signal, I'll wind whips round you like rush twine round a bunch of myrtle, *Vos adeo, ubi ego innuero vobis, ni ei caput exoculassitis, / quasi murteta*

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iunci, item ego vos virgis circumvinciam, where a threat towards his slaves is added to the *vis* against *Labrax*. *Daemones*' threats continue and when he orders fire to be brought, one of the *lorarii* is heard to reply, 764: We haven't any coals — we live of dried figs, *Nullum habemus ignem: ficis victitamus aridis*, which would have undoubtedly sparked off the audience's mirth. The value of *malum* is clearly demonstrated in numerous passages, among them 780-781 and 793. Once again, such proverbs flow freely in the monologue of the fisherman *Gripus*, who recites a good slave's duties and his dreams of thereby attaining his freedom and fulfilling his future greatness, as the founding hero of a new city, 906-937. The insults that *Trachalio* and *Gripus* trade with each other, 938-1044, must also have amused the audience as much as their dialogue full of puns, with veiled allusions to violence, where *philosophus*, 986, sounds as strong an insult as *furcifer, scelus, mastigia* or *veneficus*. *Gripus*' exclamation, 1249-1253: I've seen actors in comedies talk in that wise way before now, and get clapped after preaching those rules of wisdom to the people. But when folks left and they each went away home, not a one of 'em acted as those actors told 'em, *Spectavi ego pridem comicos ad istunc modum / sapienter dicta dicer atque is plaudier / cum illos sapientis mores monstrabant poplo / sed cum inde suam quisque ibant divorsi domum, / nullus erat illo pacto ut illi iusserant*, must also have delighted the members of the public, who were already relishing the end of such an ethical character.

The comedy thus comes to an end with *Gripus* failing to obtain his money, and perhaps also his freedom, together with the well-established device of making the audience participate in the final action, which is not performed on stage, a sure guarantee of complicity and applause.

HUNGER IN *STICHUS* AND "SAVOIR FAIRE" IN *TRINUMMUS*

Apart from hunger, the leitmotif of the characters in *Stichus*, we should also remember the statement by *Stichus* regarding the *servus Sagarinus*, 442-444: If a slave doesn't get to a dinner party in time, he ought to be given a cortège with whipcords, by gad, to escord him home, *Servos homo qui nisi temperi ad cenam meat, / advorsitores pol cum verberibus decet / dari, uti eum verberabundi adducant domum*. This humorous maxim parallels another of a more serious nature, 692: Enough is right.

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A slave had better be a careful spender, not overdo it, *sat est servo homini modeste melius facere sumptum quam ampliter*. In brief, this is a comedy in which violence is almost taken for granted without hiding the difficulties of life that can be alleviated by a good meal and an element of entertainment, as in the case of *Stichus.*

Trinummus reflects an environment with hardly any threats, although not totally free of them, where the character of the slave *Stasimus* moves with great familiarity not exempt from occasional moments of considerable harshness, as is the case of the threat issued by *Lesbonicus*, 463-464: You add another word, and I'll gouge an eye out for you! *Oculum ego ecfodiam tibi, / si verbum addideris*. *Stasimus*, 1011, warns himself: just you take care they don't play long games of tinklepot with rawhides on your resounding rear, *Cave sis tibi ne bubuli in te cottabi crebri crepent*, in the typical reminder of his condition as a slave and a *magnum malum* hovers over him in 1061-1073, without consequences. In *Trinummus*, the mention of the *Surii* slaves, capable of enduring the greatest hardships, 542-546, which leads to the mention of the *Campani*, the citizens of Capua reduced to the most abject slavery, a reference that was sure to have pleased the audience, is especially noteworthy.

A CLOSING CONSIDERATION

At this point, the sequence of examples to outline the points being made comes to an end. By examining the particular features of the different comedies, new elements, some of them found in several works, have gradually been introduced. As has been emphasised and highlighted in the course of this analysis, the sum total of all these features shows us the audience's tastes, which have gradually been defined in accordance with what this study set out to demonstrate.

Although descriptions using words are among the most prominent characteristics of Plautine comedy, it is clear that Plautine comedy does not go so far as to describe events like the ones that are shown in the more popular form of mime; in the latter not only are references or allusions to be found, but, as has so often been repeated, representations that occasionally reach the level of paroxysmal situations without examining in greater depth the link between these events, however unpleasant they may seem to us today, and the *trica*,

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that is to say the intrigue or the organisation of the plot of the basic literary text. In spite of everything, it is a spectacle, and integrating these realistic, and more than realistic — real, events within it produces an attraction that results in the audience being satisfied. It should be noted that the staging of violence does not form part of the performance in Plautus, in clear contrast to what happens in mime.

A recent monograph by L. Cicu enables us to observe these events from a strictly literary viewpoint, without diminishing what might be called the underlying reality, which, in this case, often acquires the condition of a real event on stage.[73]

At this juncture, it should be pointed out that, as regards the subject of violence, as in all other respects, Plautine comedy takes special care not to reach paroxysmal situations, unlike what very often occurs in mime. Erotic scenes in mime give rise to situations not to be found in any other genre; scenes implying cruelty, punishment and even death on occasions surpass realism and end up offering the audience, as has already been pointed out, reality,[74] which undoubtedly is far from the well-known *mors mimica*.

Almost by way of conclusion, I would dare to state that I consider that the examples presented here, without aspiring to offer exhaustive coverage, provide ample illustration of the subject that I set out to consider and the parameters and conditioning factors that were made explicit at the beginning of this study; these examples have been developed by the cases gathered in my analysis, which has sometimes been elaborated by means of complementary aspects in order to make it even more evident how extensive the audience's participation and complicity could be, both as regards the expository forms in Plautine theatrical action and as concerns the social contents reflected by these texts. At no stage do these seem to go against the tastes and expectations of the public, who would not have felt perturbed by the social satire and who would have accepted the transgression from a position of calm and amused composure, convinced that the social order would not be altered.

[73] Cicu 2012; Bonaria 1965. Cf., in addition, the still very useful work of Reich 1903.

[74] Cf. Cicu 2012, 162 and 181-185, on realism in mime.

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An observation on Plautus' biography

A final question that can be posed in view of what has been expounded is the legend surrounding the supposed biography of Plautus derived from Suetonius' *De poetis* and collected in the translation of and supplement to Eusebius' *Chronicle* by St Jerome, for the year 1817 = 200 B.C. (ed. Helm, p. 135): "Plautus was born in Umbria at Sarsina, died at Rome, there he was forced by poverty to work at a hand-mill, and used write in his spare time and sell his plays"[75]. Aulus Gellius for his part, 3, 3, 14, recalls the same event, indicating at least one of his sources, Varro's *De comoediis Plautinis*,[76] most likely to have been the same as that of Suetonius: "Now Varro and several others have recorded that the Saturio, the Addictus, and a third comedy, the name of wich I do not now recall, were written by Plautus in a Bakery, when after losing in trade all the money wich he had earned in employments connected with the stage, he had returned penniless to Rome and to earn al livelihoodhad hired himself out to a baker to turn mill, of the kind wich is called a "push-mill""[77]

It should not be forgotten that Aulus Gellius was a pupil of Sulpicius Apollinaris,[78] who is known to have worked on the text of Plautus' *Comedies* in the 2nd century A.D.[79] Gellius' interest in Plautus might have been come from Sulpicius Apollinaris and perhaps even his information on this subject.

In this context the memory of *Epidicus* almost inevitably comes to mind, 119-123: Friends of your sort I'd rather see in blazes than in bankruptcy. Ah, I'd be willing to pay a pretty price for *Epidicus*'

[75] *Plautus ex Vmbria Sarsinas Romae moritur, qui propter annonae difficultatem ad molas manuarias pistori se locaverat ibi, quotiens opere vacaret, scribere fabulas solitus ac vendere*.

[76] See on the *recensio Varroniana*, Deufert 2002, 200-237.

[77] I am using the trnsalation (1927) of J.C. Rolf in the Loeb Classical Library, the latin text is: as follows *Saturionem et Addictum et tertiam quandam, cuius nunc mihi nomen non subpetit, in pistrino eum scripsisse Varro et plerique alii memoriae tradiderunt, cum pecunia omni, quam in operis artificum scaenicorum peperat, in mercatibus perdita inops Romam redisset et ob quaerendum victum ad circumagendas molas, quae trusatiles appellantur, operam pistori locasset.*

[78] Cf. For example Deufert 2002, 228: Sulpicius Apollinaris appears to have been the author of the non-acrostic argumenta of the Plautine comedies.

[79] Holford-Strevens 2003, 12-13 and 83-86, on Sulpicius Apollinaris and 215-216, for Gellius' interest in Plautus.

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assistance now. I'll have that fellow flogged till he's irrigated, and then sent to the mill, unlesshe gets me a hundred and sixty pounds to-day before the last syllable of the sum has left my lips, *Malim istiusmodi mi amicos furno occensos quam foro. / Sed operam Epidici nunc me emere pretio pretioso velim. / Quem quidem ego hominem inrigatum plagis pistori dabo, / nisi hodie priu' comparassit mihi quadraginta minas / quam argenti fuero elocutus ei postremam syllabam.* We can add the string of insults present in *Persa*, 418-422, where *Dordalus* calls *Toxilus*: See here, you idol of the public, you haunt of hangdog menials, you liberator of harlots, you whiplasher, shacklewaster, miller's metropolis, liferslave, you swilling, stuffing, stealing runaway, you kindly hand over my money! Give me my money, brassface! *Vir summe populi, stabulum servitricium / scortorum liberator, subduculum flagri / compendium tritor, pistrinorum civitas, / perenniserve, lurcho, edax, furax, fugax, cedo sis mi argentum, da mihi argentum, impudens*. In *Persa*, 21-22: For more than a year I have been Minister Extrairondinary and Plentyblowtentiary at the mills, *Plusculum annum / fui praeferratus apud molas tribunus vapularis.*[80] These are highly revealing passages whose parallels with Plautus' biography or its legendary versions can hardly be overlooked.[81]

It is evident that, despite the antiquity of the sources, we can reasonably suppose that this is a legend almost inspired by his own comedies, although whosoever might be inclined to believe in the veracity of these events can also see, in juridical terms, a *capitis diminutio* for debt. It is many years since F. Della Corte rightly mistrusted these biographical details, which would seem to resemble a literary cliché.[82]

For my part, I definitely believe that this is a fictitious account based on his own works and even related to his possible condition as

[80] The comic reply is in 23*:* An old familiar post of yours, *Vetu' iam istaec militiast tua*. The *pistrinum* is also present in *Mostellaria* 17 and the *molae* in *Menaechmi* 975.

[81] Cf. González Lodge 1926-1933, vol. II, s.v. *mola*, 80 and s.v. *pistrinum*, 329-330.

[82] Della Corte 1967[2] for the biography of Plautus, chapter II "L'occasione teatrale", 25-46; he does not accept the possibility of Plautus being condemned to turn millstones on 29-33.

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an actor. G. E Duckworth has rightly insisted[83] that Plautus was a man basically associated with the theatre, where, in some way, he had an active role.[84] As already mentioned, it should be remembered that the leading actors in his comedies were the ones that played the parts of slaves or parasites. The formation of a legend of this type referring to an almost servile position for Plautus and the vagaries and vicissitudes of fortune provides a perfect match for the world of slaves and patrons in which the real protagonists of his works moved, surely in those parts of these works in which his talent was best displayed, developing the plot and innovating with regard to his models. According to these supposedly biographical details, violence and bad fortune bore down on Plautus in much the same way as they do on his characters whose well-being hangs by a thread. In essence, as so often is the case in the world of Antiquity, we are faced with a legend which, in view of the lack of secure biographical information, fills this void with a fictional account that is coherent with both the individual and his work. Turning the millstone is a sentence, a punishment fit for slaves, and a person who had so often referred to such a fate, describing the fear of his characters and the vagaries of fortune as well as the fragility of their situation even when triumphant, finds himself being submitted to the same destiny. Plautus' success in the theatre led to his downfall, and would explain his new situation, even his profound knowledge of slave psychology as well as his point of view, which placed such characters in the leading roles to the detriment of the brilliance of other social levels.[85] This biography would explain Plautus' works and the world view reflected therein to both the school and erudite audience of Antiquity, in addition to making it possible to forgive the social transgressions which, to a certain extent, his works set before a conservative society; at the same time, it would explain the precarious transmission of the author's works

[83] Duckworth 1952, 49-51, esp. 51; cf. Leo 1912², 63-86, which continues to be fundamental, especially for the parallels with Naevius.

[84] Taladoire 1956, 49-53, who compares him with Molière.

[85] Pansiéri 1997, has recently reconsidered the subject of Plautus' profound knowledge of the slave world in the second part of his book, chapter IV, "L'identification de Plaute avec son *servus callidus* et ses fantaisies de triomphe sur les trois figures emblématiques de Rome, le *pater*, le *leno* et le *miles*", 690-732; see, in addition, the fifth chapter in general: "L'expression d'un subconscient vindicatif dans le théâtre de Plaute", 597-747.

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and the vicissitudes of his *corpus*, eventually established in grammatical and antiquarian terms at the end of the 1st century B.C. The stormy life of Naevius, whose imprisonment is referred to in *Miles gloriosus*, 209-212, can be, and has been, offered as a parallel for Plautus' turbulent life.[86] The confrontation between Naevius and the *Metelli* represents an original political element; in no way does it seem possible to relate it directly to the contemporary social criticism expressed by Plautus,[87] but it undoubtedly constituted a parallel element of transgression for ancient tradition. Both *poetae* suffered adverse fortune in their time, perhaps a compensatory element seen as being fair in a setting of conservative and moralising school education, but at the same time their work exhibited novel signs that awakened the curiosity of both students and scholars, which undoubtedly served to strengthen the "Fortleben" of both figures. However, it was insufficient to ensure the complete transmission of their work, which, in the case of Plautus, was so manipulated and filtered by the tradition that ultimately led to the *recensio Varroniana*. A similar traditional school textbook point might be his marriage late in life to a rich widow from *Sarsina*,[88] a motif that is subsequently repeated in what is known of the poet Martial's biography on his return to *Bilbilis*.

Nevertheless, the apparently marginal nature of Plautus was not an impediment for his notable presence in the intellectual and literary history of Rome, which ultimately coupled him, as might have been expected, with Naevius.[89] This is further proof of how fame directs, by means of the tradition that we might anachronistically call

[86] The contacts between Naevius' work and that of Plautus have been adequately analysed by Wright 1974, 33-59. On this question see also Monda 2014, 65-85, esp. 65-69, with an excellent bibliography.

[87] In *Amphitruo*, the word-play between the two meanings of *malum*, harm or apple, is also present, 723: Realy now ma 'am, it's a lady in your condition ought to have aches and pains, yes, and an apple supply, too, *Enim vero praegnati oportet et malum et malum dari*.

[88] Cf. on this subject, De Lorenzi 1952, 166, who relates the event to *Mostellaria*, but considers that there are valid allusions to Plautus' life when single in *Miles* and when married in *Mostellaria*. As in the previous case, I believe that these are likely to have been school book clichés present in literary lives.

[89] As in CIC. *De sen*. 14, 50, cf. Pansiéri 1997, 51-52. The first part of the same book,45-252, can be consulted for the problems of Plautus' origins, rank and citizenship.

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"philological", literary destiny and the place occupied in it by Ancient authors. It may not be inappropriate to recall line 727 of *Asinaria*: Salvation is at her old tricks, fooling people, and Fortune too, *Vt consuevere, homines Salus frustratur et Fortuna*.

I cannot but close by reiterating how Plautus' own biography, despite its scholastic nature, seems to have been subjected to the tastes of a public that surely saw the author's *vita* as a natural continuation of his work.

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HIMERIUS'S TESTIMONY ON *MOUSIKE* AS A MEANS OF PREVENTING VIOLENCE IN THE LATE ANTIQUE SCHOOL OF RHETORIC*

José Guillermo Montes Cala

City and school constituted the macrocosm and microcosm of the oratory activities of Himerius, one of the foremost exponents of Greek sophistic in the Late Roman Empire. [1] His contemporary, Libanius, was clearly aware of this, for in a letter dated around 355/6 AD to Gorgonius, advisor to the governor of Armenia, he wrote to intercede in favour of maintaining the sophist's possessions in these Asiatic territories, presenting the intercession as an act of beneficence for "the whole Greek world" (ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν): "Himerius' life is education, and the place of his teaching (τόπος τῆς συνουσίας) is Athens."[2] This famous teacher of rhetoric in fourth century Athens lived, as did Libanius, "in an age of violence."[3] However, in this case, we must once and for all overcome the long-standing prejudice[4] of seeing Himerius and his orations as a mere reflection of the well-known adage *ars gratia artis* since a good number of his speeches are shot through with valuable observations on the realities of the Roman Empire of his time,[5] and more particularly — thinking about the relationship between violence and education — it could be said that the corpus of his texts[6] offers

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[1] Watts 2006, 24-78 provides an overview of education in Athens between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD, in addition to analysing the emergence of Christianity as a religious factor. See also Schemmel 1908.

[2] Lib. *ep*. 469 F. (trans. Barnes).

[3] See the analysis of Norman 1983, based on the extensive corpus of works by Libanius.

[4] Which has prevailed since the famous pages that Norden 1974 [repr. 1909²], 428-31 dedicated to Himerius.

[5] See Barnes 1987, 206-7.

[6] The standard critical edition remains that by Colonna 1951, composed of 74 speeches (unfortunately many of them incomplete) and 16 fragments of uncertain attribution. References to the text in this paper are based on this edition.

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an interesting collection of impressions that demonstrate the complete interdependence of the political (i.e., the *polis*) and scholastic spheres in fights between sophists amid the rarefied university atmosphere of Athens at that time.[7] Libanius provides us with an introduction to this common phenomenon of academic violence in the turbulent days of Late Antiquity in his *locus classicus*, a magnificent and perceptive description of his student years in Athens preserved for us in his *Autobiography* (*Or.* 1): in the very heart of Athens, "wars" (πόλεμοι) between "groups of students" (χοροί), waged with a panoply of sticks, swords and stones, were the order of the day, and the heat of the battle was followed by written accusations, arrests, defences, and judgments of the evidence. In short, as Libanius indicates with an apposite comparison to the military world, among students in Athens, defence of the "affairs" (πράγματα) of their teacher of rhetoric and his school resembled a soldier in arm's defence of his homeland.[8] In a much-quoted letter to the distinguished Celsus, one of his former students in Nicomedia, Libanius returns to this well-worn simile: he thanks him for his assistance in trying to dissuade the rhetor Acacius from sending his son Titianus to Athens, precisely because "they're forming soldiers rather than orators"[9] there. Although Himerius's orations do not contain such glaring examples as those of Libanius, they do shed light on some aspects of this problematic interaction between the "public" (i.e., the

[7] Müller 1910 observed a marked increase in violence in Athenian student life from the 4th century AD onwards. In addition, Watts 2006, 42-3 also noted that earlier, only Philostratus spoke in passing of student incidents in connection with the scandal surrounding the sophist Adrianus of Tyre, whose students beat a pupil of the sophist Chrestus of Byzance to death for vilifying their teacher. However, for the existence of other early testimonies, see Cribiore 2001, 67.

[8] Lib. *Or.* 1. 19-22 describes the outbreak of the so-called "Great Riot" in which everyone except him was involved. Völker 2002, 169 rightly warns that the teacher-student relationship has been much less studied in the case of Himerius than in that of Libanius. The voluminous epistolary corpus of Libanius which has been preserved is an inexhaustible source of references; in contrast, no letters remain in the case of Himerius, but there are over thirty speeches which address the subject of school.

[9] Lib. *ep.* 715.3 F. (trans. Bradbury). The comparison between education and military training is a constant in classical sources: X. *Anab.* 2. 6. 12 compared general Clearchus's severity towards his soldiers with the habitual rudeness of teachers towards their students.

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formal world of oratory aimed at ἐπίδειξις in the context of the *polis*)[10] and the "private" (the world of the school, with a much more informal practice of oratory),[11] sometimes providing a glimpse of these "tribal fights" (ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι), as Eunapius of Sardis so aptly and expressively termed them when describing the violent confrontation that erupted between supporters of the sophists Julian of Cappadocia and Apsines.[12]

An initial indication that scholastic violence was a reflection of public violence is given by the presence in Himerius's *Or.* 16 of the word στάσις, usually signifying "civil strife" but here used to designate scholastic discord.[13] The message that the sophist wished to convey extemporaneously to his seditious students was that words had the power to "put an end" (λύειν) to any outbreak of violence and thus restore the necessary peace: "Won't an Attic rhetor with his Greek eloquence put an end to discord merely by expressing himself?,"[14] Himerius muses after recounting two paradigms to his youthful audience about the liberating power of λόγος: the first, the famous "potion" (φάρμακον) with which Helen of Troy lulled the tears of Telemachus and Nestor, enigmatically called "grass" (πόα) in *Odyssey* IV, but which in reality was nothing other than a "sweet and completely wise word" (λόγος ἡδὺς καὶ πάνσοφος), and the second, the pseudo-historical story about the aulete Timotheus, who calmed the anguish and frustration of Alexander the Great with the pieces he played on his flute (διὰ τῶν αὐλημάτων). The context of *Or.* 16 is therefore intentionally Gorgian, since in it Himerius declares that the art of rhetoric, "our art" (ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν τέχνη) as he calls it, is the only tool capable of pacifying scholastic discord (στάσις). The therapeutic capacity of λόγος is, moreover, comparable to the traditional δυνάμεις assigned to μουσική, as the example of Timotheus and his αὐλός is intended to highlight.

[10] See Völker 2003, 46-9; Penella 2007, 34-46 & 207-18.

[11] See Völker 2003, 44-5; Penella 2007, 66-75 & 107-13.

[12] Eun. *VS.* 9.2.2.

[13] *Or.* 16. 2-19. This speech was "improvised in response to the dissension which had arisen in the school" (σχέδιος ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν διατριβὴν στάσει), as indicated by the testimony of *codices* 165 (*Φκ*) and 243 (*Φ*) of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius.

[14] *Or.* 16. 20-21 (trans. Penella).

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Or. 16 also reveals a constant in Himerian oratory: the almost total synonymy between eloquence and μουσική,[15] the latter being understood in its broad and traditional sense of the "art of the Muses," an equivalence that Himerius arrived at following a very personal look at the widespread phenomenon of prosification of poetic genres that emerged over the centuries of the Empire. His oratory "sings" not because of his self-proclaimed Asianism,[16] but because he felt he was heir to the educational properties of the venerable μουσική. Thus, in the upper levels of education, the school of rhetoric now assumed a very similar mission to that which Plato had assigned to μουσική as an essential education and the most direct path to foster virtue in youth through cultivation of Apollo and the Muses (*Lg.* II 654b-655b). In a typical "farewell speech" addressed to his students, Himerius claims that "virtue and eloquence" (ἀρετὴ καὶ λόγος) constitute the most appropriate therapy for the mind. Indeed, virtue should govern and rule λόγος, which in turn, "as a skilled servant of a good queen" (καθάπερ τις δεξιὸς ἀγαθῆς βασιλίδος διάκονος), should diligently execute and implement its orders (*Or.* 15. 11-16). Examples of this reciprocal fusion of virtue and eloquence abound in Himerian oratory[17] and the maxim was long-standing; from the outset the Greek sophists had forthrightly declared that virtue could be taught.[18]

[15] On this synonymy, see the useful synthesis by Vox 2010-11, 361.

[16] Völker 2006, 591 remembers that Norden 1974 [repr. 1909²], 429 coined the term 'Poesie in scheinbarer Prosa' for Himerian oratory. On Himerius among 'the singing sophists', see also Cribiore 2007, 53-8.

[17] For example, his eulogy in prose of Athenaeus (*Or.* 28) departs from *encomia* in verse in one essential point: whilst the latter, with formal grandiloquence, extoll τύχη rather than authentic ἀρετή, his praise focuses exclusively on the ethical dimension of virtue.

[18] In Pl. *Men.* 95b1-d1 Socrates criticises the sophists' claim to be "teachers of virtue." Similarly, X. *Cyn.* 13. 1 directed his most scathing attack on the sophists' claim "to guide young people to virtue," when in reality they did exactly the opposite. Thus, seeing himself as the repository of the best sophistic tradition, Himerius employed unmistakeable paradigms to teach that the true purpose of sophistic was to instil virtue: in *Or.* 29, the mythical and historical models chosen to illustrate this were Anacreon, the tutor of Polycrates, and Phoenix, the tutor of Achilles, whilst in *Or.* 40 it was Aristotle, who coached his pupil Hermias in eloquence and taught him virtue.

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Himerius returns to all this in *Or.* 69 where, mimicking the progymnasmatic exercise "introduction of a law" (νόμου εἰσφορά),[19] he makes a general proclamation (πρόρρησις) when welcoming his new students at the beginning of the course. Always prone to using metaphor, Himerius speaks of initiation to the "mystery" (τελετή) of oratory, and thus does not address recently arrived and veteran students but rather the true μύσται and ἐπόπται.[20] This proclamation was actually a call to an ambitious programme of "tasks" (πόνοι) in the service of an education in rectitude, with which he hoped to deflect students from the perilous stimuli emanating from the world beyond the "workshops" (ἐργαστήρια) of the Muses. In his *Autobiography* (*Or.* 1.22), Libanius also spoke of these same external dangers that Athenian life presented to young students: referring to his time as a student in Athens, he claimed never to have touched a ball, visited brothels or participated in any kind of nocturnal revelry.[21] Libanius presents himself here as a living example of a disciplined student governed by σωφροσύνη, embodying the ideal student described by Himerius in *Or.* 69.[22]

These "workshops of the Muses" represented the microcosm of the school, and the important role of their choral dances as a powerful metaphor for rhetorical activity is revealed from the outset in *Or.* 54, addressed to some recently arrived students (νεήλυδες).[23] From the

[19] See Montes Cala 2011, 147-8.

[20] On the presence in Himerian oratory of all these metaphors pertaining to the context of religious mysteries, see Völker 2003, 63-68.

[21] Lib. *Or.* 44. 2 also commends the young Eustathius for not having been distracted from his books despite the frequent fighting waged with swords and sticks in Athens: see particularly Pinto 1974, 155 (n. 50). For other Libanian testimonies on the constant distractions offered by the city which hindered students' progress in their studies, see Petit 1957, 147-8.

[22] From the sphere of Christianity, the autobiographical verses of Gregory of Nazianzus also coincide with this idealised image of a student of rhetoric: in his student days in Athens, the other youths indulged in all sorts of nonsense, but despite his youth, Gregory led a quiet life devoted to meditation and study (cf. *De vita sua*, 211-220). On his time in Athens and his close friendship with Basil the Great, see Bernardi 1990, 79-84; and Watts 2006, 8-10.

[23] Himerius's speeches addressed to other νεήλυδες are as follows: *Or.* 14 (to a recent arrival from Egypt); *Or.* 21 (to the recently arrived Severus, who according to Barnes 1987, 213 should not be conflated with the Severus in *Or.* 9); *Or.* 26 (to newcomers from Ephesus, Mysia and Bithynia); *Or.* 55 (to an unnamed recent arrival); *Or.* 57 (to the newcomer Aphobius). A protreptic, *Or.* 35 (addressed to

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perspective of this teacher of rhetoric, *suavitas* (ἡδύ) was the quality that ought to govern both the physical school, here termed θέατρον, and the "choral" activity performed by all students within its walls.[24] Besides other proclamations concerning the specific field of literary criticism and the dialectic of style,[25] Himerius's *Or.* 64 also offers interesting details about these private θέατρα where the sophists taught the art of rhetoric well shielded from the climate of violence prevailing in Athens. As can be seen in the *titulus* of *Or.* 64, this was "an extempore talk (λαλιά) delivered at his own school (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διατριβήν), which was small in construction (οὖσαν μικρὰν τῇ κατασκευῇ)." Indeed, Himerius introduced this speech by drawing an analogy between the modest school of rhetoric and a holy temple.[26] This kind of analogy is also found in a suggestive passage in the *Vitae sophistarum*, in which the narrator-witness, Eunapius, describes the small and cheap house in Athens that was nevertheless redolent of Hermes and the Muses, where the sophist Julian of Cappadocia taught the art of rhetoric. Here, Eunapius delivers his opinion of this house-school: "so closely did it resemble a holy temple."[27] Eunapius

students who came from other sophists), seems to point to the very widespread phenomenon among disaffected students of constantly changing their school: see Walden 1909, 325-6; and Watts 2006, 56-58.

[24] Wernsdorff 1790, 673 rightly recalled that this oration was delivered *intra privatos parietes, audientibus modo discipulis, non in publico theatro urbis*. The adverb ἔνδον appears in the *titulus* of *R*.

[25] From the implicit analogy between the profane world of his school of rhetoric and the religious world of the Delian temple, Himerius extracts a transcendent lesson in accordance with the doctrine of *decorum*: "For the place where a person takes his first steps is sweet and highly prized, even if it seems small" (*Or.* 64. 9-11, trans. Penella). Nonetheless, the sophist also established a clear dichotomy in this speech between "large auditoria" (μέγαλα θέατρα) destined for public oratory and the "small auditorium" (μικρὸν θέατρον) reserved for oratory deployed in the privacy of the modest school.

[26] The temple of Apollo in Delos: "On this island of Delos the inhabitants say that people are shown a temple that is modest <but regarded as great> in what is said and narrated about it" (*Or.* 64. 4-5, trans. Penella). For the use of a house as a place of teaching in Himerius, see Cribiore 2007, 45.

[27] Eun. *VS.* 9.1.4-5 (trans. Wright). The house was bequeathed to Prohaeresius, an outstanding disciple of Julian and teacher of Eunapius. In another speech addressed to the distinguished physician Arcadius, who was wondering whether to send his son to study with Himerius, our sophist remarks that "there were many Centaurs at the time of Chiron. Peleus, though, sent his son (Achilles) not to any

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also offers an explanation of the circumstances of civic insecurity that obliged a sophist as important as the Cappadocian to deploy his oratory in the privacy of his simple home. As in the case of Julian, it is probable that one of the continuous quarrels triggered by the heat of professional rivalries between sophists also confined Himerius behind the walls of his modest school on this occasion.[28]

In the *Or.* 54, "my chorus" (χορὸς ἐμός) undoubtedly refers to the group of students at his school.[29] This was a commonly accepted meaning of the noun, and was frequently employed by Libanius in scholastic contexts;[30] on occasions, he was not averse to giving specific details about the exact number involved or to identifying the student factions participating in the ructions as such. Nonetheless, in the Himerian passage the explicit comparison with the Muses, on which he would also return at length in *Or.* 66, brings a different aspect to its use. In this, Himerius would appear to follow in Plato's wake. In Book II of Plato's *Laws*, the Athenian invoked Apollo under the name of *Musagetes* with a pedagogical purpose: "in order to elevate" (ἵνα ἐπανορθῶνται) human αἴσθησις with the harmony and rhythm of music.[31] Thus, the expression "our friendship" (ἡμετέρα

of the others, but to Chiron" (*Or.* 34. 16-18, trans. Penella). The implication is that Arcadius, the new Peleus, would do well to do the same with Himerius, the new Chiron.

[28] A good illustration of the serious nature these frequent clashes could assume is Libanius's refusal to accept a teaching post in Athens in order not to arouse the ire of the other sophists and meet such an unfavourable end as Diophantus the Arab or the Egyptian sophist referred to therein: cf. Lib. *Or.* 1. 84-85. For more on this atmosphere of rivalry and violence, see Wolf 1952, 49-52; and Norman 1983, 167-8.

[29] In a fragmentary farewell talk to his students (*Or.* 11), Himerius compares himself to the lyric poets, also calling their followers "their chorus" (τὸν χορὸν τὸν ἑαυτῶν). See Penella 2007, 118 (n. 35).

[30] For the recurrent presence of χορός and its derivatives as applied to students of rhetoric in Libanius, see Petit 1957, 21-22. In his letters (e. g. 835, 886, 1408 F.), Libanius also alludes to a "coryphaeus" or "president of the chorus," a prominent figure of whom Libanius spoke in the case of Athens. As for Himerius, besides the frequent χορός, both χορευταί (*Or.* 65. 21) and συγχορευταί (*Or.* 66. 58) are used with the same metaphorical meaning, the latter highlighting the importance of harmony in the group.

[31] Pl. *Lg.* II 653c7-654a7. Since this is the only living being capable of distinguishing between "order" (τάξις) and "disorder" (ἀταξία) in body movements and the voice. Given the "kinetic" order imposed by choral singing and dance, two clear

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φιλία) employed by Himerius defines the feelings of empathy between the teacher and his pupils in the protective sweetness of the scholastic environment;[32] in contrast, "to camp far away from our friendship" (πόρρω τῆς ἡμετέρης φιλίας… αὐλίζεσθαι) implies being vulnerable and unprotected in the space beyond the school. Therefore, all those students who dared to defect from one sophist to another, a very common phenomenon if we consider the testimony of Libanius's *Or.* 43, were negative elements.[33] Himerius liked to ask these disaffected students what other sound, even that which in nature issued from vernal and melodious songbirds, could surpass in sweetness and grace the tongue of a teacher. His question delves further into these same bucolic airs: "the echo of our auditoria" (ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεάτρων ἦχος), since it was produced by a chorus that responded melodically and rhythmically[34] to the accompaniment of wild flutes or reeds, was equally unsurpassed in its psychagogic power. A good teacher of rhetoric is thus compared to the good shepherd who leads his cattle with the measured strains of his syrinx. This simile of the shepherd is tangible evidence of the agogic power of "musical" oratory in these educational contexts: the chorus has now become a "flock" (ἀγέλη, ποίμνιον) which takes its sustenance from the meadow of the Muses.[35] He therefore decries those teachers of rhetoric who, instead of guiding their flocks with the music of their oratory, lead them as do bad shepherds (ἀγελάρχαι), through the use of blows and whips.[36]

correspondences can be established: on the negative side, between "the uneducated man" (ὁ ἀπαίδευτος) and "one unable to dance in the chorus" (ὁ ἀχόρευτος), and on the positive side, between "the educated man" (ὁ πεπαιδευμένος) and "one who has frequently danced in the chorus" (ὁ ἱκανῶς κεχορευκώς). Plato concluded that only one who has been well educated would be able to sing and dance well.

[32] Isoc. *Ant.* 87-88 also spoke about real friendship with his disciples. For more on the figure of the teacher *in loco parentis*, see Watts 2006, 11 (& n. 60).

[33] I refer here to *De pactis*, in which Libanius proposes a pact with other sophists from Antiochia in an attempt to curb this practice. See Walden 1909, 325-6; Petit 1957, 106-7; and Cribiore 2007, 191-6.

[34] This correlation εὐμελής τε καὶ εὔρυθμος in part echoes Arist. *Pol.* 1341b; however, both concepts (εὐμελὴς μουσική and εὔρυθμος μουσική) are contrasted in this Aristotelian passage.

[35] For Himerian and Libanian passages where ἀγέλη and ποίμνιον are used in this metaphorical sense, see Völker 2002, 171 (& n. 18).

[36] Lib. *Or.* 3 can undoubtedly be proposed as an example parallel to that of Himerius: defending himself against the charge of "harshness," Libanius argues that

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On the basis of this passage, Himerius can be located within the same stream of thought as those authors who, from different perspectives and stances, advocated banning corporal punishment in schools because they considered it a brutal method of correcting misbehaviour;[37] however, it has also been suggested that despite his commitment to the virtue of mildness, in academic practice even Himerius found it difficult to dispense with the use of the dreaded stimuli of the rod and whip.[38] In the case of other sophists, such as Libanius, who also expressed their aversion to the use of physical violence at school, evidence can be culled from their writings indicating contradictions in this respect at one time or another;[39] but in the case of Himerius, Booth's findings are perhaps excessive, since the corpus of his texts provides no evidence that he may have imposed or even theoretically defended corporal punishment. The factors involved were many and complex, but particularly at this advanced level of rhetorical education, the sophist's mere apprehension of seeing his school emptied of students (and thus experiencing a drastically curtailed livelihood) if he were to respond to signs of unruly behaviour with excessive severity, always acted as a deterrent to implementing methods that were perhaps more common in the early stages of education.[40]

On the contrary, Himerius's proposal to use the new "musical" oratory as a tool for the ethical correction of his students, reflected in the psychagogic power of the series μέλος καὶ σῦριγξ in *Or.* 54, is

"kindness" is an essential feature of his character, and one which has ensured that his students apply themselves to their scholarly tasks without the need for blows. For more on these "whip-wielding masters", see Cribiore 2001, 65-73.

[37] Libanius condenses this ideology: "However, I would prefer my students well-disciplined as a result of argument than as a result of the lash, and because of respect rather than because of a beating" (*Or.* 58. 38, trans. Norman).

[38] Booth 1973, 111. Bonner 1977, 143-5 has also stressed that although voices were raised in protest, corporal punishment was never banished from the classroom or condemned by public opinion in the ancient world.

[39] See Cribiore 2001, 70.

[40] The best expression of this is found in Lib. *Or.* 43.10. Booth 1973, 109 did not distinguish significant differences between the different educational stages as regards the methods of punishment used; however, Cribiore 2001, 70-73 did: for the upper level of teaching it is better to speak of "methods of intimidation" rather than "coercive methods," the latter being more suited for use in the primary and secondary levels with children and adolescents.

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even more evident in *Or.* 66, where he establishes a comparison between the conflict existing at the time within the school and the level of myth, a term that is used here in its narrow sense of fable or "a fictitious story giving an image of truth."[41] In line with a myth attributed to Aesop (and with the Pythagorean tradition),[42] in *Or.* 66 the sophist presents an exceptional case of restoring order within a group through the wise command of musical technique rather than by resorting to violent methods. If we are to believe what is suggested in the *titulus* of *R*, this was an "extempore piece" (σχέδιον) addressed "to some of his students who appeared to be out of control" (εἰς τινας δόξαντας ἀφηνιάζειν τῶν φοιτητῶν). The verb ἀφηνιάζειν employed in the *titulus* alludes to the equally common metaphor of students as "foals" (πῶλοι) who must be bridled.[43] The speech paints a "picture" (γραφή) of one of the many lyrical activities of the god Apollo; however, on the occasion described, the chorus of the Muses is joined by the Dryads and Hamadryads, rustic deities whose behaviour is typical of "reckless" (ἀτάσθαλοι) choral dancers and provokes the god's irritation. At this turning point, Himerius interrupts the Aesopian fable to embark on a meticulous theological digression against the lies told about the gods in Homeric poetry.[44] The example chosen is a forceful demonstration that the Apollo who is the "conductor of the Muses" (μουσηγέτης) cannot be the same violent and cruel god of Book I of the *Iliad*, whose anger provoked an outbreak of the plague in the Greek camp.[45] Aesop was therefore right when he said that, even angry as Apollo was, he did not resort to physical violence against the inattentive nymphs, but merely put all his pedagogical wisdom into practice with the apposite use of modulation: Apollo changed the tuning of his lyre and suddenly the "soft" (προσηνές) melody became "harsh" (τραχύ), as he struck the strings of the lyre not with his fingers but with a plectrum. With this wise use of musical performance techniques, the god managed to correct the disorder

[41] Theon *Prog.* 72 (trans. Kennedy). See also Montes Cala 2011, 151-2.

[42] *Fab. Aesop.* 432 Perry. See particularly Vox 2013, 179.

[43] See Petit 1957, 21; and Völker 2002, 171.

[44] For this "refutation" (ἀνασκευή) of Homeric theology, see Montes Cala 2013, 220-1.

[45] Nevertheless, it would seem that Himerius forgot that in *Il.* 1. 603-4, it was Apollo's lyre and the Muses' choral singing that were responsible for reconciling the gods after their dispute over the fate of Achilles.

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of the chorus. The picture that Himerius describes through the words of Aesop[46] reveals a pedagogical wisdom in Apollo similar to that traditionally assigned to Pythagoras and his school.[47]

However, the new μουσική of Himerian oratory not only functioned in the microcosm of the school, restoring discipline among students; it also acted on the macrocosm of the polis, "singing" of the happy advent and government of the new "conductors of the Muses" of his time, the Roman officials and dignitaries who had arrived in Athens.[48] *Or.* 38, the first "talk" (λαλιά) offered in the Athenian praetorium before Cervonius, demonstrates an interest in revealing the personal circumstances of the sophist himself, to the extent that the praise of the *laudandus* is in some measure conditioned by this singular fact.[49] Himerius obeys the divine command of the proconsul Cervonius, the new Apollo guiding the Muses, but this comparison of the dignitary with divinity is actually the starting point for the sophist to focus on his personal situation by developing an "Attic tale" (Ἀττικὸν διήγημα) about the ancient and venerable Athenian sophistic.[50] The example of Socrates is evident here: he was noted by the Delphic Apollo himself as being the only man of his time who was the true bearer of authentic rather than spurious or fraudulent

[46] Similarly, the prosopopoeia of Mount Helicon, a "poetic" license that Himerius extracted from the Aesopian text itself, with the eloquent speech addressed to the nymphs proposing that they change their location for that of a rival, the "tragic" Cithaeron, which would be more in accordance with their discord, also recalls Plato's denunciation of "plaintive harmonies" (θρηνώδες ἁρμονίαι) precisely because of their ethical futility: cf. Pl. *Rp*. III 398 c-400 d.

[47] Iamblichus speaks of Pythagoras as being the first to suggest that music greatly contributed to health: "This, then, was Pythagoras' most beneficial method of correcting human character and lifestyle by music" (*V. Pyth*. 114, trans. Clark), and proposes a series of well-known anecdotes that use practical examples to illustrate how Pythagorean music therapy is based largely on the principle of knowing how to apply suitable modulations in order to effectively guide the spirit towards the opposite emotions.

[48] Encomia such as that dedicated to the proconsuls Cervonius (*Or.* 38) and Hermogenes (*Or.* 48) emerged from a new and joyful awakening of Himerian μουσική in the solemn field of public oratory and, at the same time, indicated a change for the better in his professional status thanks to the fact that the new authorities now expressly gave him their support over the earlier intrigues and threats of his opponents.

[49] On this oration, see now the comments of Vox 2011.

[50] See Montes Cala 2013, 215-6.

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wisdom, and thus the young preferred to follow his true eloquence, thereby arousing envy in the rest of the sophists.[51] Similarly, Himerius recommenced his public career as a sophist despite all the slanders directed at him by rival sophists. As a prophet of the Muses and Hermes, Cervonius brought the calm of "Justice" (Δίκη) and "Right" (Θέμις) to Athens, a necessary condition for μουσική rather than violence to take root among the "flocks" (ἀγέλαι) of students. The earlier recklessness had finally been exorcised and the bucolic panorama that he now paints is the reverse of the situation described at the beginning of *Or.* 54, when the insolent student demonstrated his disaffection with the chorus of the Muses.

Thanks to the timely intercession of the Roman dignitary, the microcosm of the school, ruled by educational μουσική, expands into the macrocosm of the city, now that its good governance has been restored by divine hands. Himerius delivered *Or.* 46, entitled "To those who lay snares for him and to the proconsul Basilius," after the other sophists had already spoken on the tribune. It was probably a preliminary piece to an oratorical display or *epideixis*, and represents further valuable evidence of the dangers of academic struggles. As an encomium, it departs from the rule in one important aspect: the first part contains an invective, formulated with irony and yet nevertheless looking to provoke an impact on the listeners, against those who had laid snares for him prior to Basilius's arrival in Athens. In this section of *Or.* 46, forceful use is made of warlike vocabulary to describe the plight recently experienced by the sophist. His Muse has "fallen" (ἐρριμμένη) and is "dishonored" (ἄτιμος) because his eloquence has been subjected to all kinds of calumny and war has been declared against him. He likens his situation "to a long siege" (τινι πολιορκίᾳ μακρᾷ): "For the whole population is at war with me, some of their own accord, some by agreement with others. I have no idea of what complaint against me has caused this war."[52] But the Muses love the champions of Apollo and Hermes and play with them. This was,

[51] The example of Socrates as the best antidote to resentment and envy among sophists also appears in Synesius of Cyrene (*Dio* 14. 12-14): the teacher's life was marked by constant jealousy and thus he would ever pray for that no rival in wisdom would emerge in his city or, if one such did appear, would spare no effort to tarnish his reputation.

[52] *Or.* 46. 15-17 (trans. Penella).

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therefore, a perverse and savage command (ἐπίταγμα φθονερόν τε καὶ ἄγριον) that had achieved nothing against the θεοφιλία of the sophist for the proconsul Basilius, a new Apollo following his providential epiphany in the city,[53] under whose protection he can only express more forcefully to his adversaries his firm determination to continue dancing with the Muses, in other words, to continue engaging in rhetorical activity.[54]

Still more explicitly, the cause indicated as the trigger for two new orations on the school context, *Orr.* 21 and 65, seems to have been what the manuscript transmission describes as a "clash" (συμπληγάς).[55] *Or.* 21, very damaged, is a "welcome speech" addressed to a recently arrived student named Severus, "who was at the head of a clash" (ἐπιστάντα συμπληγάδι).[56] Reality is paralleled with two mythical situations of conflict, sharing the common circumstance of a peaceful resolution. At the beginning of this speech, Himerius makes preventive use of the Achilles paradigm, comparing the warlike situation of the Homeric context — given as reference — with one of many

[53] *Or.* 47, another encomium addressed to Basilius on the occasion of the Panathenaea festival at the beginning of spring, contains what is possibly the most explicit passage (47. 74-76) on the correspondence between the dignitary and Apollo Μουσηγέτης: Basilius is not only loved by Apollo but also his equal, since the god leads his chorus of Muses on Mount Helicon and, in the same way, the proconsul has converted Attica into the "workshop" (ἐργαστήριον) of the Muses.

[54] Beneath lies the old Pindaric maxim: "The Musagetes invites me to dance" (fr. 94c Mähler ὁ Μοισαγέτας με καλεῖ χορεῦσαι). At the beginning of *Or.* 20, addressed to the proconsul Musonius, Himerius again says how the arrival of the proconsul in Athens has made it possible for him to abandon the habit (νόμος) of removing his eloquence from mass gatherings. This custom most probably referred to the confinement of his oratory to the small auditorium in his school, as has already been seen in the *Or.* 64, presumably to avoid becoming an easy target for potential acts of violence. In this respect it is worth recalling the previously mentioned *Or.* 69, delivered to his students "after healing from a wound, at the beginning of the course" (μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος θεραπείαν, ἀρχομένων σπουδῶν *R*), because the injury that for some time had kept him away from his scholastic activities may have been the result of one of these altercations, where "envy" (φθόνος) was capable of wreaking all sorts of havoc on oratory.

[55] For Penella 2007, 72-3 both incidents should be of a similar nature: συμπληγάς undoubtedly refers to one of many clashes between students from rival schools.

[56] According to the Himerian bibliography of Photius: cf. *Φκ* p. 9, 48-49 Colonna.

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struggles which emerged in the heat of the rivalry between schools: Achilles did not forget to play the lyre while battles were fought (21.1 παρὰ τὰς μάχας); thus, neither should Severus forsake the lyre (i.e. rhetoric activity) because of scholastic struggles. On a divine level, the "dispute" (ἔρις) between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of Attica, which was settled by a vote and not by physical violence, is a new and appropriate example to appease the warlike impulses of young Severus. Here, the message seems clear: by reminding the student that "Achilles loved courage" (21.5 ἤρα ἀρετῆς Ἀχιλλεύς) and therefore "imitated" — with his lyrical singing — "the exploits of warriors" (21. 5 s. τα κλέα τῶν ἀνδρῶν… πολεμῶν ἐμιμεῖτο), he presents the student not only with a role model, that of Achilles, for reconciling arms and arts, but also a tool, the mimesis of art itself (whether the lyric or, what amounts to the same thing, rhetoric), as an effective vehicle to keep him safe from all outbreaks of violence.

Nevertheless, *Or.* 65, this time addressed "To those who were in the clash and absent from class" (Εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ συμπληγάδι ὄντας καὶ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀπολιμπανομένους *R*), does not show Himerius in the same light of a sophist decidedly distanced from such confrontations, although Photius offers an alternative title for the piece: "a rebuke (ἐπίπληξις) against those who pursued their classes in eloquence with indolence" (*Φκ* p. 10. 85-86 Colonna). At the start of this dissuasory speech, Himerius employs a "gioco di specchi"[57] to present a new comparison between reality, marked by the difficult moments his school appeared to be experiencing, and the mythic plane, where the openly epic tone of the Homeric description is obvious. Taking the world of Homer as a paradigm,[58] Himerius also seems to have reunited his troops and have lamented, like Agamemnon, the wounds received in combat. His identification here with the commander who was a "friend of his soldiers" (φιλοστρατιώτης) sheds more light on his involvement in this type of warlike event, such as that recently experienced by his students, and suggests that the interpretation given to the text in *cod.* 165 of Photius, as a rebuke to the entire class for fighting with rival factions and thereby abandoning the practice of rhetoric, is simplistic and possibly misleading. Himerius

[57] See now the apposite comments of Lazzeri in Andreassi-Lazzeri 2012, 43.

[58] For the miscellany of passages from the *Iliad* that make up the initial paraphrase in *Or.* 65. 3-17, see Greco 1998, 268-70.

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does not reprimand his bellicose pupils for preferring battle over attending class: he too adheres to king Agamemnon's "strategic plan" of rejoicing in his soldiers' triumphs as much as lamenting their defeats. The metaphorical plane is consistent here with the martial spirit in the Athenian sophist schools that Libanius reviled in his letter to Celsus (*ep*. 715.3 F.). What Himerius does seem to deplore, again coinciding with Homer's Agamemnon, is the absence of his best student, the "Achilles" of his school (*Or*. 65. 7-9). It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the "serious wound" (καιρία πληγή) that prevented his best student from participating in the scholastic confrontations, but the simile strongly points to a probable disagreement between teacher and student (similar to that which occurred between Agamemnon and Achilles), which may have concluded in the student's defection.[59] Irrespective, the most accurate interpretation of what is contained in *Or*. 65 revolves around a correct assessment of the distinction between the leader of the group and the group itself. In Himerius's text, the musical metaphor is superimposed over the military one to clarify the importance of this distinction: the "only sound" (εἷς φθόγγος) that prevents a truly choral execution (ὁμοῦ, "in unison") — because of its absence from the harmonic system — is the unnamed "Achilles" from his school. It is because of this that he is negatively singled out from among the rest of the students, who are now ready to resume academic activities (i.e., to sing a "recantation" as Himerius later says) after healing the wounds received in the fight in defence of their sophist. The situation coincides in part with that described by Libanius in his *Or*. 3 ("To his students, about his speech"). Here too, he describes the numerous scars on the bodies of the young students of rhetoric as evidence of these wars in defence of their teachers, where they acted in accordance with a clear maxim: τὸ μὴ σωφρονεῖν καλόν ("It is creditable even to overstep the mark").[60]

Two very revealing facts have been highlighted in the analysis of the phenomenon of scholastic violence in the Late Antique school of rhetoric:[61] (1) that Hermogenes' *Art of Rhetoric*, a collection of treatises which over the course of the 2nd to 5th centuries AD became established as the official text in Late Antique and Byzantine schools

[59] See again the comments of Lazzeri in Andreassi-Lazzeri 2012, 48.
[60] Lib. *Or*. 3.21 (trans. Norman).
[61] See Davis 2006, 197-204.

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of rhetoric, contained a wealth of subjects for speeches taken from Classical Antiquity that revolved around violence in its various manifestations; and (2) in consequence of the above, that the repeated use of these topics for educational purposes in school eventually could have promoted a genuine culture of violence among students.[62] Our analysis shows how all these ideas about the effectiveness of music as an agent of moral education formed the central core of Himerius's pedagogic discourse. He attributed to eloquence the same power that music has to lead the soul, individually and collectively,[63] towards ethical propriety. Himerius's "lyre" is his prose oratory, and he aspires to play with virtue the symphony between the individual and the communal and thus preserve "word and man" (λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος) from violence and barbarism,[64] the fruits most widely seeded within the city of Athens, the place where, as Libanius (*ep*. 469 F.) reminds us, Himerius spent most of his life teaching rhetoric.

[62] An example of the presence of these subjects is furnished by Himerius himself in *Or*. 4, an imaginary judicial *Declamatio contra divitem* with generic characters and implicit evocations of the myth of Oedipus: this μελέτη recounts a gruesome tale of adultery and murder framed within the standard theme of political enmity between a rich man and a poor man. For comment on *Or*. 4, see Russell 1983, 27-30; and Penella 2007, 159-60.

[63] On this dichotomy in the ancient musical theory, see Arist. Quint. 2. 6 [65]: "Just as there is a kind of health that belongs to the community and one that belongs to the individual, so there is a concord [*symphonia*] that holds between a whole city itself, and one that holds between a single soul and its own parts" (trans. Barker). Previously Aristides Quintilianus also proclaimed that "in the earliest times, when political institutions were nowhere firmly established, the cultivation of music in association with virtue corrected (διωρθοῦτο) civil discord and put an end to hostilities with neighbouring cities and races" (2.6 [64], trans. Barker). In a short διάλεξις entitled "Virtue and the Liberal Arts," Maximus of Tyre aptly articulates the precise scope of μουσική within the study of the liberal arts for the education in virtue of individuals and the community alike: "But the true harmonies… preserve the individual soul, preserve households, preserve cities and ships, and armies" (Max. Tyr. 37.4, trans. Trapp). Cf. also [Plut.] *Mus*. 26. 1140 B. In the service of this educational ideal, a collection of *exempla* is proposed and repeated *ad nauseam* from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity.

[64] Cf. *Or*. 68. 8. The symbiosis between eloquence and city is here absolute: "burgeoning eloquence" (οἱ λόγοι θάλλοντες) renders Athens sublime, but silenced, dwarfs her. For the sources on Athens as the birthplace of eloquence and humanity that inspired Himerius, see Penella 2007, 97 n. 79.

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VIOLENCE AND MYTH: THE CREATIVE VIOLENCE OF DRAGON-SLAYING IN THE ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL WORLDS

Daniel Ogden

In the ancient and medieval worlds tales of dragon-slaying or dragon-defeating were often, though not always, aetiological: the defeat of a dragon in the past, near or far, was celebrated as the starting-point of an institution of the contemporary world, a topographical feature, a festival or a city. Sometimes, though again not always, the new institution was seen as in some sense compensatory for the lost dragon. Although there is much to say about the dragons that lurk behind topographical features — caves, rocks, hills, springs — and behind festivals, we will concentrate here on their roles in the foundations of cities, which were never quite the same twice.[1]

The neatest example of dragon-slaying in association with city-foundation is the tale of Coroebus of Argos' slaying of a monster in that city, which leads on to the foundation of the new city of Tripodiskoi. Pausanias tells that Coroebus' story was to be found carved in elegiac verses on his tomb in the Megarian agora, and that it was illustrated with an image on top of the tomb of Coroebus killing the monster. The earliest extant literary mention the tale comes in a fragment of Callimachus, but it is narrated in the most expansive fashion by Statius. The monster is described in various ways in the ancient sources as a *poinē* ("punishment", "vengeance") a

[1] By "dragon" I translate the Greek term *drakōn*, which was taken into Latin as *draco* (whence the English term), though it was often represented also in Latin by the more native term *serpens*. The creatures discussed here are either directly defined, in whole or in part, by the term *drakōn* or its correlates, or are directly analogous in form or modus operandi to creatures that are so defined. A *drakōn* was in essence an enormous snake in form with, additionally, some sort of supernatural affinity, though they could also incorporate the forms of other creatures too, notably humans, within themselves. See Ogden 2013a, 2-4 and *passim*.

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kēr ("death-demon"), and a *lamia*.[2] Statius, without naming her, describes the monster in some detail. She has the face and bosom of a girl, but she is an anguipede (that is to say, a serpent below the waist) and, in addition, a single, hissing serpent-head rises from her brow and divides it. She has two hooked claws with nails like iron with which she is still skewering her latest baby victims when Coroebus encounters her.[3] The scholia to Ovid's *Ibis* quite compatibly describe her both as a monster with a serpentine *body* but human face and as a monster with a serpentine *head* but a human face.[4] It has generally been overlooked that a unique but exquisitely congruent illustration of this monster survives on a ca. 470-60 BC white-ground lekythos, which, incidentally, pushes the earliest attestation of the myth back for us by two centuries.[5]

The tale runs as follows. Apollo seduces and impregnates Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus of Argos. In fear of detection by her father Crotopus, Psamathe exposes her baby, Linus, in his sheep-pens, whereupon he is torn apart by his sheep-dogs. In grief she reveals what has happened, and her implacable father executes her. Apollo then sends the monster to wreak vengeance for the child and its mother, and she seizes babies from their mothers' breasts and devours them. The youth Coroebus slays the monster with his sword, and the Argive people then mangle her with staves and knock her teeth out. Thereupon Apollo sends a second bane upon Argos, a plague that can

[2] Callim. *Aet.*F26-31e Pf., with diegesis; Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.xix (Photius cod. 186); Ovid *Ibis* 573-6 with schol.; Stat. *Theb.* 1.557-668 with Lactantius Placidus on 1.570; *Anth. Pal.* 7.154 (*kēr*); Paus. 1.43.7-8 (*poinē*), 2.19.8 First Vatican Mythographer 2.66 (*lamia*). Discussion at Fontenrose 1959, 104-5, 115, Ogden 2013a, 87-8.

[3] Stat. *Theb.* 1.599-600 (*aeternum stridens a uertice surgit/ et ferrugineam frontem discriminat anguis*), 601-2 (*squalida passu/ inlabi*) 610-11(*unca manus… ferratique ungues*).

[4] Ov. *Ib.* 573-6.

[5] *LIMC* Apollon 998 = Python 2. Here Apollo sits with his plague-sending bow on his *omphalos*, in front of which stands a tripod, which not only signifies the location of Delphi, as does the *omphalos*, but also anticipates the foundation of Tripodiskoi. In attendance stands an anguipede monster, from the top of whose humanoid head grows a serpent-head, and who reaches forwards with two large claw-like hands. Kahil 1966 and Lambrinudakis and Palagia 1984, 103 (*LIMC ad loc.*) misidentify the monster depicted here as Python, with the latter reading the serpent projecting from the head as an Egyptian-style uraeus headdress!

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only be averted by the sacrifice of the monster's killer. Coroebus accordingly travels to Delphi and nobly offers to sacrifice himself to Apollo; but the god is charmed by him and so spares him. However, he is forbidden to return to Argos and given the task of founding a new city: he is to carry a tripod out of the Delphic sanctuary until he drops it, and found the city at that spot. The city duly founded is that of Tripodiskoi, Little Tripods, in the Megarid. Here, then, the slaying of the serpent leads directly to the foundation of a city, which serves as an act of compensation or restitution for the killing of the serpent before its sponsor god.

A second Delphic narrative of interest is a tale taken over by Antoninus Liberalis from the second-century BC Heteroioumena of Nicander. According to this a monster called Lamia (again) or Sybaris would venture out of her cave on Mt Cirphis near Crisa to attack the Delphians and their flocks. Apollo told the Delphians they could deliver themselves from the monster by exposing a citizen lad to it. The lot fell upon the fair Alcyoneus. Eurybatus caught sight of him as he was being led off to his doom and fell in love. So he substituted himself for the boy, taking on his sacrificial garlands, overwhelmed the monster and threw her down the mountain. The wounded creature disappeared and a spring, which the locals called Sybaris, appeared in her place, and it was after this that the city of Sybaris in Magna Graecia was in due course to be named (as we are told by Antoninus within his narration of the story). The trail is indirect, but it starts from the killing of the creature and leads to the city. [6] Antoninus says nothing of the form of Lamia-Sybaris, but the tight correspondence his narrative exhibits with Pausanias' similarly homosexual tale of Menestratus, Cleostratus and the dragon of Thespiae encourages us to think that she is a drakōn. Pausanias tells how a drakōn (explicitly described as such) was once devastating the city of Thespiae in Boeotia. The god (presumably Apollo) commanded that the beast should be placated by the sacrifice to it of an ephebe chosen by lot each year. When the lot fell upon Cleostratus, his lover Menestratus had a bronze breastplate made covered with fishhooks and, wearing this, fed himself to the drakōn. He killed it,

[6] Ant. Lib. *Met.* 8. Nicander: so following the text of Cazzaniga 1962. Discussion at Rohde 1925, 153-4, Fontenrose 1959, 105, Celoria 1992, 128, Ogden 2013a, 65-6, 88-9.

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but died himself in the process.[7] (The motif of the hero feeding himself to a dragon in hooked or spiked armour is one found also in British folktales.)[8] To return to Eurybatus and the Lamia-Sybaris, the thematic correspondences between this tale and the Coroebus tale are also striking: both feature, drakōn aside: Apollo; a monster, one of whose names is Lamia; plundered sheep; a youth offering himself in sacrifice (cf. Menestratus again); a homosexualsexual motivation (in the case of Coroebus, this seems latent in Apollo's response to the lad); and a resulting city foundation.

To Thebes, now. Cadmus' foundation of Thebes was not a direct result of his killing of the Dragon of Ares, but the killing of the dragon was tightly bound up with it, since the dragon was the guardian of the spring that occupied the future site of the city, and its killing enabled Cadmus to populate it. The tale is recounted, in whole or part, by a great many ancient authorities: it is alluded to already in a fragment of Stesichorus and eventually recounted in its most expansive form by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, whilst the passing references to it in Euripides' *Phoenissae* are of great importance for access to the details of the tale at a relatively early stage. The canonical version runs as follows. Phoenician Cadmus came to Greece in search of his sister Europa, abducted by Zeus. But Apollo instructed Cadmus to follow a heifer and found a city wherever it threw itself down to rest, and it did so at the future site of Thebes. Cadmus wished to sacrifice the cow to Athene, and sent men to draw water from the adjacent spring, Dirce. The spring was guarded by a serpent set at its post by Ares, which killed the men, and Cadmus duly killed it in revenge with a rock, either dashing it against the serpent's head or throwing it at it. Following Athene's advice, he sowed the serpent's teeth in the ground and the Spartoi ("Sown Men") or indeed a crop of Giants sprung up, plant-like, from them. Cadmus took fear and threw stones amongst them, whereupon they attacked each other, until only five remained, but it was from these five remaining men that the future population of Thebes was to derive. To make good for the killing of the serpent, Cadmus was indentured as a servant to

[7] Pausanias 9.26.7-8.

[8] Most notably that of the Lambton Worm, for which see Simpson 1980, 124-7 (reproducing an anonymous pamphlet of ca. 1875); cf. also Ogden 2013b, 271 (illustration) and 279-80.

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Ares for eight years. Zeus gave Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, to Cadmus as wife, and she bore him four daughters and a son. Later Cadmus and Harmonia moved to Illyria, where they became king and queen of the Encheleis (the "Eel People"), whom they led into battle both against other Illyrian tribes and indeed against Greeks, and even against Delphi itself, before dying and being translated to Elysium. At some point in the course of their Illyrian period, Cadmus and Harmonia were themselves both transformed into serpents.[9]

In this narrative, the act of compensation that we might have expected the foundation of the city to constitute, in light of the Coroebus tale, seems to have been deferred in complex ways. There is of course the direct and obvious form of compensation to Ares on Cadmus' part in the fact of his being indentured to him for eight years (compare Apollo's being indentured to Admetus of Pherae after his killing of Python at Delphi).[10] Another variety of direct compensation is perhaps to be found in Cadmus' own eventual transformation into a serpent, together with his wife Harmonia, in the appropriate company of the Eel People: Nonnus indeed makes Cadmus' transformation into a *drakōn* the final result of a curse made by Ares in anger for his killing of the Theban serpent.[11] But there is also a more subtle form of compensation, and that too dragon-related and foundation-related, in Cadmus' sowing of the slain dragon's teeth. Ares or Athene, or Cadmus at the behest of one of these, replaces the slain dragon by producing a new generation, the Spartoi, from its

[9] These are the principal literary accounts: Stesichorus F195 *PMG/Campbell*; Pherec. FF22ab, 88 Fowler; Eur. *Phoen.* 238, 638-48, 657-75, 818-21, 931-41, 1010-11, 1060-66, 1315, (all with scholl.), *Bacch.* 1330-9, 1355-60, F930 (?); Hellanicus FF1a, 51, 96, Fowler; Palaephatus 3-4; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*3.1176-90; Ov. *Met.* 3.28-98 (the most expansive account); Apollod.*Bibl.*3.4.1-2, 3.5.4; [Plut.] *Fluv.* 2.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 6, 148, 178, 274.4; Paus. 9.10.5, Philostr. *Imag.*1.18, Nonn. *Dion.*2.669-78, 4.348-463 (a good account of the fight), 5.121-89, 44.107-18, 46.364-7; Phot. *Lexicon* and *Suda* s.v. Καδμεία νίκη; schol. Pind. *Pyth.*3.88-91; First Vatican Mythographer 2.48-9. For the rich iconographic sources for this myth see *LIMC* Harmonia 1-7, Hesperie 1, Kadmos i 7-47, Vian 1963 plates i-xii. Discussions of the myth at: Robert 1920-6, i, 100-14, Trumpf 1958, Fontenrose 1959, 306-20, Vian 1963, 76-176, Vermeule 1971, Tiverios 1990, Gourmelen 2004, 371-400, Ogden 2013a, esp. 48-54, 2013b, 109-18.

[10] Anaxandrides of Delphi *FGrH* 404 F5 = schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1.

[11] Eur. *Bacch.* 1330-9 (cf. Eur. F930 *TrGF*?); Nonn. *Dion.*4.416-20.

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teeth. Cadmus goes on to destroy these too for the most part, and by the parallel gesture of stone-throwing again.[12] But, as we have said, five did survive to begin the populating of the city, and this too can be considered an act of foundation. Whilst the survivors are not physically described for us, their names would seem to indicate that they retained some vestige of their serpent parent: they were Oudaios and Chthonios, both of whose names signify "Of the Earth," Pelor(os), "Monster," Hyperenor(os) "Overbearing," and, most interestingly, their chief Echion(os), "Viper-man" (*echis*: "viper").[13] It is also possible that the metal arms with which the Spartoi sprung up ready-equipped were considered to have derived directly from the dragon's metallic body and so to be reproducing it in a new form. On the one hand, there was a tradition that the Hydra's central head was made of gold (this was the claim of the undated Aristonicus of Tarentum, who is cited by the maverick first- or second-century AD Ptolemy Chennos).[14] On the other, Cadmus was the fabled first discoverer of metal and arms.[15] Did he find it first in the body of the serpent he had slain — necessarily with a stone, in the pre-metal era — or did he find it in the ready-made armour of the Spartoi?

Cities of immemorial age had their slain dragons, but newly founded cities could acquire them too. The most striking example here is that of Alexandria and its Agathodaimon or Agathos Daimon ("Good Demon") *drakōn*.[16] The alpha recension of the Alexander

[12] Stesichorus F195 *PMG/Campbell* (Athene), Pherec. F22a-b Fowler (Cadmus, at the behest of Ares and Athene), Eur. *HF* 252-3 (Ares), Hellanicus F1a Fowler (Ares, Cadmus) F51 (Athene, Cadmus), Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1176-90 (Cadmus), Diod.19.53.4-5 (Cadmus, implicit), Ov.*Met.*3.102-5 (Athene, Cadmus), Stat.*Theb.* 4.434-5 (Cadmus), Apollod. *Bibl.*3.4.1 (Athene, Cadmus), Heraclitus *De incredibilibus* 19 (Cadmus, implicit), Hyg. *Fab.*178 (Athene, Cadmus), Nonn. *Dion.* 4.401-5, schol. Eur. *Phoen.*1062 (Athene, Cadmus).

[13] Pherec. 22a Fowler; Hellanicus F1a Fowler, Apollod. *Bibl.*3.4.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 178, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 934. Nonn. *Dion.*4.401-5, 421-63 has Cadmus produce (anguiform?) Giants by sowing the teeth. Discussion at Fontenrose 1959, 307, 311-12, Gantz 1993, 469-70.

[14] Aristonicus of Tarentum *FGrH* 57 F1 *apud* Phot. *Bibl.*cod. 190 (Ptolemy son of Hephaestion/ Ptolemy Chennos), 147b22-8.

[15] Conon *FGrH* 26 F1, xxxvii (arms); Plin. *NH* 7.197 (Cadmus discovered mining and the smelting of gold a Mt Pangaeus); Hyg. *Fab.*274.4 (bronze). Cadmus was also credited with the invention of quarrying: Plin. *NH* 7.195.

[16] For discussion of Agathos Daimon in general see Tarn 1928, Taylor 1930, Visser 1938, 5-8, 65-6, Nilsson 1967-74, ii, 213-18, Bernand 1970, i, 82-99, Fraser

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Romance, a text seemingly assuming the form in which we know it in the third century AD, describes the foundation of the city, albeit in partly rationalising and partly confused terms. According to this, Alexander's architects marked out the projected city to extend between the rivers "Dragon" (*Drakōn*) and "Agathodaimon"[17] (the latter in fact being the name given to the Canopic branch of the Nile in several inscriptions and in *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy).[18] A *drakōn* which was in the habit of presenting itself to people in the area kept frightening the builders, and they would break off their work upon the creature's arrival. News of this was given to Alexander and he gave the order that on the following day the serpent should be killed wherever it was caught. On receipt of this permission, they got the better of the beast when it presented itself at the place subsequently called the Stoa and killed it. But Alexander then gave the order that it should have a precinct there, and buried the serpent. He also gave the command that the neighborhood should be garlanded in memory of the sighting of Agathos Daimon. Alexander declared the official foundation day of both city and heroon to be the 25th Tybi. As the dragon's heroon was being built, a host of snakes burst forth from an inscribed stone and crawled off into the four houses so far built. From that point the doorkeepers admitted these snakes (*opheis*) to the houses as Agathoi Daimones. These snakes were not venomous, but they did ward off those snakes that were. On the 25th of Tybi thenceforth they made sacrifice to the Agathoi Daimones that looked after their houses and made them gifts of porridge.[19]

Here the slain dragon is not confined merely to playing a part in the story of the city's foundation: rather it becomes a protective hero that watches over it, both in spirit, and, in a sense, in body. The host of Agathoi Daimones snakes that emerges from the inscribed tablet in the heroon, and which go off to be the protective house-snakes of the individual Alexandrian homes, would seem to constitute the great *drakōn* redivivus. There is perhaps a rough parallel with the host of

1972, i, 209-11, with associated notes, Quaegebeur 1975, 170-6 and *passim*, Mitropoulou 1977, 155-68, Dunand 1969, 1981, with bibliography, Pietrzykowski 1978, Sfameni Gasparro 1997, Hillard 1998, 2010, Jouanno 2002, 75-6, 105-8, Stoneman 2007, 532-4, 2008, 56-8, Ogden 2013a, 286-309.

[17] *Alexander Romance* (A).1.31.7

[18] See *OGIS* no. 672, with further references *ad loc.*; Claudius Ptolemy *Geography* 4.5.

[19] *Alexander Romance* (A) 1.32.5-13 ~ (Arm.) §§ 86-8.

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the serpent-themed Spartoi that emerge from the teeth of the slain Dragon of Ares.

For all the *Romance*'s devotion to fantasy, the Agathos Daimon story reads like a rationalization of a once more dramatic dragon-slaying story: there is no great battle between Alexander and the dragon, which is projected as more of a nuisance than a peril, and the warrior-king merely gives orders for its killing loftily and from afar, with the deed itself being undertaken by nameless workmen. Alexander had to wait until the δ recension of the *Alexander Romance*, known to us only from the seventh-century AD Syriac translation of a Greek original, to acquire or perhaps reacquire the full-blown dragon-fight that was his due. Here the setting for the dragon fight is a mountain adjacent to Prasiake in India. Alexander comes across a people who tell him that his way across the mountain ahead will be blocked by a great god in the form of a dragon that lives in a temple beside a river upon it. It is capable of sucking up an elephant with its breath, and often takes human victims. To keep the dragon in a basic condition of placation, a local man devoted to the service of the god takes it two oxen a day. These he deposits on the opposite bank of the river, their legs tied, and retreats to the top of the mountain above. In due course the dragon emerges from the temple and devours them. Alexander orders that two huge oxen be prepared for the dragon. Their flesh is to be removed, and their hides filled with gypsum, pitch, lead and sulphur. The dragon crosses the river and inhales the two oxen at once, falling to the ground, its mouth agape, as the gypsum enters its belly, and uprooting trees with its thrashing tail. Alexander then orders brass balls to be heated with a smith's bellows and thrown into the creature's mouth. After receiving five balls, the beast shuts its mouth and dies.[20] The Agathos Daimon episode — as the only dragon-fight of Alexander's in the alpha recension — may lie deeply buried in the archaeology of this tale.

Three decades after the foundation of Alexandria, Seleucus acquired Syria after the defeat and killing of Antigonus Monophthalmus at the

[20] *Syriac Alexander Romance* 3.7. For text and translation see Budge 1889, with translation of the relevant portion at 102-3. This was then taken up into the ca. 1000 AD version of the *Romance* in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, C1331-4; Khaleghi-Motlagh 1988- will be the standard edition of this text when complete. Translation at Davis 2006, 506-8 and Warner and Warner 1912, vi,148-53.

