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# CERES

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## Editor's Introduction

We are proud to present the 2023 edition of *CERES: Graduate Academic Journal*. Initially published in 1989, the first volume of the journal contained papers from the second annual Graduate Students' Classical Conference. The publication ceased production in 1990 and was revived again briefly in 2017. This year, a dedicated editorial team resurrected the journal once more, this time, permanently. Rather than limiting the publication to a specific theme, we wanted to emphasize the importance of different perspectives by accepting submissions from researchers at other Canadian universities. You will also note that for the first time, *CERES* includes articles from three different disciplines: classics, history, and religious studies. These three departments are often located in the same university buildings, and students in these subjects frequently attend classes together. We wanted *CERES* to display the comradery that already marks the interactions between these scholars. Our hope is that *CERES* will continue to act as a catalyst for bringing together graduate students in these related fields from across the country. We are delighted to pass the torch to future editorial teams of bright students, who will make great contributions to the legacy of the journal.

This year *CERES* published seven articles and two original poems. Andrew Field analyzes Sallust's *Catiline* chapters 6-13 to understand the connection between style and morality in the work, and in the portrayal of the Roman politician, Catiline. Maia Fiorelli writes about the masculine characterisation of Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' play *Agamemnon* by carefully delving into her pejorative character construction. Focused upon Hesiod's *Theogony*, Tara Jacklin examines the primordial deity and ancestral mother Gaia. Tara eloquently argues that the figure of Gaia is linked to stereotypes of women and ultimately, witches, both in literature and archaeology.

Katrina Johnston takes a close look at the marginal notes in medieval medical texts and contends that marginalia can be classified as a form of graffiti. Specifically, she determines how non-physicians interacted with private medical manuscripts. Madeleine Merskey tries to determine to what degree, if any, ethnic difference is a concern in Homer's *Iliad*. She uses the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2, which features both Achaean and Trojan

allies, and the meeting of Glaukos and Diomedes to illuminate these possible differences. Katherine Petrasek explores whether Ovid's legal training is visible in his *Metamorphosis*. She examines his use of legal terminology and phrases in the myths of Tiresias (*Met.* 3.316-38) and Orpheus (*Met.* 10.1-108).

Lilach Somberg ponders the parasocial relationship between Lucius and Aristomenes in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*. Then, she imagines the nuanced relationship between author and reader through five components of storytelling, which she developed herself and aptly calls the *storytelling relation*. Finally, Michael Amir Ghorvei shares two poems composed in Sapphic stanza. Each is written about a somber revelation he experienced while journeying through classical literature.

Happy reading!

Shanna Ingram

A stylized, cursive handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'SI' with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Katrina Johnston

A stylized, cursive handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'KJ' with a loop at the bottom.

## Acknowledgements

This volume was made possible through the support of many kind and dedicated individuals. The publication team has our eternal gratitude. Without the long hours of work logged by the peer reviewers and copy editors, we would not have been able to accomplish this colossal task in such a short time limit. We would like to thank Tess MacDougall and Kristen Jones, who were involved with the production of past editions of *CERES*, for their helpful advice. Dr. Daryn Lehoux has also been an invaluable resource in his role as faculty supervisor of the journal throughout the last several months. Our successful call-for-papers announcement and communications outreach is owing to Shannon Day, who always met our many email requests with generosity.

As you leaf through the pages of *CERES*, you will see beautiful full-page artwork that conveys the themes of this year's articles; these are thanks to the talented art directors Avery Isbrucker and Deirdra Grace Goebelle. Furthermore, a keen-eyed follower of *CERES* might notice that the cover is an homage to the first 1989 issue, which Avery and Deirdra had the creative task of re-imagining.

Early on in our roles as editors we dreamt of a social gathering that would celebrate the publication team and the authors who contributed to the journal. Thank you to Marie McMenamin for actualizing these wishes and tirelessly planning an official launch party for the team and the journal's readers.

Finally, thank you to the Department of Classics and Archaeology and the School of Graduate Studies and Postdoctoral affairs for the funding and for their faith in this project.



## ANTITHESIS, STYLE, AND MORALITY: SALLUST'S *CATILINE* CHAPTERS 6-13

Andrew Field

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<sup>1</sup>In writing the *Bellum Catilinae* (the BC), Sallust undeniably tried to create a style focused on *varatio*.<sup>2</sup> Within Chapters 6-13 Sallust combines the minutiae of his style along with the content of his monograph to provide insight into his understanding of Catiline. Comparative studies done on the BC have surrounded the *synkrisis* of Cato and Caesar,<sup>3</sup> stylistic comparisons to Cato the Censor and Thucydides,<sup>4</sup> and his representation of late republican crises.<sup>5</sup> In addition, many go far beyond the text of the BC to draw their conclusions on Catiline.<sup>6</sup> What is lacking is how the underlying moral antithesis is displayed and emphasized through the textuality of structural juxtapositions and stylistic devices. With a better understanding of the connection between style and morality there is also a better understanding of the portrayal of Catiline and the literary value of the BC. As an example of morality in connection with style, Chapters 6-13 shall be analyzed. The extent to which Sallust went to emphasize the antitheses in 6-13 is most clearly understood through the stylistic and structural choices made. There is striking structural similarity between the two opposing halves of chapters 6-9 and 10-13 that detail the morality of the *Romanus Populus* prior to and after 164 BC. Through an analysis focusing on the style as well as the content in 6-13, one can discern a large degree of interaction

between what is discussed and the way in which literary devices are used in these chapters. The significance in Sallust's choice of literary devices is shown through the fact that he deliberately tries to produce *varatio*, and through this *varatio* produces juxtapositions. The result is a much fuller understanding of his layered attempts to produce a work of high literary quality. Through focusing on the growth of the state and the state's benefit from *boni mores* in 6-13, Sallust proleptically hints at his treatment of Catiline as an *exemplum* of the degeneration of Roman morality.<sup>7</sup>

There are other antitheses in the BC that might be worth considering, such as the antithesis between the displays of *virtus* in Cato and Caesar (51-54), known as the *synkrisis*.<sup>8</sup> Here, Sallust also makes structural and linguistic choices that are meant to contrast the two figures as well as create thought-provoking references to earlier in the text.<sup>9</sup> Another is the "colourless" Petreius and Catiline.<sup>10</sup> However, contrasts such as these do not quite exhibit the same structural parallels that can be seen in 6-13.<sup>11</sup> The chapters in this section are structurally set off from each other, contrast the main ideas, and provide insight into the essence of Sallust's literary work.

The first clear structural juxtaposition creates the antithesis between the early Roman doctrine of *virtus*-

<sup>1</sup> I owe a debt to the commentators McGushin and Ramsey for pointing out many devices but the discussion on these is my own. (P. McGushin, *C. Sallustius Crispus, Bellum Catilinae: A Commentary*, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava: Supplementum 45 (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1977); J. T. Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984)).

<sup>2</sup> W. Kroll, "Die Sprache Des Sallust," *Glotta* 15, no. 3/4 (1927): 280-305 is still an authoritative work, esp. relevant is 284-90 on parataxis, inconcinnity and synesis; R. Syme, *Sallust* (California & London: University of California Press, 1964), 240-274, a discussion on the evolution of Sallust's style which also enumerates the devices that produce his *varatio*.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Batstone, "The Antithesis of Virtue: Sallust's 'Synkrisis' and the Crisis of the Late Republic," *Classical Antiquity* 7, no. 1 (1988): 1-29.

<sup>4</sup> (nn.4 and 5 are abbreviated, see bibliography) Thucydides: Muse 2012, Parker 2008, Grethlein 2006, Keitel 1987, Renehan 1976. Cato: Vassiliades 2013, Levene 2000, Sklenář 1998, Earl 1961 (44-45).

<sup>5</sup> Spielberg 2017, Vasta 2014, Batstone 1988. Though morality has long been a focus too Mumper 2017, Vasta 2014, Sklenář 1998, Garcia-Lopez 1997, Levick 1982.

<sup>6</sup> K. H. Waters, "Cicero, Sallust and Catiline," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 19, no. 2 (1970): 195-215.

<sup>7</sup> This is done mainly through detailing Catiline's actions (24), his conspiracy proper (26 and onwards) and beginning the antithesis between Catiline and Cicero (Cicero acting in favor of, and Catiline against, the state).

<sup>8</sup> Batstone, "The Antithesis of Virtue", 1-29.

<sup>9</sup> R. Sklenář, "La République Des Signes: Caesar, Cato, and the Language of Sallustian Morality," *Transactions of the APA (1974-)* 128 (1998): 205-20, for an analysis focused on language, updated views, and bibliography.

<sup>10</sup> A. Feldherr, "The Translation of Catiline," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2007), 367. This contrast is particularly significant because it calls into question the display of *virtus* Catiline exhibits in the final chapters.

<sup>11</sup> The two sets of chapters are both divided into two and the opening of each half (chapters 6/10 and 23/25) is meant to set off the respective sets of chapters against the other.

*gloria* with the more recent degeneration into *ambitio-avaritia*.<sup>12</sup> Many of his views are taken from earlier authors and by his time had formed literary *topoi*.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, they form a backdrop within which it is possible to situate his narrative. After these chapters, upon beginning the discussion of the conspiracy (14), Sallust provides evidence his digression on morality is a segue into the main topic.<sup>14</sup> The chapters discuss specific aspects of morality and how they were positive and benefitted the state (6-9) or negative and harmed the state (10-13), focusing on *concordia*, *gloria* and *virtus* juxtaposed with *ambitio* and *avaritia*. Through their structure, these chapters combine with Sallust's stylistic choices to create powerful juxtapositions that highlight the underlying antithesis of the BC. It is then easy to make an early inference: traditional morality has degenerated significantly, and the following conspiracy is a symptom.<sup>15</sup>

The structures of 6-9 and 10-13 are clearly set off to be antithetical. Chapter 6 starts with the founding of Rome as taken from Cato the Censor;<sup>16</sup> Chapter 10 marks the beginning of the moral degeneration in Rome.<sup>17</sup> These both serve as the chapters in which Sallust communicates his main point,<sup>18</sup> and both are expanded upon with further treatment in Chapters 7 and 9 and then in 11 and 12. They both also include asides (Chapters 8 and 13) that do little to add to the narrative but stylistically serve their purpose.<sup>19</sup> Within these sections there are additional parallels, often emphasized through stylistic devices, that create an

antithetical rift between the Romans of bygone eras and those within recent memory.

A brief overview of the terminology used to describe the morality of the *Romanus Populus* in these chapters will show the broad antithesis. In 6, the state of the *Troiani* and *aborigines* grew through *concordia* (6.2) and *virtus* (6.5); 7 contains a focus on military *virtus* and *gloria* (7.2-6); 8, an aside on *fortuna*; 9 returns to *concordia* (9.1), *virtus* (9.2), and *audacia* (9.3-4). Whereas 10 begins the decline of the state after the fall of Carthage (146 BC), which was due to fortune (10.1), and the introduction of *avaritia* (10.4) and *ambitio* (10.5); 11 expands to include *luxuria* after Sulla's return (82 BC);<sup>20</sup> 12 especially emphasizes the youth's infection with *luxuria atque avaritia* (12.2); 13, like 8, is an unnecessary aside that serves a stylistic purpose.<sup>21</sup> The first chapters of each section are the most clearly juxtaposed.

The first two chapters of each section exhibit the most identifiable and starkest contrasts between the two visions of morality. Both are continuations from 5.9,<sup>22</sup> 6 emphasizes the governance of the state and 10, the different types of corruption. The former chapter begins by placing the accusative *urbem Romam* in the initial position to signal the focus on the state that is to follow.<sup>23</sup> The latter, with the beginning of the degeneration of that state due to *fortuna* (10.1). Chapter 6 begins the incredible story of the early city and 10 its tragic demise. The connection to be made to *concordia* (6.2) is clear even before it is outright

<sup>12</sup> An overview of this sort of morality in Latin literature is provided by J. R. James, "Virtus et Disciplina: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Roman Martial Values of Courage and Discipline" (Ph.D., University of Missouri - Columbia, 2020).

<sup>13</sup> C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge, 1961), 41-59 gives an overview Sallust's position in regard to earlier and contemporary literature.

<sup>14</sup> *In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina...* "In so great and so corrupt a state Catiline..." (14.1)

<sup>15</sup> "...the corrupting desire to win regardless of the consequences for the collective good (BC 11.1). This is the crime of Catiline...". Joy Connolly, "Virtue and Violence: The Historians on Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Historians*, ed. Andrew Feldherr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 181-94; see also A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies* (London, United States: Taylor & Francis Group, 1988), 125.

<sup>16</sup> Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.6.

<sup>17</sup> *...saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit* "fortune began to be cruel and to mix up everything" (10.1). *Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere* "Therefore at first the desire of money, then of power increased; just as if these things were the materials of all evils" (10.3).

<sup>18</sup> McGushin, *Bellum Catilinae*, 69, 86.

<sup>19</sup> The stylistic purpose for 8 is to introduce *fortuna* picked up in 10.1, and for 13 to strengthen the association between Catiline's supporters and debauchery. Chapter 25 functions similarly as closing out the introduction to the conspiracy. It is also to "supply a deficiency noted in Sallust's statement on historiography in 4.1-2", McGushin, *Bellum Catilinae*, 86.

<sup>20</sup> *Hunc post dominationem L. Sullae libido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae...* "Then after the dictatorship of Sulla the greatest desire for seizing the republic invaded him [i.e. Catiline]" (5.6).

<sup>21</sup> See n. 18, 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim immutata ex pulcherrima atque optima pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit...* "How they governed the republic and how great they left it (for us), and how, little by little it changed from most illustrious and best and was made worst and most disgraceful..." (5.9). Chapter 6 begins with how they governed the republic and 10 with how little by little (*paulatim*) it changed.

<sup>23</sup> *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani* "in the beginning Trojans, just as I accept, founded and inhabited the Roman city" (6.1).

stated, considering the use of an anticipatory statement right before it to highlight that not only did they get along, but they formed a *civitas* with ease becoming the *Romanus Populus*.<sup>24</sup> The state was harmonious and so was its growth. Chapter 10 advances in the opposite direction but still recalls the values of chapter 6-9.<sup>25</sup>

The morality so highly praised by our author is reiterated and provides a reason for the beginning of degeneration (10.2).<sup>26</sup> The republic and essentially those types of citizens who had already cultivated *boni mores* have degenerated and it is implied that it is for the first time since the founding of the republic (6.1-2). Important to note is that the emphasis is placed on the *boni mores* of specifically the *Romanus Populus*: chapters 6-9 mention no individuals, 10-13 only use Sulla as a temporal demarcation.<sup>27</sup> His focus is on the morality of the citizenry as a whole rather than with the kings or heroes of the early and middle republic; all is told in connection to the state.

The *Romanus Populus* and the theme of government or how the early Romans created a *civitas*, is emphasized in 6, and 10 forces a juxtaposition between these two chapters. This antithesis creates the circumstance where the significance of the adversarial nature of the opposing generations is able to be revealed.<sup>28</sup> At every turn throughout chapter 6 it is the actions of either the *Romanus Populus* as a whole, or of a selection of them, that are seen to benefit the state. Neighbouring peoples and kings were so jealous they tried to steal from the Romans, but they were defeated by their virtue (6.4), the monarchy was kept in check by the senate (6.6), and then the kings became proud, so they prudently set up a new form of government (6.7). The linear progression simplifies Roman history

and provides the view that no one person made the empire great; still, it was not altogether good but when crisis came the senate made a collective decision that was best for the people. Collaboration is inherent to the growth of a state and so *concordia* is first emphasized (6.2), then *virtus* (6.5), and finally the *ingenium* of the senate (6.7). The latter two being results of a state founded on the harmony emphasized (6.2). Problems can arise and if not properly dealt with can result in serious consequences, which begin to be detailed in 10.

Chapter 10 shifts the focus placed on the values that won the Roman state to those that Sallust conceives as being responsible for losing it. Using the fall of Carthage as a temporal demarcation, Sallust indicates part of the reason for his inclusion of this long digression: without a *metus hostilis* a state is sure to decline from its great excess and security.<sup>29</sup> The doctrine of *avaritia-ambitio* is picked up throughout and contrasts in 10.4 with the pleasing picture of *concordia* and *virtus* just discussed in 6-9.<sup>30</sup> *Avaritia* destroys noble qualities and *ambitio* makes men deceive their countrymen for their own gain;<sup>31</sup> finally, the state itself has been infected with these *males artes*.<sup>32</sup>

The mention of the hegemony of the Roman government and its effects on the *Romanus Populus* further contrast 6 and 10. There is a sudden switch from gloriously winning control of Italy to losing the fundamental values on which the state was founded when it became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. In Chapter 10 the decline of the state is first detailed in terms of the moral failing of its citizens after a specific event, indicating that as it was

<sup>24</sup> *Incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint; ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat* “it is remarkable to recall how easily they maintained it thus in a short time from a dispersed and wandering mass a citizenry was made by Concord” (6.2).

<sup>25</sup> *Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant eis otium, divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere* “Those who had endured labours, dangers, doubtful and hopeless things with ease, to them leisure, riches, choice things at other times, were wretched and a burden”. The values were degenerating due to their vast excess of *otium* and *divitiae*. I return to the asyndetic list in chiasmus *labores...asperas*, as well as how *otium* and *divitiae* play into the *lubido pecuniae et imperi* of 10.3 below.

<sup>26</sup> See n.24.

<sup>27</sup> The reference to 5.6 in Chapter 11 is to the passage stating that Catiline seized with a desire to overthrow the republic after Sulla's *dominatio*. See n. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Batstone, “The Antithesis of Virtue,” 17 n. 59.

<sup>29</sup> An overview of the *metus hostilis* is provided in: Vassiliades, “Les Sources et La Fonction Du « metus Hostilis » Chez Salluste,” *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, no. 1 (2013): 127–68.

<sup>30</sup> *Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit* “For greed destroyed honour, integrity and the other good practices; in place of these it was taught arrogance, cruelty, to neglect the gods, to have a price for everything” (10.4).

<sup>31</sup> *Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere...* “Ambition forces many minds of mortals to become false, to have on thing shut in the breast and another ready on their tongue” (10.5).

<sup>32</sup> *Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia ivasit, civitas inmutata, imperium ex iustissimo atque optumo curdele intolanderandumque factum* “These things at first increased little by little, after, when just as if a plague it invaded by infection, the citizenry had changed the empire became, from one most just and best to one cruel and most intolerable (10.6, see n. 20 for 5.9).



internal forces that brought about the morality of the state, so it is the internal shifts resulting from the fall of Carthage that bring its degeneration. It is laid out that *concordia* and *virtus* win a state and *ambitio* and *avaritia* degenerate its morality and thus its ability to function peacefully and justly.

A confusing aspect of Sallust's display of the *ambitio-avaritia* paradigm is what seems like a discrepancy between what is stated at 10.3 and 11.1.<sup>33</sup> The problem, previous research, and a reasonable solution are provided by Duane Conley.<sup>34</sup> It is best understood when one considers that there are degrees of *ambitio* being discussed and that 10.3 is not a whole account. Instead of contradicting himself, he emphasizes the difference in degeneration between the two periods: first, from the fall of Carthage to the reign of Sulla and then from the reign of Sulla down to Sallust's own day. The entire period (from 146BC on) was one of degeneration, but importantly there were varying degrees of severity of the particular vices that caused this.

Keeping in mind the contrasting ideas of early Roman *virtus* versus its degeneration in recent years and through his style it is clear where the emphasis of this underlying theme lies. Those which shall be analyzed here are two asyndetic lists in chiasmus (6.1 and 10.2),<sup>35</sup> and two examples, one each of more traditional asyndeton and chiasmus.<sup>36</sup> Throughout the BC asyndeton may be employed for brevity, *varatio*, and importantly sometimes is chiastic and contrasts two ideas.<sup>37</sup> In both lists at 6.1 and 10.2, there are juxtapositions created that focus on important aspects of his argument that may otherwise have gone unnoticed. At 6.3 there are three ablatives in asyndeton and the rapidity as well as the sequential nature reflect the sense of rapid growth. Finally, the deceit of ambition at 10.5, a passage with significant poetic resonance, will be examined in relation to the overall antithesis discussed.<sup>38</sup> These are only some of the

devices used in these chapters, but they are indicative of a larger trend in the BC to focus on the *mores* of citizens and how the *mores* can benefit or harm the state.