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battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, and set about filling it with new cities. The imagery of the accompanying foundation stories makes appeal, in an indirect but elaborate way, to the defeat of the greatest of all dragons, that of Typhon at the hands of Zeus. Seleucus is guided to the sites for all four of the great cities of his "Syrian Tetrapolis" either by Zeus' thunderbolts or by Zeus-eagles that seize the flaming meat he is offering to Zeus on his altars and cast it down at the destined sites in the fashion of the thunderbolts they usually bear.[21] Syrian coins of the imperial age were to exhibit Macedonian eagles carrying thunderbolts and ox-thighs alike in parallel configurations.[22] Seleucus can be seen to have "tamed" the great Orontes river with the three substantial, thunderbolt-led foundations he made upon it, Apamea, Antioch and Seleucia-in-Pieria. This too is the message of the statue of the Fortune (Tyche) of Antioch that Eutychides of Sicyon made for Seleucus, in which the city, embodied as a woman, plants her foot firmly on the shoulder of the swimming, but also seemingly writhing, Orontes, embodied as a youth.[23] Accordingly, in his foundation myths Seleucus is cast as a latter-day Zeus, the god having initially created the sinuous Orontes by driving the dragon Typhon underground with his thunderbolts. As Typhon penetrated the earth he released underground waters into the sinuous trail he had left as he squirmed to escape, and so had formed the river that was originally named "Typhon" for him — so Strabo, whilst Malalas tells us that the river's original name was actually Drakon (cf. Alexandria!) or Ophites "Snake river."[24] Like the Maeander, the

[21] App. *Syr.*58 (thunderbolt for Seleucia-in-Pieria); Lib. *Or.* 11.85-100 (eagle with sacrificial meat for Antioch); John Malalas *Chron.* 198-203 Dindorf (= Pausanias of Antioch/Damascus *FGrH* 854 F10.1-1, eagle with sacrificial meat for Seleucia-in-Pieria, Antioch, Laodicea and Apamea).

[22] Dieudonné 1929 with plate ii (iv). Note especially 16 (eagle with thigh) and 18 (eagle with thunderbolt).

[23] Pausanias 6.2.7; cf. Pliny *NH* 34.51. See the images at Balty 1981 (*LIMC* Antiocheia), and now Meyer 2006.

[24] Strabo C750-1. For the battle between Zeus and the anguiform Typhon more generally see Hes.*Theog.* 820-80, Pind.*Pyth.*1.15-28, Apollod. *Bibl.*1.6.1-3, Nonn. *Dion.*1.140-64, 184-202, 213-18, 234-53, 258-76, 294-309, 362-82, 387-403, 409-47, 463-471, 478-94, 507-20, 2.1-10, 20-52, 68-72, 237-58, 273-90, 314-17, 339-52, 364-90, 436-74, 508-39, 553-63, 606-24, 663-79. For the iconography of Typhon see *LIMC* Typhon 1-30, with Touchefeu-Meynier and Krauskopf 1997. See Ogden 2013a, 69-80, 2013b, 19-38

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Orontes is indeed gratifyingly serpentine in its course. Furthermore, Seleucus was typologically projected into an extended series of battles between thunderbolt-wielding storm-gods and dragons or giants that had taken place on or around Mt Kasios, the mountain that towered over Antioch and the river, and these went back certainly into Ugaritic, possibly even into Hurrian times.[25] Seleucus brushes with another foundational dragon too. At Daphne, near Antioch, he founds a cult of Apollo when he discovers he god's golden arrowhead lying in the ground during a hunting expedition. As he finds it, a dragon charges at him before meekly turning away upon recognising him.[26]

Some of these themes survived into early hagiography, in which, from long before St George was to be found doing so, saints defeated local dragons by the power of their faith, more often expelling them in showily exorcistic fashion than actually killing them (George is first found killing his dragon in iconography from the seventh century AD, but it is not until the eleventh century that a developed dragon-slaying narrative is attested for him).[27] The dragons were now avowed embodiments of Satan and his avatars, and also more particularly of the local communities' unbelief. Just as the pagan tradition of festivals initiated by dragon-slaying fed into the Christian tradition of saints converting such communities by means of dragon-defeat, so

[25] The Hurrian battle of Teshub against Hedammu (recorded in Hittite ca. 1250 BC, but centuries older): *CTH* 348, esp. F11.1-3, F12.1-2, F14, F16.1-3; for the text see Siegelova 1971, 38-71, and for translations see Hoffner 1998, 51-5, Siegelova 1971, 38-71, esp. 44-5, 54-61 (German), *TUAT* iii.856-8 (German). The Hittite battle of Tarhunna against Illuyanka (recorded ca. 1250 BC): *CTH* 321; for the text see Beckman 1982, 12-18, and for translations Beckman 1982, 18-20, Hoffner 1998, 11-14, superseding *ANET*[3] 125-6 (A. Götze). The Ugaritic-Canaanite battle of Baal-Sapon against Yam and Litan: *KTU* 1.1-2 (= *CTA* 1-2), *KTU* 1.3 (= *CTA* 3) iii 35-52 and 1.5 (= *CTA* 5) i 2•-3; for the text see Smith 1994; for translations see Coogan 1978, Gibson 1978, superseding *ANET*[3] 129-42 (H.L. Ginsberg), Caquot *et al.* 1974 (French). See the important discussion at Lane Fox 2008, 255-73.

[26] Lib. *Or.* 11.94-8.

[27] The earliest image of George slaying a dragon (in the company, as often, of Theodore): wall-painting from a church in Mavrucan (Güzelöz) in Cappadocia, Marvucan no.3; see Walter 2003,125 (with illustration at fig. 27). The earliest attested narrative of George's dragon-slaying: Georgian manuscript, Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem, cod. 2; see Walter 2003,121, 140-2, with an English translation.

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too the pagan tradition of city-foundations initiated by dragon-slaying fed into the Christian tradition of saints establishing local churches, monasteries or hermitages for themselves after dragon-defeat. The motif is perhaps already incipient and implicit in the ca. 130-50 AD *Shepherd of Hermas*, where Hermas' defeat of the sea-monster-like dragon (in a vision) by means of his faith is immediately followed by an encounter with a shining lady, whom he recognises to be the embodiment of the Church.[28] When, in the *Acts of Thomas* of ca. 220-40 AD, St Thomas has defeated a dragon in India (Alexander was not the only one to do so), a chasm opens up in the earth to suck its body back down to where it belongs, in the abyss. Thomas orders that the chasm be filled in by workmen, and that foundations be laid for guest-houses over it — presumably, that is, in the light of later texts, guest-houses for Christian visitors, missionaries or pilgrims.[29] In one of the several dragon episodes of the late fourth-century AD *Acts of Philip* that culminate in the climactic battle with the great Echidna ("Viper") herself, Philip compels the Dragon of the Rocks and its fifty attendant serpents themselves actually to build a church in the place in which they have been living, each one bringing a column for it, before he banishes them into the wilderness. He transforms them into flying humanoid demons for the purpose of the exercise.[30] In her ca. 500 AD *Passion* Victoria, having expelled the dragon of Tribulanum, founds a nunnery in its vacated cave, for which the locals provide more than 60 virgin girls of nine years or above.[31] Paul the Deacon, writing in 782-6 AD, introduces Clement of Metz's dealings with the dragon and snakes afflicting that city with a note of what must in fact have been the culminating episode of that story, namely the detail that the saint made his personal home in the vaults of the amphitheatre that the dragon and the snakes had been occupying, and also founded a chapel there in the name of St Peter.[32] Clement's dragon remains — or

[28] *Shepherd of Hermas* 4. For this text see Wilson 1995 and Lipsett 2011.

[29] *Acts of Thomas* 33. For the *Acts of Thomas* see Lipsius and Bonnet 1891-1903, ii.2, 147-50 (text), Bremmer 2001, Ogden 2013b, 202-4.

[30] *Acts of Philip* 11.2-8 (A). For the *Acts of Philip* see Amsler *et al.* 1996, 1999, Ogden 2013b, 207-20.

[31] *The Passion of St Victoria* 5–7, at Delehaye 1955, 158–9; so too Aldhelm *De virginitate* (prose version) at Ehwald 1919, 308–9.

[32] Paul the Deacon *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* at *PL* xcv, 711–13.

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rather is once again — an object of celebration in the city, where his effigy is paraded around in civic processions; since at least 1546 AD he has been known as Graouilly.[33] Gregory of Tours' Caluppan, one of the subjects of his late sixth-century AD *Book of the Lives of the Fathers*, broadly fits into this pattern, in that he chooses a rough and inaccessible cave for his hermitage, from which, after taking up residence, he drives off the snakes and the pair of dragons that attack him there, one of the latter farting at him as it departs.[34] The first *Life of Samson of Dol*, of the seventh or eighth century AD, tells that, after destroying the Dragon of Dol in Normandy, Samson refused to accept any significant honour from the locals, but founded a monastery near its vacated cave, in order to glorify the miracle, whilst he himself lived as a hermit in the cave itself for a while, applying himself to fasting and prayer.[35] All of the hagiographical stories we have considered here look like aetiologies for the foundations of monasteries or hermitage sites, but this is the only one of them that can be connected with an identifiable monastery, that which was to become the basis of the present-day Cathedral of Dol.

To conclude. We have looked at five sets of narratives from the Classical world in which *drakōn*-slaying (or –defeating) is associated with city foundations. Several distinctive subordinate motifs recur amongst these narratives, but it is the variations between them that are the more striking, and not least the differences in the ways in which the focal deed is related to the act of foundation. We can only wonder how many more such foundational dragon-slaying stories there might once have been (and with what further intriguing variations): probably there were a great many, given that there were over a thousand Greek cities even prior to the Hellenistic age,[36] and given that the theme, duly modified, went on to enjoy such a flourishing future in early hagiography.

[33] See the several pieces devoted to Clement of Metz and Graouilly in Privat 2000.

[34] Gregory of Tours *Liber vitae patrum* 11.1, at *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* i.2, 259–60. For Caluppan and his *Life* see Godding 2000, Ogden 2013b, 235-6.

[35] *Vita i S. Samsonis, episcopi Dolensis* 1.50. For Samson, his lives and his dragons, see Flobert 1997 (text), Rauer 2000, 90–116, 150–9, Ogden 2013b, 240-1.

[36] Hansen and Nielsen 2005.

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DEATH OMENS IN AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES: CLYTAEMNESTRA'S DREAM BETWEEN BLOOD REVENGE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

Pierpaolo Peroni

Introduction

Among the ancient literatures, Greek is no exception when dealing with the topic of the ominous dream: Greek texts often develop ambiguous and inauspicious contents of dreamlike visions, putting them alongside oracular responses in those ancestral strategies of planning reality which are called divination.[1] Therefore, it is not rare that characters destined for a violent death receive sinister presages of their end during a dream-like state. Regarding this topic, one of the best known cases is the dream in which Clytaemnestra foresees that she is going to be killed by her son Orestes. Even if her involvement in the chain of murders regarding the Pelopids was already known to Homer (*Od.* 1.298-302, 3.193-198, 11.421-456), Stesichorus is the first to discern that the heroine is warned by such a premonitory dream. Indeed, in a fragment of his *Oresteia* which is cited by Plutarch, τᾷ δὲ **δράκων** ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα **βεβροτωμένος** ἄκρον, / ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη.[2] Whoever is identified with the latter, whether Orestes or Agamemnon (as suggested by the epithet βασιλεύς), his appearance in the form of a reptile notoriously inspires Aeschylus: in the *Choephori*, he builds a replica of the nocturnal vision with the image of the snake that Clytaemnestra dreams she has

[1] For a general survey on this argument and on textual references (including those we focus on in this contribution), see Del Corno 1982. The Greek terminology related to the dreams is illustrated by Casevitz 1982.

[2] Frg. 219 Davies = Plut. *Mor.* 555A: "a snake with the 'blood soaked' head seemed to come to her, then the Plisthenid king arose from it". Rasch 1913, 12-30 examines this fragment and compares it with the Sophoclean and Herodotean texts that we will quote. See also Condello 2010, 17-18.

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given birth to, and feeds it with milk mixed with clotted blood which comes gushing out of her breast (vv. 526-533):

{Ορ.} ἦ καὶ πέπυσθε τοὔναρ, ὥστ' ὀρθῶς φράσαι;
{**Χο.**} **τεκεῖν δράκοντ' ἔδοξεν, ὡς αὐτὴ λέγει.**
{Ορ.} οὗτοι μάταιον ἂν τόδ' ὄψανον πέλοι.
{**Χο.**} **ἐν σπαργάνοισι παιδὸς ὁρμίσαι δίκην.**
{Ορ.} τίνος βορᾶς χρῄζοντα, νεογενὲς δάκος;
{**Χο.**} **αὐτὴ προσέσχε μαστὸν ἐν τὠνείρατι.**
{Ορ.} καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὖθαρ ἦν ὑπὸ στύγους;
{**Χο.**} **ὥστ' ἐν γάλακτι θρόμβον αἵματος σπάσαι.**[3]

It is well known that in *Electra*, Sophocles replaces the Aeschylean version of this dream with a completely different imagery: Agamemnon comes back to life and meets his wife in a second ὁμιλία (a word which is supposed to have a sexual connotation);[4] then, he plants his sceptre by the fireplace; from the sceptre a branch sprouts, casting its shadow all over Mycenae (vv. 417-423):

{Χρ.} λόγος τις αὐτήν ἐστιν εἰσιδεῖν πατρὸς
τοῦ σοῦ τε κἀμοῦ δευτέραν ὁμιλίαν
ἐλθόντος ἐς φῶς· εἶτα τόνδ' **ἐφέστιον**
πῆξαι λαβόντα **σκῆπτρον** οὑφόρει ποτὲ
αὐτός, τανῦν δ' Αἴγισθος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦδ' ἄνω
βλαστεῖν βρύοντα θαλλὸν ᾧ κατάσκιον
πᾶσαν γενέσθαι **τὴν** Μυκηναίων **χθόνα**.[5]

[3] "{Or.} Did you learn what the dream was, so as to be able to tell it accurately? /{Ch.} **As she herself says, she imagined she gave birth to a snake – /** {Or.} That vision is not likely to have come for nothing! **/** {Ch.} **– and nestled it in swaddling-clothes, like a baby. /** {Or.} What food did it want, this deadly new-born creature? **/** {Ch.} **In her dream she herself offered her breast to it. /** {Or.} Then Surely her teat was wounded by the loathsome beast? **/** {Ch.} **So that in her milk it drew off a clot of blood**." The translations of this passage, of the following one from Sophocles' *Electra* (vv. 417-423) and of Herodotus 1.107 and 1.108 (see below, note 6) come from Loeb editions of these authors (respectively, Sommerstein 2008, 281, Lloyd Jones 1994, 205-207 and Goold, Godley 1999[r], 139). As for all the other passages quoted in this article, Frg. 219 Davies included (see note 2), translations are mine, because they mainly focus on the meaning of specific expressions which I have isolated from their general context.

[4] Kamerbeek 1974, 67, Kells 1973, 112; according to Jebb 2004, 63, in the dream, Agamemnon's return does not imply any sexual intercourse with Clytaemnestra (the word is translated as "at her side").

[5] "{Chr.} They say that she was once more in company with your father and mine, **who had come to the world of light**; and then he took **the staff** which he

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As scholars have already noticed, in this case, Sophocles was clearly influenced by Herodotus. In the 1st book of the *Histories*, Astyages, king of the Medes, foresees as a result of two night visions that he will be dethroned by his grandson, the future Cyrus the Great: first, he dreams (chap. 107.1) that his daughter, Mandane, submerges Asia entirely by urinating, then (chap. 108.1) he dreams that this land is completely covered by a vine which arises from her genitalia.[6] It has also been observed (Rasch 1913, 22-23) that such symbols allow Sophocles to employ a new dramatic function in the dream, because the way in which it can be interpreted by the heroes on stage (and also by the audience) is less explicitly ominous and menacing than the deadly images which distinguish the dream in the *Choephori*: the latter, in the character's opinion, strongly propitiates Orestes' return and revenge; the former, on the contrary, does not seem to be so directly linked to them and contributes to delay their fulfillment, as it is shown, for example, by Electra's and Clytaemnestra's opposite uncertainties about the meaning of the vision. As a matter of fact, one can also find in the Sophoclean tragedy instances where the dream can be interpreted as an inauspicious message to Clytaemnestra, as it is indicated, for example, by Electra's words (vv. 459-460) and the chorus' reflections (vv. 497-501).[7] In fact, the greatest worries about the content of the vision are expressed only by Agamemnon's widow, and it is not by chance that she, first tries to placate her dead husband by sending, votive offerings to his tomb through Chrysothemis, and afterwards prays to Apollo to protect her from any

used to carry, and which Aegisthus carries now, and planted it **beside the hearth**; and from it **grew up a fruitful bough**, which overshadowed **all the land of the Mycenaeans**."

[6] Herod. 1.107: καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην, τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, **ἐπικατακλύσαι** δὲ καὶ **τὴν Ἀσίην** πᾶσαν ("Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: concerning whom he had a dream, that enough water flowed from her to fill his city and **overflow all Asia**."). Herod. 1.108: συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρότῳ ἔτεϊ εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν· ἐδόκεε [δέ] οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης **φῦναι ἄμπελον**, **τὴν** δὲ **ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν** ("But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia."). On this subject see Asheri 1988, 334 and Bichler, 1985.

[7] According to Bowra 1944, 169 and Kitto 1961, 172-173, for example, in Sophocles the dream evidently indicates that divine justice is operating.

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misfortune forecast by the vision.[8] Nevertheless, it seems quite clear that the dream created by Aeschylus is more crucial than that of Sophocles in the way it influences the development of the dramatic action (Ronnet 1969, 209).

In my opinion, aesthetic and structural differences between these two playwrights on this matter, though undeniably depending on Sophocles' ties with Herodotus, do not exclude the possibility of detecting, in the Sophoclean dream, conscious echoes of his predecessor. In other words, the nocturnal vision in *Electra* involves topics which have already been illustrated by Aeschylus, and depicts the violence evoked and committed by Sophoclean heroes through tones which are more exhausted and bitter, even if not as visceral as in Aeschylus.[9]

1. Aeschylean echoes in Sophocles

A parallel reading of the two tragedies suggests that the Sophoclean dream concentrates a series of images which can be found in various verses of the *Choephori*:[10] the θαλλός, that is, the branch which springs from Agamemnon's sceptre (S. *El.* 422), is evocative of two analogous passages of Aeschylean text. In A. *Ch.* 204 Electra, ascribing to Orestes the lock of hair that she found near her father's tomb, hopes that this "small seed" can give birth to "a big trunk", bulwark of her liberation ([…] εἰ δὲ χρὴ τυχεῖν σωτηρίας, / σμικροῦ γένοιτ' ἂν σπέρματος **μέγας πυθμήν**); similar wishes are formulated by Orestes himself, after his reunification with Electra, (A. *Ch.* 259-261): in his plea to Zeus, the hero wants to avoid the destruction of Agamemnon's descendant, of the eagle lineage, which is consecrated to the god and careful of his "persuasive signs" (259: σήματ' εὐπιθῆ); otherwise,

[8] While invoking the god, Clytaemnestra also considers the possibility of optimistically reading the dream (vv. 644-646), but actually, the formula of her prayer, rather than being influenced by her wish of exorcising the ominous meaning of this specific vision, seems to be conceived following ritual expressions that recur in Greek tragedies even with reference to unequivocally negative dreams, as is the case of Atossa in Aeschylus' *Persians* (vv. 215-225): see Lloyd 2005, 46.

[9] For broader comparative considerations about these two dramas and the Euripidean *Electra,* cf. Avezzù 2002, 7-22 and Condello 2010, 19-59.

[10] Fowler 1974, 53-66 examines Aeschylean imagery concerning the *Choephori*.

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"the whole royal trunk, once dried up, will not assist the altars in the sacrificial days" (260-261: οὔτ' **ἀρχικός** σοι **πᾶς** ὅδ' αὐανθεὶς **πυθμὴν** / βωμοῖς ἀρήξει βουθύτοις ἐν ἥμασιν). In these contexts the word πυθμήν reaffirms its metaphorical value, which has already been used by Bacchylides at the end of the 5th epinician ode which celebrates Hieron from Syracuse: only poetic praise can ensure and add a luxurious fame to the client's prosperity and virtues (vv. 197-198: τόθεν γὰ[ρ / **πυθμένες** θάλλουσιν ἐσθλῶν);[11] moreover, the adjective ἀρχικός of v. 260 underlines the bond between this image and the royal authority, in order to declare that only the genealogical tree which sprouted from Agamemnon is entitled to govern the city with Zeus' approval. Therefore, compared with the Aeschylean "royal trunk", the sceptre giving birth to a tree in Clytaemnestra's dream intensifies the political features of this nocturnal vision in Sophocles' tragedy. As a result, the hierarchical relationship between revenge and dynastic restoration is reversed: in the *Choephori* the latter is a consequence of the former, which follows the law of retribution and, according to Orestes' words (A. *Ch.* 269-305), is imposed firstly by Apollo's cruel and authoritative order, and secondly by the sorrow for Agamemnon's death; any further reasons are considered by the young hero as merely secondary, such as his own state of poverty or the unbearable conditions of his fellow citizens, who are subdued to Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, "two women" (v. 304: δυοῖν γυναικοῖν). On the contrary, in *Electra* the matricide, rather than constituting the ultimate act of atonement is simply an instrument, or an unavoidable occurrence of something identical, since the significant outcome of revenge, as suggested by the dream-like symbolism, is the restitution of power to its legitimate holder (Ronnet 1969, 233; Des Bouvrie 1990, 264; McLeod 2001, 72). This result is achieved only through the assassination of Aegisthus and it is not by chance that Sophocles, unlike Aeschylus, situates this murder after that of Clytaemnestra: this sequence sanctions the return to order and justice accomplished through the death of the man depicted by Electra as an impostor who occupies a throne and a bed which are not his own.[12] The Sophoclean

[11] As for the commentary on this lyrical passage, see Jebb 1994, 294 and Maehler 2004, 129.

[12] "La mort de Clytemnestre satisfait à la justice, mais c'est celle d'Egisthe qui libère Electre" (Ronnet 1969, 215). See also Blundell 1989, 181. Avezzù 2003

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version of the dream draws on the *Choephori* for other images, which can also be assimilated to the sphere of power and authority. The playwright sets the vision in motion with the apparition of Agamemnon, presented as a return to the light (S. *El.* 419 ἐλθόντος ἐς φῶς): in doing so, he uses the same terms through which, in the Aeschylean drama, the chorus, singing the funeral lament for the Atreid, invokes him as a rescuer of his avengers (A. *Ch.* 459-460 ἄκουσον **ἐς φάος μολών**, / ξὺν δὲ γενοῦ πρὸς ἐχθρούς); another image which is common to both playwrights is the sceptre, symbol of royalty: the character who is telling the dream in *Electra* significantly mentions it by reminding us of its illegitimate passage from Agamemnon's to Aegisthus' hands (S. *El.* 420-421: σκῆπτρον οὑφόρει ποτὲ / αὐτός, τανῦν δ' Αἴγισθος), just as in the long *kommòs* of the *Choephori*, the sceptre is celebrated as the instrument employed by the Argive king to exercise power conferred to him by Fate and which is recognized as legitimate even in the afterlife, where he serves the gods of the underworld (A. *Ch.* 360-362 βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἦσθ' ὅφρ' ἔζης / μόριμον λάχος †πιμπλάντων / χεροῖν πεισίβροτόν τε βάκτρον†. The *cruces* do not compromise the parallel between this text and the Sophoclean passage). Moreover, the act of planting the sceptre into the fireplace, apart from the interesting psycho-anthropological interpretations connected to it (Devereux 1976: 220-251), symbolizes the patriarchal supremacy, which manifests itself through a precise subdivision of family roles. In the domestic space the woman's centrality, even if widely recognized, does not diminish her subordination to man, as it is reaffirmed in the first stasimon of the *Choephori*: the fireplace, after being mourned in the parodos because of the misfortunes and destruction which have stricken the royal house (A. *Ch.* 49-50: ἰὼ πάνοιζυς ἑστία, / ἰὼ κατασκαφαὶ δόμων), is imaged as the peaceful location of female power, which is conceivable only if domesticated, unadventurous and ignorant of the subversive and unfaithful audacity of Clytaemnestra (A. *Ch.* 629-630: τίω δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν / γυναικείαν <τ'> ἄτολμον αἰχμάν).

The hero's return, sceptre, fireplace and a magically sprouting tree: by condensing these politically meaningful images in Clytaemnestra's dream, Sophocles transforms them into a thematic unit (the triumph

focuses on the political implications of this Sophoclean drama, thus addressing those who, like Griffin 1999, 77-82, sustain its "unpolitical" nature.

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of a legitimate and patriarchal supremacy), whereas in the Aeschylean drama such themes were developed more gradually throughout the text and were subordinated to the main topic of revenge.[13] If we individually examine the dream-like vision in its two versions, the Aeschylean and the Sophoclean, we can observe that each of them sums up, at a symbolic level, the motive and the fulfilment of revenge in its own tragedy, so that a reading of these two dreams also denotes how the two dramatists conceive the representation of violence.

2. The dream in the *Choephori*

As for Aeschylus, Clytaemnestra's nocturnal vision shows a strong concreteness, a prophetic clearness and an animalistic cruelty which can be found throughout the drama. The blood (τὸ αἷμα), apart from appearing in the snake's ferocious meal dreamed by the heroine, is repeatedly evoked by the characters longing for and preparing the revenge: they mention it as a trace of Agamemon's homicide, as a testimony of the mourning which is addressed to him and, above all, as a tribute which is demanded from his killers. The tragedy opens and closes under the sign of blood: in the *parodos*, the chorus enters, displaying the bleeding wounds that disfigure their faces as a sign of grief (A. *Ch.* 24-25: πρέπει **παρῃὶς φοίνισσ**᾽ ἀμυγ/μοῖς ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ), while Orestes, just before the final curtain when he sees the Erinyes who "exude hideous blood from their eyes" (v. 1058: κἀξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν **αἷμα δυσφιλές**) leaves the stage with his hands still bloody from the recent matricide (as is observed by the chorus, v. 1055: **ποτάινιον** γὰρ **αἷμα** σοι χεροῖν ἔτι); in the heart of the tragedy, during the funeral mourning, the chorus patently show again the signs of the bloody mortifications that they inflicted on themselves, "endless and bleeding strokes" (v. 425: ἀπρικτόπληκτα πολυπάλακτα δ᾽ ἦν ἰδεῖν);[14] in the same way through which, every

[13] That the Aeschylean Orestes is also overtly interested in recovering power and property is stressed by McHardy 2008, 105-112. Di Benedetto 1978, 227 had already noticed that Aeschylus, while dealing with the Atreids' saga, intentionally focussed on "una utilizzazione in senso politico-religioso della carica emotiva di cui era effettivamente dotato il sistema dei rapporti basato sui vincoli di sangue."

[14] The general meaning of the verse does not seem to be influenced by its difficult and still discussed definition; on this matter, see Garvie 1988, 159.

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time the members of the chorus refer to the Atreid's killing, they always commemorate it with the spilled blood: in fact, such a homicide is indicated as "the blood fallen on the ground" still wanting redemption (v. 48: τί γὰρ λύτρον **πεσόντος αἵματος** πέδοι;), "the slaughter soiling the hands" (v. 73: τὸν χερομυσῆ φόνον) the dreadful mutilation inflicted on the corpse, according to the exorcising practice called *maschalismòs* (v. 439: ἐμασχαλίσθη) "the awful and bleeding blow" dealt by Ate (vv. 467-468: παράμουσος ἄτας / **αἱματόεσσα πλαγά**) and regarded as the proof of an untreatable curse which is exacerbated by the Pelopids themselves in a "cruel, bleeding contest" (v. 474: δι' ὠμὰν ἔριν **αἱματεράν**). Hence, it seems obvious that the act of atonement is invoked in the same terms and through an analogous, almost obsessing persistence. A ferocious cruelty inspires the massacre which, as though it is curdled, waits for its own fulfilment "for the blood drunk by the nurturing earth" (vv. 66-67: δι' **αἵματ' ἐκποθένθ'** ὑπὸ τροφοῦ / τίτας φόνος πέπηγεν οὐ διαρρύδαν), and the order by which Agamemnon's Erinys sends Orestes to the palace of the "ancient slaughters" (vv. 649-650: τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει δόμοις / **αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων**) and by which Dike requires that "lethal blow is paid in exchange for lethal blow" (vv. 312-313: ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν / πληγὴν τινέτω) following the rule providing that "blood drops which have been poured on the ground demand more blood" (vv. 400-402: ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας / χυμένας ἐς πέδον **ἄλλο** προσαιτεῖν / **αἷμα**). Orestes plans Aegisthus' death as an ambush from which "the implacable Erinys will drink pure blood" (vv. 577-578: φόνου δ' Ἐρινὺς οὐχ ὑπεσπανισμένη / **ἄκρατον αἷμα** πίεται); while the hero puts it into effect, the chorus encourage him to act with "bloody folly" in his spirit (vv. 835-836: ἔνδοθεν / φόνιον ἄταν τιθείς) and implore the gods to help him release "the blood of ancient deeds through a new judgment" (vv. 804-805: τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων / λύσασθ' **αἷμα** προσφάτοις δίκαις). Otherwise, Orestes will guiltily ignore the command coming from the Delphic oracle, which menaced to punish his refusal by inciting against him "Furies' further assaults, accomplished by the paternal blood" (vv. 283-284: ἄλλας τ' ἐφώνει προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων / **ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων αἱμάτων** τελουμένας). Accordingly, both the violence destroying Agamemnon and the one plotted against his killers are as tangible as the bite inflicted by the snake in Clytaemnestra's breast: the dream shares with the whole imagery of the tragedy not only the

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evocative strength of blood but also the voraciousness of revenge. The women composing the chorus, for example, mourn Agamemnon's death by saying that their "heart is fed on laments without intermission" (vv. 26-27: δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰυγ/μοῖσι βόσκεται κέαρ); should Apollo's order remain unexecuted, the god's reprisal against Orestes is imagined as "diseases attacking flesh with their savage jaws" (vv. 279-280: τὰς δ' αἰνῶν νόσους, / σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατῆρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις); the soul of the deceased, still waiting for redemption, cannot be tamed even by the "voracious jaw of fire" (vv. 324-325: φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμά/ζει **πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος**); the royal house too is "tormented and bitten by the murder" (vv. 842-843: φόνῳ / τῷ πρόσθεν ἑλκαίνουσι καὶ δεδηγμένοις). The animal-like urge showed by the avengers and their inflexibility constitute two other traits which seem to extend from the dream across all the drama. In the nocturnal vision, the former is obviously embodied by the snake, in the tragedy, on the contrary, it infects several characters, including Electra, who declares that she inherited an implacable heart from her mother, "like a fierce wolf" (vv. 421-422: **λύκος γὰρ ὥστ' ὠμόφρων** ἄσαντος ἐκ / ματρός ἐστι θυμός); after all, a wild rage cannot help inspiring a matricide against a woman who, as is specified by Orestes a few moments after her death, "was born as a moray or a viper, with the power of rotting a man just by touching him."[15] On the other hand, inflexibility is expressed by the references to the weapons which will be used to punish Agamemnon's assassins. The sword, in particular, counts both as a symbol evoked in the characters' words and as an object grabbed on stage, always keeping its striking vividness: firstly, it is "the sword joined at the hilt" that the chorus hope will be grasped by Agamemnon's avenger, whoever he will be (vv. 160/164: ἴτω τις δορυσθενὴς ἀνὴρ / … / σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν ξίφη),[16] then it is mentioned as the "sharp sword" which wounds the transgressors of divine laws in the name of Dike (vv. 639-641: **τὸ** δ' ἄγχι πλευμόνων **ξίφος** / διανταίαν **ὀξυπευκὲς** οὐτᾷ διαὶ Δίκας) and is forged by destiny (v. 647: προχαλκεύει δ'

[15] The weight of animal symbolism in the clash between Clytaemnestra and her children is observed also by Burnett 1998, 109.

[16] We owe to Pauw the conjecture ξίφη, which was deduced from the scholium to the manuscript M of Aeschylus and is accepted by several modern editors instead of the transmitted βέλη. On this argument, see Garvie 1986, 86.

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Αἶσα φασγανουργός). These images are a prelude to the real sword with which Orestes will strike his mother after brutally declaring that he wants to slit her throat while she is next to her accomplice.

3. The dream in Sophocles' Electra

Unlike the *Choephori*, where Clytaemnestra's dream is modelled upon the crude imagery recurring throughout the drama, the dreamlike vision in Sophocles' *Electra* reflects an expressive code which is established in several passages of the tragedy through a focused selection of the vocabulary alluding to violence. In fact, there is not one reference to such a topic in the Sophoclean version of the dream. This aspect, based on Orestes' return and on the re-conquest of power, reproduces the distinction between torturers and victims (together with their avengers) which, in the *Electra*, is also emphasized at a linguistic level. While the Aeschylean drama associates assassins with retaliators through the principle of retribution and the unvarying evocation of blood, Sophocles, on the contrary, saves the grimmest tones for the verses describing the mourning for Agamemnon's murder and isolates from it two moments: the ambush, which is recalled twice in the tragedy with the horrifying reference to the axe delivered to the victim (S. *El.* 195-196 and 485-486: ὅτε οἱ παγχάλκων ἀνταία / γενύων ὡρμάθη πλαγά […] οὐδ' ἁ παλαιὰ χαλκόπλακτος ἀμφάκης γένυς, / ἅ νιν κατέπεφνεν αἰσχίσταις ἐν αἰκίαις) and the mutilations inflicted on the king's corpse, the already mentioned *maschalismòs*, which Sophocles describes more meticulously than Aeschylus, by paying attention to the assassins' outrageous gesture of cleaning their bloody weapons and hands on Agamemnon's head (vv. 445-446: ἐμασχαλίσθη, κἀπὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρα / κηλῖδας ἐξέμαξεν· […]). By means of such distinction Sophocles highlights Aegisthus' and Clytaemnestra's barbarity, which derives from their expressive arrogance: the woman, for example, under her lover's instigation inveighs against the protagonist with savage brutality (v. 299: τοιαῦθ' ὑλακτεῖ, σὺν δ' ἐποτρύνει πέλας),[17] together with the immodesty she shows, as is referred by Electra, as Clytaemnestra laughs at her own crimes (v. 277: […] ἐγγελῶσα τοῖς ποιουμένοις). In the first episode, the

[17] The verb ὑλακτέω is usually employed to mean the dog's call (March 2004, 160).

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discussion between mother and daughter restates that in this drama only the morally reprehensible acts are presented as violent. In fact, Electra carefully avoids indicating Iphigenia's death as a homicide and calls it a "sacrifice" (vv. 572, 576: […] ἐκθύσειε τὴν αὑτοῦ κόραν […] ἔθυσεν αὐτήν […]). The father's murder, on the contrary, is exposed as such (vv. 560-561: […] λέξω δέ σοι / ὡς οὐ δίκῃ γ' ἔκτεινας, […]).[18] Thus, the description and the mention of violent gestures are submitted to an asymmetric censure, which condemns only the conspiracy against Agamemnon and his murderers' successive actions. A different definition is applied to other examples of violence, which are supported (from Electra's point of view), by ethical and religious validity. The revenge, above all, is indicated by the words τιμωρία, τιμωρός, τιμωρέω and τίνω (vv. 14, 115, 349, 399, 810), which ennoble and depict it as the recovery of aristocratic honour. Revenge and murder are connected only once, when Electra, erroneously believing that her brother is dead, compels Chrysotemis into joining her in striking Aegisthus (vv. 954-956: ὅπως […] / ξὺν τῇδ' ἀδελφῇ μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν, / Αἴγισθος […]); nonetheless, even in this case the homicide is proposed by the young woman as a heroic deed, appropriate to her rank and herald of fellow-citizens' praise.[19] As for the greatest part of the tragedy, words alluding to revenge are general (like the adjective κακός and expressions indicating reparation of injustices: vv. 209-212, 289-290, 309-310, 1019-1020) and belong to the noble ethics: they denote the helplessness of a woman who, like Electra, would get restoration only from Orestes' constantly postponed return and can do nothing but complain about herself because of the servile state which was imposed on her by her father's butchers (vv. 185-192, 262-265, 597-600, 814-816, 1187-1196). The vocabulary becomes rougher and more realistic only in a few situations, where the characters (without, however, reaching the truculent energy of the visionary Aeschylus) hope that Orestes will pounce on his enemies and crush them (vv. 455-456: καὶ παῖδ' Ὀρέστην ἐξ

[18] Similar observations, even if not explicitly linked to linguistic remarks on the text, can also be found in Blundell 1989, 164, 167.

[19] It is meaningful that the only target of this quite unrealistic action is Aegisthus: Electra's aim seems to be not the matricide, but the revenge against the usurper of the paternal throne (Burnett 1998, 25). Moreover, through the avenger's role the heroine supposes she will receive acclaims comparable to those directed by the Athenians to Harmodius and Aristogiton (on this matter, see Juffras 1991).

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ὑπερτέρας χερὸς / ἐχθροῖσιν αὐτοῦ ζῶντ' ἐπεμβῆναι ποδί). Upon closer inspection, this tragedy, too, like the *Choephori*, alludes to violence through the same images which flow into Clytaemnestra's dream. The Sophoclean version, indeed, replaces clearly sinister symbols (like the blood, the snake and its bite) with a sprouting tree, which represents revenge as its consequence that is the definitive victory of royal justice over usurpation. We think that this metaphor is predominant throughout the tragedy and is linked not only with the triumph of positive values but also with the dangerous development of evil, as is suggested by the repetitive occurrences of this figure of speech. The figure of Agamemnon is the first that can be connected with it (although by contrast) because the hero falls under his assassins' strokes like an oak which is cut down (vv. 98-99: ὅπως δρῦν ὑλοτόμοι / σχίζουσι κάρα φοινίῳ πελέκει). Electra, as the only keeper of the paternal memory, while complaining of its devastation, wonders from what kind of men "arose" the law allowing the neglect of the dead (v. 238: ἐν τίνι τοῦτ' **ἔβλαστ'** ἀνθρώπων;); the misfortunes that she sees flourishing after her father's death are more and more "luxuriant" (vv. 259-260: ἀγὼ […] / **θάλλοντα** μᾶλλον ἢ καταφθίνονθ' ὁρῶ;);[20] the derisive gift to Agamemnon's tomb cannot but come from a woman who "germinated as the most impudent" (vv. 439-440: […] εἰ μὴ τλημονεστάτη γυνὴ / πασῶν **ἔβλαστε** […]) and who expelled the sons "germinated" by a consecrated marriage (v. 590: κἀξ εὐσεβῶν **βλαστόντας** ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔχεις): in this way Aegisthus tries to prevent Agamemnon's new descendants from "germinating" (vv. 965-966: […] ὥστε σόν ποτ' ἢ κἀμὸν γένος / **βλαστεῖν** ἐᾶσαι […]);[21] abandoning hope that she will be saved by a "flourishing" brother (v. 952: **θάλλοντ'** ἔτ' εἰσήκουον, […]), at first, Electra wishes to let her life "wither" (v. 819: παρεῖσ' ἐμαυτὴν

[20] As it is pointed out by Kamerbeek 1974: 49, the metaphor comes from Solon (Frg. 3.35 D: αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα) and it recurs also in Aeschylus (*Su.* 104-107), as well as in a further Sophoclean passage (*Ph.* 259), and in other Greek authors.

[21] As is remarked by Burnett 1998, 134 n. 43, in the Sophoclean dream the scepter germinates after being planted by Agamemnon into the ground, while in the nocturnal vision told by Herodotus the vine sprouts from Mandane's genitalia. The latter version implies that the woman is essential for the birth of the ruling dynasty; the former, on the contrary, suggests that the contribution offered by Clytaemnestra to the descendants is less important and decisive than that of Agamemnon.

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ἄφιλος **αὐανῶ** βίον) then she sets herself forward as avenger in place of Orestes: the chorus greet her as a noble woman who "germinates" as nobody else could (v. 1081: […] τίς ἂν εὔπατρις ὧδε **βλάστοι**;), Electra is supported by her devotion to Zeus' laws, which "supremely germinated" (vv. 1095-1096: […] ἃ δὲ μέγιστ' **ἔβλασ/τε** νόμιμα […]).[22] As the fulfilment of the revenge and the violence, which permits it, remain hidden behind these metaphors, so does Orestes remain off the stage during most of the drama. It is not a coincidence that the roughest expressions and images of the tragedy are concentrated in the moment in which the hero prepares to carry out the double ambush: it is then that blood makes its first 'appearance', as invoked several times by the chorus (vv. 1385, 1394, 1420) and as actually exhibited in Clytaemnestra's corpse, which is unveiled in that scene by the then unaware Aegisthus, shortly before his own assassination. In the absence of Orestes, on the contrary, violence does not leave any visible mark but lurks in Electra's and Clytaemnestra's outbursts. Violent are the intensity and the resolution with which the daughter denounces Agamemnon's unavenged death, the wealth of his killers, her anxiety for her fugitive brother and, as was already mentioned, her own loneliness and alienation. Violent is also the vexing anguish which torments the mother because of her fear of seeing, sooner or later, her son returning to punish her: in the face of Electra's blatant and reiterated desperation, such obsession exacerbates Clytaemnestra's intolerant reactions and pushes her to curse the protagonist, wishing her death and afterlife sufferings (vv. 291-292: κακῶς ὄλοιο, μηδέ σ' ἐκ γόων ποτὲ / τῶν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειαν οἱ κάτω θεοί).[23] Hence, it is interesting to notice that Clytaemnestra, as soon as the false news of Orestes' death reaches her, declares that she has been worrying less about her son's return than about the anxiety created by Electra, who under the same roof, "sucked out pure blood from her soul" (vv. 784-786: […] ἥδε γὰρ μείζων βλάβη / ξύνοικος

[22] The verb βλαστάνω is often a synonym of φύομαι, γίγνομαι, εἰμί, so that its actual ability to be metaphorically tied to vegetal images could appear undermined (Kamerbeek 1974, 70-71); as, on the other hand, the frequent occurrences of the word in this drama cannot be denied (Kamerbeek *ibid.,* 142), we think that βλαστάνω maintains its figurative intensity unaltered while echoing the central image of Clytaemnestra's dream.

[23] On continuous laments as a typical trait of the Sophoclean Electra, see Ronnet 1969, 216-223 and Di Benedetto 1983, 168-177.

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ἦν μοι, τοὐμὸν ἐκπίνουσ' ἀεὶ / ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα). This metaphoric use of blood suggested (March 2004: 191) a close comparison between the Sophoclean Electra and the Aeschylean Erinyes, who in the *Choephori* are similarly bloodthirsty, as we have already underlined. However, in order to comment on his peculiar reading of the myth, we cannot exclude that Sophocles, through the usage of this image, refers to his predecessor by precisely echoing the snake which Clytaemnestra dreamed of: the fear of a bloody and inescapable death, instead of being concentrated in a fleeting and terrifying vision, is more subtly instilled in the victim day by day, without compromising its final and ruthless realization. Similarly, in the Sophoclean version of the dream, violence is hidden in the shade of its own effects, which consist in the inevitable restoration of legitimate power.

Conclusions

Clytaemnestra's dream in Sophocles' *Electra*, though distancing itself from the Aeschylean precedent, collects some symbols which are nevertheless traceable in the *Choephori*: thus, Agamemnon returning from the dead, the sceptre and the sprouting tree give life to the Sophoclean version of the nocturnal vision in order to base the matricide on the subject of dynastic restoration, which, in Aeschylus, was considered only as dependent on blood revenge. Sophocles' point of view is directly opposite: for Orestes, matricide is an instrument permitting the restoration of power and wealth to Agamemnon's descendant by avenging his murder. Moreover, the two versions of the dream mirror their respective tragedies in the symbolic representation of violence. In the *Choephori*, the memory of Agamemnon's woeful destiny, the planning and the performance of the ambush against his murderers are all under the sign of bestiality, cruelty and voracity, which are also consolidated to form the dreamlike image of the bloodthirsty snake. The *Electra*, on the contrary, evokes a similar savagery only when the characters evoke in the onlookers' mind the death of the Atreid, and the vexations which were then perpetrated by his assassins; the avengers' mission, albeit resolute, lacks animal-like brutality and only aims at restoring justice and legitimate authority. Like the prodigious branch which germinated in the dream, violence sprouts to smother the bad seed of impiety and usurpation.

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VIRIATHUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES AS VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF CONFLICT VIOLENCE

Deborah L. POTTER

In his seminal 1979 monograph, William Harris characterised the Roman tendency toward extreme war violence as "pathological."[1] The most notable response to this, the concept of interstate anarchy advocated by Arthur Eckstein, placed Republican Rome in context as one of many violent, militarised parties in the Mediterranean.[2] Eckstein's work, however, gave greater importance to the Greek East, a sphere of interaction which has left much in the way of bilaterally constructed literary and epigraphic evidence. It is then a matter of great interest that recent studies by Spanish scholars have suggested endemic militarisation and violence in the Iberian Peninsula in the second century BC, when Romans were increasingly active in this region.[3] Archaeological and textual evidence support this suggestion. Interestingly, while Greco-Roman written sources support the idea of such a background (e.g. Strabo 3.3.5; Diod. Sic. 5.34.6–7), they do not only show Iberian figures as perpetrators of violence; in addition, these figures occupy a position of victimhood. This ambivalent representation is crucial for the characterisation of Roman expansion, both in the peninsular region and more broadly.

Before exploring the question of perpetration and victimhood, I will first consider the evidence for militarisation in the Peninsula, to suggest how violence was conceptualised by the Greco-Roman authors against this backdrop, and how we ourselves might conceptualise it. A militarised background opens up for us an intriguingly contextualised and balanced way of seeing the peninsular peoples of the second century BC and, significantly, runs parallel to the portrayal of them in the ancient sources.

[1] Harris 1979, 53.
[2] Eckstein 2006a; 2006b; 2008.
[3] E.g. González García 2011; Pastor Muñoz 2000; 2004.

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Banditry is a useful place to start. In many ancient sources, it is central to descriptions of the Peninsula, but the concept continues to be refined in modern scholarship. As early as the 1940s, García y Bellido countered ideas of Iberian "nationalism" in war against Rome, and contextualised banditry in socio-economic terms.[4] This context has since been developed further, with suggestions of differentiation between varying socio-economic situations and resulting permutations of banditry.[5] This particularly helps us to move on from the geographical and environmental determinism which appears so often in the ancient sources, though the sources' opinion must still be noted.[6] The ancient writers often support the general idea that individuals were forced into banditry by poverty and land-hunger. The men who, according to Diodorus Siculus, would go to live in the mountains and take up a life of raiding were young men of strength and poverty (Diod. Sic. 5.34.6–7). Appian describes the revolt of the Lusones being drawn out by those who lacked land and had turned to raiding others (App. *Hisp.* 42).[7] Actions by Roman generals may also support this view. According to Diodorus and Appian, Caepio gave land to the men of the chieftain Tantalus in 139/138 (App. *Hisp.* 75; Diod. Sic. 33.1.4). In Appian, this is explicitly intended to keep them from poverty and thus banditry. In the *Periochae* of Livy, a similar event appears at this time, attributed to Iunius Brutus (Liv. *Per.* 55.4).[8]

Nonetheless, from textual and other evidence, it is possible to suggest that the marginalised, itinerant bandits of the written sources are a simplification of a much more pervasive phenomenon.[9] Land such as that found in the west of the Peninsula,[10] particularly in the

[4] García y Bellido 1945, cited and expanded upon by García Moreno 1989, 83.

[5] Pastor Muñoz 2004, 84, 92.

[6] Strabo 5.4.2 may suggest a causal connection between mountainous living and bravery. Interestingly, however, Strabo 3.3.5 claims that the tribes north of the Tagus, despite having a wealth of natural riches, were forced into banditry by their mountain-dwelling neighbours, who did not.

[7] But note that these people are set apart from the majority: see Ñaco del Hoyo 2006, 91.

[8] For a modern assessment of the role of land-hunger, see Sayas Abengochea 1988.

[9] As argued by e.g. Clavel-Levêque 1978, 26–7.

[10] Sánchez Moreno 2006, 57.

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mountainous part of Lusitania, was suited to stock-breeding rather than farming,[11] but this does not necessitate an itinerant lifestyle, nor preclude the use of a mixed system.[12] Sánchez Moreno cites evidence for possible stabling areas in some fortified settlements in western Iberia.[13] An increase in defensive walls around settlements in Celtiberia and Lusitania may also suggest increased militarisation affecting urban or semi-urban contexts.[14] Militarisation need not be limited to nomadic bandits.

There are also complications in the social structures implied, problematizing the idea of militarisation as a means of living for the socio-economically marginalised. Pastor Muñoz points to gift-exchange involving booty-objects as a form of aristocratic diplomacy, while the appearance of weapons in rich burials suggests that they were themselves prestige items.[15] Pastor Muñoz also observes that stealing others' livestock[16] is only worthwhile when the thief has somewhere to keep it.[17] In Celtiberia, in the view of Almagro Gorbea and Lorrio Alvarado, pastoral livelihoods create a need to protect livestock, land, and trading routes, which encourages hierarchy and the formation of warrior elites.[18] Raiders could be well-off.

That brings us to the "bandits" of the written sources. The humble origins claimed for Viriathus in many sources, rising from shepherd (or hunter) to bandit to general, may well be, as Pastor Muñoz argues, Cynic hero-typing.[19] García Riaza observes the difficulty of distinguishing bandits from regular troops, especially in sources which might be inclined to diminish opponents' legitimacy.[20] On Viriathus in particular, it is worth noting the evidently high socio-economic

[11] Pastor Muñoz 2004, 106.

[12] On the likelihood of mixed systems in various Mediterranean contexts, see Horden and Purcell 2000, 84, 181, 198–9.

[13] Sánchez Moreno 2006, 61.

[14] Lorrio 1997, 71–90; Ruiz Zapatero and Alvarez-Sanchís 1995, 214–6; Martín Bravo 1999, 209–15; González García 2011; on the "tribal zone" theory, see further Ferguson and Whitehead 2000.

[15] Pastor Muñoz 2004, 74; Lorrio 1997, 261–4, 312–13.

[16] A possibility hinted at by Sánchez Moreno's possible stabling areas in fortified settlements.

[17] Pastor Muñoz 2004, 94.

[18] Almagro Gorbea and Lorrio Alvarado 2004, 76.

[19] Pastor Muñoz 2004, 40.

[20] García Riaza 2002, 100.

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standing of his father-in-law Astolpas. Why he chose to marry his daughter to Viriathus is unclear, but we might suspect that the social gulf is not as great as it appears in the texts.[21] Astolpas may himself be an exaggerated figure, used as a foil for Viriathus' simplicity. In Diodorus' account of the wedding, Viriathus explicitly asks why Astolpas has forsaken the Romans, who allow him to keep his wealth, to become kin to someone as poor and low-born as himself (Diod. Sic. 33.7.4). Given the lack of an available answer to this question, it is perhaps easier to imagine some socio-economic middle ground for both men.

So: militarisation was pervasive, not limited by settlement type or restricted to the socio-economically marginalised. We may now consider the intimate attachment of certain groups to their weapons, a topic which connects the practical and ideological background of the area with textual portrayal. For Livy, Cato's disarming of all the tribes north of the Ebro in 195/4 causes anger and self-destructive behaviour, as the tribes *nullam vitam rati sine armis esse* (Liv. 34.17.6).[22] In Florus' account, the Numantines refuse an agreement with Rome that would require them to lay down arms, having received the demand as tantamount to the amputation of their hands (Flor. 1.34.4).

The Florus passage does go on to describe the similarly intolerable shame suffered by the Romans when their troops under Mancinus are disarmed after defeat by the Numantines (Flor. 1.34.6–7). The significance of the weaponry appears for both sides socio-ideological, related to standing and masculine power.[23] The juxtaposition in Diodorus of Viriathus' spear and Astolpas' riches may suggest weaponry as a parallel symbol of social status (Diod. Sic. 33.7.1). Also in Diodorus, the Numantines regret that they previously agreed to surrender their weapons, in the manner of women (Diod. Sic. 33.16.2).

It makes practical sense too for peoples of the Peninsula to be attached to their weapons. In addition to threats from other groups in the region, there is also the matter of the Romans. Confiscation of weapons from *dediticii* points to Roman intentions to defend them

[21] On Astolpas' wealth and standing see e.g. Diod. Sic. 33.7.1, 4.

[22] "They thought it to be no life at all without weapons." All translations by the author.

[23] For the Roman case, see Harris 1979, 9–53.

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from third parties and to do no harm for their own part.[24] For this connection to hold, however, a high degree of trust is required. In Appian's account, Viriathus is able to rouse his men, on the verge of laying down arms, to continue fighting by reference to the repeated failure of the Romans to honour deals made (App. *Hisp.* 61). One need only name Galba to take his point. In such a context of (legitimately) reduced trust, it is easy to see how Roman intentions in weapon-confiscation could become suspect.

This presents something of a crux. The man who retains his weapons is able to commit violence, and his insistence on retaining them may be presented as a sign of fierceness and inclination towards violent behaviour. On the other hand, it is clear that retaining one's weapons is also a means to avoid becoming a victim of others' behaviour. The first of these observations emerges clearly from Florus' account, where disarmament is a source of shame and a step towards weakness in the estimation both of the Numantines and of the Romans. The second observation, however, as indicated by Viriathus, highlights the difference between the Romans as invaders and the peninsular peoples as a group at risk with regard to their liberty and their very existence. The dual significance of weapon retention and the difference in position it demonstrates should be borne in mind as we proceed.

We move now to the portrayal of figures and groups as perpetrators and victims of violence, considering the Numantines, the Lusitanians in the late 150s, and Viriathus. The Numantines appear multiple times in the Greco-Roman historical record. They are deceived by Pompeius over a potential treaty, and their treaty with Mancinus a few years later is not ratified by the Senate (App. *Hisp.* 79–80).[25] According to Florus, both of these would-be treaties were made at the Numantines' instigation, choosing treaty over the (imminent) prospect of destroying the Roman forces entirely. Florus portrays their behaviour throughout as reasonable, in response to unreasonable Roman demands (Flor. 1.34.3–8). Having failed to intercede for an allied group, the Numantines offer to withdraw from hostilities but refuse to accept disarmament as a treaty condition. As already argued,

[24] García Riaza 2002, 205.

[25] On the complex after-life of the Pompeian treaty, see Rosenstein 1986, 241, 248–9.

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this does not make them appear unusually warlike, as the Romans respond to disarmament, soon afterwards, with shame and further violence.

The Numantines are further presented as victims in the written sources. Florus characterises the fall of Numantia as a turning-point in Roman behaviour, marking the beginning of a downward moral spiral. He seems to view Roman prosecution of the conflict with distaste. When facing Scipio, the Numantines are again willing to come to terms, *si toleranda viris imperarentur* (Flor. 1.34.12).[26] Their repeated requests to settle the conflict by battle are ignored, as Scipio employs a harshly passive tactic against them, starving and frustrating them until they are driven to violence against themselves. Their grimmest and most barbarian act in the passage, eating their dead, is caused by Scipio's approach, and the dead in question are those killed by the Roman forces (Flor. 1.34.12-15). It is worth noting that to Valerius Maximus, discussing the same episode, this is no excuse: according to him, no man should eat another when he has the choice of death open instead (Val. Max. 7.6.2). Nonetheless, the compulsion provided by hunger cannot be ignored; this act of cannibalism is not simply born of barbarism.[27]

In addition to their complex victimhood, the Numantines are also fierce and formidable opponents. In Orosius' account, Scipio trains his army before besieging the town, as he knows that even in peacetime the Numantines remain strong and resolved (Oros. 5.7.4). Their violent behaviour then intensifies under siege, turned inwards upon each other as Scipio refuses battle. In Appian's account, they are clearly savage; described vividly as ἠγριωμένοι,[28] they attack their own failed embassy to Scipio. This is a result of their previous freedom and their current hardships, but is only the start. They resort to cannibalism and murder, and become beastlike in mind and body. The remainder of Appian's account is an unsettling mixture of respect, sympathy, and revulsion. They surrender and many resolve

[26] "If the terms given were such as to be tolerated by real men."

[27] It is of interest that the Numantines' most monstrous act is thus one committed out of necessity, not out of ferocity, especially if we consider e.g. Cic. *De Off.* 1.35: *parta … victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt*. "Once victory has been won, those men must be preserved who have not been cruel or monstrous in war."

[28] ."Wild."

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to commit suicide; their love of liberty and bravery are remarked upon; Appian expresses admiration for their successes against the Romans; Scipio wins by refusing to join battle with them as they are θηρίοις.[29] Siege and hunger, says Appian, was the only way to defeat them. Even at their death and the sack of their city, he is ambivalent. They go to die in a state of squalor, dirty and smelling dreadfully, pitiable yet repulsive for their grief and knowledge of having eaten human flesh. The city is destroyed, he says, for reasons only known to Scipio (App. *Hisp.* 95–8). Clearly for Appian, the multipolarity of violent behaviour makes this a complex and compelling episode.

On the Lusitanians in the late 150s, there is perhaps less to say. In Appian, they are shown roaming the region, plundering and besieging. They are acknowledged as an army rather than as bandits, but commit violence against settled Roman subjects. That having been said, it is conspicuous that when Mummius falls in with and wipes out a party carrying off plunder from Ocile, he takes all the booty he and his soldiers can carry. The rest he burns as an offering to the gods of war (App. *Hisp.* 56–7). He thus engages on the same terms the Lusitanians do, giving priority to booty.

Galba's offer of treaty-renewal and land grants persuades the Lusitanians to lay down arms, and they are swiftly massacred. In Appian's account, almost all are killed, calling pitiably on the pledges they have been given. Galba's behaviour is described as paying back treachery with treachery, aping the barbarians in a manner unworthy of a Roman (App. *Hisp.* 60). In the *Periochae* of Livy, the Lusitanians are sold into slavery (Liv. *Per.* 49.17–20). Neither Livy nor Appian seem particularly impressed with Galba escaping punishment, which establishes this set of Lusitanians solidly as victims.

With the few who escaped Galba's massacre, we come to Viriathus. Questions have already been raised about his supposedly humble origins and stellar advancement. What remains is to consider his personal relationship with violence. As a leader of forces opposed to Rome, he is perceived and represented as an antagonist, and quite a capable one. Florus claims that Viriathus laid waste much of Hispania and fought for fourteen years for no stated reason. In this version, his behaviour was surplus to that required to defend his countrymen's liberty (Flor. 1.33.15). In Appian's version of events, Viriathus is

[29] "Feral beasts."

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successful in stratagem, ambush, open fighting, and diplomacy with tribes initially allied to Rome (App. *Hisp.* 62–9). Livy and Diodorus also recognise his frequent successes (Liv. *Per.* 54.8; Diod. Sic. 33.1.1–3). For Dio Cassius, Viriathus carries on wars out of love for warlike deeds (Dio Cass. 22.73.4). This cannot avoid implying devotion to the perpetration of violence.

Again, though, victimhood is prominent. Viriathus' immediate success in persuading the Lusitanians to follow him in pursuing hostilities against Rome stems from his experience of Galba's perfidy. All the more important is his death, betrayed by men from his own forces, in league with the general Caepio. Whether the plan originated with his men or with Caepio, Appian, Diodorus, and Livy agree that Caepio was complicit (App. *Hisp.* 74; Diod. Sic. 33.21; Liv. *Per.* 54.8). Florus, while replacing Caepio with his contemporary Popilius, claims that the plot made it appear that Viriathus had been otherwise invincible (Flor. 1.33.17).[30]

While much of this is the territory of the folk hero, one passage in Diodorus Siculus raises broader questions about Viriathus and violence. As opposed to the love of war for war's sake seen in Dio Cassius, Viriathus here shows a different understanding of the role of military might in socio-political life. At his wedding, on seeing his father-in-law's riches laid out, his comments are cynical: fortune is changeable, so wealth is uncertain; it effectively belongs to the one who can take it by force. He potentially implies, in an unfortunately corrupted sentence, that he could take it himself, if he so desired. And why have the Romans not tried to take it by force (Diod. Sic. 33.7.1–4)?

This attitude is in some respects similar to the brutal logic of Thucydides' Athenians: why try to cover up the reality that force is the ultimate power (Thuc. 5.89)? Viriathus might be a folk hero, but he is not a Sallustian Mithridates or a Tacitean Calgacus. He has no criticism for Roman expansion in itself, and his assessment of the situation nowhere hinges on the question of moral right. Only in Appian's account does he refer to moral concepts such as ἀπιστία (that shown by Galba), and this only when addressing his men to rouse them (App. *Hisp.* 61). In the view of the Greco-Roman authors, he is a victim of Rome, but this is not his own perception.

[30] Attempts to blame Viriathus for his own downfall (e.g. Pérez Vilatela 1989, 202) remain unconvincing in light of the available evidence.

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His motivation is pragmatic as he, the product of a militarised society, faces the similarly militarised invading power.

To conclude, then, what can we say about the cumulative effect of this mixed representation of Rome's enemies? They belong to a militarised world. Some of them are fierce even in peacetime, and some love war. These traits are variously treated, as admirable or as barbaric. Viriathus is almost a *Hispaniae Romulus*, according to Florus (Flor. 1.33.15).[31] This is not straightforward othering; nor is the treatment of the Numantines. They are brave, masculine, driven by a number of the same values as the Romans. They can be pitied or despised, or, as Appian seems to do, both at once. They are both victims and perpetrators of violence. These ambivalences allow more or less conscious reflection on conflict violence, for the classical authors and for us. Conceptualisation of these figures colours how Roman imperial expansion proceeded and was presented, how non-Roman identities and behaviours were considered, and how we perceive the processes involved.

[31] In full: *si fortuna cessisset, Hispaniae Romulus.* "Had fortune allowed, (he would have been) the Romulus of Hispania." See further López Melero 1988.

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STRIKE, SMITE AND TERRIFY: REFLECTIONS ON PHYSICAL, RITUAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

José das Candeias Sales

In a simple comparative analysis, ancient Egypt is commonly regarded as a less violent civilization than, for example, its counterpart in neighbouring Mesopotamia. However, we can easily identify traces of violence in many behaviours of ancient Egyptian society: there were corporal punishments for less committed students and peasants who dodged or intended to evade the tight mesh of pharaonic taxation. There were also attested practices of verbal, physical and sexual violence upon women. Despite being practiced in ancient Egypt, both in the domestic and public sphere, the Egyptian moral condemned violence, specifically the kind one could play on their own servants and/ or subordinates, as can be found in *The Book of the Dead*, Chapter 125, Negative Confession: "*I have not caused pain*"; "*I have not slighted a servant to his master.*"

On the other hand, in the context of the ideology of the winner, each pharaoh must, even if only theoretically, be involved in and proclaim the domain repression of vanquished enemies, which was a recurring theme often depicted on a large scale, namely on the temples' pylons. The scenes of ritual offering of enemies by the Pharaoh to the main gods of the Egyptian pantheon are, in this sense, an evident trait of what we might designate as "ritual violence", which was greatly appreciated in the country of the Pharaohs.

In this paper we will present and characterize the practice of violence in ancient Egypt through some of its real expressions, whether deliberate or ritual and ceremonial, as a phenomenon with culturally and socially integrated forms and techniques. Finally, we will discuss a type of violence that is underlying many of the Egyptian iconographic and textual productions, especially those that relate to life expectancy: we refer to the threat of violence and constraints faced by one who does not align his existence by maatic behaviors and ends up, in many situations, acting as a powerful deterrent to the regulated

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Egyptian way of living. Inherent to our questioning of the phenomenon of violence in ancient Egypt, in its various forms, is the concept and generic definition of violence, that is not restricted to the physical and material (the level of physical integrity) but also includes the level of moral or psychological coercion and any actions intending to violate individual autonomy and existential behaviours.

Physical violence

Whenever the all-controlling Egyptian bureaucratized central administration assumed that a peasant (*meretu* or *sekhetiu*[1]) tried deceitfully to escape any tax payment — the peasant would be whipped.[2] Such a conclusion can be plainly extracted when considering the lively parietal iconographic representations, sculpted or painted, on Egyptian private mastabas and tombs, as well as in some written records.

A frieze on the Mereruka mastaba, Teti I's vizier and priests' superintendent, dating to the 6th Dynasty (c. 2300 BC) and located in Saqqara North — the largest mastaba from the Old Kingdom — depicts bended, subdued peasants being carried away to be punished for disobedience.[3] The same motif appears on a detail from the inner chapel of the tomb of Akhethotep (5th Dynasty), located today in the Louvre Museum (ground floor of the Sully wing), but which was

[1] *Meretu*, "servants", is a generic designation, used during the Old Kingdom, of peasants subject to conscription work; *sekhetiu*, "the ones from the field", was used in the New Kingdom (Sales 2001b, 170).

[2] Sales 2001b, 170; 2001d, 189; 2001f, 445; Caminos 1992, 31. According to the *Palermo Stone*, since the 1st Dynasty a census was held annually ("each year", *n tnw rnpt*) in every district of the Delta, whereas in the 2nd Dynasty it became biennial (*ṯnwṯ*) and extensible to all Egypt. It was directed to cattle, to "the gold and the fields", that is, to movable and immovable property (Bleiberg 1999, 930; Katary 2001, 351, 352; 2007, 188; 2011, 2, 4, 5). The Egyptian fiscal machine was complex and it rigorously accounted citizens, peasants, cattle, fields, trees, artisans, manufactures, vessels, temple goods, etc., presupposing a hierarchical scheme. The royal treasure was supervised by a royal chancellor (*ḫtmw-bỉtỉ*), reportee to the vizier (*ṯsṯỉ*), who was supported by a vast bureaucracy that controlled taxable goods, storage, processing and distribution of State revenues (Katary 2011, 5, Cooney 2007, 173, 174).

[3] Vide Wilson, Allen 1938, Plates 36 and 37; Porter and Moss 1978, 528.

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originally at Saqqara.[4] In a beautiful painted scene in the mid18th Dynasty tomb of Menna (TT 69), at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Theban necropolis, a worker under Menna's supervision lashes, with a small staff, a prostrated man lying before him. A third man, on his knees behind the chastened one, raises his arms, pleading for mercy.[5]

Also in literature there are memories kept of beating peasants. An elucidative case from the Middle Kingdom (Senwosret III's reign, 12th Dynasty) explores their lot of misfortunes through several angles, including the corporal, physical punishment they endured:

> "*Let me also expound to you the situation of the peasant, that other tough occupation. Comes the inundation and soaks him. He attends to his equipment. By day he cuts his farming tools; by night he twists rope. Even his midday hour he spends on farm labour, He equips himself to got to filed as if he were a warrior. The dried field lies before him; he goes out to get his team. When he has been after the herdsman for many days, he gets his team and comes back with it. He makes for it a place in the field. Comes dawn, he goes to make a start and does not find it in its place. He spends three days searching for it: he finds it in the bog. He finds no hides on them; the jackals have chewed them. He comes out, his garment in his hand, to beg for himself a team. When he reaches his field he finds it broken up. He spends time cultivating, and the snake is after him. It finishes off the seed as it is cast to the ground. He does not see a green blade. He does three ploughings with borrowed grain. His wife has gone down to the merchants and found nothing for barter. Now the scribe lands on the shore. He surveys the harvest. Attendants are behind him with staffs, Nubians with clubs. One says to him 'give grain.' 'There is none.' He is beaten savagely. He is bound, thrown in the well, submerged head down. His wife is bound in his presence. His children are in fetters. His neighbours abandon them and flee. When it's over, there's no grain.*"[6]

Despite the biased nature which supports it (a systematic criticism of all manual labour in order to glorify the work of the educated and learned scribes), the text of *pLansing* connects the harsh living conditions of the peasantry to the physical violence exerted upon them and

[4] Block A3 of east wall, south side, of the inner chapel of the tomb of Akhethotep at Louvre Museum - Ziegler 1993, 74, 75, 136, 137, 199, 207.

[5] Porter and Moss 1994, 135; Campell 1910, 89.

[6] *pLansing* (*pBritish Museum* 9994; Lichteim 1976, 170-171; Caminos 1992, 33; Blackman, Peet 1925, 289-290; Cardoso 1987, 86-87.

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their families. Not surprisingly, another satire does the same, also dating to the Middle Kingdom:

> *"The field hand cries out more than the guinea fowl. His voice is louder than a raven's; his fingers have become ulcerous with an excess of stench. When he is taken away to be enrolled in Delta labor, he is in tatters. He suffers when he proceeds to the island, and sickness is his payment. The forced labor then is tripled. If he comes back from the marshes there, he reaches his house worn out, for the forced labor has ruined him."*[7]

It is interesting to notice that the narrator begins his apology of the scribal activities with a general enunciation of physical violence exerted upon those who occupied all manual professions, a reason that sufficed, in his opinion, for his son to learn to write and to commit himself to studies:

> *"The beginning of the teaching which the man of Tjel named Dua-Khety made for his son named Pepy, while he sailed southwards to the Residence to place him in the school of writings among the children of the magistrates, the most eminent men of the Residence. So he spoke to him: 'Since I have seen those who have been beaten, it is to writings that you must set your mind. Observe the man who has been carried off to a work force. Behold, there is nothing that surpasses writings'."*[8]

Among those who Khety saw as victims of beating were certainly peasants. The descriptions do not deceive: weariness, uncertainty, deprivations and misfortunes accompanied the peasants throughout his activities. Moreover, the violence exerted upon them by the tax collectors was, in fact, brutal, striking them and their families. To add to the sweat expended in the arduous and distressing tasks of working

[7] *pSallier II* and *V-XI; pAnastasi VII.* Simpson 1973b, 332-333; Lichteim 1975, 187-188; Lalouette 1984, 194; Serrano Delgado 1993, 221-224; Vernus 2001, 185-186; Canhão 2013, 187, 192-193. The *Satire of the Trades* is also known as *Teachings of Khety* or *Teachings of Duauf-Khety*, because this character, the son of Duauf, is the narrator giving instructions to his own son, Pepi, who is about to enter the scribal school. This text, praising the scribe's profession, was one of the most popular used in New Kingdom's scribal schools, namely during the 18th and 19th Dynasties. This theme, much to the taste of its time, was very well represented in literary miscellanies used in scholar contexts which, in fact, were the primary focus of dissemination and survival of this particular narrative (Simpson 1973b, 329; Lichteim 1975, 184, 185; Vernus 2001, 179, 181; Canhão 2013, 187, 188).

[8] Simpson 1973b, 330; Canhão 2014, 885-886; 2013a, 189; Lalouette 1984, 192-193; Vernus 2001, 179.

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the land were tears shed by those whom the State punished severely and exemplary, by physical maltreatments, lashes or whippings.[9]

Also from the reign of Amenemhat III (Middle Kingdom) comes detailed documentation (*pBrooklyn* 35.1446) about the aggressions and the suffering inflicted upon the families of peasants who fled to the Sinai or Egyptian oases. These fugitives, circumventing conscription work, jeopardized the right of the State to compulsively use their occasional work for ploughing the fields, maintaining irrigation ditches, working on construction projects or obtaining raw materials abroad.[10] The families of such deserters were imprisoned until they had returned; when they did, many were permanently doomed to those conscription tasks.[11]

The literary account named *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* also alludes to the thrashing and theft suffered by Khuenanupu, a peasant from Wadi Natrun, in the Lybian desert, by the hands of Nemtynakht, an unscrupulous and violent man, son of Iseri, a dependent of the high steward (*men-per* or *imi-ra per uer*) Rensi:

> *"Then he [Nemtynakht] took a stick of green tamarisk to him and thrashed all his limbs with it, seized his donkeys, drove them to his domain. Then this peasant wept very loudly for the pain of that which was done to him. This Nemtynakht said: 'Don't raise your voice, peasant. Look, you are bound for the abode of the Lord of Silence!' This peasant said: 'You beat me, you steal my goods, and now you take the complaint from my mouth! O Lord of Silence, give me back my things, so that I can stop crying to your dreadedness!'"*[12]

[9] Ricardo A. Caminos states that "la sueur du paysan était à la base de tout" (Caminos 1992, 15). Vide also Caminos 1992, 21, 24, 31, 46-47 and Canhão 2013, 51-52.

[10] Katary 2001, 352; 2007, 192-193; 2011, 6; Cooney 2007, 166; Cardoso 1987, 21-22, 81-82.

[11] Katary 2001, 352; Cooney 2007, 166. As Edward Bleiberg writes, "The ancient Egyptians identified two major crimes associated with avoiding conscription: failure to arrive at work and flight from a place of work. The punishments for these crimes were very severe. The family of the offender was sometimes forced to work in his place while he performed state labor for an indefinite period of time. Each prisoner's case seems to have been reviewed after ten years of servitude" (Bleiberg 1999, 931).

[12] Lichteim 1975, 171; Canhão 2014, 375-376; 2006, 13; 2013a, 105. Lefebvre 1949, 49-50; Faulkner 1973a, 33-34; Lalouette 1984, 199; Parkinson 1997, 60; Le Guilloux 2002, 12, 31-33.

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Enfeebled and oppressed by grief, the peasant, resorting to Rensi for justice, still gave proof of being "good of words" (*nefer medu*). He made nine consecutive appeals to the high steward for the return of his stolen goods and the restoration of the shattered justice. Although his pleas turned out to be ultimately successful due to the direct intervention of the pharaoh himself, Nebkauré Khety, the peasant was still being assaulted by men at the orders of the high steward: "*Now this peasant had made this speech*[13] *to the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, at the entrance to the courthouse. Then he had two guards go to him with whips, and they thrashed all his limbs*."[14]

Underlying this description of greed, villainy and physical violence employed against the eloquent peasant, there is a deep moral theorization around the concept of *maat*[15] that, in order to strengthen its arguments, resorts to incidents well known in Egyptian daily life, such as beatings with rods or thefts — in sum, all kinds of authority abuses, aggressions and violations of the social order.[16] Despite all the fictional indications inherent to the theme's literary treatment in this text, it does not question neither the seriousness of the moral principles it expressed, nor the atmosphere of violence and attacks perpetrated by the administration's high officials and magistrates upon the peasantry.

The mistreatments suffered by the eloquent peasant of the The Wadi Natrum were not punishments for evading taxes but, as a dependent individual and member of an inferior social *stratum*, he is subject to a coherent literary treatment. The construction of his character gains substance and dimension by becoming an "aggregating symbol" of the majority of peasants and a representation of field workers in general, rather than being just a simple literary personage.[17]

[13] Third petition.

[14] Lichteim 1975, 177; Canhão 2014, 413-414; 2006, 18; 2013a, 114; Lefebvre 1949, 59; Faulkner 1973a, 33-34; Lalouette 1984, 205; Parkinson 1997, 67; Le Guilloux 2002, 16, 57-59. The peasant ascribes Rensi's attitude to a complete inability to understand the accusations and the justice of his own pretensions (Canhão 2007, 97).

[15] Carreira in Canhão 2013, 9; Canhão 2007, 89. For Parkinson, the tale is a moral anecdote of profound irony (Parkinson 1997, 55).

[16] Canhão 2004, 136-137.

[17] Canhão 2007, 83, 87.

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In the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* a similar picture of generalized violence, anarchy, crime and pillage in which several physical maltreatments, namely beatings, are enounced, is also described:

> *"Lo, hearts are violent, storm sweeps the land, there's blood everywhere, no shortage of dead, the shroud calls out before one comes near it. (…). A man strikes his maternal brother. (…) Wearers of fine linen are beaten with sticks. (…); He is assaulted with blows of the stick; he is criminally slain. (…) when the timid is not distinguished from the violent? (…). One man assaults another, and one transgresses (…)."*[18]

This tragic existential picture, in which violence and cruelty had a prominent place, reached Egypt in the late Old Kingdom and during the First Intermediate Period. It went on through other historical periods of pharaonic Egypt, such as the New Kingdom or the Late Period. Nevertheless, here and there we can witness some sporadic measures taken by the authorities to diminish the Treasury's agents' arbitrary behaviour, such as those taken in the reign of Horemheb, during which corporal punishments ceased to be extensible to the families of debtor peasants.[19]

However, even after such reforms, authority abuses continued throughout the Ramessid Dynasty.[20] Again, during the New Kingdom, satires on crafts and trades, widely used in an educational context (*pChester Beatty V, pSallier I, pAnastasi IV and V*), establish taxes and beatings as distinguishing features of dependent workers, in contrast with the social and economic status of scribes.[21]

Also in educational contexts, physical violence upon students seems to have been used as a "pedagogical method". An Egyptian proverb advocated that "*The youth has a back and he hearkens to the beating of*

[18] Lichteim 1975, 149-163; Gardiner 1969; Faulkner 1973c, 210-229; Lalouette 1984, 211-221; Parkinson 1997, 166-199; Canhão 2014, 521-601. The text, preserved in a 19th Dynasty papyrus (*pLeiden* 344 recto), is to J. N. Carreira the "best preserved specimen of debate literature" (Carreira 2005, 88).

[19] Katary 2001, 353. During the New Kingdom, the army became the main entity that conscripted men, specialized in crafts or not, when the State required human resources to protect its imperial interests (Cooney 2007, 167).

[20] Katary 2007, 193.

[21] *pChester Beatty V*, 5, 14 – Vernus 2001, 191-192; *pSallier I*, 6, 10 – Vernus 2001, 194; *pAnastasi IV*, 9,4-10,1 – Simpson 1973b, 346-347; *pAnastasi V*, 8,1-9,1 – Simpson 1973b, 344-345.

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him."[22] Another one states: "*There are excessive words in what you said. I'll give you one hundred blows and you'll leave them all. You are to me like an ass that was beaten*"[23]; and yet another said: "*Are you so deaf that won't listen? You only listen when you are beaten.*"[24] These and other texts show that corporal correctives were considered as methods of "teaching" and training intellectual-moral values in the Houses of Life. The most indolent students could also even be led to imprisonment.

However, the scribes responsible for teaching (*tepi en seshu*) sometimes seemed to wish they had other means at their disposal to convince reluctant boys of the good things that studying could provide for them. Thus speaks one of such scribes, with a tone of disenchantment, to his disciple: "*I beat you with every kind of sticks, you do not listen. If I knew another way of doing it.*"[25]

The fact that Egyptian society have admitted these punishments of students can only be understood in the light of the scribes' privileged status and of the idea that education was key for students to have good and successful future careers. For a boy to suffer "pedagogical beatings" throughout his formative path would be better than being cudgelled for the rest of his life as a man relegated to manual labour. We are before one of those situations where the ends justify the means.

The sporadic thrashing and occasional penalties at school, which aimed to focus the student on his duties, would be rewarded with the lasting existential advantages afforded by a career, regardless of the specific area to which he would devote himself, as a text from the 20th Dynasty acknowledges: *"He* [the scribe] *is the task-master of everyone. There is no taxing of the work of the scribe. He does not have dues (…). Exercise the office of magistrate, and then you will find it advantageous in old age*."[26] Many of the texts collected in the "school miscellanies", devised to train future scribes, sought precisely to encourage them in

[22] Simpson 1973c, 344: words addressed by Amenemope to the scribe Pabes. *pAnastasi III*, rº 3, 9 – 4, 4 and *pAnastasi V*, 8, 1 – 9, 1; Vernus 2001, 379; Simpson 1973c, 344: words addressed by Amenemope to the scribe Pabes.

[23] *pSallier I*, 7,7 - 8, 2; Vernus 2001, 378. Words addressed by Ameneminet, scribes' responsible, to the scribe Pentauret.

[24] *pAnastasi IV,* 2, 4- 3,2; Vernus 2001, 381.

[25] Lichteim 1976, 169; *pLansing* 2, 4- 3,3; Vernus 2001, 385.

[26] *pSallier I*, 6,9-7,9; Simpson 1973c, 344.

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their studies, which seems to denote, nonetheless, that many of them would be neither very zealous in their duties, nor fervent supporters of studying and working…[27]

As in all patriarchal societies, ancient Egypt's women were also subject to violence and to verbal, physical and sexual abuse by men, notwithstanding, on one hand, the many privileges they enjoyed in comparison with the existential situations of other women in the ancient world and, on the other, the great distance which separates it from what, to the modern eye, can be considered as full equality. As some wisdom texts allow to perceive, verbal intimidation — actions developed "with the head" — was the most general kind of violence.[28]

In the Old Kingdom, the 21st maxim of the *Instruction of Ptah-hotep* advised: "*When you prosper and found your house, and love your wife with ardor, fill her belly, clothe her back, ointment soothes her body. Gladden her heart as long as you live, she is a fertile field for her lord. Do not contend with her in court; keep her from power, restrain her.*"[29] In the New Kingdom, the *Instruction of Any* prompted to follow the same behaviour: "*Do not control your wife in her house, when you know she is efficient; don't say to her: 'Where is it? Get it!' when she has put it in the right place. Let your eye observe in silence, then you recognize her skill.*"[30]

The warnings of the Egyptian wise men urged for an edifying *maatic* behaviour, though its explicit enunciation and repetition implies that many Egyptian men continued to deviate from such advice by using verbal, non-physical violence upon their women. It is admitted, therefore, in contrast with the idyllic picture of the harmonious monogamous Egyptian family, that disagreements and arguing, insults, offenses and pressures exerted on women marked Egyptian family life, which many times ended in divorce.[31]

Physical violence (carried out "with the arms") also seems to have been present in the Egyptian familial circle.[32] In the *Tale of the Two*

[27] Vernus 2001, 377.
[28] Orriols I Llonch 2007, 58, 67.
[29] Lichteim 1975, 69; Faulkner 1973b, 167; Parkinson 1991a, 69-70; Lalouette 1984, 243; Vernus, 2001 92, 93; Orriols I Llonch 2012, 21.
[30] Lichteim 1976, 143; Vernus 2001, 253; Orriols I Llonch 2012, 21.
[31] Carreira 2001a, 585; Orriols I Llonch 2007, 59-61.
[32] Orriols I Llonch 2007, 67.

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Brothers (19th Dynasty), a woman, eager to take revenge for the disdain with which Bata, her young brother-in-law, demonstrated towards her sexual insinuations, feigns to have been physically abused by him in order to convince her husband, Anupu:

> *"Come. Let's spend for ourselves an hour sleeping together (…)" Then the youth became like an Upper Egyptian panther in harsh rage over the wicked proposition that she had made to him, and she became exceedingly fearful. (…). The wife of his elder brother was fearful on account of the proposition which she had made. She then fetched grease and fat and feigningly became like one has been assaulted with the intention of telling her husband: "It's your younger brother who has assaulted me."*[33]

To compose a story with pedagogical plausibility in such a way that it could be recognized by its male and female listeners/readers, the author, resorted to the everyday practice of physical violence against women, surpassing the stereotype of female passivity in order to describe the character with the strong and active traits of a transgressor, seducer and cruel liar.[34] A judicial manuscript of the 20th year of Ramesses II's reign documents one such case of physical violence against a woman. Her husband, accused of maltreatment, was therefore taken to court.[35]

The most important document referring to sexual violence (developed "with the virile limb") on women is *pSalt 124 (pBritish Museum 10055)* which mentions the crimes (rapes or adultery?) of Paneb upon several "citizenesses" of Deir el-Medina:[36]

> *"Charge concerning his robbing Yeyemwaw of her garment and he threw her on the top of the wall and violated her. (…) Peneb debauched the citizeness Tuy, when she was wife to the workman Kenna, he debauched the citizeness Hunro, when she was with Pendua, he debauched the citizeness Hunro, when she was with Hesysenebef; so said his son. And after he*

[33] *pd'Orbiney* 4,5 - 4,7 = *pBritish Museum 10183*; Simpson 1973a, 96; Lichteim 1976, 205; Eyre 1984, 93-94; Lalouette 1987, 163; Brunner-Traut 2000, 72; López 2005, 129; Araújo 2005, 201. The female character of the tale is not identified (Servajean 2011, 12; Orriols I Llonch 2012, 32, note 67).

[34] Carreira 2005, 162; Orriols I Llonch 2012, 32-33.

[35] Orriols I Llonch 2007, 63.

[36] Orriols I Llonch 2007, 67. Paneb, who lived at the turn of the 13th to the 12th century BC (19th Dynasty), was the chief of the gang working on the right side of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, being responsible, along with the chief of the left side, for the organization of the royal necropolis' workers (Sales 2012a, 13-20; Rice 2002, 145).

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had debauched Hunro, he debauched Webkhet, her daughter, and Apahte, his son, also debauched Webkhet."[37]

In the first case, we are clearly before a crime of rape, while in the others everything seems to point to adultery (abuses of authority over the property of others),[38] eventually practiced with the consent of the women involved.[39]

Ancient Egypt left us, however, other testimonies on different contexts where physical violence occurred. In wartime, for instance, captured spies were punished with harsh beatings. The temple of Abu Simbel (19th Dynasty) contains representations that illustrate these punishments inflicted by four Egyptian soldiers on two Hittite spies (*shasu*).[40]

Similarly, along with the deprivation of individual freedom by imprisonment or forced labour, the repression of crimes and offenses, entrusted to local magistrates acting as delegates of the pharaoh, the supreme holder of legislative and judicial power, included physical punishments of various kinds, such as the "100 strikes", either with hard rods or whips with flexible lashes.

Besides deportation as a penalty for minor offences, mutilation was usual, for instance, the severing of noses and ears.[41] However, when infractions directly harmed the interest of the State (e.g., regicide,[42]

[37] *pSalt 124*, recto, 1,19-2,4; Černý 1929, 245; Sales 2012a, 22, 31-32; Vernus 1993, 109; Orriols I Llonch 2007, 65; 2012, 33.

[38] That is why the names the husbands of these Deir el-Medina "citizenesses'" are mentioned (Orriols I Llonch 2007, 66).

[39] Sales 2012a, 24-25; Vernus 1993, 109-110. Vide Parra Ortiz 2010, 14-16.

[40] Peters-Destéract 2003, 190.

[41] Redford 2002, 118.

[42] The case of the conspiracy destined to murder Ramesses III is present in the so-called *Papyrus of the Harem Conspiracy*, divided in three fragments, of which the most important is the *Judicial Papyrus of Turin*, whereon the sentences of those considered guilty are registered. The drafts/minutes of the four sessions of the process engaged against the conspirators came to us through the *Judicial Papyrus of Turin* and of several fragments, some of them in very poor condition of preservation, such as the *Papyrus Rollin*, the *Papyrus Varzy*, the *Papyrus Lee* 1 and 2, the *Papyrus Rifaud* I (A, B and C) and the *Papyrus Rifaud* II (E). According to Susan Redford, as consequence of this process, 32 men and women were condemned to death, all of them belonging to the circles of the court. Their family tombs and their family status were confiscated and abrogated, as well (Vernus 1993, 141-156; Mcdowell 2001, 317; Redford 2002, 133).

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theft of sacred objects, vilification of the pharaoh, desecration of tombs and royal mummies,[43] etc.) investigative committees and extraordinary courts were nominated to reinforce the centralization of the judicial power, applying dissuasive, violent sentences such as impalement (*ḥr tp ḫt* or *ḥr r ḫt*, "to place on top of wooden beam", the most common of penalties) and death, even though the latter seems to have been rarely put into effect.[44]

In criminal cases, whenever Egyptian courts could not apply a sentence after a process, it was the king who decided the penalties, that could range from beatings (misdemeanours, thefts, administrative abuses, verbal defamation) to death (tomb robbery, high treason), passing through the ablation of tongues (treason and perjury), severing of hands (scripture falsifications), noses and ears (false oaths) and forced labour in mines and borderlands, depending on the seriousness and degree of culpability of those convicted.[45] During the questionings, judges and viziers could resort to several kinds of corporal abuses, torture and ordeals,[46] which were considered not only legitimate, but legally established means of proof to obtain conclusive evidence, namely in criminal cases.[47] The violence practiced in these contexts reached levels of cruelty.

Egyptian dissidents could even be burned alive. This can be deduced from the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, from the 22nd Dynasty, of the Third Intermediate Period, regarding the rebels who revolted against Amun-Re.[48] Exile was usually the sanction reserved for political opponents whose crimes were not punishable by death.[49] For Egyptian high officials involved in judicial processes, the most severe punishment was a real "social death", which consisted in the loss of

[43] The process against the looters of the Theban royal necropolis' tombs, in the time of Ramesses IX, is in *pLeopoldII* (Vernus 1993, 19-ss.).

[44] Bedell 1973, 153. To Susan Redford, it was the most common form of execution in the New Kingdom: "Impalement appears to have come into vogue in the New Kingdom" (Redford 2002, 124).

[45] The sentence used in legal texts for capital crimes was *bt3w ʿ3y n mtwt*, "offenses deserving death" - Bedell 1973, 146-ss.

[46] The use of river ordeals, "by the crocodile", as they were designated, seems to have occurred only in trials of cases of adultery (Redford 2002, 120-121; Bedell 1973, 162-163).

[47] Sales 2001d, 189; 2001e, 279; Redford 2002, 119.

[48] Mcdowell 2001, 317; Redford 2002, 124.

[49] Bedell 1973, 173.

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properties, trade, status and, sometimes, even of their own identities, equally extended to their lineage.[50]

If we piously believe in many of the spells from the *Book of the Dead,* which survived to this day, all the images of real physical violence previously presented would not have existed in ancient Egypt. The Egyptian ethics, the so called "ways of life", *mṯn n ʿnḫ*, rejected, in theory, all forms of physical violence. For instance, spell 125 explicitly condemns all corporal punishments. Many "confessions"/ "declarations" state it:

> *"I have committed no evil upon men.*
> *I have not oppressed the members of my family.*
> *I have not wrought evil in the place of right and truth.*
> *I have had no knowledge of useless men.*
> *I have brought about no evil.*
> *I did not rise in the morning and expect more than was due to me.*
> *I have not brought my name forward to be praised.*
> *I have not oppressed servants.(…).*
> *I have not cause harm to be done to a servant by his master.*
> *I have not caused pain.*
> *I have caused no man to hunger.*
> *I have made no one weep.*
> *I have not killed.*
> *I have not given the order to kill.*
> *I have not inflicted pain on anyone."*

Devised to proclaim the spiritual "purity" and excellence of conduct of the deceased (*I'm pure! I'm pure! I'm pure! I'm pure!"*), the negative confessions which declared the innocence of the dead demonstrate that all these actions, thus presented in a standard way, were practiced by ancient Egyptians, supposedly by those other than the deceased.[51] Hence, more than evidencing that there was no place for physical harassment in Egypt, these texts truly manifest the contrary.

[50] Mcdowell 2001, 318.

[51] " (…) the negative confession is a major source of ancient Egyptian ethical standards. A life lived in accordance with these standards was a life lived according to *maat*" (Stadler 2008, 2). Vide Lazaridis 2008, 3.

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Ritual violence

The so called ritual scenes of smiting the enemies (*seker*, *sḳr*, "crush"), also known as triumph scenes, constitute a military *topos* in iconography and plastic art which runs through almost all Egyptian history, from the 4th millennium BC to the 2nd century AD, and to which was given particular relevance within pharaonic ideology.[52]

These scenes of the ritual defeat of the pharaoh's enemies proclaim the aspiration to a generalized, universal, dominion of political power through acts of expressive violence. The pharaoh is always depicted in grand scale, holding a mace-axe in his raised arm. Regardless of whether he is portrayed in a static or dynamic posture, he is barefoot. The foot farther from the enemy is in the air, though its toes touch the ground. He grabs one or more of his enemies (who are depicted on a much smaller scale) by the hair and whips them. The vanquished are either standing or kneeling; either curved, exposing their backs to the pharaoh, or raising their heads toward him. Sometimes, their arms fall helplessly alongside their bodies; sometimes one of the arms is raised, pleading for the pharaoh to be merciful, while the left hand is placed on the knee (a prevailing gesture before the New Kingdom).

The sovereign, holder of the ritual warrior strength, is usually pictured in an idealized way and in active stance. Bearing all the elements of the apparatus inherent to his function as warrior, he is clothed in a panoply of significant emblems and insignia of power (crowns, sceptres, *shendjit*-kilts, taurine tail, false beard, quivers, bows, *hedj*-mace and *akhu* and *mibet* axes, *khepesh*, *ames*-club, several *uraei*). As a rule, his enemies are depicted in a passive posture, waiting to receive the final blow. The final blow defines, basically, the essence of these scenes.

Many scenes also feature a high divinity from the Egyptian pantheon, to which the enemies are ritually delivered/dedicated (Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty, Khnum-Re, Horus, Isis-Hathor, Ptah, Thoth, etc.) The god is sometimes shown giving the pharaoh the *khepesh,* a small metal (bronze) curved scimitar, a "weapon of victory", symbolizing the concession to the pharaoh, by the gods, of military triumph over his foes.

[52] Sales 2008a, 115-138, 2008b, 2012b; Hall 1986; Pérez-Accino 2002; Luiselli 2011, 17-18; Derchain 1966, 19.

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Thus, victory is a gift from the gods who, in the end, are the actual victors. The semantics of such signs are unmistakable: divine favour and military victory belong to the standing character that bears the *regalia*, in contrast to the diminished and helpless groups of enemies. The convening of all the royal *insignia* are enough to explain the significance of the depicted scene.

By executing antagonist chiefs, Egyptian pharaohs, as supreme rulers and, in theory, lords of warfare, used their prerogative as vanquishers of their internal and external foes. Following the prescriptions of *maat*, they pacificated the land by drawing back Chaos and restoring the primordial Order. The emphasis placed on the acts of bravery performed solely by the king (as if he was not actually assisted by several officials with distinct and hierarchical competences) intended to exalt his exceptional category, physical courage, qualifications to rule and the divine support underlying his actions — all of which were requisites to exercise kingship.

If many of such violent scenes evoke actual combats opposing Egyptian forces, led by the pharaoh, and neighbouring peoples (such as the Libyans, Nubians and Asians, the "Nine Bows"), others are purely fictional, depicting massacres of enemies in a symbolic way. These scenes, which represent the Egyptian kings engaging their foes victoriously throughout eternity, have an apotropaic nature.

However, whether representing fictitious or real combats exaggerating the military prowess of the depicted kings, the smiting of enemies in such compositions, more than being considered ostentatious echoes of frantic conquests, should be regarded as particularly relevant testimonies to a form of bellicose violence, depicted in strong visual images (visual metaphor) which we could classify as "approved", "official" and "legitimated".

Psychological violence

The profuse decorations of pharaohs' tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and the texts which accompanied them (*Litany of Re, Book of Caves, Book of the Hidden Chamber, Book of the Amduat*, etc.) recall the dangers the deceased had to contend with in the Hereafter. The enemy creatures which sought to hinder the pharaohs' access to the promised world of blessedness were plenty: "demons", usually male,

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with special powers over determined activities,[53] "wandering dead" (*mwt*), "disembodied spirits" (*akh*),[54] gigantic and multiform serpents (*hefau*),[55] composite monsters, etc.

Frequently, the animals included in the composite bodies of demons were reptiles (especially snakes), felines and canines, but there were also other mammals (asses, baboons, hippopotamus, goats, bulls), insects, scorpions and birds (falcons, vultures). This iconography does not differ much from the divine animal or hybrid representations but, in their demonic iconography, ancient Egyptians also resorted to fantastic, monstrous and grotesque animals, combining in the same body two or more creatures or animals with human beings.[56] Ammit, "The dead devourer", whose presence in the Room of the Two Truths (*Maaty*) was mandatory, is perhaps the most well-known of these composite monsters.[57]

These hideous and frightening characters that populate the Egyptian mental universe and worldview acted directly upon the perception of *post-mortem* future that inspired ancient Egyptians. No matter how

[53] Egyptian religiosity does not allow an easy distinction between "demons" and "divinities". The main difference seems to consist in the fact that "demons" do not receive cult, at least until the New Kingdom. From a supernatural point of view, there is a hierarchy, in which "demons" are subordinate to the gods (*netjeru*). They could act individually, in pairs, in triads or in group (Lucarelli 2010, 3-4).

[54] While the *mwt* beings were always malevolent, the *akh*-spirits could be malevolent or benevolent (Lucarelli 2010, 4).

[55] The close observation of serpents or serpentiform figures incorporated in the decorative programs of Egyptian royal tombs, besides allowing to notice the existence of several kinds of serpents, also shows that such creatures from the beyond had several forms, some of them perfectly incomprehensible to our organizational logic: their size could be either normal or gigantic, with different stoutness or volume; they could also have several heads, wings, human feet, head and arms, etc. Rather than representing concrete animals from the Egyptian fauna, serpents constitute a polyvalent symbol of the different ctonic forms of evil and chaos with which the deceased had to contend in the underworld.

[56] Lucarelli 2010, 5.

[57] With a crocodile's head, lion's forelegs and hippopotamus' paws and hind flanks, Ammit had a bizarre look, destined to emphasize the impossibility of the deceased to escape her destructive action, in case they were considered guilty on the Tribunal of Osiris, during the *post-mortem* Judgment. She would eat the heart *ib* of the non-justified deceased, eliminating for them the chance of a life in the Fields of Iaru. Therefore, her existence had a dissuasive psychological effect to the Egyptians concerned with their fate in the Hereafter. She represented thus a frightening force to be reckoned, like a "second death" (Sales, 1999, 358-360).

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much familiarity or assurance they expressed about their future, the imaginary formed by these creatures was certainly an additional form of pressure on their lives. In this sense, it is admissible that they represented some form of psychological violence upon the Egyptian community of believers, firstly on the higher members of Egyptian administrative elite and secondly, along with a demotization of the hope in the afterlife during the First Intermediate Period, to an expressive and ever-growing number of members of Egyptian officialdom.[58]

Considering this problematic due to its inherent dose of moral coercion and psychological violence, the rites and magical-medicinal operations of mummification (e.g., ritual purification and mummification *per se*; funeral procession with fumigations and libations; *hotep di nesu* offerings; opening of the mouth ceremony; placement of the sarcophagus in the tomb; funeral services assured by specialized *sem*-priests) intended to transform the deceased into an "Osiris" and then into an *akh* (from mortal to immortal); the appropriation of spells specially endowed with magical and incantatory powers to assure the transfiguration of the dead (*Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts*, *Book of the Dead*), tomb inscriptions and amuletic objects are no more than procedures to guarantee the rituals' success and "decompression and psychological relief."[59]

As "protection and salvation methods", they attest some of the forms of resistance used by ancient Egyptian people against anguish and existential despair. However, being in possession of adequate material-magical elements, the living, as a deceased-to-be, feels (better) prepared to deal with the fearsome threats of the Hereafter. The performative and apotropaic character of the spells was regarded as a warranty for success, safety and confidence.

Egyptian consciousness was, without doubt, centred on the mystic concern about existence and death. Such "living for death" was accompanied by distress that, when not involved in total negativity, gigantic fears or compelling frights, represented though a form of psychological pressure/violence.[60]

[58] Smith 2009.
[59] Allen 1974, 1; Hays 2010.
[60] Sales 1999, 339-340.

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Notwithstanding the several conflicts, dangers and threats posed by earthly life and by the passage into the life of the Hereafter, the "realm of silence", ancient Egyptians developed an optimistic, positive, courageous and vibrant attitude towards death and the fate beyond the grave, all the more that everyone, well anchored in appropriate devices, intended to be "transformed into a god" (*ḫpr m nṯr*).[61]

Final remarks

The phenomenon of violence in ancient Egypt was not confined only to actions that threatened physical integrity, but was also grounded on a level of moral and psychological coercion, which transgressed the autonomy of individual and collective existence and behaviour.

Physical violence had a real expression in Egyptian society. It was manifest in many of the behaviours observable throughout its history, such as corporal punishments inflicted on peasants and students, verbal, physical and sexual violence upon women or brutal acts of punishment against spies and criminals. Violence manifested by physical aggression was, therefore, a reality in ancient Egypt, affecting both the domestic and public sphere, although condemned by Egyptian moral values.

On the other hand, in accordance with an ideology of victory, each pharaoh was supposed to be victorious. Such capacity to achieve success by using violence had to be proclaimed, becoming thus a frequent visual theme, often depicted, particularly on temple pylons, in large scale scenes of domination and repression of vanquished foes.

This was a way to celebrate a victory, either an actual one, revived and perpetuated by its representations, or a fictive one, serving as an instrument of dissuasive propaganda directed at their adversaries. Through these fictitious scenes, the aggressive facet of the pharaoh's power showed off physical strength and warned real and potential enemies with the unleashing of such force. The scenes of ritual offering of enemies by the pharaoh to the main gods of the Egyptian pantheon are, in this sense, an eloquent trace of what we might indicate as *ritual* or *symbolic violence*, much appreciated in the land of the pharaohs.

[61] Schweizer 1994, 1-2.

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Apart from these real/deliberate or ritual/ceremonial expressions of violence, ancient Egypt knew yet another, more subjective kind of violence — *psychological violence* —, eloquently manifest in many textual and iconographic productions, especially related to the hope of life in the Hereafter: we refer to the violence and constraints that could be faced by those who did not accord his existence under maatic behaviours. For Egyptians, it worked, in many situations, as a powerful regulatory and dissuasive force that conditioned the living.

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BLOOD FEUD AND BLOOD POLLUTION IN ARCHAIC AND EARLY CLASSICAL GREECE

Irene SALVO

Since the Archaic period, Greek social, legal and religious norms have regulated the worst form of interpersonal violence: homicide. In Athens, as the context we know better, the family of the victim brought before the courts a suspected killer through a *dike phonou* (private suit for homicide). The intentionality of the culprit and the civil status of the victim determined the gravity of the offence. Intentional homicide was punished with death. The accused could avoid capital punishment by choosing voluntary exile. This possibility was available up until the delivery of the second defence speech during the court trial. The penalty for involuntary manslaughter was exile, usually for a limited period of time — probably a year.[1] Alongside a penal sentence, the killer was considered polluted. He was excluded from public and sacred spaces, and he could not return to his normal life until he had been ritually purified. This chapter aims to show to what degree, in Archaic and early Classical Greek society, the belief of blood pollution was connected to the custom of blood feud. The analysis of both literary and epigraphic sources allows for the highlighting of social and ritual mechanisms that contained the escalations of violence following the crime. I shall use three famous pieces of evidence as case studies, and read them using an approach influenced by the works of medieval historians and anthropologists.

* This research stems from my doctoral thesis defended at the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, under the supervision of Carmine Ampolo, to whom I am grateful for guidance. I would like also to thank Hans van Wees for his time in discussing an early draft of this paper. Completing the writing in June 2014, I was unable to include any work that appeared afterwards due to space constraints. However, I intend to return to the topic in a future and lengthier contribution.

[1] This brief sketch mentions only the essential elements of Greek homicide law; for an in-depth study, see *ex plurimis* MacDowell 1963; Pepe 2012, with previous bibliography.

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The starting point of my inquiry is the assumption held by many scholars that Greeks practised blood feud before the advent of the *polis* law system. In a society without state power, the closest male relative of the victim slew the killer in revenge. However, studies on the origin of the State and the rule of law, as well as on the *self-help* theory, have demonstrated that the cycle of blood feud between families is not an expression of an irrational violence pervasive in stateless societies. A vengeance system is socially accepted and structured according to clear principles. Blood revenge and material compensation are often part of the same process for the resolution of conflict.[2] In the case of Greek sources, a close analysis reveals that blood feud, as attested in other cultures, is absent in the Archaic period.[3] While a collective psychology of vengeance existed, this was not a mentality materialized in actions that could lead to a series of revenge killings. I intend to argue that the belief in the polluted status of the murderer was aimed, at least in part, at channelling and satisfying the feelings of revenge of the victim's family.

A first case study is extracted from the last book of the *Odyssey*.[4] As is well-known, following the slaughter of the suitors, the families of the victims were divided into two groups: those who felt the necessity to avenge Odysseus' murderous acts and those who considered the bloodshed a divine punishment for the suitors' *hybris*.[5] It was decided for violent vengeance: the group of the homicide and the victims' families clashed on the field. However, the battle caused only one death, Eupeithes, the father of Antinoos, the most insolent

[2] Over the last fifty years, the bibliography on feud and legal change has grown rapidly and enormously. Therefore, I will mention only a few studies: Roberts 1983; Starr-Collier 1987; Nader 1992; Grutzpalk 2002; Whitman 2004; Netterstørm 2007; Hyams 2010.

[3] Parker 1983, 125 n. 84; Harris 2001, 135; McHardy 2008, 9; and Leão 2010, 44, have noted that blood feud was not a traditional custom in ancient Greece; however, the idea that it was practised before the birth of the *polis* is still recurrent in many scholarly works. Among legal historians, there has been a long debate on whether, in Classical Athens, citizens exploited the courts and the trials as another arena for playing out conflicts and feuds; see in particular Cohen 1995; Herman 2006; Harris 2013.

[4] Against the idea that the end of the *Odyssey* was a later addition, see, among many others, Heubeck *et al*. 1988-1992, III 353-355; Catenacci 1993.

[5] See Hom. *Od*. 24.424-438, 443-449, 454-464. The pro-revenge group was actually smaller in numbers, Hom. *Od*. 24.464.

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suitor of all.[6] Further bloodshed was prevented by the interference of Athena, sent by Zeus.[7]

It has been written that these events testify a shift in the history of Greek mentality. At the very last moment, the poet would abandon the traditional discourse of blood feud. At the end of the poem, blood feud is placed into the past, and the narrative moves forward towards the law of the *polis*. Odysseus is the hero *par excellence* who is able to quickly adapt to changes, and he is the one who first takes advantage of the new custom. His legitimate killings do not require revenge. The poem opts for a new order founded on the legal resolution of conflicts and the punishment of crimes.[8]

However, in epic poems where the most common outcome of a homicide is exile, and where blood revenge is evident only in battlefield scenes,[9] a different approach can be adopted for interpreting this passage. It was not blood revenge as a system to be replaced; rather, it was the possibility of recouping the killing of the suitors in particular to be denied. Odysseus' revenge was right and approved by the gods: it ended civil war, confirmed peace, and could not provoke new crimes.[10] The poet needed to interrupt the chain of vengeance in order to close the narrative circuit in a satisfactory way.[11]

Socio-anthropological research has suggested that descriptive stories of vengeance should not be read as a proof of real vindictive practices. Epic sagas and stories of blood revenge do not always attest facts of historical occurrence; they rather encapsulate warnings useful for maintaining the peace in society.[12] Furthermore, historical studies on feuds have abandoned the evolutionistic view of a state law that

[6] Hom. *Od.* 24.520-525.

[7] Hom. *Od.* 24.472-548.

[8] See Svenbro 1984; Heubeck *et al.* 1988-1992, III 405f. with further bibliography. Svenbro 1984, 47 is right in considering the vengeance system not as an expression of an anarchic and savage world, but as founded on the logic of reciprocity and gift exchange.

[9] I explored these aspects in Salvo 2011, 30-64. On homicide exiles see also McHardy 2008, 11-37; Nünlist 2009.

[10] Burnett 1998, 34-42.

[11] Harris 2001, 136.

[12] Gluckmann 1955. His work has greatly influenced the historical study of feuding societies. On Gluckmann's methodology and theoretical approach, see Kapferer 2006.

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replaces private justice, in favour of the functionalist paradigm that establishes violent revenge as existing alongside non-violent composition.[13]

Re-reading the revenge of the suitors' families in this perspective, it is firstly worth noting that a targeted killing would have been more characteristic of a traditional feud,[14] rather than a battle on the ground with two opposite arrays.[15] Secondly, the literary level of representation might not closely reflect the historical level of interaction. Instead of epitomizing the shift from vengeance to law, the end of the *Odyssey* seems to confirm that, in the historical society that enjoyed the poem, the actual blood revenge was better avoided.[16] The vindictive response was not automatic; it was subject to dispute and disagreement in the Ithacan community. The divine intervention served to realign the course of the narrative to a non-violent ideology.[17] Athena should not be interpreted as the announcer of the *polis*: through the whole episode, the poet has showed to his audience the risks of arrogance as well as the risks of blood revenge. The end of the poem seems to present an exemplary procedure for the de-escalation and resolution of conflicts in a small community.

Another contributing factor underpinned the reconciliation process between Odysseus and his island: the cleaning of the royal palace

[13] See Netterstrøm 2007 for an overview of recent studies on blood feud in medieval and early modern Europe.

[14] See Miller 1990, 180f.; among the features of a feud. He lists point 3: "unlike war, feud does not involve relatively large mobilizations, but only occasional musterings for limited purposes. Violence is controlled; casualties rarely reach double digits in any single encounter;" and point 5: "a notion of exchange governs the process, a kind of my-turn/your-turn rhythms, with offensive and defensive positions alternating after each confrontation". The hostilities, then, take forms different from those of a direct clash as in a battle.

[15] Hom. *Od.* 24.531f.: ἴσχεσθε πτολέμου, Ιθακήσιοι, ἀργαλέοιο, ὥς κεν ἀμαιμωτί γε διακρινθῆτε τάχιστα ("refrain, men of Ithaca, from grievous war, that with all speed you may part, and that without bloodshed"; this and the following translations from the *Odissey* are from Murray (1919), slightly modified). Athena defines the conflict exactly as a war-like combat.

[16] On violence, history, and poetry in Homer, see van Wees 1992, in particular p. 150: "Homeric society would thus leave less room for physical violence than the epics seem to suggest."

[17] Cf. also Hom. *Il.* 1.188-221: Athena, sent by Hera, summoned Achill to restrain his rage and not to kill the king in avenging Agamemnon's insult. Again, the reader sees a glimpse of a vengeful behaviour that is not completely accomplished.

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and its purification. After the slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus ordered the women servants to remove the dead bodies from the gory hall, and to wipe clean with water and sponges all the chairs and tables.[18] Subsequently, Odysseus asked the faithful nurse Eurycleia to bring him fire and sulphur in order to fumigate the hall.[19]

Some scholars have interpreted these actions as mere cleansing operations: measures of hygiene that demonstrated respect for the domestic hearth. They cannot be considered religious ceremonies performed to remove the blood pollution attached to the killer.[20] Other scholars, instead, think that the operations of cleansing can represent an embryonic form of cathartic rites, even if they were directed to places and not to people.[21] Indeed, this second interpretation seems preferable. The hall has been firstly washed, and then purified with anantiseptic substance, attested elsewhere as purificatory means.[22] The actions of cleansing and fumigation were aimed at decontaminating the house from the killings, as well as at restoring

[18] Hom. *Od*. 22. 448-456: πρῶτα μὲν οὖν νέκυας φόρεον κατατεθνηῶτας, κὰδ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ τίθεσαν εὐερκέος αὐλῆς, ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρείδουσαι· σήμαινε δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸς ἐπισπέρχων· ταὶ δ' ἐκφόρεον καὶ ἀνάγκη. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα θρόνους περικαλλέας ἠδὲ τραπέζας ὕδατι καὶ σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι κάθαιρον. αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος καὶ βουκόλος ἠδὲ συβώτης λίστροισιν δάπεδον πύκα ποιητοῖο δόμοιο ξῦον· ταὶ δ' ἐφόρεον δμῳαί, τίθεσαν δὲ θύραζε ("First they bore forth the bodies of the slain and set them down beneath the portico of the well-fenced court, propping them one against the other; and Odysseus himself gave them orders and hastened on the work, and they bore the bodies forth perforce. Then they cleansed the beautiful high seats and the tables with water and porous sponges. But Telemachus and the cowherd and the swineherd scraped with hoes the floor of the well-built house, and the women bore the scrapings forth and threw them out of doors.").

[19] Hom. *Od*. 22.481f.: οἶσε θέειον, γρηῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ, ὄφρα θεειώσω μέγαρον ("Old dame, bring sulphur — the cure of evils — to cleanse from pollution, and bring me fire, that I may purge the hall.").

[20] Glotz 1904, 229 n. 3; Moulinier 1952, 28; Hoessly 2001, 80f.; Eck 2012, 104.

[21] Dodds 1951, 54 n. 39; Cantarella 1976, 63. For Parker 1983, 135 n. 126, this episode does not demonstrate that Homer ignored pollution from homicide, since the killings committed by Odysseus were legitimate, and therefore they did not require any compensation or purification ritual. Cf. also Kearns 2011, 683: Odysseus' actions against the suitors resemble a war scenario, in which pollution is normally not generated.

[22] On sulphur in Greek rites of purification, see Parker 1983, 57f., 227f.; Paoletti 2004, 21f. Achill, in the *Iliad*, fumigated with it the cup used for a libation to Zeus, showing in this way the need for cathartic actions before approaching the gods (Hom. *Il*. 16.228).

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the legitimate authority of Odysseus. The expression attributed to the sulphur, κακῶν ἄκος,[23] a remedy for all evils, reinforces the idea that this element was endowed with religious qualities and special powers. The fumigation of the house was of a ritual nature, in the sense that the action was grounded in the mystical power of sulphur, and was performed on an occasion not related to an ordinary cleaning procedure.[24]

My next case study is Draco's law on homicide.[25] There is not enough space here for a complete assessment of this document and its problems.[26] I am limiting my comments, therefore, only to the specific point that concerns my general argument. It is a *communis opinio* that "in favor of legal settlement, Draco had eliminated self-help in its most extreme form, the blood feud, at least in case of unintentional homicide."[27] Although, in recent years, an evolutionistic interpretation of Greek law has been abandoned,[28] Draco's law is still considered a turning point from blood feud to the legal punishment of homicide.

In lines 26-29, it states it is prohibited to kill a murderer in exile.[29] If anyone kills the murderer or is responsible for his killing, when he

[23] Hom. *Od*. 22.481.

[24] For identifying the nature of Odysseus' acts, I am using here the definition of Turner 1967, 19: "[Ritual is] prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or power."

[25] The law was issued around 621/0 BCE, and it was republished in the 409/8 BCE: the latter inscription has survived until today (*IG* I^3 104), although the surface of the stone is very damaged. On the revision of the Athenian legal code, see among others Stroud 1968, 61-64; Gallia 2004, 456.

[26] The bibliography is vast, but see recently Pepe 2012, 7-78, with references to previous work.

[27] Riess 2008, 53. See also Glotz 1904, 86f.: "il voulait substituer le régime de la répression sociale à celui de la vengeance privée, afin de refréner le goût du sang." On Glotz, the duty of vengeance, and the principles of familiar solidarity, see Scheid-Tissinier 2005, 395-397.

[28] For a brief history of historiography, see Papakonstantinou 2008, 4-7.

[29] *IG* I^3 104.26-29: ἐὰν δ]έ [τ]ις τὸ[ν ἀν]δροφόνον κτένει ἢ αἴτιος ε᾽ ῖ φόνο, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶ]ς ἐφορί[α]ς κ[α]ὶ [ἄλθον καὶ *h*ιερο-ν Ἀμφικτυονικο-ν, *h*όσπερ τὸν Ἀθεν]αῖον κ[τένα]ν[τα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι. διαγιγνόσκεν δὲ τὸς ἐφέτας ("If anybody kills a killer or is responsible for his being killed, when he is keeping away from a frontier market and Amphictyonic contests and rites, he shall be liable to the same things as for killing an Athenian." [Text Stroud 1968; translation P.J.

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is keeping away from the market on the frontiers, from the games and from the Amphictyonic rites, then the culprit is punished in the same way as for having killed an Athenian. This clause belongs to a series of measures meant to protect the exiled murderer. Outside of Attica, he could not have been pursued or despoiled,[30] while an exiled murderer entering the city is liable of capital punishment or arrest.[31] According to Demosthenes, this procedure was the only chance of salvation for a killer, and it was necessary to avoid an escalation of violence and a never-ending series of revenge killings.[32] Even if we accept that this was the aim of the legislation, it should be noted that the official promulgation of the law was not sufficient to provoke, in the concrete procedures after homicide, a radical change from blood feud to the legal management of the crime. The mere authority of a law could not straightforwardly put an end to continuous cycles of violence, entrenched in social behaviour and mentalities. Draco's norms were, by then, probably already established, but lacking formalization.[33] A diachronic examination of a feuding culture confirms that new legislation imposed from above is not sufficient to overcome the vengeance system. In contemporary cultures — the Albanian, for example, where blood feud is attested — violence and state coexisted. A plurality of approaches should be adopted for the sake of disusing traditional practices.[34] Furthermore, it does not seem convincing the

Rhodes, *Attic Inscriptions Online* website]). This law has been faithfully cited by Demosthenes 23.37-38. For further comments, see, among many others, Stroud 1968, 53f., and Canevaro 2013, 55-58.

[30] Dem. 23.44. On this passage, see Canevaro 2013, 58-61.

[31] Dem. 23.28.

[32] Dem. 23.37-43.

[33] See also, among his many contributions on the first Greek written laws, Gagarin 2007: Draco reasserted traditional oral laws, adding new procedural details. *Contra*: Cantarella 2007.

[34] See Clark 2000, 40, 46-69: in Kosovo, multiple factors over five decades have contributed to abandon the custom of blood feud. No specific strategy or ordinance has prohibited revenge killings. However, in the 1950s literary novels started publicly condemning revenge (like Adem Demaçi, *The Snakes of Blood*, Pristina 1958). Since the 1970s, tribal meetings of elders (*kuvend*) and education campaigns questioned the rightfulness of revenge and sponsored the reconciliation of blood feuds. A real change happened after a first declaration of independence in the 1990: that year was declared the Year of Reconciliation and, helped by the local Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom, as well as by the Albanological Institute, campaigners visited every village trying to persuade the families involved in

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idea that Draco's law addressed, after fifteen years, the killing of Cylon and his supporters.[35] No ancient source explicitly attests a direct link between this law and the Cylonian affair.[36] It is true that the codification of the first written laws could have been prompted by a crisis or specific contingencies. However, the legislator could have promulgated his law as a response to his contemporary social situation, considering that crimes of homicide or disputes over ambiguous cases would have not been rare in the everyday life of urban and rural centres.

The weakness of law enforcement in a feuding society should be stressed in discussing Draco's law, since the relation between blood feud and the law is at the core of the scholarly debate on this text. Some years ago, David Phillips had interpreted some aspects of Athenian homicide law as vestiges of the archaic blood feud surviving in Classical period. The victim's deathbed injunction reinforced the families' duty of pursuing the murderer and, in its formulation, it

feuds to grant pardon and to achieve reconciliation. Intellectuals were promoting the campaign through radio and television. More than one thousand blood feuds were resolved (1990-1992). Highly emotional public ceremonies were organized, during which the victim's families offered their *besa*, their word of honour, that the feud was reconciled. This tendency towards a non-violent attitude coincided with the acme of the Serbian hate against Kosovo's Albanians. A change in their cultural identity was necessary for more than one reason: on the one hand, frequent inter-ethnic killings could attract further Serbian military interventions; on the other hand, a positive and peaceful image of Kosovo's Albanians would have facilitated the international support to their civil resistance. Another example comes from the Solomon Islands in Oceania: blood feud was customary for more than six hundred years, and it was abandoned after the conversion to Christianity in 1938. The sixth commandment, "thou shalt not kill", was an order of the god who vanquished all the other powerful local gods: the fear of divine punishment functioned as a tool of reconciliation between feuding families (see Kuschel 1988, I, 232-234).

[35] Main sources on the Cylonian affair: Herod. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 1.1; Heracl., *Epit.* 2 (*FGrH* 457 T 4c); Plut. *Sol.* 12.1-9; Paus. 1.28.1, 7.25.3; Diog. Laert. 1.110; Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 445. The episode is uncertainly dated to the 636 BCE, on the chronology see Stroud 1968, 66 n. 7; Rhodes 1981.

[36] See Pepe 2012, 8 n. 2 for the references to the scholars who think that Draco addressed the murder of the Cylonians. Gagarin 2008, 94f., 103, has persuasively argued against this *communis opinio*. Phillips 2008, 43-57 has explained the Draconian law as the result of a "vertical *stasis*" between the aristocracy and the masses. I explored more in depth the disconnection of Draco's law from the Cylonian affair in Salvo 2011, 88-94.

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recalled the old need for a violent response.[37] The carriage of a spear at the victim's funeral testified the memory of a time in which blood feud was practised. The *dike phonou* started with the public proclamation of the victim's family, which in the past — together with the spear in the tomb — originated the feud between the group of the killer and that of the victim.[38] The right of attending the killer's execution represented a sort of mitigated right for blood revenge.[39] The measure of accommodating in the Prytaneion a person accused of homicide impeded the victim's family from violently avenging the killing before the trial.[40]

The law, at the time, did not supersede the blood revenge; rather, it controlled it. The vengeful feelings were uttered through legal procedures; the trial was compulsory, for both intentional and unintentional homicide. Furthermore, Draco restricted participation in the homicide trial only to the closest family members of the victim, limiting both the possibility of pursuing the crime and the numbers of individuals liable for criminal responsibility. Finally, a unanimous decision from the victim's family served to protect the forgiven killer from being attacked on his return after the exile.[41]

These remarks are valid if one presumes that, in Athens, the blood feud was in practice before the fourth century BCE. Nevertheless, as I tried to show earlier, the evidence of the Homeric poems cannot be regarded as proof of the existence of an archaic feuding society. Draco's law would hardly have offered the tools for getting even with the culprit in a way "more socially acceptable than retaliatory killing".[42] If feud was practised, it was already functioning according to a socially

[37] Phillips 2008, 64-68. See Antiph. 1.29-30; Lys. 13.41-42.

[38] Phillips 2008, 69-71. See *e.g.* Dem. 47.69.

[39] Phillips 2008 78. See Dem. 23.69.

[40] Phillips 2008, 74f. See Phot. *Lex.* e *Suid. s.v.* προδικασία. See, however, the right criticism of Banfi 2011, 606: Phillips' interpretation of this passage relies on MacDowell 1963, 36 translation, "live (διατελοῦσι) at the Prytaneion for three months before the trial", while Boegehold 1995, 149 has suggested a better reading: "[they] continue to be charged (διατελοῦσι) in the Prytaneion for three months before the trial"; it is unlikely that the polluted killers were allowed to stay in the Prytaneion: most probably, the building was a neutral place where, through the three *prodikasiai* (preliminary hearings), the *basileus* could assign the homicide case to the appropriate law court.

[41] Phillips 2008, 56f.

[42] Phillips 2008, 57.

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acceptable mechanism, since the vengeance system is normally consensual and recognized by all the civic community. The writing of the law *per se* does not seem a crucial element for upholding its validity, and for guaranteeing its efficacy in modifying deep-rooted mentalities and behaviours. It is a fact that the wish to avenge the victim was channelled through coercive terms. However, it seems more reasonable to think that the new Draconian law was aimed at systematically and formally establishing customs that already existed, which were, for the first time, enforced through legal authority. Although the document attests fundamental innovations,[43] it cannot be identified with the overcoming of blood feud.

The connection of Draco's legislation with the evolution of the blood feud has led scholars, at least until the 1950s, to interpret the law as the result of the abolition of the *poine* (retribution, monetary ransom) and the appearing of the belief in blood pollution only in the post-Homeric era. The cult of Apollo at Delphi disseminated the fear of pollution and prompted the promulgation of Draco's law.[44] Scholars who denied any religious concern in the written law, later criticized this interpretation and the weight of the Delphic oracle. Blood pollution did not influence the formulation of Athenian homicide laws. This belief appears mainly in the Attic tragedies or in rhetorical works such as the *Tetralogies* of Antiphon.[45] It was considered as an additional penalty when the culprit was identified, while it took the place of blood revenge when the killer managed to get off scot-free.[46] Pollution might have operated as a deterrent for unjustified killings, but the scope and the mechanism of Athenian law did not explicitly consider the problem of *miasma.*[47] The scholarly discussion on the relation between blood pollution and homicide laws continued in more recent years, shifting again the stress on the value of pollution in the Athenian legal system: the proclamation against the homicide on *IG* I^3 104.20f. was the equivalent of a declaration of impurity

[43] See, among others, Cantarella 2007.

[44] See *ex plurimis* Moulinier 1952, 43-46. *Contra* Gernet 1984, 23. Further bibliographical references in Carawan 1998, 17 n. 29.

[45] See, among others, MacDowell 1963, 1-5, 141-150; Parker 1983, 114-126.

[46] Arnaoutoglou 1993; Carawan 1998, 17-19, 192-198; Bendlin 2007; Phillips 2008, 62f.

[47] Parker 2005, 68.

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and prescribed a previous demand.[48] Both human and divine laws sanctioned homicide with a punishment decided by a trial; and, with the stain of pollution, the intentionality and the circumstances of the crime altered the level of ritual and legal culpability.[49]

Indeed, the belief in blood pollution was a religious sanction that contributed to the maintenance of social control. It was a form of disapproval that helped to conform the deviant member to communal norms. It is undeniable that, in Draco's law, there is no term clearly referring to impurity and purification. However, the proclamation and the banning from public and sacred spaces express the concern for the spreading of the *miasma*. The proclamation assigned the pollution originated by the bloodshed[50] to a particular person; by changing the condition of one individual, the city liberated itself from the risk of contamination. Furthermore, an official exclusion from public spaces implies a formal ceremony of reintegration after the exile and the pardon of the victim's family. Although the link between the proclamation and the fear of pollution is not unambiguous in the text of the Draconian law, it becomes more apparent in the sources of the Classical period.[51] Scholars agree that the homicide law was probably not altered over the centuries,[52] at least until the fourth century BCE. Similarly, religious concerns were constantly valued and, in the Draconian provisions, those concerns might have had a more relevant role than what our inscription seems to disclose.

[48] Blickman 1986, 201f.

[49] Harris 2010, 124-134, collects the main passages that have been highlighted in the debate on the relation between law and religion in respect of homicide and blood pollution: Aesch. *Eum*. 285; Aeschin. 2.148; Andoc. 1.137-139; Antiph. 1.27, 2.1.3, 2.1.10-11, 2.3.11, 3.1.2, 3.3.12, 4.1.2, 5.11, 5.81-83 6.3, 6.6, 6.36, 6.41-45; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.2, 3; Dem. 20.158, 21.114-115, 23.72, 23.77-78; Lys. 13.3; Plat. *Euthphr*. 4b-c; Poll. 8.120.

[50] Mirhady 2008, 20. Arnaoutoglou 1993, 129; and Bendlin 2007, 186 have a different view: there was no automatic connection between the act of killing and the provoked pollution; it was the proclamation that made the culprit an element to be expelled from the social community. The proclamation, then, started the pollution.

[51] I have collected the occurrences of the locution εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων in Salvo 2012c.

[52] See recently Phillips 2008; Pepe 2012.

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Miasma, revenge and justice are the key concepts of my third case study, one of the most famous Greek literary works, the *Oresteia*. The trilogy has been notoriously interpreted as representing "the transition from a blood-feud society to one that refers vengeance to the courts of law".[53] Some scholars have criticized this schematic interpretation.[54] The idea that the council of the Areopagus signs the birth of a new system is contradicted by the fact that the conflicts with the Erinyes continued even after the acquittal of Orestes.[55] Furthermore, behind Orestes' vengeance there were other reasons besides the mere wish of avenging his father, such as the intention to come back from exile, to repossess his estate, to acquire power and wealth, and to protect the continuity of the male bloodline.[56]

A more nuanced reading of the trilogy reveals that Aeschylus did not put blood revenge in sharp opposition to legal punishment. Even before the institution of the Areopagus, there are references in his text to legal procedures and trials for homicide. Firstly, exile would have been an appropriate punishment for Agamemnon for murdering Iphigenia.[57] Secondly, when Clytemnestra says that it was the *alastor* of Atreus to kill Agamemnon, the chorus asks who would testify in her favour and prove that she is not the culprit, as if on a trial with witnesses.[58] Similarly, Orestes invokes as witness in trial Zeus himself,

[53] Riess 2012, 233. Further bibliographical references in Grethlein 2004, 114 n. 7. See Bierl 2004, 21-42 on ideologically and politically oriented scholars who used the *Oresteia* to celebrate a new institutional and social order as opposed to an unjust past. See also Sommerstein 2010, 32: in the *Eumenides*, Aeschylus represented not only the founding of the Areopagus, but the origin of "the whole Athenian justice system". *Contra* Allen 2000, 21: "the institution of the Areopagus is not the origin of judicial processes in general but of some specific kind of judicial proceeding."

[54] See the bibliographical references in Grethlein 2004, 115 n. 8. See also Föllinger 2009, ch.7.

[55] Grethlein 2004 interprets the Erinyes and the Olympic gods as two divine generations disputing over a specific case, not as representing two opposite legal orders. See also Allen 2000, 21.

[56] McHardy 2008, 103-117. Cf. Di Benedetto *et al.* 1999, 130: the themes of the trilogy were clearly related to the Athenian social structure ("il rapporto uomo/donna, la ricchezza, guerra e pace, il σωφρονεῖν."). See also Bakola 2013, 236-248, on how in the *Oresteia* punishment is represented as provoked by unjustly gained and misused wealth.

[57] Aesch. *Ag.* 1406-1420.

[58] Aesch. *Ag.* 1505f.: "ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων; ("That you are not responsible for this murder, who will testify?"; this and the following translations from the *Oresteia* are from Sommerstein 2008, slightly modified).

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the all-knowing divine father.[59] The possibility of filing a lawsuit in case of murder protected the rights of the crime victim as well as of the culprit. Finally, stoning and the burning pitch were envisaged as plausible punishments for the murderers of Agamemnon.[60] Stoning was accompanied by the throwing of curses and inflicted by the whole community. This capital punishment could have rebalanced the hierarchies and social conflicts between the Argive Elders and the rulers, Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.[61] Legal procedures, then, seem to be conceived side by side with a vindictive mentality.

Throughout the trilogy, an additional penalty for the act of killing is ritual impurity, as is well-known. The slaughter of Iphigenia pollutes Agamemnon,[62] the murder of Agamemnon defiles Clytemnestra and Aegisthus,[63] and Orestes is the polluted murderer *par excellence*. He is the first character that goes into exile for murder and will be later purified: neither Agamemnon, nor Clytemnestra, nor Aegisthus were exiled or purified for their crimes. Apollo himself purifies Orestes, sprinkling his bloody hands with the blood of a piglet.[64] The Aeschylean description matches the account of Apollonius Rhodius on the purification of Jason and Medea by Kirke.[65] The rite was

[59] Aesch. *Cho*. 983-989: ἐκτείνατ'αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλωι παρασταδὸν στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξαθ', ὡς ἴδηι πατήρ, οὐχ οὑμός, ἀλλ'ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε, ὡς ἄν παρῆι μοι μάρτυς ἐν δίκηι ποτὲ ὡς τόνδ' ἐγὼ μετῆλθον ἐνδίκως φόνον τὸν μητρός. ("Spread it out, standing beside it in a circle, the garment to cover a man which he could not strip off, in order that the Father may see it — I don't mean my father, but him who has been watching over all these events — so that he may one day appear for me in trial, to testify that I was justified in pursuing this killing of my mother.").

[60] Aesch. *Ag*. 1615f.: οὔ φημ'ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκηι τὸ σὸν κάρα δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς ("I say that you will not escape getting what you rightly deserve-curses flung at your head like stones by the people"). Aesch. *Cho*. 267f.: οὓς ἴδοιμ' ἐγώ ποτε θανόντας ἐν κηκῖδι πισσήρει φλογός ("may I one day see [them] dead in the pitchy ooze of the flame!"). This is the equivalent of the Roman *tunica molesta*, see Garvie 1986 *ad loc*.

[61] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.56f.; Herod. 1.167; Herod. 5.38 with Gras 1984, 84.

[62] Aesch. *Ag*. 209-211, 219f., 1406-1421.

[63] Aesch. *Ag*. 1645, 1669; *Cho*. 1028.

[64] Aesch. *Eum*. 282-285, 445-452, 576f. See also *LIMC* VII *s.v. Orestes*, for the visual representation on vases, such as the famous bell-krater Louvre K710 (image available on-line: http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/apulian-red-figure-bell-krater, last accessed 28/06/2014).

[65] Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 4.559f., 587f., 665-671, 690-720. See Ellinger 2005 on the role of Zeus *Katharsios*, *Palamnaios*, and *Hikesios*.

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performed along these fundamental elements: the silence of the homicide, presented as a suppliant; the role of a second person, who acted as the purifier; the purifying power of the blood of a piglet; and the possibility to re-establish social contacts immediately after the ceremony.[66] The automatism of the ritual, though, is questioned throughout the tragic scene. The Erinyes pursued the killer even after his purification.[67] While Athena herself confirmed the state of purity of Orestes, and welcomed him in her sanctuary since he was καθαρός and ἀβλαβής,[68] meaning pure and harmless, only the Areopagus will mediate the instances of Orestes and that of the Erinyes.[69] The action of the ruling court has been seen as the final stage of the purification of Orestes.[70] However, the exceptionality of the prosecution of a pure homicide lies in the fact that the Erinyes separated the concept of pollution from that of guilt.[71] The court did not complete the purification of Orestes; rather, having reconciled different requests, it set him released him from guilt and allowed him to regain his authority as the legitimate ruler.

It is time now to draw my conclusions together. I have stressed that, in Archaic Greece, blood feud should not be perceived as the opposite of the law system, since they may coexist synchronically. Vengeance and blood feud are not the structuring principles of 'primitive', stateless societies. From a narratological point of view, the revenge narratives in the Homeric poems and in the *Oresteia* do not portray how people behaved, but rather how they should not behave. The literary sources here analysed should not be expected to be realistic representations of blood feuds. Theoretically, in crime and redress mechanisms, the literary tales worked as a threat. Even our epigraphic evidence operates on the level of representation of reality,

[66] For the epigraphic evidence on the purification of a homicide, see the so-called *lex sacra* from Selinous (*SEG* XLIII 630, col. B, first half of the V BCE), the *lex cathartica* of Cyrene (Rhodes-Osborne 2003, no. 97.132-141, end of the IV BCE), and the reconciliation decrees from Dikaia (Voutiras-Sismanidis 2007, second quarter of the IV BCE). I dealt with these documents in Salvo 2012a and 2012b.

[67] Aesch. *Eum*. 167, 317, 378, 653-656.

[68] Aesch. *Eum*. 473-475.

[69] Aesch. *Eum*. 754-760.

[70] Parker 1983, 386-388.

[71] See also Sidwell 1996.

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since a law describes how things should be, but factual historical happenings might have been more complex. Furthermore, an act of blood vengeance cannot be reduced to an irrational desire, which has been restrained by Draco's law. The *vendetta* is normally established on fixed rules, and honour is not necessarily its fundamental element.[72] This perspective allows for the abandonment of a developmental view of the history of Greek *poleis*.[73] Despite space constraint, I hope to have shown that blood feud may become a misleading category when applied without cautious analysis of the ancient Greek legal system. Interpersonal violence was ritualized in the idea of blood pollution, and purification rituals reinforced social stability and the cohabitation in the same city of victims and killers.

[72] On the critique of the so-called Mediterranean honour, see the references in Bryen 2013, 319 n. 3.

[73] See Vlassopoulos 2007, 32. The absence of the practice of blood feud has been highlighted also in the Roman culture, where offenses between noble peers did not provoke a violent revenge. See Thomas 1984; Fagan 2011; Lendon 2011, 384. See also Bryen 2013, 166: there is no evidence of feud in the papyrological petitions from Roman Egypt.

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VIOLENCE IN STATIUS' TYDEUS: AGAINST OTHERS OR AGAINST HIMSELF?

Carlo SANTINI

Statius was an eminent Latin poet who lived in the first century AD and wrote during the reign of Domitian (81-96). His main epic work is the twelve-part book *Thebais* in which he narrates the last developments of Oedipus' myth, which is the outbreak of war between his two sons Eteocles and Polynices both heirs to Thebes' throne, , and the military expedition organized by the king of Argos Adrastus in order to uphold the rights of the unlucky Polynices. This is the feat of the Seven against Thebes, in which, in spite of the exploits of each hero, all the fighters die. One of the distinguishing features of this epic poem is its Virgilianism, which led Statius to compose a poem made up of two halves, one mainly describing the journey from Argos to Thebes, the other the war between the two sides. In addition, at the end of the work Statius proclaims his humble veneration for the *Aeneid* in a sort of rhetoric "self-effacement"[1] derived from an education sourced in the Greek culture, clearly evident in the *Thebais*, including the Homeric epics, Attic tragedy and other works from the archaic age down to Hellenism. In this context the character of Tydeus, one of the Seven, is particularly significant, as his original blind hate against Polynices slowly turns into sincere friendship.

Karl Kerényi considers Tydeus "the cruellest among the warriors of old times",[2] unable as he is not only to feel a drop of compassion, but even to arrest for one second his fervent wrath against an enemy, as they face their common imminent fate, death. To corroborate this accusation of cruelty, in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, Tydeus is insulted not by a foe, but rather by his partner in the expedition, the king's cousin, priest Amphiaraus, who calls him a murderer, disturber

* The English version is slightly modified from the Italian, which is published on GIF 66 (2014).

[1] Hardie 2005, 97.

[2] Kerényi 1963, 280.

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of the State, the supreme master of evils against Argos, herald of the Erinyes, minister of murder and counsellor of Adrastus in all these misdeeds (vv. 572-575).

Tydeus is a native of Aetolia, a region that the insular and Ionic Greeks deemed to be barbaric and wild because of the lasting conflicts between the rival centres of Pleuron and Calydon, and because of the conquest of the Northern highlands. The figure of Tydeus, exiled from his homeland Calydon for the murder of a kinsman, seems therefore to have brought a factor of "barbarische, ja kannibalische Wildheit"[3] into the civilized Mycenaean Argolis, although the latter was rampant with crime and impiety. This had always rendered him a stranger and a foreigner in Adrastus' court. His loyalty to his brother-in-law Polynices and to Argos' king, whose daughter Deipyle he had married, fatally leads him at the end of his troubled existence to the revolting act of sucking the brain from a dead enemy's skull, thus annulling the expectation of immortality the goddess Athena had procured him. Tydeus appears us, not only as the symbol of every form of violence and loathing found in the civil way of life, he also embodies the denial of the concept of thinking and managing deeds worthy of a man deemed indispensable by the Greek morals for a possible ascent to the divine world.

The myth of Tydeus, according to Marie Delcourt, was formed on an anthropological basis because the Aetolian hero, identified with the totem of the boar, manipulates the brain, that part of the human body considered the most dangerous in the cults of origin («le souvenir altéré d'une magie de régénération par la manducation de la cervelle»[4]), so as to obtain the divine condition. However, in spite of the intervention of the shaman Amphiaraus, Athena does not grant him such condition so there is no male figure at her side to act as an equal. The original plot rewritten in the Homeric age hinted at traces of the inversion of the principles under discussion such as the insignificant role played by Tydeus in the Hunt[5] and the ambiguous intervention of Amphiaraus, who poets, as well as glossators, alternatively portrayed as a helper or a hinderer.[6] The fact is that unlike other

[3] Simon 1997, 142.
[4] Delcourt 1966, 187.
[5] Delcourt 1966, 164.
[6] Delcourt 1966, 165.

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mythological figures who have maintained a few coherent traits, Tydeus' personality is made of a succession of episodes, often opposed to each other.[7] It appears legitimate, therefore, to inquire about his identity and to try to cleanse him from the remains of other mythical characteristics.

There is a certain renown attributed to Tydeus (gr. Τυδεύς lat. *Tydeus* etr. *Tute*) in the Greek epic from the time of the *Cycle*, when he can be found in fragments of the poem *Thebaid* by an unknown author[8], as well as in references to his achievements in Homer and Hesiod. Then, presumably by means of Stesichorus' choral lyrics, he achieves a central point in his story, represented in the argued *epos* of Antimachus of Colophon, finally arriving at Statius.

The conflict between the Argives and the Thebans around which the Cycle is formed, comprehending the *Oedipodea*, the *Thebaid* and the *Epigoni*, arose from the opposition[9] of the Boeotians to the attempts of colonisation by the Mycenaeans of the North-Western Peloponnese. On the other hand, it might be possible that the saga of the *Calydonian Boar* mirrors the penetration and consequent deforestation of the highlands of Northern Aetolia, a wholly Aetolian military operation that is told as a collective action of heroes from Continental Greece, resulting in a more or less definitive settlement, which took place only after the IXth century. With the sole exception of an Apulian volute krater,[10] Tydeus is never represented with his elder brother Meleager, born of the same father and his first wife Althea, before his second marriage to Periboea. This allows us to consider the overlapping of two mythical narratives due to the wild, violent nature of Aetolia's totem animal, the boar. In the story of Phoenix and Achilles in the ninth book of the *Iliad* it is the hide's possession that arouses Meleager's anger and determines the killing of one of his uncles and the curse of his mother Althea, with the consequent conflict between the Aetolians and the Curetes until the hero's late, inglorious intervention. This version, however, perfectly

[7] Delcourt 1966, 187.

[8] The so-called *Tabula Borgiana* only reports the author's birth place, Miletus in Ionia, see *I. G.* XIV, 1292, 2, 12-3, mentioned by Bernabé 1987, 20.

[9] Schachter 1967.

[10] Lorenz 1997, 145.

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matches the case in the *Iliad*, when Achilles refuses to fight.[11] The other version[12], according to which, because of the killing of his two uncles, Althea would have decided to take revenge by burning the brand her son's life was concealed in, was a post-Homeric creation, written by a genial poet who managed to impose it over the previous version. "To perish with the wasting of Althea's brand was a tragic, but not a glorious death", Jennifer March concludes[13] for, if "such a doom was fitted, by its pathos, for lyric treatment", the appropriate author would be Stesichorus with his *Suotherai*.

March had previously remarked: "it was an intrusion from a story like that of Tydeus".[14] While in Meleager's saga we witness a conflict about matrilineal right which, unsuccessfully, is still trying to subsist, in the homicide perpetrated by Tydeus we are witnessing an averment about the value of paternity, for his wrath falls upon someone who had conspired against his father as his uncle, or his brother, or his cousins on his father's side had. We find the same impulsive, overwhelming wrath in Tydeus when, because he is soiled with a crime of murder within his family, he is forced to go into exile to Argos. There, also for a worthless reason, he begins a bitter conflict with the Theban prince Polynices, an exile in Argos just like himself, on the same night. Only the intervention of the king will prevent them from shedding blood.

In Statius, the detail of the boar's hide that Adrastus sees covering Tydeus' powerful back, triggers the memory of this first part of Tydeus' saga to Meleager (1, 488 – 490 *terribiles contra saetis ac dente recurvo / Tydea per latos umeros ambire laborant / exuviae, Calydonis honos*); this same memory will be recalled in the hero's last battle, when *tergo fatiscit atque umeris gentilis aper* (8, 705 – 706). A connection is made to the motif of the boar-man living in the ancestral memories of the Aetolians, with an allusion to the enterprise of the Calydonian Boar linked to his own *gens*. Apollodorus' epitome of the *Bibliotheca* in 3,6,1 tells us about the effigy of a boar the hero displayed on his shield in his nightly strife against Polynices. This, however, does not correspond to the tale of the boar hide appearing to

[11] March 1987, 41.
[12] Davies & Finglass 2014, 520 f.
[13] March 1987, 44.
[14] March 1987, 35 f.

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clothe Statius' Tydeus. The identity between the hero and the boar sometimes appears to be perfect in the oracular, cryptic style of a tragic author like Lycophron who, in v. 1066 of the *Alexandra,* mentions Diomedes as "the son of the head-eater boar, who does not know fear."

The Aetolian people's memory of the totem animal seems to intertwine and merge with another tale, according to which Tydeus would have been raised by pig herdsmen. However, the proverb Τυδεὺς ἐκ συφορβίου, in the mouths of ignorant people and of those who had not received any instruction,[15] was common with the Greeks during and beyond Plutarch's time. Matthews frg. 13 (13 Wyss) of Antimachus of Colophon's *Thebaid* contains the original story: Aeneus violated Periboea, conceived a child with her, and consequently when Tydeus was born, gave him away to the pig herdsmen. The information we get is somewhat interesting, for "could Antimachus perhaps have made a connection between the rearing of Tydeus by the swineherds and the device of the boar on his shield."[16] Considering the highly honourable role, later degraded, played by the συφορβός in the Mycenaean age,[17] the tale of Tydeus raised by swine herdsmen could remount to very ancient times and be later misunderstood.

A second element of Tydeus' saga, worthy of attention, is the abhorrence Amphiaraus feels for him. The cause would be the priests' prophetic gift that had made him foresee his own death and the Seven's defeat before the gates of Thebes; hence he opposes the party favouring the war represented, above all, by Tydeus. In Aeschylus' tragedy, the cause lies in the contrast with the warmonger Tydeus, to whom he addresses the insults we have already seen, concealing his personal interest by arguing that it is dishonourable to devastate one's own land, as is the case of Polynices, leading an army to invade it — here Aeschylus seems to be mesmerized by the still visible scars of the Persian invasion in 480. With the same value of a prohibition imposed by religious motives, we see him preventing Tydeus, who was anxious to fight, to pass the river Ismenus, before the auspicious signs of the sacrifices (vv. 378-379). In Statius' *Thebaid* the military action hints at the conflict between the leaders, although there is also

[15] *Paroem. Graec.* 1.322.5 Leutsch-Schneidewin.
[16] Matthews 1996, 108.
[17] Poli 1984, 299; Id. 1992, 375-378; Id. 2005, 388, 390-395.

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a shaded contrast about the choice of war, since all the reluctant Argives are not of the same mind. Tydeus is undoubtedly an exponent of the war party — his initial words when he arrives at the royal palace of Argos are marked by the anaphora *arma, arma viri* in v. 3, 348, later repeated in v. 355 *bello me, credite, bello* — but on scene there is mainly Capaneus who, at the sight of the Argives gathering for mass in front of Amphiaraus' house, in fury against every religious power, is ready to accuse them of vileness (v. 607 *quae tanta ignavia*) and to summon the priest to immediately exit the house in which he was barricaded (vv. 616-617 *iamque hic timida cum fraude sacerdos exeat, aut hodie e.q.s.*), lest he be killed on the spot.

In fact, the accusation of *fraus* allusively employed by Statius constitutes an important pivot in the passage's hermeneutics, because Amphiaraus is aware, as previously mentioned, of the deadly fate impending on him and on other heroes in Thebes and, therefore, being Adrastus' cousin, he wants revenge from Tydeus who had first convinced the king, after having become his son-in-law, to start a war. Statius had to give up an act that favoured his foe's damnation, choosing for Amphiaraus an early death at the end of the seventh book, that anticipates[18] Tydeus' and has no influence whatsoever upon the death of the Calydonian hero.[19] This narrative is different from the one in the cyclical *Thebaid* (according to a fragment by Pherecydes of Athens[20]), on the one hand, and from the text of Apollodorus' epitome, on the other, for they linger on the role he played in Melanippus' killing. For the anonymous author of the *Cycle*,[21] it was Amphiaraus, upon request of the dying Tydeus,[22] who following Melanippus's killing brought him his head and opened his skull for him to suck the brain; while, according to *Bibliotheca* 3,6,8, Tydeus mortally struck his enemy and Amphiaraus decided to behead him and to offer his head to the dying hero. He was in fact aware that Tydeus would not be able to resist the impulse of his nature and would give in to the brutal act of cannibalism that would estrange Athena's favour forever, thus making it impossible for her to receive

[18] Cingano 1987, 95.
[19] Legras 1905, 215 no. 1.
[20] *FGrHist* 3 F 97.
[21] *Schol. Genav. Il.* 5, 126, II, 63 ff. Nicole.
[22] *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 10, 12b, III, 168 Drachm.