The asyndetic lists offer a sense of urgency in the listing of the words, but also emphasize two elements in particular while providing a varied style.<sup>39</sup> *Sine imperio* is answered immediately by *liberum* and as we have seen there is an emphasis on what individuals can do for the state in Chapter 6. So this list, and especially the middle pair, focuses on the stateless beginning. They had no government whatsoever. Also, the list at 10.2 recalls those same people who had begun *sine legibus, sine imperio...* since it lists four things the *Romanus Populus* was able to endure consistently before the fall of Carthage. The passage in Chapter 10 linguistically recalls, through use of *pericula*, the phrase emphasizing how the Romans won their state *pericula virtute propulerant* (6.5). It is the uncertainty and dangers placed at the center of this asyndetic list and those uncertainties and dangers were endured with courage by the earlier Romans. Both lists emphasize how the Romans existed in the beginning and 10.2 strongly recalls an earlier passage to *pericula* which reinforces this.

Asyndeton and chiasmus by themselves, being two favourites of Sallust, also provide further meaning to sections of Chapters 6 and 10.<sup>40</sup> The three "ingredients of national growth" not only create brevity but, when considering the meaning of clause, give further sense to Sallust's point.<sup>41</sup> The point he is making is based on how the state grew, and by listing these elements without conjunctions, gives the sense that not only did the state grow but it grew rapidly, with one "ingredient" following the other. The *gloria* and overall emphasis is on the incredible nature of the winning of a state.<sup>42</sup> Contrasting this period of purity with the emphasis placed on the chiastic list and there is a strong antithesis felt.

<sup>33</sup> Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit "Therefore first the desire of money then the desire to rule increased (10.3); Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat "But first more ambition than greed was using the minds of men" (11.1).

<sup>34</sup> Duane F. Conley, "The Interpretation of Sallust Catiline 10. 1-11. 3," *Classical Philology* 76, no. 2 (1981): 121-25.

<sup>35</sup> ... genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum "A rustic race of men, without laws, without government, free and unbound" (6.1); Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant... "Those who had endured toils, dangers, doubtful and hopeless things with ease..." (10.2).

<sup>36</sup> Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur "But after the affairs of those ones increased in citizens, morals, and land was prosperous enough and powerful enough" (6.3). See n. 31 for 10.5.

<sup>37</sup> McGushin, *Bellum Catilinae*, 14-15.

<sup>38</sup> See n. 31.

<sup>39</sup> See n. 36.

<sup>40</sup> 6.3: n. 36; 10.5: n 31.

<sup>41</sup> Ramsey, *Bellum Catilinae*, 74.

<sup>42</sup> For the perceived importance of these types of values in literature, see James, "Virtus et Disciplina".

The deceit of *ambitio* (10.5, n. 31) is written in a clause that achieves the usual goals of Sallust's style (brevity, *varatio*, etc.), but importantly it is quite a poetic phrase with many antecedents in ancient literature (e.g. *Il.* 9.312-3, Theognis 91-92). Achilles laments that he hates the deceitful man more than death and Theognis states that we ought to treat him as an enemy. These emphasize the proverbial quality of the moral man that Sallust is depicting through synecdoche as the early *Romanus Populus*. Through the chiasmic structure *pectore* and *lingua* are highlighted, signalling that this deceit has invaded the very being of Roman citizens and is a part of who they are. Their very nature is completely opposed to any traditional sense of *virtus*. This trend is continued in each chapters' supporting paragraphs.

The two supporting chapters for each antithetical half demonstrate clear parallels and some more variety in the stylistic devices used. A similar approach to the comparison of Chapters 6 and 10 shall be taken. Beginning with an overview of the content in these chapters sets off the contrast and then I will follow with a look at how that contrast is amplified through the stylistic choices of our author. Chapter 7 expands upon military virtue and mentions the pursuit of legitimate wealth (7.6);<sup>43</sup> Chapter 11 expands upon *avaritia* and how the army was treated with too much *luxuria* (11.5);<sup>44</sup> Chapter 9 returns to martial virtue and

the former value put in peace and wartime affairs;<sup>45</sup> Chapter 12 continues discussing *luxuria* with an emphasis on the infection of the youth but ends with a comment on military behaviour.<sup>46</sup>

The clear emphasis is on morality both in peace and war. The difference between the early Romans and the later Romans was that the young men of earlier days were much more martial and thus, in that way, virtuous as well. They were more responsible and reasonable with their honestly gained wealth (7.6).<sup>47</sup> Continuing this theme in 9 and we see the emphasis of peace time (9.3),<sup>48</sup> in addition there is a note that they were protecting their country in these wars. The earlier Romans were warriors, admirable in their treatment and acquisition of wealth, they proudly defended their country.

Chapters 11 and 12 display nearly the opposite content to 7 and 9. Instead of soldiers acting virtuously, defending their homes, and gaining wealth honestly, they all unwisely covet wealth (11.3).<sup>49</sup> The army taught the populace their immoral ways (11.4-6) and the army behaved unjustly (11.7).<sup>50</sup> Chapter 12 harkens back to 6-9 directly at 12.4,<sup>51</sup> showing how even in victory they were immoral, acting contrary to the example their ancestors set.<sup>52</sup> Even though the focus is on military gloria, the intricacies lie in the topic of honest wealth.<sup>53</sup> This ties into the passage discussed at 7.6 and sets off the two passages as being

<sup>43</sup> *Laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales errant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant* "They were eager for praise and munificent of money; they were desiring huge glory, honest riches" (7.6).

<sup>44</sup> *Quo [L. Sulla] sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat* "In order that Sulla could make them loyal to himself, against the custom of our ancestors, he treated them with luxury and too much liberality" (11.5).

<sup>45</sup> *Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate seque remque publicam curabant* "by these two arts, boldness in war, when peace came about fairness and they themselves were looking after the republic" (9.3).

<sup>46</sup> *Igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere...* "Therefore as a result of riches the youth were invaded with luxury and greed with pride" (12.2); *proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti* "and then just as if to do harm, was the only way to rule" (12.5).

<sup>47</sup> See n. 43.

<sup>48</sup> That they were protecting their homes: *seque remque publicam curabant*. See n. 45.

<sup>49</sup> *Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit...semper infinita* "Avarice concerns the desire of money, which no wise man covets...always restrained [i.e. *avaritia*]" (11.3).

<sup>50</sup> *Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit* "but after Sulla had overtaken the republic

by arms, a bad end comes from a good beginning..." (11.4); *Loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant* "Pleasing places, delightful even easily softened the minds of the ferocious soldiers in leisure" (11.5); *Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare...* "Therefore the army of the Roman people was the first accustomed to love, drink..." (11.6); *Igitur ei milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil relicui victis fecere* "Therefore these soldiers, after they had seized victory, left nothing to the vanquished [lit. made nothing of a remainder for the vanquished]" (11.7).

<sup>51</sup> *Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant* "Truly those ones [i.e. *religiosissimi mortales* "most reverent mortals" (12.3)] took nothing from the vanquished save the power of doing harm" (12.4).

<sup>52</sup> *At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi iniuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti* "But these ones on the other hand, most base of men, through supreme wickedness deprived these things from our allies, which things the best men, conquerors, had left them: then as if to do harm was the only way to rule" (12.5).

<sup>53</sup> B. Levick, "Morals, Politics, and the Fall of the Roman Republic," *Greece & Rome* 29, no. 1 (1982): 56-57. broadly connects these ideas.

significantly contrasted. Here, stylistic devices further this antithesis.

As in the introductory chapters to these antithetical halves, a selection of devices, one from each of 7, 9, 11, and 12, shall be selected and analyzed in relation to the points made above. Section 7.5 is extremely verbally powerful;<sup>54</sup> at section 9.1 there is a traditional phrase followed by a sonorous chiasmic construction;<sup>55</sup> section 11.5 employs *varatio* and three alliterative couplets;<sup>56</sup> finally, 12.2 combines chiasmus, historical infinitives, alliterative couplets, *varatio* and zeugma.<sup>57</sup> Each of these sections selects an aspect of morality to focus on and, through the employment of these devices, create sonorous verbal resonances that stick out significantly in the mind of the reader.

Alliteration and parataxis are two devices that each add an additional quality to a text.<sup>58</sup> The repetition of *non* in 7.5 suggests that one thing after another was endured successfully as if to say “what could they *not* have done?”<sup>59</sup> Perhaps part of the reason so many languages retained the initial *n*- in their negation is due to the forcefulness of the syllable; similar to how words beginning with the plosive *p*- makes it sound like they are being flung out of the speaker’s mouth.<sup>60</sup> Beginning and ending with *n* creates a closed syllable that adds discreteness and a sense of totality. There is a similar emphasis on the antithesis of these qualities (i.e., being able to endure any task, place, or foe) at 12.2, discussed below. The exclamatory phrase being used as an explanatory phrase at the end of section 7.5 creates a parataxic construction and reinforces the sentiment put in the readers’ mind through the alliteration of the first few clauses. Having reinforced the emphasis on the collective individuals with *talibus viris*, there is an expansion on the quality of “such men” highlighted through three alliterative uses of

*non*, followed by a concluding phrase in three short words that reinforces the overall antithesis. Chapter 9 expands on the lack of vices present in the old *Romanus Populus*.

The traditional phrase placed at the beginning of Chapter 9 is well suited to the subject of old republican morals.<sup>61</sup> The flair of archaicity given, while succinctly demonstrating once more his point that early Romans were noble in peace and war, adds to the argument of following the *mos maiorum* highlighted in 11.5, discussed below. In using such a phrase, Sallust himself is following in the tradition of the earlier Romans he holds so highly.<sup>62</sup> The chiasmic phrase centers on the dichotomy of greatest and least, applying a superlative to both one positive and one negative attribute highlighting his intended antithesis. They lived in a state that had the most of a positive quality and the least of a negative one. These adjectives of quantity highlight the complete antithesis to more recent Romans that the reader anticipates is to come.

At section 11.5 there are three phrases in succession that accumulate various alliterations that aid significantly in furthering the contrast of early history.<sup>63</sup> The first *fidum faceret* emphasizes that these soldiers were fighting for an individual and riches, not the state. The second, clearly points this out by explicitly stating this went against the Roman values of 6-9.<sup>64</sup> The third culminates the triad by stating the vice involved in creating the circumstance that led to widespread degeneration of morality. Again it is tied to improper spending of money which recalls 7.6.<sup>65</sup> The alliteration makes these phrases stand out and they do so to emphasize the antithesis juxtaposed between these two halves 6-9 and 10-13. Sulla only cared about his troops’ personal loyalty, against the customs of his

<sup>54</sup> *Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus; virtus omnia domuerat* “Therefore to such men no labor unaccustomed, not any place was too rough or arduous, not one being an armed enemy was terrible; virtue dominated everything” (7.5).

<sup>55</sup> *Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur, concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat* “Therefore, at home and in the field, they cultivated good morals, there was greatest concord and least greed” (9.1).

<sup>56</sup> *Quod L. Sulla exercitum quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat* “Since Sulla had an army which he had led into Asia, for which reason he made them loyal to him, contrary to the custom of our ancestors and treated them luxuriously and too freely” (11.5).

<sup>57</sup> *Rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua* “steal, consume,

value their own things little, desire others, modesty and shame, divine and human things are mixed up” (12.2).

<sup>58</sup> Kroll, “Die Sprache Des Sallust”, parataxis 284. alliteration 300.

<sup>59</sup> See n. 54.

<sup>60</sup> Abhinauv Kapoor and Jont B. Allen, “Perceptual Effects of Plosive Feature Modification,” *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 131, no. 1 (2012): 478–91, is a study on how plosive bursts are highly recognizable syllables.

<sup>61</sup> See n. 55.

<sup>62</sup> Syme, *Sallust*, 261.

<sup>63</sup> See n. 56.

<sup>64</sup> *Contra morem maiorum* “against the custom of our ancestors” (11.5). Sallust emphasizes the importance of this theme in *Jug. P. A. Montgomery*, “Sallust’s Scipio: A Preview of Aristocratic «superbia» (Sal. *Jug. 7.2-9.2*),” *The Classical Journal* 109, no. 1 (2014): 21–40.

<sup>65</sup> See n. 43.

ancestors, and emphasizes the vice that was the true cause, *luxuria*. If there is anything the early Romans did not cultivate it was *luxuria*.

Instead of there being no task, place, or foe too difficult for the Romans to overcome there is instead emphasized, at 12.2, that there was no material gain that would satisfy the later Romans' covetousness through four historical infinitives in chiasmus.<sup>66</sup> The shift of emphasis from *virtus omnia domuerat* to employing four verbs to simply say that they were rapacious is strongly contrasted when one reconsiders how the early Romans spent their money.<sup>67</sup> The middle chiasmic pair, *rapere* and *cupere*, refer to others' property while *consumere* and *pendere* require management.<sup>68</sup> The alliterative couplet adds a sonorous quality and, in conjunction with employing both simple *varatio* and zeugma, is highly stylized and stands out significantly.

The two pairs produce *varatio* since *pudorem pudicitiam* are virtually synonyms whereas *divina atque humana* are antonyms. The zeugma occurs when one applies the plural neuter accusative adjective *promiscua* with the masculine and feminine pair of nouns as well as the adjective pair it agrees with. The zeugma gives pause in the mind of the reader and makes one consider *pudorem pudicitiam* more closely, perhaps creating something of a *paraprosdokian* (when the latter part of a sentence is surprising given the beginning). This closer consideration is further suggested by the sonorous quality and the virtual hendiadys of this pair. This sentence was carefully crafted and resembles a sophisticated attempt at using style to emphasize the authors' opinion.

Throughout these two opposing halves there has been an underlying dichotomy, even before the later Romans are mentioned in 10, between the earlier Romans and their glory with the later debauched citizenry. The antithetical doctrines of *virtus-gloria* and *ambitio-avaritia* are juxtaposed, put on clear display, and highlighted through a variety of devices that were at Sallust's disposal. The placement of Catiline within the new moral order is given through the reference made in Chapter 5 to his "desire for

seizing the republic [i.e. after Sulla's *dominato*]].<sup>69</sup> His focus on citizens' actions either benefitting or harming the state in conjunction with the focus on the "youth", do much to situate him and his conspiracy within the paradigm of *ambitio-avaritia*.

These findings shed light on how the moral digression of 6-13 is emphasized through careful stylization. It comes down to the fact that some used their abilities to advance and protect the state while others sought to destroy it for their own material gain. The two portrayals of the *Populus Romanus* could be further analyzed in relation to their antithetical relationship, and using the methods employed here the nature of their relationship, as emphasized through Sallust's style, could be further illuminated. Careful selection of a variety of devices has been shown to pervade especially Chapters 6-13, asyndetic lists in chiasmus recur and contrast ideas of morality, lone asyndeton and chiasmus depict similar emphases in addition to many others. Juxtapositions form a large part of Sallust's BC, running from the beginning with *corpus-animus* (1.2) to the end with the *synkrisis* between Cato and Caesar.<sup>70</sup> The current state of debauchery, headed by Catiline, has arisen from discrete events in the past that created shifts among the *Romanus Populus*; some avoided being corrupted to the point of betraying their country and, these ones, despite being born into similar circumstances were fortunate enough to have not been infected with *avaritia-ambitio*. Regardless, according to Sallust, most, if not all, Romans have been corrupted to some degree and the *Romanus Populus* is a far cry from the *virtus-gloria* that was so greatly cultivated by the early Romans. Using Catiline as an *exemplum*, Sallust then will have completed his argument on the degeneration of the Romans' and the republic's inability to maintain peace and govern justly.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See n. 57.

<sup>67</sup> See n. 43 (7.6).

<sup>68</sup> Ramsey, *Bellum Catilinae*, 91.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 20.

<sup>70</sup> See also the asyndetic list in chiasmus that ends this text: *ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur* "thus throughout the whole army, joy, grief, sorrow, and gladness were variously affecting them" (61.9)

<sup>71</sup> One more area of potential study worth examining is approaching Cicero in the BC also as an *exemplum* of moral degeneration, despite his prudent patriotism. This may be worthwhile because Sallust seems to go out of his way to *not* praise the consul; combining this with the idea that Sallust's opinion was nearly everyone was infected with some degree of moral degeneration and it seems possible he displayed Cicero as another, different and more complicated, *exemplum*...

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## THE DANGER OF *πειθω* AND CODESWITCHING: CLYTEMNESTRA'S MASCULINE CHARACTERIZATION IN THE *AGAMEMNON*

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Though titled the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus' first play in his *Oresteia* trilogy focuses on the wife and murderer of the titular character: the vengeful Clytemnestra. As a result of this hateful act against her own husband, Clytemnestra is often regarded as a negative paradigm for women and wives. She demonstrates to men the threat that women pose when they gain too much masculine power, as well as the destruction that can occur to both the *oikos* and the *polis*. The echoes of Clytemnestra's masculinity are present in other ancient texts outside of Aeschylus, revealing how influential her characterization was during antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Due to this notoriety, Clytemnestra's masculinized speech and behaviour mark her as dangerous to an ancient audience through her improper use of traditional feminine and masculine traits. This pejorative perception of her character becomes particularly apparent through Clytemnestra's masculine and deceptive language in the *Agamemnon*, which she employs to control other male characters to her own advantage. In order to accomplish her plan, Clytemnestra also uses "code-switching" to alternate between masculine persuasive language and deferential feminine speech.<sup>2</sup> This reinforces the danger that her character poses to societal norms since Clytemnestra subverts ancient gender roles while also improperly using femininity to her benefit. Through an analysis of Clytemnestra's masculine use of persuasion and code-switching language in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, I will demonstrate that a pejorative characterization of her figure is carefully

constructed throughout the play. Through this depiction, Clytemnestra is portrayed as the antagonist to an ancient male audience, who threatens the very structure of the city through her transgressive use of femininity and masculinity.

Clytemnestra's negative characterization is displayed prominently when she interacts with various male characters throughout the play, revealing a dangerous side of her to a fifth-century male audience. This is specifically demonstrated through her masculinized language and behaviour. Clytemnestra is prominent in the public sphere throughout the *Agamemnon*, as she uses strong and persuasive language to take control of each situation in which she is placed. The masculine language that Clytemnestra employs throughout the course of the play is commented upon many times by male characters due to her gender-defiant speech and behaviour.<sup>3</sup> The most notable example of this language can be seen during the tapestry scene before Agamemnon walks inside to his death. Here Clytemnestra masterfully uses the power of persuasion to goad him into walking across the expensive cloth to destroy it, just as he destroyed their family through his murder of their daughter Iphigenia.<sup>4</sup> In addition to her clever use of speech and rhetoric, the following paragraphs will demonstrate how Clytemnestra takes care to bend the norms of gender and language, utilizing both masculine and feminine speech to her own advantage in order to fulfill her plan. These actions not only display the ambiguous nature of her character, as Clytemnestra makes use of both

<sup>1</sup> For examples of Clytemnestra's influence on tragedy see Eur. *IA.*, Eur. *El.*, Soph. *El.*, and on Latin literature see Prop. *Eleg.* 4.7.57, Ov. *Ars.* 3.11-12 among others.