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among the gods one who had perpetrated such a ghastly deed. The two versions converge on the same result: Amphiaraus' action was that of a "morally reproachful character"[23] (later attenuated in the process of a progressive idealization that took place in the 5th century), along with a correspondent guilt ascribed to his wife Eriphyle. This is, in synthesis, Cingano's thesis, for he thinks that the other version of the myth was written by a lyric poet like Stesichorus who, when searching for a tragic situation to oppose the epic one, would have manipulated the Theban myth, as he seems to have intended to do in *Eriphyla*, where we witness the resurrection of some of the Seven fallen in Thebes.[24]

The third point of this discussion is represented by the antithesis of the idea of the physical nature between Meleager and Tydeus. The former, in spite of the suggestions of popular etymology, carries in his name a connection with the verb (ϝ)-ἄγνυμι 'break, 'briser',[25] that associates him to other mythical heroes and deities carrying maces, clubs or bolts.[26] It is precisely because of this that Meleager's and Tydeus' dualism presents a distinct flaw. While Meleager is "the heroic baby" who "shows early signs of what he is to become",[27] as written by Hesiod in a fragment of the *Women's Catalogue*,[28] with the character's typical requirements of carrying in the name itself the obsolete form *wagro-*

'Smasher' indicating an exceptional bearing, in the same text the poet[29] says that Tydeus, fighting to defend his father's honour, managed to prove his reason against his uncles, with nothing more than a long-pointed pole.

[23] Cingano 1987, 94-95.

[24] Sext. Emp. *Adv. Mathem.* 1, 261 [*P. M. G.* L-P frg. 194].

[25] Chantraine 1999, *s.v.* 12.

[26] West 2007, 251.

[27] West 2007, 427.

[28] Hirschberger 2004, 217, in frg. 16 of the work where the hero's fate is told, observes that Hesiod, next to the fair hair (ξαντοκόμη), employs the image of a grim look (γοργός) that immediately gives to an opponent an irresistible feeling of his foe's superiority.

[29] It is Hirschberger's frg. 5, 56, 2004 κτεῖνεν ταναήκει χαλκῶι, also extant in Homer, concerning a hero with no exceptional physical traits, like Odysseus. It is marked by ambiguity, due to the confusion created between the concepts of 'sharp' and 'long', implying the perception of the distance from which the blow was thrust.

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Tydeus is his opposite. Homer describes him as being short (*Il.* 5, 801 Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μέν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής) in an elegant, elaborate passage, where the epanalepsis of his first name[30] is employed by Athena to reproach, by confronting the father, the weariness of his son Diomedes who has received a blow from Pandarus's arrow. This event is one of the several references, both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with which Homer alludes to the Theban Cycle of a previous generation, by using a synchronism between the past and the present. This gave origin to José Torres-Guerra's book about a hypothetic "Homeric Thebaid," as a source of the two successive poems. In this epic context, the role assumed by Tydeus appears particularly relevant, as stated in vv. 113 – 118 (genealogy) and 119 – 120 (exile from Calydon because of a kinsman's homicide) in book fifteen, while Athena's protection over him is expressed in three brief[31] passages from the *Iliad*, 4, 390; 5, 116 e 808, the last of which corresponds «al carácter belicoso y rebelte» to the hero presented in the *Thebaid*.

The fact that Tydeus is defined as small in size, with regard to the idea of the Homeric hero, hints at further consideration on physical standards in the Greek mythological world. Eustathius of Tessalonica, in his comment on the passage from the *Iliad*, observes that the verse in question suits ἀνδρὶ δὲ βραχυήλικι μέν, ἐνεργεστάτῳ δέ, which for Van den Valk translates as «homo parvae corporis staturae» (not "youthful", as *Thesaurus* indicates), but gifted with full power in action. Therefore, Tydeus suspends the usual code for Greek epic heroes that made the *kalokágathía* an irrevocable norm for the leader of the *Iliad*. Another Greek epic anti-hero, Thersites, was Tydeus' cousin, claimed by Homer to be the ugliest (αἴσχιστος) of the Greeks to enter Troy; in his case, however, he was also the most disliked (ἔχτιστος) among the expedition's commanders, due to his vileness and lack of warring enthusiasm; we see him at the assembly warmly welcoming the idea of abandoning the siege and going back to the homelands, which Agamemnon used to test his soldiers, although there is some doubt about a successive stratification of the text in its present form.[32]

[30] See Eust. Thess. *Comm.* VdV II 1976, 205-207.

[31] Torres-Guerra 1995, 42-43.

[32] Vv. 50 – 441 of the second book seem to have been added to the original version because Agamemnon, sure of what he had learned from a deceiving dream,

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A scholium of the *Iliad*'s second book in v. 212 contains a tale by Pherecydes of Athens, as always focusing on genetic generational characters (γένη). According to it, Thersites participated in the expedition against the Calydonian boar, but having avoided the danger of a direct confrontation with the beast, he was thrown by Meleager into an abyss, having acquired his physical deformities. They say — the scholium adds — that Thersites was the son of Agrius, Aeneus' brother, but Eustathius refers that if he had been Diomedes' kinsman, Odysseus would not have clubbed him, and instead he does it in the assembly. He further adds that the ancient people would deem such behaviour inadequate. Here the medieval scholiast meant to point out that the author of this interpretation had not been Homer, but an imitator, who would occasionally criticize him. Again, this seems to point to Stesichorus, who composed the *Suotherai*. In all three points of Tydeus' vicissitudes presenting controversial, ambiguous features we find criticism pointing to their understanding by resorting to Stesichorus; this is hardly casual, although we leave this problem to critics. In this study all we can note is that, like Tydeus, Thersites too comes from Aetolia and that his conduct and actions tend to subvert the behaviour and rites of the Achaean army. Thersites is surely "a good Aeolic name", whose etymological juxtaposition with the voice θράσος echoes in our minds as that of an "insolent fellow"[33], as in the unusual and bitter, however detailed, Homeric description. Nevertheless, it is precisely the Homeric character's temperament or ou κατὰ κόσμον[34] that leads us out of the epic context, leading to variants of characters mentioned in the derisive tetrameters of Archilochus, such as the strategist praised with reference to the prominence of a μέγαν

has no need to summon the assembly, see West 2011, 101; however, his purpose to modify the speech with a pessimistic turn does not get the desired effect, because it involuntarily catches the dissatisfaction of the troops to which Thersites belongs. The complexity of Thersites' question was illustrated by the research made by Von der Mühll 1946; Lämmli 1948 and Kullmann 1955, according to whom Thersites was anyway a βασιλεύς, but the scene came from a creation devised by Homer.

[33] West 2011, 106.

[34] On the other hand, it is significant that the *Thebaid* scholiast Lattanzio Placido, when he glossed the dittology *humili veneno* in 1, 171, with which he means someone who *maledictionibus carpere meliores*, cites one or two of Homer's verses that were missing in the mss., but that according to Kohlmann and Sweeney probably referred to Thersites.

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στρατηγὸν, or farcical characters, such as the *aluzinnu*, jester of the Mesopotamian courts.[35]

All this has driven us far from the tragic role played by Tydeus in Statius' masterpiece, so it is high time, after having tried to describe Tydeus' controversial background, perhaps anomalous[36] but anyway a harsh one, to analyse what I judge to be a perfect psychoanalytic syndrome of this character. Tydeus appears in the first book of the *Thebaid*, from v. 401, when he engages in a close combat (*nudam … pugnam*) with the younger and more agile, but less vigorous Polynices (vv. 414-417 *celsior ille gradu procera in membra simulque / integer annorum, sed non et viribus infra / Tydea fert animus, totosque infusa per artus / maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus*). Only the authority of the king of Argos, whose intervention is due to the noisy nocturnal strokes and screams, is able to stop the brawl. We can imagine that the psychological and physical conditions of the two fighters were put to a hard test, due to the fear of wild beasts (Polynices), the awareness of the crime committed (Tydeus) and by the tempest overwhelming them both: Tydeus, questioned by Adrastus about the cause of the fight, answers him recalling the example of the *rabida monstra* that have *iura insita … fasque suum*, while it seems not to be allowed *nobis sociare cubilia terrae*…, which the aposiopesis tends to enhance. In these words there seems to be a veiled allusion to the problematic extant in the 5th century B.C.E. among the tragedians, who talk about — Euripides in particular — the equal division and partition of cereal, in opposition to the indiscriminate meals of the carnivorous beasts, mentioned in the fifth verse of the *Iliad's incipit*, afterwards summarized and resumed by the peripatetic school of Teophrastus and Dicaearchus.[37] I would add so much more to emphasise the contrast between humanity and brute bestiality[38] which perfectly matches Tydeus' future fate. Polynices, however, briskly interrupts Tydeus' reference to a social law common to all living beings so as to brag

[35] West 1997, 496.

[36] Kerényi also mentions another version of the character's story, in which he was born from the incest of his father with the daughter Gorge, as by ps. Apollodorus *Bibl.* 1, 8, 5.

[37] On this textual problem, regarding the trees of Alexandrian philology, see Pasquali 1974, 236-237.

[38] Pherecydes had spoken, according to the scholium, of a "feral law" (δίκην θηρὸς ἀναπτύξαντα).

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about his own lineage, *Nec nos animi nec stirpis egentes!*, not having the courage to mention his father Oedipus, due to the burden of murder and incest weighing on his name and ancestry.

This encounter is vital in the character's evolution, for it originates the successive stages of his vicissitude. In this co-participation of unexpressed things, Tydeus has found another man with whom he can measure and give form to his unhappiness for not possessing a demeanour corresponding to the epic role that is becoming to him. Consequently, he will become the most faithful friend of his brother-in-law to be, and in order to defend his interests in the reign of Thebes he faces the risking embassy to the city in the second book. As a conclusion of this embassy, he will annihilate all the participants in the ambush Eteocles had prepared for him. Moreover, in the eighth book, under Thebes, he will display a sarcastic, mocking behaviour towards him because of his cowardice, and this will lead him to rush into the events that hasten his death in battle.

The stormy dialogue between Eteocles and Tydeus in vv. 389 – 481 is an encounter between two different ways of being violent, displaying two different characters: the first, a cruel, hypocrite thirsty for power, trying to cover and to engage the needs of the State; the second, under the firm conviction that through the use of weapons everything may be obtained, mainly when put to the service of a just cause, up to the point where he mirrors a character with rude speech and quick in anger (*rudis fandi pronusque calori*). Eteocles, aware of his position of strength due to his possession of the *imperium*, had impatiently awaited the arrival of his brother's delegates, to request the *fides* of the pact that he would deny with the utmost pleasure[39]; but he now finds himself before Tydeus, who in spite of the *ramus olivae* of his function, speaks with arrogant assuredness and enters directly *in medias res*, avoiding addressing him by any honorific title[40] and summoning him at once to respect the pact, by means of a protasis of unreality. His choice to disregard the pact is deliberately marked by the poet, by the departure of the delegates from Thebes, expressed by *evidentia* in the indicative mood (*si … maneret … hinc*

[39] Lact. Plac. 137 Sw. *dolet* [scil. *Eteocles*] *ergo, quod cessantibus legatis tam sero frater vicissitudinis fidem reposcat, quod iam dudum negare potuisset, vel quod tardius ei perpetrandi parricidii detur occasio*.

[40] Mulder 1954, 245.

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ire fuit), although it had not yet happened. On his turn, however, Tydeus declares himself willing to tolerate the fact that "you, Eteocles", *posceris,* 'are called' because *dulcis amor regni blandumque potestas*, i.e., by means of a generalization, which constitutes the only excuse that Eteocles may invoke and Tydeus is willing to allow. These are words that contain no diplomatic prudence, instead they sound rather offensive to Eteocles, who instantly rejects them and replies indignantly to the ultimatum. He too employs a hypothetical period of unreality in which he states that his *praefurere* corresponds exactly to his brother Polynices' state of mind. This utterly proves the failure of Tydeus' function as an ambassador. Eteocles adds that if he had accomplished his mission to the most barbaric of peoples, he should have used words more consonant with his function and more respectful of equality, but otherwise he cannot be accused of having given way to anger: Polynices' *mandata refers*, to Tydeus as being nothing more than a spokesman. The arguments then adduced by Eteocles about the poverty of the reign of Thebes, in comparison to the wealth of Argos that would cause sorrow to his wife, the protagonist of the incest that darkens the royal palace, and the hostile attitude of the people and senators, who claim for another sovereign, as well as Tydeus' brisk reply, interrupting the king's speech and taking up his final expression (*reddere regna sinent … reddes … reddes*), are nothing more than pretexts and colourful details that enhance the scene's dense emotion. However, they add nothing to justify Statius' choice of ascribing to Tydeus the role of ambassador, something no other epic poet dared to do.[41] This worked superbly in the opposite direction, since it unleashed the conflict.

Other military epithets in Statius are *ferus* and *fulmineus*, which mark Tydeus' ferocious, impulsive character. Actually, if not for Adrastus, he would be the first wanting to kill Lycurgus, who intends to punish the nursemaid for having abandoned his son Opheltes, thus causing his death in 5, 661 ff. Another characteristic is his determination, for he is the only one to resist Jocasta's pleas with a speech in 7, 538-560. In spite of the epithet of *Mavortius* naming the gifts his father offered him in 2, 587, there seems to be no trace of Mars' protection upon him in the *Thebaid*[42]. He only appears under Athena's

[41] Mulder 1954, 236-237.
[42] Legras 1905, 214, n. 1.

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(Minerva) safeguard, which will endure until the moment he dissociates his behaviour from the laws of humanity, thus making vain the immortality the goddess had obtained for him.

Considering these elements about Tydeus as a soldier, there remains to assess in what way this ruthless, edgy character faces death in battle. The conflict regains new vigour after the killing of Ismene's fiancé, and the Seven fight to their best skills, but among them all *eminet Oenides* because *Tydeos illa dies* (v. 663), i.e., that is the day of his *aristia* that coincides with the day of his death. Tydeus attacks the Thebans accompanying his actions, not with the silence we can see in others, but with screams and imprecations against the enemy, thus outpouring the overpowering, fervent wrath in his mind, which at the same time reveals his craving for death. In this way, Tydeus dashes against his enemies reminding them that he is the author of the massacre (v. 666 f. *ille ego inexpletis solus qui caedibus hausi / quinquaginta animas*) and inviting an equal number of warriors to face him (*totidem, totidem heia gregatim / ferte manus!*), mainly if they are the fathers or the brothers of the fallen (*nulline patres, nulline iacentum / unanimi fratres?*), to avenge their dead.

Tydeus looks for Eteocles, with whom he has a particular score to settle because of the ambush he had set for him after his embassy. The king's figure as a target emerges progressively; at first, Tydeus is surprised by the flight of the selected forces, but then he comes to inquire on the whereabouts of the *egregius dux ille* that was supposed to lead them. The addition of the ethical dative *mihi* hints that Eteocles owes him an encounter, and as he finally spots him, Tydeus employs a sarcastic apostrophe with reference to his royal diadem (*fulgore capitis superbi*, that recollects the surname of the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus) in v. 677-679 *Aoniae rex o iustissime gentis* "o most righteous of kings of the Theban people", alluding *e contrario* to his *perfidia*, attested not only by his refusal to give the power to Polynices, as he had agreed, but also by the ambush meant to kill Tydeus notwithstanding his function of *legatus*.

Eteocles does not utter a word (*ille nihil contra*) at Tydeus' invitation to ultimately fight a loyal combat (*palam*) displaying their swords (*ostendimus enses*), but hurls a pole at him in reply that his foresighted enemy (*providus heros*) manages to avert at the very last moment (*iam iam in fine viae*). Eteocles's sly silence contrasts with Tydeus' vociferation but, unlike Polynices, who is a totally open,

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professed character (the lion), even when admitting a hereditary guilt, Tydeus has a component of unexpressed violence (the boar) that explodes in battle.

Tydeus, in turn, with unparalleled effort (*quanto non ante lacerto impulit*), sends back to Eteocles a spear that would have put an end to the war (*ibat … finem positura duello*), but the Fury opposes him and reserves Eteocles's death by his brother's sword. It seems obvious that Tydeus has no power against εἱμαρμένη, the Stoics' fate. However, Statius associates it, in a sort of philosophical syncretism, with the Epicurean Τὐχη, the fortuitous chance, although the hero, with an unprecedented bravery, makes his best efforts to kill the king and definitely close the conflict in favour of Polynices. His blow goes void because the king is at the rear (*retroque datum … ducem*), the Theban host being determined to protect his retreat: the scene seems to be inspired in a picture by Philoxenus of Eretria,[43] from which the 1st century B.C.E. mosaic, discovered in the House of the Faunus in Pompeii, has derived. It is now in the National Archaeological Museum at Naples, depicting the brief encounter between Alexander and Darius III during the battle of Issus in 333 B.C.E.

In a *similitudo*, Tydeus is compared to a wolf that has bitten a bullock and that, even with a multitude of herdsmen trying to send him away, he does not release his prey because *illum, illum, semel in quem venerat, urguet*, the anaphora emphatically underlines his determination against the man he has decided to attack. With this attitude, however, Tydeus distracts and loses himself; vv. 695-715 describe this desperate struggle of one against many foes, in which the *aristia* of a superior warrior is celebrated, in spite of the fact that his physical features do not correspond to heroic measurements. It is interesting to remark that these verses of the *Thebaid* depend on a historical fact, which in Lucan assumes the features of the *aristia* accomplished in the *Bellum Civile* (6, 144-262) by a warrior of Caesar, Scaeva,[44] when he defended with extraordinary tenacity a fort that Pompey wished to occupy.[45] Lucan had celebrated this simple centurion's feat as a true

[43] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35, 110.

[44] After half a century, G.B. Conte's excellent observations (1974, 6-8) about Lucan's conceptism, also present in Statius, are still valid.

[45] This is a historical episode. It is told by Caesar in the *Bellum Civile* in 3, 53, 4-5 and was later referred as an example in *De fortitudine* by Valerius Maximus in

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aristia, in which a man alone confronts a whole army (191-192 *parque novum Fortuna videt concurrere, bellum atque virum*), and had described the extraordinary variety of the several types of strokes and killings (vv. 174-179) he inflicted upon his enemies up until the arrival of Caesar's cohorts, who took him in triumph and worshipped him as though he were the image of Valour itself. Scaeva' violence grows from his determination to oppose Pompey's men — *vires pugna dabat* — that seems so singular in a simple follower, suddenly ending with the enemy's flight. Tydeus', instead, arises from the tension that makes him put his body, which he despises, to the test.

The names of the warriors he annihilates, together with the body parts he struck, are described in some verses in the guise of a catalogue that remind us of Ennius (vv. 696-698 *tamen ora Thoantis, / pectora Deilochi, Clonii latus, ilia torvi / perforat Hippotadae*). Grim, bloody details, of mannerist, baroque taste, which originate grotesque scenes, like the one where Tydeus puts the removed members back into their bodies (*truncis sua membra remittit*) and spins their heads upwards "in their helmets," *galeas plenas*. His movement is closed (*clauserat*) by a wall of bodies; where we again hear, both the alliteration (*corporibus … cadentum … clauserat … circum consumitur*) and the anaphora (*unum … unum*). With meticulous care to detail, typical of his style, Statius lists four possible positions for the arrows to have been shot against him: some on the bones of the head, considering the number of enemies killed; others on the ground, others averted by Athena and others stuck on his shield.

The deity's intervention allows us to understand the intensity of the conflict fought around Tydeus. Statius had already noticed that the high gods had expected Tydeus to kill Eteocles in a singular combat, which would have put an end to the war (v. 685 ff.), but such desire was rendered vain by the Fury, an unchallenged deity of the underworld. Now that unmistakable signs, like the rending of the boar hide (*fatiscit … gentilis aper*), which was his *gens*' emblem, and the downfall of Gradivus' image adorning his helmet, foretell his imminent end, while the boulders thunder over his weapons and

3, 2, 23 where, besides his achievement in the civil war, the writer narrates another similar deed accomplished by him on a rock in Britannia. The model for these actions is naturally the *tribunus militum* Q. Caedicius, the only one who is called by his first name in Cato's *Origines*.

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a torrent of sweat and blood flows from his body,[46] Athena hides her eyes behind her shield and, knowing that the hero is at the end of his strength and about to die, rushes to Jupiter to ask for immortality for her protégé (v. 715 *ibat enim magnum lacrimis inflectere patrem*).

This is the scene's critical moment, where Statius presents a possible sublimation of the human dimension, to immediately drive it away from his character. We know that Tydeus hates his body, even if for him strength in combat represents the supreme valour of the warrior he wants to be. When he is forced to admit his body's failure and finds himself in an impossible conflict to win, he accuses it of having deserted him (v. 738 f. *odi artus fragilemque hunc corporis usum, desertorem animi*) and is caught in this contradiction with no form of escape. A similar contradiction is found in the *Aeneid*, when Juturna, whom Jupiter had made immortal in exchange for her virginity, is forced to witness, powerless, the end of her brother Turnus. Her despise for the god's precious gift (see *Aen.* 12, 879 ff. *quo vitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est condicio? possem tantos finire dolores nunc certe et misero fratri comes ire per umbras. Immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat terra mihi manisque deam demittat ad imos?*) represents the echo of Vergil's rationalistic pessimism, denying the deity's persistence of earthly affections and inducing her to hope for death. Statius' Tydeus, a son of another age, more declaimed and agitated, having lost himself, is forced to fall into an inhuman condition, i.e., the sheer bestiality of cannibalism towards another man. In fact, Tydeus asks, as a last favour, to be given the head of Melanippus, the author of the mortal blow that causes him to die, so that he may gnaw at it, as a supreme act of violence against his foe and against Fortune.

The *teli non eminet auctor* appears as a strategy of the narrator Statius, wishing to emphasize Melanippus' furtive behaviour, who would remain hidden (v. 719 *et vellet latuisse manum*) and anonymous, but is given away, trembling (*trepidum*), by his companions' merriness. Tydeus, although deadly injured, has spotted him and, summoning his remaining strength, thrusts a spear that definitely stills his assailant. At the same time, Melanippus as an individual disappears from Statius' text and turns out to be identified as a prey,

[46] These details, too, show the similarity with Lucan's Scaeva, see 6, 192-195.

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along with the boar imprisoned by Hercules (vv. 748-750): he becomes just a heap of meat that Capaneus carries to the dying man to satisfy his last wish. The grade of inhuman bestiality Tydeus has attained can be perceived in his last plea, in which he does not ask for his bones to be taken to Argus, where his wife is expecting him, or to Aetolia, from where he had been exiled (v. 737 f. *nec enim mihi cura supremi / funeris*), by means of the universal law establishing the rights of every dead man; but prefers to ask for the head of the man he has stricken (vv. 739-740 ***caput o caput o*** *mihi si quis / apportet Melanippe tuum* in double anaphora), so that he can vent his rage on him with the only part of his body that is still whole, his teeth. In doing so, he also vents his rage against Life itself and finds in Melanippus' head the exact correspondent of his wish.

Besides the joy felt at the sight of the head with eyes still hesitant to silence at the final act of death (v. 755 f. *gliscitque tepentis / lumina torva videns et adhuc dubitantia figi*), the Fury requires a further step towards the path of bestiality. Tydeus' final act *effracti perfusum tabe cerebri* e *vivo scelerantem sanguine fauces* (v. 760 f.) is perceived by Athena, who had obtained for him, her father, the gift of immortality (v. 759 *decus immortale*). The glance of the goddess who supervises the deeds of human civilization is veiled; she runs away to reopen her eyes only after she has purified them with fire and water,[47] not to be soiled by the sight of such a horrible deed of cannibalism that constitutes an extreme violation of the code of humanity.

[47] See Lact. Plac. 540 Sw: *scelera enim visa aut igni aut aqua purgantur.*

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PURSUIT AND RITUAL ON EARLY SOUTH ITALIAN AND SICILIAN RED-FIGURE POTTERY. THE WORKSHOP OF THE HIMERA PAINTER AND THE NEW ICONOGRAPHIC COMPOSITIONS OF THE LATE 5TH CENTURY BC

Marco Serino

Introduction

This paper focuses on a particular iconographic theme that was prevalent in Greek red-figure pottery at the beginning of the fifth century BC:[1] scenes of the pursuit of female figures by male characters, often characterized by a sense of intrinsic violence traditionally interpreted as an allusion to the authority of men over women.

Some of the most emblematic examples of this iconography can be found both in Attic and Western productions. Initially, the most frequent characters in these scenes were Peleus and Thetis, Ajax and Kassandra, Boreas and Oreithyia, Eos and Kephalos, Odysseus and Kirke, and Theseus and Medea (or an anonymous female figure) (fig. 1).[2] From the second half of the fifth century BC onwards, this

[1] There have already been some early examples of this iconographic theme at the end of the sixth century BC: see in particular the pursuit of Kassandra by Ajax and that of Thetis by Peleus (Barringer 1995, 69-94; Connelly 1993, 88-129). See also *LIMC* I, s.v. *Aias II*, 339-349 (O. Touchefeu), *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Peleus*, 255-267 (R. Vollkommer), *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Kassandra*, 961-966 (O. Paoletti), *LIMC* VIII, s.v. *Thetis*, 6-14 (R. Vollkommer), *LIMC Suppl*. 2009, s.v. *Kassandra*, 306 (E. Simon).

[2] Among the most complete and exhaustive studies related to the topic of the pursuit are Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, in particular 41-58; Hoffmann 1977; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987a; *Ead*. 1987b, Stewart 1995; Söldner 2007, 16-46, Dipla 2009, 110-111, Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009; Mannack 2012. On the symbolic meaning of abductions and pursuits, see also Jenkins 1983, Cohen 1996 and Osborne 1996. On abduction interpreted as «forma de amor», as in the scene of Ariadne pursued by Dionysos, see Diez Del Corral Corredoira 2005. For pursuit scenes on Attic pottery where the main character is interpreted as Theseus, see Servadei 2002. For all of these iconographic themes see also *LIMC* III, s.v. *Boreas*, 135-142 (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou), *LIMC* III, s.v. *Dionysos*, 482-488 (C. Gasparri),

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Fig. 1 (a) Peleus's capture of Thetis, kylix: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 4807.1901 (after Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, fig. 1); (b) Theseus pursuing woman, volute-krater: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 525 (after Sourvinou-Inwood 1987b, fig. 2); (c) Theseus pursuing woman, pelike: Manchester, City Art Gallery & Museum, inv. III.I.41 (after Sourvinou-Inwood 1987b, fig. 3); (d) Theseus pursuing woman, pelike: St. Petersburg, Ermitage Museum, inv. 728 (after Sourvinou-Inwood 1987b, fig. 7); (e) Boreas chasing Oreithyia, stamnos: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, inv. B 1904 (after Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, fig. 3)

LIMC III, s.v. *Eos*, 747-773 (C. Weiss), *LIMC* III. s.v. *Ariadna*, 1050-1070 (M.L. Bernhard, W.A. Daszewski), *LIMC* VI, s.v. *Kephalos*, 1-6 (E. Simantoni-Bournia), *LIMC* VI, s.v. *Kirke*, 52-57 (F. Canciani), *LIMC* VI, s.v. *Odysseus*, 960-961 (O. Touchefeu Meynier), *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Oreithyia*, 64-68 (E. Simon), *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Theseus*, 945-946 (J. Neils), *LIMC Suppl.* 2009, s.v. *Oreithyia*, 130-134 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), *LIMC Suppl. 2009*, s.v. *Dionysos*, 176 (M. Harari, N. Lordkipanidze), *LIMC Suppl. 2009*, s.v. *Eos*, 200-201 (C. Weiss).

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iconographic theme experienced a progressive generalization of the characters, creating a number of interpretative semantic problems. These pursuit scenes have been the focus of many iconographic studies over the past few decades. On the one hand, some scholars have suggested that the scenes were paradigms for gender relations in Athens during the fifth century;[3] on the other hand, others have focused on their funerary or religious semantic values.[4] Recently, A. Stewart asserted that these scenes suggest the subjugation of women by men, emphasizing the symbolic references to the nuptial world. For instance, one of the most ancient scenes of pursuit — Peleus's capture of Thetis — can be interpreted as an assertion of male dominance and a metaphor for the passage of a woman from a wild to a civilized creature through marriage.[5]

However, more recently some new interpretations have focused on other meanings. S. Lewis posits that the iconography of pursuit could also have funerary symbolism, and that this particular theme is "more than a depiction of masculine desire and female victimhood in which the roles of pursuer and pursued are fixed; those who interpret the theme as a generalised imagery of the rite of passage are closer to the truth, whether it be funerary, nuptial or initiatory".[6]

The research of C. Sourvinou-Inwood, founded upon semiotic and structuralist analysis, has made important contributions to how we interpret and differentiate meaning in pursuit scenes.[7] Following this methodology, it is possible to define and explain the different types of significance that images carry: C. Sourvinou-Inwood observed that, although the patterns of the pursuit scenes may be similar, the meaning of the action can change significantly, depending on the

[3] E. C. Keuls states that scenes of abduction show "the principle of domination by means of sex" (Keuls 1985, 47). R. Osborne also posits that these iconographies have the aim of suggesting the supremacy of men over women (Osborne 1996).

[4] See *infra*. Lewis 2002; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, in particular 371-372 (in relation to the iconography of Eos and Kephalos and Boreas and Oreithyia). *Contra*, see Dipla 2009 and her interpretation of scenes with Eos and Kephalos.

[5] Stewart 1995, in particular 81-85; Stewart 1997, in particular 167-170. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, in particular 66-67. R. Osborne's observations about Eos chasing Tithonos and Kephalos confirm this interpretation (see *supra*; note 3). For the iconography of Peleus and Thetis see also Krieger 1973.

[6] Lewis 2002, 205. See also the opinion of M.R. Lefkowitz (in Lefkowitz 2002, 342).

[7] Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 73-79.

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presence or absence of specific attributes associated with the pursuer and the victim.[8]

Applying C. Sourvinou-Inwood's approach to scenes of the pursuit of female figures by male characters on red-figure pottery, it is possible to observe how the iconography underwent important changes, especially during the last quarter of the fifth century BC. The traditional subject of abduction was, in fact, revisited from a more explicitly ritual and non-violent standpoint. I will endeavour to explain this particular phenomenon via a case-study from the Western Greek World.

The workshop of the Himera Painter

A paradigmatic case of this new figural composition is manifested in a scene on a calyx krater produced by the early Sicilian workshop of the Himera Painter. Even the archaeological context of the vase can offer a degree of insight into an appropriate interpretation of its iconography.[9]

Himera was a Greek colony on the Northwest coast of Sicily. Numerous fragments of red-figure pottery were found in an inhabited area of the *plateau* during excavations undertaken by the University of Palermo (fig. 2). According to the most recent chronology, the fragments date to the last two decades of the fifth century, before its destruction in 409 BC by the Carthaginians.[10]

In order to better understand the meaning of the pursuit scenes during the last quarter of the fifth century BC, I will include an

[8] Sourvinou-Inwood 1987a, *Ead*. 1987b, *Ead*. 1991.

[9] The possibility of integrating iconographic analysis with information derived from a review of the object's archaeological context proved to be a useful opportunity to clarify the semantic value of the iconography under consideration, i.e. the pursuit scenes. This allows us, in my opinion, to use important "archaeological" information in order to interpret pursuit scenes in relation to ritual activities associated with the "world of the living" and, in particular, with the feminine sphere. For an iconographic analysis of this scene see also Serino 2016b.

[10] See in particular *Himera I*, *Himera II* and the recent *Himera V.1*. For the most recent chronology of the workshop of the Himera Painter see Serino 2013a, *Id*. 2014a and *Id*. 2016b. On the hypothesis of a sporadic re-settlement on the Himera *plateau* after the destruction of the city, read the opinion of N. Allegro (Allegro 1997, 77-80).

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iconographic analysis with special consideration for the containers' functions, use and context.

Side A of the Himera Painter's krater inv. H65.480a shows 3 figures moving from left to right (fig. 3).[11] The sequence depicts a female figure, coming from the left, wearing a long, sleeveless *chiton* and playing a double *aulos*, a nude male figure wearing a headband and a *chlaina* lying down on his back, and another female figure moving towards the right but caught as she turns to look at the man behind her. The central character holds an object in his right hand that appears to be a stick, while his left arm is bent at shoulder-height towards his face in a gesture that seems to mimic a dance movement. Therefore, the figures' gestures indicate and emphasize movement, probably owing to the music produced by the *aulos*.

In addition, the girl on the right holds a mirror directly to the left of her face. The rhythm of the scene appears to suggest a representation of a dance (or at least some particularly lively activity): the music, the setting of the figures and the ritual sash wrapped around the central character's head (a *mitra*?) bring to mind the typical atmosphere of Dionysiac *thiasoi*.[12]

The first element which seems discordant with an exclusively Dionysiac interpretation of the scene on the Himera Painter's krater is the absence of a satyr, a detail which should not go unnoticed since both in Attic and in early South Italian pottery the satyr is a requisite for the representation of such scenes (fig. 4).[13]

If we focus on the scene's overall construction and the figurative pattern of the two characters on the right, and specifically if we look closely at the figures' gestures and rhythm, we get the impression that it is not just a simple "procession" but a sort of pursuit where the female character fleeing is represented as she is about to be captured, then turns to look back before being grabbed by the youth centered in the middle.

[11] Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.480a (h. max 31,8 cm diam. 36 cm); *Himera I*, 281, no. 8, pl. LXX, 2 and 4; Joly 1972, 94, no. 1, pl. XLIV, 1-2, LCS I, 34, no. 25d, LCS III, 97, no. 42.

[12] For an iconographic analysis of the *mitra* see the recent article in Corsi 2012, 538-543.

[13] In scenes of Dionysiac pursuits the satyr is a constant presence; see, for example, Delavaud-Roux 1995, in particular 164-186, and the recent work of F. Lissarrague (Lissarrague 2013).

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Fig. 2 Himera: red-figure pottery from domestic areas, distribution map (based on *Himera* II and *Himera* V.1)

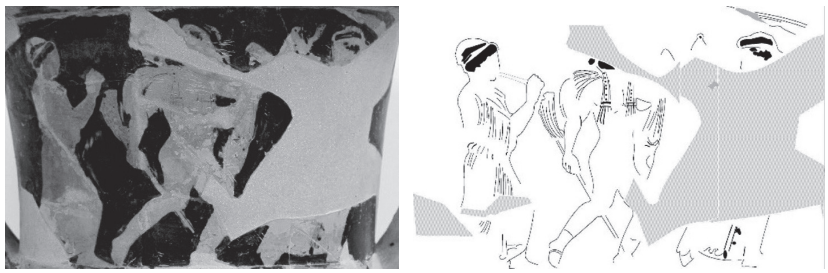


Fig. 3 Himera Painter: Antiquarium, calyx krater, inv. H65.480a (Photo and drawing by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)



Fig. 4 Satyr pursuing maenad, bell krater: Compiègne, Musée Vivinel, inv. 1025 (after Moraw 1998, pl. 18, Abb. 47b)

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To better understand the meaning of this kind of "procession" (a sort of musical pursuit) we have to look at contemporary early South Italian productions, where similar scenes often appear to represent a pursuit. In the meantime, we have to keep in mind that the Himera Painter and his "artistic" education — in spite of the fact that his products were found in Sicily — are closely connected with these Southern Italian productions.[14]

In Southern Italian pottery we frequently find the figure of a young, armed hero, often with shield and spear, or sword or stick, and typically wearing a *chlaina*. When a woman holds something in her hand, it is often a mirror (fig. 5). Thus, considering the general patterns, we can say that the iconography of these vessels is similar to that of the Himera Painter's krater in almost every single detail, such as the stick, *chlaina,* and mirror.[15]

As mentioned above, erotic pursuit scenes had a strong tradition dating back to the sixth century BC.[16] A. Steward posits that, during the fifth century, the iconography of pursuit experienced a significant shift away from the representation of specific abduction myths. In fact, from the mid-fifth century onwards, generic figures of youths pursuing women began to replace gods and heroes more and more frequently.[17]

[14] About the origins of the Himera Painter and the hypothesis of his initial artistic "education" within the Apulian workshops see Serino 2013a, *Id*. 2014a, *Id*. 2014b, *Id*. 2016b.

[15] Scenes with this subject, developed along the same patterns, are very common in early South Italian pottery, where the aim of depicting the right moment of pursuit is rather evident. Comparisons are numerous and particularly concentrated within the first Lucanian productions (for a detailed picture see Serino 2013a, 242-252). For instance, see a *nestoris* at the Louvre (inv. K539; LCS, 44, no. 215, pl. 17,1) and a panathenaic amphora from Ruvo di Puglia (inv. 82264; LCS, 48, no. 246, pl. 20,1) attributed to the Amykos Painter, two bell kraters of the Vaste Painter (one at the National Archaeological Museum of Taranto, inv. 22346; LCS, 60, no. 300, pl. 29,5, and the other one sold at auction in New York in 1993; *Sotheby's* 1993, no. 127) and a panathenaic amphora by a "forerunner" of the workshops of the Creusa and Dolon Painters (Marburg, coll. priv. prof. F. Maltz; LCS, 83, no. 422, pl. 39, 5-6).

[16] See *supra*, note 1.

[17] See Stewart 1995, 74.

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Fig. 5 (a) Himera Painter: Antiquarium, calyx krater, inv. H65.480a; (b) Amykos Painter: Naples, National Archaeological Museum, panathenaic amphora, inv. 82264 (after Pontrandolfo 2009, fig. p. 93); (c) Amykos Painter: Louvre, *nestoris*, inv. K539 (after *LCS*, pl. 17,1); (d) Vaste Painter: private collection, bell krater (after *Sotheby's* 1993, no. 127); (e) Vaste Painter: National Archaeological Museum of Taranto, bell krater, inv. 22346, (after *LCS*, pl. 29,5); (f) "Forerunner" of Creusa/Dolon Painters: Marburg, private collection of prof. F. Maltz, panathenaic amphora (after *LCS*, pl. 39, 5-6)

What precipitated this change? Why this generalization? What kind of significance do pursuit scenes postulate from the second half of the fifth century BC?

In order to answer these questions, we can refer to a type of scene which is propagated throughout Attic and early South Italian productions, in which Eros seems to take on the role of the pursuer, replacing the male figure.[18] The pursued characters, in most cases, turn to look over their shoulders, aware of their imminent "capture". It is evident, therefore, that there are scenes with a pattern identical to that of the "mythical" pursuits but, in these cases, they are characterized by a clear erotic message. Above all, in these new scenes violence is altogether absent. It is precisely this pattern that is repeated on the

[18] On the presence of Eros in the pursuit scenes, see Schefold-Jung 1981, 194-195, Dipla 2006, *Ead*. 2009, 121 and Pellegrini 2009, 133-135. See also *LIMC* III, s.v. *Eros*, 902-904 (A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis, R. Vollkommer).

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Himera Painter's krater: a composition that is certainly heir and debtor — from the point of view of its "figural organization" — to the mythical pursuits on Attic pottery. But this is also a scene that, after a long process of iconographic and semantic reworking, no longer appears to expressly connote violence, pointing to an exclusively "ritual" significance.

In sum, the absence of a satyr, the presence of two women (one of them fleeing), the mirror held by the girl being pursued (an allusion to the erotic world) and, finally, the overall composition of the scene, which closely follows the typical early Southern Italian pursuit scenes (with non-violent references and erotic allusions), allow us to place this iconography in a renewed figurative tradition connected with certain ritual activities.

To support this interpretation, we need to recall one of the most violent representations of the pursuit story, and one which underwent a particular semantic transformation in the fifth century BC: that of Ajax and Kassandra. According to several scholars, the erotic and ritual interpretation of this myth supplants its "violent" meaning, both in visual and literary sources.[19]

Regarding ritual, J.B. Connelly has observed that, on a cup of Onesimos and a fragment from the Athenian Acropolis, the robe of Athena is decorated with images of girls running naked that seem to refer to female initiation rites. Likewise, on *krateriskoi* from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron in Attica, figures of running girls can also be found.[20]

Evidence of a ritual similar to the scene represented on the Himera Painter's krater and connected to wedding ceremonies comes from Sparta. From the sources available we know that in the Spartan *polis* there were traditional simulated pursuits during wedding celebrations.[21]

[19] S. Mazzoldi demonstrates that the figurative composition of the theme of Ajax and Kassandra became conventional starting from the mid-fifth century BC, when the focus of the imagery seems to distance itself from these two main characters, converting the act into a initiation rite of sexuality (Mazzoldi 1997; *Ead.* 2001).

[20] Connelly 1993, 104-105, 109-129.

[21] On marriage and its connection with pursuits and abductions, refer to what some literary sources indicate about Sparta: Plut., *Lyc* XV, 4-7; Ath. 555, b-c. See also Lupi 2000, 86-90 and Melluso 2004, 16-18. Something very similar usually occured also in Crete (Ephor., *FGrHist* 70 F 149.21; Vattuone 1998).

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Therefore, it is possible to interpret the scene on the Himera Painter's krater as an action related to a ritual activity connected to a wedding, where the main purpose was to stage an abduction which involved the bride feigning resistance to her capture. Thus the pursuit — like a ritual dance — would be associated with initiation rites and passages of status.

In such rituals related to passages of status Dionysos certainly played an important role.[22] In the archaeological context at Himera the Dionysiac world is certainly evoked by the music, but also by the type of ritual headband worn by the pursuer and, above all, by the scene on another related krater, where there are female characters holding thyrsoi in their hands (fig. 6).[23]

It is not uncommon to find the association between the Dionysiac world and erotic allusions in scenes where there has been a pursuit. For example, on a bell krater attributed to another early Sicilian painter contemporary to the Himera workshop, the so-called Painter of Syracuse 24000, a young girl is depicted as she is trying to escape from Eros, while the god is caught as he extends his arms forward in an attempt to grab the female figure.[24] This woman is similar to a maenad in that she is holding a thyrsus in her hands, a clear reference to the role of Dionysos in erotic pursuits (fig. 7). Moreover, the composition of the Painter of Syracuse 24000's scene is noteworthy: the woman is shown turning to look back at Eros, defending herself by placing the thyrsus between her and her pursuer.

The archaeological context and its contribution to the iconographic analysis

As mentioned above, a close consideration of the archaeological context of the Himera Painter's krater supports this new interpretation of the vase's iconography. Through analysis of the other red-figure

[22] For what concerns the figure of Dionysos in ritual activities related with passages of status see Isler Kerenyi 1993, *Ead*. 1996, *Ead*. 2004, *Ead*. 2005. For night processions related to marriage see Bravo 1997 and Valdés Guía 2010.

[23] inv. H67.550. In this case the references to the dionysiac world are particularly clear.

[24] On the bell krater of the Painter of Syracuse 24000 see *Antike Vasen* 1977, 62-63, no. 77. For a first proposal of stylistic analysis on this productive tradition see Serino 2013a, 73-83.

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Fig. 6 Himera Painter: Antiquarium, calyx krater, inv. H67.550
(Photo by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)



Fig. 7 Painter of Syracuse 24000: bell-krater, private collection
(after *Antike Vasen* 1977, fig. p. 62)

vases from blocks 2 and 4 of zone II (district II) of the domestic area of Himera– all attributed to the workshop of the Himera Painter —it is possible to formulate a hypothesis concerning the semantic and symbolic value of the scenes depicted on these artefacts, as well as to support the new iconographic reading of the krater with the simulated pursuit scene. Moreover, we can observe the particular iconographic coherence with the other red-figure vases found in the same context. In truth, more than 83% of the red-figure pottery from this area can be attributed to the workshop of the Himera Painter, which means that this area was characterized by a unique

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concentration of products from a single workshop, likely a pottery set specifically created for use in these rooms.[25]

In addition to *oscilla*, accumulations of loom weights, arrowheads (maybe votive offerings?), and several fragments of *arulae* — in association with the ten red-figure vases found in the rooms of blocks 2-4 — there were also numerous terracotta fragments. In almost all cases they bear depictions of torsos and faces of female figures, thus it would seem that there is a "monopoly" held by female iconography.

Many elements hint at some kind of ritual activity: *arulae*, *oscilla*, accumulations/deposits of specific artefacts like loom weights and arrowheads and, last but not least, the concentration of so many high-quality products, such as red-figure vases, in so small a space (fig. 8).

In this area, another element consistently appears: water. If we want to better define the role played by water within these rooms we can start from an iconographic analysis of an *arula* with a depiction of the figure of Scylla found in block 2, room 18.[26] The *arula* of Himera is one of the earliest depictions of the Homeric monster with a renewed anthropomorphic appearance (fig. 9). This shift, according to A. Calderone, may be traced back to Lycophron — and perhaps also to Stesichorus of Himera — according to whom the water monster was defeated by Herakles and "regenerated" by her father Phorkys in a more human form.[27] Scylla was not, therefore, identified with destruction, but was instead a "beautiful female creature" (quiet, peaceful, and protective), an allusion to a happy and successful metamorphosis. Moreover, the presence and use of water is also indicated by fragments of *louteria* and basins found in multiple rooms. In addition to the continuous symbolic allusion to water in multiple classes of materials — from the iconography of Scylla to a bronze *applique* head of Achelous[28] — a cistern in block 3 offers evidence of the practical use of water in the same area. This underground structure, in the final stages of its life, seems to have been deliberately filled with votive material, and several fragments of *arulae* found in the cistern join with other fragments found in blocks 2-4.[29]

[25] The hypothesis of a sympotic set made on commission also comes from M. de Cesare in one of her recent articles (de Cesare 2012, 150).

[26] inv. H65.581 (*Himera I*, 298, no.3, pl. LXIV,4).

[27] Calderone 1999, 357-360.

[28] inv. H63.8250,4 (*Himera I*, 315, no. 1, pl. LXIX, 1-2).

[29] See *Himera II*, 252 and 298-299; Anzalone 2009, in particular 11 and 14-15.

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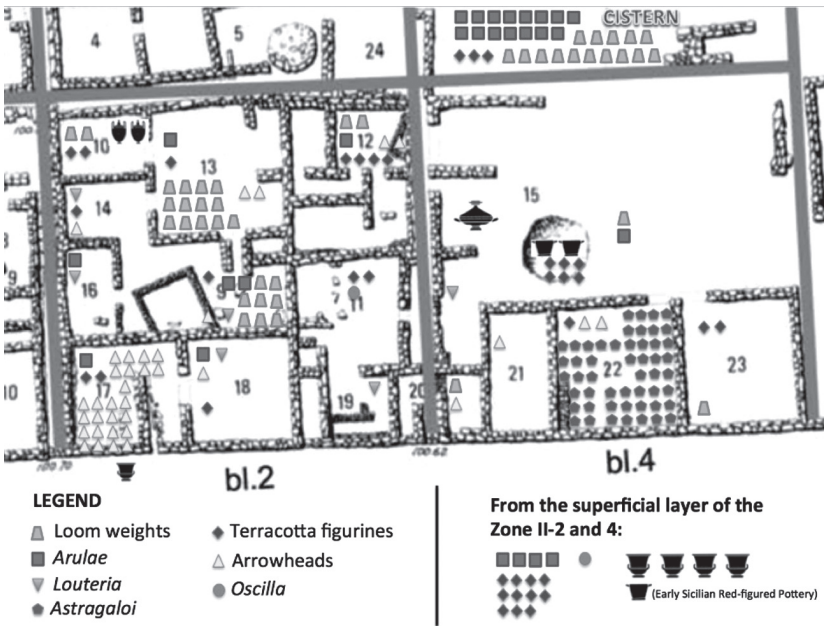


Fig. 8 Himera, district II, zone II, blocks 2-4: distribution map (based on *Himera* II)



Fig. 9 Arula with Scylla inv. H65.581 (after Vassallo 2005, fig. 246)

The concentration of *arulae* and terracotta figurines in blocks 2-4, in conjunction with the presence of loom weights and iconographies traditionally associated with the female world, is suggestive of ritual activities closely related to women and girls. Thus, it is possible that these rooms were used for practices related to a particular status assumed by female individuals in a specific moment of their lives, in which water carried important symbolism.

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I am referring specifically to the position of "*nymphe*".[30] Indeed, there is a strong emphasis on water as a dominant element of certain ritual activities — and on the status of *nymphe* — in the *loutrón nymphikón* scene represented on another calyx krater found in the same area, where two naked girls are shown purifying themselves near a *louterion* and in the presence of a satyr (fig. 10).[31] This scene is certainly one of the most informative in this archaeological context, as its iconography is characterized by a marked focus on the sacred aspects of the female world. Indeed, the coherence of the iconographic themes on all of the decorated vessels from this area confirms that it was a space dedicated to ritual, specifically associated with the female change of status from girl to woman. Before returning to the pursuit scene on krater inv. H65.480a, a closer examination of the iconography of two *lebétes gamikòi* from room 10 is warranted. One of these vessels — whose very form is associated with water — bears a particularly informative figural composition.[32]

Two female figures are the main characters in the scene: the one on the left wears a long, sleeveless *chiton* with a veil over her head and

[30] *Nymphe* is not to be interpreted as "bride" but as «la donna vista in un particolare aspetto della sua vita biologica» (Andò 1996, 51): it is the attainment of full sexuality sanctioned and legitimized by marriage, in the moment of transition from the status of *parthenos* to *gyne*. On this topic see also Larson 2001, 100-120 and Schirripa 2009. Moreover, the ambivalent semantic value of *nymphe* is appropriate for a contest like Himera: the ancient tradition held that Heracles sought refuge in the area where the colony would later be founded. The Argive hero was welcomed by the nymphs of the place. On that occasion they made the famous thermal waters gush: the link between the nymphs, water and Heracles, therefore, has its origins in the mythical tradition (see *Aesch*. Fr. 25a). Finally, we have to remember that the presence of the eponymous nymph "Himera" (*Pind*. Ol. 12. 19), not only from a literary point of view but also from iconographic evidence, dates to the last decades of the fifth century BC (Caccamo Caltabiano 2003, *Ead*. 2005, Salamone 2010).

[31] Among the studies of the symbolic value and the iconographic evolution that this theme underwent during the fifth century BC, the most important works are those of R. Ginouves (Ginouves 1962) and, more recently, S. Pfisterer-Haas (Pfisterer-Haas 2002). On this topic see also Hosoi 2007, Kreilinger 2007, Kossatz-Deissman 2007, Lambrugo 2008, Stähli 2009; they constitute essential references to approach the study and the analysis of this peculiar iconographic theme. A recent interpretation of the Himerian *loutròn nymphikòn* is also in de Cesare 2012, 148-150, *Ead*. 2015 and Serino 2016a.

[32] inv. H65.742 (+ H65.742, 2-3), from district II, zone II, block 2, room 10.

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offers (or maybe receives) a *kalathos* full of fruits,[33] while the woman on the right is performing the typical gesture of *anakalypsis*, which, like the veil worn by the other woman, refers explicitly to wedding ceremonies (fig. 11).[34] The erotic-nuptial theme then returns on two *skyphoi* also from the same area, on which two Erotes are depicted, one holding a mirror (fig. 12) and the other a *stephane* (fig. 13).

Since *lebetes*, on the one hand, are closely connected with the wedding world[35] and kraters, on the other hand, have a close connection with ritual and communal activities,[36] the relationship between the "functional" and "symbolic" levels is reinforced from multiple perspectives. Moreover, it is perhaps possible to identify a strict iconographic code that regulates all of these images through the use of a "common denominator" that can explain the presence and the function of these objects within these rooms. This "connecting element" might indeed be wedding rituals.

[33] It is a basket of raw wool, typical of spinning activities and a traditional nuptial gift (Lissarrague 1996). On the meaning of *kalathos* within the early South Italian productions see also Cassimatis 1990; she attributes to this object a semantic value mainly connected with the funerary world. On the iconography of fruits and on the use of the *kalathos* during the "*karpologia*" see Meirano 2003, where the scenes on Locrian *pinakes* are analyzed. However, I do not rule out that the content of the *kalathos* on the Himerian *lébes* might be identified as bread, a food which has a very strong symbolic value in the context of nuptial activities: literary sources, in fact, suggest that, during the nuptial ceremony a child who still had his/her parents alive walked by the guests holding a "basket" (slightly different from a *kalathos* and closer to a tray) with bread. On this occasion, as P. Ippolito argued, «i fidanzati esprimono il rifiuto del regime selvaggio a cui appartiene la loro vita precedente, per aderire, col cibo che le è proprio, alla loro nuova condizione civilizzata. In effetti la contrapposizione tra vita selvaggia e civiltà è uno degli assi essenziali della rappresentazione del passaggio dall'adolescenza all'età adulta» (Ippolito 2004, 51-52).

[34] On the semantic value of the gesture of *anakalypsis* see Mayo 1973, 200, Pemberton 1976, 113-124 e Oakley 1982, 113-118. More recently, Baggio 2004, 108-109.

[35] *Agora* XXX, 18-20; Sgourou 1997, Cassimatis 1993, Hoffmann 2002, 88-89 and 91-98.

[36] On the consumption of wine see Lissarrague 1987, *Id*. 1990, *Id*. 1992 and the articles in *Sympotica* 1990 and in *In vino veritas* 1995. About the connection between krater and sympotic costumes in the West see Elia 2009. For the use of kraters as cineraries see Pelagatti 1980, de La Genière 1987 e de Cesare 2007. For kraters related to some ritual activities near graves see also Elia 2003, *Id*. 2006. Concerning the morphological features of calyx kraters see Frank 1990, 66 and Tsingarida 2003, 99-109.

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Fig. 10 Himera Painter: Antiquarium, calyx krater inv. H65.481 (Photo and drawing by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)



Fig. 11 Himera Painter, lébes gamikòs inv. H65.742 (+ inv. H65.742, 2-3) (Photo by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)

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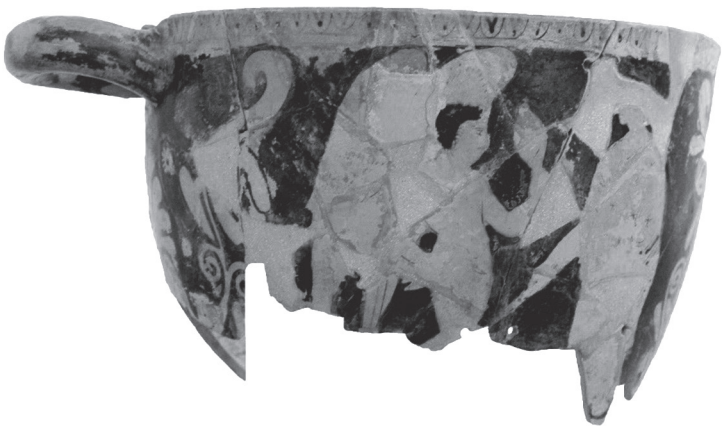


Fig. 12 Himera Painter: Antiquarium, skyphos inv. H65.705
(Photo by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)



Fig. 13 Himera Painter: Antiquarium, skyphos inv. H65.483 (+ inv. H71.872)
(Photo by the author with permission from the *Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia*)

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Conclusions

The pursuit scene on the Himera Painter's krater, which represents a new and original reworking of traditional Attic iconography, is an example of a ritual connected with the nuptial world. Close analysis of these images in conjunction with a consideration of the archaeological context, offers insight into the iconographic theme of erotic and violent pursuits. This theme — which first emerged in the sixth century BC in Attica and, at the end of the fifth century BC, continued to develop in Magna Graecia and Sicily — underwent a significant semantic change whereby "actual" violence became "simulated" and more space was left for an explicitly ritual allusion to the nuptial world.

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(NOT) DOING VIOLENCE TO MYTH: THE SUPPRESSION OF FORCE IN PINDAR

Daniel SICKA

INTRODUCTION

It is apparent to any reader that Pindar's epinician odes are abundantly supplied with manifestations of violence: his myths can elaborate lovingly upon Achilles scattering the dark drops of Telephus' blood across the Mysian plain (Pind.*Isthm*.8.49-50), or Perseus using the Gorgon's head to bring death by petrification to his enemies on Seriphus (Pind.*Pyth*.10.46-48). One may relate this mythic violence to the reality of competition in the Panhellenic Games not only in the literal sense of overpowering an opponent in the physical disciplines, but on the conceptual and metaphysical level, in that the victor creates a rupture in the *status quo ante* of his life through the transcendental act of winning. This metaphysical quality is exemplified at Pind.*Nem*.11.14, where even though the laudandus is celebrated for his election to political office, not for an athletic victory, the language of force is nonetheless deployed: ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν.[1]

This paper examines the converse phenomenon, in which narratives of violence are suppressed or rejected, ostensibly because that violence is transgressive in quality or inordinate in extent. Scholars have often accepted this ethical explanation, either as a moral conviction on the poet's part,[2] or, more functionally, as a strategy for eliminating mythic elements that could vitiate his praise of the laudandus.[3] This paper argues, however, that this hostility to transgressive violence is often an attitude struck by the laudator rather than a conviction of the poet,[4]

[1] "and in contests displays his might [or "his violence"] by being the best".

[2] Galinsky 1972, 31.

[3] Mackie 2003, 75.

[4] "Laudator" refers to the speaking voice of the encomiastic persona in epinicians, in contrast

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for whom transgressive violence is a useful tool to engage his audience more effectively, and to explore, rather than avoid, complex moral questions. In support of this thesis, patterns of *paralipsis* are identified whereby traces of the suppressed or rejected tale are deliberately embedded in the ostensibly-sanitized narrative.

1. The Suppression of Mythic Violence

The treatment of Heracles in Pindar provides a valuable, albeit problematic, test-case.

Σ.15b on Pind.*Isthm*.1.13 θρασεῖαι τόν ποτε Γηρυόνα φρῖξαν κύνες[5] misses the point of Pindar's innovation in a manner that is both spectacular and instructive. The scholion remarks that ἔθος τῷ Πινδάρῳ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέρον καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας βιάζεσθαι:[6] in the case of Pind.*Isthm*.1, Pindar's "violence" to myth is his assertion that Heracles confronted several of Geryon's dogs during his Tenth Labour, rather than the one (named Orthus or Orthrus) attested by Hesiod (Hes.*Theog*.293). But this comment overlooks a more significant point, not only because 6th- and 5th-century iconography gives the dog two or even three heads,[7] which makes Pindar's use of the plural a less original departure than it might otherwise appear. Pind. *Isthm*.1.13 is an example of how Pindar's metaphorical "violence" to mythic tradition often involves a modulation of the literal violence contained in his narrative: Pindar's version replaces the lethal treatment that Heracles metes out in other renderings of the story to the dog, the herdsman Eurytion, and to Geryon himself, with mere "cowering".[8] We may note that in Hesiod (Hes.*Theog*.289, 982) it is βίη Ἡρακληείη[9] that destroys Geryon: although this epic periphrasis is common (i.e. using "the might of Heracles" to mean "the mighty Heracles"), the attribution of the killing to Heracles' violence itself gives the Hesiodic version a particular forcefulness, whereas Pindar's could scarcely be more gentle.

to the historical poet Pindar. For the term, see Bundy 1986, 130.

[5] "[Heracles,] before whom Geryon's dogs once cowered".

[6] "it is Pindar's habit to do violence to myth for his own convenience".

[7] *E.g.* a bronze pectoral from Samos c. 600 BC (Samos B2518).

[8] Pind.*Isthm*.1.13 φρῖξαν.

[9] "the might of Heracles".

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In seeking an explanation for Pindar's alteration of the myth, it must first be acknowledged that the question is complicated in the case of Heracles, since his treatment in post-Homeric literature oscillates between that of the brutal and excessive superman, and the civilizer who employs his strength for just purposes:[10] the latter predominates in Pindar. This tendency to "civilize" Heracles is found as early as the *Heraclea* of Peisander of Rhodes (perhaps c. 640 BC). Although fr.10 Kinkel, which describes him as "the most just of killers", has been judged spurious by recent editors such as Davies and West, the testimony of Pausanias that in Peisander Heracles did *not* kill the Stymphalian birds, but instead frightened them off, provides a close precedent for Pindar's modification of the Geryon myth in Pind. *Isthm.*1: Paus.8.22.4 Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Καμιρεὺς ἀποκτεῖναι τὰς ὄρνιθας οὔ φησιν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ψόφῳ κροτάλων ἐκδιώξειεν αὐτάς.[11] The pendulum seems to have swung back in the *Heraclea* of Panyassis of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Pindar: Clement of Alexandria in *Protr.*2.36.2 records that Panyassis reprised the Iliadic story (Hom. *Il.*5.392-97) of Heracles wounding both Hades and Hera in battle; by contrast, Pindar (Pind.*Ol.*9.29-41) explicitly rejects as impious a tradition that Heracles battled Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades.

Galinsky 1972, 31 explains Pindar's strategy as remaining "true to his religious mission", i.e. to cleanse Heracles' violent and morally-ambivalent image so that he could be employed as an unambiguous "ideal of aristocratic ethics" with whom Pindar's honorands could be compared without unease. Mackie 2003, 75 argues that the Pindaric concept of "truth" in myth is "determined not with reference to ethical appropriateness … but to the more immediate needs of the epinician performance": thus, for example, she links the rejection of transgressive violence between gods and mortals in *Olympian* 1 and *Olympian* 9 to a functional aspect of epinician, namely to appease the gods and so ward off divine resentment from the victor.

Both of these positions share the common assumption that the elimination of transgressive violence is conducive to the success of an epinician, and take the statements of the laudator to that effect at face value. However, when we examine Pindar's poetic practice, we find that he frequently gives the lie to the laudator's assertions.

[10] See Papadopoulou 2005, 1-8, 9-59.

[11] "But Peisander of Cameirus says that [Heracles] did not kill the birds, but chased them off with the noise of clappers".

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2. Imperfect Erasures

In the case of Heracles, such examination reveals that although Pindar does appear to have regularly cleansed the image of his favourite hero, he often leaves significant traces of the "incorrect" version, like an imperfectly-erased palimpsest on which the imprint of earlier writing is still visible. We might be content to explain this method of advertising alterations simply in terms of Pindar signposting his originality. But since this phenomenon relates particularly — albeit not exclusively — to myths of violent transgression, I suggest that his motivations were more complex and more specific to the nature of those myths.

Thus in *Olympian* 3 we find two such imperfect erasures. First, Heracles brings back the olive tree from the far North: Pind.*Ol.*3.16 δᾶμον Ὑπερβορέων πείσαις Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα λόγῳ —[12] the emphasis on words suggests an alternative in which force was applied. Second, we are told of his quest to retrieve what later sources call the Cerynitian Hind from the same place: Pind.*Ol.*3.26-27 Λατοῦς ἱπποσόα θυγάτηρ | δέξατ' ἐλθόντ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν.[13] In context, "received" is ambiguous between "received with welcome" and "received as an enemy": 6th-century iconography provides instances of Apollo and Artemis confronting Heracles over the Hind,[14] as do later literary sources.[15] The theme of the hero in conflict with the gods lurks just below the surface of the text.

I suggest that Pindar intended for this process of "correction" to be *perceptible* to his audience. As mentioned in the introduction, the attainment of victory dramatically separates the victor from his established milieu, and one of the functions of epinician was to reintegrate the victor to his society:[16] this process of bringing the victor back within social norms is mirrored by the "correction" process that does the same for the violence in these myths. We may compare epinician exhortations against megalomania such as Pind.*Isthm.*5.14 μὴ μάτευε

[12] "after he persuaded the Hyperborean people, the servants of Apollo, with his speech".

[13] "Leto's horse-driving daughter had received him on his arrival from the ridges of Arcadia".

[14] *E.g.* an Attic black-figure plate, Oxford 1933.333, c. 560 BC.

[15] Apollod.2.81-82.

[16] Cf. Kurke 1991, 6.

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Ζεὺς γενέσθαι,[17] which would be meaningless were there not a real danger of the victor allowing himself to be carried away by his success. In the case of *Olympian* 3, contemporary events may be more specifically reflected: in the same year as his Olympic victory of 476 BC, Theron of Acragas put down a rebellion at Himera through mass executions and repopulated it with Dorians (Diod.Sic.11.48.6-8) — an act whose brutality could not be erased from public consciousness, but ameliorated through Heracles' gentler treatment of the Hyperborean δᾶμος.

In another ode of 476 BC, *Olympian* 1 for Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, Pindar takes the undermining of his corrected version to a particular extreme. On the surface, the laudator rejects the impious story that Pelops was served up to the gods at a feast, preferring to attribute Pelops' disappearance to a more socially-acceptable cause, namely Poseidon's divine pederasty: Pind.*Ol.*1.52 ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι.[18] But on the linguistic level,[19] the metaphors of cannibalism and perverted sacrifice contaminate not only the "corrected" myth, but the description of the very banquet at which the ode is represented as being performed. Thus (a) the songs of praise in which Hieron is glorified are 16-17 οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν | ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν;[20] in the rejected myth, Pelops' flesh is served up 50 τραπέζαισί τ' ἀμφὶ δεύτατα,[21] with δεύτατα metapoetically underlining the verbal repetition. (b) Likewise, the famous priamel that opens the ode with the splendour of water and fire (1 Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ)[22] reappears in the rejected myth as the boiling water in which the flesh was cooked (48-49 ὕδατος ὅτι τε πυρὶ ζέοισαν εἰς ἀκμάν | μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη);[23] in the 'corrected' myth, when Pelops prays to Poseidon, he describes an unheroic man as one who 83 γῆρας ἐν

[17] "seek not to become Zeus".

[18] "but for my part, I cannot call any of the blessed gods a glutton – I stand back".

[19] See Hamilton 2003, 91-92.

[20] "such as we men often perform in play around the friendly table".

[21] "as a second course at table".

[22] "Water is excellent, whilst gold [like] blazing fire…".

[23] "and that they chopped up your limbs with a knife into the water brought to the boil on the fire".

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σκότῳ καθήμενος ἕψοι μάταν,[24] whilst Tantalus is said to have been unable 55 καταπέψαι[25] his good fortune. (c) Most explicitly of all, Pindar introduces the myth as a whole with the detail that it was Pelops' gleaming ivory shoulder that drew Poseidon to him: 25-27 τοῦ μεγασθενὴς ἐράσσατο Γαιάοχος | Ποσειδάν, ἐπεί νιν καθαροῦ λέβητος ἔξελε Κλωθώ, | ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὦμον κεκαδμένον:[26] this implies that Pelops was born with the ivory shoulder but without any explanation for this peculiarity, whereas in the rejected myth the ivory shoulder was a replacement for the one that was unwittingly consumed by Demeter at the cannibal feast.

This analysis shows us that Pindar's subversion of the surface meaning of his narrative in *Olympian* 1 is pervasive, and his simultaneous denial and propagation of the tale of the cannibal feast almost schizophrenic. If we interpret this unusual situation seriously, it does not seem that we can fall back on the interpretation I offered for *Olympian* 3, namely that the "correction" process is one that anticipates potential criticism of the laudandus and neutralizes it. Instead, it seems that the transgressive violence of the original myth is used to critically undermine the victor's praise in a manner that cuts a little too close to the bone. We might even choose to revive the theory of Marxist critics that the sheer difficulty of Pindar's language validated the elite that consumed such sophisticated work,[27] but could also simultaneously undermine it by including veiled criticisms that were in practice beyond the ability of a typical patron to comprehend.

If we prefer to be sceptical of re-imagining Pindar as a crypto-Marxist, archly alluding truth to power — however pleasing an irony that might be, since Marx in fact used the name "Pindar" for anyone he considered to be a mouthpiece for tyranny — we can take refuge in an idea that is perhaps even more radical, namely that of being prepared not to take Pindar seriously at all times. Instead, we may regard such phenomena in more literary terms that nonetheless serve an encomiastic purpose, by offering the epinician audience a taste of

[24] "would sit in darkness and stew / keep on the boil his old age to no purpose".

[25] "to digest".

[26] "[Pelops], with whom the mighty Earth-holder Poseidon fell in love, after Clotho pulled him from the pure cauldron, distinguished by his shoulder gleaming with ivory".

[27] *E.g.* Rose 1982, 63, 176.

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the juicy, immoral, and brutal tales of myth that grasp their attention, but trimming them to more-or-less fit within the limits of the genre: in other words, having one's cannibal feast and eating it.

3. The Subverted Break-Off

Pindar's break-off passages (*Abbruchsformeln*) are particularly revealing in this regard. Their formal function is to curtail the flow of a narrative if it becomes too long or irrelevant to the encomium, and Race 1990, 41-57 has observed that even where the laudator makes no explicit moral comment, these narrative break-offs are often preceded by expressions of suffering or death in such a way as to imply that it is the unbearable tension of the portrayal that motivates the laudator to change track. Of course, the narrative is only ever as long as Pindar wishes it to be, regardless of the claims of his persona (a dissonance that Carey 1981, 5 designates the "oral subterfuge").

I argue that Pindar signals this dissonance to his audience by undermining the structural break-off through allusion and imagery, just as he does at Pind.*Ol.*1.52-55 discussed above. Thus at Pind. *Isthm.*5.49-50, the battle of Salamis is described as Διὸς ὄμβρῳ | ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ,[28] while the break-off commands 51 ἀλλ' ὅμως καύχαμα κατάβρεχε σιγᾷ —[29] thus prolonging by metaphor what the formal rhetoric attempts to dismiss.

In *Pythian* 11, Pindar devotes 23 lines (Pind.*Pyth.*11.15-37) to a mini-*Oresteia* that culminates in Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus: in the break-off, the laudator asks 38-39 ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην, | ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τὸ πρίν·[30] Here, the image of the crossroads in the context of the murder of a parent in tragedy naturally recalls the most famous crossroads of all, that where Oedipus met and killed Laius: as Kurke 2013, 114-17 observes, the same word was used by Aeschylus in his Theban trilogy of 467 BC of the same occasion: Aesch.fr.387a.1-3 ἐπῆμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τροχήλατον | σχιστῆς κελεύθου τρίοδον, ἔνθα ξυμβολὰς | τριῶν κελεύθων

[28] "Zeus' devastating rain, a gory hailstorm for countless men".

[29] "but nonetheless drench this boast in silence".

[30] "Can it be, my friends, that I became confused where the crossroad forks, though I travelled a straight path before?".

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Ποτνιάδας ἠμείβομεν.[31] The "wrong turn" taken by the laudator self-consciously mimics that taken by an Oedipus-like tragic hero, who unwittingly makes the wrong choice at a critical juncture.

In *Olympian* 9, the break-off from the rejected tale of Heracles' combat with Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades includes the following injunction: 41-42 ἔα πόλεμον μάχαν τε πᾶσαν | χωρὶς ἀθανάτων.[32] However, this recalls contradictory epic parallels such as Hom. *Il.*5.891 αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε[33] of Ares, and Hes. *Theog.*926 ᾗ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε[34] of Athena. The "correction" itself reminds the audience of the authority of Homer and Hesiod for what it attempts to suppress. If Pindar is alluding specifically to Hom.*Il.*5.891, the point is sharpened: there, Ares has been wounded in battle with Diomedes; we may compare Hes.[*Sc.*]357-67, where Heracles tells the story of how he wounded Ares in combat.

In my final example, the break-off that concludes the eschatology of *Olympian* 2 follows a description of Achilles' translation to the Isle of the Blessed and a list of the three most famous heroes he vanquished, namely Hector, Cycnus, and Memnon: Pind.*Ol.*2.83-85 πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη | ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας | φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν.[35] I suggest that the break-off here is again subverted, this time by the archery image, as the laudator picks up the same weapons that Apollo used to slay Achilles. The story of Achilles' death would be a natural one for the audience to expect in the context of this list of casualties, since Achilles' death immediately followed that of Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, whilst in the *Iliad*, Hector warns with his dying breath that his death will be followed by Achilles' own at Apollo's hands (Hom.*Il.*22.358-60). We may even see Apollo's name encoded in the break-off[36] by means of an Indo-European poetic device that has already encoded the name of the victor earlier in the

[31] "we were coming to the wheel-worn crossroads of a split path, where we were crossing the intersection of three roads at Potniae".

[32] "keep war and all fighting away from the immortals".

[33] "for always is strife dear to you, and wars and battles".

[34] "to whom clamour and wars and battles give pleasure".

[35] "many are the swift arrows I have under my arm inside my quiver that speak only to those who have understanding".

[36] Pind.*Ol.*2.83 Αἰθίοπα. πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ~ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ.

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ode,[37] and in this passage encodes the name of his city;[38] this device can be found in a passage of the Avestan *Gāthās*, or Hymns of Zarathustra, where the motif of a poet "speaking to those who know" appears exactly as at Pind.*Ol.*2.85.[39] Pindar elegantly rounds off his proclamation of Achilles' blessed afterlife in a manner that both tells and yet does not tell the story of the violent death that preceded it.

Conclusion

As the above analysis demonstrates, we can detect a productive tension between the rhetoric and the allusive imagery of Pindar's odes when dealing with issues of violent transgression: the moral edifice erected by the former is regularly modified by the latter, whether to engage and titillate the audience, or to deflect criticism of the victor by acknowledging and mitigating his perceived flaws, or sometimes even to intimate a dissonance between encomiastic rhetoric and reality that threatens to destabilize the entire project of praise.

[37] Pind.*Ol.*2.1 τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα ~ 5 Θήρωνα.
[38] Pind.*Ol.*2.87 ἄκραντα γαρύετον ~ 91 Ἀκράγαντι. Cf. Watkins 1995, 189-90.
[39] Cf. Schwartz 2006, 473-74.

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MISIT THYESTEAS PRECES: CURSING AND MAGIC IN HORACE'S *EPODE* 5*

Gabriel A. F. Silva

Horace's fifth *Epode* stands out for the richness of elements and topics well known since the *aetas augustana*. As Fedeli noted,[1] Horace created a complex web of literary types and subtypes,[2] in which can be emphasized the presence of curses. The main goal of this paper is to understand these curses and place them in both their literary and magical contexts, elucidating the Canidia poem with the language and imagery of curse tablets (*tabellae defixionum*)[3] and Greek Magical Papyri.