<sup>2</sup> L. McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman: Speech and Gender in Athenian Drama* (Princeton

University Press, 1999). McClure presents this idea of linguistic "code-switching" in her text first through marginalized groups, such as women, who use this bilingualism in order advance in societies where they are oppressed. She then moves on to display how Clytemnestra uses this tactic to destabilize the gender roles in the play. This act of code-switching in Clytemnestra's case refers to her shifting between gendered speech to gain control over others around her. I will demonstrate the effect this manipulation of language has on the depiction and understanding of her character in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Comments on Clytemnestra's masculinity can be seen in the opening speech of the *Agamemnon* by the Watchman, who says that Clytemnestra has a "man-minded heart" (ἀνδρόβουλων κέαρ) in lines 10-11. There are various other instances throughout the play that underline Clytemnestra's masculine behaviour to the audience, such as Agamemnon's remark, "Surely it is not womanly to wish to argue" (οὗτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἱμεῖρειν μάχης) in line 940 during the tapestry scene, as well as the chorus praising her speech in line 350, saying that she has spoken like a "sensible man" (ἄνδρα σώφρον).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of Agamemnon's corrupt sacrifice of Iphigenia and how this affected Clytemnestra and how this led to her masculine actions in the *Agamemnon*, see F. I. Zeitlin, "The Motif of Corrupted Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 96, (1965): 463-508.

masculine and feminine behaviours and traits, but also further contribute to her dangerous characterization.

### The Power of *πείθω* During the Tapestry Scene

Clytemnestra demonstrates her impressive use of language various times throughout the *Agamemnon*, specifically displaying her mastery of the art of persuasion. The idea of *πείθω*, or persuasion, was well-known and greatly valued in ancient Greece, since it was viewed as an essential skill in public debates of various topics.<sup>5</sup> R.G.A Buxton carefully examines this concept, and identifies a specific type of *πείθω* that works in tandem with *δόλος*, or cunning, which is used when a person desires to overcome someone who is superior to them either in status or in strength. Buxton notes that this type of persuasion is commonly demonstrated by women in Greek myth, and that these two concepts can be virtually indistinguishable at times depending on their use.<sup>6</sup> This cunning use of persuasion can be seen through Clytemnestra's actions and language in the *Agamemnon*, most notably when she uses *πείθω* as a form of deception during the tapestry scene. Clytemnestra's language during this interaction with Agamemnon has inspired many scholars to study her use of rhetoric to carry out her murders.<sup>7</sup> Clytemnestra is clever enough to know that she will never be able to subjugate and conquer her husband through *βία*, or force, so she decides to achieve this through her mastery of *πείθω* instead, a concept which Buxton claims to be the direct opposite of force and violence.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Clytemnestra successfully assumes control of the situation over her husband through her persuasive language, allowing her to subvert the gender roles during their short exchange.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Annie Bonnafé also recognizes the deceptive persuasion that Clytemnestra employs

throughout this interaction, noting that this is a type of *agon* scene, where two characters engage in a kind of contest with one another, that cannot be won physically through *βία*. Instead, she states that this is a verbal battle in which one can only conquer by using the power of *πείθω*.<sup>10</sup> With these concepts in mind, I will now examine the language and rhetorical methods that Clytemnestra carefully uses when she first meets Agamemnon, which further demonstrates her superiority over her unsuspecting husband in her deceptive speech and cunning use of *πείθω*.

Clytemnestra's mastery of persuasion is aptly highlighted during the tapestry scene since she is able to convince Agamemnon to commit this hubristic deed in the short span of twelve lines.<sup>11</sup> She begins demonstrating her deceptive use of *πείθω* through subverting and abusing the rhetorical formula to her own advantage when asking him, "What do you think Priam would have done, if he accomplished what you have?" (τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τὰδ' ἤνυσεν;).<sup>12</sup> Clytemnestra makes excellent use of *πείθω* here as she strategically speaks to Agamemnon's arrogance by posing this hypothetical question. When faced with this inquiry Agamemnon must comply with Clytemnestra's request in order to avoid placing himself below Priam by choosing not to walk across the tapestry.<sup>13</sup> The masculine line of questioning that Clytemnestra employs demonstrates her gender-breaking speech. She cleverly uses the Socratic method to make Agamemnon's confidence waver, dominating the conversation by forcing him to respond to her questions.<sup>14</sup> Clytemnestra also makes use of her femininity to appeal to her husband, as she quickly reverts to her feminine role and language when she cries out to him, "Just yield! Let your power fall willingly to me" (πιθοῦ· κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί).<sup>15</sup> Within this short stichomythic exchange, Clytemnestra

<sup>5</sup> For an in-depth and extensive examination of the use of *πείθω* in Greek society and thought, and how this is represented in tragedy as well, see R.G.A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Peitho* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

<sup>6</sup> Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy*, 64-65.

<sup>7</sup> The following sources all examine the persuasive powers Clytemnestra employs throughout Aeschylus' trilogy and how she subverts the traditional gender roles in her speeches: H.P. Foley, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton University Press, 2003); A. Bonnafé, "Clytemnestre et ses batailles: Éris et Peitho." In *Architecture et poésie dans le monde grec. Hommages à Georges Roux*, eds. E. Roland, M.T. le Dinahet and M. Yon, Lyon (1989), 149-57; and McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman*, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> For more discussion on this, see Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy*, 58-63.

<sup>9</sup> G. Crane, "Politics of Consumption and Generosity in the Carpet Scene of the *Agamemnon*," *Classical Philology* 88.2, (1993): 132.

<sup>10</sup> Bonnafé, *Clytemnestre et ses batailles*, 155.

<sup>11</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 931-943. The Greek of the *Agamemnon* and the *Libation Bearers* are adapted from Sommerstein 2009 (Loeb) while sections of the *Medea* are from Kovacs 1994 (Loeb). All translations are my own.

<sup>12</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 935.

<sup>13</sup> Foley, "The Conception of Women," 210.

<sup>14</sup> Bonnafé, *Clytemnestre et ses batailles*, 157. The Socratic method, also referred to as maieutics, is the act of discerning knowledge through the process of asking and answering a series of questions. Socrates explains this process in Plato's *Theaetetus* in sections 150b-151e.

<sup>15</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 943.

fully displays the ambiguity of her *πείθω* through her masculine rhetorical skill, alongside the overall feminine nature of her persuasion since she only uses this strength to deceive men.<sup>16</sup> Bonnafé also makes note of Clytemnestra's use of *πείθω* to subvert gender roles, attributing the masculinity of her words to the fact that Clytemnestra wants to be treated as an autonomous male figure. Due to Agamemnon's long absence at war, she argues that Clytemnestra sees herself as a double agent of Agamemnon, causing her to continue to act in this masculine way even after the return of her husband.<sup>17</sup> Overall, Clytemnestra's mastery of rhetoric and *πείθω* completely destabilise Greek gender norms in this situation, as her persuasive language allows her to gain mastery over her husband Agamemnon. This act of verbal subjugation identifies Clytemnestra as the masculine figure during this exchange, signaling the danger of her character and her use of traditionally male rhetorical tactics to an ancient audience.

#### Code-Switching: From Masculine to Feminine

Alongside Clytemnestra's proficiency in using persuasive language, she goes beyond simply speaking and acting in a masculine manner. Clytemnestra takes her gender-breaking behaviour a step further by skilfully switching between masculine and feminine roles throughout the play. Clytemnestra is careful with how she presents herself to different characters, cleverly weaving her womanhood and role as wife into her masculine language in front of male characters. In doing this, Clytemnestra is able to placate and deceive these men so that she can successfully enact her plan without their interference. Laura McClure calls this intentional ambiguity of language a type of linguistic "code-switching", where one shifts the way in which they speak depending on the audience or situation. Clytemnestra demonstrates this when she displays her masculine speech when she exercises her *πείθω*, yet also performs the deferential behaviour expected of a woman to invoke sympathy from the chorus.<sup>18</sup> This gendered bilingualism is first evidenced during Clytemnestra's speech about the torch relay to the

chorus of elders. Here she subtly takes the attention away from her masculine and public language before these men by reminding them of her "lesser" gender, saying, "Indeed you hear such things from me, a woman" (τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις).<sup>19</sup> The deliberate shift here from masculine to feminine speech demonstrates Clytemnestra's attempt to gain respect and compassion from the male chorus. Once again, the ambiguity of Clytemnestra's gendered speech serves a dual purpose, as she underlines her womanhood here to manipulate the chorus by making use of their assumptions about her. Since the chorus has underestimated Clytemnestra from the start due to her gender, she makes sure to play into these perceptions at times, ensuring that they do not catch on to her masculine plan of mariticide.

The chorus is not the only victim of her divergent language since Clytemnestra also utilizes this code-switching with the Messenger. At first, Clytemnestra's long speech to the Messenger is dominated by her masculine language and behaviour. Not only does she choose to meet with the Messenger in the male-centred *polis* instead of the female domain of the *oikos*, but she also orders him to deliver messages to Agamemnon, just as a male ruler would.<sup>20</sup> In order to excuse her masculine behaviour, Clytemnestra switches her tone in the final lines of her speech. Here she plays up her husband's abandonment by lamenting about her womanly sacrifices, ending her speech on a more feminine note with, "Such is my boast, and since it is full of truth, it is not a shameful thing for a noble woman to shout" (τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος, τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων, οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν).<sup>21</sup> Despite Clytemnestra's masculine behaviour, her repeated reference to her female gender and performative womanhood illustrates her planned deception of these male characters. She simultaneously highlights how she confounds these gender norms and improperly takes advantage of them for her own benefit.

During these deceptive speeches, Clytemnestra takes care to not only include feminine language in her masculine discourse, but to also highlight her role as a

<sup>16</sup> McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman*, 70.

<sup>17</sup> See Bonnafé, *Clytemnestre et ses batailles*, for more discussion on how Clytemnestra uses heroic and militaristic language in her speeches.

<sup>18</sup> McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman*, 71-75.

<sup>19</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 348.

<sup>20</sup> See Aesch. *Aga.* 587-614 for Clytemnestra's entire speech to the Messenger.

<sup>21</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 613-614. Weir Smyth attributes the Messenger with these lines, while other editors such as Sommerstein give these lines to Clytemnestra. Though both are plausible, it is fitting for Clytemnestra to say these words since she has said a similar sentiment in line 348, as she continues to highlight her femininity in order to mask her masculine intentions from male characters.



tragic and suffering wife. Clytemnestra again panders to the expectations of these male characters by attributing her rash, gender-breaking language and behaviour to her womanly emotions. This is seen during her interaction with the Messenger when she rejoices about the return of her husband:

ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι. τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;

In such a manner I will hasten to give my honoured husband the best possible welcome when he comes back home. For what light is sweeter for a wife to see, than when she opens the gates to her husband, whom the god has saved, coming home from war?

Aesch. *Aga.* 600-604.

These lines are notoriously ambiguous. They seem sincere at first, as they no doubt sound to the Messenger, but hold a darker meaning for the audience as they foretell the murder that Clytemnestra has planned for her husband during his long absence. Once again, Clytemnestra uses her femininity and role as a wife to deceive male characters, code-switching to feminine speech to mask her masculinity and avoid suspicion. The “best possible welcome” that Clytemnestra envisions is not the same as what the Messenger imagines. Clytemnestra cunningly masks the true intentions of her words with this feminine and emotional sentiment. Moreover, she performs a similar deception when she first greets Agamemnon, lamenting the hardships she has had to endure alone, saying, “Firstly, it is a terrible evil for a woman to sit at home, lonely, apart from her husband” (τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν).<sup>22</sup>

This code-switching is also continued in the *Libation Bearers*, moments before Clytemnestra’s murder by her son Orestes. Here she tries to make use of her femininity and suffering as a woman and mother to invoke pity in Orestes by baring her breast and saying, “Wait, oh son! Have some respect, my child, for this breast from which many times while dowsing

off you sucked nourishing milk with toothless gums” (ἐπίσχες, ὦ παῖ, τόνδε δ' αἰδεσσαι, τέκνον, μαστόν, πρὸς ᾧ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ βρίζων ἅμα οὖλοισιν ἐξήμελξας εὐτραφὲς γάλα).<sup>23</sup> Clytemnestra further attempts to increase her son’s pity for her by reiterating the sorrows of a wife without her husband in line 920, echoing the complaints she made in the *Agamemnon*. Her manipulative femininity and misuse of motherhood in these lines almost convince Orestes to spare his mother, as Clytemnestra’s words cause him to waver and turn to Pylades for support.<sup>24</sup> However, Clytemnestra cannot save herself with her ambiguous speech like she did in the *Agamemnon*, resulting in her death near the end of the *Libation Bearers*. Both the characters and the audience of the second play have learned their lesson from the *Agamemnon* and can now recognize and deal with the danger of Clytemnestra’s manipulation of gender norms and gendered speech. This realization from the first to second text of the trilogy demonstrates the effect that Clytemnestra’s dangerous characterization has both on the audience and plot through her code-switching in the *Agamemnon*.

### Code-Switching Throughout Tragedy

Clytemnestra is not the only female character in Greek tragedy that utilizes code-switching. There are other tragic wives with pejorative characterizations that manipulate gendered language as well. One of the most notable examples of this behaviour can be seen in Euripides’ *Medea*, where Medea is motivated to commit masculine acts in response to the transgressions of her husband, Jason. Medea decides to poison her husband’s betrothed and kill her own two children when Jason abandons their marriage, consequently destroying his loved ones as punishment for abandoning their marriage. Unlike Clytemnestra’s masked ambiguity of speech, Medea’s use of code-switching and manipulation of language is blatant throughout the text. She begins the play uttering various laments about womanhood and the confinement of wives in the *oikos*, effectively playing into her feminine identity in order to garner support from the female chorus, deceiving the male audience in the meantime.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, she continues to make use of feminine speech and lamentation to control

<sup>22</sup> Aesch. *Aga.* 861-862.

<sup>23</sup> Aesch. *LB.* 896-898.

<sup>24</sup> Aesch. *LB.* 899-902.

<sup>25</sup> Eur. *Med.* 214-266. Foley, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*, 261. Foley speaks in-depth here about how Medea specifically differs from Clytemnestra since she is able to deceive both the chorus and

other male characters in the text, such as Aegeus and Creon.<sup>26</sup> Yet after her encounters with these men, Medea demonstrates her mastery of code-switching when she begins to reveal her true masculine nature to the chorus. She does this by revealing how she plans to kill Jason's new bride by poison, acting in a similar way to Clytemnestra's behaviour during and after the tapestry scene.<sup>27</sup> In addition to these scenes, Medea's starkest display of code-switching in Euripides' text occurs during the two dialogues she has with Jason. During the first, Medea employs highly masculine and antagonistic language, beginning her speech by calling him "most wicked one" (ὦ παγκάκιστε), and continuing with a host of insults and strong accusations.<sup>28</sup> Upon their second meeting, Medea completely changes her tone and language with Jason, calling herself "foolish" (ἄφρων)<sup>29</sup> and admitting her fault due to her femininity by saying, "But we women are what we are, though I will not say we are evil" (ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν οἷόν ἐσμεν, οὐκ ἐρῶ κακόν, γυναικες).<sup>30</sup> The similarities Medea shares with Clytemnestra's manipulation of feminine and masculine language are evident through this analysis of their deceptive speech. Both women effectively mislead and control their husbands through their improper use of femininity, hiding their masculine intentions through the feminine masking of their words.

Despite the parallels between these tragic female characters, Clytemnestra's language and behaviour differs from other tragic wives who deceive and harm their husbands in tragedy, as evidenced from the very beginning of the *Agamemnon*. Clytemnestra's masculine disposition and speech are highlighted by various characters from the start of the play, displaying her dangerous characterization to a fifth-century male audience. This mention of Clytemnestra's deviant masculinity also gradually hints at Clytemnestra's

vengeful murders near the end of the text, granting the audience a look into the bloody future of the play.<sup>31</sup> While Clytemnestra's masculine behaviour is revealed from the beginning, Medea is much less conspicuous before she enacts her crimes, deciding upon her murderous plan halfway through the play when she learns about Jason's abandonment. Clytemnestra is the only wife who has planned her evil act against her husband for years before his return home, further distinguishing her from her fellow wives who decide and act in the moment.<sup>32</sup> Clytemnestra's intentional act of code-switching and overall masculine behaviour not only highlights the improper femininity and fatal persuasiveness that is common in tragedy, but also sets her apart as the most dangerous of these tragic women. Clytemnestra achieves this distinction of her character in tragedy since she has carefully planned her gender-breaking actions beforehand, practicing this masculine speech and behaviour as she waits for the return of her husband.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Clytemnestra's masculinity and improper use of deceptive feminine language and behaviour once again illustrates to a fifth-century male audience how deceitful her characterization is, even when compared to other tragic women. Consequently, this encourages an ancient audience to perceive this type of female speech as dangerous, demonstrating that persuasion and rhetoric should be regulated and free from feminine deception.<sup>34</sup>

After analysing Clytemnestra's gendered language, it becomes evident that a fifth-century male audience was encouraged to view her figure as deceitful and dangerous from the start of the play. The danger of Clytemnestra's character is heightened over the course of the text as she subverts Greek gender norms by skilfully manipulating and dominating her husband through her mastery of persuasion and rhetoric. Clytemnestra amplifies her deceptive language as she

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the audience in the beginning through her feminine sympathy, and that her heroic and masculine side develops as the play progresses.

<sup>26</sup> For Medea's interaction with Creon see Eur. *Med.* 271-366 and 663-758 for her discussion with Aegeus.

<sup>27</sup> Eur. *Med.* 364-409.

<sup>28</sup> Eur. *Med.* 465. See lines 465-519 for the remainder of her scathing speech against Jason.

<sup>29</sup> Eur. *Med.* 885.

<sup>30</sup> Eur. *Med.* 889-890.

<sup>31</sup> See fn. 2 for some examples in the *Agamemnon* where characters directly comment on Clytemnestra's dangerous masculinity.

<sup>32</sup> Besides Clytemnestra, Medea, Deianeira and Phaedra are also named as tragic wives who transgress in their actions against men. Like Clytemnestra, their actions are caused by the faults of the men in their lives. Medea and Deianeira are moved by their husbands'

mistakes to commit their murders (abandonment by Jason and Herakles' introduction of his bed slave into the *oikos*), while Phaedra is instigated by Aphrodite as a result of Hippolytus' disrespect towards the goddess. Nevertheless, Clytemnestra is still the only one among these women who has planned her crimes for years in advance.

<sup>33</sup> The Watchman makes mention of Clytemnestra's position of power in her husband's absence at the very beginning of this play in line 19, stating that he mourns over the condition of the *oikos* since, "it is not excellently managed as it was before" (οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονούμενου). This suggests that Clytemnestra has taken on Agamemnon's role of king of Argos during his time in Troy, ruling in a masculine way that is clearly not appreciated by the male citizens, such as the Watchman.

<sup>34</sup> McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman*, 72.

also bends the chorus and other male characters to her will through switching between dominant masculinity and pitiable feminine speech when necessary. Thus, before Clytemnestra even commits the murders that influence her negative portrayal in various works over the ages, she is indisputably presented as the antagonist to an ancient male audience. They become further convinced of Clytemnestra's dangerous characterization through her own masculine speech and improper use of her own gender as a wife. Clytemnestra has carefully planned these actions for years and intentionally confounds and subverts ancient Greek gender norms through her language and behaviour. The process in which Clytemnestra employs gendered code-switching language sets her apart from her fellow dangerous women in tragedy, granting her an individuality that requires more study. In understanding Aeschylus' dangerous depiction of Clytemnestra's masculinity to a fifth-century male audience, we now have a basis to examine the true complexity of her character. This analysis also presents the opportunity to extend this study to the language and behaviour of other characters in tragedy who employ these gender-breaking approaches, allowing for the uncovering of new meanings and characterizations of feminine characters in tragedy.

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# THE POWER OF GAIA: EARTH IN ANCIENT GREEK MAGIC

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## Introduction

In Hesiod, Gaia is among the first of all the deities to appear in the void. She becomes the seat and mother to a whole host of beings (and some beasts). A ‘mother earth’ figure is common among many cultures’ pantheons - the earth being the literal ground on which civilizations are built and food born forth. Her ubiquity in myth and the easy access to her make her a candidate to be used in all types of religious activity, including magic. Scholars such as Ortner have noted the association of the female and magic throughout many cultures.<sup>1</sup> The associations of Gaia witchcraft specifically have not been studied to date. Through literature and archaeology, the figure of Gaia is irrevocably linked to stereotypes of women and, ultimately, witches. In literature, the characterization of Gaia and the anxieties that are involved parallel those of female magic practitioners. Her power in literature as a restraining force becomes literal in archaeological practices. Due to her ability for social disruption, Gaia becomes the best agent for female magic practitioners to emulate. Female magic calls on Gaia for her own powers and then also mimics her methodology. Gaia, both as a character and as a physical entity, gives power to women, whether as an agent of force or a medium through which power is gained.

## Hesiod

In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Gaia is a disruptive force to the social hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> She encourages Cronus to emasculate and overthrow his father Ouranos - even fashioning the weapon he could use to do so.<sup>3</sup> Then, she aids in the deception of Cronus by hiding Zeus, thus allowing him to grow and overthrow Cronus.<sup>4</sup> The key factor in this power exchange is the deception on the part of female figures such as Gaia and Rhea.<sup>5</sup>

The ideal presented in the literature, is that the male force ultimately wins out over the female. In the *Theogony*, Zeus is able to overcome the matrilineal threat of deception and prove his own superiority.<sup>6</sup> In reality, however, mortals, do not have Zeus’ power. Therefore, there is a persistent anxiety surrounding magic, as mortal men cannot fight the disruptive power that magic can give to the disenfranchised.

The figure of Gaia embodies the many stereotypes and anxieties that surround Greek women. Primarily, she represents the foundation of the house: she is the immovable seat of the gods. Secondly, she gives life. Women’s primary function in Ancient Greece was to bear children, and Gaia is no exception. For the most part, she is responsible for populating the earth both with gods and monsters - either directly or indirectly through her children.

Gaia also shares power relations with mortal women. For despite all the power that Gaia has, she does not act as her own agent, rather manipulating her sons to act. For, in lines 154 and following:

For all who came forth from Gaia and Ouranos, the most terrible of their children, they were hated by their own father from the beginning. As soon as any of them was born, Ouranos hid them from the light in a hollow of Gaia and did not let them come out, and he rejoiced in his evil deed. But huge Earth, being so stuffed, groaned within, and she devised a tricky, evil stratagem. At once she created an offspring, of gray steel, and she fashioned a big sickle and showed it to her dear children. And she spoke, grieving in her heart as she encouraged them: “Children of mine and of a wicked father, obey me, if you wish: let us seek vengeance for your father’s evil outrage. For he was the first to devise unseemly deeds. (154-166)”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sherry B Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" In *Woman, Culture, and Society*, edited by M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 72.

<sup>2</sup> Charles H Stocking, *The Politics of Sacrifice in Early Greek Myth and Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2017), 55.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 160-165.

<sup>4</sup> Gaia hides infant Zeus for Rhea within a cave. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 480-4.

<sup>5</sup> Stocking, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?", 94.

<sup>6</sup> Stocking, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?", 95; 155.

<sup>7</sup> ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο | δεινότατοι παίδων, σφετέρῳ δ’ ἤχθοντο τοκῇ | ἐξ ἀρχῆς· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο, | πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνέσκε | Γαίης

While she plots to overthrow Cronus, she is unable to stop his deeds on her own. She crafts the plan and the weapon but ultimately needs an agent to wield it. Her main ‘power’ in this passage, is the ability to be a container, a place where Ouranos can his his children. It is this power of restraint that is pulled on in magic practices. The imagery of women as a container is pervasive in Greek thought, as is the anxiety surrounding women’s trickery, which could lend itself to associations of witches and trickery. Gaia’s secondary power is her manipulation of her children, wherein she has them perform the deeds she would see done. Being among the first of the greek epics and certainly being a foundational text in Greek mythology and possibly education, Hesiod’s depiction of Gaia becomes a powerful foundation on which to base or parallel depictions of another disruptive force, witches.

### Curse Tablets

While in Hesiod, Gaia’s powers are unable to stop Ouranos, the Hesiod passage reveals the very powers that curse tablets call upon.<sup>8</sup> In Greece, Gaia was called upon in several curse tablets as a restraining force. In DT 86, the curse tablet gives the victim, Zois, and specifically her various body parts, to the Earth. It reads:

“I give Zois the Eretrian, wife of Kabeira, over to Earth and to Hermes— her food, her drink, her sleep, her laughter, her conversation, her playing of the kithara, and her enterings, her pleasure, her little buttocks, her thinking, her eyes ...”<sup>9</sup>

These types of curse tablets aim to control the erotic agency of the victim by preventing them from pursuing anyone who is not the practitioner.<sup>10</sup> In the

same way Ouranos made Gaia restrict her children, so the curse tablets ask that she restrict their victims. Though Ouranos is the instigator, it is ultimately Gaia’s power which restricts her children. In curse tablets such as this one, the practitioner is taking the place of Ouranos, as they ask Gaia to restrict their target. Gaia’s children had no power when they were contained within her, so to is the victim of magic similarly restrained.

Scholars such as Eidinow have noted that magic gives illicit power to the disenfranchised.<sup>11</sup> This allows them to affect the social hierarchy in the same way as Gaia. Magic gave economic, legal. and erotic power to individuals depending on the exact spell. Curse tablets especially used the earth within their spell. The earth served as a goddess who was called upon for her own power. In the same way Ouranos had Gaia act, so do the curse tablets call upon Gaia, and other deities, to act. It is a form of irony, that in calling upon Gaia to work her magic, the practitioner becomes more like Ouranos than Gaia.

The sex of the author of the Zois tablet, however, is unknown. Amy Richlin points out that “women’s rituals may have been used by one class of women to express their power over another class of women, in a culture in which most kinds of public power was held by men.”<sup>12</sup> Therefore, to illustrate the use in women’s magic, I turn to a curse tablet from Pella.

Of [Theti]ma and Dionysophon the ritual wedding and the marriage I bind by a written spell, and of all other | wo[men], both widows and maidens, but especially Thetima, and I entrust to Makron and | *daimones*, and if I should dig up again and unroll and read this, | then she might wed Dionysophon, but not before. Let him not marry no other woman than me, | and let me grow old with Dionysophon, and no one else. I

ἐν κευθμῶνι, κακῷ δ’ ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ, | Οὐρανός· ἡ δ’ ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο Γαῖα πελώρη | στεينوμένη, δολίην δὲ κακὴν ἐπεφράσσατο τέχνην. | αἶψα δὲ ποιήσασα γένος πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος | τεῦξε μέγα δρέπανον καὶ ἐπέφραδε παισὶ φίλοισιν· | εἶπε δὲ θαρσύνουσα, φίλον τετιμημένη ἦτορ· | “παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἀτασθάλου, αἱ κ’ ἐθέλητε | 165 πειθεσθαι πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην | ὑμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ αἰεκέα μῆσατο ἔργα.” | ὥς φάτο·

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of curse tablets see John G. Gager, ed. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Dates to no later than the Hellenistic period. Found in Boeotia, Greece (Esther Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2007), 506)

Text: παρατίθωμαι Zo- | ἰδα τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν | τὴν Καβεῖρα γυναῖκα | [— τ]ῇ Γῇ καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ, τὰ βρώ- | ματα αὐτῆς, τὸν ποτᾶ, τὸν ὕ- | πνον αὐτῆς, τὸν γέλῳτα, | τὴν συνουσίην, τὸ κιθάρισμα[μα] | {κιθάρισμα}| αὐτῆς κῆ τὴν πάροδον αὐ- | [τῆς], τὴν ἡδον<ήν>, τὸ πνυγίον, | [τὸ] <φρό>νημα, {ν} ὀφθα[λμοὺς]

<sup>10</sup> Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*, 221.

<sup>11</sup> Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*, 148; Kimberly B Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology & Stereotype in the Ancient World*. (New York: Columbia University Press: 2007), 1.

<sup>12</sup> Amy Richlin, *Arguments with Silence: Writing the History of Roman Women*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: 2014), 202.

am your supplicant: | Have pity on [Phila?], dear *daimones*, for I am [bereft?] of all my dear ones and I am abandoned. | But guard [this] for my sake so that these things do not happen, and wretched Thetima perishes miserably. | ... but that I become happy and blessed.<sup>13</sup>

In this tablet, a woman, possibly named Philia, asks the gods to stop a marriage between Thetima and Dionysophon and to restrain Dionysophon from any woman who is not Philia.<sup>14</sup> This tablet was buried in a grave, possibly belonging to Makron. Gaia is not mentioned in the tablet at all. This is where I turn to the physical process of a curse tablet. The dead are seen as a means of communication with the Chthonic deities - a messenger. The burial of the curse tablet in the earth, however, is what allows for the communication. Therefore, even though Gaia is not invoked directly, the physical process uses earth in the magic. This can be seen in the Pella tablet where she asks that the spell work until such time she digs it back up - which presumably she will not do and thus the spell will work indefinitely. The physical earth covering the curse tablet is an inherent part of the magic. The physical hiding of the curse tablet within the Earth parallels the way Ouranos would hide his children within Gaia.

In such an example, the practitioner becomes more like Gaia than Ouranos. Just as Gaia fashioned her implement of destruction, a gray sickle, so too does the practitioner fashion theirs, a curse tablet. They must find or make a lead sheet, paralleling the gray steel. Then, upon writing their curse, they must bury it within the earth. This happens in different forms; some are buried in graves while others are dropped in wells. This act mimics the binding that is wished upon the victim and pulls on the fact that Gaia was the binder of her children. In doing so, the magic practitioner combines the two powerful elements of the myths: the

binding which provoked Gaia, and the sickle she uses to destroy her oppressor.

Pulling away from a personified Gaia, the curse tablets also make it clear that the earth was seen as a means of communication. The Pella curse tablet does not call on Gaia explicitly. Instead, Philia asks for the help of the *daimones*, another cthonic deity, as well as that of Makron, the individual buried with the curse tablet. The use of the earth then, is more practical. This is the way of disposing of a body, in order to keep it and the curse tablet together, both must be buried. The earth however, maintains a presence by once more being the holder of both. Moreover, the curse tablets call upon the cthonic deities, who are by nature associated with the underground. Either, like Hades or Persephone, they live under the earth, or they receive their sacrifices by pouring onto the ground, unlike the Olympian gods who receive them by smoke. In this way, the earth is the medium through which communication must travel in order to reach the intended deities.

### Witches in Literature

The characterization of witches echoes the characterization of Gaia. Magical Papyri often cite a male practitioner, though male could also be used as a gender neutral. However, when it comes to the depiction of witchcraft, it is often intrinsically linked to women. The ancients viewed the association as a tautology. Women, such as Gaia, are deceitful and perform trickery, and magic is deceitful and trickery so therefore, women and magic are inherently the same. Gaia's tricks on Cronus ultimately work twice over. Not only is she able to hide and rear Zeus, who is able to overthrow his father, but the rock she provides causes Cronus to eject his previously consumed children.

After a year passed, great crooked-counseled Cronus, deceived by Earth's very clever

<sup>13</sup> 1. [Θετι]μας και Διονυσοφοντος το τέλος και τον γαμον καταγραφω και ταν αλλαν πασαν γν-

2. [ναικ]ων και χηραν και παρθενων μαλιστα δε Θετιμας και παρκατιθεμαι Μακρονι και

3. [τοις] δαιμοσι και οποκα εγω ταυτα διελεξαμυ και αναγνοιην παλιν ανοροζασα

4. [τοκα] γαμαι Διονυσοφοντα προτερον δε μη μη γαρ λαβοι αλλαν γυναικα αλλ' η εμε

5. [εμε δ]ε συνκαταγρασαι Διονυσοφοντι και μηδεμιαν αλλαν ικετις υμων γινο-

6. [μυ Φιλ]αν οικτιρετε δαιμονες φιλ[οι] ΔΑΓΙΝΑΓΑΡΙΜΕ φιλων παντων και ερημα αλλα

7. [ταυτ]α φυλασσετε εμιν οπως μη γινηται τα[υ]τα και κακα κακως Θετιμα αποληται

8. [...]ΑΑ[-].ΥΝΜ .. ΕΣΠΙΑΗΝ εμος εμε δ' ευ[δ]αιμονα και μακαριαν γενεσται

9. [-]ΤΟ[-].[-].[-].Ε.Ε.Ω[?]Α.[-].Ε.ΜΕΓΕ [-]

<sup>14</sup> For more information see Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*, 218-19; David Frankfurter, "The Social Context of Women's Erotic Magic in Antiquity." In *Daughters of Hekate*, edited by Dayna S. Kalleres and Kimberly B. Stratton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 327.

suggestions, spewed up his children, overcome by his son's wits and force (493-496).<sup>15</sup>

Hesiod's Gaia is a curious amalgamation of various female stereotypes from the Greek world. Annoyingly, it is impossible to determine if these are characteristics of Gaia, that are then associated with mortal women because they are all woman, or if these are characteristics of women that are associated with Gaia because she is a female. Ultimately the result is the same, mortal women and Gaia share characteristics. They all bear children and are protective of said children.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, they are both manipulators and untrustworthy. Any woman who has any semblance of power, especially power of a man, is a source of anxiety for the Ancient Greeks. As such, it makes sense that the stereotype of trickery is so strongly associated both with Gaia and with female magic users

Circe is credited with being Greek literature's first witch.<sup>17</sup> When Odysseus first approaches her, she is given the epithet πολυφαρμάκου (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.276).<sup>18</sup> A.T. Murray translated this as sorceress, while Lattimore uses 'skilled in medicines'. In the *Odyssey*, Circe uses her pharmaka to transform men into beasts.<sup>19</sup> Circe's connections to Gaia begin with the characterization of her magic as a trick:

Eurylochus remained behind, suspecting that there was a trick (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.232)<sup>20</sup>

But make her swear a great oath by the blessed gods, that she will not plan any other evil miseries against you, lest when you are disrobed, she render you wretched and unmanned.' (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.299-301)<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ, | Γαίης ἐννεσίησι πολυφραδέεσσι δολωθεῖς, | ὃν γόνον ἄν ἀνέηκε μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, | νικηθεῖς τέχνησι βίηφι τε παιδὸς ἐοῖο.

<sup>16</sup> This is true of perceptions of Gaia broadly. Not only is the *Theogony* filled with lists of Earth's pffsp[ring but the Homeric Hymn to Earth emphasizes her fertility.

<sup>17</sup> Exactly when she came to be seen as such is debated. See Matthew W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. (London: Routledge: 2001), 84; Daniel Ogden, *Night's Back Agents: Witches, Wizards and the Dead in the Ancient World*. (London: Hambledon Continuum: 2008), 21ff for views not supporting witchcraft. Contrast Barbetta Stanley Spaeth, "From Goddess to Hag: The Greek and Roman Witch in Classical Literature." In *Daughters of Hekate*, edited by Dayna S. Kalleres and Kimberly B. Stratton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 42.

<sup>18</sup> Κίρκης ἕξεσθαι πολυφαρμάκου ἐς μέγα δῶμα,

On multiple occasions, her magic is seen as a δόλον. This is the same word used to describe Gaia's machinations against Ouranos. Just like Gaia, Circe is able to use her magic to overpower men, going against what the Greeks perceived as the natural order. Moreover, in the later passage, Hermes advises Odysseus that he must extract an oath from her to prevent her from unmaning him. Ogden suggests that this implicated Circe in the realm of erotic magic.<sup>22</sup> Faraone has also noted that women's love magic against men was seen as feminizing by taking on the male 'pursuing' role.<sup>23</sup> Here, Odysseus is able to prevent what Ouranos could not. Wherein Gaia was able to contrive tricks to allow Cronos to unman her husband, Circe is unable to achieve the same. The goal, however, is shared between the two women.

While perhaps stretching the use of 'magic', Circe's instructions to Odysseus for his katabasis also touch on the theme of earth in magic.

There, hero, when you near it, as I instructed you, and dig a pit of a cubit's length this way and that, and around it pour a libation to all the dead, first with milk and honey, afterwards with sweet wine, and, third, with water, and on it, sprinkle white barley meal. (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.516-520)<sup>24</sup>

This passage represents possible the most religiously sanctioned action taken by Circe and so it's use as an example of 'magic' can be argued.<sup>25</sup> Regardless, Circe's instructions to Odysseus are clear in the use of earth as a medium by which to contact the dead. This is on one level functional - the underworld exists beneath the earth after all. It does appear as though this passage is more sanctioned than other forms of

<sup>19</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.210-14; Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.235-239

<sup>20</sup> Εὐρύλοχος δ' ὑπέμεινεν, οἰσάμενος δόλον εἶναι.

<sup>21</sup> ἀλλὰ κέλεσθαι μιν μακάρων μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι, | μὴ τί τοι αὐτῷ πῆμα κακὸν βουλευσέμεν ἄλλο, | μὴ σ' ἀπογυμνωθέντα κακὸν καὶ ἀνήνορα θῆη.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002), 99.

<sup>23</sup> Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1999), 153; Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology & Stereotype in the Ancient World*, 47.

<sup>24</sup> ἐνθα δ' ἐπειθ', ἥρωες, χρημφθεῖς πέλας, ὥς σε κελεύω, | βόθρον ὀρύξαι, ὅσον τε πυγούσιον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα, | ἄμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοῖν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν, | πρῶτα μελικρήτῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέϊ οἶνῳ, | 520τὸ τρίτον αὐθ' ὕδατι: ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ παλύνειν.

<sup>25</sup> The discussion of magic is complex. See Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*, 18ff.

‘magic’, which perhaps puts it more into the realm of religion. Later, depictions of witches will pull on this imagery directly for their magic but it is difficult to tell from this passage to what extent this would have been considered magic.

Medea is another witch famous for her *pharmaka*. Her resume is extensive and varies considerably within the literary tradition. Among her exploits include: giving Jason various potions to help him complete his tasks for the Golden fleece; using a (fake) potion to convince Pelias’ daughters to kill their own father; and using a potion annointed garment to murder her love rival and her father.<sup>26</sup> I would like to focus on an example of earth magic that I have found in fragments relating to Sophocles *Rhizotomoi*.<sup>27</sup>

Sophocles's tragedy even bears the same name as our inquiry: for he called it ‘Rootcutters’, in which he describes Medea cutting evil plants, but turned away, lest she herself be killed by the force of the harmful fumes...These are the verses of Sophocles:

‘Hiding her eyes behind her hand,  
She receives in a bronze jar  
The cloudy white juice which drops from the cutting’

And a little later:

‘These covered chests hide the cuttings of the roots  
Which she, crying aloud and shouting  
Reaped with a bronze scythe’  
(fr. 534 TGrF 4:410 in Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5.19.9-11)<sup>28</sup>

The role of *Rhizotomoi* is not actually a magical one. Rather, it was often a male dominated profession to retrieve medicinal herbs.<sup>29</sup> Here, however, Medea is gathering plants for (presumably) magical purposes. Her nudity<sup>30</sup>, the vocalization and the poisonous nature of the plants add the illicit qualities normally associated with witchcraft. I believe that the use of roots here are powerful because of their associations with Gaia. Circe is famous for her use of potions, but it is not mentioned what her potions are made from. Other ‘witches’ like Deineira, use semen, olive oil and poisoned blood.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the fact that Medea is explicitly shown to be gathering roots as opposed to any other potential ingredient seems purposeful, especially if it was so famous as to be the name of the play. Roots are naturally buried in the ground, making them innately associated with Gaia. Here, the roots parallel the curse tablets and Gaia's children, as an object to be restricted.