With 102 verses, *Epode* 5 is the longest in the collection. The plot of this text is also well known: beginning with a supplication from an anonymous boy, it describes a scene of magic where a group of witches, commanded by Canidia,[4] kidnapped this young *puer* in order to sacrifice him and cast a love potion using his liver. Horace

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[1] Fedeli 1978, 99.

[2] Kroll 1924, 202-224 called this feature of learned poets "Kreuzung der Gattungen". See also Tupet 1976, 315.

[3] The term *defixio* (Greek *katadesmos*) comes from the verb *defigere*, which means 'to paralyze', 'fix' and 'bind'. From the meanings the verb conveys, we understand that the central purpose of a *defixio* is 'to bind someone'. Some of the discovered *tabellae* were intended for very diverse contexts. According to Audollent's taxonomy (1900, lxxxix), there are four types of *defixiones*: judicial, against thieves, erotic and agonistic. In truth, these magic objects do not usually aim to cause someone's death, but rather to subjugate another person to the will of the practitioner (Faraone 1991, 8). For more fundamental information about *defixiones* and their nature, cf. Faraone 1991, 3-32, Ogden 1999, 1-90 and Graf 1999, 118-174.

[4] Canidia is not a minor character in the poetry of Horace. Besides *Epode* 5, she is the main character also in *Epod.* 17 and *S.* 1.8. She also arises in other poems, such as *Epod.* 3.7-8, *S.* 2.1.48 and *S.* 2.8.94-95.

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highlights the witches' gory appearance and then the reader is made aware of the failure of Canidia's initial plans to conquer her beloved Varus and of the new plan that she intends to put in motion.

The theme of child sacrifice is very recurrent in Ancient literature, occurring in several Classical and Late Antique texts[5] and also in interesting epitaphs about deaths by means of witchcraft.[6] Still more relevant to this *Epode* is a well-known epitaph[7] in memory of a child, who informs readers of his age (*in quartum surgens comprensus deprimor annum*) and of his cause of death (*eripuit me saga manus*). Parents in general are also advised to protect their children from these creatures (*uos uestros natos concustodite parentes*). With relation to this *topos* of kidnapping young children, Canidia can also be connected to *striges*, as Horace tells.[8] These creatures are often mentioned as birds and Ovid presents a poetic description of their physical aspects, highlighting their rapacity and predilection for young children, just like Canidia snatching the young *puer*.[9] In Petronius' *Satyricon* 63, in a pair of horror stories told during the *cena Trimalchionis*, the host himself recounts an episode which he had witnessed when he was young, involving a child killed by *strigae*. The witches snatched the

[5] See, for example, Luc. 6.710-711, Juv. 6.552, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 9.5, Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.10.4, among others. Lollianos' *Phoinikika* has an interesting parallel with *Epode* 5 in a scene where a boy is sacrificed and his head cut off. In fifth century AD, in Zacharius Scholasticus' *Life of Severus of Antioch* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 57-59) can be found a group of students who intend to disembowel an Ethiopian slave-boy at midnight so that his master can obtain the favors of a woman. Referring to boy-sacrifice, cf. Ogden 2008, 158-160, and 2004, 196-201. For the wider context of human sacrifice, see Hughes 1991. See also Tupet 1976, 321.

[6] For a list of epitaphs (Greek and Latin) with reference to deaths of people killed by sorceresses or witchcraft, cf. Graf 2008, 139-150. See also Grubbs 2002, 230-242.

[7] CIL vi. 19747, probably before 31 AD.

[8] *Ep.* 5.20 (with Watson 2003 *ad loc.*). These creatures are often mentioned in Latin literature from the Imperial age. Cf. Prop. 3.6.29, Ov. *Am.* 1.12.20, *Fast.* 6.139, *Met.* 7.269, Sen. *Med.* 732-734, *Her. F.* 686-688, Stat. *Theb.* 3.508-512, *Silv.* 13.597-600. See also McDonough 1997, 315-344, Scobie 1978, 76-80 and Ingallina 1974, 116-119. Although *striges* and *strigae* have the same origin, *strigae* were nocturnal beings connected to witches, not to birds, like *striges*. See Cherubini 2009, 143 n1.

[9] For the entire description of these creatures see Ov. *F.* 6.133-141. See also Isidore of Seville *Orig.* 7.42.

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child's body and replaced it with a small doll that the mother hugged, thinking to be her son:

> *sed dum mater amplexerat corpus filii sui, tangit et uidet manuciolum de stramentis factum. non cor habebat, non intestina, non quicquam: scilicet iam puerum strigae inuolauerunt et supposuerant stramenticium uauatonem*[10]

Finally, by kidnapping the boy, Canidia envisaged making a certain Varus come back to her by using a φιλτροκατάδεσμος,[11] which would be concocted with the boy's liver after his death.[12] This term designates a love potion designed to prevent its victim from engaging in sexual relations with others and, at the same time, to encourage the victim to have sex only with the curser.[13]

Canidia's monologue, which extends to almost half of the poem, culminates in a demonstration of defeat and a renewed desire for vengeance:

> *quid accidit? cur dira barbarae minus*
> *uenena Medeae ualent,*
> *quibus superbam fugit ulta paelicem,*
> *magni Creontis filiam,*

[10] "but when the mother put her arms round the body of her son, she felt it and saw that it was a little bundle of straw. It had no heart, no inside or anything: of course the witches had carried off the boy and put a straw squaller in his place." Translations follow the *Loeb Classical Library* edition, except where otherwise indicated.

[11] For how to make a philtrokatadesmos, see, for example, *PGM.* IV 296-466. Regarding the *philtrokatadesmoi* in Ancient Literature, two predecessors must be considered: Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 and Vergil's *Eclogue* 8. In his Idyll, in the voice of Simaetha, Theocritus describes how a ritual of love magic can be performed and, most importantly, it encompasses three occurrences of the verbal form *katadesomai*, affiliating the poem to the world of magical *defixiones*. In the poem of Vergil, we find a certain character practicing love magic so that a certain Daphnis will back home. It is noteworthy that the charms of both poems exhibit a refrain that expresses the request for the beloved's return. The belief that the spoken word has power indeed explains the several repetitions, setting a kind of pace for the magical act that can contribute to the realization of the formulated wish.

[12] The theme of the use of human organs for potions is a common feature, as Pliny the Elder tells us (*Nat.* 28.4). For *iecur* in erotic magic in Latin poetry, see Ov. *Am.* 3.7.28-30 and *Ep.* 6.91-93.

[13] Faraone 2001, 27-28 refers to *philtrokatadesmoi* as spells for inducing *eros*, not *philia*.

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cum palla, tabo munus inbutum, nouam
incendio nuptam abstulit?
atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
radix fefellit me locis.
indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
obliuione paelicum.
a! a! solutus ambulat ueneficae
scientioris carmine.
non usitatis, Vare, potionibus,
o multa fleturum caput,
ad me recurres, nec uocata mens tua
Marsis redibit uocibus:
maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
fastidienti poculum,
priusque caelum sidet inferius mari,
tellure porrecta super,
quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
bitumen atris ignibus.'[14]

In other words, what pushes Canidia to perform an even more powerful spell is the frustration generated by the fact that her *uenena*, which she learned from Medea, have not been successful (*quid accidit? cur dira barbarae minus / uenena Medeae ualent*, 61-62). She portrayed herself as an expert on all kinds of herbs, even those that grow in the most inhospitable places (*atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis / radix me fefellit me locis*, 67-68); therefore, she cannot cope with her own failure.

[14] "What has gone wrong? Why are the dreadful drugs of the savage Medea failing to work? Those were the drugs with which before her flight she took vengeance on her arrogant rival, great Creon's daughter, when the cloak impregnated with poison, which she had giver her as a gift, carried off the young bride in flames. And yet no herb or root has escaped me, however rough its hiding place. The bed he sleeps in has been smeared with a substance designed to make him forget all his other lady loves. Ah that's it! He walks free because of the spells of a cleverer witch. Well Varus, you wretch, you will bitterly regret all this; draughts of quite abnormal power will bring you running back to me. Your affections will return, but not because they have been summoned by Marsian incantations. I shall prepare something stronger; I shall brew something stronger to deal with your scorn. The sky shall sink beneath the sea with the earth spread out above it before you escape burning with passion for me as pitch burns its smoky flame."

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Canidia knows that Varus walks around the Subura, free and unmindful of all other women, thanks to a charm of a more expert witch (*a! a! solutus ambulat ueneficae / scientioris carmine*, 71-72). Regarding love magic, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the participial form *solutus* from v.71. The verb *soluere* (λύω in Greek spells) indicates a sense of detachment and remoteness on the part of the person intended to be bound. According to Watson,[15] *lusipharmakon* (λύω + φάρμακον) is the taxonomy correctly applied to this kind of spell.[16] In other words, it is a charm that produces the opposite effect to binding and allows a person to become free from another. Besides this occurrence of a *lusipharmakon* in *Epode* 5, there are other remarkable episodes in Latin literature that deserve our attention:

In *Aeneid* 4, during Dido's magical scene, the queen of Carthage talks to her sister assuring that she knows a way to keep Aeneas with her, or, on the contrary, to be released from him:

> *'inueni, germana, uiam (gratare sorori)*
> *quae mihi reddat eum uel eo me soluat amante*m.[17] (4.478-479)

In Horace's *Carm*. 1.27, the poet sings the misfortune of Megila's brother who is in a terrible relationship. During his song, Horace's inquires what witch or mage can release Megila's brother from such a love: *quae saga, quis te soluere Thessalis / magus uenenis, quis poterit deus?*.[18] Tibullus in the elegy 1.2, in an episode close to that of *Aeneid* 4.478ff., the poet says to Delia that a witch told him she herself was capable of making love disappear by means of charms and herbs: *quid, credam? nempe haec eadem se dixit amores / cantibus aut herbis soluere posse meos*.[19] In a *defixio amatoria* from Rome,[20] the author prays that nobody other than himself should be able to release the accursed from the spell:

[15] Watson 2003, 237.

[16] The *Greek Magical Papyri* preserve a recipe for a *lusipharmakon*. For this, see *PGM* XXXVI 178-187. Cf. also Ingallina 1974, 220.

[17] "Sister mine, I have found a way — wish your sister joy — to return him to me or release me from my love for him."

[18] "What witch, what wizard with Thessalian drugs, what god will be able to set you free?"

[19] "What? Am I to trust her? Surely it was she, none other, said that by spells or herbs she could unbind my love."

[20] DT 137, from I or II AD.

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ne quis eum
soluat nisi nos, qui fecimus[21]

The particular characteristic of *defixiones* of placing the beloved under restraint which only the curser can release is also explored in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (2.7). When Lucius tries to seduce Photis, he gets close to her when she is cooking and her ambiguous response seems to be very close to the same message in the *defixio* quoted above. Photis makes clear that if any flame touches Lucius, he will be ablaze and only she can release him:

> *"discede," inquit "miselle, quam procul a meo foculo, discede. nam si te uel modice meus igniculus afflauerit, ureris intime nec ullus extinguet ardorem tuum nisi ego, quae dulce condiens et ollam et lectulum suaue quatere noui."*[22]

Another feature of *defixiones* was the forgetting of other people, mainly of love rivals. Just as Canidia wanted Varus to forget every other woman, a certain Felix in a *defixio* from Sousse[23] makes a prayer so that Vettia, the one Felix loves, will forget all the other people around her, even her parents, and that in her thoughts only Felix's name shall shine:

> *ut obliuiscatur patris et matris et omnium suorum et amicorum omnium et omnium uirorum amoris mei gratia, Felicis, quem peperit Fructa. Vettia, quam peperit Optata, solum me in mente habeat* (…)[24]

So Canidia resorts to unusual and more powerful potions in order to bring back her beloved. There is a reversal of Varus' situation: firstly, when he was free, he only walked along the Subura; when Canidia casts her spells, he will be forced to run to her house (*ad me recurres, nec uocata mens tua / Marsis redibit uocibus*, 75-76). For this specific

[21] "that no one release him, except me who made it [the curse]" (my translation). All the texts from Latin *defixiones* are from Kropp 2008.

[22] "Depart, I say, wretch, from me; depart from my fire, for if the flame thereof do never so little blaze forth it will burn thee inwardly, and none can extinguish the heat thereof but I alone, who know well how with daintiest seasoning to stir both board and bed."

[23] DT 266, probably from III AD.

[24] "so that she may forget her father and her mother and all her family and all her friends and all men, for the sake of loving me, Felix, whom Fructa bore. May Vettia, whom Optata bore, have only me in her mind…" (my translation).

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kind of spell, the most common taxonomy is ἀγωγή. While casting a leading spell it was intended that an inordinate desire seized a particular target, making it forget everything and go to the curser's house.[25] Such a feature can be found in the refrains of Theocritus *Idyll* 2 (ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα)[26] and of Vergil *Eclogue* 8 (*ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducide Daphnin*).[27] On the other hand, in another *defixio* from Sousse a woman called Domitiana, in love with Urbanus, prays to several divinities that Urbanus will ask her to return quickly to his house: καὶ ἐρωτῶντα αὐτὴν ἵνα ἐπανέλθη εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ σύμβιο[ς] γενομένη.[28] But perhaps one of the clearest examples of this kind of spell is the story of Glaucias and Chrysis (Lucian's *Philopseudes* 13-15), where the young Glaucias, in love with Chrysis, is unable to study philosophy and his teacher helps him by bringing a Hyperborean mage who, among a number of techniques, models a small statue of Eros and sends it to bring Chrysis to Glaucia's house. After a while the girl knocks at Glaucia's door and embraces him madly in love.[29]

Varus' mind should be altered, generating a madness that will overpower him and make him focus only on Canidia, who performed the curse. This state of μανία is very common in ancient love magic, and there are several exempla where the desire is formulated so that the accursed will be possessed by a *furor* that makes him forget anything else. Take, for example, the prayer of Simaetha in Theocritus' second *Idyll* (ὡς καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι, καὶ ἐς τόδε δῶμα περάσαι / μαινομένῳ ἴκελος λιπαρᾶς ἔκτοσθε παλαίστρας, 50-51),[30] where, in a desperate tone, she asks to see Delphis and prays for his return like

[25] See Graf 1999, 186 and Faraone 2001, 25-26.

[26] "My magic wheel, draw to my house the man I love." Transl. by A. S. F. Gow (Cambridge, 1952).

[27] "Bring Daphnis home from town, brim him, my songs!"

[28] DT 271, from III AD. "and asking that she return to his house and become his wife". See Gager 1992, 112-115 for more information and full translation.

[29] καὶ ὁ μὲν πηλὸς ἐξέπτατο, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἐπέσῃ κόπτουσα τὴν θύραν ἐκείνη καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα περιβάλλει τὸν Γλαυκίαν ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα ἐροῦσα… "The clay took wing, and before long Chrysis stood on the threshold knocking at the door, came in and embraced Glaucias as if she loved him furiously…" (*Philopseudes* 14). See further Winkler 1990, 88-89.

[30] "So may I see Delphis, and so like one maddened may he come to this house from the bright wrestling-school." Transl. by A. S. F. Gow (Cambridge, 1952).

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a μαινόμενος to her house.[31] There are also two *tabellae defixionum* from Sousse where the *furor* which should afflict the accursed is explicit. In DT 265A (III AD), the *defigens* prays, asking that a certain Victoria fall madly in love with him:

> *faciatis Victoria*
> *quam peperit Sua-*
> *vulva amantem fu-*
> *rentem prae amore*
> *meo*[32]

On the other hand, in DT 270 (II AD), a Latin *defixio* written in the Greek alphabet,[33] the *defigens*, whom we know to be a woman called Septima, prays to Anteros so that Sextilius, her beloved, will burn with desire for her. Her aim is to drive Sextilius mad with her curse:

> νον δορμιαθ Σεξ-
> τίλλιος Διονισίε φιλιους ουραθουρ
> φουρενς νον δορμιαθ νεκουε σεδεατ
> νεκουε λουκουατουρ σεδ ιν μεντεμ αβ-
> ιατ με Σέπθιμαμ Ἀμένε φιλια ουρα-
> θουρ φουρενς αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο[34]

Thus, to conclude, it can be seen that there is a common background to erudite poetry and typical situations of daily life: the same desire of Canidia in making a potion which alters Varus' state of mind and makes him focus only on the curser will also be reflected in these Latin *defixiones*. Almost every love curse has the purpose of binding the loved one, but these curses go a step further: they intend the accursed to be taken by an overpowering *furor* that will darken their

[31] For the theme of μανία and *furor* in love magic see Faraone 2001, 61-66, esp. 61 n94 (with other examples).

[32] "Make Victoria, whom her own (mother's) womb bore, loving and frenzied, owing to love for me." (my translation).

[33] It is interesting that this *defixio*, despite being Latin, is written in Greek. As Adams 2003, 44 noted: "The use of Greek letters for the writing of Latin *defixiones* can be interpreted as a form of obfuscation, perhaps to increase the power of the magic." For a more extended analysis of this feature in Latin *defixiones*, cf. Adams 2003, 43-63.

[34] "Let Sextillius, son of Dionysia, not find sleep, may he burn mad, let him not find sleep, nor find any peace, nor speak, but let him have me, Septima, Amoena's daughter, in his mind; may he burn with love and desire" (my translation).

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senses. Thus we see three figures that suffer for love: Canidia and the two *defigentes* from North Africa. The link that we can establish with texts of a magical nature, like the *Greek Magical Papyri* and the *defixiones*, is significant. Although the majority of the texts here quoted, especially those referring to historical curses, are subsequent to the composition of this *epode*, it can be concluded that curses, independently of their date and authors, correspond to a set of *topoi*.

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FILICIDE IN THE HOUSE OF ATREUS

Maria de Fátima Silva

Of the multiple versions of the Atreides' myth known in Archaic and Classical Greek literature, it was undoubtedly tragedy that established the themes, concepts, and characters which became paradigmatic of the House of Atreus. Furthermore, of all the plays, on this theme, that have survived, it was Aeschylus' *Oresteia* that set the main *topoi* with which subsequent versions engaged in dialogue. Of the various driving forces sustaining the development of the *Oresteia*, I shall concentrate here on one important motif which is announced in the opening lines of *Agamemnon*, and which acquires increasing importance as the work develops: namely filicide. Like other important *topoi* in Aeschylus' version (gender opposition, war, the conflict between the public and the private, the dialogue between divine and human, the contrast between the omniscience of the gods and the ignorance of men, and the various orders of justice), this theme cuts across the *oikos* to the *polis* and the *kosmos*. In fact, filicide is a fundamental feature of the House of Atreus, in constant dialogue with all the other important components of the action, listed above.

The parodos circumscribes the theme of filicide with great clarity, broadening the dramatic timeframe to a period that begins ten years before the present moment and comes to an end with the mobilization of the troops. It is when the campaign becomes the backdrop to the action of *Agamemnon* that the filicide is imposed, in conjunction with it. Through animal metaphor (the famous eagle omen, and later, the murder of Thyestes' sons evoked by Cassandra), the chorus paints the war as a form of genocide that particularly afflicts the young of the species and with them, the promise of a future (48-54):[1]

[1] "Terrible was the war cry which they let loose from the depths of their hearts, like vultures which, distressed at the loss of their young — such tremendous suffering — fly overhead in circles, beating the air with their great wings, frustrated in their task of watching over their young".

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Μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη
τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν οἵτ' ἐκπατίοις
ἄλγεσι παίδων ὕπατοι λεχέων
στροφοδινοῦνται
πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δεμνιοτήρη
πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες.[2]

The scene shows a mournful dance and depicts a natural revulsion for the nefarious situation caused by war when future generations are entirely wiped out. For the chorus, the impulse to protect one's young, and the unspeakable pain that is suffered at their loss, is inherent to animal nature, a fundamental φυσικόν, and this foreshadows one of the central themes of the trilogy. With particular finesse, the vocabulary used by the Elders associates the inspirational motif (the household) with its poetic projection (the nest) over which the parents attentively keep watch. Ἄλγος and πόνος come together in

[2] This simile also has a Homeric flavour. Cf. *Il.* 16. 428-430, where the warriors are likened to vultures, crying aloud in combat; the similarities with the passage from the *Agamemnon* are obvious:

> οἱ δ' ὥς τ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι
> πέτρῃ ἐφ' ὑψήλῃ μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχωνται
> ὣς οἱ κεκλήγοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ὄρουσαν.
>
> "They as two hook-clawed beak-bent vultures/ above a tall rock face, high-screaming, go for each other, /So now these two, crying aloud encountered together".

(Transl. R. Lattimore, 1951. *The Iliad of Homer*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).

Also *Od.* 16. 216-218, where the cry is this time associated to the pain of the vultures whose nests have been violated by farmers:

> Κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί,
> φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἷσι τε τέκνα
> ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι.
>
> "Loud were their cries and more unceasing than those of birds, ospreys or crook-clawed vultures, when farmers take away their young before their wings are grown".

(Transl. G. H. Palmer, 1891. *The Odyssey of Homer*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company).

Aeshylus thus combines the central aspects of the two Homeric passages: the cry of the vultures to presage violence and the association with the loss of young. *Vide* Dumortier 1975, 138.

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the idea of suffering inherent to parenthood: ἄλγος, a form of psychosomatic pain, is a kind of passive suffering resulting from an unexpected and uncontrollable loss; while πόνος is the much more active pain that results from the effort and commitment involved in protecting the young. Particularly central is the word παῖδες, which is rarely applied to animals (cf. A. *Pers.* 578), though it is related, in the same context, with ὀρτάλιχοι, a rare term that is appropriate for a bird's fledglings. Hence, παῖδες forms the link between this metaphoric context and the destiny of the house of Atreus.[3]

The divine power, identified with Apollo, Pan or Zeus,[4] sides with the victims and oversees their avenging (55-59):[5]

Ὕπατος δ' ἀίων ἤ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
γόον ὀξυβόαν τῶνδε μετοίκων
ὑστερόποινον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.

[3] The use of the word παῖδες to refer to animals' young has been commented on for its exceptionality and symbolic importance in this context. *Vide* Fraenkel 1962, 32; Bollack and Combe 1981, 63 n. 1.

[4] The specific mention of these three divinities, which has been much discussed, warrants further reflection. The god of Delphi and the lord of Olympus — Apollo and Zeus — undoubtedly enter the action of the *Oresteia* in defence of the young, and their participation is essential. Their role is to impose universal rules upon human behaviour, upon what underpins the whole trajectory of the Atreides — "a man must suffer to be wise" or "who kills dies." It also seem logical that, just as the vultures lament the loss of their young around the nest, so the Atreides will lament the loss of Helen, kidnapped from her home by an intruder. This Zeus that sympathises with the cries of the birds is Zeus Xenios, whose prerogative to protect the *xenia* has itself been harmed.

If we want to consider the two divinities from the more limited perspective of their relationship with the birds, Zeus's complicity with the eagle and vulture is clear, while Apollo in Delphi lives alongside the birds, which have come from Parnassus and inhabit the sanctuary (as testified by Euripides in *Ion*).

As for Pan, in contrast with the civilizational skills of Apollo and Zeus in human society, he is, above all, bound to the natural world, the remote mountains of Arcadia. Together, the three divinities embody a rejection of genocide by πόλις and φύσις in unison.

[5] "Above them a god — Apollo, Pan or Zeus -, before the shrill lament proclaimed in bird language by those residents of the skies, late or early, sends a Fury to pursue the guilty".

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Thus, the slaughter is rejected by the gods, who support the φύσις principle. It acquires the character of something hostile to the essence of the universe, which through the fundamental values of life, overseen by nature and the gods, is pervaded by a kind of φιλία or ξενία, resulting from the proximity between gods and birds, both occupants of the heights, who share a certain complicity.

It seems clear that the correspondence between the vultures and the omen of the eagles that comes later establishes a hierarchy between two levels of murder: first, the intolerable suffering that the loss of the young inflicts upon the parents and the community in general;[6] and second, the repercussions that this unleashes and which implicate the parents in the slaughter, transforming the guilt of filicide (by no means painless) into something congenital and paradoxical, so that the parents effectively become the cause of their own suffering.

There are echoes that consolidate the relationship between the images of the vultures and the eagles. The portent of war, θούριος ὄρνις (113), which accompanied the Atreides' departure for Troy, has a similar ambiguity through the bringing together of two images. For ὄρνις, 'bird,' is often used to mean 'omen,' and so the vultures and eagles are here associated with the signs presaging a destiny: while the latter destroy their prey's young, the former cry for the irreparable loss of their own young. Powerful and regal in flight, the two eagles up in the sky display themselves for all to see as they 'devour a pregnant hare with all her young' (119, βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν ἐρικυμάδα φέρματι γένναν). While the simile of the vultures was concerned above all with the pain caused by a slaughter that had already been consummated and its results exposed, this now requires a flashback in time so as to directly show the attack on the defenceless victims. Both mother and young are cut down in a single onslaught from a more powerful enemy. But the young continue at the centre of the new scene; for while the vultures' young were previously referred to as παῖδες and ὀρτάλιχοι, blurring the distinction between humans and animals, the hare's young are now φέρμα,[7] a 'product' of nature,

[6] The perpetrator of the slaughter is in this case obscure. The focus is on the victims and on the suffering that their loss causes. Divine punishment is universal, automatic, reactive and falls upon the perpetrator of the violence, whoever that may be. Thus, this is a universal and transverse law.

[7] This word is exclusive to Aeschylus, and outside of this passage is recorded only in *Supp.* 690, as 'the fruit of the earth.'

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which generalizes the destroyed object in its relationship with φέρειν ('produce,' the generic term for everything that nature provides within a cosmic equilibrium). That is to say, the omen of the eagles, in addition to the whole symbolic charge that has been recognised in it, represents, from the point of view that interests us in our study, the universalization of a type of slaughter which will be imposed during the course of the *Agamemnon*: the violent elimination of one's own young or progeny.

In an effective transposition, l. 124 links the symbolic images from the animal sphere with the intimate nature of the Atreides, who are described as "the devourers of the hare" (Ἀτρείδας μαχίμους … λαγοδαίτας); warlords, they feast, like the eagles, with similar brutal ferocity, on the defenceless young, daring to challenge the very essence of the *kosmos.* Then we move from warlords in general (as embodied by the Atreides) to the individualization of this particular slaughter as it is experienced by Agamemnon, which now acquires a new facet: the consciousness and voluntarism of the filicide act.

Just as the gods had previously expressed sympathy with the vultures deprived of their young, they now express revulsion before the eagle omen. This time it is Artemis, protectress of human and animal young, who imposes conditions upon the genocide process. The chorus refers to the goddess's reaction as such (134-137):[8]

> … οἴκτῳ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἁγνά
> πτανοίσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς
> αὐτόκον πρὸ λόχου μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισιν·
> στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.

The imminent campaign will clearly involve a massacre of innocents, the genocide of a people, whose future annihilation is one of the costs inherent to the enemy's victory. Avenging Paris' misdeed, while an act just in itself, unleashes a process that is illegitimate and destructive. It is as if, through her compassion, the goddess rationalizes the wails of the vultures as they lament the destruction of their nest. Φθόνος is the word used for this 'resentment,' which was ἄλγος in the case of the frustrated birds — a physical pain, which is transformed into zeal to vindicate a prerogative that the goddess feels affects her. It is this that gives rise to that divine hatred, redolent with

[8] "Taken with piety, pure Artemis resents how her father's winged hounds sacrificed the unfortunate hare and her unborn young. She hates the eagles' banquet".

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punishment and revenge. While the destruction of the hare's young is clearly a motif that prolongs the symbolism of the vulture simile, the idea of 'sacrifice' and 'vengeful hatred' also allows the omen to be connected with future events.[9]

Calchas' interpretation of the omen sheds light on the concepts that underpin it. Artemis's skills and the legitimacy of her intervention are now made clear (140-145), unlike the interventions of Apollo, Zeus and Pan for the loss suffered by the vultures:[10]

> Τόσον περ εὔφρων ἁ Καλά,
> δρόσοις ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων
> πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
> θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοισιν τερπνά,
> τούτων μ' αἰτεῖ ξύμβολα κρῖναι.

Certain epithets (εὔφρων, καλά) reserved for Artemis legitimize her prerogatives, the universal patronage she exerts over the regeneration of living creatures. A subtle interplay of qualifiers values the fragility of young creatures, even when the adult animal is perceived as being fierce. Though lions are 'ferocious' and the other animals 'wild,' their young are weak and dependent — δρόσος ('tender'). Indeed, this word, used for both 'young animal' and 'dew,' is also a metaphor for everything that is fragile and delicate ('everything that in nature requires protection'). This connotation seems to be exclusive to Aeschylus in this passage.

Accredited with these skills and legitimately zealous in their defence, Artemis imposes a condition upon the slaughter that is being prepared. The goddess counters the symbolic 'sacrifice' of the hares' fledglings and the terrible 'banquet' of the eagles with the demand for another 'sacrifice' — a monstrous one with a human victim, though this does not end in a 'banquet.' The symmetry between the enterprise and its cost is obvious in the words of the chorus and the soothsayer, Calchas, who interprets the omen as follows (150-155):[11]

[9] Dumortier 1975, 218, stresses the mysterious and sacred character of the scene evoked by the chorus in this mention of 'sacrifice.'

[10] "This is what the Beautiful Goddess, who is charmed by the tender young of ferocious lions and by the suckling young of all wild things, in her wisdom bade me reveal."

[11] "Demanding another illegitimate sacrifice, which does not mean a banquet, generator of discord in the bosom of the family and disrespectful of a spouse.

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Σπευδομένα θυσίαν ἑτέραν ἄνομόν τιν' ἄδαιτον
νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον, οὐ δεισήνορα· μίμνει
γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων Μῆνις τεκνόποινος.

With the ambiguity peculiar to oracles, the filicide is still hidden, though its monstrous nature has already been assessed. Of course the goddess's revenge transposes the replica of the 'sacrifice'[12] and 'banquet' to the public and domestic sphere of human experience.

Rather than divine displeasure, this crime warrants censure by social laws. It is ἄνομον, and also distorted in relation to the ritual because it is ἄδαιτον, 'without a banquet,' deprived of the sharing of meats that would make it a collective act. But rather than infringing social norms, it is the 'architect' of family strife, affecting the *oikos*, breaking the *philia*, that unites husbands and wives and their children. Through a social and affective trajectory, we are moving along the chain of civilization, which makes possible a society that can unite the various *oikoi.* If foundations of this society are affected — the preservation of younger generations and consequently of the future — society may crumble. For this reason, like the Erinyes, Cholera, the goddess of revenge, always attentive and merciless, puts herself on the side of the victims in order to punish the offender. Artemis delegates punishment to Μῆνις (a feeling rather than an abstract divinity).

Through this interplay of symbols the *parodos* establishes a universal principle, which is about to be contravened unreflectingly, despite the advice of the soothsaying Calchas. For the Atreides, a challenge has been issued, and from now on, they have to learn to deal with it through suffering ("man must learn through suffering;" πάθει μάθος, 177). Now, Argos definitively takes centre stage, functioning as a paradigm on a concrete human level.

Aulis, with its adverse winds, sets the scene and provides the conditions to confront Agamemnon with a dilemma (205-216); for this is no simple imposition that the goddess places upon him. She allows him a margin of decision, which brings responsibility and an opportunity for learning. This is the great contribution that Artemis brings

Because, ready to rise up, terrible, one day, a perfidious steward awaits, Cholera, who does not forget and seeks to avenge the children."

[12] On the sacrificial meaning that Aeschylus imposes upon the succession of violent acts in the *Oresteia*, see Zeitlin 1965, 463-508.

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to the supreme rule imposed and enforced by her Olympian father. Filicide, which now intervenes paradoxically as pain for the loss of a child, is bound up with the central matter underpinning the whole action: the war, as a site for the conquest of glory and prestige. The traditional view of warfare is now questioned — for to have the right to kill other people's children, one must also kill their own.

Following on from the chorus's first intervention, Aeschylus gives voice, in direct speech, to the king himself, a man of maximum authority because he is an *anax*, and privileged in experience because he is *presbys* (206-216):[13]

> Βαρεῖα μὲν κὴρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,
> βαρεῖα δ', εἰ τέκνον δαί-
> ξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,
> μιαίνων παρθενοφάγοισιν
> ῥείθροις πατρῴους χέρας
> πέλας βωμοῦ· τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν;
> Πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι
> ξυμμαχίας ἁμαρτών;
> παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας
> παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀρ-
> γᾷ περιοργῶς ἐπιθυ-
> μεῖν θέμις· Εὖ γὰρ εἴη.

In its brevity, the verbalization of Agamemnon's dilemma also functions as the announcement of the filicide plot. This act is 'grave,' whatever conditions determine it, and Agamemnon does not try to minimize the horror. He himself uses the word δαίξω, 'destroy,' about the proposed act, before speaking of it as a 'sacrifice' which legitimizes it as something demanded by the goddess. This reflection that Agamemnon is called upon to make privileges the human perspective of filicide: kinship, first and foremost, the assault on the bond between father and daughter (τέκνον … πατρῴους χέρας), and the value of family bonds and shared feelings which unite both members of the same *oikos*. In the 'household,' the young woman

[13] "Cruel is my destiny if I don't obey, cruel it is too if I kill my own daughter, jewel of my household, staining my father's hands, at the altar, with the spilt blood of a murdered maid. What decision brings no evil? How can I become a deserter and betray my allies? If this sacrifice of a maiden's blood will calm the winds, then with ardour, with deep ardour, I legitimately desire it. Let it work out well!"

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represents the promise of the future, the heir of a generation. The word 'jewel,' which now replaces the insistence upon progeny, acknowledges the real and affective value of the victim. Hence, the natural impulse is mixed with factors of a social, emotive and domestic order. The transposition of this possible slaughter from the animal sphere to the human brings ponderous new values.

Though Agamemnon's assessment of the situation is accurate in general terms, the legitimacy (θέμις) that he recognizes in filicide is his 'error.' This word, which comes right at the end of the reasoning process, is the expression of ἁμαρτία,[14] a wrong assumption, which has to become the object of clarification and comprehension.

The first word of the assessment, still in general terms, is urgent and comes from the chorus: it is, therefore, the echo of a public opinion, the voice of human society which unhesitatingly repudiates filicide, even when it is masquerading as sacrifice. This 'blasphemous unnatural cruelty' (δυσσεβῆ, ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, 219-220) places the death of Iphigenia in the scope of divine discord; but this act, in its human contours, is also repugnant because it is excessive (τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν, θρασύνει, 221-222), and because it is dictated by a reprehensible lack of reflection (αἰσχρόμητις, 222). Stripped of all rhetorical considerations, Agamemnon's speech is translated by the chorus into a few clear and elementary words (224-227): "Thus he dared to become the sacrificer of his own daughter (θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός),/ To support an army recover a wife / And pay the ransom (προτέλεια) for a fleet (50)."[15] Deprived of the duties of a military code, the campaign descends to the lowest level, which is established when a damsel is sacrificed in order to recover a *woman*.

To consolidate this global value judgement, the chorus recalls the previous sacrifice. For the first time in the accounts of the slaughter

[14] Fraenkel 1962, 123, values the use of ἁμαρτών (συμμαχίας ἁμαρτών, 213) with regard to Agamemnon's attitude towards his allies, as a decision that betrays a moral code, of which being a deserter is the consequence. In other words, the duties of command and the commitments of assumed alliance also bring a code of honour, which is imposed upon the general Agamemnon.

[15] Προτέλεια is a word charged with meaning. On the one hand, it is the 'preliminary sacrifice' made before embarking on a campaign; on the other hand, it is also a prenuptial ritual, which suits the παρθένος that is Iphigenia (209, 215, 245). As Zeitlin 1965, 466, points out, "instead of offering the *proteleia*, Iphigenia herself becomes the *proteleia*."

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of the young animals in the *Oresteia*, the victim is also given voice to express her feelings when facing her imminent death (228-247):[16]

Λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῴους
παρ'οὐδέν, αἰῶνα παρθένειον,
ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς·
Φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατὴρ μετ' εὐχάν
δίκαν χιμαίρας ὕπερθε βωμοῦ
πέπλοισι περιπετῆ παντὶ θυμῷ
προνωπῆ λαβεῖν ἀέρ-
δην στόματός τε καλλιπρῴ-
ρου φυλακᾷ κατασχεῖν
φθόγγον ἄραῖον οἴκοις.

Βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει·
κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα
ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτή-
ρων ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει
φιλοίκτῳ, πρέπουσά θ' ὡς
ἐν γραφαῖς προσεννέπειν
θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
ἔμελψεν, ἁγνᾷ δ' ἀταύ-
ρωτος αὐδᾷ πατρὸς
φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὔ-
ποτμον παιῶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

This is the moment when the gods withdraw (though the scene is the altar) to emphasise what is essential in the scene — the filicide. Two motifs acquire force in the narrative: kinship, which links father and daughter and is damaged by the violence; and affectivity, which is transmitted through the insistence on the word φίλος. Alhough ritualistic rules naturally govern the gestures and movements, there

[16] "Her prayers and appeals to her father, like her virginal age, were worthless before the lords that so loved war. After the prayers, her father ordered the slaves to wrap her in veils like a she-goat on the altar and pin her in desperation to the ground, she was seized, raised up, gagged, so she could not scare them with some curse against her household.

And this by the force and dumb violence of a brake. But while her saffron gown slides to the ground, with the dart of her gaze she hits each of her sacrificers beseeching mercy, like a dumb image. She who, so often, in her father's hall, had sung with the pure voice of a maiden, for her beloved father, a happy hymn of praise for the third libation."

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is a very human experience in each of them. The father (πατήρ is repeated insistently) positions himself coldly at a distance, ignoring the appeals, while he orders the blow. In opposition, the entire force of the scene lies in the strained and apotropaic silence of the victim. Iphigenia is, even so, 'a kid,' the perfect young she-goat[17] chosen for sacrifice; but the garments that slide off her do not allow us to forget that this is a young woman, whose resistance bursts out from the vitality of her gaze. She is undoubtedly animated by the will to survive — for she is a vigorous being in the prime of life; but this *natural* impulse is combined with a sensibility at the service of which Aeschylus places the vocabulary of φίλος. Iphigenia is aware that she is the victim of a collective will, and for this reason, she addresses her appeal to each one of her sacrificers ("Her eyes/ Search for her slaughterers') and then addresses the one she recognises as being the decision-maker with regard to her death, her father, to whom she is united by a reiterated φιλία (πατρὸς φίλου, παιῶνα φίλως), constructed through family memories of happier times. However, her addressees are immune to this φιλία, concerned only for that other cohesive bond, φιλομαχία, 'love of war' (φιλόμαχοι). Undoubtedly the scene of Iphigenia's sacrifice accumulates religious, political, military, and ethical meanings; but, in its essence, it is the unnatural assault on the life of one's child which is repugnant to both the φύσις and the οἶκος (where the essence of civilization is concentrated in an organized society). It is thus against the οἶκος that they fear the predictable imprecations.

The οἶκος is also the natural context for filicide resulting from the tensions that exist between kith and kin. It is in this direction that Cassandra's delirious vision is oriented, in remembering the past of the royal household of the Atreides. The momentous event which, at the moment of departure for Troy, seems an isolated act unleashed by divine anger, does have antecedents — a tradition, in the House of Atreus. Moving back in time to the previous generation, Cassandra labels it "a house hated by the gods" (μισόθεον, 1090), scenario of strange endemic violence, αὐτοφόνα and καρατόμα (1091),[18] which

[17] Fraenkel 1962, 133 reminds us of the meaning of χίμαιρα, the private name for a young she-goat, 'only a year old.'

[18] 'Who kills himself or his own with his own hands,' αὐτόφονα is a rare word (cf. A. *Sept.* 850) probably Aeschylus' own, to allude to a crime that primarily affects the οἶκος (cf. αὐτοκτόνος, *Sept.* 681, 734, 805). Καρατόμα, an equally rare word, specifies the previous crime and the form it takes ('cutting off heads').

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victimizes relatives and cuts off heads. In devouring his children, who were killed and cooked by his brother Atreus,[19] Thyestes is a kind of involuntary filicide (though he was of course responsible for the betrayal that motivated these atrocities). But Cassandra's eyes are fixed on the victims (1096-1097):[20]

> Κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς
> ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.

After alluding to the slaughter in which Thyestes does not participate, Cassandra focuses on the father that devoured his children to accommodate his own ambitions and passions. In a certain way, Thyestes's ambition resurges in Agamemnon, though it is experienced on a different level; the broader scope of the Trojan campaign amplifies and equalizes the space of the filicide, which in the past impinged particularly upon the οἶκος. The term now used for 'the young' (βρέφη, 'child or young that is still suckling milk') serves to connect the genocide with the cannibalistic banquet. There is a kind of distorted self-destructive food chain linking the child that feeds off his mother's milk and the father that feeds off his own child.

In a second version (1183), with which Cassandra elucidates the chorus about the obscure meanings of her visions, the theme of Thyestes' banquet returns (1217-1222):[21]

> Ὁρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους
> νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασιν;
> παῖδες θανόντες ὡσπερεὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,
> χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες, οἰκείας βορᾶς,
> σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,
> πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

The focus is once again on the victims, who have been expelled 'from the nest,' and are left unprotected at the door of the house where they

[19] The reinforced sense of βιβρώσκω ('eat avidly, devour') seems to sublimate the guilt or unnatural appetite to some extent, despite the involuntary nature of Thyestes's banquet.

[20] "Those children that cry before the blow, and those roast meats devoured by their father".

[21] "Look at these creatures sitting near the palace, young things, like forms in dreams. You could say they were children killed by their own relatives, with their hands full of meat — their own bodies offered as food — holding innards and entrails, piteous burden that a father tasted."

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belong. They are young and have an abstract archetypal dream-like appearance, like spirits of the dead which hovers near the houses that were once theirs, or appear in dreams, like a past memory. This is the most extreme example of the neglect that breaks the chain of *philia* between generations. With their entrails in their hands, and in total silence, the young display the aberrant crime that they have suffered. If the text concentrates on words like παῖδες, φίλων, πατήρ and those that precede them — which mark the genetic and emotive links of *oikos* — it is only in order to emphasise the rupture and criminal destruction of those bonds.

Once more, like indispensable agents in the murder process, the gods have a word to say and continue to exercise their role to bring about justice (1190-1192):[22]

> … συγγόνων Ἐρινύων·
> ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι
> πρώταρχον ἄτην …

Their relationship with the agents of the scene is 'congenital,' born not only from divine prerogative or skill but from a much deeper bond that takes on the appearance of an irrefutable curse. Their presence — in a house where the smell of blood lingers permanently — is constant; they represent memory, vigilance, and punishment for a series of crimes that proliferate from a primary *ate*, which becomes multiple and hereditary.

Later, when Aegisthus is confronted with the death of Agamemnon which he claims as a personal victory, he describes this episode in detail, which, in Cassandra's vision, is only alluded to in general terms (1583-1602). The chain of kinship continues to be priority in Aegisthus's account: "Atreus, lord of this land and father of this man (τούτου πατήρ) and my father Thyestes (πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν), and, to be clear, his own brother (αὑτοῦ δ' ἀδέλφον) …" (97). The fraternal divergences are made clear: this is a power struggle (ἀμφίλεκτος ὢν κράτει, 1585),[23] which led to the exile and later to the faked guilt-ridden *xenia*, that was the slaughter of Thyestes's children and the infamous banquet. Once more, the words that

[22] "the Furies of this race. Bound to this mansion, they sing the song of the initial crime".

[23] Aegisthus omits Thyestes' adultery as it does not suit his argument.

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construct another primordial sacrifice, and impose it as the predecessor of the one that victimizes Iphigenia, are repeated. Thus, the vulture simile and eagle omen are joined by the attack on Thyestes' sons (a congenital human example on the family plane that is of undeniable importance) as part of the central motif of filicide that Iphigenia's death represents. Aegisthus echoes the words that the chorus used in its condemnation of Iphigenia's sacrifice (1590-1593):[24]

> … ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατήρ
> Ἀτρεύς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως, πατρί
> τῷμῷ, κρεουργὸν ἦμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν
> δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.

On that past day in the life of the Atreides, kinship and family cooperation were subverted in the repetition of a flaw that became a permanent feature in that household. The gods and their rituals served as a pretext to legitimize a criminal sacrifice. In this respect, the death of Thyestes' children was in no way different from the death of Iphigenia, except for the cannibalistic banquet which did not occur at Aulis. Despite everything, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, sacrilegious and impious as it was, was ἄδαιτον (150); it did not result in a monstrous banquet with the flesh of his own children (δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν). Thyestes devours his own children in ignorance, without going through a dilemma similar to the one experienced by Agamemnon; he commits cannibalism (ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, 1597; cf. 1220), although, like Agamemnon, he was not immune to the horror of the act. For this reason, when he does, belatedly, become aware (ἐπιγνούς) of what he has done, he vomits up the food, which his body expels in natural revulsion. Then, he curses the whole race of the Pelopides, consolidating with a kind of omen the replication of the acts by his descendants in the future. In the episode of Atreus and Thyestes, everything happened on a more brutal and undoubtedly less rationalized level: the gods, though vaguely present in the sacrificial ritual that served as the scene for the slaughter, stand back to make way for humans; the motifs of ambition and power rivalry have lost their noble justification of honour that comes from the fulfilment of a

[24] "In a gesture of hospitality that was more committed than friendly, the impious father of this man, Atreus, feigning that he was celebrating joyfully a day of sacrifice, served my father a banquet with the flesh of his own sons".

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military code; and Thyestes, in the involuntary filicide that he was led to commit, lacked responsibility and choice — indeed, his ignorance should be pondered. These details, which mark the difference between the two acts, emphasise the political, religious, and ethical overlay of Iphigenia's sacrifice. This is the distance that separates an essentially archaic, mythical or savage impulse from a replica that is subjected to the pressure of the *nomoi* of another era, without — under the cloak of multiple conditions and arguments — the violent potential of the human φύσις having been controlled.

Finally, Aegisthus introduces to the motif of filicide developed in the *Agamemnon* a topic that is fundamental for the whole architecture of the *Oresteia*: the conjugal conflict provoked by the slaughter of Iphigenia. Clytemnestra, like Cassandra, refers to it in terms that are enigmatic — not in themselves but in the intentions they hide — the moment she receives her victorious husband, to justify the absence of Orestes (877-879):[25]

> Ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,
> ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστευμάτων,
> ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης.

With this observation, Clytemnestra affirms another bond embodied in her children: the pledge of conjugal loyalty and commitment. Killing a child fatally damages that bond that is the foundation of the *oikos.*

Cassandra reveals the true meaning behind the veiled threat in Clytemnestra's greeting before the violent deed takes place (1235-1237):[26]

> Θύουσαν Ἅιδου μητέρ' ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη
> φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὡς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο
> ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ.

Μήτηρ now replaces πατήρ, always the protagonist in the execution of filicide. She incarnates the murderous mother, angry and resentful, who bays for vengeance as a sort of flesh-and-blood Fury. Her revolt

[25] "That is also why our son is not here as he should be, the pledge of our commitment – Orestes."

[26] "This mother in fury, come from the depths of hell, who against her own wages a merciless war. What a cry she uttered, the audacious woman, as in front of a vanquished enemy".

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against the filicide completes the circle: first it was divine (Artemis), then social (the chorus), and now it becomes intimate and personal (the mother). In the name of *philia*, revenge for her love destroyed on the altar of Artemis, Clytemnestra attacks that same *philia* in an endemic plot in which the destruction of one family member leads to another. It is not by accident that, in this incipient fury, Cassandra stresses the cry (1236) that seems to announce a new campaign against an enemy, now a family member, as well as tremendous unhindered audacity (παντότολμος, 1237; cf. 221), as a direct reflex of the motivation that caused Agamemnon to raise his hand against Iphigenia. The sense of revenge thus reflected is fundamental in Agamemnon's murder.

Indeed, Clytemnestra, vengeful, declares this, amongst other motives, as she explains — while still covered with the blood of her victims — her actions to the audience. She describes the sacrifice of Iphigenia without value judgements as a deed that was done for a debatable cause; if the queen adds anything personal to the motif, it is her own role, till now omitted from the scene (1417-1418):[27]

> Ἔθυσεν αὑτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοί
> ὠδῖν', ἐπῳδὸν Θρηκίων ἀημάτων.

Although she expresses some elementary revulsion at the filicide, Clytemnestra focuses, for the most part, selfishly upon herself, her own pain, and on her maternal rights that have been disregarded (cf. 1524-1527). Rather than harming nature or wounding his own feelings, Agamemnon has hurt the mother, with total indifference, and she is now vindicating her rights to associate her act to the vengeful divinities (1431-1433); she believes her purposes are legitimate (θέμιν), just as Agamemnon claimed θέμις (217) in the decision to sacrifice Iphigenia. Clytemnestra identifies with Δίκη, Ἄτη and the Erinyes, calling upon herself the prerogatives of each of these forces of the justice and vengeance.

It is clear, then, that there is a consistent and continuous thematic line running through these passages from the *Agamemnon* which is amplified or extended in each successive stage. It moves from the animal simile, symbolic and exemplary, toward human experience

[27] "He sacrificed his own daughter, fruit of my entrails, to charm the Thracian winds".

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regarding something essential in nature: the chain of generations and everything that it represents from a point of view that is essentially φυσικόν, to which is added, in human society a set of religious, political, social, family, and affective assumptions. When this chain is broken, the divine majesty is prompted to intervene to restore order. War, as the human extension of a conflict inherent in the nature of all living things, implies genocide, in particular the rupture of the generational chain. This not only harms the vanquished, whose presence is marked by a sombre column of smoke; it also penalizes the vanquishers, as those who will have to pay for the loss of promising young lives.

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FEMALE GROUP VIOLENCE IN GREEK MYTH: A CASE STUDY ON THE LEMNIAN ANDROCTONY AND THE CRIME OF THE DANAIDS[1]

Nereida VILLAGRA

Some narratives depict collective murders done by women: the Maenads kill Orpheus, Pentheus is dismembered by a group directed by his own mother, the Lemnian women kill all the men of the island, and the Danaids murder their new husbands.[2] As far as I know, if we exclude war narratives, there are no parallel accounts of men killing in groups.[3] Groups of males do feature as the main focus of some traditions, for instance the Argonauts' expedition or the hunt of the Calydonian Boar. However, these accounts deal with positive motifs. Indeed, an expedition, hunting, or even war, although they involve violence, are not envisaged as crimes, whereas, when the collective violence is female, it manifests in horrible transgressions, such as wiping out a whole citizenship or a son being torn apart by his own mother.[4] The aim of this paper is to explore the degree to which the narratives on collective crimes commited by women convey the message that women are inherently wicked, thus reinforcing the negative description of the γένος γυκαινών in the archaic tradition, especially in Hesiod.[5]

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[2] Interestingly, in Euripides' version, Hecuba blinds Polymestor and kills his sons helped by the best Trojan women. See. E. *Hec*. 1042-1043; 1051-1052.

[3] On war and violence, see Van Wees 2000. For an approach to the concept of violence in tragedy, see Komorowska 2006. See also Ercolani 2005.

[4] On war, see Garlan 1972; Van Wees 2004. On the notion of transgression, see Mathieu 2004.

[5] Loraux 1978.

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The four traditions mentioned above can be classified into two types: those where a group of women confronts a group of men (the Lemnian and the Danaids narratives), and those where a group of women kills an individual man (Orpheus and Pentheus). This paper analyses the first narrative type.

The Lemnian Androctony

Several versions of the Lemnian androctony have been transmitted, mainly by post-classical and late texts, although it was already known to Pindar and Aeschylus.[6] The plot of the story can be broadly summarized as follows: due to a fault committed against Aphrodite's cult, the goddess punishes the Lemnians, either by inspiring in the husbands an unrestrained lust for Thracian women, or infecting the women with an unbearable stench. Because of the stench, the Lemnian men reject their wives and couple with Thracian women. Either way, the result is that the Lemnian women, angered by this behaviour — sometimes their anger is also sent by Aphrodite herself — kill all the men on the island, husbands, fathers and sons. Some sources say that Hypsipyle, King Thoas' daughter, is the only one who does not act with the others; she saves her father and helps him escape. No male inhabits the island of Lemnos after this slaughter, until the Argonauts arrive there and sleep with the women. Jason sleeps with Hypsipyle and sires Euneus.[7]

The idea of collectivity is present in every version of the myth and it is always narratively justified by the first fault committed: Aphrodite's cult is improperly fulfilled, which is a group activity. In most of the mythographical versions,[8] the responsibility for this first offence is with the Lemnian women.[9] Only a *scholion* to the *Iliad*

[6] A. *Ch*. 631-636, cf. note 14. Pi. *P*. 4.252-259 alludes to the murder committed by the women and Pindar already connects it with the Argonauts' tradition, but he does not give any details of how it happened.

[7] For interpretations of the myth, see Dumézil 1924; Burkert 1970; 1983, 190-196; Detienne 1983, 185-188.

[8] Asclepiades of Tragilos FGH12 F14 = sch. Hom. *Il*. 7.467; Apollod. 1.9.17 [114-115]; sch. A. R. 609–19a; Hyg. *Fab*. 15.

[9] Apollod. 1.9.17[114]: αἱ Λήμνιαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ἐτίμων. 'The Lemnian women didn't honour Aphrodite.' Sch. A. R. 609–19a: αἱ Λήμνιαι γυναῖκες

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that quotes Asclepiades of Tragilus blames the men for forgetting the honours due to the goddess.[10] Nevertheless, the important point here is that all these narratives are built upon a gender war: the collective error in the cult of the goddess of *eros* — regardless of whether it was the men's or the women's fault — entails a punishment of the women, an irregularity in sexual intercourse. Indeed, the Lemnian men, all of them, reject intimate relations with their wives, and sleep with foreign women, the Thracians. It is worth noting that none of the texts refers to the feminine condition as the trigger of the women's crime. They mention, instead, a rage or impulse sent by Aphrodite, or a pestilence, also sent by the goddess. The stress is on the divine punishment.[11]

ἐπιπολὺ τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τιμῶν κατολιγωρήσασαι, καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν θεὸν ἐκίνησαν. 'As the Lemnian women neglected the honours to Aphrodite for a long time, they turned the goddess against themselves.' Hyg. *Fab*. 15: *In insula Lemno mulieres Veneri sacra aliquot annos non fecerant, cuius ira uiri earum Thressas uxores duxerunt et priores spreuerunt.* 'On the island of Lemnos the women for several years did not make offerings to Venus, and because of her anger their husbands married Thracian wives and scorned their former ones.' (Translation by M. Grant 1960).

[10] FGH12 F14: Λήμνιοι, τὰς ἐξ ἔθους τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ θυσίας μὴ ἀποδιδόντες, καθ'αὑτῶν θάνατον ἐνομοθέτησαν. 'The Lemnian men didn't offer Aphrodite the accustomed sacrifices and they ordained their own death.'

[11] FGH12 F14: ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ τῶν Λημνίων ἔκτοπον λύσσαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι πάσας ἀνδροκτονεῖν. 'A rage out of the ordinary seized the women of the Lemnians, and so they decided by vote that they would all kill the men.' Sch. A. R. 609–19a: πάσαις γὰρ δυσοσμίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς μηκέτι αὐτὰς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρέσκειν. τῶν δὲ πρὸς Θρᾷκας ἐχόντων πόλεμον καὶ παλλακὰς ἐκεῖθεν αἰχμαλώτους λαμβανόντων καὶ ἀποστραφέντων τὰς γνησίας γαμετὰς κατὰ τὴν τῆς θεοῦ ὀργήν, ἐψηφίσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες νύκτωρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνελεῖν. 'Thus, she inflicted a stench upon them all [the women] and, as a consequence, they no longer pleased their men. They waged a war against Thrace and took girls from there as captives and rejected their own legitimate wives due to the goddess' wrath. The women decided by vote that they would kill the men during the night.' Apollod. 1.9.17[114]: ἡ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐμβάλλει δυσοσμίαν. 'She [Aphrodite] sent a stench upon them.' Hyg. *Fab*. 15: *at Lemniades eiusdem Veneris impulsu coniuratae genus uirorum omne quod ibi erat interfecerunt*. 'But the Lemnian women (all except Hypsipyle), instigated by the same Venus, conspired to kill the whole tribe of men who were there.' (Translation by M. Grant 1960). Note that these two motifs, the rage sent by the divinity and the stench, overlap in the version given by the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius and maybe in Asclepiades' version, if my interpretation of the text is accepted. See Villagra Hidalgo in press.

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Interestingly, the two versions transmitted by *scholia* explain how the Lemnian women resolve to kill the men and both describe the action with the verb ψηφίζω, which expresses the act of deciding something by vote. The sources of these texts are unknown. However, the fact that the *Tragōidoumena* of Asclepiades of Tragilus are thought to have been some sort of collection of summaries of tragedies points to the idea that these versions reflect a tragic, and thus civic, treatment of the myth. It is therefore likely that the Lemnian conflict is being projected onto the framework of the *polis* in these texts. The conflict, cultural first and sexual second, would be reused to speak of a conflict of political legitimacy: the Lemnian women kill the men because they feel a threat to their role as legitimate wives. This idea is widely developed by Valerius Flaccus.[12]

Unlike these versions, Aeschylus, the oldest source for the Lemnian androctony, does not include the motif of sex war, but refers to the conflict in allusive and ambiguous terms. He considers the whole population of the island a victim of terrible disgrace caused by the women.[13] Some verses before, the tragedian refers to women as carriers of evil, which would fit with the view of women as a *genos kakos*. However, some verses after this consideration — which is made in the context of a reference to Clytemnestra — Aeschylus accepts the existence of women who are not daring.[14]

[12] Val. Fl. 2.77-330. Regarding the conflict between legitimate wives and foreign wives, see also Hdt. 6.138, who conveys an account of the attitude of Lemnian women towards the children of foreign women, which parallels these narratives in many aspects.

[13] A. *Ch.* 631-636: κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον / λόγῳ· γοᾶται δὲ δημόθεν κατά- / πτυστον· ἦκασεν δέ τις / τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πήμασιν. / θεοστυγήτῳ δ' ἄγει / βροτῶν ἀτιμωθὲν οἴχεται γένος. 'Of all evil, the Lemnian is the first, according to the story. Among the people it is an abominable deed and since then anyone compares his own disgrace to the Lemnian calamities. For this stain hateful to the gods, the lineage became extinct, despised by mortals.'

[14] A. *Ch.* 596-601: γυναικῶν φρεσὶν τλημόνων / παντόλμους ἔρωτας, ἄ- / ταισι συννόμους βροτῶν; συζύγους δ' ὁμαυλίας / θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως παρανικᾷ / κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν. '[Who will refer] to the passions of daring women, partners of ruin for mortals? The desire without love which dominates the female perverts the wedded unions of animals and of humans.' A. *Ch.* 629-630: τίων [δ'] ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων, / γυναικείαν ἄτολμον αἰχμάν. 'But I honour a hearth in the homes which is not ardent, a female spear not daring.'

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Apollonius Rhodius includes the motif of the cult neglect and depicts the tension between men and women: the Lemnian men reject their wives and unite with the slaves they brought back from their incursion into Thrace.[15] Nevertheless, this opposition is not as radical as in the mythographical texts, for the Alexandrian poet is ambiguous about whose is the first fault. On one hand, Aphrodite's wrath seems to pursue (ὀπάζε) the men's attitude. At the same time, however, the poet suggests that the women's jealousy is what triggered their transgression. Indeed, the placement of the sentence ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὄπαζε / Κύπριδος οὕνεκά μιν γεράων ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἄτισσαν allows two different interpretations. It could refer to the sentence before, which talks about the men's attitude, or to the following sentence referred to the women's 'terrible insatiable jealousy'. It thus points to an error, but does not specify who acted wrongly. The subject of ἄτισσαν could be the women, as this syntagm is placed closer. However, it cannot be ruled out that it could be referring to the men or to all Lemnians in general.

Thus, although in this Apollonian passage the Lemnian women are characterized as transgressors due to their feminine nature, which fits with the archaic idea of women as a dangerous other, the fact that divine wrath intervenes, together with the fact that the first mistake is unclear and ambiguous, softens the image of intrinsic female perversity. Valerius Flaccus' version, which is much longer, revolves around these two same ideas. In his poem, Aphrodite rouses the women's jealousy so intensely that they take up arms against the men.

[15] A.R. 1.609-616: Ἔνθ' ἄμυδις πᾶς δῆμος ὑπερβασίῃσι γυναικῶν / νηλειῶς δέδμητο παροιχομένῳ λυκάβαντι. / δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας / ἀνέρες ἐχθήραντες, ἔχον δ' ἐπὶ λῃάδεσσι / τρηχὺν ἔρον, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀγίνεον ἀντιπέρηθεν / Θρηικίην δῃοῦντες· ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὄπαζε / Κύπριδος, οὕνεκά μιν γεράων ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἄτισσαν. / ὦ μέλεαι ζήλοιό τ' ἐπισμυγερῶς ἀκόρητοι· / οὐκ οἷον σὺν τῇσιν ἑοὺς ἔρραισαν ἀκοίτας / ἀμφ' εὐνῇ, πᾶν δ' ἄρσεν ὁμοῦ γένος, ὥς κεν ὀπίσσω / μή τινα λευγαλέοιο φόνου τείσειαν ἀμοιβήν. 'There, the previous year, the whole citizenry had been taken down at the same time, ruthlessly, due to the women's transgression. For the men repudiated their legitimate wives and hated them, but they felt a crude desire for the captives they had brought from the other side when they plundered Thrace; afterwards, the terrible wrath of Aphrodite followed, for she had been deprived of her honours for too long. Oh disgraceful women of terrible insatiable jealousy! Not only did they destroy their husbands together with the other women, next to their beds, but all the male race equally, in order to avoid paying justice for their crime in the future.'

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They win the battle and exterminate all the males because they have a deity fighting at their side.[16]

It is worth pointing out that none of the texts on this episode describes the Lemnian crime as a consequence of the women gathering together and forming a group. On the contrary, the context of Aeschylus' reference to it is embedded in a list of female murderers who commit their crimes individually.[17]

Finally, there is an exception in the Lemnian group: Hypsipyle does not kill her father, but saves him and helps him to escape. She already features in the Homeric epics, where she is mentioned as Euneus' mother.[18] However, the rescue of Thoas seems to be a Euripidean innovation.[19] The contrast between Hypsipyle and the rest of

[16] Val. Fl. 2.98-101: c*ontra Veneris stat frigida semper / ara loco, meritas postquam dea coniugis iras / horruit et tacitae Martem tenuere catenae. / quocirca struit illa nefas Lemnoque merenti / exitium furiale movet*. 'But there Venus' altar stands ever cold, since the day when the goddess trembled before her husband's righteous anger, while Mars lay bound in the noiseless-woven fetters. For this cause she is plotting evil and scheming destruction for guilty Lemnos like some Fury.' 2.126-134: *hanc super incendit Venus atque his vocibus implet: / 'vade age et aequoream, virgo, delabere Lemnon / et cunctas mihi verte domos, praecurrere qualis / bella soles, cum mille tubas armataque campis / agmina et innumerum flatus cum fingis equorum. / adfore iam luxu turpique cupidine captos / fare viros carasque toris inducere Thressas. / haec tibi principia, hinc rabidas dolor undique matres / instimulet. mox ipsa adero ducamque paratas*. 'Venus inflames her yet more and inspires her with these words: "Up, thou! get thee down to sea-girt Lemnos and stir up every home for me, even as when thou comest heralding war, bringing tales of a thousand trumpets and armed multitudes on the plains and the snortings of countless chargers. Tell how the men are coming, enslaved by delicate living and shameful lust, and are bringing women from Thrace to share the bed of love. Be that the outline of thy tale; from that let resentment sting and madden every woman far and wide; presently I myself will come and lead them thus wrought upon.' 2.225-226: *adeo ingentes inimica videri / diva dabat, notaque sonat vox coniuge maior.* 'So huge did the angry goddess make the women seem, and their voice rings louder than the wife they knew.' (Translations by J. H. Mozley 1928).

[17] A. *Ch*. 585-638.

[18] *Il*. 7.469. The name of this character also provides the title of a lost Aeschylean tragedy (TGF 3 Ὑψιπύλη, 352). The preserved fragments are scanty and poor. However, the plot of the piece may have dealt with the union of the Lemnian women and the Argonauts, focusing on Hypsipyle's and Jason's union. Sophocles' tragedy titled *The Lemnian Women* (TGF 4 Λημνιαί, 336-338) seems to have dealt with this same story and not with the androctony.

[19] Hypsipyle's dissension is not documented until Euripides, who also composed a tragedy with the title *Hypsipyle*, which is also in fragmentary state (TGF 5.2

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the group is first developed by Apollonius Rhodius in the *Argonautica*, where she is set up as a model because of her respectful attitude towards the patriarchal order, in contrast with the dangerous behaviour of the group. It is important that the Greek imaginary had space for this counterexample. In other words, even though the group of women is dangerous because they end up killing their husbands, sons and fathers, and, eventually, the whole community,[20] there is room for an exception. There is hope for coexistence of the two sexes: Hypsipyle's respect for the patriarchal order.[21]

The Danaids

The myth about the daughters of Danaus is complex and articulates different traditions.[22] The story can be summarised as follows: Danaus has fifty daughters by various women and his brother Aegyptus has fifty sons. Due to reasons that vary from one version to another,

(71) Ὑψιπύλη, 730-742). In this piece she already appeared as the saviour of her father, but the piece did not deal with this episode but rather with its consequences The following plot was proposed by Bond (1936): when the Argonauts stayed at Lemnos, Hypsipyle had two children by Jason, who took them with him when he left the island. The androctony took place afterwards and Hypsipyle had to escape for having saved her father and ended up being sold as a slave to the kings of Nemea, where she was appointed to raise the child of the king. After some adventures, the play ends with the reunion of Hypsipyle and her children. It has been proposed that the purpose of these innovations was to locate Hypsipyle in Nemea (see Collard & Cropp 2008, 250-260; Bond 1963). In contrast, the narrative attributed to the *Tragōidoumena* of Asclepiades of Tragilos refers to Hypsipyle as the most powerful woman on the island, the one who united with Jason and became mother of Euneus, but she does not rescue Thoas.

[20] Amazons are the best example of the notion of the danger of the female. For the Amazons see Blok 1995, *passim* but especially 104-126 and 145-154, and also Iriarte Goñi 2002.

[21] In literature after Euripides, Hypsipyle is always known for detaching herself from the group attitude. Interestingly enough, there is a *scholion* in which also Thoas dies. Sch. E. *Hec.* 887: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἱ Λήμνιαι γυναῖκες τοὺς σὺν Θόαντι πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. δι' ἀμφότερα οὖν ταῦτα ἡ παροιμία ἐδόθη· τὰ Λήμνια κακά. 'And after that the Lemnian women killed them all, including Thoas. Therefore, the expression "Lemnian evils" exists for these two reasons.'

[22] For an interpretation of the myth, see Bonner 1902; Dowden 1989, 147-165; Auffarth 1999, 39-48. On the Danaids and marriage, see Detienne 1988; Zeitlin 1996, 123-171; Belfiore 2000, 41-61.

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Danaus has to leave his city and goes to Argos with all his daughters. Aegyptus' sons want to marry the Danaids and so they pursue them. The girls reject their proposal at first, yet a mass wedding takes place. Danaus orders his daughters to kill their new husbands on the wedding night. So they do, all except Hypermnestra, who saves Lynceus.[23] According to a local myth, Hypermnestra is then pursued by her father, but is finally exonerated in a trial. In other versions the Danaids are purified and married to the winners of a contest. Late sources refer to an exemplary punishment after their death. I will focus on the episode of the murder of Aegyptus' sons, which is preserved mainly by mythographical sources.[24]

The element that brings this group together is their patrilineal origin. Texts refer to them either with the patronymic 'Danaids' or with the term θυγατέρες or *filiae*, designating their kinship with Danaus. The group is thus placed within the frame of the *oikos.* Pindar already knows the canonical number of fifty Danaids.[25] Fifty is a number that appears also in other myths, for instance associated with the Nereids and the Argonauts. It probably expresses the notion of collectivity.[26]

The slaughter of the Aegyptiades is explained in two different ways. Aeschylus' texts allude to the Danaids' rejection and fear of their cousins and the wedding, and especially the illegitimacy of the wedding sought by the Aegyptiades as it is not approved by the gods.[27]

[23] Amymone is another Danaid who is not a murderer. See Apollod. 2-1-4[14].

[24] Apollod. 2.1.4-5[12-22]; Hyg. *Fab*. 168; sch. Pi. *P*. 10a-b. Aeschylus' tragedy which dealt with this episode is very poorly preserved. There are very few fragments of it: TGF 3 Δαναίδες, 157-161. See Lucas de Dios 2008.

[25] *N*. 10.1-2: Δαναοῦ πόλιν ἀγλαοθρό- / νων τε πεντήκοντα κορᾶν, Χάριτες, […]. 'Carites [sing] of the city of Danaus and the fifty girls of the illustrious throne.' The number of Danaus' daughters is not stated in *Suppl*. but is defined by analogy with their cousins. *Suppl*. 320: {Χο.} Δαναός, ἀδελφὸς δ' ἐστὶ πεντηκοντάπαις. 'His name is] Danaus, and he has a brother who has fifty children.' In the other sources their number is also fifty.

[26] This idea contrasts with the fact that Apollodorus transmits a catalogue of the Danaids in which they are named individually (Apollod. 2.1.5[17-20]). However, the listing of collective characters into catalogues is a common mythographical procedure. We also have catalogues of Sirens, Argonauts and Muses. See Scarpi 1996, 428, 498, 651, cf. 474. Hyginus also gives a catalogue of Danaus' daughters and those killed by them: Hyg. *Fab*. 170.

[27] A. *Pr*. 860-867: οἱ δ' ἐπτοημένοι φρένας, / κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελειμμένοι, / ἥξουσι θηρεύοντες οὐ θηρασίμους / γάμους, φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων ἕξει

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Conversely, mythographical texts consider the crime a consequence of a political transgression, for either the Aegyptiades throw Danaus out of his city, or Aegyptus wants to kill him and his daughters in order to assume power.[28] Either way, the point here is that in both versions Danaus appears to be a leader for his daughters. Although the slaughter is not related in Aeschylus' *Supplices*, the tragedy clearly depicts Danaus as a guide for the girls, who entirely accept his authority and follow him.[29] In the mythographical accounts, he is the one who plots the killing, sometimes even handing his daughters a sword or telling them what to do.[30] As a result, there is a clear difference between the

θεός / Πελασγία δὲ δέξεται θηλυκτόνῳ / Ἄρει δαμέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει· / γυνὴ γὰρ ἄνδρ' ἕκαστον αἰῶνος στερεῖ, / δίθηκτον ἐν σφαγαῖσι βάψασα ξίφος. 'With excited minds, falcons which approach doves, they will come seeking weddings that should not be sought. The god will deny them their bodies and the Pelasgian land will receive them with an Ares of killing women, for they will be tamed by the insolence that watches by night. Indeed, each woman will take each man's life and will stain her double-edged sword in the slaughter.' A. *Supp*. 9-10: γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ' / ὀνοταζόμεναι <διάνοιαν>. 'We detested the impious wedding with Aegyptus' sons.' On the reasons for the flight of the Danaids see MacKinnon 1978, 74-82.

[28] Apollod. 2.1.4[12]: στασιασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕστερον, Δαναὸς τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας δεδοικώς, ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναῦν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνθέμενος ἔφυγε. 'They [Danaus and Aegyptus] finally quarrelled about sovereignty. As Danaus was afraid of Aegyptus' sons he followed Athena's advice and built a ship for the first time. He embarked his daughters and escaped.' Hyg. *Fab*. 168: *Danaus Beli filius ex pluribus coniugibus quinquaginta filias habuit, totidemque filios frater Aegyptus, qui Danaum fratrem et filias eius interficere uoluit ut regnum paternum solus obtineret; filiis uxores a fratre poposcit*. 'Danaus, son of Belus, had fifty daughters by as many wives, and his brother Aegyptus had the same number of sons. Aegyptus wished to kill Danaus and his daughters, so he alone might hold the paternal kingdom; he asked his brother for wives for his sons.' (Translation by M. Grant 1960).

[29] A. *Supp*. 11-13: Δαναὸς δὲ πατὴρ καὶ βούλαρχος / καὶ στασίαρχος τάδε πεσσονομῶν / κύδιστ' ἀχέων ἐπέκρινεν. 'Danaus, my father, adviser and chief, arranging the pieces has decided the best solution to this pain.'

[30] Apollod. 2.1.5[21]: ὡς δὲ ἐκληρώσατο τοὺς γάμους, ἑστιάσας ἐγχειρίδια δίδωσι ταῖς θυγατράσιν. 'After assigning the couples, he [Danaus] holds a banquet and gives his daughters the swords.' Hyg. *Fab*. 168: *Danaus ut uidit se eis obsistere non posse, pollicetur eis filias suas uxores ut pugna absisterent. impetratas sorores patrueles acceperunt uxores, quae patris iussu uiros suos interfecerunt. sola Hypermestra Lynceum seruauit*. 'When Danaus saw that he could not resist them, he promised them his daughters if they would give up the fight. They took as wives the cousins they had demanded, but the girls, at their father's command, killed their husbands, all but Hypermnestra, who saved Lynceus.' (Translation by M Grant 1960).