### Conclusion

Gaia is amongst the first of the goddesses, and thus makes logical sense for a foundational female archetype. Gaia’s ability to disrupt the established hierarchical parallel the ability of magic to do the same. The strong connections between magic rituals and Gaia’s mythology suggest a purposeful intent. The myth explains Gaia’s powers and the rituals confirm the belief. As such, when women use magic, they are associated with the same stereotypes as Gaia: manipulative, untrustworthy, and above all, *κάκη*. Deepening the understanding of the connection between Gaia and magic furthers the nuance of the connection between nature and women. It helps to explain why women are so closely associated with nature, unearthing a core ethos of ancient thought.

<sup>26</sup> See the plots of Apollodorus’ *Argonautica* and Euripides *Medea*. For discussion see Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology & Stereotype in the Ancient World*, 49ff; Ogden, *Night's Back Agents: Witches, Wizards and the Dead in the Ancient World*, 27ff.  
<sup>27</sup> See Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*, 94.

<sup>28</sup> *Sophoclis autem tragoedia id de quo quaerimus etiam titulo praeferit: inscribitur enim Ριζοτόμοι, in qua Medeam describit maleficas herbas secantem, sed aversam, ne vi noxii odoris ipsa interficeretur, et sucum quidem herbarum in cados aeneos refundentem, ipsas autem herbas aëneis falcibus exsecantem. Sophoclis versus hi sunt:*  
*ἢ δ’ ἐξοπίσω χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπουσ’ 245 |*  
*ὀπὸν ἀργινεφῇ στάζοντα τομῆς |*

*χαλκείοισι κάδοις δέχεται. . .*  
*et paulo post:*

*. . . αἱ δὲ καλυπτὰί*  
*κίσται ριζῶν κρύπτουσιν 246 τομάς,*  
*ἃς ἤδε βοῶσα ἀλαλαζομένη*  
*γυμνῇ χαλκείοις ἤμα δρεπάνοις.*

<sup>29</sup> For discussion of herbs see Scarborough "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots."

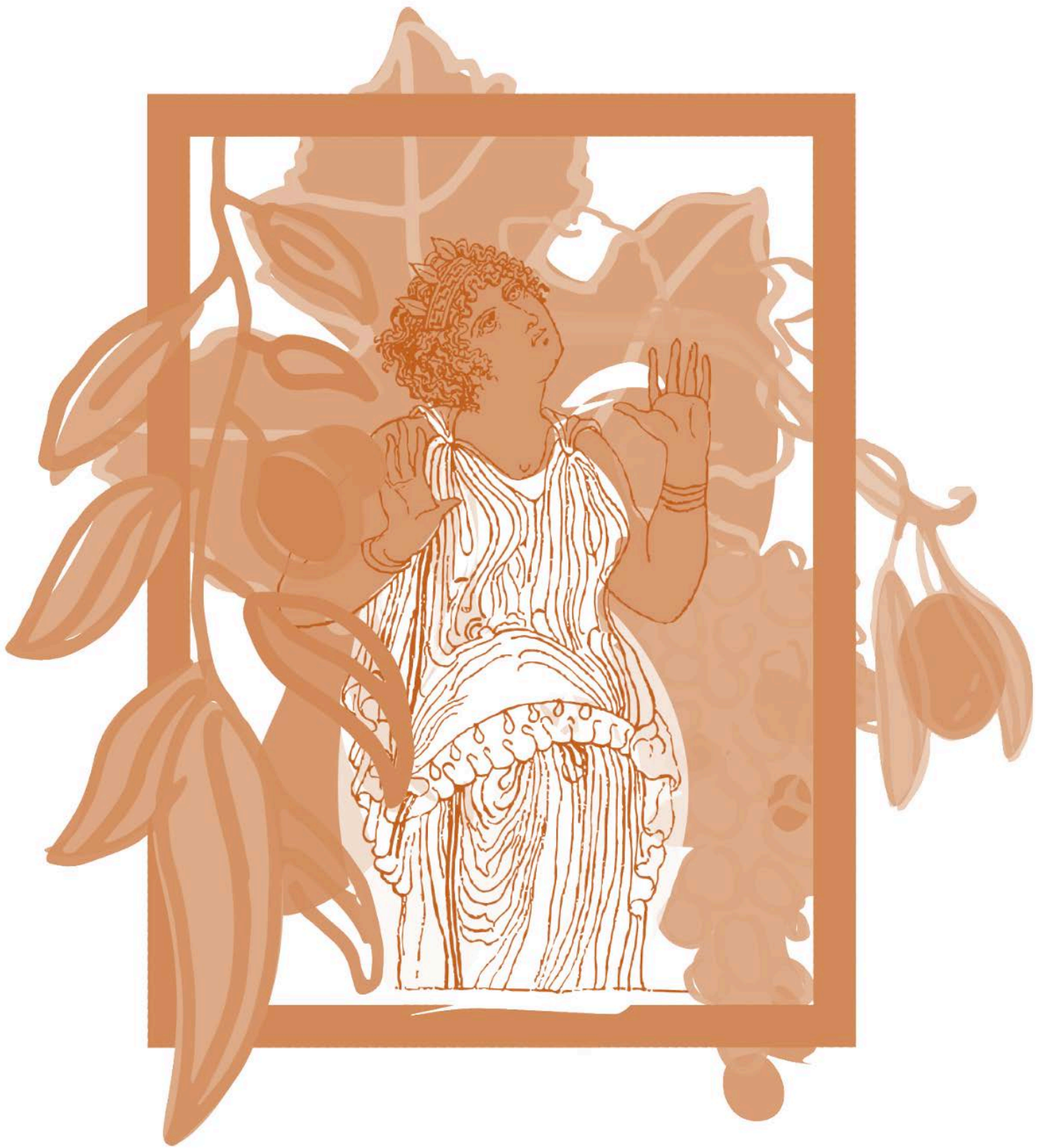
<sup>30</sup> The Loeb edition by Robert A. Kaster specifically translates the second section of Sophocles as: “These covered baskets hide the roots’ cuttings | which she reaped with a bronze blade | with a cry and a shout, naked.”

<sup>31</sup> Diodorus 4.36 and 4.38



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# MARGINALIA IN ENGLISH LATE MEDIEVAL/EARLY MODERN MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS

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Perceptions of graffiti vary radically. Modern media, and government documents, reflect the perception that graffiti is thoughtless scribbles made by the hand of a vandal. Indeed, in these sources graffiti is understood to indicate a city's lack of control over its space and sometimes, as a reflection of increasing rates of violent crime.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars, including Samuel Merrill, recognize that graffiti has existed for thousands of years and argue that it should therefore be understood as significant in its own right.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I will examine graffiti in the context of medieval marginalia. Rather than forming a conclusion on the morality of graffiti, I hope to contribute to Baird and Taylor's idea that there are multiple types of graffiti, and only through exploring these forms can we begin to understand the concept as a whole.<sup>3</sup> I will begin by arguing that marginalia should be considered graffiti. I will then analyze that which is contained within a medieval recipe manuscript. Overall, I will use marginalia to determine how non-physicians interacted with medical texts. Finally, the findings of this paper will then be extrapolated to form more general conclusions about the importance of studying graffiti.

It is integral to explain the definitions upon which my argument rests. I believe Angelos Chaniotis's definition of graffiti is the most convincing. He writes that "graffiti are images or texts of unofficial character scratched [written] on physical objects, whose primary

function was not to serve as bearers of such images and inscriptions."<sup>4</sup> Spedding and Tankard's *Marginal Notes: Social Reading and the Literal Margins* offers a useful interpretation of marginalia, which the authors define as "handwritten notes or annotations in the literal margins of books- very occasionally called *postrils* or *apostrils*, for being *written after*- are referred to as *marginalia*, a term that includes non-verbal hand-written marks and symbols."<sup>5</sup> I will also be using this term to delineate texts that have been added to originally blank parts of a manuscript, or the writing on pages that were later fastened to the book. It is clear that the definitions of graffiti and marginalia intersect considerably, thereby enabling me to confidently posit that marginalia is a category of graffiti. The concept that marginalia can be classified as a form of graffiti is not novel. Scholars including Juliet Fleming (2001), William H. Sherman (2008), Jason Scott-Warren (2010), and Janine Rogers (2018) have also argued this point.<sup>6</sup>

Marginalia attests to active reader engagement with texts. Its existence confirms that readers were not passive consumers, but, instead, were knowledgeable and dogmatic individuals who were more than capable of recording their perspective in the texts with which they interacted. Brent Plate is correct in stating that:

the margins are sites of engagement and disagreement: between text and reader and, to

<sup>1</sup> Hunter Shobe, "Graffiti as Communication," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map* edited by Stanley D. Brunn and Roland Kehrein (New York: Springer Publishing, 2018), 6. See also Cresswell, 1996; Doran and Lees, 2005; and Weisel, 2009 for this perspective.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Oliver Crichton Merrill, "Graffiti at Heritage Places: Vandalism as Cultural Significance or Conservation Sacrilege," *Time and Mind* 4, no.1 (2011): 59. It should be noted that Merrill is discussing graffiti as it pertains to heritage sites, however, I believe that his conclusions are applicable to the topic in general.

<sup>3</sup> J.A. Baird and Claire Taylor "Ancient Graffiti" in *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, edited by J.A Baird and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge Press, 2011), 17-23.

<sup>4</sup> Angelos Chaniotis, "Graffiti in Aphrodisias: Images-texts-contexts," in *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, edited by J.A Baird and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge Press, 2011), 196. Chaniotis

writes in the context of ancient Aphrodisias, but his definition can be used regardless of the time period which is being examined.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Tankard and Patrick Spedding "Introduction: Writing Between the Lines" in *Marginal Notes: Social Reading and the Literal Margins*, edited by Paul Tankard and Patrick Spedding (London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2021), 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Fleming, Juliet. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Sherman, William H. *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. Scott-Warren, Jason. "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book" In *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (September 2010) 363-381. Rogers, Janine. "Graffiti and the Medieval Margin." In *Scribbling through History: Graffiti, Places and People from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Chloé Ragazzoli, Ömür Harmansah, Chiara Salvador and Elizabeth Froom.. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2018.

stretch it tenuously further, between author and reader...margins have been the places where texts have been kept alive- alive because they've been read and responded to... turning readers into writers, and so upsetting the hierarchy of the author as authority.<sup>7</sup>

Marginalia grants texts a quality of timelessness. Manuscripts held importance when they were written, but later additions continuously change the way in which they may be interpreted. Marginalia contained within medical manuscripts, as will be seen in this paper, can both reveal a better understanding of past medical practices, and provide insight into the health concerns of a particular family. For these reasons, reader marginalia is an increasingly important source of evidence for historians, specifically those who study early modern science and medicine.

In this section, the marginalia within a recipe book catalogued as Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson c.299 will be analyzed as a case study.<sup>8</sup> I opted for a case study because I believe that this format will enable me to examine the intricacies of early modern English people's relationship with medical texts. A broader study of the marginalia in medical manuscripts would force me to make too many generalizations, thereby compromising the credibility of the project. There are, of course, disadvantages to case studies. Only one historian, has, for the most part, completed research on manuscript MS Rawlinson, meaning that there are few scholarly perspectives with which I may engage. Additionally, this recipe book belonged to a literate member of the English elite. Examining the text will not allow for a sense of how the lower, less literate, stratifications of society may have interacted with medical texts.

Before describing the background of MS Rawlinson, it is important to understand recipe books as a genre. By far the most common type of medical text to survive, recipe books were an integral aspect of domestic healthcare in early modern England. These books must be viewed as collections of various sources

and texts that have either been copied by a single scribe, or which have been gathered and bound at a later date.<sup>9</sup> The manuscripts in which most recipes were preserved typically contained treatments for non-threatening ailments, although fatal conditions such as the plague, rabies and the sweating disease are represented in some books. Many recipe books also contained instructions for treating cuts, bruises, burns, rashes, spots, colds, coughs, headaches and digestive complaints.<sup>10</sup> Anne Stobart labels these collections "textual medicine chests" because households compiled as many medical instructions as possible so that any recipe could be readily available should it be necessary.<sup>11</sup> These treatments typically relied on ingredients that were fairly readily available in people's gardens. In fact, Stobart found that rose, rosemary, sage, cinnamon and nutmeg were among the most frequently listed herbal ingredients in early modern English recipes.<sup>12</sup> The compilation of recipe books was, broadly speaking, a family affair due to the collaborative way in which these books were written over the course of generations and their significance as objects of inheritance. The recipes contained within these collections survive in many forms, from marginalia and flyleaf additions to those sourced from well-known collections. Some texts even cite famous physicians including Galen and Hippocrates as authors for one or more of the recipes, though these 'statements of authority' can rarely be authenticated. Rather, as Claire Jones notes, "they indicate the pervasive nature of the scholastic tradition and its reliance on authority at all levels of medieval and early modern medicine."<sup>13</sup>

MS Rawlinson is a small parchment manuscript consisting of fifty-three folios. Written in the first half of the fifteenth century, this text contains small, neat writing, and a professional page layout with a clearly denoted text space. Contained within are recipes for treating a range of ailments. As Margaret Connolly succinctly observes:

<sup>7</sup> Brent S. Plate. "Marginalia and Its Disruptions" *Los Angeles Review of Books*. (December 16 2015), 1.

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript will be referred to as "MS Rawlinson" from this point forward.

<sup>9</sup> M. Claire Jones. "Vernacular Literacy in late-medieval England: The Example of East Anglian Medical Manuscripts," (PhD Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2000), 277.

<sup>10</sup> Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical

Marketplace," in *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1450-1850*, edited by M. Jenner and P. Wallis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 135.

<sup>11</sup> Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), 35.

<sup>12</sup> Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*, 91.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, "Vernacular Literacy in late-medieval England: The Example of East Anglian Medical Manuscripts," 302.

The recipes are broadly organised *de capite ad pedem* (from head to foot), beginning with treatments for headache and other afflictions that might affect the head (sunstroke, migraine, nits), moving on to the ears, eyes, and teeth (earache, deafness, tinnitus, poor eyesight, cataracts, toothache). The collection proceeds generally downwards, working through the most common problems that might affect both sexes, including fevers, kidney stones, infertility, irregular or painful menstruation, and childbirth, though the top-to-toe framework is not rigorously upheld: for example, remedies for aching in the legs and feet (f. 15v) precede afflictions of the stomach.<sup>14</sup>

There are 314 total recipes in this volume. Each recipe begins by naming the ailment that the treatment addresses. Next, advice is given on what ingredients will be used and their proper preparation. Finally, the reader is told how to consume or apply the remedy. A recipe to cure a headache, for instance, advises: “for akyng of a many shed: sepe rue and fennel in watyr and with see watyr wasch þe hed.”<sup>15</sup> The recipes often end with reassurances about their efficacy that are written in the hand of the main scribe, as opposed to being added as marginalia by later readers. Following a recipe to cure cataracts on the verso side of folio seven (f.7r), for instance, the text states “for þis is a souereyn medecyn” (*for this is a sovereign medicine*). The idea that a sovereign used the same recipe would have added credibility to the treatment and encouraged people to try it. Additionally, the recipe book frequently lists more than one remedy for similar (if not the same) ailment, as an alternative treatment method. Two other recipes for remedying headaches immediately follow the initial cure that is offered on folio 4 verso of the manuscript:

Anopir for akyng of þe hed behynde: tak sauge and stampe it wyth þe whyte of an ey and tempre it with vinegre and mak a pastre and lay it þer to.

Anopir: tak an ey and roste it wel hard in colys and whan it is hard cleue it on two, and as hoot as he may suffryn it lay it to his hed and it xal don away þe ache.<sup>16</sup>

This indicates that headaches may have recurred fairly consistently, giving cause for a variety of remedies to be included in the manuscript. Topical applications such as ointments, plasters and washes seem to have been recommended as cures for headaches during the fifteenth century.

This recipe book contains diagnostic and prognostic texts alongside the aforementioned pharmacological information. Folio 23, for instance, explain a technique that involves urinating on various ingredients to determine if a man or woman is infertile. Similarly, in folio 17v to 18r a recipe titled ‘dyuers sightes of uryne’ provides instructions to interpret urine and reveal disease that might be hiding in various parts of the body. On folio 14r, for example, readers are told of a technique that will show if someone suffering from the flux (dysentery) will survive. A further prognostic passage may be identified on folio 21r, wherein a recipe states that holding thyme under the nose of a patient in the midst of an epileptic seizure reveals whether the ailing person can be cured.

MS Rawlinson is ideal for a case study because it is a fairly standard recipe book. Similar, more well known, collections from the late medieval period include: the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis* from Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91; Stockholm, Royal Library, MS X.90; and London Medical Society MS 136. Other recipe books exist within collections such as the Sloane and Harley collections at the British Library, the Ashmole and Rawlinson collections at the Bodleian Library and the large number of manuscripts stored at Glasgow University, which contains at least three recipe books that have yet to be examined by scholars.<sup>17</sup> The quantity of recipe books is unsurprising as these texts were the most commonly produced medical book written within the popular

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Connolly “Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner” *Medical History* 60, no.2, 135.

<sup>15</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson c.299, f. 4v, lines 11-12. The Middle English letter ‘þ’ (thorn) represents ‘th’. *for aching of a man’s head: boil rue and fennel in water and together with sea water use to wash the head.*

<sup>16</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 4v, lines 11-12. *Another for headache at the back of the head. Take sage and*

*pound it with egge white and vinegar to make a plaster, and lay it on the head. Another: take an egg and roast it in coals until it is hard. When it is hard, cut it in half and lay it on his head as hot as he can stand it, and it shall remove the pain.*

<sup>17</sup> Connolly, “Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner,” 138.

vernacular. Published recipe books were aimed at an extensive readership spanning from professional consultations to laypeople who practiced medicine within a domestic context.<sup>18</sup>

Although the text itself is largely unremarkable when compared to contemporaneous recipe books, MS Rawlinson can be distinguished from other manuscripts by the evidence of continued consultation, as is apparent in the marginalia. Another factor that makes the manuscript distinctive is that the identity of the reader and the period of use have been identified, whereas the compilers of many other existent recipe books remain unidentified. The name of the scribe who copied the manuscript remains unknown, though an analysis of the scribal dialect suggests that he may have been from Norfolk.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the individual who originally owned or commissioned the manuscript remains unnamed. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the end of the fifteenth century, or beginning of the sixteenth century, Thomas Roberts came to own the text.<sup>20</sup>

Roberts was a Tudor era gentleman who worked as a lawyer in London, and whose property holdings were in the parish of Willesden in Middlesex. Born in 1470 his work as a lawyer elevated his wealth and status, allowing him to hold a range of government positions including justice of the peace and county coroner. He was married three times, and had twenty-four children, six of whom, three daughters and three sons, survived to adulthood. This is an important fact to remember when discussing the generational marginalia that appears in the manuscript. Thomas Roberts, himself, died in 1542.<sup>21</sup> Connolly notes that “there are no previous indications of ownership [on MS Rawlinson], so it is impossible to tell whether this was a book that had been handed down within the Roberts family, or whether Thomas had newly acquired it by purchase or as a gift or bequest.”<sup>22</sup> One thing is certain; MS Rawlinson was already an aged piece when Roberts claimed ownership of the text. The marginalia added by the Roberts family to MS Rawlinson may be separated into two categories: those denoting use, and those that add recipes to the text. I will begin by

examining the marginalia that may be used to provide evidence for continued usage of the manuscript.

Thomas Roberts frequently added his name to the pages of the MS Rawlinson recipe book; ‘Robertz’, ‘Robertes’ or abbreviated forms of his name often appear in the upper margins of the text.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that some of these signatures may have functioned as a proclamation of Thomas’s ownership. Connolly notes that these inscriptions likely would have had a purpose because “it was common for manuscripts to exist for a considerable time as a series of unbound or lightly bound quires rather than being fixed within boards.”<sup>24</sup> A series of these signatures, the first of which is located on f. 16r, indicates that some of these marks may have held a deeper meaning. On f. 16r Thomas’s mark appears in the right margin of the text next to a treatment for cancer. Signatures of this sort appear beside five other recipes and in each instance Thomas’s intention remains unclear, however it is possible that he placed his name next to recipes that were particularly important.<sup>25</sup> Some of the remedies that are marked include: a prescription for ‘water de copurose’, a cure that is offered for a range of ailments, a recipe for preparing an ointment for bruises and wounds, and a remedy for swelling and inflammation.