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Danaids and the Lemnian women, for the former follow a man's orders. Also, the crime of the Danaids is substantially different from that committed by the Lemnians. Whereas the latter come to be an independent group, the former remain under the patriarchal order. I suggest that the conflict between the Lemnians can be interpreted as an expression of the tension between men and women within the frame of the *polis*. The case of the Danaids clearly opposes the paternal *oikos* to the marital *oikos*, and in both *oikoi* the holder of power is a male.[31] Therefore, the crime is caused by a masculine element either way and, in fact, it is never explained as being a consequence of women's intrinsic violence.[32] Indeed, in *Supplices*, Aeschylus stresses the fear and repulsion for marriage felt by the girls, who are never depicted as naturally mean or violent.

There is an exception in the collective crime of the Danaids, as in the Lemnian story. Hypermnestra distances herself from the group and saves her husband. Pausanias informs us that a sculpture is dedicated to her in Delphi, next to a sculpture of Danaus, celebrating her as the only daughter who kept her hands clean.[33] In contrast with Hypsipyle, the tradition of Hypermnestra's dissension is attested early. Pindar already knows it,[34] and so does Aeschylus.[35] Mythographical texts also give accounts of it.[36] To sum up, again, the female group is not a uniform and unbreakable unity. On the contrary, by

[31] Zeitlin 1996, 143-146.

[32] However, Zeitlin's observation should be taken into account (1996, 140): 'Yet refusal of love and desire, rejection of courtship, engenders its opposite — martial resolve — and the Danaids declare war, as it were, on their suitors.'

[33] Paus. 10.10.5: ἡρώων δέ εἰσιν αἱ εἰκόνες, Δαναὸς μὲν βασιλέων ἰσχύσας τῶν ἐν Ἄργει μέγιστον, Ὑπερμήστρα δὲ ἅτε καθαρὰ χεῖρας μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν. 'There are two sculptures in the temple. One of Danaus, the greatest of the kings who ruled in Argos, and one of Hypermnestra, the only sister who kept her hands clean.'

[34] *N.* 10.6: οὐδ' Ὑπερμήστρα παρεπ'λάγχθη, μονό- / ψαφον ἐν κολ<εῷ> κατασχοῖσα ξίφος. 'And Hypermnestra did not get it wrong when she, the only one, decided to keep her sword in its scabbard.'

[35] A. *Pr.* 865-868: μίαν δὲ παίδων ἵμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ / κτεῖναι σύνευνον, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται / γνώμην· δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον βουλήσεται, / κλύειν ἄναλκις μᾶλλον ἢ μιαιφόνος. 'Love will persuade one of the daughters not to kill her husband. On the contrary, her will shall be softened and, of the two options, she will prefer to be called weak than killer.'

[36] Apollodorus' rationalising version is interesting: Apollod. 2.1.5[22]: αἱ δὲ κοιμωμένους τοὺς νυμφίους ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν Ὑπερμνήστρας· αὕτη γὰρ Λυγκέα διέσωσε παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα. 'They killed their husbands while they slept,

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respecting the marriage bond over the patriarchal order, Hypermnestra becomes a positive model.

The exceptions in both traditions establish a double contrast for not only is the female condition opposed to the male condition, but individuality is opposed to collectivity. Hypermnestra's attitude towards her husband is opposed to her sisters' acts in the same way that Lynceus' behaviour is contrary to that of his brothers. From this point of view, one can argue that the contrast between individual behaviour and group behaviour depicts the individual as positive, but characterises the group as negative. This is arguable and deserves further consideration, because from the point of view of Danaus, Hypermnestra does wrong, as does Hypsipyle from the perspective of the other Lemnian women. Also, the groups of women are finally forgiven and return to the normal order. The Danaids are purified and married to the winners of a competition[37] and the Lemnians recover a gender balance thanks to the arrival of the Argonauts to the island.[38]

One last observation on the notion of collectivity. At the beginning of this paper I asked whether female groups were seen as evil because there are no accounts of groups of men committing comparable murders. It is true that men are the victims of the assassinations in both cases. However, in the accounts of both the Lemnians' and the Danaids' crimes, the female group is constantly opposed to the male group and the guilt is shared. The terrible actions of the women never start at their own impulse, but are a response to a previous fault committed by the men. Though it is not these male groups who kill, they are clearly depicted as transgressors. In the Lemnian tradition they either neglect the cult or offend their wives. In the accounts of the Danaids, they either seek an impious marriage or they attack their uncle. The feminine group is responding *en masse* to an attack that is also collective. The texts are very clear about this. Thus, there is

except for Hypermnestra. She saved Lynceus because he had respected her virginity.' cf. Hyg. *Fab*. 168 supra.

[37] Pi. *P*. 9. 111-116; Paus. 3.12.2. Though Hygin *Fab*. 168 describes them as punished in Hades: *ob id ceterae dicuntur apud inferos in dolium pertusum aquam ingerere*. ' (…) but the others are said to carry water to fill a leaky jar in the Lower World.' (Translation by M. Grant 1960).

[38] Pi. *P*. 4.252-259. Cf. note 19 for fragmentary tragedy. The mythographical texts also know this episode, cf. note 8.

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a sort of narrative symmetry: if men also function as a transgressor group, the collective condition does not work as a characterisational category that defines either the men or the women. As a consequence, I consider the fact that the crimes of the Danaids and the Lemnian women are collective fits the idea that women are an evil race, but does not have its main motivation in it. In other words, its main message is not to describe the wicked nature of women. I believe that both traditions — and in both traditions, each account with its particular nuance — are presenting the tensions of marriage within the *polis* or within the *oikos* and underlining how important it is to respect the balance of the marriage pact, as Detienne referred to it.[39]

[39] Zeitlin 1996, 149-160; Detienne 1988, 171-172, cf. 173 on the idea of violence as an expression of the marriage union: 'les Danaïdes révèlent que, si le contrat social du mariage peut exorciser le sang et la guerre entre les plus proches ou les plus semblables, le chiffre de l'union entre la femme et l'homme est la violence, que la violence est à jamais fondatrice.'

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'VISUAL' METAPHORS OF VIOLENCE: REPRESENTATIONS OF SUBMISSION ON ROMAN COINS*

Marco VITALE

Peoples conquered or defeated temporarily by the Romans were usually listed on tablets and displayed as figurines during triumphal parades. Such representational programmes have been handed down to us not only in literary form such as the triumphal parades of Pompey the Great or Augustus, but also as coin series such as triumphal coinage and as groups of reliefs such as the tribes (*ethne*) in the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias (SW-Turkey). These media exhibit those conquered in different forms, prevalently as symbols or personifications. The sequence from military victory to submission has its most prominent expression on the reverse designs of imperial coins. Violent motifs may be divided into several categories, each with primary types. Our article distinguishes five different types of submission: combat, violence against captives, submission and surrender, formal submission, and informal submission by virtue of an alliance treaty. Decisive for the interpretation of the various types are the corresponding coin legends as they often specify the respective events and contexts of coining in several ways using standard formulations, such as *Dacia capta* ("conquered"), *Iudaea devicta* ("defeated"), *Asia recepta* ("regained"), *victoria de Germanis* ("victory over"), *Arabia adquisita*, ("acquired") *Arabia in formulam provinciae redacta* ("transformed into a province") or *rex Armeniis datus* ("a king having been given"). Such formulaic phrases present different versions of similar political events. For example, the annexation of a territory and its establishment as a new Roman province occurs in at least four versions, each of them

* Acknowledgements: This paper goes back to an extensive analysis of Roman representations of subjugated people developed in a habilitation thesis accepted by the University of Zurich (*Das Imperium in Wort und Bild: Römische Darstellungsformen beherrschter Gebiete in Inschriftenmonumenten, Münzprägungen und Literatur*). I would like to thank Nina King for her carefully reading and correcting this article.

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rendering different degrees or aspects of annexation. Was there any coherent order of arrangement according to administrative, legal or political criteria on both the depictions and the coin legends?

The dominantly recurring formula reads *capta*, "conquered". In chronological order, it occurs as follows: *Aegypto capta* (Augustus); *Armenia capta* (Augustus); *Iudaea capta* (Vespasian/Titus); *Germania capta* (Domitian); *Dacia capta* (Trajan); *Parthia capta* (Trajan).



Fig. 1: Domitian (86 AD); rev: GERMANIA CAPTA – SC; Ref: RIC ²2, 297 No. 463.[1]

More elaborate and mostly juridical formulations refer in particular to eastern annexations under Trajan. According to milestones from today's Jordania, Arabia was *in formulam provinciae redacta*.[2] Interestingly, the process of taking over the Nabatean kingdom also appears in coin legends as *Arabia adquisita*[3] implying that the action took place rather peacefully, and that is probably why no *Arabia capta* type is attested.[4] Accordingly, Trajan never adopted the victory title *Arabicus*, whereas he took the title *Dacicus* to commemorate his victory over the Dacian king Decebalus of about the same period as the annexation of Arabia.

[1] Picture: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 174, 27.09.2010 No. 757; AE 26, 23g.

[2] "Arabia has been transformed into a province": CIL 3, 14149, 19; 21; 29; 30; 39; 42; 50; 3, 14150, 11; AE 1897, 65; 143; 1904, 59; 1995, 1604; 1606.

[3] "Arabia has been acquired"; ARABIA ADQ: Woytek 2010, 390-391 No. 396; 408 No. 436; 415-416 No. 454-456; ARAB ADQVIS: Woytek 2010, 377-378 No. 363-365; 379-380 No. 370; 386 No. 385-387; 414-415 No. 451-453; ARAB ADQVISIT: 377 No. 362.

[4] Cf. Bowersock 1983, 81: "Obviously there was no major war for Arabia which could be compared in any way with the war in two phases for the conquest of Dacia"; see also Wesch-Klein 2008, 39-40; 294-295.

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Fig. 2: Trajan (111 AD); rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI – S C ARAB(ia) ADQVIS(ita); Ref: RIC 2, 278 No. 466; Woytek 2010, 378 No. 365.[5]

Indeed, the differing designs of the *Arabia*-types on the one hand and for example the *Germania*- or *Dacia*-types on the other hand reflect different views of submission. Whilst Dacia/Germania was formally *capta* and therefore represented in this way, Arabia was integrated into the Roman *oikoumene* mainly through an act of diplomacy. There is no depiction of Arabian captives or of a collapsing or mourning personification of Arabia in the relatively well-documented coinage concerning its annexation. Instead, we find a standing Arabia holding a branch and a bundle of cinnamon sticks and at her feet a camel walking. At about the same time, coin legends announced the addition of the short-lived province of Mesopotamia as *in potestatem populi Romani redacta.*[6]



Fig. 3: Trajan (116/117 AD); rev: ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P R REDACTAE / S – C; Ref: RIC 2, 289 No. 642; Woytek 2010, 478-479 No. 590.[7]

[5] Picture: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 236, 07.10.2013 No. 1039; AE 23,52g.

[6] "Mesopotamia has been put under the power of the Roman people".

[7] Picture: Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auktion 211, 04.03.2013 No. 600.

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Was there any coherent order of arrangement of coin designs and legends in combination? Which representation of submission corresponded to which coin legend? Were these correspondences always legally or historically 'correct'? We can divide violent motifs on imperial coinage into several categories,[8] each with primary types and each featuring the single steps of the annexation and integration of a community into the Roman sphere of control:

1. First, we have those types depicting scenes of combat, such as images of the mounted emperor or of a Roman horseman charging into battle and trampling down enemies or scenes of the emperor or a divinity (Roma, Victoria) metaphorically engaged in single combat. Such types are mainly attested in late republican and, again, in late imperial coinage.



Fig. 4: Coinage of P. Fonteius Capito (55 BC); Ref. RRC 453 No. 429/1.[9]

One of the most famous combat scenes occurs in a most metaphorical way on the coinage of C. Iulius Caesar: an advancing elephant tramples on something that appears to be a horned serpent or a trumpet. This reverse-type is usually thought to depict the triumph of good over evil in connection with the struggle between Caesar and Pompey the Great: "the significance of the reverse, portraying an elephant trampling a dragon, is more obscure, but I believe that it was intended to symbolise victory over evil".[10] However, a comparison of similar

[8] See another categorisation of "violent motifs on imperial coinage" in Malone 2009, 58-72.

[9] Picture: Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 14, 14.12.2013 No. 140; AR 3, 91g.

[10] M. Crawford in: RRC 2, 735 and note 2; see RRC 1, 89 for dating the relevant coins.

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items on Caesar's coinages shows the putative "dragon" to be, most probably, a Celtic war-trumpet (*carnyx*)[11] apparently in connection with the successful campaigns in Gaul.[12]



Fig. 5: C. Iulius Caesar (49 BC); Ref: RRC 1, 461 No. 443/1; BMCRR 2, 390-391 No. 2730.[13]

2. Second, we have a similar type depicting violence aimed at captives. For example, warriors appear trodden upon by their vanquishers or a Roman general drags a female along by her hair, as in the case of a coin commemorating the punishment of the great slave revolt of 100 BC in Sicily.



Fig: 6: Coinage of the IIIvir L. Aquillius Florus, 18 BC; Ref: RIC 1, 63 No. 310.[14]

[11] I'm grateful to Gaius Stern (Berkeley) for helpful discussion of the elephant-type.

[12] BMCRR 2, 390-391 No. 2730, note 1: "Julius Caesar, whose money follows next, was more personal in the selection of the designs for his denarii, and on the obverse his recent campaigns in Gaul, the elephant being symbolical of the name of Caesar, and the dragon representing the war-trumpet (*carnyx*) used by the Gauls"; cf. the comments BMCRR 2, 384; Östenberg 2009, 182; Albrethsen 1987, 105-106 Fig. 8.

[13] Picture: Gemini LLC, Auction 11, 12.01.2014 No. 375; AR 3, 9g.

[14] Picture: Triton VI, Auction 13.01.2003, No. 803; AR 3, 81g.

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The south portico of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias depicts two prominent examples of relief-panels showing Claudius and Britannia, and Nero and Armenia in scenes of violent conquest. All the figures appear almost naked. According to art historians, both panels are reminiscent of Hellenistic battle compositions, most obviously 'Amazonomachies'.[15] Obviously, the *Sebasteion* has been arranged by a *civitas libera* and not by the Romans themselves. Nevertheless we can assume that the relief-panels in Aphrodisias have been based on the representations in Pompeius Magnus' *simulacra gentium ad theatrum* or Augustus's *porticus ad nationes*.[16]



Fig. 7: Claudius and Britannia – Nero and Armenia[17]

3. Third, we have a type featuring the conclusive military act of surrender and submission with captives kneeling in bonds beside a *tropaeum* ("trophy"). As is usual in triumphal coinage, the goddess

[15] Smith 1987, 115-117 No. 6 (Claudius); Smith 1987, 117-120 No. 7 (Nero). Nero: Nero supports the collapsing figure of Armenia between his legs, holding her by arms. Armenia is sitting back on her left heel. Claudius: The panel of Britannia and Claudius features, most probably, a 'moment of killing' scene, where the Emperor's raised arm implicates the imminent slaughter (Smith 1987, 119). Claudius stands over the defeated figure of Britannia pulling her head back by the hair. Britannia raises her right hand to appeal for clemency or in defence.

[16] E.g. Smith 1988, 75; Cancik 1997, 134.

[17] Picture: M. Vitale, September 2013.

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Victory and a trophy in the middle with captives on each side of it are the visual key notes. The corresponding coin legends usually read [*Victoria*] *de Germanis* (or *Britannis*, *Parthis*) or *Victoria Britannica* (or *Germanica*, *Parthica*) in imperial coinage.[18] These legends also occur on coin depictions of triumphal arches or are inscribed on Victoria's shield. Interestingly, such victory-legends simply replaced the generals' names, inscribed on similar coin types of the Republic period.



Fig. 8: Marcus Aurelius (171/172 AD); rev: VIC(toria) GER(manica); Ref: RIC 3, 295 No. 1029.[19]

In most cases, these "victory over"-types relate to the temporary repression of peoples invading from outside the provinces, especially the autonomous German tribes, the Caledonians north of Hadrian's Wall and the Roman's eternal enemy Persia/Parthia. Important exceptions, however, are coins of the emperors Vespasian and Titus in connection with the suppression of the Jewish revolt between 69 and 73 AD. These coins bear the legend [*Victoria*] *de Iudaeis*.[20] However, the Jewish rebels were not people from outside the empire but provincials, so the Roman's handling of the Jewish uprisings was an internal affair. Accordingly, the Flavian emperors never adopted the victory name *Iudaicus* although it was especially their later coinage that made it appear as a *victoria de gentibus*, a "victory over external peoples".

[18] "Victory over the Germans (or Britons, Parthians)"; "Victory in Britain (or Germany, Parthia)".

[19] Picture: Hess-Divo AG, Auction 321, 25.10.2012 No. 264; AE 28, 59g.

[20] "Victory over the Jews".

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4. Fourth, we have a type featuring the administrative act of formal submission: the annexation and integration of a region as a newly conquered province. Usually, the captives or, more often, a personification of the respective province appears as sitting and lamenting. The gestures and attitude of the personified figures reflect the immediate consequences and the state of being subjugated. According to the coin legends, these regions are usually *captae*, *devictae* or *subactae*. In some cases, types 3 and 4 have the same coin legends in common.

A special form of such conquest types pertain to re-conquered provincial territories where the Roman government opposed insurgencies: the coin legends read *recepta*. To date, we have precisely three examples with all of them dating from the first century of the Principate. They concern three different historical circumstances: I. *Asia recepta*:[21] this coin legend reflects Octavian's victory over Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra VII and the end of their dominance in Asia Minor. The important province of Asia had been restored to the control of the senate in Rome. The coin shows a Victoria standing on a *cista mystica* between two interlaced snakes. This basket symbolizes the former Kingdom of the Attalids, which corresponded to the territory of the Roman province of Asia.



Fig. 9: Coinage of Ephesus, Augustus (29/2826 BC); rev: ASIA RECEPTA; Ref: RIC ²1, 61 No. 276 and RIC 1, 61 No. 18 (Quinarius).[22]

[21] "[The province of] Asia has been regained".

[22] Picture: Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 211, 04.03. 2013; AR 1, 69g,

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II. *Armenia recepta*:[23] The next known appearance of a *recepta* legend on coins occurred after Augustus' Armenian settlement of 20 BC. After a successful struggle with Parthia over Greater Armenia, Rome responded to popular demand in Armenia by crowning Tigranes III as a new client king instead of the Parthian ally Artaxias II. *Recepta* means that Armenia became a Roman ally again, but there was no formal annexation such as was suggested by other, later coinage presenting Armenia as a violently conquered province with the legend *Armenia capta*: Victory appears kneeling on the back of a bull, recumbent on ground right, grasping the bull's head and turning its horns. In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claimed that although he could have turned Armenia into a province, he preferred to install a local king there.[24] That is obviously why Greater Armenia could be mentioned as *capta* like the 'real' provinces.



Fig. 10: Augustus (19 BC); rev: ARMENIA CAPTA;
Ref: RIC ²1, 83 No. 514.[25]

III. *Iudaea recepta*:[26] A similar rhetorical distortion of historical events happened under Vespasian who deliberately emulated Augustus in his manifestations of power. *Iudaea recepta* is a previously

[23] *"Armenia has been regained"*.

[24] Res Gestae Divi Augusti, §27: *Armeniam maiorum, interfecto rege eius Artaxe, cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani, regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat*; "When Artaxes, king of Greater Armenia, was killed, though I could have made it a province, I preferred, by the example of our elders, to hand over that kingdom to Tigranes, son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of King Tigranes, through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son".

[25] Picture: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction Triton XI, 07.01.2008 No. 716; Aureus 8, 04g.

[26] "[The province of] Iudaea has been regained".

unrecorded legend. It appears for the first time on a newly discovered *aureus* of Vespasian.[27]

Compared with already familiar legends such as *Iudaea capta*, *Iudaea devicta* or [*Victoria*] *de Iudaeis*[28] the coin legend *Iudaea recepta* conveys the politically 'correct' idea of Rome's triumph over the Jewish rebels. It indicates the pacification of the province. In the designs of the *recepta*-types there is nothing- apart from symbolic elements (e.g. the Victoria standing on the basket or the palm tree symbolizing a *tropaeum*) — that suggests military re-subjugation of older provinces. Interestingly, in the case of Armenia and Iudaea the message of "regaining" the provincial populace had been suppressed soon after the *recepta*-coins were issued in favour of the *capta* and *devicta* types both associated with the acquisition of new territory. The respective designs mark the violent suppression of the Jewish rebels.

However, the commemoration of military acquisition of new territories did not always follow standard display formats. Sometimes patterns of commemoration were also subject to an individual's fate. In particular, it is Cleopatra VII, who is notably absent in Roman victory representations — probably because she was condemned to *damnatio memoriae* after her death.[29] Instead of the defeated queen, there is only a crocodile or a hippopotamus symbolizing the former Ptolemaic Kingdom on the Nile.[30] In this case, the lack of violent motifs is striking. Obviously, Augustus was anxious to suppress any explicit reminders of Cleopatra who was actually very popular with Roman townspeople.

5. Finally, we have a fifth type showing informal "submission" achieved by virtue of an alliance treaty. It concerns a particular category of defeated or dependent peoples, namely the client states, *amici et socii populi Romani*.[31] Visually, it constitutes the most implicit form of submission: the two contracting parties, the Roman emperor on the one

[27] Vitale 2014, 243-255; cf. Gambash and Gitler and Cotton 2013, 89-104.

[28] "Iudaea has been conquered; Iudaea has been defeated; Victory over the Jews".

[29] "Extinction of memory"; Vitale 2013, 455-470.

[30] E.g. RIC ²1, 61 No. 275ab; 86 No. 544-546.

[31] "Friends and allies of the Roman people".

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side and the client dynast on the other side. The different scale of the figures reflects the real hierarchical 'relationship' between the contracting parties.[32] The larger figure obviously represents the emperor. For example, Antoninus Pius on right, crowns an Armenian dynast. The corresponding legend reads "a king given to the Armenians".



Fig. 11: Antoninus Pius (141/143 AD); rev: REX ARMENIIS DATVS; Ref: RIC 3, No. 619.[33]

In most cases, it is a crowning scene that renders the enrolment of a new allied king into the list of *amici et socii populi Romani*. The Emperor, seated on a *sella curulis* on a platform, places a diadem on the head of the client king, who stands before the platform. From this point of view, the new political status of the enrolled *amicus et socius populi Romani* appears, as it were, due to a unilateral obligation in terms of a gift from the emperor. However, in contrast to the imperial coin designs, these treaties between Rome and allied states or dynasts were bilateral agreements recognizing both parties as "equals", in terms of so-called *foedera aequa*. Even more interesting is the phenomenon that the non-Roman contracting partners prevalently reproduced

[32] The scene of a Parthian on his knees, delivering a Roman military standard, raises a similar illusion of military conquest and surrender (RIC ²1, 62 No. 287-289; cf. RIC ²1, 74 No. 416). The Parthian returns one of the legionary standards (*vexillum* with an X) lost by M. Licinius Crassus in the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC against the Persian king Orodes II. The coin legend reads *signis receptis* ("[coin] for the standards recovered [from the Parthians/Germans]"). This diplomatic success of Augustus was based on a bilaterally agreed formal peace treaty. The bare-headed and unarmed Parthian on the reverse scene is not a captive but a delegate. Nevertheless, the Roman townsfolk were supposed to take the coin as proof of a military success.

[33] Picture: Stack's Bowers and Ponterio N.Y.I.N.C. Ebert II & Sess. C, Auction 173: 12.01.2013 No. 6159; AE 23.83g.

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another perspective of the same event. Metaphorically, it appears as a bilateral agreement on the coinage of allied kings: the local dynast and the Roman emperor are depicted as being the same size.



Fig. 12: Caligula and Zenon Artaxias (37/38 AD); Ref: Sydenham 1978, 32 No. 49; Walker 1976, 44; RPC 1, 554-555 No. 3629-3630.[34]

Client dynasts did not only reproduce crowning scenes. A relevant difference between imperial and dynastic coin designs lies in the fact that on dynastic coinage the crucial moment of the treaty's conclusion also consists of a clasping of hands or mutually offering up a sacrifice. Each coinage renders another snapshot of the procedure of agreements and corresponding rituals. The detail of the handshake appears on a large scale on coins of Agrippa I of Iudaea, a nephew of Herod the Great. The coin legend explicitly reads ΟΡΚΙΑ ΒΑΣ ΜΕ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΠΡ ΣΕΒ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ[Α Κ ΣΥ]ΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ Κ ΔΗΜ ΡΩΜ ΦΙΛΙ Κ ΣΥΝΜΑΧΙ.[35] To some extent, the inscription is reminding the contracting partners of the equal terms of the alliance, and that it was not meant as an asymmetrical distribution of *potestas*. Roman coinage tells this by using standardized designs and legends in comparison with the more individual depictions of contracting scenes on dynastic coinage.

[34] Picture: UBS Gold & Numismatics, in Romanatic No. 3663; AR.

[35] "Sworn treaty of the Great king Agrippa to Augustus Caesar [i.e. Claudius], the Senate and the Roman people: his friendship and alliance"; RPC 1, 684 No. 4982; cf. Burnett 1987, 2538 No. 8. The obverse shows the kings Agrippa I., his younger brother Herod of Chalkis and Claudius standing between them: ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΣΕΒ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΒΑΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΣ.

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CONCLUSIONS

Representations of violence on Roman coinage are widely distributed in different degrees over at least five submission-types concerning defeated tribes, allied client states, old provinces, territories established as new provinces and, finally, external peoples. The corresponding rhetoric expressed in the coin legends could change according to the propaganda target. There is not always a systematic correspondence of designs and text. Interestingly, however, the particular employment of personifications seems to entail military actions, which mainly concerned the interior or the making of provinces (e.g. *Asia recepta*; *Iudaea recepta*). In contrast to this, the enrolment of allied client states or the mere temporary subjugation of external enemies renders stereotyped representations of quite small-sized dynasts or captives respectively. Therefore, only territories belonging administratively (*capta*, *in formulam provinciae/potestatem populi Romani redacta*, *recepta*) to Rome 'deserved' their own personification in Roman iconography — clearly a mark of 'civilization'. At the same time, only people who belonged in any form to the Roman world, that is, provinces and client states, — would metaphorically and rhetorically deserve less violence. However, historical facts are not always and necessarily accurately reflected in coin legends.

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VIOLENCE IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

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VIOLENCE IN THE LOVE POEMS OF THE *CARMINA BURANA*

José Carracedo Fraga

Thanks to the 1847 edition by Munich-based librarian Johann Andreas Schmeller, the modern world has been able to discover the extraordinary collection of late medieval poetry that we know as *Carmina Burana*. This anthology was compiled around the year 1230, probably at a centre of studies in the region of Styria or the Tyrol, and until the beginning of the XIX century lay hidden among the shelves of Benediktbeuern Abbey in Bavaria. As is well-known, the main body of the collection that has survived is comprised of 228 pieces,[1] generally classified into four thematically distinct groups: satirical-moral compositions on various aspects of society at the time, and related mainly to the ecclesiastical classes (1-55); poems whose central theme is love and its different elements and manifestations (56-186); tavern songs in which wine, play and diversion are celebrated (187-226); and two liturgical dramas on the cycle of Christmas (227-228).

We might expect to find violence in both the first and third of these groups: in the former, particularly where certain war-related subjects, such as the Crusades, are described; in the latter, because wine and play are often the cause of violent conflict.[2] Yet violence is also present in the love poems, although their main objective is to celebrate the necessity and joy of love relations, in an idyllic frame with a spring-like *locus amoenus*. Consequently, I will analyse the role violence plays in this last group of poems by addressing three main areas:[3]

[1] In reality, depending on how we segment certain pieces which figure as standalone works in the medieval manuscript *CLM 4660*, we can talk about the number of compositions being between 239 (following Vollman's edition of 1987) and 301 (according to Schumann 1941). We might add 26 pieces of varied content which were published as a *supplementum* to the main work because, one supposes, they did not form part of the original anthology.

[2] See, respectively, the poems 50 and 207, for example.

[3] I do not take into account the legendary histories of love which are included among the love poems of the *Carmina Burana* whose protagonists are Apollonius

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1st) the violent behaviour of lovers towards one another during relations, especially of a sexual nature, and in particular those suffered by women.

2nd) the attitude of violence aimed at lovers by third parties, which play a plainly antagonistic role towards the loving couples.

3rd) how the cruelty and violence with which love, personified by Venus and Cupid, affects lovers.

I will begin with the last of these themes. Humans have always been aware that love is a tempestuous sentiment, frequently making those who experience it suffer, especially when it is unrequited. For this reason, the ancient mythological and literary tradition often included negative associations of love and of the gods which represented it. And that is in fact how it is featured in many of the love poems of the *Carmina Burana*. Love is presented as a kind of violent torture to which Venus, and her son and enforcer Cupid, mercilessly subject lovers. The intervention of these two divinities is sometimes directly described with the Latin noun *uis*, meaning not only "force" or "power" but also the violent or aggressive application of such force; *CB* 107, 1a, 1, serves as a very clear example here, in that the presence of the adjective *dirus* helps to reinforce such a meaning: *dira ui Amoris teror*.[4] In fact, terms with an evidently negative meaning, relating to cruelty and violence, are frequently applied to these gods and their actions:[5] *asper* (4 times), *dirus* (3), *durus* (4), *ferus* (1), *grauis* (5), *immitis* (1), *uehemens* (1). In this sense it is also worth noting the suggestive use in *CB* 77, 18, 2, of the late-arising Latin verb *nouercari*, which is also accompanied by the adverb *grauiter*, to

of Tyre (*CB* 97), Dido and Aeneas (*CB* 98-100 and 102) or Paris and Helen (*CB* 101-102); these poems also feature several well-known scenes of violence. Equally violent is the murder of the German King Philip of Schwaven (1198-1208), mourned in poem 124, but I will not undertake the analysis of this composition, as it is so far from the theme of love.

[4] "For the cruel violence of Love am I struck." In quotes from the *Carmina Burana*, when the contrary is not indicated, I follow Schumann's edition of 1941. A concordance of the text of the *Carmina Burana* is also available: Wacht and Vollmann 1996. All translations from the Latin are mine.

[5] The data I offer on the lexicon correspond only to the group of love poems, and I focus exclusively on the passages in which a word is used with the value that I cite.

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describe the behaviour of the goddess Venus: *ecce Venus grauiter michi nouercatur*.[6]

The beginnings of any love are by necessity cruel, in that love itself is provoked by the weapons of the ruthless, blood-thirsty and predatory hunter Cupid, and which are clearly mentioned in the presentation of the god in *CB* 154: *uulnificus pharetra signatur… temeraria tela cruentans*.[7] Vocabulary from the semantic field of "wound" and "hurt," then, abounds: *ferire* (2 times), *ictus* (1), *laedere* (6) and *laesura* (1), *sauciare* (5) and *saucius* (3), and above all *uulnerare* (12), *uulnus* (11) and *uulnificus* (1). Yet these first cuts are not all, and the initial wound gives way to the continued physical and psychological torture of the lovers: the specific verb most frequently used here is *cruciare* (7 times), which, given that it shares its roots with *crux*, is especially suggestive in the context of a Christian culture;[8] as nouns we find *cruciatus* (2 times) as well as *poena* (5) and *supplicium* (3). Apart from Cupid's own projectiles (*sagittae*, *tela*, *iacula*), the main instrument of torture is that of the intense fire and burning which the gods of love unleash and allow to feed on lovers: this traditional motif is used in one way or another in 38 (30%) of the 131 love compositions. Other elements which might appear in relation to "torture" are knots and inextricable bindings (*laqueus* in *CB* 84, 1, 14, and 167 I, 2, 3; *flexus* in *CB* 88, 2, 4; *nexus* in *CB* 88, 2, 2, and 103 III, 2, 2; *nodus* in *CB* 163, 3, 2 and 4), goad (*stimulus* in *CB* 103 III, 1a, 4; 104 II, 3, 3), even poisonous ones (*uenena secreta* in *CB* 71, 7a, 4), and the claw-like nails of

[6] "It is here that Venus treats me with violence like a cruel stepmother." The verb *nouercari* is documented since the work of Sidonius Apollinaris (ca. 430-ca. 489; cf. *Epist.* 7, 14, 3) and enjoyed considerable currency in medieval Latin. In the love poems of the *Carmina Burana* the verb appears once more, to refer to the cruel gossip of people about a female lover (120, 1, 9-10): *inuida Fama // tibi nouercatur* ("envious Fame behaves like a cruel stepmother with you). In the passage I cite, the noun *Venus* is proposed by Schumann to supply the two missing syllables in the text of the *Codex Buranus*. I consider this to be correct.

[7] "His quiver makes it understood that he wounds… he stained his reckless arrows with blood." (vv. 3 and 5). See my study, Carracedo Fraga 2011.

[8] We also find *torqueor* (*CB* 103 III, 3b, 2) once. Also to be found are some other verbs which, through their contexts or their complements, can be said to enter the semantic field of torture: *terere* (*CB* 107, 1a, 1), *atterere* (*CB* 160, 2, 4), *conterere* (*CB* 60, 12, 8; 148, 2b, 2; 165, 1, 4), *affligere* (*CB* 60, 4, 1; 164, 1, 6), *elicere* (*CB* 165, 1, 4), *punire* (*CB* 71, 7b, 2), *uexare* (*CB* 103 III, 1a, 4), and *urgere* (*CB* 103 III, 3b, 1).

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Venus (*ungues pandi* in *CB* 73, 8b, 3). The consequence of all this agony, inevitably, is pain and suffering, leaving the lover close to death, and indeed often yearning for death as a solution to such ailments.

Yet perhaps the clearest manifestations of violence in the love poems of the *Carmina Burana* can be found in four pieces which recount the history of rape: these are poems 72, 84, 158 and 185. In each we find individual characteristics, but the four also contain common elements, and these speak to us of shared models of literary creation, and perhaps also of the proximity of the author.[9] The first of the poems, 72, is known to be from the juvenile period of the cultured and multifaceted Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-1204). The composition differs from the other three in that it is the only one which is not framed within the genre of the *pastourelle*, and thus the theme of rape plays a different structural role. The lover has for some time been involved in a "normal" love adventure (*dudum militaueram*: "I was for some time involved in my amorous campaign;" 1b, 1), in which he had been gradually following for some time the various steps of progress established in the theoretical ancient and medieval tradition, in order to arrive at the culmination of the loving relationship (2a, 1-7):[10]

Visu, colloquio,
contactu, basio
frui uirgo dederat;
sed aberat

[9] The rape of a woman by a man is a theme which appears with some frequency in medieval literary texts in the different languages of Western Europe. From the extensive bibliography the following works might serve as reference points: Gravdal 1991, Saunders 2001, Classen 2011, Fuente and Morán 2011 (which includes some studies on the rape of women in medieval Hispanic texts).

[10] Thus it recalls, for example, the great Roman grammarian Aelius Donatus, who around 350 AD writes the following, concerning verses 640-641 of the comedy *Eunuchus* by Terence: *et hoc recte, quia quinque lineae perfectae sunt ad amorem: prima uisus, secunda alloqui, tertia tactus, quarta osculi, quinta coitus* ("this well said, in that there are five perfect steps towards love: the first to see, the second to speak, the third to touch, the fourth to kiss, and the fifth coitus"). In a similar way this motif appears in the above mentioned description of love which we can read in poem 154 of the *Carmina Burana* (vv. 6-10) and in other poems of the collection; see my study, cited above, Carracedo Fraga 2011, as well as Carracedo Fraga 1997 and 1999.

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linea posterior
et melior
amori.[11]

It seems clear that the poet himself had covered the first four steps, but in order to consume the act and satisfy his uncontrolled sexual desire, he needed to reach the fifth and definitive stage, the *actus* as it is properly known, or *coitus*. However, Coronis (the name of the maiden) is still not ready to take this final step and this incites her lover to attain his objective using violence.[12] The opposition and suffering of the young lady is clear in the repeated insistence of her pleas and in her tears in stanzas 3a and 3b, and also in the explicit reference to Coronis's pain as a central position of the poem (in 3a, 8), which serves as a transition to the narration of the most violent part: *dolor Coronidis* ("the pain of Coronis"). Nevertheless, nothing restrains the violent intentions of the lover, which are made evident through the use of the noun *uis* at the beginning of the description of the aggressive final attack: *uim nimis audax infero* ("I launch a violent attack with great boldness;" 4a, 1). Yet violence is in fact suggested from the moment in which the poet resorts to the theme of the lover as a soldier in verse 1b, 1 (*militaueram*), and it is clearly present, as we will see, when he persists in his use of military language throughout the whole description of the final "combat."[13]

Not only does the maiden refuse to consent, she also puts up fierce resistance during the battle: *uim repellit // strenua* ("she rejects with resolve my violent attack;" 4a, 4-5). She defends herself, as Virgil would say, *muliebribus armis*,[14] resorting to the weapons which

[11] "The young lady had conceded to let me see her, talk to her, touch her, and kiss her; yet the last stage, the best for love, had still to arrive." In the *Codex Buranus* we can read *risu* in place of *uisu*; however, this second variant is, without doubt, the correct one, as confirmed in the copy of the poem in the *Arundel 384* Codex of the British Library in London.

[12] Ovid himself, *magister amoris* to the medieval poets, warns of the need to get to the end of the five steps of the love relationship, and not to remain frustrated in the penultimate one; cf. *Ars* 1, 669-671.

[13] The topic of *militia amoris*, that is, the use of words and expressions drawn from military language to allude to love relations, is found throughout the literature of Greek and Latin Antiquity, and, of course, in medieval literature. See, for example, Murgatroyd 1975, Pejenaute 1978, and Drinktwater 2013.

[14] See Virgil, *Aen.* 11, 687.

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women possess: *hec ungue seuit aspero, // comas uellit* ("she responds aggressively with her sharp nails, she pulls my hair;" 4a, 2-3), and *sese plicat // et intricat // genua* ("she cowers and crosses her legs;" 4a, 6-8). The assailant's response is proportional to her defence, as we read in the corresponding verses of the following stanza (4b). Making a play on the double meanings of the terms for fight and love relations, the protagonist makes it clear that his objective in combat is the assault on a fortress as an allegory for the rape of the girl's virginity, and that the end result is, of course, a genuine military victory: *triumphum do proposito* ("I bestow triumph on my objective;" 4b, 2).

The brutal rape is finally described. This sudden turn by the narrator at the end of the scene, and in fact the poem, is intended to have the effect of an ironic surprise. The verse that introduces this conclusion is very clear: *res utrique placuit* ("the thing pleased both of them;" 5a, 1). The poet thus recounts a paradoxical situation of shared calm and satisfaction, more in keeping with a joyful, consensual relationship, because the "the wild thing" had suddenly been "tamed." The abundance of adjectives referring to the young lady is now in contrast with the violence seen previously: *mitior amasia* ("milder lover;" 5a, 3), *dans basia // mellita* ("giving me sweet kisses;" 5a, 4-5), *subridens* ("smiling;" 5b, 1), *sopita* ("sleepy;" 5b, 5). Perhaps, given that the poet is dealing with a stable love relationship, one where he has been taking all the necessary steps for some time, then he can more easily permit himself to risk such an ending.

The other three stories of rape are included in compositions in the genre of the *pastourelle*, or can at least be understood within this genre. Hence they recount the casual encounters between the lover and a young, pretty shepherdess or peasant girl, to whom the protagonist feels an immediate attraction. If the maiden does not respond to the compliments and amorous pretentions of the young man, he believes it justified to use force as a means to achieve his ultimate sexual objective.[15] Theoretical treaties on love at the time expressly

[15] Gravdal 1985 writes about rape as an element present in *pastourelle*; a reworked version of this study can be found in Gravdal 1991, 104-121. Of course, not all *pastourelles* end in rape, although in the *Carmina Burana* the percentage is relatively high; there are four other compositions in this genre in the collection, in which the relation is either consensual (*CB* 90, 157 and 184; in this last case it is not altogether clear) or the suitor stops upon hearing the refusal of the maiden (*CB* 79).

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mention that it was legitimate to obtain sexual favours from those of a low social position through the use of coercion and violence. Andreas Capellanus (fl. ca. 1185), for example, writes very clearly on this topic in the chapter of his *De amore* which is dedicated to love relations with peasants (1, 11, 3-4).[16] In this sense, the words of the lover in poem 121 of the *Carmina Burana* are equally illustrative, despite the comic and ironic tone of the work, when he reflects on how he should proceed with his new, beautiful lover (probably a prostitute), who has refused the final three steps in the relationship; the poet places us in an allegorical and suggestive rural setting (3, 5-9):

Mittam eam in ambulis
et castigabo uirgulis
et tangam eam stimulis,
ut facio iuuenculis,
uinculis uinciam, si consulis.[17]

In poem 84, maintaining the typical thematic elements, the protagonist sits beneath a lime tree when he sees a maiden approaching across a meadow. The gallant is immediately captivated by the beauty of Phyllis[18] and falls inevitably into the path of love. The opening two stanzas of the work seek to show the importance of *uisus* at the outset of the relationship through the insistent repetition of various forms of the verb *uidere* ("see") and especially through the masterful and expressive metaphor *cordis uenator oculus* ("the hunter-eye of the heart;" 1, 16), which succinctly expresses the notion that sight initiates many sentiments, principally that of love. The description of the physical beauty of the girl in question is, of course, always associated

[16] I use the edition of Walsh 1982, 222-223.

[17] "I will put her in the stables and I will punish her with the crop and sting her with the goad, as I do with the foals, I will tie her up with tethers, if you so advise me." This poem 121, like poems 95 and 116-120, probably belongs to the Parisian circle (ca. 1150) of Hilarius of Orléans. Nothing is said expressly of the social position of the suitor or the maiden (it might be suspected that she is a prostitute), but it is evident that the poet employs a rural setting.

[18] Countryside and forest, as well as suggestive elements of the *locus amoenus*, serve in these cases to configure a remote and isolated scene, where it is easier to hide from people and to engage in amorous or sexual encounters. Phyllis is a common name in Ovid's poetry and in Virgil's *Eclogues*; it also appears in *CB* 59, 92 and 156, and seems very fitting for rural atmospheres, if we bear in mind that it is related to the Greek noun φυλλόν, meaning "leaf of a tree or plant."

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with the moment of the *uisus* or meeting.[19] The poet then begins his courtship, in order to gain Phyllis's favour, and thus strikes up the inevitable conversation with the maiden. Now, it is clear that in this second stage the love relation runs the risk of being cut short due to youth, inexperience, and, consequently, the young girl's shyness or fear: *tremula uirguncula* ("trembling maiden;" 2, 11-12), *tremit* ("shivers;" 2, 17), *respondendi metus* (3, 1: "fear to answer," in the double sense of answering in the conversation and of responding or returning amorous desire), and above all, the meaning of the similes *ut primula // discipula // nondum subducta ferule* ("like a beginning pupil not yet free from the cane;" 2, 14-16). As any student at the time would have known, this comparison naturally recalls an atmosphere of physical violence and anticipates the use of force as a necessary means by the suitor. The rape is then recounted in detail in the next two stanzas, sharing many elements with the previous poem analysed here.[20]

Weeping (*fletus*; 3, 2) is the first sign of the maiden's denial. The noun *uis* is also used to present the suitor's violent attack (*uim infero*: "I launch a violent attack;" 3, 12) and various manoeuvres of the assault are thus described with military metaphors: *posti minante machina* ("my machine threatens her door;" 3, 13), *defendens… limina // obserat introitus* ("defends the entrance and closes access;" 3, 16-17), *cardinem… resero* ("I open the door;" 4, 14 and 16), *ut determinem // duellum istud* ("to resolve this battle;" 4, 15-16), *sic in castris milito* ("thus do I fight in war;" 4, 17). The maiden's fierce resistance is similar to the one discussed above: *aspero… ungue* ("with her sharp nails;" 3, 15-16), *tricaturas crurium* ("her interlocking thighs;" 4, 10). The attacker's manoeuvres, consequently, are also forceful: *iungens collo bracchium // ruo, // diruo* ("I pin her neck with my arm, I throw her, destroy…;" 4, 7-9). The objective and end result are presented here with all the crudeness of the word-play: *ut uirginem // deuirginem* ("to deflower the virgin;" 4, 11-12).

[19] On the thematic motif of the "eye as a hunter of the heart" compare also *CB* 110, 2, 9-12, and see Schleusener-Eichholz's study of 1985, especially 923-924. The *descriptio pulchritudinis* is, of course, an essential element in any description of the adored girl; see, for example, Quetglas 1998 or Gonçalves 2013.

[20] Such similarities between this poem 84 and the previously discussed poem 72 lead us to suppose that the former might have some relation to Peter of Blois; see Walsh 1993, XVII-XVIII and 91.

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The narrator of poem 158 also meets a shepherdess by chance, but this time it is she who sits beneath a tree, tending her flock. The young man is left enchanted by the maiden's beauty, but the same reaction is not forthcoming from the maiden, and not even an attempt to strike up a conversation remedies the situation: *fugit… // metu dissoluta* ("she flees, overcome by fear;" 2, 5-6), *nichil timeas hostile!* ("do not fear any hostility!," he tells her in 3, 3), *pleni estis dolo!* ("you are full of trickery!," she replies in 4, 2). The words of the suitor are very much a matter of trickery, in that he immediately turns to physical violence to achieve his objective: *comprehensam ieci solo* ("I grabbed her and threw her to the ground;" 4, 4). Of course, the shepherdess attempts to defend herself with the weapon, also "feminine," which at this moment she has close to hand: *et se sic defendit colo* ("and thus she defends herself with the spinning wheel;" 4, 3). In this case the poet does not offer more details of the sexual encounter, but the conclusion which he writes allows us to guess the final outcome, in contrast with what we saw in poem 72: *satis illi fuit graue, // michi gratum et suaue* ("for her it was very violent, for me agreeable and sweet;" 5, 1-2).

The kind of *pastourelle* found in poem 185 includes certain peculiarities. Its author appears to have been inspired, perhaps from the perspective of parody, by the poem *Under der linden* by Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170-ca. 1230)[21] and perhaps for this reason he alternates High Middle German and Latin in the work. Here the narrator is the maiden, and this obviously conditions some aspects of the tale: the woman's feelings are more clearly described and the most salacious details of the story are omitted. The description of the female protagonist's beauty, which as we have seen is always the trigger for the amorous adventure, and thus an essential element in the narrative, is here reduced to a generic affirmation in the opening verse of the poem: *ich was ein chint so wolgetan* ("I was a very pretty girl;" 1, 1).

In a typical scene of meadows and lime trees, the maiden is drawn, through trickery, into a relation which she seemingly does not want: *ualde fraudulenter* ("very deceitfully"), as expressly stated by her in 3, 4. But the cunning trap which the man has been setting for her from the outset is made plain with the initial invitation: *ludum faciamus*

[21] On poem 185 of the *Carmina Burana* and its relation to Walther von der Vogelweide's composition, see Classen 2010, 480-481, and 2011, 113-123.

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("let us play a game;" 7, 4); the suitor plays specifically with the double meaning of the noun *ludus*, its primary meaning plus that of "sexual relation," this latter found frequently in erotic contexts.[22] Given that the gallant tries to seduce and overcome the resistance of the maiden through trickery, the course of the amorous relation is not as impetuous and aggressive as we have seen in the previous *pastourelles* discussed: in those, nothing is said explicitly about the third and fourth steps in the sexual relation; by contrast, the poet here develops the story not leaving out any of the steps. It is true, though, that the *tactus* and the *basia* are only briefly mentioned, the latter even through a subtle allusion: *er graif mir an den wizen lip* ("he felt my white body;" 8, 1) and *dulcis es cum ore* ("sweet you are and sweet is your mouth;" 8, 4). The description of the final stage is a little more detailed and explicit and also presented here as a very expressive metaphor of war (9, 1-4):

Er warf mir ůf daz hemdelin,
corpore detecta,
er rante mir in daz purgelin
cuspide erecta.[23]

The narration of the sexual act ends with a new allusion to the trickery, with the same ambivalent noun with which it had begun (10, 3-4): *der selbe hete mich betrogen, // ludus compleatur*.[24]

The lack of much violence in the recounting of the final three episodes and the absence of any plainly aggressive resistance on the part of the peasant girl, aspects which differentiate this poem from those three previously discussed, may give the impression that in the end there is a degree of consent on the part of the woman, and lead us to doubt whether this is in fact a rape at all. However, plenty of other elements may be identified which leave little doubt that this is indeed a sexual encounter which goes against Phyllis's wishes, and

[22] Furthermore, the corresponding verb *ludere* can mean "have sexual relations;" cf. *CB* 62, 7, 4; 79, 6, 2; 83, 3, 3; 87, 5, 7; 88, 8, 1 and 9, 4; etc. On the erotic value of both words, see Adams 1982, 162-163, and Montero Cartelle 1991, 187-188. Classen (1989) deals with the literary use of the play in contexts of love in the Middle Ages.

[23] "He lifted by blouse, made my body naked, and assaulted my little castle with his erect spear."

[24] "Thus has this man tricked me, so that the game be played to a finish."

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thus, rape: her insistence as to the trickery, the negative presentation of the assailant and his actions, the express mention of *multum uiolenter* ("with much violence;" 4, 4), the tears of the young woman (*planxi et hoc totum*: "I cried all this time;" 5, 4), and the numerous curses, the one in verse 5, 3 (*dirre wech, der habe haz!*: "damned be this path!") and those repeated in the refrain referring to the typical setting of such tales (*maledicantur tilie!*: "accursed be those lime trees!"). Yet the violent intentions of the assailant and the final result are apparent from the outset of the poem, when the narrator uses word-play in the very presentation of herself, *uirgo dum florebam* ("when I, a young woman, flourished;" 1, 2), and the presentation of the other protagonist, *do wolde mich ein ungetan // ibi deflorare* ("but an evil individual wanted to deflower me there;" 2, 3-4).

The third face of violence which I would like to discuss here is that of the violent attitude of third parties towards the lovers, which necessarily distorts the couple's relationship. In the love poems of the *Carmina Burana* these people are mainly close relatives of the girl, that is, her father, mother, and sometimes a brother. All are shown as custodians and protectors of the young girl and therefore the suitors' rivals.[25]

In poem 70, which can be considered a precursor to the classic *pastourelle*, the gallant poet, in a scene of *locus amoenus*, tries to convince his beloved Thisbe[26] to consummate their amorous relationship, and finally achieves this without the need of violence, in that the work ends thus: *totam subdo tibi me* ("I give myself all to you;" 15, 2). Nevertheless, as the main objections to his entreaties, Thisbe cites (in a central part of the poem) the danger that two sets of people might constitute if they interfere in the relationship. On the one hand there is her family, composed here of the three members mentioned above, all three stern guardians of the girl's honour (8a, 1-3): *est pater, est mater, // est frater, qui quater // die me pro te corripiunt*.[27] On the other hand, a group of envious types appears,

[25] In the love poetry of Classical Antiquity the rivals or antagonists who disturb the lovers' relationship are, by contrast, different characters; see Gonçalves 2008.

[26] The love legend of Pyramus and Thisbe is a good model of a relationship prohibited by the lovers' respective families; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4, 55 and ff.

[27] "I have a father, I have a mother, I have a brother, who punish me four times a day because of you."

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composed of old fault-finders and young rivals, in this case commissioned by the girl's own family as vigilantes (8b, 1-3): *et uetulas per cellulas // et iuuenes per speculas // deputantes nos custodiunt*.[28] This second group is the source of the psychological violence which for the lovers constitutes the *malignum murmur* ("evil rumour;" 10, 4-5) that is allowed to spread. Meanwhile, the first group is responsible for the physical violence: the verb *corripere*, here, to my understanding, means to "physically punish," a normal reading of the word in Christian texts, is almost synonymous with *flagellare* ("flagellate," "whip").[29]

In the *pastourelle* of poem 79 the shepherdess defends herself against the amorous pretentions of the poet-narrator with the same argument that we have just seen employed. Yet bear in mind that on this occasion the reasons used by the young girl really serve to impede the continuation of love relations, in that the poem ends with their expression (6, 1-6):

> *Que respondit uerbo breui:*
> *«Ludos uiri non assueui.*
> *Sunt parentes michi seui;*
> *mater longioris eui*
> *irascetur pro re leui.*
> *Parce nunc in hora!"*[30]

The previously mentioned *pastourelle* of poem 158 offers us a third possible appearance of the thematic motif under discussion here. The shepherdess does not use the threat of her family to dissuade the attacker, but rather, once the rape has been consummated, pleas for

[28] "They put old women in the bedrooms and young people at lookout points and they watch us."

[29] Isidore of Seville's words are instructive here, when he talks of the difference between various verbs meaning "reprimand" or "punish;" according to the Hispalensis bishop, the verb *corripere* means "punish with whips" (*Diff.* 1, 96). See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, IV, 1044, 55-1045, 8.

[30] "She answered in few words: 'I am not accustomed to the games of men. My parents are strict; my mother is of an advanced age and the slightest thing infuriates her. Respect me at this moment!'". Both *irascetur* and *seui*, especially the latter, are loaded with clear connotations of violence, as we have seen in other contexts. Some scholars, perhaps without due reason, consider the possibility that the poem has come to us in an incomplete form; cf. Vollmann 1987, 1044. The emendation *seui* from *sueui* (the textual variant in the *Codex Buranus*) seems appropriate.

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silence on the part of the assailant, so that she might avoid severe punishment at home (*ut sim domi tuta*: "so that I be safe at home;" 5, 6). The final stanza of this work is used to present the three habitual family antagonists with their necessary negative nuances, above all the mother, as in the previous poem.[31] Severe physical punishment, which in the previous two poems we have seen referred to through words which were not wholly explicit, is here expressed in a clear and direct way (6, 1-6):

Si senserit meus pater
uel Martinus maior frater,
erit michi dies ater;
uel si sciret mea mater,
cum sit angue peior quater,
uirgis sum tributa.[32]

An exceptional case for us here is poem 126, which represents a further step in the progression we have been analysing. We know, through the voice of the protagonist narrator, that we are looking at a love relationship which is complete and wished for by both lovers, but which does not have the consent of her parents. The main problem is that this relationship could not be kept secret due to the girl's advanced stage of pregnancy. This triggered the violent anger of the parents against their own daughter, as is described through the accumulation of verbs in the third stanza (3, 1-3): *hinc mater me uerberat, // hinc pater improperat, // ambo tractant aspere*.[33] The first verb expresses the physical violence dealt by the mother, the second verb speaks of verbal violence applied by the father, and the third verb summarises the violent behaviour of both, the meaning of the verb explicit enough, but reinforced by the adverb *aspere*.

The psychological violence directed at the protagonist is augmented by the cruel gossip and criticism of people, the same as in poem 70, although here (poem 126) the poet dedicates several stanzas

[31] Dronke 1984, 249-279, writes on the similarities between this poem 158 and 79.

[32] "If my father finds out, or my older brother Martin, it will be a black day for me; or if my mother knows, who is four times worse than a viper, I will be subject to a beating."

[33] "Because of this my mother beats me, for this my father rebukes me, both mistreat me violently."

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to these, from the fourth to the ninth. And all this is violence which torments the young girl, as the narrator clearly states with another use of the noun *uis* (10, 1-3): *ex eo uim patior, // iam dolore morior, // semper sum in lacrimis*.[34] We might also add the absence of her lover, who had to flee to distant parts to avoid what would undoubtedly have been a more severe punishment on the part of the girl's father: *ob patris seuitiam* ("through the cruelty of my father;" 12, 1).

We do not know the social position of the characters in this last poem 126, but given that the previous three works analysed here are *pastourelles*, we might deduce that the motif of family protection is of greater necessity for girls of a lower social rank. These might be easier objects of attack for unscrupulous men, above all if the assailants are of a higher social position and thus enjoy a greater chance of escaping punishment for their crimes. It can thus also be explained that in the family and social organisation of the time, it is the mother who takes the predominant role with respect to her daughter, while the father's role, when mentioned, as in poem 126, he appears to take vengeance against the assailant.

It seems clear, following our analysis, that in the love poems of the *Carmina Burana*, as in loving relationships generally, there is not only a springtime, a joy, the pleasure of loving, courtly love and happiness (although this does abound, and is indeed the main focus), but also violent attitudes, these often accompanying the course of love. As we have seen, the most explicit scenes of violence described in these poems, concerned with rape or with violence within the family, are evidently literary creations and are subject to aims and determining conditions of a literary discourse, in which humour, parody and irony sometimes come into play. Nevertheless, we should note that such stories also reflect values and behaviours, real enough in medieval society, which is clearly patriarchal and dominated by the will of the male.[35]

[34] Of this violence I suffer, I die already of pain, I am always crying."

[35] Also in theological and legal texts of medieval times do we find explicit references to all kinds of violence, but above all sexual, practiced by men against women. In addition to the information offered by the works cited in note 9, see: Brundage 1987, Classen 2004, especially 8-35, Classen 2008, especially 1-142, and Payer 2009.

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VIOLENCE REFLECTED: HIGH-MEDIEVAL DIPLOMATIC *CAUTELAE* AS A MIRROR OF SOCIETY

José Manuel Díaz de Bustamante

The starting point of this paper harks back to the time when I was in charge of teaching Patristic Literature at the University of Santiago de Compostela. At the time I found it not unchallenging to explain to my students how difficult it was for a recent convert to Christianity to accept some texts from the Old Testament apparently at odds with Christian *caritas*. I am of course thinking of books or passages laden with passion and passions, such as David's private story, the *Song of Solomon*, the story of Lot's daughters and a great many stories unadvisable for an ingenuous and shockable audience. I take it for granted that the self-mutilation recommended in Matthew 18:8-9 to prevent any kind of offence has always been understood as good, or at least indifferent, as the remarkable example of Cain and Abel's sacrifice in Genesis 4.8: it is obvious that God prefers Abel's offer of animals to Cain's simple vegetables, but the fact is that divine preference unleashes humanity's first fratricide[1]. In some other cases, which inaccurately and unashamedly I dare call "very mediæval", violence lashes out unchecked and its consequences imply, for instance, a bitter and certainly somewhat violent reproach against Yahweh by the author of Judges 19-21 regarding the story of the Levite and his concubine[2]. But, by then, very acceptable explanations had been found thanks to exegetes who favoured allegorical resources.

[1] Lüdermann 1997, about institutionalized violence in Deuteronomy, see pp. 70-74.

[2] Lapsley 2005, 35-65, and especially pp. 53-55. For the Biblical text, see the notes to the meritorious Spanish version by F. Scio de San Miguel, *La Sagrada Biblia*… 1863, 61-70, and especially 63, n. 8: "No se puede leer sin horror la acción de este Levita, que permitió sin duda el Señor para infundir mayor indignación en los pueblos, y para que alzasen todos el grito, pidiendo venganza de un delito tan enorme, y que lo mirasen y castigasen como un ultraje hecho a toda la nación."

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Many years later, when I dealt with the much more prosaic matters that fall under the heading of philology of diplomatic texts, I encountered the other side of the same problem when I noticed how often the *minae* and *cautiones* of what Ángel Canellas called *penal sanctions*[3] resort to "politically incorrect" texts. Some years ago I had the chance to talk about a subgenre of those sanctions under the label of *monastic* curses, when I realized that — in contrast with what was usual in royal, episcopal or private diplomas —[4] monastic environments display an unparalleled array of horrifying texts of Biblical origin. By contrast, I was struck by the prudence and, shall we say, the restraint of imperial and pontifical documents. I soon found out that this peculiarity increased after the peninsular expansion of Cluny monks following the introduction of the Roman Rite. This is what suggested the idea of focusing on those documents which offer a clear and manifest reflection of the surrounding violence, both in the detailed exposition of the juridical act and in the actual tenor of the diploma itself[5]. I will therefore study documents where either violent acts are described in the exposition or penal sanctions are inordinately inflated, although — as Canellas reminds us — from Chindasuinth onwards the validity of documents was recognized "la validez de los documentos aunque careciesen de estipulación penal: la generalización de las fórmulas penales da impresión de responder a un *hábito de estilo*"[6]. Conversely, I will ignore the throng of diplomas that contain information about crimes, gruesome offences and physical violence and focus particularly on those whose violence is a reflection of the relevant legislation, of the erudition that is being invoked and, in the last analysis, of the Bible itself.

There may be more factors, but perhaps the explanation for the terrible *minae* comes from the frequent relationship between false or heavily altered diplomas and surpassing of the tone and intensity of curses; to say the least.

[3] Cf. Canellas 1979, 110-112.

[4] In Díaz de Bustamante 2005, 115-125.

[5] We should not forget, however, that in the Middle Ages some situations that nowadays would cause bloodshed were judiciously settled with a simple fine or monetary compensation, as Sánchez Albornoz 1926 points out in the pages of his still flourishing *Estampas de la vida en León durante el siglo X*.

[6] Canellas 1979, 111. Italics are mine.

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Two Biblical texts are strikingly frequent both in *formulae* and in *minutae*: my contribution is based on the study of the reception of two Biblical passages which have been remarkably influential in European cultural history: VULG. deut. 28:16-68 and psalm. 108 (109). Because the first one is a legal text, it understandably indulges in pitiless and detailed fierceness; but, given that the second one is a poetical text which has caused noteworthy difficulties for those interpreters who were more aware of the necessary harmony between both Testaments, I am certain that its remarkable success in Peninsular documentation derives to a large extent from the spectacular and passionate curses — helped, it is true, by a certain "stylistic habit" — and, why not, from the fact that in documentation and society there was violence reflected in both directions.

If we had a hypothetical and — as yet — unlikely global critical edition of all the documents in a *corpus*, based on a statistical analysis of patterns and schemes according to time and place, themes and topics, we would be in the best position to philologically study the phenomena that the machine detected and unveiled. To be sure, the machine cannot — as yet? — undertake any kind of study; but it can sort, in many ways and many sequences, materials which are so overwhelmingly abundant that they escape our attention: one of the greatest difficulties that a well-organized *corpus* inquiry must overcome is the rich, if not deranged, spelling of the words. Let us take as an example the old formula of the Roman imperial chancellery, which, through the *leges wisigothorum*, endured well until the Late Middle Ages in the generic opening formulae of the exposition[7]: … *nullius cogentis imperio nec suadentis articulo sed propria et spontanea voluntate*… The formula, which stated the freedom and awareness of a donor, was not always properly understood by scribes and notaries; this is why we seldom find cases which reflect the sense of the formular expression:

> …*Placuit mihi atque conuenit nullius coegentis imperio neque suadentis articulo sed propria mihi accessit uoluntas ut*…[8]

[7] See Pérez González 1999, 117-139, especially 130-131 (and, as the author reminds us), Luis López Santos 1947, 113-118.

[8] I take advantage of the digitalization and textual database, which I will call *PMH* and which I devised a few years ago, with experimental goals, using the texts from *Portugaliae monumenta historica* 1967. This is document 66 of the *PMH*

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The possibilities go from here to specimens such as:

> …Placuit nobis atque conuenit nullis quoque gentis imperio nec suadentis artigulo sed propria nobis accessit uoluntas sano animo atque integro consilio ut uinderemus ad uobis…
> *…placuit nobis atque conuenit nullusquoque gentis inperio neque pertimescentis medum set propria nobis accessit bone pacis uollumtas ut uendere uobis mea terra propria…* [9]

But the now common graphic difficulties only add to the already difficult task of retrieving information. Note that the very existence of the formula entails the possibility that someone may be forced to grant a document under threat or duress, in order to avoid harm. A single sample shall suffice: in the extensive corpus which I intend to study, it is easy to find which forms or words appear, and the literal tenor of their contexts is available to any extent that we desire; thus we can always locate our search within a given temporal frame, and we can also observe, in the texts themselves, the relationship that may be established between notarial *formulae* and, for instance, the legislation particular to each period or the reflection of uses influenced by canon law in chancelleries. The ever-present problem will be how to recover words hidden behind the most unlikely graphic disguises, but we must not neglect the risk of misinterpreting what the humble scribes have bequeathed us: what did they think was the actual meaning of the *formula* we have just seen? Did it simply have

corpus, dated in 952: <pmh0066_09520000> *Kartula de contramutatione de villa mediaua.*

[9] These are documents 10 and 24 of my little *corpus*, from years 883 and 921 respectively: <pmh0010_08830000> and <pmh0024_09210000>. More examples could be given: doc. 39 (year 933): "…Placuit nobis casto animo propria uolumptas integroque consilio *nulliusque gentis imperio neque suadentis articulo* set propria nobis accessit uoluntas ut…"; doc. 33 (year 927): "…Placuit nobis atque conuenit *nullus quoque gentis imperio nec suadentis articulo* sed propria nobis accessit uolumptas ut…"; doc. 51 (year 943): "…placuit mihi atque conuenit *nullus queque gentis imperio nec suadentis articulo* sed propria mihi accessit uolumptas ut…"; doc. 75 (year 957): "…placuit nobis bone pacis et uoluntas *nullo quoque gentis inperio nec suadentis articulo nec pertimescentis metus* sed proprie mihi accessit uoluntas ut…", etc. But there are still worse: see "Plaguit mizi adque gonuenim, *nulis goque adgentis inperio neque suadentiis artigullo*, set propria mizim acensit uoluntas, ut uindere tibi…" (Otero de las Dueñas collection, León *AHDL*, doc. number 25, dated July 15th, 992, ed. in *Documentos* 2003, doc. 69).

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a literal meaning, or did it carry a *sensus sub integumento*, or was it perchance a phylactery?

Diplomas provide us with testimonies of all kinds of formular usages, whose common denominator is that often the different scribes understand nothing, or nearly nothing, of what they are transcribing. As far as the origin of the *formulae* is concerned, the most striking documents can be linked to the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*: I am specifically thinking of legislation regarding excommunication and the reasons that may bring it. This is what we find in *Causa* XXIV of the *Decreti secunda pars, quaestiones i-iii* — which discusses, amongst other things, whether an excommunication fulminated against parents may affect, or ought to affect, their innocent children — and in article 29 of book IV of the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, *De sententia excommunicationis*[10].

Today, juridical recognition of the continuation of a punishment, a sin or a crime through transmission from parents to children or to the whole stock, may strike us as impolitic. However, it does already feature in the Bible, and in a highly typified way from the very notion of original sin onwards: I am thinking of key texts such as Isaiah 14:21, Hosea 9:11-16, Ezekiel 9:5-7, Exodus 12:29-30, Jeremiah 51:20-26, Leviticus 26:21-22, 1 Kings 14:9-16, Joshua 7:19-26, etc.

Amongst the plentiful information, one of the most interesting types, associated to the monastic and, to a lesser extent, to the episcopal environment, is that of the erudite curses, which takes as its basis a well-known passage from Deuteronomy:

> *sit excommunicatus a corpore et sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sit extraneus a cetu christianorum, et post mortem cum Iuda qui Dominum tradidit in inferno perpetim luat penas et veniant super eum omnes maledictiones que scripte sunt in libro Moisi…*[11]

[10] I have used the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* 1717.

[11] The quoted document belongs to the Monastery of Samos Chartulary 1986, No. 404, from the year 1031. The Biblical passage to which I refer is VVLG. Deut. 28, 15-68; a well-known text that opens thus: "quod si audire nolueris vocem Domini Dei tui ut custodias et facias omnia mandata eius et caerimonias quas ego praecipio tibi hodie venient super te omnes maledictiones istae et adprehendent te…"; see examples from a couple of documents: "…descendant super eum omnes maleditiones que scripte sunt in libro Moysi servi Dei excelsi, sed et perpetua confusione et ira Dei patris omnipotentis, et cum Iuda Domini traditore pari pena suscipiat in eterna damnatione…" (Celanova Chartulary, 1995, No. 70, dated 1075)

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I have no doubt that even complex research would be more effective — by resorting to systematic queries — than a lineal reading of the documents, for *collatio* always opens new routes of exploration. I remember the admirable case of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's "Estampas de la vida en León durante el siglo X"[12]. It strikes us as odd that he devotes proportionally little space to the most alive, most human issues: it is fine that he painstakingly studies the vocabulary of commercial life, of homewares, of homes, of clothing, etc., but nevertheless it is surprising that he scarcely deals with the most every day and homely matters in the conversation between don Arias and the abbot of de San Justo[13] about the vices of the times and the moral

and "…sit exconmunicatus et a sacro corpore Domini sit extraneus, ac post mortem cum Iuda qui Dominum tradidit in infernum perpetim lugeat; insuper eveniant eum omnes maledictiones que scripte sunt in libro Moisi…" (Samos Chartulary 1986, No. 405, dated 983).

[12] Sánchez-Albornoz 1926, 161-162. See below. I myself have revisited the question in Díaz de Bustamante 2007, **173-190.**

[13] Sánchez-Albornoz 1926, 149-151 and 160-162. The most interesting document of those mentioned by Sánchez-Albornoz is Odoino's, which is well known, *Celanova Chartulary*. fols. 97v-100v, No. 265, here in the edition of Andrade Cernadas 1995, 377-385, dated January 1, 982: "…et ordinavit ipse rex et omne ipse secundum concilium ad ipso meo domno et pontifici domno Rudesindo episcopo ut adsignasset mihi meam casam, et veni inde cum eo et mandavit me intrare in ea ad perabendum et in mea vita et posthec et post obitum meum cui ego illam relinquero firmiter eam possideat iure perhenni. vertens vero tempora longiora ipsa casa permanens iuri meo, hedificavi in ea monasterium genitrice mee cellule in quo et \h\abitavi cum aliis ancillis Dei permanentes cum ea usque ad obitum suum. ipsa vero cludens diem ultimum tunc duxit ibi aliam nomine Onnega que preesset illis. et pro yd accusaverunt me homines male querentes ad ipso domno meo domno episcopo temporibus Hordonii principis filius ipsius magni regis Ranemiri cuius supra fecimus mentionem. tunc cum honore sed per artis ingenium ipsius pontificis perductus sum ante eum et dedi ei per fideiussores in quingentos solidos ut in alio die dedissem ipsam Honnegam in concilio hic in Lagias ante ipsum principem Ordonium et ipsum suprafatum pontificem, ut si aliter fecisset et illos solidos pariassem et ipsa casa post parte sua caruissem. cumque vidissem me in magna tribulatione nesciens quid facerem, cum iniuria et contumelio derelinquens et casa et omnia quicquid abere poteram cum invidia diaboli, ipsa sola Honnega adsumpsi mecum; latitans luxuriose cum ea per diversa loca; deveni in monasterio Vimaranes ad domna Munmadomna et filiis suis et elegi salubre consilium anime mee ut dimisisset illam inimicam et devenisset in portello quomodo tornassem me ad meam hereditatem et ad vitam monasticam. dum vero peccatum abuit in me dominium, tunc ipsa Gunterotem petivit ipsam casam a domno episcopo dicens omnibus qui mihi pertinent per scripturas quas inde abeo et illa mentiebat quia iam nullo

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quality of the people. It is remarkable that so much attention is paid to the saddle that Alháquem had gifted to the abbot, and so little to the amorous flings of abbot Salbato and abbess Proniflina[14], of abbess Onnega and Odoino, or the "family" weaknesses of the ardent Ziti Pinioliz[15], who has a most passionate relationship with a lady called Gota, and even has an affair with his own daughter-in-law; this very man admits that he has not behaved properly and accepts to pay a monetary fine "pro tales neglegencias que feci…".

At a time when the great mediæval juridical codifications — I refer, of course, to Gratian's *Decretum*, the *Decretales*, the *Clementinae*, the *Extravagantes* and all the other monumental compilations that

inde abebat. illa vero obiurgante ea quamius sine veritatem, tunc in illis diebus cogitans comites gallecos necnon et magnati palatii eicere Sancionem de sede sua Legione et dare tronum glorie regni ad Ordonium prolis Adefonsi". Another very interesting document is number 658 from León Cathedral, dated January 13th, 1006, edited by José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León (775-1230)*, vol. III (986-1031), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro"- Caja de Ahorros- Archivo Histórico Diocesano 1987, [Colección *Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa*, 43], pp. 197-199: "Ego quippe prefatum Froilani episcopi pura mente defixi concedo ibi molinos duos in una kasa currentes qui nunc iacent in ripa Turio sub illos de episcopatum in directo Pausatellos, qui fuerunt de Gundisaluo frater filius Zauen quos ille de uos empto precio redemit, qui fuerunt ex proprietate Iquilani qui hunc domum fundauit ubi manentes estis. Dum iste Gundisaluo subiacente in regimine meo atque abitante in eremita in illa penna super riba Turio qui fuit de domno Maniulfo, tunc decepit eum inimicus diaboli et comiscuit se cum muliere filia perdiccionis; et ut mihi auctorigat lex et kanonum facere de illo et de omnia sua sicut mea extitisset uoluntas, ita tulit ei omnia illi omne possidente terras, uineas, molinis et eius prestaciones et ille fugiuit de diocencio meo et perrexit in aliam prouinciam".

[14] Document number 278 from León Cathedral, dated October 20th, 954: «Dum essem ibidem constructum uel colligatum, arreptum est ille abba a diabolo et conmiscuit se in adulterio cum meretrice, in ciuitate Legione, et comprehensi sunt in uno coram puplicum omnium; et pariaui pro tali scelus ipse abba ad ipsos pressores uel at potestates solidos CC. Item et ad sorores de monasterio qui fuit de domna Froilo alium testamentum similiter elegi et construxi et confirmaui per manu abbatissa, nomine Proniflina, et eorum sorores. Et postquam omnia feceram atque elegeram, post IIII dies expletis, exierunt ipsas sorores alias pregnantes, alias adulterio penetrantes. Gentem uero, de ipsas meretrices dum agnouissent tali scelus, cucurrerunt at ipso reculuso et multas de illas occiderunt et quod non occiderunt exterminauerunt. Et per multis diebus seu temporibus atque annis permansit ipse reclusus direptus de ipsa confessione», edited by Emilio and Carlos Sáez, *Catedral de León* 1990, 35-38.

[15] Sánchez-Albornoz 1926, 149-151 and 160-162.

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constitute the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* — are non-existent or disregarded, at a time when everything is ruled by what diplomas call *Lex Gothica* or *sacri Canones* of the *Hispana*[16]; at this time, everyday life revolves around an "extraordinary sensuality that invades and corrupts the countryside, the villages and the cities", as Sánchez-Albornoz has the abbot of San Justo say.[17] However, nowadays it is remarkable that no attention has been drawn to the deeply different reactions to what we may call carnal matters between our outlook and that of the era we are studying. Although Sánchez-Albornoz does not dwell upon what he is recounting, he does highlight that in the tenth century "cases which in other environments led to tragedy were tried and settled by mere payment of a monetary fine."[18] This is true, but it must be borne in mind that cash was extremely scarce at the time, and usually common people could not face payment of the fines they were charged, however modest these were. The men and women who live and breathe below the notarial *formulae* of the diplomas are living beings full of vitality and passion who feel and react to their fellows' actions with much more humanity than we do today.

I know of a case which I find moving, contained in document 75 of the Sobrado Chartulary[19], dated August 25th, 858: in it, a Letasia acknowledges that everybody knew that she had had an adulterous affair with Ataúlfo, serf of a Hermegildo, and that, in the company of her lover, she had *furtively* gobbled four cows and sixty cheeses:

> *ego Letasia manifesta quidem sum multis set et multis manet notissimum eo quod commiscui me in adulterio cum seruo Hermegildi nomine Ataulfo, qui eius bustum tenebat, et comedimus de ipsis suis animalibus IIIIor uaccas, LXa caseos furtim, et adduxerunt me ante iudicem nomine Froa<r>engum episcopum. et ipse iudex iudicauit ut pariarem ipsas uaccas et ipsos caseos in duplum, et facerem octo uaccas placibiles et centum uiginti caseos, quod iudicium bene mihi complacuit.*

It does not surprise us that the sinning couple was judged; what we may find odd is that they were not judged for adultery, but for having managed to eat four cows and sixty cheeses and having had the

[16] Martínez Díez 1966-1992.

[17] Sánchez-Albornoz 1926, 160.

[18] *Ibid*. 161-162, n. 58.

[19] Edited in Sobrado 1976, No. 75, 105-106. It has also been edited by Floriano Cumbreño 1949-1951, No. 68, 294-295.

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nerve to say they had done so surreptitiously… As the above extract shows, payment in land and property for the value of eight cows and a hundred and twenty cheeses, as a result of the fine that bishop Fruarengo's court imposed upon Letasia as punishment for the theft from Hermegildo, is perfectly established. It is, however, slightly disappointing to note that we are told nothing about whether Hermegildo agreed with his serf Ataúlfo's distraction from his duties, or about who the deceived husband was, or about his opinion regarding the adulteress's moral shortcomings.

This being the situation, it must not have been infrequent for some private citizens to feel forced to pay monasteries the losses "in kind" caused by this acknowledged weakness of the flesh. Not only could someone seek compensation for a theft: the father of a "temptress" was bound to compensate a congregation for a monk's excesses. This is the case of document 72 of the Celanova Chartulary, dated May 18th, 952, where poor Mondino and his wife Mirela pay — contentedly, it seems — bishop Rosendo and the monastery of Celanova, for the adultery commited by their daughter Bitilo with the monk Vidramiro, with real property including a house on the banks of the Miño:

> *damus atque paramus vobis ipsum kasa ab integrum quem ego Mondino ad ipsa filia mea dedi in casamento, sic quomodo iacet concluso in omnique giro cum omnibus suis per ubi vobis dilimittavimus et coram testibus adsignavimus et karacteres fitos, et pariamus vobis illo penis nostro facto quod filia nostra dedi ad adulterio ad fratrum Vidramiro. ita ut de odie die vel tempore de iuri nostro sit abrasa et in iure vestro sit tradita atque confirmata.*

Usually, the clergy's moral weaknesses are due to the *diabolical* action of extraneous women, and seldom does a monk — let alone an abbot — appear as corrupter or, at least, consent to an irregular relationship. On December 23rd, 927 — so a document copied in the Celanova Chartulary between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries informs us — a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries met kings Sancho Ordóñez and Alfonso IV to restore the monastery of Santa María de Loyo: those present express their best wishes for the cœnoby, as it had suffered the grievous rule of abbot Saulo, a full-fledged profligate[20]

[20] Celanova 1995, fols. 62ra-62vb, but see Sáez Sánchez 1949, 25-104.

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successit Saulus in uicem eius, nefandus sperantis in eo apostata, quidem ex religioso pseudo effectus matrimoniauit sibi uxorem, et locum qui Deo fuerat dicatum, lupanar efficere opinatum. sane ex ipso incerto conubio nate sunt spine et uepres, nec nominandi proles, ex quibus unus de prosapia illa maledicta presbiter est ordinatus, et utique antichristus uidelicet, et patris sui sequipeda effectus, ordinem quem indignus acceperat uiolauit, et meretricio adesit scortum, qui mulierem accepit et ex ea in confusione filios meruit. at uero ipsi ex fornicatione nati possidebant locum sanctum, quem in lupanar fecerant peruersum. ipsi uero, ob eorum merita et seditiosa uita, ad plenius non ualebant uindicare locum quem inquinabant sua flagra.

Another case that I am aware of, also collected in the Celanova Chartulary, albeit concerning the monastery of San Miguel de Albarellos, presents us with the Pasolinian case of presbyter Regino. He had reached an agreement with Gutier Pepiz and his wife Sancha regarding the Albarellos monastery; suddenly, Regino breaches the pact and commits adultery with Gutier's daughter. Gutier denounces him to King Fernando, not so much for adultery as for commercial fraud[21]:

fecerunt hec scriptum de ipsum monasterium supradictum, ut qui supra unus ex alius vixisse ille monasterio iuri eius mansisset etiam et inter reos qui ullam mentiram vel inmodice fecisset unus ab alios caruisset ille monasterio, et insuper pariasset in solidos mille. a non multis diebus ipse presbiter Reginus abraxit ipsum monasterium de iure ipsius Guttier simul et sua filia et perpetravit cum ea adulterium. ipse vero Guttier querelavit se in presentia regis domni Fredenandi de omnia suprascripta. ille autem rex iussit venire ipse Teginus in eius presentia ut adimplesset secundum illi ordinassent iudices et vera canonem sententia super ipsum monasterium, et illo placito quod manibus suis signavit per hordinationem, iudex nomine Pelagio Iulianiz et sua complacentia.

In this case, we know that the king rules in favour of Gutier and his wife, who, out of gratitude, bestow the contended monastery to him; but here, too, we lack information about what happened to the two passionate lovers because the problem, as per usual, is only economic. It seems that the two sinners were of no interest for the girl's parents, even less so for King Fernando.

[21] Celanova 1995, fols. 168va-169ra, No. 483, 670-671. See the edition of Serrano y Sanz 1929, 512-524.

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In the Otero de las Dueñas collection of documents there are several significant examples of how even in the cold month of November, or perhaps precisely because it is a cold month, a young man from León by the name of Argimiro, son of Fredino and his wife Leovina, loses his head over a young female relative of his called Lecinia, rapes her and is compelled to indemnify her and her family. Once again, parents must pay the fine derived from their children's incontinence. In this document, number 33 of the collection[22], dated November 13th, 992, the details of the relevant *caloña* or fine are specified:

> *Et damus ad uobis, eo Fredino et uxor mea Leouina, istas terras et istos fructumarios secundus in gartulla resona, et gonfirmamus ad parte uestra, pro que se leuauit meo filio Argemiro, ora nocturna, et fuit ad gasa de Lecinia et gomisqui me gum Lecinia, in adulterio faciente, et sumus in gente in tercio grado et fornigabit gum illa et fraysit sua uirginitate per uiolentia. Et pro ibsa galumnia et pro tali facto damus ad uobis istas terras et istos fructuarios et nocedos et perales et cerasialles, de casa de Fredino ad iuso, usque terminum de Vicen, secundus illo in gartulla resona, insintegro.*

This is because, contrary to what one might expect, the cases where the guilty party personally pays the monetary fines are rather scarce. I know of one, in document 561 of the documentary collection of León cathedral[23], a *placitum* dated February 13th, 994, whereby a woman called Cida Aion pays a *corte* with its stakes and adjacencies, that is, with her own money, for the adultery she had committed with Pedro, her *cumpatre*, *et marido alieno*…, so as not to fall into serfdom as the *Fuero Juzgo* established:

> *Dabo uobis corte cum kasas et cum cubas et cum lagare, terras, uineas, montes, fontes, cessum et regressum, aquis aquarum molinarias discurrentibus, prados, integrum dabo uobis, foris illo que fui de meo marido Hauiue que est de meos filios, illo ad integro dabo uobis atque concedo, et pro que fui mesta in adulterio cum Petro que est meo cumpatre et marido alieno, et fuimus ad Librum et iudicauit ut tradissent me seruire sicut alia ancilla origenale, et roboraui inde placitum manifestum.*

[22] Otero de las Dueñas 1999, 88-90.
[23] Edited by Ruiz Asencio, in Catedral de León 1987, No. 561, 73-74.

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To close this depiction of more or less unbound passions and violence, I would like to recall a document from the Otero de las Dueñas collection, number 38, dated April 21st, 995 where, prompted by Elías, appearing for count Flaíno Muñoz, a different Flaíno admits that, at the instigation of the devil, he has committed adultery with a mother and a daughter (no less); and that he has no objection to the fine he is given,

> *ego Flaino, ad peticione Elias, qui asere uoce de comite Flaino Monizi, uerum est, cot necare non ualeo, quia peccato jnpidiente et diauolo jnmitente sic toliuit, ego Flaino, muliere aliena ad suo marito et fecit qum ea adulterio et post ec sic fecit qum sua filia, qum matre et filia.*

In this case we know that he was sentenced to pay a fine of five *sueldos*, because this detail is mentioned in the following document.[24] It is a fairly high amount for a private citizen — the same that the judge imposed to Leticia the baker for selling bread weighing less than the required weight, as Sánchez-Albornoz tells us[25] —, perhaps because the adultery comprised two generations.

The truth is that the behaviour of lower-rank clergy was closer to that of the people than to that of the dignitaries, and its concerns were much more worldly than those of its hierarchs. Here is an illustration: one of the articles of the Concilium of Coyanza[26] decrees that ecclesiastics must look after the moral health of their flock, as may be expected, and have sinners of all kinds in their communities do penance (*vocent ad penitentiam adulteros, incestos, sanguinemixtos, fures, omicidas, maleficos et qui cum animalibus se inquinant*), but immediately after this, it adds something that strikes me as charming, and which makes me side wholeheartedly with the ecclesiastics concerned:

> *presbiteri ad nuptias causa edendi non eant, nisi ad benedicendum. clerici et laici qui ad convivia defunctorum venerint sic panem defuncti commedant ut aliquid boni pro ejus anima faciant ad que tamen convivia vocentur pauperes et debiles pro anima defuncti.*

[24] It is number 39 of the collection, edited by J. A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero de la Fuente, Otero de las Dueñas 1999, 95-96.

[25] Sánchez-Albornoz 1926, 116-117.

[26] Summoned by Fernando I, apparently in 1056; I follow the text transmitted by the Oviedo *Liber Testamentorum*, No. 567C, in the edition of García-Gallo 1950, 275-633, 296. I have used the text in Díaz de Bustamante 2008b, 475-482.

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King Alfonso V's document, number 14 of the facsimile edition of the royal documents[27], is dated January 3rd, 1027, and it states that, in the time of king Vermudo, son of Ordoño, when Pelayo was bishop of Lugo, the king made his will regarding the domain of Mera, near Lugo. According to the document, the will was stored in its proper place *per multa corrigula annorum*, until, due to the carelessness of its custodians, its trace was lost. When Bishop Pedro acceded to the Lugo diocese, he needed to prove his possession of the aforementioned domain. He inquired about the certifying will and was told that «nescimus a quo omine maligno est capto…»

This being the situation, the bishop went to King Alfonso V and told him:

> *Qualjter fecerat genitor uester, diue memorie domni Ueremudi regis, cui memoria sit jn benedictjone, testamentum de comisso Mera, sicut jam desursum est exaratum, et jnquisibimus eum jn scriniis et tesauris domine Marie semper uirginis, et non jnuenimus jllum.*[28]

The king unquestioningly agreed to renew the diploma with his father's donation, for he understood the distress of the bishop and his collaborators, who had unsuccessfully looked for it everywhere *in scriniis et tesauris*, and made a new will according to the donor's intention.

Strictly speaking, this is not an image of violence, but it is a clear reflection of the mentality of those characters: some of them stole other people's ownership deeds, while others displayed a deep trust in the clergy's honour. This is only true in principle because, had not there been a *usus* of the property, King Alfonso would have probably reacted differently to don Pedro's allegation.

As a complement I can mention another document, granted by Alfonso VI to satisfy the — legally speaking, not completely proven — yearning of Don Bernardo de Cluny, abbot of Sahagún and first archbishop of just reconquered Toledo, dated December, 1080. The document is very well written by Romanus, a cultured scribe who knew how to give his text a nearly papal air of distinction and gran-

[27] The best edition is by José Manuel Ruiz Asencio and José Antonio Fernández Flórez (No. 14) in Documentos 2006, 200-202.

[28] I deal with this document at some length in Díaz de Bustamante 2008a, 435-448.

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deur. The document opens with a narrative detailing the background, when Gonzalo Fernández, one of the eminent men of the court, finds himself in danger of death and decides to give half of his possessions to the Sahagún monastery, to have the monks pray for him and the salvation of his soul, and the other half to his sister Sancha[29].

Bernardo, who was the abbot at the time, receives the gift but imprudently does not have the will written as a formal deed, as the moribund himself advised because, being a foreigner, he ignored the common practices and customs of the land. And it comes to pass that Gonzalo dies and his sister marries Martín Laínez, who, when learns about the apparent exchange of his wife's inheritance, is of the opinion that, with no written documents to prove it, the distribution is unacceptable. He therefore refuses to acknowledge the abbot and the monks as owners of the *medietas* of the large inheritance. As spirits grow bitter, a jury of eminent men sentences that a will had to be made as though the donor was present, which is carried out:

> *Ego Gundissalbus Ferrandiz facio textum scripture, pro remedio anime mee, patronis nostris sanctjs Facundo et Primitiuo et abbati domno Bernardo de hereditatibus meis, quas habeo de auiis et parentibus meis, scilicet, medietatem quam habeo cum sorore mea domna Sancia…*

Nobody seems to be stupefied by the procedure. But enough about the clergy. The crowning moment of this collection is a document[30] that Alfonso III grants to the monastery of Sahagún on October 22nd, 904. There the king gives *ad imperandum* to the Sahagún monks in the village of Zacarías, in Calzada, with its present and future inhabitants,

> *jta ut ad uestra concurant ordinatjonem pro qualjbuscumque utilitatibus eglesie peragendis, et quicquid a uobis jnjunctum uel ordinatum acceperjnt jnescusauiliter omnia adjmpleant adque peragant. Tu, uero, Sanzo, non te presumes eos jnquietare pro nullaque actjone.*

Allow me to draw attention to the last sentence: *Tu, uero, Sanzo, non te presumes eos jnquietare pro nullaque actjone*. It would be unimaginable in this day and age that an official document, sanctioned by a king or figure of authority, would name a particular citizen, and demand that he is obligated, as is everyone else, to abide by the law.

[29] This document may be seen in light of the essay by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz 2004, 287-305.

[30] *Documentos* 2006, No. 1, 171-172.

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A TARGETED VIOLENCE: THE EARLY YEARS OF VENETIAN RULE IN PADUA[1]

Daniele DIBELLO

Generations of historians have pondered over the sudden and admirable Venetian expansion onto the mainland in the early years of the fifteenth century. A phenomenon which does not need to be discussed in detail, at least from the point of view of the *histoire événementielle*; but let it be known that within half a century the *dominium* already covered the whole North-Eastern Italic area, from Lombardy to the river Adda and the impervious territory of Friuli.[2] This essay will focus on a particular aspect of these territorial politics: the attitude of Venice towards its newly subjected communities, especially in regard to the unique case of Padua.

Yet there are other factors to be taken into account that will prove useful for the purpose of our discussion. Firstly, the chain of events that led to the expansion of St. Mark State were absolutely unexpected, not only by its contemporary Italian states, that were used to the aggressive power politics of the Visconti state, but above all by the same Venetian patriciate who had firmly held the fate of the Republic for centuries. In fact, at the end of the fourteenth century the Venetian chancellor Raffaino de Caresini, who was the privileged spokesman for the ruling class, was able to proudly remark that "to take care of the sea and abandon the land" was still the guiding idea followed by the Republic, as only "scandals and mistakes" could come from the mainland.[3]

[1] I thank Prof. Gherardo Ortalli for his valuable advice about this essay. This preliminary research was inspired by a stimulating university course taught by Prof. Alessandra Rizzi in a.a. 2012/2013: a sincere thanks to her too.

[2] For a detailed summary of those tumultuous years see Cozzi and Knapton 1986, 3-95.

[3] The quote is by Raphainus de Caresinis 1923, 58. This "splendid isolation" was revaluated a few decades ago, see Law 1981, 78-85.

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The truce that followed the Peace of Turin (1381) was undermined by the sudden death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in April 1402, as well as the subsequent disintegration of the vast dominion of the Visconti family, whose Francesco Novello da Carrara, Lord of Padua, wanted to take advantage of the situation in order to successfully reconstitute the *Marca Trevigiana* under his lordly domain. The probability was a matter of great concern for the Venetians as they had been juggling with the numerous conflicting political clashes in the area for centuries, while always managing to favour, if not impose, their own commercial policy.[4] Francesco Novello's aspiration to form a cohesive territorial state of considerable size on the edge of the lagoon would eventually exert pressure over, or completely strangle, the freedom and the commercial monopoly the Venetian *mercatores* held over Western Italy and Europe. In addition, it threatened to overthrow or simply hinder Rialto's fundamental role as commercial mediator which would have had unpredictable political repercussions for the maritime society which was still essentially mercantile at that time. It was necessary to proceed with caution and pragmatism, which were qualities that the Venetians knew how to put into practice well.

These prior events enable us to introduce the second characteristic of the Venetian expansionist phenomenon: the almost peaceful subjection of the communities under its *dominium*. Obviously the word "peaceful" should be interpreted in context with the forms of subjection for the years we are dealing with, especially when compared to the coeval Florentine and Milanese political powers.[5] It was an unusual policy of conquest even when compared to the European context. Spain, France and England had begun their territorial restructuring (the so-called nation state) long before, but it was based on atrocious, ongoing wars: both against the domineering feudal lords and external enemies so different in culture and tradition. For these pre-modern States this military instrument proved indispensable, indeed vital. History would have given them reason.[6]

[4] A system which was developed long before the XVth century, see Rösch 1985. An example of this type of monopolistic politics in the study by Jean-Claude Hocquet (Hocquet 1990).

[5] A different attitude of conquest is highlighted by Antonio Menniti Ippolito regarding the conquest of Brescia firstly by Visconti and then by the Venetians, Menniti Ippolito 1985, 17-58.

[6] See Matthew 1994, 415-497.

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Vicenza, Feltre, Bassano and Verona were a few of the cities that in 1404 began opting for a(n) (almost) spontaneous submission (*deditio*) to the Serenissima. This act of devotion, transcribed onto a ducal edict, was almost always the result of contemplative choice made by the community in question, which allowed it to obtain more favourable terms in its close yet submissive relationship with the ruling power.[7] For Venice, which certainly made the most of this type of propaganda, using this type of juridical instrument was a "good investiment"[8] for the ruler-ruled relationship. It was also an essential tool for developing the regional state which had been of great interest to Venetian historians over the last few decades.[9]

Padua was one of the few cases which conflicted strongly with the above mentioned, putting a strain on the expansionist mechanism initiated by the Republic of Venice. Underneath Padua's apparently unconstrained devotion, it was plotting a siege that would last from July to November, and in fact the city fell on the night of November 17th 1405.[10] Venice's principal difficulty resided in breaking down the *fidelitas* that still bonded the Lord of Padua with his *cives*.[11] Furthermore, the day before the irruption of the Venetian troops the citizens of Padua had gathered in Palazzo della Ragione complaining of the hardships caused by the war. Something had created a rift: it was the end of the seigniorial regime of Carraresi. Even the Venetians appeared to be impatient to end the siege as, during the negotiations following a vague request for surrender by Francesco Novello, the Republic responded by doubling the amount requested by the Lord. The siege was costing too much and, after determining how much it was worth, which was a typical characteristic of Venice's mercantile culture, it appeared to be preferable to pay out the money and meet the Lord of Padua's hefty demands.[12] The negotiations with Francesco Novello were never actually successfully completed. Venice preferred

[7] Concerning dedication as a tool of conquest and government see the Antonio Menniti Ippolito's reflections, Menniti Ippolito 1986, 5-30.

[8] The quote was made by Gherardo Ortalli, see Ortalli 2002, 61.

[9] Gian Maria Varanini has recently summarized the studies on the formation and government of the mainland state in the XVth century, Varanini 2011, 13-63.

[10] Kohl 1998, 167-203.

[11] See the updated reconstruction of the siege of Padua by Dario Canzian, Canzian 2007.

[12] Melchiorre 2012, 50-51.

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to deal with the local Paduan community, which was to make a formal act of dedication during a lavish and symbolic ritual in St. Mark's Square on the 3rd of January 1406.

Venice's attitude towards Padua was not as moderate and permissive as it had been in regard to the other realities of the dominion. Instead, its attitude was deliberately violent and rational, aimed at weakening the civic pride of the community of Padua which was not only guilty of having threatened the vital interests of the lagoon, but of also having put the Venetian treasury to the test during the war.

The inseparability of this nexus, method of conquest and subsequent political attitude, was not only aimed at Padua, but was also the case during the conquest of an important and prosperous community in Northern Italy named Riva del Garda, which took place in 1440. When the citizens refused to surrender to the Venetian troops following the siege, Venice greatly reduced Riva del Garda's jurisdictional authority towards the other towns in the valley in the pact, thus guaranteeing them greater autonomy and forbidding access to traditional local statutes regarding criminal matters. Instead Riva del Garda had to act to legislate "according to the statutes of Verona", which was an important political coup, also legally speaking, for one of the most active and original communities of the Trentino area.[13]

That the Serenissima's attitude towards Padua would not be as "benevolent and complaisant" as they had promised during the negotiations was made clear in the Golden Bull (*Bolla d'Oro*) issued on the 30th of January 1406, which defined the basis of the relationship between the dominant and dominated who were once bitter rivals.[14]

Of the forty-one chapters presented by the ambassadors of Padua as many as sixteen were rejected by the Venetian Senate, an extremely high number when compared with those of other cities that had been dominated, voluntarily or not, by the Serenissima. The first to be rejected was the urban centrality concerning the Paduan countryside. In fact, the ninth chapter of the first part reported the city's request that Venice would not reduce Paduan *iurisditio consueta,* to which

[13] For more on Riva del Garda see Ortalli 1990, 17-18.

[14] The "Bolla d'Oro" was republished and further documentation was added by Matteo Melchiorre for the *Pacta Veneta* series, Melchiorre 2012.

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Venice replied that it could not promise this as during the war it had made agreements with many communities in the *hinterland* that had surrendered and collaborated with Venice long before Padua.[15] The fourth chapter of the third part of the Bolla d'Oro is also very interesting as it describes what happened when the citizens of Padua asked to be reimbursed for the money extorted by Francesco Novello by giving them property belonging to the seigniorial dynasty:[16] Venice rejected the request *in toto*, firstly because it had no idea how many people were to be reimbursed, therefore it was preferable to avoid the risks; secondly, because the assets of the Carraresi farm were tempting for the Venetians. Following pacification the Venetians hurried off to purchase the land and buildings at a low cost, giving way to an even deeper penetration by the Venetian capital which had already been under way for a long time.[17] Padua's request to Venice to free all the Paduan prisoners was also refused. This was certainly a paradox for a Republic that boasted clemency towards its subjects.[18] It was a difficult dialogue between the two cities which was doomed from the start. The second chapter of the third part of the Bolla d'Oro refused to grant the citizens of Padua the funds necessary to send messengers and ambassadors to plead their cases directly to Venice.[19] The Republic cited economic reasons; it had absolutely no intention of handing out more money, but it is clear that it actually did not want to legitimize and encourage the protests of the *cives Padue*, privileges easily granted to cities such as Vicenza, Verona and Brescia, which already had a fixed seat and their own representative in the capital in the second half of the fifteenth century.

I think that the examples provided above clearly show the Venetian government's control and suspicion over the subjugated city. We must say that the Paduan socio-economic structure was not hit by the subversive violence in the same way. The property and belongings of the citizens of Padua kept in the city and surrounding countryside were safe and the subjects were more or less protected from marauders.[20]

[15] Melchiorre 2012, 148.
[16] Ibid., 159.
[17] Regarding the property investments made by the Venetian aristocracy following the siege on Padua see Varanini 1996, 812-824.
[18] Melchiorre 2012, 149.
[19] Ibid., 154-155.
[20] Ibid., 146, 150 (chaps. 1.4, 1.14).

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The only political intervention of the Venetian Republic within the jurisdiction of the subjugated communities was to oblige the cities to appoint a rector, who sometimes was assisted by a captain. These were Venetian patricians who were sent directly from the central power to hold the town, but who were expected to adhere, at least formally, to the local customs and statutes. Their work was to keep the precious autonomy granted to the community under control, yet this freedom was finely limited by the so-called "policy of appeals".[21]

By reading the formulary of the Padoan *commissione* (commission) valid for the first decade of the fifteenth century, which is a document that contained the orders issued by Venice to which the rector strictly had to adhere to, it is clear that the chapters did not significantly differ from those commissions of the other cities the dominion had to adhere to. The only peculiarity was the order, confirmed by the Senate, to remove "omnia arma et insignia illorum de Carraria ubicumque sint picta et sculpita".[22] It was an extreme choice, a decisive sign of regime awareness which had left its mark on the civic spirit of the Paduans, mainly due to the ideological and cultural politics devised by the Carrarese nobility.[23] In fact, in order to avoid feared repercussions, between January and February 1406, Francesco Novello and his sons were secretly strangled by order of the Council of Ten.

By crosschecking several sources it is possible to shed light on the facade of formalism that cloaked the attestations of appreciation and respect between the two cities. While the formulary of the commission indicated that the rector should diligently comply with "customs and statutes",[24] a ducal boll dated 17th April 1406 ordered to the incumbent rector, Zaccaria Trevisan, to proceed in Padua so that "everything [*every order*] comes from us", that is to act as he had been instructed by the capital.[25]

These first years of Venetian rule also formed the context for the drafting of the reformed statute of Padua in 1420, whose preface,

[21] Cozzi 1997, 305-308.

[22] "all weapons and ornaments of Carraresi wherever they are painted and sculpted", *ASVe, Collegio, Formulari Commissioni,* reg. 6, c. 37r.

[23] Collodo 2005, 42-48.

[24] *ASVe, Collegio, Formulari Commissioni,* reg. 6, c. 34r.

[25] Melchiorre 2012, 187.

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written by the humanist Sicco Polenton, well described the new order of the forces in power as overtly hierarchical.[26] The work of "eminent" and "very sagacious" scholars is proven both by their documented participation and by the common and articulated use of juridical lexicon. The role of the rulers is ideologically established in the political discourse: theirs is the role of a "happy principality", guarantors of the "wealth of the city" and of the application of "clemency", "benevolence" and "justice", which were similar values to those of the residents of the lagoon. The call to eliminate partially unfair attitudes seemed to vaguely invoke the application of *equitas* (equity), the main characteristic of the Venetian juridical order. However, we are still in Padua, seat of a prestigious law school (at *Studium*) where the *ius commune* obliged the citizens to consider the laws "with study and reflection", in contrast with the practical, contingent, at times experimental laws of the Venetian Republic. Yet the tone of the text appeared to be strained. In over half the preface, much emphasis was laid on the authoritative and authoritarian wishes of the Republic, nothing changed, or rather reformed, without the "authority of the [*Venetian*] Senate", as directly quoted.

A brief comparison with the contemporary reformed statutes of other cities of equal socio-economic rank in the dominion may make the Paduan community's reverence easier to comprehend. Verona's long preface led to an excess tribute on the noble origins of the city, declared as a "minor Jerusalem",[27] which boasts to having an enviable "moderate freedom"[28] under the Venetian regime. Vicenza reported to Venice the usual ritual formula regarding the approval of statutory code for authority of "our illustrious and serene prince doge of Venice";[29] in fact the entire preface was spent in praise of the Venetian Francesco Barbaro, who was rector at that time going so far as to compare him, rather boldly, to a new Julius Cesar.[30] The presence of the ideal and charismatic ruler was completely absent. In short, the Paduan statute, which represented the foundation and binding agent

[26] For the preface, I referred to the fifteenth century edition of the statute, *Statuta Patavina noviter impressa … Patavino gymnasio legentem* 1528, c. 25v.

[27] *Statutorum magnificae civitatis Veronae … comprehensi* 1747, 1.

[28] Ibid., 5.

[29] *Jus municipale Vicentium … ac repertorio locupletissimo* 1706, 3.

[30] Ibid., 2.

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in the community, was indirectly forbidden to pronounce patriotic rhetoric and to remember its virtuous past but it was to keep in mind that now Padua was at the base of a pyramid with the ruling power nearby at the top of the vertex. The truth was that, despite a few modest attempts for rehabilitation through the work of Sicco Polenton for example, Paduan patriotism was destined to fade away without the support of a dignified, politically autonomous elite.[31]

It is important to note that for at least a decade the sources make no reference to the Council of the Elders, Padua's main institution, which was most likely abolished in favour of the stricter control under the Venetian rector.[32] In fact, the council was replaced by the Quattro deputati *ad utilia* who were freely appointed by the rector, yet limited to carrying out advisory duties at least for the time being. The aforementioned council reappeared in the last few years of the second decade of the fifteenth century, when the deliberations of the assembly were once again recorded.[33] A collection of extremely varied, opposing studies concerning the connection between the two cities would be useful for a clearer and more comprehensive picture on the matter. It would be interesting to determine how and in which fields Venetian rule proved to be too intrusive and evaluate Padua's actions, attempts and responses in regard to this attitude. The Paduan conspiracies of the fifteenth century gained strength and legitimacy from this very troubled context. Yet in recent decades, although taken individually, all of these studies appear to be in agreement in defining Padua as the subjugated city par excellence[34] "ruled by an iron fist in a velvet glove".[35]

For example, in the nondeferrable reform of Paduan evaluation which began in 1425, Venice saw the possibility of imposing a strong correctional policy. This intervention was apparently ennobled by the ruling power to guarantee the equitable redistribution of taxes, yet it was also useful to effectively safeguard the properties owned by Venetians in that province. Initially the Venetians were not obliged

[31] Collodo 1993, 110-111.

[32] This is what is inferred in a ducal degree signed by Michele Steno on 18th May 1408, *ASP*, *Ducali*, reg. 4, c. 4r.

[33] Ventura 1964, 55.

[34] Pino-Branca 1933-1934, 348.

[35] Ibid., 330.

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to pay taxes on their properties and it was only the open protest of the citizens of Padua that forced the Venetian Republic to invite its citizens *per legem* to contribute to the tax burden of relevance. In truth, they were just nice words that led to wasted time due to continuous comings and goings of the Paduan ambassadors to and from the capital, and the unfavourable situation continued to affect Padua throughout the fifteenth century.[36]

Concerning legal competence in the Paduan countryside, although the agreements foresaw that Padua would be entrusted with six vicariates, they in fact remained free from the council's control until November 1442 and were often granted *ad beneplacitum* by the Republic in the same manner as any other benefit.[37]

Not even the *Studium* of Padua was spared the indiscrete intervention of the ruling power. The influence of the urban elite and its management of Paduan university was gradually taken away. This was a prudent decision by the Republic considering it was the only remaining university to honour the local elite with this prestigious task which classed it as being superior to the nobility of the lagoon.[38] In fact, it was at the end of the fifteenth century that the government of the Republic focused more and more decidedly on the training of the teaching staff, by employing foreign professors and trying to eliminate the Paduan influence by excluding the locals.[39] Even the act of granting Paduan citizenship to Gasparino Barzizza in 1417 could have been seen as yet another political and cultural attack to the pride of the city of Padua. Barzizza, who was an illustrious professor working at the University of Padua, was granted Paduan citizenship by the Great Council of Venice rather than the city of Padua.[40] It was an unusual institutional procedure with the tacit purpose of defeating the Paduan ruling class.

Even though it would have been preferable to look beyond the proposed timespan, this does not appear to be possible. Michael Knapton studied the extent of Venetian intervention in the courts of first instance in Padua and observed the unjust attitude of the Republic.

[36] Ibid., 924-935.
[37] Zamperetti 1991, 114-115.
[38] De Sandre 1968, 41.
[39] Ibid., 31-32.
[40] Girgensohn 1986, 1-15.

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In the second half of the fifteenth century and in comparison with the other realities of the dominion, the Auditori Nuovi seized the opportunity to judge cases concerning mainland property and transactions between Paduans and Venetians, often disposing of property to the detriment of locals.[41]

Political revenge by the Venetians fomented rebellion in Padua, which refused to accept the new political geography that came with the expansion of the Republic to the mainland.[42] Marsilio da Carrara, who had survived his family's massacre, was the protagonist in the conspiracy of 1435. Sponsored by the nearby Visconti state and a few faithful Paduans, he was instructed to travel to the outskirts of Padua and slip in unobserved. The plan failed due to the prompt intervention of the Council of Ten and Marsilio was captured and subjected to the same fate as his family nearly thirty years earlier. The conspiracy that occurred in the spring of 1438 proved to be even more socially destabilizing since it involved some of the most prominent families of the city of Padua amongst whom Giacomo Scrovegni, Nicolò Camposampiero and the well-known jurist Paolo Dotti. I think the latter is proof that to cause these political destabilisations was not the regret of the Carrara dynasty, but rather the intolerance of the Paduan elite to suffer the loss of fundamental, if not genetic, authority and civic pride for a city which had been accustomed to dominating its rivals in deeds and weapons for centuries.

Finally, the *manu militari* conquest of Padua certainly contributed towards defining the recent relationship between the city and Venice. The motive of war was often reported in the Golden Bull as being nearly metaphorically inflicted.[43] It almost always found itself justifying the hardest denials. After all, Venetian patriciate was mainly composed of merchants and businessmen who seldom, if ever, forgot about the most expensive or arduous purchases, since they conserved their account books with care in order to consult them for making future investments. This is not such a rash metaphor if one considers the forced resignation of doge Francesco Foscari in 1457: at a certain point the late-sixteenth century Venetian tradition explained this

[41] Knapton 1992, 161-163.

[42] On this topic see Segarizzi 1916.

[43] Melchiorre 2012, 145-146 (chaps. 1.3 e 1.5), 147, 148, 151, 157, 160, 163, 169.

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tragic event as the result of the ferocious personal and political conflict between the Foscari and Loredan families. Alessandro Maria Vianoli's *Historia Veneta*, published from 1680 to 1684, speaks of how Francesco Foscari offended Pietro Loredan by failing to adhere to a marriage agreement. So, Pietro was quick to note in his family account book in order to remind this insult to the following generations.[44]

However, Venice's attitude towards Padua immediately after the conquest should be considered in light of the century-old hostility between the two cities.[45] They were two realities that at least at the beginning of the thirteenth century had significant antithetical characteristics, which were both in expansion with already established interests. The coming to power of the Carraresi did nothing but heighten the rivalry, which necessarily broadened the respective political-constitutional models.[46]

This study has attempted to explain the undertones of the Venetian mood that was the selectivity of the choices, the rationality of the actions and the predictability of the consequences. One cannot approve or disapprove the chapters of *dedictio* without taking their needs and possibilities into account; one cannot evade the political, administrative or fiscal limits as agreed upon without a real awareness of the enormous economic and political interests at stake; one cannot eliminate enemies summarily and symbolically without the risk of endowing them with an aura of martyrdom and unable to foresee potential patriotic uprisings. Venice did not forget; it accumulated experience and treasured it. Its long coexistence with such a deadly enemy inevitably made it aware of its potential. Let us not forget that from the beginning of the fourteenth century and even more brazenly in the fifteenth century Padua "had dared" to recall the myth of its founder, Antenor, by affirming that he had founded the communities of the lagoon which were those that would be later known as the dogado of the *comune Veneciarum*.[47] It was more than an act of war,

[44] Romano 2012, 457-458.

[45] See the brief yet recent historical reconstruction of the sequence of events in Padua carried out by Sante Bortolami, Bortolami 2009, 105-179.

[46] It refers to a conversation between a Paduan and a Venetian which led to the work by Giovanni di Conversino di Ravenna, *Dragmalogia seu de elegibili vitae genere* (1404).

[47] Ortalli 2008, 204-206.

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it damaged the myth carefully constructed to safeguard the political integrity of the Republic. The eternal freedom guaranteed the lagoon, at least theoretically, from specious attempts of domination, and gave it the dignity of existing in a medieval period which only accepted two ideal political models of reference: Church and Empire.

It was targeted violence, neither an end in itself nor a systematic characteristic of a *modus operandi*. Venice knew who was going to win and acted accordingly. The expensive conquest proved to be more of a valuable confirmation of the type of policy it wished to maintain in regard to the city of Padua: to avoid future threats and therefore future expenditure.

This was not an easy task, which revealed its fragility in the outcome following the retreat of Agnadello in 1509. When the Italian dominions were invaded by the armies of the League of Cambrai, and Padua rejoiced for the ouster of the Venetian rectors, the Republic's territory was swiftly and suddenly exiled back to the borders of the lagoon, as it had been a century before.[48]

[48] For a recent discussion and bibliography on the meaning of the battle of Agnadello see the documents regarding the convention held in 2011, Gullino 2011.

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DIVINO INTERIME GLADIO: THE SUFFERING OF THE JUDGE IN SOME VISIGOTHIC PASSIONS*

Ivan Neves Figueiras

The profound contrast between the sobriety of the *acta* deemed authentic[1] and the frequently unbridled excess of the so-called epic passions, according to the classification proposed by Hippolyte Delehaye, is well known to all those familiar with the hagiographical subgenre of martyrdom accounts. Because they were considered useless as reliable sources for the factual history of the persecutions, they were marginalized by the hagiographic criticism dominated by the Bollandists, who saw these texts as rather embarrassing products of popular credulity to which the hagiographers adhered uncritically, when faced with the scarcity or total absence of information concerning the holy men they meant to immortalize through their work. Thus, they failed to recognize the authors' imagination itself as a privileged window, maybe not to the time of the persecutions, but most certainly to the hagiographer's mentality and the cultural milieu it was immersed in[2]. The increasing awareness of this potential led to a new impetus to the study of hagiography in the second half of the 20th century.

The analysis we henceforth propose is one made in this spirit of valorization of the hagiographic text primarily as a piece of literature

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[1] The adjective "authentic", widely used, may be misleading. It is well know that all *passiones*, no matter how historically accurate they might be proven, are to some extent shaped by an intention of presenting the martyr as an *exemplum* of Christian perfection. Concerning the adequacy of the term *acta*, cf. Bastiaensen 1987. A recent assessment of the historical value of this early category of hagiographical works can be found in the first chapters of Barnes 2010.

[2] Delehaye 1966, 171, seems to imply that the epic passions betray nothing more than a "décadence intellectuelle". Against a simplistic view of hagiography in general as "pious fiction", cf. Heffernan 1988.

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belonging to a genre whose edifying and liturgical functions took over, as the events that it intended to recount became more and more distant in time.

Characteristic of the epic passions is, on the one hand, a succession of ordeals and gory torments which, the more they surpass the physical capacity of the human being, the more they accentuate the power of divine grace acting in a God's servant as a result of the firmness of his faith. On the other hand, the martyr is generally more active in his verbal interactions with the persecutor. It's precisely this straightforward representation of the martyr as a hero, and unwavering promoter of the Christian faith when facing pagan authorities that justifies the choice of the adjective "epic" by the renowned bollandist[3].

The accumulation of punishments applied to the Christians — whose length and diversity may vary significantly from text to text — are most likely the only form of violence that would be regarded as such by the hagiographer. Preeminent in the martyrdom accounts, it constitutes the ultimate expression of the persecutors' impiety and, as mentioned above, serves to define the devoted heroism of the persecuted.

However, the physical concretization of the judge's cruelty against the martyr is not the only form of violence to be found in the vast *corpus* of *passiones* from the Early Middle Ages. Frequently, the very judges and the executioners who take their orders are the target of violent acts themselves. For the hagiographer, these would be a display of divine retribution, justified by the conception that the persecutors acted on behalf of the *antiquissimus*, the Devil.

The purpose of this paper is to examine some occurrences of the *topos* of *ultio diuina* in some passions of the Hispanic martyrs, in order to evince the diversity of degrees in which it was developed in different texts, in spite of the message intended being the same.

When reading the collection of peninsular texts compiled in the Hispanic Passionary[4], we are able to discern two ways in which violence is expressed against the persecutors: for one, that which is present in

[3] A fuller account of the recurrent elements in epic passions is given by Delehaye 1966, 170-226.

[4] Although some *passiones* were added later, the bulk of the Hispanic Passionary had already been assembled by the 8th century, cf. Díaz y Díaz 1981, 50. The extant manuscripts are no earlier than the 10th century.

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the invective tone the martyr's speech so often assumes; secondly, the corporal punishments miraculously brought upon the judge and the executioners by divine providence. Nonetheless, neither of these motives is recurrent in all the passions we may consider epic and, when they are present, their expression and intensity are not necessarily the same.

First, let us focus on the aggressiveness of the words ascribed by the hagiographers to the martyrs in direct speech. To better underline the profound differences between the portrayal of Christian behavior in the authentic latin *acta* and the late passions that are the object of our study, we will begin by looking at some examples of the former.

The example of the *Acta Cyprani* is paradigmatic. Summoned to court on two distinct occasions under the persecution of Valerian, on the first to be sent to exile, and in the following year to meet his death, the bishop of Carthage always expresses himself with placidity and candor. Justifying his faith to the proconsul Paternus, he declares that the Christians pray day and night to the one God, not only for their own good, but also on behalf of all men, including the emperors themselves[5]:

> *Huic Deo christiani deservimus, hunc deprecamur diebus atque noctibus pro nobis et pro omnibus hominibus et pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum* (1, 2).[6]

Sentenced to exile and watching the Christians being denied access to cemeteries under threat of beheading, Cyprian reacts with a subdued *Praecepisti*[7]. His reaction to the death sentence dictated by the proconsul Galerius Maximus is said to be just as frugal, *Deo gratias* being his only words[8]. He even bestows an act of kindness upon his executioner, offering him five gold coins:

> *Et cum venisset spiculator, iussit suis ut eidem spiculatori aureos viginti quinque darent* (4, 1).[9]

[5] We use as reference for the texts of the authentic *acta* the critical editions provided by Bastiaensen and others 1987.

[6] "This is the God to whom we Christians serve pay homage; night and day we supplicate him for you and for all mankind, as well as for the health of the emperors." (Musurillo 1972, 169)

[7] *Acta Cypriani* 1, 7.

[8] *Acta Cypriani* 3, 6.

[9] "When the executioner came, Cyprian told his friends to give the man twenty-five gold pieces." (Musurillo 1972, 175)

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We can find the same generosity in another authentic text, the *Acta Maximiliani*. Killed in Teveste, Numidia, in the year 295, for refusing military service, the young Christian's last wish is that his father gives the tormenter the brand new garment he would wear when starting his military career[10]. Just like Cyprian, *Deo gratias* is all that Maximilian has to say when he receives his death sentence[11].

In the brief account of the process which took place in the year 180, all six Scillitan martyrs are portrayed with the same pious resignation that stands out in the previous examples. Again, we find the typical *Deo gratias* as their sole response to the fatal verdict. In their reaction to the proconsul Saturninus, we highlight the statement *numquam malediximus, male accepti gratias egimus*[12]. The behaviour prescribed by the gospels (Matthew 5.44; Luke 6.27-35) - and reiterated by St. Paul in Romans 12.14 - is easily recognizable here. Indeed, Cyprian, Maximian and the Scillitan martyrs are merely following this neo-testamentary precept.

This conduct could hardly be more unlike that which is depicted in the *passiones* we shall study next[13]. In these, the tone is mostly set by the well-known *Passio Vicentii*, in its common version (BHL 8628-8631) whose redaction Victor Saxer places in the first half of the 6th century[14]. In this epic passion par excellence, remarkable by its elevated style, the vigorous verbosity attributed to Vincent in his utterances to Datianus, his persecutor, is unmatched by any other hispanic martyr.

The deacon from Zaragoza, detained together with his bishop, Valerius, and having been brought with him to the city of Valencia,

[10] *Acta Maximiliani* 3, 3.

[11] *Acta Maximiliani* 3, 2.

[12] *Acta Martyrum Scilitanorum* 1, 2: "Never have we uttered a curse; but when abused, we have given thanks". (Musurillo 1972, 87)

[13] The *Passio Fructuosi, Augurii et Eulogii* stands out as the only hispanic passion believed to be authentic. In this text, the martyrs act with the usual sobriety. Only in a *post mortem* scene does Fructuosus lose his temper: the hagiographer describes a vision experienced by the governor Emilianus, during which the apparition of the bishop of Tarragona rebukes and insults him (*increpans partier et insultans*) with the evidence of his defeat (*Passio Fructuosi, Augurii et Eulogii* 8). Cf. Riesgo Chueca 1995, 71-79.

[14] Cf. Saxer 2002, 176. The best critical edition of this version of the *passio* can be found in the same volume, Saxer 2002, 183-226.

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where he would be martyred, speaks thus for the first time, addressing his superior:

> *Quid submurmuras? (…) et contra canem leuiter mussitas? Exclama in magna uirtute, christicola, ut contrita rabies, quae contra sanctum Dei ministrum latrat, diuinae percussa protinus uocis auctoritate frangatur* (*PV* 5).[15]

From this surprising excerpt we may infer that the bishop Valerius is pictured acting with the same peaceful disposition found in the aforementioned authentic *acta*. The exhortation made by Vincent could easily be directed, for instance, to Cyprian. By ascribing this reprimand to the deacon, the hagiographer seems – intentionally or not – to be setting himself apart from the tradition of the earliest examples of the genre he was dealing with. And because there is no place for figures such as Cyprian and Valerius in this new conception of martyrdom, Valerian is at once removed from the narrative by means of an order given by Datianus, who doesn't see in the bishop a worthy adversary, preferring to concentrate his cruel efforts in Vincent instead. From this point onward, the saint multiplies his insults to Datianus, having already compared him to a barking dog and identified him as *ille uenantissimus serpens*, the Devil himself.

The author of the *Passio Eulaliae*, a text that has been dated to the 7th century[16], shows the virgin of Christ to be just as impetuous, even if less eloquent. When informed that the persecutor Calpurnianus has entered Merida, Eulalia, burning with the desire for martyrdom, swiftly returns from a villa she was staying at far from the city, and, once arrived, voluntarily seeks the governor in the forum[17]. However,

[15] "Why do you murmur? (…) and mutter softly in reply to the dog? Shout out loud with great strength, man of Christ, so that the rabies that barks against the holly God's servant may be at once shattered, when hit and crushed by the authority of your divine voice."

[16] Cf. Fábrega Grau 1953, 82. We base our study on the critical edition in Riesgo Chueca 1995, 49-69.

[17] The behavior of her homonym from Barcelona, most likely her double, follows closely the example of the martyr of Merida. She hurries of her own free will to the forum to defy Datianus and she is equally eager to insult him: *Numquam tibi bene sit, sacrilege, demoniose, periture, ut ego a fide Domini mei discedam*. (*Passio Eulaliae Barcinonensis* 7). Cf. Riesgo Chueca 1995, 103-113. The topic of the martyr's voluntary exposure to the pagan authority may have been inspired by the *Passio Thyrsi et comitum*, mentioned by the hagiographer as having been often read

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the young girl, steadfast in her devotion, is not content with just willingly presenting herself to the judge. Anticipating the customary interrogation, it is she who initiates the verbal exchange with her antagonist, in a manner that is somewhat aggressive from the beginning:

> *Quur ingrederis urbem, inimice Dei excelsi?* (*PE* 8)[18]

In her increasingly infuriated speech, the insults go on amidst the several torments to which Eulalia is subjected. Analogue to the passion of St. Vincent, they are part of Calpurnianus' representation as a servant of Satan or as Satan himself. In fact, if the virgin starts by calling him the son of Satan, she later names him *antiquissimus*, an epithet notoriously known as a prerogative of the Devil.

If, as we have seen, the Scillitan martyrs could claim never to have cursed their tormenters, and Cyprian prayed to God for the emperors' health, Eulalia — or her hagiographer — do not give away any sign of reluctance in repeatedly slandering the emperors and their gods, in the tenth paragraph of the *passio*:

> *Et ut omnia scias, reges uestros cum diis suis maledixi et maledico. (…) regibus enim tuis et diis eorum eadem, quae dixi saepius, repeto: et maledixi et maledico* (*PE* 10).[19]

In the following paragraph, the governor is once again reviled with the vocative *maledicte*. The resolute character of the patron of Merida was immortalized beyond the memory of her martyrdom, if we recall the episode in the *Vitae Patrum Emeritensium*, where Eulalia's holy apparition convinces, through violent flogging, the arian king Leovigild to call back from exile Masona, the bishop of Merida[20].

The *Passio Cucufatis* (BHL 1999) — a work whose date is difficult to establish, but likely to have been composed no earlier than the first half of the 8th century[21] — is not bare of similar elements of verbal

by Eulalia. The version included in the Hispanic Passionary, BHL 8280, can be found in Fábrega Grau 1950, 202-220.

[18] "Why do you enter the city, enemy of God most high?"

[19] "And so that you know all, I've cursed and I curse again your kings along with their gods. (…) And to your kings and their gods I repeat the same words I have uttered time and again: I've cursed them before and I curse them again."

[20] *Vitae Patrum Emeritensium* 8. The best critical edition is Maya Sánchez 1992.

[21] Cf. Fábrega Grau 1953, 138. The text is edited in Riesgo Chueca 1995, 151-162. We are preparing a more complete edition based on a larger number of manuscripts than that collated either by Fábrega Grau 1950 or Riesgo Chueca 1995.

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violence that show its debt to the *Passio Vincentii*, though this influence may have occurred mostly through the *Passio Felicis Gerundensis*[22]. It is pertinent, however, to approach it concerning the second kind of violence against the tormenter mentioned in the introductory lines of our study: the physical punishment of the judge, miraculously dispensed by the power of God.

Cucuphas' hagiographer seems to not have had at his disposal a previous tradition of the martyrdom or, if he did, time had already reduced it to meager details[23]. In order to create a narrative that would adequately preserve the memory of the patron of Barcelona, he made extensive use of his knowledge of other passions, to which he added his imagination as he saw fit.

He tells us that Cucuphas had been martyred by no less than three judges, all of them probably fictitious. Fábrega Grau argues that the names attributed to the first two — Galerius and Maximianus — raise the suspicion of a misinterpretation of a source dating the martyrdom from the time of the emperor Maximian and under the rule of a *praeses* named Galerius[24], as in fact is the case in the title introducing the *passio* in some of the manuscripts. The third, Rufinus, seems to be borrowed from the *Passio Felicis*, where a certain Rufinus appears as the agent of Datianus responsible for the trial of Felix.

Only Rufinus lives long enough to put an end to the martyr's life through decapitation. As for his predecessors, Galerius and Maximian, they lose their own lives trying to defeat the soldier of Christ. However, these deaths are not, by any means, a matter of chance, nor are they the unexpected result of God's voluntary intervention. Rather, they are the result of two pressing prayers to the heavens made by Cucuphas:

> *(…) ostende uirtutem tuam incredulis ut, qui nomen tuum persecuntur, confundantur, ut uidentes mirabilia tua aut credant et conuertantur aut*

[22] The tradition that makes of Cucuphas a companion of St. Felix is first attested in the *Passio S. Cucufatis*. No trace of it is to be found in texts about Felix.

[23] Prudence (*Peristephanon,* 4, 33-34) is the earliest evidence we have for the cult of Cucuphas, but he doesn't show any knowledge of a narrative of the martyrdom.

[24] Fábrega Grau 1953, 142. The *passio* identifies Maximian as *princeps*, while Galerius is said to be a proconsul and Rufinus someone who seemed to be ruling the city after Galerius' and Maximinian's demise (*qui ciuitati praeesse uidebatur*). We wonder if the author truly believed that the emperor himself had interrogated and tortured Cucuphas, or if he was consciously creating this fiction to exalt his martyr.

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pereant et destruantur; impiissimum namque Galerium diuino interime gladio, qui sic insanit in seruum tuum (*PC* 3).[25]

(…) et presta, ut tyrannus princeps cum suis idolis et cum patre suo diabolo celeriter itereant (*PC* 9).[26]

The martyr sees his petitions promptly answered, first when Galerius mysteriously perishes with his idols, and later when Maximian, falling off his chariot in the forum, bursts[27] and dies, followed, once again, by the destruction of the pagan images. This scene is surprising not so much for the judges' sudden and prodigious death, as for the intemperate request made by the saint. Its violent tone becomes unequivocal with the choice of the verbs *intereo* and *interimo*.

No other Hispanic passion mentions the death of a persecutor, although this motif can be found in non-Hispanic epic passions, such as the *Passio Iuliani atque Basilissae et comitum* and the *Passio Xysti, Laurentii et Hippolyti*, both included in the Hispanic Passionary. The latter may be the source for Maximian' demise in the *Passio Cucufatis*, since it imaginatively describes the sudden deaths of the emperor Decius and the prefect Valerian, as they were sitting in a chariot in the middle of the theatre. Most unusual, in our opinion, is the depiction of the martyr overtly praying to Christ for the immediate destruction of his persecutors[28]. So far, we haven't been able to find parallels in other latin *passiones*[29], that the hagiographer might have had in mind when recreating the legend of Cucuphas.

[25] "Show your power to the nonbelievers, so that those who persecute your name be troubled and, seeing your wonders, believe and be converted, or otherwise perish and be destroyed; and now, kill with your divine sword the most impious Galerius, who rages thus against your servant."

[26] "Let the tyrannical prince swiftly perish with his idols and his father, the devil."

[27] The verbal form *crepuit*, used to desbribe the death of Maximian, is a biblical reminescence from Acts 1.18.

[28] Rather, we find instances where the martyr threatens the pagan with eternal damnation on Judgement Day. Thus, in *Passio Eulaliae* 11: *Trucidet te ignis eternus quemadmodum trucidare disposuisti puellam Dei*; and again in *PE* 16: *Nota tibi sit facies mea ut, dum ante tribunal Domini mei Iesu Christi tempore iudicii sui uenerimus, recognoscas faciem meam in illa die et deuitam pro tuis consequaris meritis ultionem.*

[29] Delehaye 1966, 217 cites, alongside Cucuphas, the example of Christina, who prays that Christ makes her persecutor, her own father, pay for what he has

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A rewritten version of the *passio* (BHL 1998)[30], probably composed in Carolingian Gaul after the translation of Cucuphas' relics in 777-778[31], gives away some uneasiness towards these passages in the Hispanic text. Whoever set out to rewrite it felt the need to add a conditional sentence to both requests made by the martyr:

> *Impiissimum uero Galerium qui sic rabide insaniuit in seruum tuum si non est praedestinatus ad uitam diuino citius interime gladio* (*PC* 3).[32]

> *Praesta Domine ut tyrannus Maximianus si tuo iusto iudicio ut saluetur non potest conuerti intereat celeriter cum patre suo diabolo et omnibus idolis suis* (*PC* 9)[33]

Such modifications soften the violent quality of the prayers. Galerius death is explicitly envisaged as a predetermined event, encompassed by the will of God. In Maximian's case, his death appears as a second best option, since his salvation through conversion to the Christian faith cannot be achieved. Both deaths shift unequivocally from the will of Cucuphas to the omnipotent will of God. As we would expect from a Carolingian milieu, the author of BHL1998 seems far more aware of the doctrinal issues raised by such a scene than the hagiographer of BHL1999.

This brief survey of some examples of violence suffered by the pagan judges in some Hispanic *passiones* prompts some concluding remarks.

As the persecutions became a distant memory, the figure of the martyr lost its immediate validity as a model of sanctity through

put her through. In the latin translation edited by the Bollandists in *AASS* Iul. V, 536-527 (BHL 1751) her words are: *Domine Jesu Christe (…) exaudi me, et redde Urbano hac nocte secundum quae gessit in me, quia crastina die vult me interire*. Despite the use of the verb *intereo*, the prayer is not as direct and, therefore, not as violent as Cucuphas'.

[30] There is still no published critical edition of BHL 1998. We use the text based on the oldest extant manuscripts, which we have collated in view of a forthcoming edition.

[31] Most likely after 835, when Hilduin is said to have brought the relics to Saint-Denis.

[32] "And now, if he's not fated to live, kill with your divine sword most impious Galerius, who rages thus madly against your servant."

[33] "Lord, if by your just verdict he cannot be converted in order to be saved, let the tyrant Maximianus swiftly perish along with his father, the devil, and all his idols."

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which the evidence of God's divine grace on earth could continue to be renewed. From as early as the second half of the 4th century onwards, new models emerged: the ascetic, the monk, the bishop[34]. With them new hagiographical genres arose that better suited these new types of Christian perfection. The martyrs became the fossilized heroes of a glorious Christian past, examples that should be remembered and especially venerated, although they could no longer be strictly imitated. But their cults grew stronger, irradiating from their traditional centers through the circulation of relics. This revitalization of a martyr's celebration demanded a textual support which, in most cases, had not survived from the times of the persecutions, if it ever existed[35]. Thus, *passiones* continued to be written, with or without preexistent sources, and rewritten according to the ever changing requirements of different times and places, rapidly losing their bonds with historical reality and entering the realm of a highly standardized literary genre.

In this evolution of martyrdom accounts, the portrayal of the martyr as a hero found its counterpart in a process of dehumanization of the pagan authority which, by means of the identification with the devil and its agents, begins to embody the concepts of iniquity and impiety. It is with this highly conceptualized character that the martyr is allowed to quarrel with all his righteous fervor, reversing, with the favor of God and to the prejudice of those who applied it, the violence formerly directed to him. The extremes to which the details of this *agon* against the oldest of enemies, now made into a pagan judge, were taken seem to largely depend on the setting in which the hagiographic text was composed, the author's education, and the expectations of its target audience.

Such is suggested by the BHL1999 version of *Passio Cucufatis*, most likely written in a first moment for the limited audience of the monastic community established in the traditional place of Cucuphas beheading, Sant Cugat del Vallès. Writing in a Latin that is far from being elegant, the hagiographer was surely concerned above all else with the practical use of his text, in the context of the celebration of

[34] The development of the different models of sanctity was remarkably traced by Claudio Leonardi 1980.

[35] On the motivations behind the composition of new martyrdom accounts in Early Medieval Spain see Díaz y Díaz 1981, 49-50.

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the patron of his community[36], as the highly liturgical tone of the *passio* clearly shows. But alongside this motivation, we believe it not too far-fetched to perceive an intention of providing entertainment to the future recipients of his work, beyond any edifying and liturgical purposes. He thus managed to give us a valuable glimpse of popular devotion, rejoicing in their patron's requital through the immediate deaths conceded by Christ, but experiencing at the same time the less pious strong emotions the reader of a modern novel experiences, when a wronged hero is effectively avenged in the end. It is no wonder that this feature, fruit of a poorly educated monk in a marginal community, had to be toned down by the more rigid hagiographer of BHL1998, writing in the heart of Carolingian Gaul.

[36] As Boesch Gajano 1990, 222 observes regarding the passions of the Roman martyrs, the authors "potevano soprattutto rispondere alla attesa non solo di informazioni, ma anche e soprattutto di partecipazione emotive alla venerazione del martire".

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WORDS, ACTIONS AND CONTROLLED LIVES. WOMEN AND VIOLENCE IN MEDIEVAL GALICIA

Miguel García-Fernández[1]

When discussing the Middle Ages, it is easy to think of war and violence, always carried out by knights, warmongering kings or outlaws. This is because the film and book industries and even historiographical publications have focused mainly on reconstructing a world in which men dominated violence and women were thought of as mere victims of that violence.

The objective of this essay is to briefly look into the complex relationship between women and violence in the Late Middle Ages in Galicia (North-western Spain) by taking a close look at the variety of situations women found themselves in and conceding that they were not only victims, but that they also exerted verbal and physical violence, and controlled other people's lives.

Late Medieval Galicia was marked by the confluence of economic crisis, abuse from the feudal lords and a high level of social conflict which created a notable level of social insecurity. In this setting we cannot forget the "Revolta Irmandiña" (1466-1469), during which many fortresses were destroyed and violence became ingrained in everyday life, something which, on the other hand, can be inherent to any society.

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Many of these aspects are well known nowadays, and many authors have previously researched this subject matter, discussing women in the role of victims of physical violence,[2] and also specific issues such as the controversial *droit du seigneur,* on its way out in Galicia in the 14th and 15th centuries.[3] They have even talked about the rise of female awareness against male aggression.[4] However, we believe it is necessary to offer a more reflective, richer and more complex view of women's roles as victims and especially as agents of violence that manifests itself in different ways. This violence must be interpreted within an active female social participation, which in turn enriches the historical discourse and the collective imaginary of the Middle Ages, especially that which relates to the types and consequences of medieval violence.[5] This is what we will be discussing.

On violent words

Throughout the Middle Ages, women were the usual victims of violence exerted through words.[6] In this sense we must underline the prevailing misogyny in the legal and ecclesiastical discourse, which insisted on the weakness, the dependence and the necessary subordination of women.[7] Looking at our closest literary tradition — that is in Galician and Portuguese lyrical poetry —, the *cantigas de escarnio e maldecir* are a good way of approaching the main insults women were exposed to in oral tradition. In these poems female sexuality is questioned — especially that of the *soldadeiras*,[8] although the same thing happens to other groups, such as the abbesses, some of whom

[2] Barros 1990: 202-219 & Lojo Piñeiro 1991, and recently, although from the same point of view, Vila Álvarez, 2006.

[3] Barros 1993.

[4] Pallares Méndez 2011: 271-280 & García-Fernández 2012.

[5] Recent research has been done in this respect. As an example Arias Bautista 2007 & Álvarez Bezos 2015, publications with bigger and updated bibliographies.

[6] Some general considerations in Madero 1992.

[7] With regards to this refer to Pallares Méndez 2011: 109-136.

[8] Women who danced and performed gymnastic exercises during the performance of jugglers and troubadours.

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are characterized as masters in the *arte de foder*.[9] This literary tradition also attacks women insisting on their physical and moral ugliness, often describing them as *velhas*, *feas*, *fududancuas*, *peideiras* or *mal talhadas*,[10] that is, they often talk about women obscenely, using their age, lack of beauty or lust to attack them.[11] It is no wonder then that Pedro Amigo of Sevilha refers to a woman as follows: *fea e vella, nunca vi tanto / e esta dona puta é já quanto*.[12]

However, through the late medieval Galician documentation it is also possible to find out about verbal violence in everyday life.[13] We can guess what the main insults and slander uttered against women would have been, although sometimes we only find a generic reference to them described using *enjuriosas e feas*, *vitoperios*, *maas palabras*, *palabras deshonestas*, *befas* and *deshonras*.[14] We also find examples of this in the news, kept in the very few, yet rich, notarial records preserved: in 1459, for example, Pedro López, canon of Ourense, sued Juan Diaz because he *bitoparara e desonrara a sua ama e serventa*.[15]

No specific accusations made against women are known from these sources, although other documents show that some are recurring: *puta carbeyra*[16] is an insult that is documented repeatedly,[17] as are allegations of adultery, and this highlights the emphasis on questioning female sexuality as a source of libel against women and also against the honour of their husbands and family. In the mid-fifteenth century, Teresa do Pereiro from Ourense did not hesitate to accuse Álvaro Fernández's wife of being a *huna aleyvosa*[18] and a *huna puta que posera as cornas ao marido,* [y] *que furtara a el meesmo os diñeros*

[9] "art of fornication."

[10] "women who were old, ugly or women that performed anal sex, who farted or had an undesirable body."

[11] Cerchiari 2009: 92-121 y 145-147.

[12] "a woman so ugly and old, and also somewhat a whore," vv. 5-6 in the *cantiga* "*Meus amigos, tam desaventurado.*" *Vid.* Lopes, Ferreira *et alii* 2011.

[13] Boullón Agrelo 2012: 292-300.

[14] "ugly and insulting words, swearing, filthy language, ridicule and dishonour."

[15] "he had insulted and dishonoured his principal maidservant." López Carreira 2007: 175.

[16] To the insult "whore" the pejorative term "carbeyra" is added, though a translation of this term is not possible.

[17] López Carreira 2007: 118 and 144.

[18] "one treacherous wife."

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que tiña et posera enna capela de San Joan,[19] which led Álvaro Fernández to file a complaint against his wife.[20]

As we see in this case, women were not only victims of verbal violence and defamation, but also uttered those same violent words directed against their peers or against men. Thus, the defendant Juan Diaz, whom we have already referred to above, filed a complaint, *estando enna cadea*,[21] against *mançeba et serbenta do dito Lopo Pérez, canónigo, que lle disera vilano, falso, treedor, escomungado et outras moytas maas palabras desonestas, etç*,[22] and in 1459 Constanza Fernández denounced Inés, mistress of Álvaro Cheo, and her mother Teresa Fernández because not only had she been physically assaulted but they had also called her *lle diseran puta carcabeyra treedora*.[23] In another instance María Fernández denounced Catalina das Seixas because she had insulted her by saying that she *dormía con seu barragano Fernando Álvares*.[24] All this shows therefore that female defamation happened largely through a recurring appropriation of a discourse that questioned women's sexuality and honesty. We are faced with a female sexuality under suspicion which is reflected in the insults that, then as is it now, were directed against men, who would then be insulted using words and expressions such as *cornudo* o *fi*[llo] *de puta*.[25] In short, attacks on men made by questioning the honour of women related to them: their wives and mothers.

On violent acts

What commonly comes to mind when thinking of the relationship between women and violence in the Late Middle Ages is undoubtedly women as victims of physical violence. It is a type of violence which

[19] "whore who had been unfaithful to her husband, who had stolen the money he had and that he had kept at the San Juan Chapel."

[20] López Carreira 2007: 152-153.

[21] "being in prison."

[22] "mistress and servant of the said Lopo Pérez, canon, who had called him a villain, false, traitor, excommunicated and many other bad and dishonest words, etc." López Carreira 2007: 175.

[23] "treacherous *carcabeyra* whore." Yet again "carcabeyra" is used to enhance the other two appellatives. López Carreira 2007: 144.

[24] "slept with her lover Fernando Alvares." López Carreira 2007: 118.

[25] "cuckolded or son of a whore."

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has been well documented and which took the form of a set of acts characterised primarily by their plurality. Plurality regarding the agents that carried it out — family members,[26] neighbours, the lords and their agents, etc.; regarding the victims — noble women, peasants, women living in cities or female monastic institutions; and of course regarding the type of crime that was committed, both against property and people. Moreover, when analysing this type of violence, we find men fighting men, men fighting women, women fighting men and, of course, women fighting their peers. All of them constitute a set of individuals that have sometimes remained anonymous within the sources, but at other times their names have been registered.

Although the assaults committed within the home and in the family environment are difficult to document, we can cite a few examples, especially when the level of violence is considerable. In 1465 the merchant Juan Alfonso de Tenorio stabbed his wife Elvira Rodríguez. She was forced to flee her home, leaving her children behind, and take refuge in Pedro López da Berreira's home, who at that time was governor of Ourense. However, the husband publicly confessed to stabbing his wife to get her to return to his side, swearing that he would not [a] *matar*[á] *nin ferirá con espada nin con puñal* (…) *nin con paao peligroso, nin lle dará vida penada*" as long as "*lle seja obediente, segundo que debe ser moller á seu marido*.[27]

In another instance Sancho de Ulloa, 1st Count of Monterrei, made a more private confession in his first will, granted in 1480. In it he acknowledged having committed numerous abuses against several individuals and institutions, of which we can highlight an apology to his wife *por las muchas sinrazones é ingratitudes que de mi á recibido… teniendo muchas veces malignos pensamientos é procurar de los poner é obrar contra ella. Y así injuriándole con soberbia é mala intención*,[28] and his sister Doña María, *que algunas veces la tube mala*

[26] Some authors consider that, although is not easily found in the documentation, domestic violence would have been the one that affected women the most. Lojo 1991: 96.

[27] He would not "kill her or wound her with the sword or the knife (…) or with a dangerous stick, and he would not give her a wretched life if she were obedient, as a wife should be towards her husband." Pallares Méndez 2011: 276-278 and 298-299.

[28] "for the many wrongs and ingratitude that she has received from me… many a time having had malignant thoughts and trying to carry them out and act against her."

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voluntad é la quisiera facer daño.[29] In this instance it is a case of private violence, silenced within the home and which only became known due to remorse and the need for forgiveness before death. On the other hand, Pedro Álvarez de Soutomaior, during the early years of Modernity, was tried and condemned for his actions against his mother: in this case domestic violence reached one of its worst expressions, that is, matricide. Pedro Álvarez de Soutomaior was condemned to death but escaped alive by fleeing to Portugal. In the 16th century Vasco de Aponte summarized the facts as follow: *pasando ella un día por un camino, esperáronla dos o tres peones, tiráronla con vallestas y firiéronla muy mal. Y yaciendo ella en una cama entraron los mismos peones con sus espadas y la dieron de estocadas*.[30]

Violence was sometimes exercised by keeping women locked up in castles or monasteries. Far from the romantic idea of ladies locked up in towers waiting anxiously for absent husbands or lovers, surviving documents tell us of confinement as a result of the abuse suffered by noble women. We know for example that Don Fadrique Enríquez, Duke of Arjona, *tuviera a la dicha duquesa* — his wife, Doña Aldonza de Mendoza — *detenida en el alcaçer de Ponferrada… fasta veynte o veynte et dos meses*.[31] Moreover, Doña María Pimentel de Castro denounced her husband before the Catholic Monarchs for holding her in a fortress while being pressured by him to seek the annulment of their marriage.[32] At other times noblewomen suffered violence from adversaries and not their families. In this context we have the example of Álvaro Pérez de Moscoso's attempt to kidnap the daughter of Gómez Pérez das Mariñas by, as told by Vasco de Aponte: *yendo su muger* — that of Gómez Pérez — *doña Theresa para Santiago con veinticinco peones y onçe de a cavallo, saliole al camino Álvaro Pérez*

[29] "to whom sometimes I wished ill and wanted to harm." *Colección* 1915: 311-312.

[30] "Walking down a lane one day, two or three foot soldiers shot her down using crossbows and they wounded her very badly. And being taken to a bed, the same foot soldiers came in with their swords and stabbed her, wounding her." Aponte 1986: 265.

[31] "he had held said duchess — his wife Doña Aldonza de Mendoza — in the castle of Ponferrada… for twenty or twenty-two months." Archivo Ducal de Alba, *Casa de Lemos,* C-85-1.

[32] García-Fernández 2012: 61.

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de Moscoso a la ponte Abargo con çinquenta peones y catorçe o quinçe de a cavallo, para le tomar su hija doña María.[33]

The attacks on noblewomen also occurred at the hands of disgruntled vassals, sometimes with tragic consequences, as happened to Doña Teresa de Zúñiga, widow of the Count of Santa Marta Pérez Diego Sarmiento. This woman, to whom Vasco de Aponte refers to significantly as a "devilish countess" and "presumptuous", was murdered in Ribadavia by vassals brandishing spears in retaliation *muchos males que ella les facía*.[34] Other times we read of documented rebellions that were probably nothing more than brief outbursts of violence and social unrest. An example of this took place in the Malpica estate (A Coruña) against the Countess of Valencia, when her authority was rejected in 1460.[35]

Attacks on women who were not noble were also a part of everyday life. In the case of Ourense, one of the best documented cities, there are many examples. In 1434 for example we find the complaint of a man who tells of how his wife *lle dera*[n] *huna ferida enna maao esquerda* (…) *e huna cotellada enno rostro etç*.[36] Sometimes attacks were reported as being perpetrated against property and people that lived in the vicinity, and not against the complainant. This was the case of Eufemia Yáñez, wife of the governor Álvaro Alonso, who accused Gonzalo Ouxea and Rodrigo da Torre of *que lle lapançaran sua moça et que lle birtaran a porta da orta, etç*.[37] We can find more references to this kind of violence in a grievances memorial presented to the Catholic Monarchs by the city of Ourense in 1486. In it we can clearly see how women were indeed the victims of abuse from the men who lived in Castillo Ramiro, just outside the city. In the same

[33] "His wife Doña Teresa — that of Gomez Pérez — to Santiago with twenty-five foot soldiers and eleven knights, Álvaro Pérez e Moscos appeared, at the Abargo bridge, with fifty foot soldiers and fourteen or fifteen knights to kidnap her daughter Doña María." Aponte 1986: 158.

[34] "for all the wrongs she had done them." Aponte 1986: 218.

[35] Galbán Malagón 2011: 187-188.

[36] "had been wounded in her left hand (…) and she had been stabbed in the face, etc." López Carreira 2005: 127-128.

[37] "having taken her servant girl and the door to her vegetable garden, etc." López Carreira 2005: 28.