The margins of MS Rawlinson show repeated consultation by different readers, probably from successive generations of the family throughout the sixteenth century. In the left margin of f. 4v, alongside a recipe for lice and nits, for example, the words “for echyng” (*itching*) and then the annotation “This is þe best medicyne what place ben it be in” is written.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Roberts probably did not write this comment. One reason is that the ink is a much lighter colour than the black ink that Thomas was inclined to use in his annotations. Although one could correctly point out that differences in ink colour signifies little other than a change in writing utensils, it is important to observe that this hand forms letters in a messy manner, indicating an author who is more of an amateur scribe than Thomas, whose legal scrawl is easily identifiable throughout the manuscript. Regardless, the marginalia was added in the sixteenth century, likely by a member

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 138-139.

<sup>19</sup> Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).

<sup>20</sup> Connolly, “Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner,” 139.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 139.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 139.

<sup>23</sup> MS Rawlinson, ff. 12 r, 21r, 24r, 25r, and 25v.

<sup>24</sup> Connolly, “Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner,” 140.

<sup>25</sup> MS Rawlinson, 16r, 21r, 24r, 26r, 34r, and 39r.

<sup>26</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 4v.

of Thomas's family, and indicates that the annotator valued this recipe.

A system of reader's aids that Thomas Roberts devised and implemented in the manuscript also indicates the Roberts family's continued interest in this text. On a piece of parchment that had been affixed to the back of the book, Roberts developed an index of recipes with the heading "*Tabula medicinarum huius libri*."<sup>27</sup> Functioning as a table of contents, this aid listed the types of recipes that appear inside the book, each of which had been given a roman numeral which corresponds to numbers that Roberts had written at the top right corner of the recto side on each page. Readers were, therefore, able to access this list at the back of the manuscript to see the contents of the text and information regarding the location of a remedy they sought. Moreover, a series of side headings that were added to the pages of the manuscript itself also functioned as reader's aids, enabling the searcher to find their desired treatment. Two observations should be noted regarding these aids. First, this system is particularly fascinating because, as Connolly notes, late medieval manuscripts did not have page numbers, rather, quire signatures marked the bottom of a few leaves throughout the text.<sup>28</sup> Second, the reader's aid lists the ailments that recipes treat rather than the remedies themselves. Given that the manuscript contains several treatments for the same illness, the word 'dyurse' is used to denote that several recipes will be found under each complaint. While three remedies for headaches appear on f. 4v, the content list simply states 'for hede ache dyurse.' Consequently, the back of the folio lists 287 entries despite the 324 recipes contained within the manuscript. Regardless of the specifics, it is clear that the effort involved in creating this sophisticated finding aid indicates the usage of this book: nobody would endeavour to customize a manuscript for efficient navigation if the text was not frequently used and highly esteemed.

A variety of hands added a significant number of recipes to the original fifteenth century manuscript during the sixteenth century. It is clear that Thomas Roberts, whose writing is easily identifiable, added some of the remedies. Other members of the Roberts family likely recorded the remaining additions. That these recipes were added at different times by varying

hands is clear from the diversity of ink shades that appear, unfortunately, due to the accretive manner in which the annotations were written, it is not possible to reconstruct a chronology.<sup>29</sup> A total of forty-three recipes were added to the original manuscript: nine at the front of the text and thirty-four at the back.<sup>30</sup> These additions offered treatments for the following afflictions: seven for phlegm, affecting the chest, head and stomach; four for toothaches; four for aches affecting various body parts; three to cure constipation; three to remedy plague; one to prevent the sweating sickness; three treatments for ague, which is known now as malaria; three for colic; two for stones in various organs; two for flux, which is known to us as dysentery. Singular copies of recipes were also added for watering eyes, broken limbs, persistent sores, and drunkenness. These additional remedies are extremely important because they offer insight into the Roberts family. Although the family used the entirety of the manuscript, as is clear from Thomas Roberts's decision to create reader's aides, the remedies that they family added to the text must have been considered especially helpful. Some of the additional recipes address paucities in the original collection which, for instance, did not provide treatments for ague, colic, bodily aches, broken limbs or stomach phlegm.<sup>31</sup>

Phlegm seems to have been a considerably troublesome ailment for Thomas or another member of the Roberts family, given that seven remedies for this affliction were added to the manuscript in the sixteenth century. Three recipes for phlegm of the chest and stomach were copied on f.1v of the manuscript. A recipe for a calming drink was advised to treat phlegm of the chest:

Take isoppe water j pynt mustadell j quarte  
gynger pared & mynsed ij grote weyte liquores  
clene scraped & brosed 9 oz demi enula  
campania rotes dried iij grote weyt anesede  
brosed demi oz mengell all thiz togeders & let

<sup>27</sup> MS Rawlinson, ff. 42r-47r. The latin heading translates to "Table of medicines in this book."

<sup>28</sup> Quire signatures consist of a system of letters and numbers that facilitate the organization of various sections of a text. Connolly, "Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical

Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner," 145.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 147.

them stond vj houres & after drynk the clere & put therto iij oz of suger candy.<sup>32</sup>

Thomas Roberts also recorded this recipe at the back of the manuscript on f. 41v, suggesting that he may have considered it particularly effective. Another, similar remedy for phlegm of the chest, titled 'A tisane to open the brest,' also appears on f.1v:

Take xx fygges & mynce the small an unce of licores brosed iij sponefull of goode hony & demi unce annes sede & sethe them in iij pyntes of rynnnyng water tyll it be half wasted & skome it clene in the sethyng & take euery euenyng vj sponefull warme & in the mornyng v sponefull cold.<sup>33</sup>

The final recipe for phlegm on f.1v treats phlegm of the stomach and is titled 'for the synke and the fleme in the stomake. It suggests that the ill:

Take a handfull of wormewode & a handfull of agnes sede & bray them in a mortar & put it into a pynt of malmesey & set it by the fire all nyght so þat it may kepe luke warme & in the mornyng strayne it & drynk it warme.<sup>34</sup>

Three additional treatments for phlegm were recorded by Thomas Roberts on f.3r-v. The consistency of the ink suggests that the recipes were likely all recorded at the same time. Thus providing further evidence that phlegm seems to have been a chronic ailment for a member of the Roberts family:

Take a handfull of grondeselle & a pynt of Rynnnyng water & a sponefull or ij of goode hony

& sethe all together tyll it be wasted to half & then drynk of the liquore fastyng & it wyll make you to avoyde fleme & open the brest.

Another for the same

Take the rote of Enulacampan fenell sede agnes a demi carwey sede liquores dry isop of eche an unce & make sottell powder of all thise and put therto half a pound li of hard fyne & whit suger & ete therof at all tymes when ye haue nede & in especiall fastyng & last to bed.

Another for the same

Take half a handfull of Rue a handfull of isop ix fygges gardynn mynttes a handfull & boyll all thise in a quart of condyte water with thre sponefull of hony & skym it clene then streyn it thorough a clen cloth into a close vessel & drynk therof half a pynt at ones blod to arme so continue to it be done.<sup>35</sup>

Interestingly, all of the treatments for phlegm contain similar ingredients including honey, water, liquorice and sugar. The fact that the recipes specify the need for 'running' or 'conduit' water demonstrates that those living in sixteenth century England understood the dangers associated with consuming stagnant water. Additionally, similar techniques are advised in each of the remedies, such as boiling the liquid and consuming small amounts at regular intervals. Perhaps this suggests that some standardisation of treatments was occurring. Unfortunately, Thomas Roberts's continuous search for remedies may indicate that the

<sup>32</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 1v. *Take hyssop, a pint of water, a quart of muscatel, two groat's weight of ginger, pared, and minced, nine and a half ounces of liquorice, scraped clean and ground, a groat's weight of dried enula campana roots, and half an ounce of ground aniseed. Mix all these together and let them stand for six hours. Afterwards drink the clear liquid added three ounces of sugar candy.*

<sup>33</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 1v. *Take twenty figs and mince them finely, and ounce of ground liquorice, three spoonfuls of good honey and half an ounce of aniseed. And fast boil these in three pints of running water until reduced by half, and skim the liquid while it boils. And take six spoonfuls warm every evening and five spoonfuls cold in the morning.*

<sup>34</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 1v. *Take a handfull of wormwood and a handfull of aniseed and pound them in a mortar, and put this into a pint of malmsey [wine] and set it by the fire all night so that it stays lukewarm, and in the morning strain it and drink it warm.*

<sup>35</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 3v-r. *Take a handfull of groundsel and a pint of running water and a spoonful or two of good honey and boil all together until the liquid be reduced by half, then drink the liquid whilst fasting and it will make you void phlegm and will open the breast. Another for the same. Take the rot of enula campana, fennel seed, half an ounce of aniseed, an ounce each of caraway seed, liquorice, and dry hyssop, half an ounce of ginger, and make a fine powder of all of these and add half a pound of fine white sugar. Eat of this at all times according to need, and especially when fasting, and the last thing before bed. Another for the same. Take half a handfull of rue, a hanful of hyssop, nine figs, and a handfull of garden mind. Boil all these in a quarter of water from the conduit with three spoonfuls of honey and skim the liquid, then strain it through a clean cloth into a vessel and seal. Drink half a pint at once to fortify your blood, and continue until it is finished.*



treatments in the recipe book were working inconsistently.

The original fifteenth-century remedy book only contained one recipe to cure the plague. Furthermore, there are no treatments for the sweating sickness because the first outbreak was not recognized in England until 1485, which was after the original manuscript was complete.<sup>36</sup> That recipes for such fatal ailments were recorded as part of the sixteenth century additions to the text is to be expected. The third recipe inscribed by Thomas Roberts on f.1v was a treatment titled “to expel evell yomuros & the grete syknes” (*To expel evil humours and the great sickness*):<sup>37</sup>

Take ru fygges almonds the carnelles of violetttes & bray theym in a mortery tyll they be lyke a conserue; put it in a box & ete therof in the morning next thy hart & it will expel all evell yomours.<sup>38</sup>

Thomas Roberts recorded this recipe once again at the back of the manuscript on f. 47v. This time it is explicitly referred to as a ‘contra pest’ or a treatment for the plague, rather than a remedy which expels evil humours, which can have a far broader meaning since humours were seen as the cause of all ailments. A treatment for the sweating sickness is similarly inscribed on f. 48v:

take a sponefull of triacul a sponefull of veneger v sponefull of rynnynge water viij sponefull of jus of synnfoyll mixt theym togeder with suger & drynk it luke warme.<sup>39</sup>

The sudden inclusion of multiple recipes that treat both the plague and the sweating sickness indicates that the Roberts’s became aware of illnesses that threatened the lives of their members. Living near London, it is quite possible that members of the family either

became infected with these fatal ailments or knew individuals who had fallen sick.

Examining the marginalia in this non-physician owned recipe book tells us that families were very reliant upon medical manuscripts. Different family members, perhaps across generations were constantly adding remedies to the text in order to keep up with new medical concerns, while simultaneously relying upon the old, tried and true recipes that were written in the original fifteenth century folio. Additionally, the health concerns of a family can be illuminated by studying their recipe books. The Roberts family, for instance, spent a great deal of time collecting and recording various remedies for phlegm, perhaps because it was an ailment that continued to negatively affect their health.

This study is important for our understanding of early modern graffiti because marginalia such as that contained in MS Rawlinson provides scholars with insight into the prominent medical theories and concerns both of the time. The introduction of sweating sickness treatments in the sixteenth century, for instance, supports other evidence that the illness did not appear until this period. Additionally, the continued use of running water in phlegm recipes indicates that those living in the sixteenth century were aware of the teaching espoused by authoritative texts such as *the Canon of Medicine* by Avicenna or *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and understood of the dangers of unclean water. Finally, the research contained in this paper can be used as a call to action for the importance of digitizing and examining early modern manuscripts, the majority of which are sitting in rare book collections unexplored. Indeed, only a fraction of early modern manuscripts and printed books have been digitized, worldwide, thus preventing scholars from asking and answering important questions in the field of late medieval and early modern graffiti.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Connolly, “Evidence for the Continued Use of Medieval Medical Prescriptions in the Sixteenth Century: A Fifteenth-Century Remedy Book and its Later Owner,” 150.

<sup>37</sup> In a treatise titled *The Nature of Man*, which was published in the fifth century BCE, Hippocrates proposed that the body contained four humours—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and mucous—which corresponded to air, fire, earth, and water. In a healthy person the four bodily elements were balanced, conversely, an imbalance in the humours would lead to illness. This theory was still predominant in sixteenth century medicine, which is why the recipe that treats the plague promotes the expulsion of evil humours. For further reading, see Jacques Jouanna, “The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise the Nature of

Man: The Theory of the Four Humours,” in *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen*, edited by Philip van der Eijk (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-136.

<sup>38</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 1v. *Take rue, figs, almonds, kernels of violets, and pound them in a mortar until they resemble a conserve. Put it in a box and eat this in the morning close to your heart and it will expel all evil humours.*

<sup>39</sup> MS Rawlinson, f. 48v. *Take a spoonful of theriac, a spoonful of vinegar, five spoonfuls of running water, eight spoonfuls of the juice of potentilla. Mix these together with sugar and drink lukewarm.*

<sup>40</sup> Robert MacLean, “Medical Marginalia in the Early Printed Books of University of Glasgow Library,” in *Medical Paratexts*

The research contained within this paper is essential for understanding graffiti in general because interest in medieval marginalia is constantly increasing. Defining marginalia and booklet construction as graffiti opens the doors to many new investigations, including the analysis of graffiti in literary contexts. It also enables scholars to continue to mold the definition of graffiti, which can only result in a deeper understanding of the concept. This study continues to challenge preconceived notions that individuals may have about graffiti. For instance: the assumption that graffiti is subversive does not apply to marginalia in medical manuscripts because the author is often merely categorizing the recipes or noting their effectiveness. Baird and Taylor's concern that that some graffiti is perceived as "intrusive and should not be held to the same scholarly scrutiny as other evidence" is challenged because marginalia is extremely valuable for understanding how early readers interacted with literature.<sup>41</sup> Although some graffiti further illuminates the lives of the elite, in this case study, graffiti can also be used to access invisible figures of the past. If the author of an annotation is identified we have the opportunity to learn more about a figure or family who otherwise might not exist in the historical record. If unidentified, we can nevertheless deepen our understanding of people's early relationships with literature and medicine.

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## ETHNIC THINKING IN HOMER'S *ILIAD*

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Homer's *Iliad* is a rich depository for Early Iron Age thinking. Although this text does not necessarily portray real historical peoples or events, it can still be used to understand the mentality of the world in which it was written. I aim to determine the degree to which ethnic difference features as a theme in the *Iliad*. I predominantly focus on the 'Catalogue of Ships' in Book 2, which features both Achaean and Trojan allies, and the meeting of Glaukos and Diomedes in Book 6, expanding from there for a more in-depth look at Homer's treatment of the Lycians and their homeland.<sup>1</sup> Finally, I briefly consider other descriptions of non-Greeks that feature in this epic. I conclude that descriptions of ethnic differences are underdeveloped and constitute a relatively minor feature of the *Iliad*.

It is helpful to first evaluate Homer's use of the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 as a broader literary device throughout the text. The Catalogue of Ships is perhaps one of the best examples of cataloguing in the epic, but it is hardly alone in this respect. The *Iliad* contains numerous catalogues throughout the text that enumerate people or things which are relevant to Homer's story. Different characters orally introduce these catalogues, as does the narrator.<sup>2</sup> Collectively, they constitute a narrative device in their own right and are likely the result of this story having originated as a series of oral stories.<sup>3</sup> Gaertner identifies that such lists create the following effects in epic composition: "(1) to describe characters of the plot, (2) to intensify the presentation of the events, (3) to foreshadow future events and create suspense, (4) and to provoke or increase the reader's emotional involvement in the narrative."<sup>4</sup> Although these uses do not focus on ethnic analysis, they do suggest that the catalogues were not preserved by accident. Of particular interest is how these effects are seen in the Catalogue of Ships and in

Glaukos' speech to Diomedes in Book 6. The Catalogue of Ships fulfills points two and three of Gaertner's argument, which I further explore below. Meanwhile, Glaukos' speech to Diomedes fulfills point one, whereas point four bears little relevance in terms of ethnic thinking in this paper.

In order to fully address the importance of listing to ethnic thinking in Homer's *Iliad*, the next section of this paper closely examines Book 2's Catalogue of Ships. To those with little interest in reading Homer for historical insights, the Catalogue of Ships is undeniably boring. Homer creates an interesting map of the Eastern Mediterranean, however, by listing both the Greek and Trojan contingents (i.e., 'the Trojan Battle Order') that were involved in the war. Moreover, it likely helped localize different peoples for those who performed the poem before and at the dawn of classical antiquity. Listing various locales of Greece and Anatolia conceivably allowed listeners, particularly Greek ones, to identify themselves and their supposed ancestors in the Age of Heroes.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the naming of these various places could indicate the sheer scale of the Trojan War to listeners.<sup>6</sup> It is also worth considering that the Achaean contingent only includes those who are considered Greek, whereas the dramatically smaller Trojan list mostly consists of peoples from the Troad, although it does briefly reference those from other locales (for instance Thrace, Alybe, and Lycia).<sup>7</sup>

To see ethnic thinking in this catalogue, notice how non-Greeks, especially those from beyond the Troad, are described in the Trojan Battle Order. The following selection describes the contingents from Larisa and Thrace:

<sup>1</sup> There is debate as to the dating of this section. For more detailed discussion, see Jorrit M. Kelder, "Catalogue of Ships," *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, (2017): 1–2, doi:10.1002/9781444338386.WBEAH30459.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Felix Gaertner, "The Homeric Catalogues and Their Function in Epic Narrative," *Hermes* 129, no. 3 (2001): 299.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Skinner, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 121.

<sup>4</sup> Gaertner, *The Homeric Catalogues*, 300.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 302; Skinner, *Invention of Greek Ethnography*, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Skinner, *Invention of Greek Ethnography*, 123.

<sup>7</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, ed. Richard Martin, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press), 2.844–5, 856–7, 876–7.

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν  
 ἐγχεσιμῶρων,  
 τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάσκον·  
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἴππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ', ὅζος  
 Ἄρης,  
 υἱε δὲ Λήθιοι Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.  
 Αὐτὰρ Θρήικας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος  
 ἦρως,  
 ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς  
 ἑέργει.