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document we also read about women being slapped or even pregnant women being battered and murdered.[38]

Rape stands out amongst the ways that were used to abuse women. It is undoubtedly a kind of abuse that would strongly disgrace the victim and her family, and therefore excessive efforts to conceal this type of crime are more than likely. However, although accusations of rape are often silenced or merely hinted at — regarding both married and unmarried women — in some documents, there are also specific complaints, like the one presented by Teresa Gómez in Ourense against Juan, servant of Juan de Novoa, in 1458. The account of events, reinforced by the exceptional testimony of canon Ruy García, allows us to see the extreme necessity for raped women to prove their resistance to the rapist, as some considered them to be responsible despite being victims. In this case, the canon reported in his account that the victim *tiña as pernas encrusilladas, descobertas, ençima fasta o ventre, ben brancas, et el* — Juan, the accused, — *que pona en ela as pernas e as maaos por las abryr et non podia, et porque as non queria abrir, que lle daba bofetadas et ela, descabellada, jasendo en terra, et disendo «Ay del Rey, ay del Rey»*.[39]

A group of documents from the 14th and 15th centuries, in which reference is made to certain abuses of a sexual nature committed by lords against women, have led Carlos Barros to talk about the persistence of the *droit de seigneur* at that time, although in a declining phase.[40] However, while sources seem to make more references to Cataluña, we believe that the data existing for Galicia — hints based on rumours and accusations made by factions in conflict — must be interpreted as cases of sexual abuse carried out by specific lords and their agents, and not as a feudal right accepted by society. Therefore, although they are highly suggestive documents, nothing at the moment allows us to categorically state the persistence of the *droit de seigneur* in late medieval Galicia, although it could have existed at some point as part of customary law.

[38] Vila Álvarez 2006: 164-179.

[39] "had her legs crossed, naked up to her stomach, and very white, and him — the accused, Juan — had tried to open her legs, putting his own legs and hands on her, but he could not, and as she did not want to open them, he slapped her and she, dishevelled, said «*Ay del Rey, ay del Rey*», crying out for the king's help." Pallares Méndez 2011: 274-276 and 296-298.

[40] Barros 1993.

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As with words, violence through acts was also carried out by women, either as direct perpetrators or as instigators. In 1434 for example, a complaint was filed in Ourense against Mencía Álvarez and the daughter of Meen Suárez because *viindo Elvira mansa e segura con hun fol de fariña do muyno et viindo porlas lageas do Posio enna Canicouba aderençaran a ela e que a quiseran mataran e que lle deran moytas paancadas*.[41]

Either way, sources — especially literary ones and chronicles — tell us about women's ability to compensate for their lack of physical strength by using a series of tricks that allowed them to weaken and even kill their enemies. In this sense, poisoning has been seen as an essentially feminine ruse, viewed negatively because of its association with cowardice. According to the aforementioned Vasco de Aponte, Doña Inés de Castro, second wife of Lope Sánchez de Ulloa, killed her stepson Vasco López de Ulloa: *viendo esta Doña Inés, su segunda mujer, que havía dél hijos, procuró baijar en Vasco López su entenado, y fue fama que lo matara con ponçoña*.[42] Rumours or reality? Poisonings tend to raise such doubts.

Owing to their social standing, noble women came to exercise some power. It is not surprising therefore that on many occasions they would take part in power struggles, committing encroachments of properties and exerting pressure. This speaks again of violence through acts promoted by women, even if it was carried out by others. As an example of this we know that Doña Juana de Castro took part in the siege of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela with her son Bernal Yáñez de Moscoso, where the enemy had taken refuge under the command of the mother and brother of the archbishop Alonso de Fonseca II.[43] In another case Doña Teresa de Zúñiga, to whose tragic ending we have already referred, imprisoned Diego de Andrade and Sancho de Ulloa for two years after they had attacked

[41] "Elvira was coming back calmly and securely from the mill with a container full of flour. When she got to the Posío area, in the Canibouca, they — Mencía Álvarez and the daughter of Meen Suárez — went towards her and tried to kick her to death." López Carreira 2005: 149-150.

[42] "When Doña Inés, his second wife, had bore him children she tried to harm Vasco López, her stepson, and the rumour was that she had poisoned him." Aponte 1986: 178-179.

[43] García Fernández 2013b: 371-373.

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one of her properties.[44] In the case of Doña Urraca de Moscoso we find several documented accusations against her for encroaching lands and even infringing on the civil jurisdiction of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela.[45]

Sometimes the aggressors became their own victim, which brings us to acts such as suicide. Beyond the moral condemnation that resulted from any attempt against one's own life — as it was considered to be an attack on the work and will of God — the sources are sparing when talking about this. However, the hanging of Doña Aldonza de Acevedo, sister of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela Alonso de Fonseca II and wife of Lope Pérez de Moscoso, 1st Count of Altamira, is documented in Galicia in the late 15th century: *dezían se avia ~~muer~~ matado por sí misma… que la avian fallado muerta en sus casas de morada*.[46] The news also appears briefly in Vasco de Aponte's account: *aorcose la condesa Doña Aldonza de Açevedo*,[47] while hinting at an accusation against her husband, whom he considers *no era hombre para mujer*.[48]

Therefore, beyond the image of women as victims of physical assaults perpetrated by men, we can also see in the sources that women took an active role in instigating and executing violent acts.

On controlling the lives of others

The life choices that were offered or imposed on women in medieval society were basically that of marrying or entering into a convent. One wonders if they actually had any sort of choice in the planning of their lives. In most cases, and perhaps more often among the elite as they tried to ensure the social, economic, political and symbolic reproduction of their social group, we find that parents and tutors planned the lives of men and women. In this sense, we believe we must insist that women were victims of this family "violence" that

[44] Aponte 1986: 227, especially note 354.

[45] Galbán Malagón 2011: 395 and 400.

[46] "They said that she had killed herself… that she had been found at the houses where she lived." Galbán Malagón 2011: 180-181.

[47] "Doña Aldonza de Açevedo hanged herself." Aponte 1986: 202.

[48] "He was not man for a woman." Ídem.

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materialized in limiting their choices and ignoring their wishes, while, when they were able to plan the lives of others they did not hesitate to do so for the good of the group. Therefore, men and women became both victims and agents of these family strategies which involve a different, though not less real, type of violence.

Beyond this reality, embodied in the writing of a large number of marriage contracts — often when the sons and daughters were underage, which clearly reveals how little their opinions mattered — it is necessary to know whether or not women had any ability to react to these impositions. A close examination of some well-documented cases — obviously cases related to the nobility — allows us to observe some awareness, a rejection of the situation and implementation of their own plans. Doña Beatriz de Castro, daughter of Count Don Pedro and sister of Don Fadrique Enríquez, Duke of Arjona, was admitted to a convent as a child. However, she did not seem to be happy with this and decided to abandon religious life. The monk Malaquías de la Vega says: *la niña no tubo ánimo de profesar y después, como siempre avía publicado que no era monja, se desnudó los hábitos a vista de la abbadesa y monjas y se salió del monesterio, ayudada de algún pariente*.[49] Finally, after acquiring the relevant papal dispensation, she married and became the heir and successor to her brother, becoming Lady of Lemos. In the case of Doña Mayor de Ulloa we have the testimony of a woman who rejected an old marriage agreement signed by her parents when she was underage: *que ao dito tempo ela non era de ydade más que de nove ou des anos pouquo mais ou menos tempo, e que ela antes e despoys que chegou a idade de dose anos que en eles expresava o contradesera o dito matrimonio et casamento, et non consentira en él, non consentía aynda agora, antes expresamente o contradesía e non lle prouvera nen prasía*.[50] What we do not know is if this position was solely an expression of her will or, on the contrary, a change in the

[49] "The girl did not want to make her vows and after, as she had publicly said that she was not a nun, she discarded her habit in front of the abbess and the nuns and left the monastery aided by a relative."

[50] "When the wedding was agreed upon she must not have been more than nine or ten years old, more or less, and both before and after reaching her twelfth birthday she had expressed her rejection to that marriage, saying that she had not agreed to it and that she still did not agree to it. She rejected it specifically and it did not satisfy her nor did she feel it."

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interests of the group.[51] A third and final example of a woman that reacted against the planning of her life as a noble woman is Doña Constanza, daughter of Gómez Pérez das Mariñas. She decided to marry who she wanted even if that meant *a furto de su padre, el qual por esto siempre de allí adelante cubrió la cabeça con la capilla de un capuz negro asta su muerte por aqueste caso, porque Parragués havía sido su paje*.[52]

So, although women in general were victims of controlled lives, some did manage to make themselves heard, making their own decisions and reacting to the psychological and physical violence others exerted to try to break them to make them accept a certain life plan.

On reporting and female mediation

As we have seen so far, women were both victims and agents of violence. They were also witnesses to violence directed against others, either relatives or strangers. Now we turn our attention to two other aspects, generally forgotten, which once again reflect the women's role and active participation in medieval society: reporting abuse and mediating.

It is thanks to surviving documentation that we know about complaints and protests. The complainants, with regard to crimes committed against both men and women, could have been either men or women, demanding justice for themselves or their families.[53] We can

[51] For more information on both cases mentioned above refer to García-Fernández 2012: 42-63.

[52] "Going against her father's wishes, who from then on and until his death, because of this, covered his head with a black hood, because Parragués had been his page — that is to say from a lower social class." Aponte 1986: 158.

[53] This is the case of Inés Pérez who in 1434 denounced the murder of her husband Pascual Rodríguez before the judges of Ourense: him being calm and secure (…) he had been wounded from behind and he had later died from that wound. For this she demanded justice, López Carreira 2005: 47. On the other hand, the close relationship between the rape of the wife and the dishonor this meant for the husband and family meant that many times rapes or the attempts were denounced by men, and not the women who had been attacked. An example of this can be found in 1484, when Esteban de Sumeso quarreled against the clergyman from Santa María de Bobadela saying that Joan de Ramoyn had tried to rape his wife. López Carreira 1992: 45.

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affirm that in medieval society women assaulted, were assaulted, denounced and were denounced.

Regarding the women in Ourense we referred to above, Teresa Gómez and Elvira Rodríguez, the significance of their actions — to publicly denounce an attempted rape and a stabbing — has been emphasized, but is it really a sign of change in female consciousness? Or is it simply behaviour consistent with the participation of women in the judiciary system, denouncing attacks against their relatives and themselves? As previously noted, a review of notarial records reveals that women were no strangers to the judicial system, and in this sense this is how we think the documents already mentioned should be interpreted. Sadly, these types of documents, which allow us to see into everyday life, are not abundant, and so it has led to some distortions regarding the role of women in medieval society.

Another form of female participation in conflictive and violent situations was through mediation. It is a situation which requires an attitude halfway between plea — the petitioner is in a position of inferiority —[54] and negotiation, where the petitioner is on a level with the other person. A good example of this form of intervention is that of Doña Beatriz de Castro, wife of García Díaz de Cadórniga, who, when widowed, exerted notable power in Ourense, negotiating truces and concord within the struggles surrounding her son Pedro Diaz Cadórniga. She did not hesitate either to hand out letters of insurance to the merchants who came to the city and, after her son's death, mediated with the Franciscans to seek his absolution.[55]

In other instances, female mediation took place at court, where in turn the goal was to secure royal mediation. Doña Teresa de Távoras was at the court of Elizabeth I and she would have had a major role in securing the estate of Soutomaior for her son Álvaro after the disgrace of her husband, Pedro Álvarez, known as Pedro Madruga.[56]

[54] This is what we find with the case of María Castaña who as a way of gaining pardon for her participation in a revolt against the feudal power of the Bishop of Lugo, made a donation to the church in Lugo with her sons. The habit of making donations undoubtedly became important in order to initiate negotiations and when mediating. García-Fernández 2013c: 218.

[55] More information about this woman in García-Fernández 2013a.

[56] Aponte 1986: 259.

Conclusions

Our goal was simple, to provide a brief general review of the relationship between women and violence in Galicia in the late Middle Ages. In this regard, we believe that we have demonstrated the need to examine these relationships, acknowledging their complexity, heterogeneity and continuity over time. It is therefore necessary to continue to work on this subject, demonstrating that women were not only victims but also spectators, agents, promoters and accomplices.

Contrary to the widespread image of men as the only authors of violence, we must insist that although they were involved, so were women, people both acquainted with and unknown to the victims, people from different levels of society. All of them were immersed in a system of violence that manifested itself in various forms — words, acts and the control over lives — and spaces — the home, the lands, the cities, etc.

Concurrently, we need to study women's actions in the context of conflict, as the evidence suggests that women did not hesitate to go to court or to other intermediaries to report both pressures and violence suffered by them or their relatives. This is why we believe that the relationship between women and violence must go hand in hand with the study of the processes by which changes in consciousness and mediation occurred. That way we would add a new dimension to the actions of women within medieval society, one that is richer and truer to life.

In short, far from seeing them in their role as victims together with the elderly and children — as a part of those considered defenceless — medieval women exercised violence and reacted to it as well as taking part in different types of litigation as plaintiffs, defendants and witnesses.

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OPORTET TE ACCIPERE VIRUM ET LAETARI: A FORM OF VIOLENCE IN SOME LIVES OF VIRGIN SAINTS

María Elisa Lage Cotos

Some of the best-known and most 'truculent' forms of violence are those found in the *passiones* that have reached us: all of us have an image of martyrdom, but it is striking that accounts spare no details about torments that directly affect private parts. The breasts of many female saints were severed or burnt, and the *Lives* calmly describe these tortures — or depict them, in the case of some manuscripts.[1]

Some years ago, Vanesa Hernández Amez dwelt upon the torture and death of female martyrs, focusing on mediæval Castilian hagiography, which is indebted to Latin sources and the *Legenda aurea* in particular.[2] Some *Lives* include peculiar details where the victim chides her tormentor, as Saint Agatha does:

> *Tunc iratus Quintianus iussit eius mamillam torqueri et tortam diutissime iussit abscidi. Cui Agatha: 'Impie crudelis et dire tyranne, non es confusus amputare in femina quod ipse in matre suxisti?.'*[3]

[1] I am thinking of the case of Saint Agatha, and of the Geneva manuscript, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. fr. 57, fol. 79v that can be seen on the cover of B. Fleith et F. Morenzoni 2001. Regarding this topic, see E. M. Harney 2008, where the author examines the tradition of four virgin martyrs: Agatha of Catania, Agnes of Rome, Juliana of Nicomedia and Catherine of Alexandria.

[2] See Hernández Amez 2005, 851-864. In the illustration appendix (861- 863) there may be seen, amongst other things, an utensil for shredding breasts (861), the torment of Saint Barbara (862) and Saint Agatha (863). In a paper dealing with a similar topic, Hernández Amez 2004-2005, 315- 330, the same author again includes illustrations depicting torments. Regarding this topic, see E. M. Harney 2008, 37 ff.

[3] *Legenda aurea*, chapter XXXIX, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 258. The evocation of the tormentor's mother may be found in other places, for instance in the *Life* of Febronia that will be discussed below, although not in the words of the martyr but in those of one of her defenders: "O crudelis omnisque humanitatis expers, non sufficiunt tibi tot mala illata hactenus miserae huic puellae? Non meministi matris tuae quae et ipsa simile corpus habuit? Non recordaris, quod malo omine natus primum alimentum ex uberibus sumpseris, indeque ad hoc malorum culmen ascenderis" (*Acta Sanctorum*, saints of June 25th, 29).

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But this is not the kind of violence which I would like to address here; instead, I would like to discuss a kind of non-bloody violence committed against a maid who has decided to remain a virgin by being forced — or, at least, being pressured — to marry. Sometimes the wooer is the persecuting governor himself, who also imposes the cruellest torments, usually through middlemen.[4]

Reames drew attention to this aspect of matrimony as torment and stressed that the superiority of Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* is probably most clearly indicated by its relative moderation when discussing virginity and matrimony.[5]

Usually, it is the Roman governor himself who "falls in love" or becomes infatuated with the Christian virgin, but a certain differentiation can be made depending on whether he simply urges her to marry, or asks her to marry him or somebody else, either of his family or not:

a) **marry**, with no further elaboration, as in one of the versions of Dorothea's Life, with which I shall deal below.

b) **marry me**, as, for instance, in the case of Saint Agatha, which is particularly interesting and not because of the chosen mode of torture: she is wooed by the Roman governor — the consul of Sicily — because of her beauty, but also because of her other many virtues, wealth amongst them,[6] although the Roman does not come to state his plea as in the case of Dorothea, which we will address later.[7]

[4] Although these governors seem to us cruel and violent characters, some of them were merciful and grieved at having to commit such atrocities. I have taken this information from E. Le Blant 1882, 2nd part, 126. Available online: <https://archive.org/ stream/mmoiresdelinst30pt2acaduoft_djvu.txt> (25 September 2014). Febronia's main defender, too, is his tormentor's nephew (see below).

[5] Mailly is a compiler, hagiographer and chronicler who lived between 1190 and c. 1260. On the *Legenda aurea*, for which the *Abbreviatio* is a source, see S. L. Reames 1985. On Jean de Mailly and his work, probably written between 1228 and 1230, see the recent edition: Jean de Mailly, G. P. Maggioni 2013.

[6] On the qualities that ought to be taken into account when looking for a husband or a wife, see Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* IX, 7, 'De coniugiis', point 28: "In eligendo marito quattuor spectari solent: virtus, genus, pulchritudo, sapientia…", and 29: "Item in eligenda uxore quattuor res inpellunt hominem ad amorem: pulchritudo, genus, divitiae, mores" (see Isidore of Seville 1982, 1, 800).

[7] See, for instance, *Legenda aurea*, chapter XXXIX: "Agatha uirgo ingenua mente et corpore pulcherrima in urbe Catanensium deum semper in omni sanctitate colebat. Quintianus autem consularis Sicilie, cum esset ignobilis, libidinosus,

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As I have just mentioned, Agatha does not receive a marriage proposal in the same terms as other saints such as Dorothea, but it is clear that the consul wants to marry her for several reasons. However, this desire is soon superseded by Quintianus's true intention: he wants the young woman to apostatize, which could be a first step towards consenting to marry.[8]

c) **marry even somebody else**. The prospective husband may belong to the governor's family — his son, his nephew, etc. — or not. In the case of Agnes,[9] he is the prefect's son:

> *Quae (Agnes) dum a scholis reuertitur a prefecti filio adamatur. Cui ille gemmas et diuitias innumerabiles promisit si consensum eius coniugio non negaret* (*Legenda aurea,* chapter XXIV, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 169).

The girl — let us not forget that she was only thirteen years old — responds with a volley of insults resembling those generally used to scorn women,[10] and goes on to present an argument which is admirable in one so young:

auarus et ydolis deditus, beatam Agatham comprehendere nitebatur ut, quia erat ignobilis, comprehendendo nobilem timeretur, quia libidinosus, eius pulchritudine frueretur, quia auarus, eius diuitias raperet, quia ydolatra, deis eam faceret immolare." (ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 256- 257). Quintianus decides to send her to a brothel for a month to try to change her mind. When the brothel owner, called Afrodisia, admits that she cannot bend her, Quintianus makes a proposal to the girl: "Quintianus dixit: 'Elige quod uolueris, aut scilicet deis sacrificare aut diuersa supplicia sustinere'…" (ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 257 and 258).

[8] Besides the aforementioned *Legenda aurea* text, the *Acta sanctorum* variant may be seen, which includes some versions of the story: *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, saints of February 5th, 615- 618: "Quintianus dixit: Elige tibi unum e duobus, quod cumque <sic> volueris, consilium; aut diuersas poenas inter damnatitios quasi stulta incurrere; aut quasi sapiens et nobilis, quod te natura dictauit, sacrifica diis omnipotentibus, quos veros deos esse vera diuinitas demonstrat… Quintianus dixit… aut sacrifica diis, aut variis suppliciis te faciam interire… Sequenti igitur die impiissimus Quintianus… dixit: Denega Christum, et deos incipe colere, et consule tuae iuuentuti, ne acerba morte consumaris…" And also *Acta sanctorum ibidem,* 618-620. On the sources for the *Life* of Saint Agatha, see *BHL* 1898-1899, 1, 23, Nos. 133-140 and BHL *Novum Supplementum* 1986, 19-20, Nos. 133-140.

[9] On Agnes, whose feast day is January 21st, see *BHL* 1898-9, 1, 27-28, Nos. 156-167 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 22-24, Nos. 156-167c.

[10] "Discede a me, fomes peccati, nutrimentum facinoris, pabulum mortis, quia iam ab alio amatore preuenta sum". (*Legenda aurea* chapter XXIV, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 169; one of Maggioni's footnotes refers to Saint Ambrose, *De virginibus* I, 2).

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> *Cepitque ipsum suum amatorem et sponsum a quinque commendare que sponse in sponsis precipue requirunt, scilicet a nobilitate generis, a decore pulchritudinis, a diuitiarum abundantia, a fortitudine et potentie efficacia et ab amoris excellentia*. (*Legenda aurea*, *ibidem*).[11]

Young Cyrilla, held to be Emperor Decius's daughter, whose feast day is October 28th, receives a similar proposal. According to the version of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Claudius addresses her as follows:

> *Claudius dixit: "Assentire nobis et sacrifica diis, nubasque viro, qui respondeat tuis natalibus". Cyrilla respondit: "Ego jam nupsi viro, qui me veram docuit sapientiam, nempe Domino Jesu Christo, cui semel tradita sum*.[12]

Flaccus asks both Petronilla[13] and Felicula[14] to marry him, albeit with some differences. In the case of Petronilla, who was "nimis speciosa", Flaccus asks her to marry him, but he does not urge her to offer a sacrifice to the idols:

> *Quae cum nimis speciosa esset… Comes igitur Flaccus ad eam venit ut ipsam propter eius pulchritudinem acciperet in uxorem. Cui illa respondit: "Si me in uxorem habere desideras, iube ad me uirgines uenire que me usque ad domum tuam debeant associare". Quas cum ille pararet, Petronilla ieiuniis et orationibus insistere cepit et corpus domini suscipiens ac in lecto se reclinans post triduum ad dominum migrauit.* (*Legenda aurea*, chapter LXXIII, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 517).[15]

[11] This can be considered nearly an adaptation of the Isidorian passage from *Etym.* IX, 7, 'De coniugiis', points 28 and 29, reproduced in footnote 6 of the present paper.

[12] *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, amongst the saints of October 28th (*De S. Cyrilla, virgine et martyre dicta filia Decii imperatoris Rome*), 469. This episode appears elsewhere in the *Acta Sanctorum* with similar formulations. See *BHL* 1898-1901, 1, 311.

[13] On Petronilla, see *BHL* 1898-1901, 2, 965 and also *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 707-708, Nos. 6640m-6640n. See also the section concerning Nereus et Achilleus, *BHL* 2, 833, Nos. 6058-6067 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 655- 656, Nos. 6058-6067d.

[14] On Felicula, whose feast day is June 13th, see *BHL* 1898-1901, 1, 430, No. 2856, and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 326.

[15] Besides this version from the *Legenda aurea*, the *Acta Sanctorum* 1999-2002 may be seen, amongst the saints of May 30th (*De sancta Petronilla virgine romana*), 420.

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In face of this unexpected death, Flaccus decides to 'woo' Felicula, one of Petronilla's colleagues, and he suggests two possibilities: to marry him or, as an alternative, to offer a sacrifice to the idols. I include first the *Legenda aurea* passage, although the version in the *Acta sanctorum* contains more information:

> *Flaccus delusum se uidens ad Feliculam Petronille sociam se conuertit et ut aut sibi nuberet aut ydolis immolaret precepit. Quod cum illa utrumque renueret, prefectus septem diebus sine cibo et potu in carcere eam esse fecit…* (*Legenda aurea*, chapter LXXIII, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 517).

In the *Acta sanctorum* version, which is more detailed, Felicula is addressed with a blunt disjunctive: *unum tibi elige e duobus, aut esto uxor mea, aut diis sacrifica*, an unsuccessful proposal despite being endorsed by the 'uxores custodum', who, like tempting devils, incite the girl to marry a young man who is "noble, wealthy, young, elegant, 'comes' and a friend of the Emperor". This is an original proposal due to the presence of the gaoler's wives and the qualities of the conjectural husband, which surpass the conditions that we had seen in Isidore (*virtus*, *genus*, *pulchritudo*, *sapientia*):

> *Flaccus autem vertens animum, dixit ad Feliculam; Unum tibi elige e duobus, aut esto uxor mea, aut diis sacrifica. Cui S. Felicula respondit: Nec uxor tua ero, quia Christo sacrata sum: nec immolabo idolis, quia Christiana sum. Tunc Flaccus tradidit eam Vicario, et fecit eam in tenebroso claudi cubiculo, sine cibo per septem dies, in quo dicebant ei uxores custodum; Quare vis mala morte mori? Accipe virum nobilem, divitem, juvenem, elegantem, Comitem et amicum Imperatoris. Audiens haec Felicula, ipsum nullum omnino accipio…*[16]

We have hitherto seen cases of female saints receiving marriage proposals; these proposals may be accompanied by an invitation to make a sacrifice to the idols, or not. Now I would like to dwell upon the case of Dorothea,[17] in whose life we may find the words which give this paper its title: *opportet te accipere virum et laetari*. This is the *vita*

[16] *Acta Sanctorum* 1999-2002, amongst the saints for June 13th, vol. II, 666: *De sancta Felicula, virgine et martyre Romae*.

[17] See *BHL* 1898-1899, 1, 349-350, Nos. 2321-2325 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 268-269, Nos. 2323a-2325e.

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of Saint Dorothea[18] as compiled in the *Acta sanctorum* amongst the saints whose feast is on February 6th; it includes a passage where the Roman 'praeses', whose name is Sapricius, exhorts the girl to marry and live gaily.[19]

This longer version of Dorothea's life (nearly 2,700 words, in contrast with the more or less 850 words of the *Legenda aurea* version, in the edition of Theodor Graesse), or *Acta* version, whose *incipit* is "In prouincia Cappadociae…", depicts a vague invitation to matrimony. It therefore does not agree with the shorter version in the Graesse edition of the *Legenda aurea*, number 210 in the *addenda* — which does not appear in G. P. Maggioni's recent critical edition —, whose *incipit* is "gloriosa virgo et martir Dorothea". This shorter version does refer to a marriage proposal, but it names the suitor: it is the 'praefectus', here called Fabricius, who intends to marry the girl so as to rob her of her virginity. It should be noted that Fabricius has become infatuated with the girl under the influence of the devil; Dorothea's refusal to marry and give up her virginity results in the first torment, the first physical violence against her person, which in turn results in the first miracle: the hackneyed conversion of many pagans.[20]

[18] Her legend must have originated between the years 381 and 630 according to J. Martin Peterson 1910, 10-11. On the importance of the legend, cf. L. G. Clubb 1964, 103-126. Peterson 1910, 73-93 himself, points out that some adaptations mix data of Saint Agnes's life with those of Saint Dorothea's. On the other hand, J. Gasper 1991, 17- 31 draws attention to the fact that between the sixth and the seventeenth centuries the legend of Saint Dorothea was revisited in many ways with growing details and sophistication.

[19] "Sapricius dixit ei: Oportet te relinquere vanitatem, et sacrificare, et accipere virum et laetari in vita tua, ne taliter intereas, sicut et patres tui perierunt propter stultitiam suam. Dorothea dixit: Nec sacrificabo daemoniis, quia Christiana sum; nec virum accipiam, quia Christi sponsa sum. Et haec est fides mea, quod me introducat in paradisum suum, et ad suum thalamum me faciat peruenire", *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, amongst the saints of February 6th, vol. I, 774. Regarding this and similar formulations, see the paper of E. Le Blant 1882, 126.

[20] "Dorothea autem ipsa puella repleta est spiritu sancto, virtutibus et omni pacis disciplina imbuta, formosa valde super omnes puellas regionis illius. Quod invidus serpens inimicus castitatis dyabolus non sustinens Fabricium terrae praefectum in amorem virginis Dorotheae stimulans, ut ipsam carnali concupiscentia appeteret. Qui mittens pro ea, spondens thesaurum et res absque compoti determinatione pro dote prodere ipsam legitimo toro producendam. Audiens hoc dulcis Dorothea quasi lutum terrae despiciens terrenas divitias et intrepida se Christo

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Both versions, the longer one in the *Acta sanctorum* and the shorter one in the Graesse edition of the *Legenda aurea*, mention Dorothea's physical beauty. However, the *Acta sanctorum* refers to it in passing with the vague phrase "aspectus gratus",[21] whereas in the *Legenda aurea* (Graesse edition) we are told *formosa valde super omnes puellas regionis illius*, which, again, is a commonplace of this literature.

Remarkably, the patterns "offer a sacrifice to the gods" and "give up virginity" frequently go together in these accounts, although in the case of Dorothea, in the *Acta sanctorum* the demand of a sacrifice to the pagan gods appears, at first, with no further elaboration, cf. 773:

> Sapricius dixit: Ideo exhibere te volui, ut diis immortalibus immoles, secundum imperium Principum Augustorum nostrorum

And then, in a second moment (774), the two elements appear together as we have seen above. The *Legenda aurea* narrative dissociates the two elements by presenting the proposal first and afterwards the invitation to worship pagan gods, refusal of which will result in the second torment and the second wave of conversions.

In the *Acta sanctorum* narrative we may note that the most relevant element of the two seems to be the worship:

> *Cumque diu multumque caesa iterum gauderet, et caedentes eam fatigati deficerent, hoc ordine Sapricius dictauit sententiam: Dorotheam superbissimam puellam quae sacrificare noluit diis immortalibus ut viueret, sed voluit absolute mori propter nescio quem hominem, qui dicitur Christus, iussimus gladio percuti*. (*Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, February, 1, 774).[22]

desponsatam fatebatur. (…) Fabricius vero dixit: nisi Deos in praesente adores, equulei poenas non evades. Dorothea respondit: Deum adoro, non daemonem; Dii enim tui daemones sunt". (Graesse 1801, 910- 911).

[21] *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, 773D amongst the saints for February 6th: "Erat autem ita prudentissima, ut vix eam pauci imitari possent viri. Omnes autem qui eam nosse potuerant, magnificabant nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui talem habebat famulam; cuius et aspectus gratus, et vita et sapientia incomparabilis erat et immaculata virginitas".

[22] Compare this with the sentence condemning Theophilus, whose martyrdom is closely related to Dorothea's: *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, vol. I, 775, amongst the saints for February 6th: "Tunc in furorem ductus Praeses ungulis latera eius attrectari praecepit, et lampadibus ardentibus exuri". (…) 776: "Cumque tortores inter ipsa tormenta devicerent, hanc impius Praeses dictauit sententiam: Theophilum, qui nunc usque diis immortalibus sacrificauit, et cultor eorum extitit, nunc vero praeuaricator inuentus est, ita ut ab iis discederet, et sectae se traderet Christianae,

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And also in the *Legenda aurea*:

> *Et dixit Dorotheae: quousque, malefica, nos protrahis? Aut sacrifica et vives, aut sententia capitali plecteris*. (Graesse 1801, 911).

where the reference to betrothal is precisely in Dorothea's answer to Fabricius's ultimatum:

> *Illa laeto vultu respondit: quicquid vis, passura sum pro Christo domino et sponso meo, in cujus horto deliciae, et rosas cum pomis colligam et laetabor cum ipso in aeternum* (Graesse 1801, *ibidem*).

In this answer the term 'laetari' appears, both in the narrator's words "illa laeto vultu…" and in those of Dorothea herself, 'laetabor'.

Close to Dorothea's martyrdom in terms of formulation is the case of Saint Aurea, whose feast day is August 24th,[23] and who does not feature in the *Legenda aurea*, not even in the appendix of the Graesse edition. After locating the action in the time of emperor Claudius, so hostile to Christians that he could not even stand hearing their name, the narrative introduces the story of Aurea, *virgo sacratissima, nobili genere orta, imperatorum filia, et a cunabulis christiana*, who, after refusing to bow her head to the demons, is locked in gaol for seven days with no food or drink; she is then taken to the presence of the emperor and, after again refusing to offer a sacrifice to the idols, receives the following suggestion:

> *Dicit ei Claudius imperator: Desere vanitatem istam, et humiliare; et sacrifica diis, et accipe virum, et laetare in vita tua. Beata Aurea repondit: Ego habeo jam caelestem sponsum, a cuius amore nullus hominum me separare potest*.[24]

iussimus capite plecti". Note that in the *Legenda aurea* version (ed. Graesse 1801, 911- 912), no reference is made to any such sentence; instead we are told much more curtly: "Tunc Theophilus prorupit in voces laudando et glorificando Christum Deum Dorotheae… Et illius affirmatione et predicatione fere tota terra convertitur. Videns hoc tyrannus pluribus generibus tormentorum, quam Dorotheam cruciavit, ultimum vero in particulas minimas succidi iussit et ad manducandum proiicitur". We may note here that Theophilus's martyrdom causes the conversion of nearly all humankind, as Dorothea's (in its different stages) did: "Multi autem paganorum videntes hoc miraculum intra se ad Christum convertuntur" and "Et multa millia paganorum ad Christum manifeste convertebantur".

[23] See *BHL*1898-1901, 1, 129, Nos. 808- 813 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 105- 106, Nos. 809- 813d.

[24] Cf. *Acta sanctorum* 1999-2002, amongst the saints of August 24th (*De SS. Aurea, seu Chryse virgine, Censorino, Felice, Maximo, Herculino*… etc.) chapter 1, 757: "Tempore, quo nequissimus Claudius Romanae urbis sumpsit imperium, tali

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I shall now pay some attention to a different case in which Domitilla is not only not invited to marry, but dissuaded from marrying.[25] This young girl, *neptem Domitiani imperatoris*, betrothed to Aurelianus, son of a consul, had two Christian *cubicularii* eunuchs, called Nereus and Aquileus, who try to divert her from matrimony:

> *Cum ergo predicta Domitilla Aureliano filio consulis nupta esset et gemmis et purpureis uestibus tegeretur, Nereus et Achilleus ei fidem predicauerunt et uirginitatem multipliciter commendauerunt ostendentes uirginitatem deo esse proximam, angelis germanam, hominibus innatam, uxorem viro subici, pugnis et calcibus cedi, deformes partus sepius procreari; rursus que uix matris dulcia monita sustinere poterat oporteret grandia conuicia pati mariti. Illa autem inter cetera dixit: "Scio patrem meum fuisse zelotypum et matrem meam ab eo conuicia plurima passam esse. Numquid uir meus talis futurus est?". Cui illi: "Quamdiu sunt sponsi uidentur esse benigni, sed mariti effecti crudeliter dominantur et aliquando ancillas preferunt dominabus. Omnis autem sanctitas amissa per penitentiam reuocari potest, sola uirginitas ad statum suum reuocari non potest. Reatus enim per penitentiam expelli potest, uirginitas reuocari non potest, ut ad statum pristine sanctitatis attingat.* (*Legenda aurea* chapter LXX, *De sanctis Nereo et Achilleo*, ed. G. P. Maggioni 1998, 1, 510- 511).

After many such reasonings,

> *Tunc Flauia Domitilla credidit et uirginitatem uouit et sancto Clemente uelata est…* (*ibidem*).

Finally, I would like to dwell upon the story of Saint Febronia, whose feast day is June 25th. We have the Latin text in the *Acta sanctorum*,[26]

a diabolo repletus est ira circa Christianos, ut penitus Christi nomen nec audire potuisset… Et inventi sunt multi Christiani nolentes sacrificare: qui diversa sustinuerunt tormenta, et cum gloria martyrii pervenerunt ad Christum. Inter quos inventa est virgo sacratissima, nobili genere orta, imperatorum filia, et a cunabulis Christiana, nomine Aurea…".

[25] Saint Domitilla's feast day is May 12th; about her, see *BHL* 1898-1901, 1, 340, No. 2257, and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 263; also under the heading Nereus et Achilleus *BHL* 1898-1901, 2, 833, Nos. 6058-6067 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 655- 656, Nos. 6058- 6067d.

[26] *Acta sanctorum*, saints of June 25th (*De sanctis virginibus et Martyribus Febronia monacha, Lybe, Leonide et Eutropia, Sibapoli in Mesopotamia*), 12- 31. Regarding this saint, see *BHL* 1898-1901, 1, 428, Nos. 2843- 2844 and *BHL Novum Supplementum* 1986, 324, Nos. 2843b- 2844a. Although I have been unable to consult it, see above all P. Chiesa 1990, where the two oldest Latin versions, translated from the Greek, are edited and studied; they are identified as F1= *BHL* 2844, 'ad verbum' translation and F2= *BHL* 2843, 'ad sensum' translation.

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but she is not even mentioned in the *Legenda aurea*. This story includes all the elements that we have hitherto seen: Febronia is chaste, she is beautiful,[27] she is cultured[28] and, of course, they try to persuade her to marry. She is tortured, her breasts are amputated, she is carved up, and she has a kind wooer.[29] Still she refuses to marry with similar reasonings to those cited by the aforementioned saints.[30] A detailed description of the tortures follows, wherein we are told that spectators begged the judge to put an end to the torments.[31]

[27] Chapter I, point 5, 17: "Haec formosa admodum et corporis quoque proceritate spectabilis, tanta excellebat venustate vultus, ut floridam speciei talis elegantiam nullus oculus satis possit exprimere, quapropter vehementer solicita erat Bryene, videns eam tali decore conspicuam, quomodo eam conservaret". Additionally, chapter III, point 17, 24 adds: "Verumtamen necesse habeo enarrare tibi, Domine mi, quid stupendum viderim in monasterio. Vidi enim ibi puellam, qualem usque modo inter mulieres non conspexi, tanta pollentem venustate. Testes mihi sunt dii, quia videns illam in scamno jacentem, totus obstupui; et nisi ita pauper atque abiecta esset, digna erat quae tibi Domino meo uxor obveniret", and, later on, "Tunc quidem pessimorum militum cursim accessit ad Selenum, eique nuntiavit quod inventa sit in monasterio puella formosissima".

[28] *Ibidem*: "cum enim adolescentula esset admodum studiosa, facta est etiam multiscia, sic ut docilitatem eius etiam Bryene admiraretur". The girl even had a group of matrons who attended her lectures: chapter III, point 20, 25: "…matronae etiam seculares quae consueverant sextis feriis ad illam venire in monasterium, audiendae doctrinae gratia, percutientes pectora sua eodem properabant non sine fletu, et lamentabantur quod tali privarentur magistra".

[29] It is young Lysimachus, whose late mother was a Christian: "Sed Lysimachus nocte quadam sevocans Comitem Primum dixit ei: Domine mi Prime, nosti quod licet pater meus gentilis obierit; mater tamen mea defuncta sit Christiana, multumque laboravit ut fieret Christianus etiam ipse; sed propter metum Imperatoris atque patris mei non potuit id fieri: praeceptum tamen ab illa accepi, ne quem Christianorum unquam interficerem, sed potius Christi amicus essem. Nunc autem video omnes qui incidunt in patruum meum crudelem Selenum pessime excruciari, eisque compatitur anima mea: volo igitur, Christianos qui in manus nostras incident, clam dimitti, priusquam eos pessime disperdat" (chapter I, point 3, 16).

[30] Chapter IV, point 23, 24: "Ad haec Febronia: Ego, inquit, in caelis habeo thalamum non manufactum, sponsum irrefragabilem nacta, et pro arrha totum caelorum regnum, sponsum vere immortalem, mortali et corruptibili sponso neque volo neque possum coniungi. Itaque noli, o Judex, in vanum laborare: quia nec blanditiis emolliar, neque minis terrebor". These words from Febronia are her answer to Selenus's proposal, which I quote at the end of this paper.

[31] "Illa autem sic diu cruciata, totius plebis multitudo clamabat, et Judicem deprecabantur dicentes, Miserere, Judex clementissime, miserere adolescentulae. Ille

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It is striking that Febronia still finds the strength to ask his tormentor to allow her to join her lover; in this she displays the "virile character" that she herself acknowledges:[32]

> Chap. V, point 27, 25: *Tunc iterum coepit Selenus interrogare Febroniam, dixitque: An vel nunc arbitrio Judicis pares, et Deos confiteris? Cui illa: Anathema tibi sit, senex execrande, quia impedis iter meum, neque sinis me tandem proficisci ad sponsum. Festina, et educ me de huius corporis luto, quia expectat me amator meus…*

However, Selenus, her tormentor, still has in store for her the torture that I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the amputation of both breasts.[33] After severing her breasts, her hands and her right foot (and, at the saint's request, also the left one), she still does not die so cruel Selenus commands her to be beheaded, which is done. Afterwards, judges leave to have lunch and Lysimachus, in tears, orders her

vero nihil commovebatur, sed magis etiam inculcari verbera imperabat, donec vidit carnes eius simul cum sanguine in terram defluxisse…" (chapter IV, point 24, 24). See also chapter IV, point 26, 25: "Tum vero multi ex spectatoribus, non valentes ultra sustinere crudelitatem Seleni, abscurrerunt: alii vero acclamantes supplicabant iudici, ut ignem iuberet ab ea removeri. (…) Minister autem linguam apprehendens, cum eam exsecare vellet; prohibuerunt turbae, per deorum salutem deprecantes Selenum ne id fieret. Et ille quidem scelestissimus et execrandus eatenus acquievit; sed iussit dentes ei omnes evelli. Ergo medicus, festum confestim arripiens, coepit puellae dentes radicitus extrahere, et in terram proiicere; cumque iam septemdecim eradicasset, multusque per terram sanguis flueret; mandavit Selenus medico ut desisteret".

[32] Chapter III, point 19, 25: "ostendam enim in muliebri corpore animum virilem latere". See also E. M. Harney 2008, 25-84, chapter 2, on "Breast amputation and 'becoming male'".

[33] Chapter V, point 27, 29: "Cumque Febronia ulterius nil posset respondere, propter acerbitatem tormentorum, vehementiori ira excanduit Judex; quapropter dixit medico 'Abscindantur impudentis illius mamillae'. Accipiens ergo novaculam medicus, et Febroniae accedens, volebat imperata facere; cum populus coepit exclamare, dicens: 'Oramus te, Domine Judex, remitte adolescentulae supplicium istud'. Ipsis autem sic diutius clamantibus et deprecantibus, indignatus Selenus medico, ait ad eum: Scinde, impie et a diis aliene. Medicus ergo cultrum arripuit, simulque dexteram puellae mamillam secare coepit…" and point 28, 29: "Cum vero mamilla utraque abscissa esset, iussit Selenus utrique vulneri admoveri ignem, cuius diuturna vi etiam viscera adurebantur: quod videntes turbae indignabantur, nec pauci, ferre non valentes immane spectaculum, abibant clamantes, Anathema Diocletiano et diis eius…".

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corpse to be watched over.[34] He then orders the remains of Febronia to be buried at her monastery so that all Christians may worship them.[35]

As may be seen in the above aspects, Febronia's is the most elaborate of the *Lives* I have discussed in this paper, and not only as far as the torment is concerned, but also regarding the marriage proposal: from the succinct formula that I have included in the title, we have reached Selenus's proposal, where Febronia, thanks to her *modestia et honestas* and also to her *species tam eximia*, gains the tormentor's benevolence. She goes from 'rea' to 'filia' in his esteem, in a passage that seems to echo the desirable virtues a wife must possess according to the Isidorian passage we have seen: *pulchritudo* ("species tam eximia"), *genus* ("modestia et honestas"), *mores* (perhaps already included in "modestia et honestas", athough the reader is also aware of her virtuous life in the monastery). Regarding the possession of *divitiae*, Selenus himself acknowledges that even though she is poor, he will bestow all his goods to her, since he has no wife or offspring. Thus, Febronia becomes an ideal match for his nephew Lysimachus. Furthermore, rather than a kind of violence, the invitation to marriage seems a true 'suasio' (cf. *age, non ut ream interrogabo te, sed ut filiam meam suadendo aggrediar*) to the extent that the virtues of the wooer, a rich and attractive young man with a promising future, are extolled.[36]

[34] Chapter V, point 31, 27: "Iussit autem ei caput rescindi. Ergo militum unus apprehendens gladium, et simul comae capitis manum implicans, ictumque designans, ense impacto Caput sanctum rescidit, sicut quando ovis iugulatur ad victimam: statimque surgentes Iudices ad prandium abierunt. Flebat autem Lysimachus, et concurrentes turbae volebant cadaver Febroniae rapere: sed Lysimachus iussit ibi manere milites, ipsumque custodire".

[35] Chapter VI, point 32, 27: "Iussit autem Lysimachus efferri Selenum: eoque elato, accersitum ad se Comitem Primum, sic allocutus est: Adiuro te, per Deum Christianorum, ne transgrediaris praeceptum meum; sed statim iube Febroniae sarcophagum fieri ex lignis imputribilibus; et mitte quaquaversum praecones, ut Christiani, quicumque voluerint exequiis Febroniae assistere, sine metu compareant, cum iam obierit patruus meus".

[36] Selenus also point out that although the young man was already engaged to be married to a very rich girl who was also a senator's daughter (as mentioned in chapter I, point 1: "filiam Prosphori Senatoris"), the engagement will be broken off so that he can marry Febronia: Chapter IV, point 22, 23: "Tunc Selenus, iubens Lysimachum ab interrogando cessare, coepit interrogare etiam ipse, et dixit: Testes mihi sint dii, Febronia, quia statueram te nec interrogatione quidem dignari: sed quoniam modestia et honestas tua, coniuncta cum specie tam eximia vincunt

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ardorem furoris et iracundiae contra te conceptae; age, non ut ream interrogabo te, sed ut filiam meam suadendo aggrediar. Audi igitur, filia. Norunt dii quod ego et frater meus Anthinus, Domino meo Lysimacho despondimus mulierem magnis opibus et possessionibus dotatam: ast nunc dissolvo sponsalia contracta cum filia Prosphori, erisque tu uxor Domino meo huic Lysimacho, qui mihi ad dextram considet, quemque vides formosum esse sicut et tu. Meum igitur ut patris consilium audi, faciamque te gloriosam super terra. Nec est, quod verecunderis propter egestatem tuam: mihi enim nec uxor nec liberi sunt; itaque mea omnia tibi tradam ac Dominam universorum te constituam; quae Domino meo Lysimacho pro dote dabo, eroque vobis in patrem; et glorificaberis super terra, atque beatam te dicent omnes mulieres tanto honore dignatam. Sed et invictissimus Imperator gratificabitur vobis, multaque largietur etiam ipse; pollicitus enim est in sublimi potestatis throno confirmare Dominum meum Lysimachum et Praefectum creare. Ecce omnia audivisti, da mihi patri tuo responsum, quod diis placeat, et animam meam exhilaret: quodsi appareat te persuaderi non posse, testor Deos, quod sub manibus meis non vives ad tres horas. Responde igitur ut placuerit tibi". See, in the text quoted above: "Audi igitur, filia. Norunt dii quod ego et frater meus Anthinus, Domino meo Lysimacho despondimus mulierem magnis opibus et possessionibus dotatam: ast nunc dissolvo sponsalia contracta cum filia Prosphori, erisque tu uxor Domino meo huic Lysimacho, qui mihi ad dextram considet, quemque vides formosum esse sicut et tu"…. "Sed et invictissimus Imperator gratificabitur vobis, multaque largietur etiam ipse; pollicitus enim est in sublimi potestatis throno confirmare Dominum meum Lysimachum et Praefectum creare". Note that, to a certain extent, a part of Selenus's reasoning ("Meum igitur ut patris consilium audi, faciamque te gloriosam super terra… et glorificaberis super terra, atque beatam te dicent omnes mulieres tanto honore dignatam"), seems to evoke the section of the Gospel of Luke (1, 46-48) where the Annunciation is described, or even Genesis 30, 13.

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VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT IN THE PORTUGUESE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY: THE LATE-THIRTEENTH TO THE EARLY-SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

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The Middle Ages were a period of widespread violence[1] and the medieval *uniuersitas* (that is, students and masters gathered together in a corporation) was in no way an exception in this violent milieu.[2] Historians have quite often assumed this statement to be true, even though there has been insufficient research on this subject until very recently, with a growing interest now being displayed by contemporary historiography.[3]

The signs of conflict in academia varied widely in scale, harshness and extent, but also in their location, causes and motivations, dependent upon different circumstances, periods and contexts. Furthermore, student conflict during the Middle Ages assumed a wide range of typologies, from personal to intergroup quarrels, including some wider clashes between different social corporations, often competing for power, influence and prestige.

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[1] McGlynn 2009, 1-35.

[2] Schachner [1962], 340-351.

[3] Negro (ed.) 2011; Davies 2013, 504-516.

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According to the severity of the conflict, violent behaviour involving university members can be typologically classified into one of the following categories:

a) verbal insults;
b) minor skirmishes without bloodshed;
c) minor offences with bloodshed;
d) group clashes;
e) disorders and social unrest;
f) strikes;
g) riots;
h) massacres.

The first four types of conflict were extremely common situations in medieval university life, resulting from short tempers and high spirits and rarely having fatal consequences for those involved. The remaining four types referred to phenomena with very specific social or political backgrounds, which escalated to more serious situations, often resulting — to a greater or lesser extent — in casualties.

Thus, it seems fairly accurate to draw a line between ordinary and extraordinary situations of violence within the medieval university. On the one hand, these ordinary situations of violence developed due to the unwillingness of the autochthonous population to tolerate the presence of the *studium generale* within the town, despite the potential rewards that might arise from their presence there.[4] On the other hand, the brawls between factions within the universities, each one bound by strong ties of solidarity such as the *facultates* or the colleges (which assembled scholars who studied similar branches of knowledge — theology, civil or canon law, medicine or the liberal arts), or the *nationes* (composed of individuals who shared a common geographic origin), were always regarded with suspicion by the urban authorities.[5] Extraordinary situations of violence generally occurred as a consequence of the struggles between public powers and educational institutions. Disputes over the control of the universities are well documented by the strike at the University of Paris in 1229-30,[6] or by the attempts made by students to evade control by ecclesiastical authorities, occurring at different times in

[4] Verger 1999, 183-185.
[5] Gieysztor 1992, 109-116.
[6] Le Goff 1957, 75.

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Montpellier, Angers, Orleans and Avignon, all of them culminating in uprisings and bloodshed.[7]

There were also situations of great violence resulting from vigorous intellectual discussions, marked by an unstoppable escalation of events, such as the disputes between Aristotelians and Augustinians that shook the thirteenth century *studia* of Paris and Oxford.[8] Moreover, certain episodes related to the reforms of the university also paved the way for some bloody clashes — for instance, the restructuring of the teaching staff, which took place in the *studium generale* of Paris between 1252 and 1290, was marked by violent quarrels between the supporters of the mendicant friars and those of the secular *magistri*.[9]

Among the main types of violence, conflicts caused by intolerance between academic and non-academic communities (a phenomenon commonly known as "town and gown")[10] were by far the most frequent, although not always the most lethal. These events were an inevitable expression of an urban-like environment: towns were the places of establishment for the universities *par excellence*, as these were the descendants of the old urban church schools of the High Middle Ages.[11] In fact, universities could only have fully developed in the towns where they first appeared; the students' subsistence (which relied entirely on ecclesiastical revenues) could not have been obtained anywhere else but there, since it was expected that they be able to support themselves without working manually.

The origins of this particular kind of conflict may be found in the extreme physical proximity shared by two very distinct groups, living in relatively small urban areas and sometimes forced into unwilling interaction. Among the most well-known and paradigmatic examples of this phenomenon were the conflicts which pitted scholars against non-scholars at the University of Oxford, from 1209 to 1214. Some students were arrested, while others were executed, thus resulting in a split of the *studium*, which ultimately led to the establishment of the University of Cambridge.[12]

[7] Cobban 1971, 52-53.
[8] Heer 1998, 213-226.
[9] Paul 1973, 299-302.
[10] Brockliss 2000, 147-170.
[11] Le Goff 1957, 12-13.
[12] Verger 1992, 53-54.

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The towns' inhabitants were aware of the stark differences that separated them from the academic corporations, and vice versa. The three *corpora* that constituted the university — students, masters and officialdom[13] — stood out very clearly from other social groups; this was due to the peculiar characteristics of their members, which showed great cohesion when seen from an external point of view.

In fact, the scholars could be defined as an elite group composed of male clergy with highly ritualised behaviours; the university was a strongly masculine environment — all masters and students were men, as teaching was forbidden to women. Only in some privileged backgrounds (e.g., at courtly environments and some seigniorial palaces) a more individual brand of education existed, private in nature, assuming the form of mentorships.[14] Students were almost always clerics during the medieval period,[15] a situation which lasted until the mid-fifteenth century, when lay people finally began to arrive at the *studia*.

In addition, students across Christendom were often foreigners; away from their hometowns, they formed a highly mobile group of travellers and wanderers which spread along the routes of the *peregrinatio academica*.[16] Also, students and masters used to communicate among themselves in Latin, a lingua franca inaccessible to the vast majority of the towns' inhabitants, who expressed themselves in Germanic or Romance languages instead.[17]

Additionally, masters and students wore specific garments,[18] celebrated specific rituals, ceremonies and festivals[19] and, unlike most medieval men, their main occupation relied largely upon the use and handling of books.[20] Thus, they were in clear contrast with the manual activities (such as craftwork, agriculture or military work) performed by the orders of *laboratores* and *bellatores*, as well as quite a significant number of *oratores*. Consequently, they reaffirmed the traditional opposition between craftsmanship and intellectual work

[13] Norte 2013[a], 91-95.
[14] Schwinges 1992, 201-202.
[15] Brocchieri 1997, 161.
[16] Farelo 1999.
[17] Brocchieri 1997, 168.
[18] Moulin 1991, 36-37.
[19] Ibid., 74-94.
[20] Le Goff 1999[b], 183.

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— that is, between *artes manuales* and *artes liberales*, which was a very distinctive feature of the Middle Ages.[21]

On the one hand, the students' strong group identity and the awareness of their own intellectual superiority often led them to behave defiantly against the communities alongside whom they lived, within the university towns. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the latter did not hide their displeasure with those who attended the *studia generalia*, favouring hostilities and fostering a climate of permanent dissension. As a result of this chronic pressure, and despite the obvious symbiotic interests, there were very objectionable practices and customs on both sides, resulting in a scenario of latent conflict, which acquired great magnitude and violent expression on some occasions.[22]

Criticism from the towns' inhabitants was unanimous in all places where universities were founded, regardless of their location. Among the most common charges against students were those of loud noises or scandalous forms of entertainment, immoral habits (such as drunkenness, gambling or hiring of prostitutes), insults and provocative attitudes towards citizens, the ostentation and vanity displayed by the students as well as fights, thefts and rapes perpetrated against town dwellers.[23]

Given that during the Middle Ages all students were clerics (that is, individuals ordained, at least, with the *ordines minores*), the condemnation of the students' behaviour by local citizens was particularly severe, as none of the actions mentioned above were acceptable from men of such position. Instead, the urban authorities expected them to avoid any contact with women, to abstain from handling weapons, to use simple and discreet clothing (the so-called *honestus habitus*) and to show moderation regarding words and deeds.[24]

However, the ideal of a theoretical role model and the practical behaviour of the individual were rarely in agreement in the medieval scholar's life. Most students — it would be unfair, though, to say all of them — displayed a bohemian lifestyle that shaped one of medieval

[21] Brocchieri 1997, 169.
[22] Gilli [*et al.*] 2007.
[23] Moulin 1991, 95-118.
[24] Schwinges 1992, 224-225.

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society's archetypal characters: the *goliard*, an epitome for disorderly, irresponsible, dissolute and even immoral individual.[25]

University students did not restrain from violently criticising the towns' inhabitants. They complained about the people's hostility towards students, the physical and moral harassment, and the somehow proverbial "bad faith" against those who attended the *studia generalia*. They often expressed their grief over speculative practices concerning food prices or house rentals; in the latter case, the difficulties were even more grievous, especially when there were no colleges in the towns that hosted the universities, or when there were colleges with limited capacity — either too small or built to receive only the poorest of the students.

The constant accusations and violent episodes on both sides were regarded as a threat by the authorities, who felt the need for some sort of regulatory system. Thus, edicts, regulations and ordinances were issued in all *studia generalia* across Europe. They formed the basis of a somewhat scattered, albeit very coherent, legislative *corpus*, designed to recognise the existence of the *studia*, to regulate academic life (establishing the students' rights and duties) and to prevent or punish accordingly conflict and violence among the different parties — within the town and among the students themselves.[26]

The adopted measures almost always far exceeded the normative production, including the establishment of special courts, created with the purpose of dealing with disputes involving academic matters or university students. On many occasions, these courts were disregarded by public authorities, causing yet new conflicts,[27] but in general the measures advocated by the policy-makers proved particularly penalising to the town dwellers.

By granting immunities, privileges and guarantees to the university corporation, authorities sought to attract new students, ensure the settlement of the existing ones and prevent the unwanted relocation of the *studium generale* to another town.[28] Such benefits given to the academic community can be easily explained by the advantages which

[25] Moulin 1991, 107-110.
[26] Le Goff 1999[a], 197-199.
[27] Ibid., 194.
[28] Nardi 1992, 77-107.

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the authorities hoped to gain from the participation of the literati in their own service.[29]

In fact, the main political and social actors of the time (either secular or ecclesiastical) fiercely competed for those individuals trained by the universities.[30] They made up a highly-skilled critical mass, qualified to carry out several requirements with competence far above the average. Not coincidentally, the royal officialdom, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the lectures at the universities represented, ever since the creation of the first *studia*, the major career opportunities for those who attended university,[31] including several benefits for the holders of such positions. Thus, the *studia generalia* were regarded by the authorities not only as a source of prestige but also as true vocational training centres.[32]

The nature of the royal privileges granted to the academic corporations varied, but the monarchs were always particularly attentive to the claims of the *studium*. Universities enjoyed significant revenues and some degree of autonomy in their management.[33] The students' main demands, related with house rentals, were steadily regulated by the authorities, who supervised the leasing and subleasing of houses in order to prevent abuses and speculation.[34] On many occasions a student quarter, within the town, was built and granted immunity;[35] in Portugal, for instance, the student quarter was called a *couto* (from the Latin *cautum*), meaning a jurisdiction belonging to the Roman Catholic Church — since all scholars were, *ipso facto*, clerics — who were exempted from taxes and granted several immunities.

Concerning food supplies and logistics, several privileges were also granted to the university, including more favourable access to food and, on occasion, the allocation of civil servants who provided fresh food to the academic community — such as bakers (*padeiras*), butchers (*carniceiros*) or winemakers (*vinhateiros*).[36] Licences for scholars to

[29] Norte 2013[b].
[30] Rüegg 1992, 14-20.
[31] Moraw 1992, 244-279.
[32] Le Goff 1999[a], 197-205.
[33] Gieysztor 1992, 108-143.
[34] Moulin 1991, 21-26.
[35] Schwinges 1992, 213-223.
[36] Veloso 1997, 141-144.

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carry weapons were also regularly granted to the university members.[37] Furthermore, trials involving scholars and other social groups were often decided in favour of the university, in a clear demonstration of the protection enjoyed by the members of the *studia generalia*. Obviously, many of the adopted measures failed to achieve their main objective of appeasing the towns' social fabric, having instead the opposite effect. In fact, many of the benefits granted by the authorities to the universities often turned out to be very unpopular, emphasising the hostility between town and gown rather than alleviating it.

In addition to exogenous conflicts, the *studia generalia* also contained some roots of violence within themselves, entrenched in the sociological diversity of the scholars. Economic conditions, social status, geographical origins, the distinct spoken languages, the specific fields of knowledge or institutional affiliations often ended up playing a disrupting role, affecting the normal functioning of the university and producing sporadic outbursts of violence.[38]

In the case of the Portuguese *studium generale* — established by royal initiative, with papal sanction, in the late-thirteenth century[39] — only a few surviving documents allow us to track the phenomenon of violence within academia. Unlike other places where *studia generalia* were established, there seems to have been no widespread violence involving the academic staff and the towns' inhabitants in the westernmost (and somehow peripheral) *studium* within Christendom.

Still, some incidents between commoners and students or between royal officialdom and scholars certainly reached significant expression — or at least they have had some impact — as they have been invoked more than once as justification for the various relocations experienced by the Portuguese university, which moved back and forth between the cities of Lisbon and Coimbra, with the king's official sponsorship and apostolic confirmation, for almost a century.[40] However, unlike the university splits that took place in the early-thirteenth century in Cambridge (1209, from Oxford) or Padua (1222, from Bologna) in order to achieve more academic freedom (the so-called *libertas scholastica*), the constant relocation of

[37] Schwinges 1992, 222.
[38] Ibid., 202-211.
[39] Norte 2013[c], 154-164.
[40] Ibid., 173-174.

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the Portuguese *studium generale* between the two above mentioned cities (in 1308 from Lisbon to Coimbra, in 1338 back to Lisbon, in 1354 once more to Coimbra and in 1377 back again to Lisbon, where it stayed until 1537) was never understood to be a split and became instead the most unique feature of the Portuguese university in the Middle Ages.[41]

From its early days, the pope granted the Portuguese *studium generale* several privileges, including ecclesiastical revenues from various abbatial, collegiate and parish churches meant to fund the masters and the officialdom of the university, a jurisdiction of its own, and protection of the scholars while they were *in studio* (Nicholas IV's bull *De Statu Regni Portugaliae*, dated August 9th, 1290).[42] Later, the Portuguese kings also granted several other immunities and freedoms, concerning exemption from taxes, lodging, food supplies, transportation, authorisation to carry weapons, academic jurisdiction and university officialdom.[43]

Among the latter, one might refer to the creation of the post of *conservadores* (a term which can be roughly translated as "guardians" or "keepers") as early as 1291, when the *studium* was established in Lisbon. Nevertheless, their powers were only clearly defined for the first time through the so-called *Magna Charta Priuilegiorum* (February 15th, 1309),[44] granted by King Denis following the relocation of the *studium* to Coimbra. The *conservadores* were two magistrates, chosen outside the *corpora* of the *uniuersitas*, appointed by the king to maintain the freedoms and guarantees of the *studium* and to judge both students and masters according to their privileges; therefore, the cases concerning scholars were only to be presented to the royal court in very rare situations.

All these privileges — and particularly the creation of some specific posts in university management, such as the *conservadores* or the *almotacés* (i.e., "weights and measures inspectors") — certainly caused the

[41] Rashdall 1895, 103-104. In this essay we will use the concept of *relocation* to classify the dislocation of the Portuguese *studium generale* between Lisbon and Coimbra during the fourteenth century, in order to avoid the controversies regarding the exact juridical nature of that relocation — whether it was a mere transfer of the same institution or the founding of a new one *ex nihilo* (see Caetano 1960).

[42] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1966, 12-14.

[43] Coelho 1993, 73-100.

[44] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1966, 43-47.

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wrath, not only of the municipal officialdom in both Lisbon and Coimbra (which felt powerless to attain full control over the urban area), but also of the commoners who lived there. In fact, disagreements between scholars and the municipality were a recurrent reason for the relocation, leading the monarch (acting in his capacity as founder and protector of the *studium*) to try to ease difficult situations by moving the university from one city to another.

In the papal bull *Profectibus publicis ex debito* (February 26th, 1308),[45] Pope Clement V wrote that it was due to some dissensions and scandals involving town citizens and scholars that King Denis of Portugal asked for his authorisation to relocate the *studium* to the smaller town of Coimbra. The explanation given, however, is quite vague and even ambiguous, allowing for many possible answers. In fact, what did the dissensions and scandals mentioned in the text of the bull really mean? Small skirmishes or large-scale conflict?

Soon, however, the inhabitants of Coimbra began to show their displeasure with the relocation of the *studium*; in fact, in a letter from May 25th, 1312,[46] King Denis wrote that the students in Coimbra were often accused of mischief, thefts and other suspicious things during the night. In order to avoid these situations, the king decreed that the students could only be arrested if they were found in the streets during the evening, and only after the cathedral's bell had tolled three times.

Nonetheless, the conflicts between the city of Coimbra and the students continued for many years to come, until August 17th, 1338,[47] when King Alfonso IV ordered the *studium* to be relocated once again to Lisbon. The king justified this second relocation because he needed to provide housing for his bureaucrats and courtiers in the city of Coimbra. In addition, he also pointed out the existence of a growing number of fights and retaliations between royal officialdom and

[45] Ibid., 41-42: "[…] propter grauiam dissentiones et scandala exorta postmodum inter ciues Ciuitatis eiusdem ex parte una et scolares ibidem studentes ex altera nequerit nec esse possit comode in eadem ciuitate studium supradictum […]".

[46] Ibid., 60-61: "mujto mal e furtos e outras cousas desaguisadas de noyte".

[47] Ibid., 131-132: "[…] como as pousadas que son dentro na çerca dessa vila em que sooem de pousar os scolares que stan no meu studo general que ata ora foy en essa vila aadur podem auondar pera os meus offiziaaes e pera os que uiuem na mha mercee e como per Razom dessas pousadas recreçen aas uezes uoltas e peleias grandes antre eles […]".

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students who lived in houses in the student quarter, within the town walls.[48]

The other letters patent endorsing the relocation of the Portuguese *studium*, signed by Kings Alfonso IV and Ferdinand I in 1354[49] and 1377[50] respectively, made no further reference to the causes behind these two subsequent dislocations. It is possible that once again the move between the two cities was based on some sort of quarrel between scholars and citizens or between scholars and courtiers, although other possibilities have been put forward (for instance, it has been proposed that the 1354 relocation was due to the plague,[51] while the 1377 dislocation was carried out in order to attract foreign *magistri* to Lisbon, by then the undisputed head town of the Portuguese realm).

Nevertheless, some years before the last relocation of the *studium* to Lisbon, the conflicts regarding student housing in Coimbra became very pressing; in fact, the scholars complained to the King about the occupation of the houses — intended for the students' accommodation — by royal officers, who refused to abandon them and who would even steal their clothes.[52] In order to appease this situation, Kings Peter I and Ferdinand I restored the former student quarter in the *couto* of Almedina, granting it all the immunities awarded by their ancestors, by letters patent from April 13th, 1361[53] and July 13th, 1367,[54] respectively.

The *studium* was totally aware of the latent conflicts with the municipal authorities, and therefore was very zealous of its privileges, which from time to time were re-recorded by the *bedels* (the main

[48] Coimbra, as the seat of a bishopric, was one of the few Portuguese urban areas which had been granted city status during the Middle Ages; thus, it is quite odd that the royal letter referred to a "town wall" ("çerca dessa vila") instead of a "city wall".

[49] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1966, 209.

[50] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1968, 5-9.

[51] Farelo 1999.

[52] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1966, 267: "[…] pousam com elles e lhes tomarom suas roupas […], e lhes tomam as pousadas e todo o que leixam em ellas pera o outro studo […] e os oueençaães da casa do çiuell quando a essa cidade cheguam e lhes tomam e ocupam as casas em que soeem a morar os scollares e lhas nom querem leixar quando vem ao começo do studo […]".

[53] Ibid., 229.

[54] Ibid., 267.

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administrative officials of the *studium*, who also acted as university notaries), out of fear that the documentation might undergo several damages. The *Livro dos Privilégios da Universidade* (the "Book of the University's Privileges", from 1379), which has since been lost, and the *Livro Verde* (the "Green Book", named after the colour of the book's cover, completed in 1471),[55] which is the single medieval cartulary of the Portuguese university still in existence,[56] were among such recompilations.

As mentioned earlier, very few testimonials of this atmosphere of conflict and violence have survived to the present day. Some of them were found in the registries of the royal chanceries, while others were discovered in the *regesta* of the supplications and bulls recorded at the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, which from the 1960's onwards were transcribed in a factitious compilation of documents pertaining to the Portuguese medieval university named *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*, edited by Artur Moreira de Sá, Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. Only four such cases, however, were confirmed in this anthology. None of them was directly related to the Portuguese *studium*; instead, three were connected to scholars or graduates living in Portugal, with no particular significance for the history of the Portuguese *studium* itself, while the last one referred to a Portuguese student abroad, during his academic years.

In the first case (1454),[57] João Dias, a graduate ("licenciado") in medicine who lived in Lisbon, was accused of breaking into a farm during the night, stealing numerous objects and injuring its owners (Vasco Fernandes and Diogo Álvares). A few years later, following the death of one of the accusers (Vasco Fernandes), João Dias asked for the king's forgiveness, which was soon granted.

[55] Veloso (ed.) 1992.

[56] Fernandes 2013, 25.

[57] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1972, 381: "[…] Joham diaz licençeado em fisica morador em esta çidade de lixboa nos enujou dizer que lhe era dicto que vasco ferrnandez e diegaluarez outrosi em esta cidade moradores querellarom delle dizendo que hũa noyte entrara per força a elles em hũua sua quintaa honde estauam E os ferira e deshonrrara e lhe Roubara mujtas cousas suas no que elle nom era culpado nem sabia dello parte […]".

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In the second case (1471),[58] Diogo Serrão, a scholar from Lisbon, who accused António Vasques, squire of the Portuguese Master of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller (the Prior of Crato, Friar Vasco de Ataíde) of injuring him in the head.

Later, in 1518,[59] António Pereira, a doctor of both laws (*utriusque iuris*) from the bishopric of Lamego, in Northern Portugal, claimed that the schoolmaster (*scholasticus* or *magister scholarum*) of the Lamego cathedral's chapter, Rodrigo de Menezes, had wounded him with a gun. António Pereira presented a complaint to the treasurer of the chapter, who condemned Rodrigo de Menezes to pay a fine of one hundred Portuguese gold ducats. In turn, Rodrigo de Menezes presented his case to the Roman Curia, asserting that António Pereira had falsely accused him, and asked for some virtuous men to judge the case again and declare the nullity of the previous process.

The fourth and final example of violence among scholars took place in early 1471. This record consists of three quite similar supplications presented to the Popes Paul II (May 1471) and Sixtus IV (January 1472 and November 1473) and is rather significant due to the richness of the first-hand testimony.[60] According to the text of these supplications, a Portuguese student in Italy named Diogo Pinheiro, rector of the parish church of Saint Mammas, in the bishopric of Porto (nowadays the city of São Mamede de Infesta, near Matosinhos), came

[58] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1978, 60: "[…] antonjo vaasquez escudeiro do priol do crato nos enujou dizer que diogo serrão escollar em esta cidade morador querellara delle aas nossas justiças dizemdo que elle o ferira de çertas feridas polla cabeça […]".

[59] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1993, 547-548: "[…] Antonius Pereyra, laicus, qui pro doctore utriusque iuris […] se gerit […], falso asserens quod idem orator [Rodericus de Menezes] ipsum Antonium dolose ac per insidias manu armata aggressus fuerat ipsumque ad sanguinis effusionem vulneravat […]".

[60] Sá [*et al.*] (ed.) 1978, 19-20: "Cum pridiem duo scolares Universitatis Studii Senensis de verbis ad verbera deveniessent et alter eorum videlicet maior natu, ex provincia Marchie oriundus, minorem evinceret, […] Didacus Pinheiro […] eumdem minorem scholarem, qui eius socius existebat, defendere volens, ipsum maiorem scolarem, nomine Gregorium, cum quadam parva et rotunda lucerna olei, qua scolares noctu studendo uti solent, in eius capite unico ictu cum modica sanguinis effusione vulneravit et quamquam vulnus ipsum letale nom foret, ymmo dictus vulneratus ubique ut prius incederet, gule non indulgendo, nichilominus propter eius malum regimen, crapulam et dissolutiones, quas fecit, illorum ocasione, et non ex dicto vulnere, prout fidedignorum medicorum habet assertio, infra viginti dies post illatum sibi vulnus huiusmodi ab hac luce discessit […]"

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across two scholars from the Marche Province, in Central Italy, who attended the University of Siena (the same one he attended). The younger student was assaulted by the older one, named Gregory, and Diogo Pinheiro tried to defend the younger one from the other, eventually injuring the latter in the head with a certain round oil lamp that students commonly used during the night. Even though the wound proved to be non-fatal, as confirmed by a reliable doctor, Gregory died as a result of his bad diet and excessive drinking habits in less than twenty days.

Diogo Pinheiro claimed that the vicar of the Archbishop of Siena declared him not guilty of the murder, but the Portuguese scholar appealed directly to the pope in order to get his sentence confirmed. Although we do not know of any bull by which Paul II or Sixtus IV eventually acknowledged the previous court decision, Diogo Pinheiro was in due course promoted to the *ordines maiores* and became one of the most powerful and influential Portuguese ecclesiastical figures of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.

In fact, he was made a royal counsellor during the reign of Manuel I and in 1497 became the *vicarius nullius* of the so-called "Exempt of Tomar" (a *nullius dioecesis* territory which was the seat of the Order of Christ, from where he spiritually administered all the conquests of the Portuguese realm). Later, when the overseas territories under the jurisdiction of Tomar were brought together in the new diocese of Funchal, in 1514, he turned into the first bishop of what was then the largest bishopric in the world (which encompassed the territories of Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, Brazil, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Portuguese East Indies and Southeast Asia), from 1514 to 1526. It seems obvious to us that he could not have held any of these positions unless he had been acquitted earlier of the crime of manslaughter he was once accused of.

In conclusion, when compared to its European counterparts, the Portuguese medieval university was certainly not immune to the violence that took place in other *studia generalia* during the Middle Ages. In Portugal, conflict was limited to some disrespectful episodes between students and the inhabitants of Lisbon and Coimbra, particularly skirmishes without bloodshed. Surely, there were also insults and possibly even murders, although their importance was clearly too small to be recorded in the written sources. These episodes happened mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it is not

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unreasonable to consider that similar situations had occurred earlier. Still, we are far from the tribulations which led to the riots and strikes experienced in the main *studia generalia* of Christendom in the first centuries of their existence. Perhaps because the Portuguese university was deeply controlled by the monarch; perhaps because attendees were primarily Portuguese students due to the peripheral position of the *studium*; or perhaps simply due to the lack of records regarding the Portuguese university and its students during the first centuries of its existence.

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