And Hippothos led the race of spear-armed  
 Pelasgians,  
 those who dwelled in rich-soiled Larisa.  
 They were led by Hippothos and Pulaios,  
 offspring of Ares,  
 the two sons of Pelasgian Letheus, son of  
 Teutamios.  
 And then the Thracians were led by Akamas and  
 the hero Peiroos,  
 all those shut in by the strong-flowing  
 Hellespont.<sup>8</sup>

From this we can identify how Homer characterizes non-Greek or Trojan places. There is little mention of any ethnic difference beyond the given identification of place/ethnicity. In fact, there is no other mention of ethnic difference beyond their points of origin. Additionally, the geographic differences noted (οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα/rich-soiled Larisa) are neutral at minimum, if not outright positive.<sup>9</sup> These neutral/near-positive place descriptors continue through the catalogue, for instance, of the Halizones of Alybe, “ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη/where silver was born” or of the Lykians “τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ξάνθου ἄπο δινήεντος/from far away Lycia, from the whirling waters of Xanthos.”<sup>10</sup> This reveals that if ethnic concern underlies the Catalogue of Ships it is not the main purpose of the catalogue. Instead, this catalogue focuses on listing and associating various characters of the epic with their homelands. The focus on geography here, as noted above, allows for a

localizing effect. Similarly, it creates a geography of the Heroic Age for its Iron Age listeners. If the *Iliad* is to any degree concerned with the differing ethnicities of its characters, that is certainly not demonstrated in the Catalogue of Ships.<sup>11</sup>

Shifting our attention further along in the text, we reach the meeting of Diomedes and Glaukos in Book 6. This meeting at first seems as if it will end in Glaukos' death. Instead, it ends in an act of *xenia*. This is a genealogical catalogue, which Glaukos orally delivers, that traces connections between Greece and Lycia.<sup>12</sup> This immediately alerts the reader to differing traditions within the text. Glaukos is identified as being of Greek heritage in his genealogical catalogue, yet Homer often calls him Lycian. We can perhaps understand deeper conclusions from inconsistencies such as these, which may otherwise seem inconsequential. These mixed heritage references may in fact indicate that ethnicity does not greatly signify the differences amongst characters in Homeric thinking. If we continue to follow this line of thought, we may begin to see traces of how ethnicity is understood in Homer and elucidate its importance in the epic. In the Catalogue of Ships, Lycia is not a nearby ally of Troy, but rather a significantly distanced one.<sup>13</sup> The genealogy that Glaukos outlines hints at how Greek poets and their audiences likely perceived Lycia. The most relevant portion is Glaukos' description of the tasks laid out for Bellerophon by the then Lord of Lycia:

πρῶτον μὲν ὅα Χίμαιραν ἀμαιομακέτην  
 ἐκέλευσε  
 πεφνέμεν. ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ'  
 ἀνθρώπων,  
 πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ  
 χίμαιρα,  
 δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος  
 αἰθομένοιο.  
 καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέπεφνε θεῶν τεράεσσι  
 πιθήσας.  
 δεῦτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο  
 κυδαλίμοισι·

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 2.840-5. Translation is author's own.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 2.841.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 2.857, 877.

<sup>11</sup> The exception that proves this rule is the description of the Karians in Homer, *Iliad*, lines 2.867-9.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Morris, “Homer and the Near East” in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry B. Powell, (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 610.

<sup>13</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 2.877.

καρτίστην δὴ τὴν γε μάχην φάτο δύμεναι  
ἀνδρῶν.

τὸ τρίτον αὖ κατέπεφνεν Ἀμαζόνας  
ἀντιανείρας.

First, he commanded him to kill the furious  
Khimaira.

She was of godly birth, not that of men,  
her front was that of a lion, her behind that of a  
serpent, and her middle that of a goat,  
breathing out terribly the might of a burning fire.  
And then he killed her, trusting in the portents of  
the gods.

Secondly, he battled against the famed Solymoi,  
it is said that it was the mightiest battle of men  
he entered.

Thirdly, he killed the Amazons, equal to men.<sup>14</sup>

This passage reveals much about Early Iron Age Greek understandings of Lycia. Here, it is portrayed as a land harbouring the fantastic. The described peoples and creatures are evidently do not exist in Greece and therefore are just as fantastical to Diomedes as they are to the audience of the poem. Additionally, this passage contains one of two references to the Amazons in the entirety of the poem. This casual treatment arguably demonstrates to us Homer's lack of concern for discussing ethnic difference. We know that the Amazons are at Troy, thanks to the now mostly lost *Aithiopsis*, yet the *Iliad* is remarkably unconcerned with them or any other group whose ethnic difference might need confronting.<sup>15</sup>

This interaction between Diomedes and Glaukos also reveals that *xenia* extends beyond Greeks. In the Homeric world, cultural differences in the treatment of guests do not exist. Glaukos explicitly understands the rules of this practice without needing Diomedes to explain them.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that certain customs were standardized across the Homeric world. Therefore, it can be inferred, again, that there are hints at ethnic difference in the case of this interaction, but a consistent portrayal of Greek cultural norms across

all mentioned ethnic groups supersedes such differences.

Beyond the interaction between Diomedes and Glaukos in Book 6, the *Iliad* devotes notable attention to its Lycian characters. They are active participants in the war, and the speeches of Sarpedon and Glaukos in books 5 and 17 respectively imply that it is their forces who largely contribute to the war effort on the Trojan side.<sup>17</sup> These speeches also highlight the Lycian moral code, which is one of their few cultural differentiators from the Trojans.<sup>18</sup> This code drives both Glaukos and Sarpedon to highlight their forces need not actually be at Troy; aside from some genealogical connections they are not bound to the conflict.<sup>19</sup> Their existence does serve a purpose, however, that takes precedence over their minor ethnic differences. In both speeches, Glaukos and Sarpedon mirror Achilles in some form or another; this is the narrative feature to which the text gives its attention.<sup>20</sup> Homer thus has grander concerns than seemingly insignificant ethnic markers.

Moreover, Lycia is one of the few, if perhaps the only, Achaean or Trojan geographic locations that is given more than a few scant lines of description. In Book 12, Sarpedon in conversation with Glaukos recalls their homeland saying,

Γλαῦκε, τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμῆμεσθα μάλιστα  
ἔδρη τε κρέασιν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν  
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὥς εἰσορόωσι;  
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο  
παρ' ὄχθας,  
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο.

Glaukos, why is it that we both were the most  
honoured,  
with a seat and meats and full cups  
in Lycia, and were beheld by all as gods?  
And we were allotted great portions of land on  
the banks of the Xanthos,  
with a fine orchard and crop-bearing earth.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 6.179-86. Translation is author's own.

<sup>15</sup> For more on overlap between the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopsis*, see M. L. West, "'Iliad' and 'Aethiopsis,'" *The Classical Quarterly* 53, no. 1, (2003), 1-14.

<sup>16</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 6.232-36.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 5.471-492; 17.142-68.

<sup>18</sup> Carroll Moulton, "The Speech of Glaukos in *Iliad* 17," *Hermes* 109, no. 1 (1981), 5.

<sup>19</sup> Christos Tsagalis, "From Listeners to Viewers: Space in the *Iliad*," *Hellenic Studies Series* 53, Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, (2012).

<sup>20</sup> For more on this see Moulton, "The Speech of Glaukos," and Tsagalis, "From Listeners to Viewers."

<sup>21</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 12.310-14. Translation is author's own.

This passage reveals a few things about the Homer's portrayal of non-Greek or Trojan lands and their peoples. First, the mention of the Xanthos River is the only indication that the land being described is Lycia. Otherwise, this could be a description of almost anywhere else. Therefore, Lycia and her peoples simply function as a far away place and people which can be used to parallel other characters in the text.<sup>22</sup> Second, it is evident that Lycian leaders occupy similar social spaces as Greek and Trojan ones do with their *timē* being attached to their status.<sup>23</sup> As Tsagalis cleverly points out, the Xanthos is the only specific geographical descriptor given to Lycia, as though it is the only thing that the poet actually knows about the place.<sup>24</sup> The emphasis given to Lycia's distance from Troy is expanded upon in other parts of the text including Sarpedon's speech in Book 5, wherein he describes Lycia as "τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ, Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινῆεντι/far away Lycia, from the whirling waters of Xanthos."<sup>25</sup> Aside from slight grammatical differences, this is the same description of Lycia as the one that is given in the Catalogue of Ships. This reveals a consistent line of thought about foreign places within the *Iliad*. Where they are described, the details are restricted to clear geographical features or vague descriptions of fertile land. Such usage demonstrates a lack of concern with the cultural characteristics of the peoples of those lands. Instead of highlighting differences or even addressing them at all, characters in the *Iliad* seem to abide by the same moral code.

There is one minor aspect of the text that could inform us about perceptions of Lycians as an ethnic group. This is the character of Pandaros who appears as the leader of the Zeleians in the Trojan Battle Order.<sup>26</sup> Paradoxically, later, in Book 5, Pandaros explicitly associates himself with Lycia.<sup>27</sup> This presents a conundrum of origins that has perplexed many. Tsagalis provides a reasonable answer, however, for this confusion of origins. He highlights Pandaros as only being associated with Lycia when he is being portrayed as an archer and connects it to a broader idea of archers coming from Lycia.<sup>28</sup> This does present a singular ethnic association with Lycians

that expands upon other, later, ideas of archers not being Greek. It is worth considering, however, that this is an implied connection which is not necessarily an explicit reference to ethnic thought. This is made even more clear when we remember that Paris is also considered to be a famous archer, yet is provided no Lycian nor any other non-Trojan Near Eastern connections.

It is worth considering at least one other non-Greek or Trojan ethnic group to see if we may gain any further insight into ethnic thinking in the *Iliad*. Thus, I now turn to the brief mentions of Thrace and her peoples within this narrative. Thrace is referenced in Book 2 as a part of the Trojan Battle Order, but we are given little information beyond their dominant geographic landmark – the Hellespont.<sup>29</sup> Thrace is further expanded upon in Book 10 with the introduction of the Thracian leader Rhesus.<sup>30</sup> The text here intimately ties the Thracians to their horses by always mentioning them in relation to these animals. This connects to later perceptions of Black Sea peoples as being good horsemen and can perhaps thus be read as an implicit indication of ethnic thinking in the text.<sup>31</sup> Other expansions on the cultural associations of the differing Trojan allies also occur in the same catalogue wherein Rhesus is introduced. Notably, the Paionians are remarked to be good archers; the Phrygians, like the Thracians, are associated with horses, and the Maionians are found with chariots.<sup>32</sup> However limited they may be, these references shed some insight into Greek perceptions of foreigners. As with the Lycians, these descriptions amount to either generic markers or relate only to a clear geographic landmark associated with their territories.

Taking a broader view of the text, it is helpful to consider the various textual identifiers of ethnicity as a whole in order to derive any general conclusions about ethnic thinking in Homer. Does the the behaviour of the characters within the *Iliad*, as opposed to epithets and other descriptors, reveal ethnic thinking? In her discussion of broader Homeric connections to the Near East, Sarah Morris says the following of Homeric foreigners: "[they] behave and

<sup>22</sup> Tsagalis, "The Speech of Glaukos," 396.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 397.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 400.

<sup>25</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 5.479.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 2.824-7; Tsagalis, "The Speech of Glaukos," 403.

<sup>27</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 5.105.

<sup>28</sup> Tsagalis, "The Speech of Glaukos," 403-5.

<sup>29</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 2.845.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 10.435.

<sup>31</sup> For more on perceptions of Thracians see H. A. Shapiro, "Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24, 2, (1983): 105–14.

<sup>32</sup> Homer. *Iliad*. 10.428-431.

speak like Greeks in the *Iliad*.”<sup>33</sup> As discussed in relation to the depiction of Lycians above, the foreigners in the *Iliad* follow Greek moral codes and are as concerned with *timē* as their Greek counterparts. Furthermore, as seen in Book 24, Trojans and others have a similar view to the Greeks of supplication, mourning and how to treat the dead.<sup>34</sup> Nowhere can we confirm that these customs existed amongst the Anatolian peoples in question, given that the text obfuscates our ability to connect the named peoples back to documented peoples of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

A close reading of the *Iliad* thus reveals only superficial identification of ethnic differences. There are certainly markers of ethnic consideration in Homer’s *Iliad*, but they are few and largely unnoticeable. The Catalogue of Ships and the Trojan Battle Order expands only a little on the ethnicity of the Achaeans or the Trojans and their allies. The notes that are attached say equally little about the peoples concerned in terms of their culture, but instead highlight their geographical landmarks and the people’s relationship to Troy. The purpose of the catalogues is to localize Greek homelands and more distant locations for a presumably Greek audience. The meeting of Diomedes and Glaukos in Book 5 expands a little bit on Greek understandings of the non-Greek world, yet the ultimate use of Lycia in the context of that meeting is as a mythic space wherein the fantastical can exist. Glaukos is fully aware of Greek customs and engages with them as though they are his own, as seen in the exchange of armour. There is little indication here that Glaukos is from an entirely different ethnic group than that of Diomedes. The broader portrayal of Lycia and Lycians within the text does little, moreover, to “other” them beyond placing their homeland far to the southeast of Troy. The singular connection of Pandaros to Lycia because of his archery skills is a tenuous connection at best: it could simply reflect the stereotype of “Easterners” being good archers. Similarly, the other loose associations attached to other Trojan allies are generic. They are often reduced to a few lines or a single epithet at best. Even when the characters are given loose cultural associations, they are hardly relevant because neither depth nor texture is given to those labels. All characters in the *Iliad*, named or not, behave and speak like Greeks. Homer displays little interest in

expanding upon the possibility of cultural discordance and miscommunication in the meeting of so many different peoples at Troy. It may be that the narrative is only interested in depicting foreigners as superficial foils to reflect the strengths and weaknesses of the Greek heroes who confront them, in a tale designed by Greek writers for Greek listeners. Although we can indeed detect some evidence of ethnic considerations within the text, these considerations are obviously the least of Homer’s concerns.

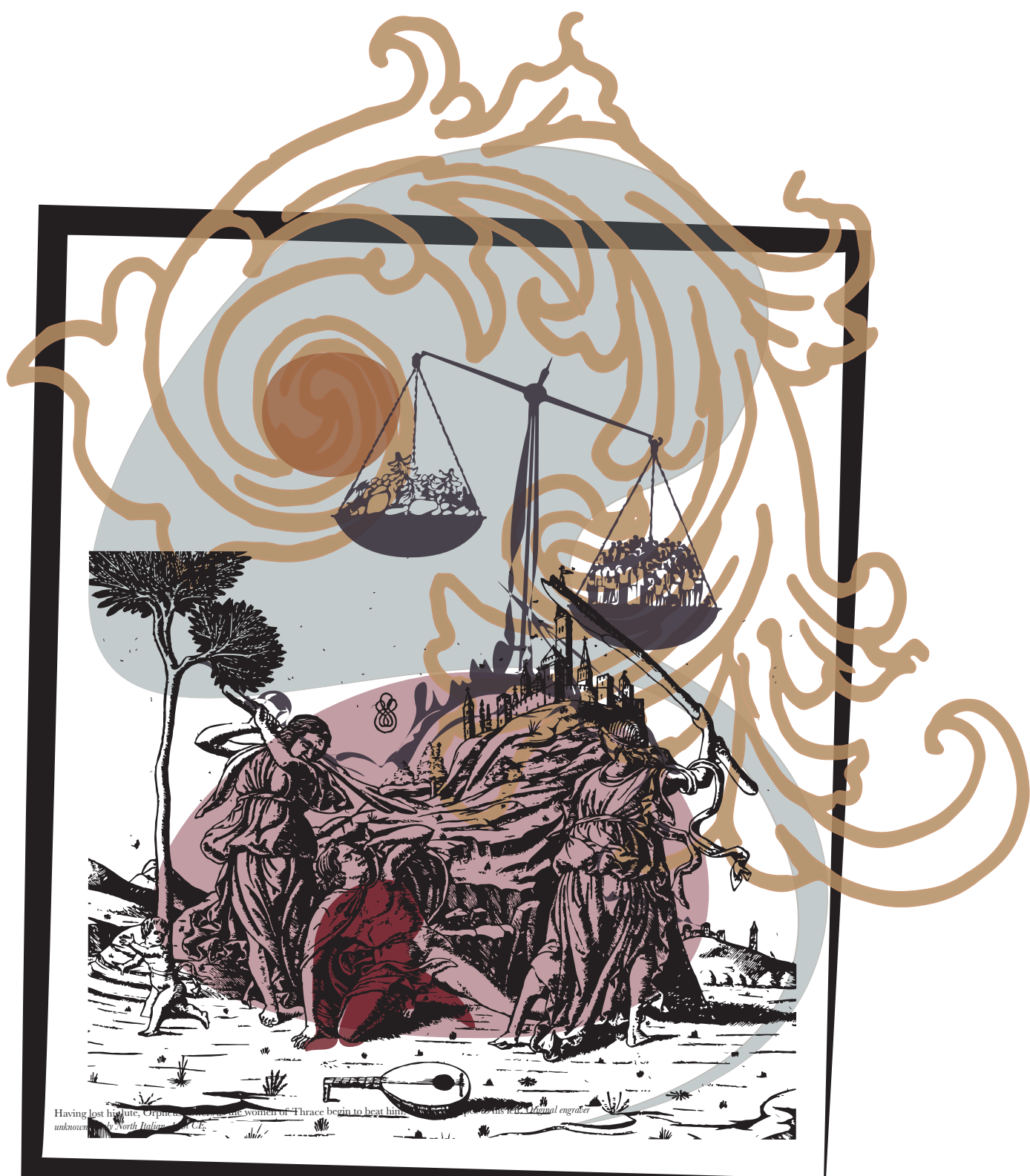
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<sup>33</sup> Morris, “Homer and the Near East,” 616.

<sup>34</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 24.476–80, 160–168, 660–667.





Having lost his lute, Orpheus is torn apart by the women of Thrace begin to beat him. Original engraving by North Italian, 16th C.E.

## OID'S LEGAL EDUCATION AND THE METAMORPHOSIS

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Ovid, who studied under Marcus Porcius Latro and Arellius Fuscus, began his literary career as an orator.<sup>1</sup> Even though he was talented as a young orator, Ovid considered poetry his true calling and devoted his life to this pursuit. Ovid's legal training is clearly visible in his *Metamorphoses*. I will examine his use of legal terminology and phrases in the myths of Tiresias (*Metamorphoses* 3.316 – 38) and Orpheus (*Metamorphoses* 10.1 – 108), his engagement in the debate of legal issues in the *Metamorphoses*, and his use of rhetoric in the speeches of Myrrha (*Met.* 10. 319 – 10. 355) and Orpheus (*Met.* 10. 17 – 39).

### Use of Legal Terminology and Phrases

Ovid's legal training is reflected in his use of legal terminology and phrases, especially in the stories of Tiresias (*Metamorphoses* 3.316 – 38) and Orpheus (*Metamorphoses* 10.1 – 108). Ovid makes explicit use of legal vocabulary in the story of Tiresias.<sup>2</sup> He begins with words which are used in everyday speech and ends the story with specialized legal terms and phrases.<sup>3</sup> The words *doctus* (*Met.* 3.322), *sententia* (*Met.* 3.322) and *arbiter* (*Met.* 3.332) are words that are used in everyday speech, but they can also have legal connotations.<sup>4</sup> *Doctus* can be translated as "skilled." It refers to Tiresias' credentials as a judge in the case of whether or not women or men have better sex (as he has both lived as a man and a woman). It was also the proper term used to refer to a legal expert (jurisconsult).<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> In a legal context, the word *sententia* refers to both a single juror's vote and the collective verdict of a jury. In specific circumstances, it can also

refer to the verdict of a judge arbitrating separately from a jury. The use of *sententia* in everyday speech comes from this latter definition. In colloquial usage, *sententia* refers to any external individual/party arbitrating or making a decision on two opposing parties. It also refers to an individual's opinion about something.<sup>7</sup> Ovid is simultaneously placing the myth in a legal setting while using the colloquial sense in the poetic medium of the myth.<sup>8</sup> Despite the inclusion of legal connotations and the fact that Jupiter follows legal procedure, the beginning of this story is a mock trial. This is enhanced by the adjective *iocosus* which lessens the technical implications of *arbiter sumptus* and *lis* (3.332).<sup>9</sup>

"Thereupon this judge, appointed out of/from their playful debate,  
Confirms the words of Jove:"

The clause *Arbitrum sumere* appears in Justinian's *Digest* regarding the appointment of a mediator,<sup>10</sup> however the legal connotation of *arbiter* is not as strong as that of *iudex*.<sup>11</sup> *Lis* can mean a dispute, but also has the legal connotations of a lawsuit.<sup>12</sup> The "mock" trial's transformation into a real trial is marked by the transition from quasi technical legal terms to rigid legal terms such as *iudex*, *damno*, and *irritus*.<sup>13</sup> Now Tiresias is explicitly called *iudex* (judge) rather than just *arbiter* (mediator) or described as *doctus* (skilled). The primary definitions of *damno* and *irritus* have firm legal connotations.<sup>14</sup> *Irritus* describes something which is not ratified or valid, thus something that is not allowed by law.<sup>15</sup> The term for

<sup>1</sup> Ulrike Auhagen. "Rhetoric and Ovid," in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William Dominik and Jon Hall (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 415.

<sup>2</sup> Kathryn Balsley, "Between Two Lives: Tiresias and the Law in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Dictynna*, no. 7 (2010): 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 – 16.

<sup>5</sup> *The New College Latin and English Dictionary*, ed. John C. Traupman, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (New York: Bantam Books, 2007), s.v. *doctus*, -a, -um.

<sup>6</sup> K.M. Coleman, "Tiresias the Judge: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.322 – 38," *The Classical Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1990): 573.

<sup>7</sup> *The New College Latin and English Dictionary*, s.v. *sententia*, -ae.

<sup>8</sup> Balsley, "Between Two Lives: Tiresias and the Law in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 16.

<sup>9</sup> *arbitur hic igitur, sumptus de lite iocosa / Dicta Iouis firmat*; Peter Jones, *Reading Ovid: Stories from the Metamorphoses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2007), 109 – 111.

<sup>10</sup> K.M. Coleman, "Tiresias the Judge: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.322 – 38," 574.

<sup>11</sup> Balsley, "Between Two Lives: Tiresias and the Law in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 16.

<sup>12</sup> *The New College Latin and English Dictionary*, s.v. *lis*, *litis*, f.

<sup>13</sup> Balsley, "Between Two Lives: Tiresias and the Law in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 – 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 n. 14.

legal annulment is *inritum/irritum facere*. The repetition of pronouns, nouns, prepositional phrases, and words with the same root were very common in legal language and characteristic of lawyer's speech.<sup>16</sup> Ovid slightly alludes to this style with the phrase *facta dei fecisse deo* (*Met.* 3.337). The *adnominatio* of *facta dei fecisse deo* and the polyptoton of the phrase can be found in the language of the XII Tables, specifically Tables 12.2 and 1.4.<sup>17</sup> Finally, *poenamque levavit* is a stock phrase for the lightening of punishments so it has a rather rigid technical meaning.

In the story of Orpheus, Ovid makes use of legal phrases such as *auctor.... transferre* (*Met.* 10. 83 – 84) and the word *poena* (*Met.* 10. 154). On its own, the word *auctor* means “originator/founder,” however when it is used with *transferre*, it specifically means “guarantor.”<sup>18</sup> *Transferre* can mean a legal transaction, the legal hand over of rights/property and the application of a legal statute from one legal case to another similar one. It is typical for these words to have such meanings in legal texts such as the Justinian *Digest* (4.7.3.4), (9.4.27.1) and *De Officiis* (1.43).<sup>19</sup> The primary definition of *poenam* (punishment) is legalistic and an early use of this word can be found in a fragment from the Twelve Tables.<sup>20</sup> Ovid also highlights his knowledge of Augustus' marriage and adultery laws in both the story of Orpheus (*Met.* 10.1 – 108) and Orpheus' song about Myrrha and Cinyras (*Met.* 3.311 – 502). He also discusses the transformation of Republican courts to the courts of the Augustan era through the myth of Tiresias (*Metamorphoses* 3.316 – 38).

### Engagement in Legal Debate

Ovid engages in debates on legal issues in the story of Orpheus, Orpheus' song about Myrrha and Cinyras and the myth of Tiresias. For instance, he discusses the transformation of courts from the Republican era to the Augustan Age and the laws of Augustus on marriage (*Lex Iulia de Maritandis Ornibus*) and adultery (*Lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendis*). Ovid's engagement in

the legal debates of his day through allusions in his *Metamorphoses* shows that he understood them.

Orpheus' song about Myrrha and Cinyras addresses the limiting of a father's power through Augustan marriage laws.<sup>21</sup> Cinyras notably asks Myrrha to choose a husband for herself, relinquishing his power as her father in this aspect of her life (*Met.* 10. 356 – 360). Augustus' marriage legislation probably diminished the power of a father in this sphere of a daughter's life. Under Augustan legislation, women had to consent to a marriage for it to take place and she could not be forced to marry unwillingly. One interpretation of this myth might be that it is an argument against this freedom of consent for a woman in the realm of marriage. Myrrha's freedom to choose a suitor ultimately leads her to commit adultery by sleeping with her father.

The myth of Myrrha and Cinyras also alludes to a tension between male legislation and female passion, the exact topic which Augustus attempted to regulate in his law against adultery (*Lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendis*).<sup>22</sup> When Cinyras discovers that his lover is his daughter Myrrha (*Met.* 10. 473 – 474), he attempts to kill her (*Met.* 10.475) but she flees and escapes into the night (*Met.* 10.476 – 477). Under *Lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendis* a father was allowed to kill his daughter and her lover if he caught them having an affair together but he had to kill both of the offending parties or neither of them.<sup>23</sup>

Through the story of Myrrha and Cinyras, Ovid also rebuts the main point of the Augustan marriage legislation which was the production of legitimate children.<sup>24</sup> The legitimate daughter of Cinyras proved to be ruinous for him. Orpheus introduces the story of Cinyras and Myrrha stating that Cinyras would have had better fortune childless (*Met.* 10.298 – 299). This entirely contradicts the argument that Augustus makes when chastising a group of unmarried equestrians in Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (56.4). In this speech, Augustus threatens that childlessness will both end the family lines of the unmarried equestrians and potentially destroy the city of Rome through a lack of new citizens. Augustus' daughter caused him trouble

<sup>16</sup> K.M. Coleman, “Tiresias the Judge: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.322 – 38,” 576.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 574.

<sup>18</sup> Ioannis Ziogas, “Orpheus and the Law: The Story of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,” *Law and Love* 34, no. 1 (2016): 29.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 29 n. 25.

<sup>20</sup> *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, ed. Ethan Allan Andrews, Charlton Thomas Lewis and Charles Short, (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1886), s.v. *poena, ae, f.*

<sup>21</sup> Ziogas, “Orpheus and the Law: The Story of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,” 39.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 35.

because of her adulteries and his daughter was forced into exile like Myrrha who was driven from her home by her actions (*Met.* 10. 476 – 481).<sup>25</sup>

Through his rejection of marriage and women altogether, Orpheus is an opponent of Augustus's marriage laws.<sup>26</sup> His love of boys prevented him from ever becoming a father which was the main objective of Augustan legislation.<sup>26</sup> His rejection of women and transformed sexual orientation is construed like an act of legislation with the use of *auctor* and *transfere* (*Met.* 10. 78 – 10.85). Through this rejection, he promotes the idea of extramarital desire. Just as Augustus is an *auctor* of a human law that deals with morality and desire, so is Orpheus as he started the practice of pederasty in Thrace (*Met.* 10. 82 – 85). They both uphold their laws with their influence and example.

The transformation of Tiresias from *doctus, arbiter* and *iudex* reflects the professionalization of Roman law in the era of Augustus.<sup>27</sup> In the Augustan era, jurists began to scrutinize the law with more objective analysis.<sup>28</sup> This focus on objective analysis transformed law from a profession practiced by orators who were skillful with their rhetoric and focused on the individuals in their cases to one practiced by experts who were objective. Juries had significantly less influence in Augustan courts, with cases being decided by *iudex* who could be advised in his judgement by a *consilium*. This *iudex* would be selected from a group of individuals who had the credentials to obtain the position. Decisions could also be made by a jurist strictly following Augustan law. These two groups of individuals represent two forms of legal authority that answered to Augustus: one based on social authority and the other on academic authority. In the dispute between Juno and Jupiter, Tiresias plays a role as the legal expert. When he gives his *sententia* to Juno his role noticeably changes.<sup>29</sup> In the beginning of this case, Balsley (2010) likens Juno and Jupiter to the plaintiffs of a civil case with Tiresias serving as a legal expert/advisor to the two in their dispute. Once Juno reasserts her authority, Juno serves as the judge of Tiresias despite his status as her *iudex*. Juno uses her imperium to punish Tiresias by blinding him (*Met.* 3.335) and he loses any legal authority that

Jupiter has given to him over the matter. Furthermore, Jupiter cannot undo Juno's sentence but ends up adapting it (*Met.* 3.337 – 338), proving that even another god must bow to the will of divine law. Tiresias authority comes from both his experience and his skill but his authority is ultimately supported and derived from the *auctoritas* of Jupiter.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Ovid's use of all three legal terms (*doctus, arbiter, iudex*) with Tiresias only qualifying for one (*doctus*, since he had experienced life both as a woman and a man) and his blurring of distinctions between the three may be interpreted as a joke at the expense of the jurists of the time. In *Pro Murena* (12), Cicero comments that jurists of the time were concerned with making distinctions between the three terms.

The debate between Jupiter and Juno over whether women or men enjoy sex more might have also reflected the fact that under the *Lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendiis*, a formerly private matter (adultery) was brought into the public sphere.<sup>31</sup> Legal experts (like Tiresias) began debating a subject which had been dealt with by the *paterfamilias* in the Republican period. Cases of adultery now had witnesses and evidence, and a woman was publicly tried as if she had committed a serious crime.<sup>32</sup> A case of adultery under the *Leges Iuliae* was determined more by the status of the woman than by the actions of the man.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the debate turned into a real court case presented by Ovid appears more like a commentary on the current state of legal affairs. Like the legal experts of Ovid's day, Tiresias was involved in a discussion about private matters within a household.<sup>34</sup> Like many fathers who surrendered an aspect of their paternal authority to jurists because of these laws, Jupiter has given his authority concerning this judicial matter to Tiresias who is notably not a family member or the *paterfamilias*. While Augustus and jurors made decisions about women's pleasure and sex through the *Leges Iuliae*, Tiresias and Jupiter now debate and make decisions about women's pleasure in front of Juno. Through this lens, Juno's anger at Tiresias seems justified as he has both made a judgement concerning her sexual pleasure and interfered in a matter which was considered to be private in the Republican era. Ovid also showcases his legal knowledge through his

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 28 – 29.

<sup>27</sup> Balsley, "Between Two Lives: Tiresias and the Law in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 20.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 25.

use of rhetoric in Myrrha's speech defending her desire for her father (*Met.* 10. 319 – 10. 355), and Orpheus' speech to Pluto and Persephone (*Met.* 10. 17 – 39).

### Use of Rhetoric

Ovid's use of rhetoric in the speeches of Myrrha (*Met.* 10. 319 – 10. 355) and Orpheus (*Met.* 10. 17 – 39) displays his legal education. The speech of Myrrha is a *suasoria* or *controversia*.<sup>35</sup> *Suasoria* and *controversia* were rhetorical exercises used to prepare future orators for the law courts.<sup>36</sup> *Suasoria* were speeches where a rhetorical student would address a historical, mythological, or imaginative figure and offer them advice in the third person or could give them advice via direct address. These speeches were set during a time of deliberation for the figure that they were based on. A *controversia* was a speech where a student served as a prosecutor or defendant for an imaginary client. When training as a young lawyer, Ovid was particularly drawn towards *suasoriae* and frequently models the speeches of his subjects after *suasoriae*, a prime example being the speeches in his *Heroides*.<sup>37</sup> The Myrrha's soliloquy has the aspect of deliberation which is particular to a *suasoria* as Myrrha asks herself many questions including: "Will you be both the rival of your mother and the adulteress of your father? Will you be called the sister of your son, the mother of your brother?"<sup>38</sup> (*Met.* 10. 347 – 348). Myrrha incorporates aspects of a *controversia* speech by defending her passion for her father, stating that incest is a natural thing and can be found in animals (*Met.* 10.324 – 329). *Controversiae* speeches could be ethical in nature and Myrrha's soliloquy takes on the heavy topic of whether natural or human law is superior.<sup>39</sup> The speech of Orpheus to Pluto and Persephone is another speech written by Ovid in the style of a *suasoria*.<sup>40</sup>

Orpheus' speech to Pluto and Persephone is noted by scholars to be a second rate speech.<sup>41</sup> VerSteeg and Barclay (2003) disagree with this assessment and

suggest that Ovid was parodying the arguments of the law court and the technique of rhetoric during the Imperial period. Orpheus's speech and argument is highly formulaic in nature. It has rhetorical devices and stylistic devices which can be found in rhetorical handbooks. Through the construction of a highly formulaic speech, Ovid appears to be mocking the jurists of his time. The speech is mainly based on legal principles which Orpheus uses to request Eurydice's return. Orpheus attempts to persuade Pluto using specific interpretations of the law in the areas of marriage, theft, and property. Orpheus makes it clear to Pluto and Persephone from the start that earlier precedents cannot be applied to his case, as he has a different reason from other heroes for journeying down to the underworld (*Met.* 10.20 – 24).<sup>42</sup> Thus, the two gods cannot base their decision on other journeys to the underworld. The crime may be considered theft and Orpheus could be interpreted as arguing for a return of property.<sup>43</sup> He argues that the Eurydice deserves a return of property as her property (her younger years) has been stolen from her by the snake (*Met.* 10. 23 – 24). Since the snake is a member of Pluto's household, it is his responsibility to make sure Eurydice is properly recompensed. Orpheus highlights that these stolen years were her years by right (*Met.* 10.36). This argument hinges on Ovid's use of *iustus* implying that Eurydice deserved these years both by right and implying that Orpheus required some sort of compensation as her possessor by his position as her future husband. Overall, Orpheus' speech to Pluto and Persephone represents the highly formulaic rhetoric that was developed by orators in the Augustan era and is reminiscent of the *suasoriae* of the rhetorical schools. The highly formulaic structure of speech and its likeness to a *suasoria* highlight Ovid's rhetorical education and his opinion of rhetoric in the Augustan era.

Through this paper I have demonstrated that Ovid's early education as an orator can be seen in his *Metamorphoses* specifically through his use of language that grows more legalistic in the myth of

<sup>35</sup> Ziogas, "Orpheus and the Law: The Story of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 36 – 37.

<sup>36</sup> *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. Thomas O. Sloan, (Oxford, Oxford University Press: 2001), s.v "Controversia and Suasoria,"

<sup>37</sup> Elaine Fantham, "Rhetoric and Ovid's Poetry," in *A Companion to Ovid*, ed. Peter E. Knox (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 27 – 34.

<sup>38</sup> *tune eris et matris paelex et adultera patris? / Tune soror nati genetrixque vocabere fratris?* T. E. Page et al eds. *Ovid*

*Metamorphoses II*, (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press: 1958), 88 – 89.

<sup>39</sup> Ziogas, "Orpheus and the Law: The Story of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 36.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 37.

<sup>41</sup> Russ VerSteeg and Nina Barclay, "Rhetoric and Law in Ovid's Orpheus," *Law and Literature* 15, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 400 – 401.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 402.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 404.

Tiresias (*Metamorphoses* 3.316 – 38) and his use of legal vocabulary and phrases in the myth of Orpheus (*Metamorphoses* 10.1 – 108). Ovid's legal education is also demonstrated by his understanding of the law. Ovid shows his understanding of the *Leges Iuliae* through allusions to the new laws in his *Metamorphoses*. Finally, Ovid displays his legal education by his use of rhetoric in the speeches of Myrrha (*Met.* 10. 319 – 10. 355) and Orpheus (*Met.* 10. 17 – 39). Fundamentally, Ovid applies his rhetorical education to poetry in a novel way that serves as a commentary on the monumental transformation of the law courts from the Republican period to the Augustan age.

Versteeg, Russ, and Nina Barclay, "Rhetoric and Law in Ovid's Orpheus," *Law and Literature* 15, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 395 – 420.

Ziogas, I. "Orpheus and the Law: The Story of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Law and Literature* 34, no. 1 (2016): 24 – 41.

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# HELIOS-WITNESSED COCK-AND-BULL: *THE GOLDEN ASS* AS THE AFTERMATH OF EPIPHANY

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*Parce in verba ista haec tam absurda tamque immania  
mentiendo.*

"Stop telling such ridiculous and monstrous lies!"  
Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, I.2<sup>1</sup>

These, the first words spoken by any character in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, could as easily be spoken by any reader of the novel itself: *The Golden Ass* is as absurd as they come. But how could such an injunction be complied with? The story would not exist if the teller refrained from telling or the auditor from listening! Within the novel, the existential threat is overcome by Lucius, the protagonist, who faithfully promises to believe Aristomenes, the storyteller to whom the above reproach is addressed: "Instead of him I will believe you, and I will invite you to share dinner with me at the first inn after we come into town: that is your guaranteed payment" (I.4).<sup>2</sup> Aristomenes is readily persuaded by this offer, and proceeds to tell what turns out to be a hair-raising ghost story (I.5-19). But if the same applies to *The Golden Ass* as to the ghost story, who will persuade Apuleius to tell *The Golden Ass*?

In the first part of this essay, I argue that the opening episodes of *The Golden Ass*, including the episode of the ghost story, function analogically to establish a relationship between an author and a reader. This relationship is necessarily parasocial, that is to say, carried out in the imagination. I will show

that, within this constraint and from the very beginning, the novel demands the reader's credence. In the second part of the essay, I apply this insight to the question of whether to take seriously the novel's climax and resolution—Isis's appearance to Lucius in a dream and his subsequent restoration to human form in book XI.<sup>3</sup> I show that early on, in the "Psyche and Cupid" episode, the novel establishes storytelling between human beings as the correct and pious response to divine encounter. We can surmise that genuine divine encounter motivates the novel as an episode of storytelling, as well, but without any need for seriousness or factual accuracy. The relationship of author with reader provides the full social context that allows the novel to function as a mode of discourse about and with the divine.

## Human Relationships: Contexts of Credence

Aristomenes's ghost story is the product of a social encounter, inextricably situated in the nexus of the encounter of Lucius and Aristomenes. Lucius's promise of credence, as well as his declaration of belief afterwards (I.20), properly refers to the social encounter as a whole, from which the story is abstracted only conventionally. This sort of storytelling dynamic assuredly is one of Apuleius's interests, not just a question that we bring from the outside, for, although *The Golden Ass* is a retelling of

<sup>1</sup>Latin text and translations from *The Golden Ass* are from the Loeb edition, translated by Arthur Hanson (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)*, Volume I: Books 1-6, ed. and trans. J. Arthur Hanson, Loeb Classical Library 44 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) and Apuleius, *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)*, Volume II: Books 7-11, ed. and trans. J. Arthur Hanson, Loeb Classical Library 453 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). In spite of the fact that the novel's original title was most likely *Metamorphoses*, I have chosen to refer to it by the other title by which it has long been known, *The Golden Ass*, on the theory that a satiric novel deserves a satiric title.

<sup>2</sup>"Ego tibi solus haec pro isto credam, et quod ingressui primum fuerit stabulum prandio participabo. Haec tibi merces deposita

est." Lucius is reacting against the Skeptic's injunction to refrain from lies, above.

<sup>3</sup>Book XI includes a solemn hymn to Isis and an Isis aretology; see Roger Beck, "Mystery Religions, Aretalogy and the Ancient Novel," in *The Novel in the Ancient World, Revised Edition*, ed. Gareth Schmeling (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 146-147 and *passim* for a review. For comparison, the Isis aretology from Cyme is reprinted in Marvin W. Meyer, ed., *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1987), 172-174. However, its representation of Lucius's begging himself to achieve initiation after initiation appears to satirize Lucius's religious devotion. See S. J. Harrison, "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," in *The Novel in the Ancient World, Revised Edition*, ed. Gareth Schmeling (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 508-509, for a review of the issue. Harrison himself agrees with the skeptical view, that Apuleius is in no wise serious.



a Greek novel, *Lucius or the Ass*, many of Apuleius's original contributions take the form of sub-narratives.<sup>4</sup> Presently, I will take a close look at the storytelling relationship that is imagined between author and reader in the novel's first two pericopae: the prologue and the episode of the ghost story. But first, it is necessary to sketch what sort of relationship storytelling entails in general.

In the ordinary case, storytelling is an oral form that presupposes certain social features, for which I have developed a model with five components to represent them schematically, which I call the *storytelling relation*: (1) context — (2) storyteller — (3) story — (4) auditor — (5) reaction. The reaction comprehends stance (such as credence or doubt) as well as action taken in response. I speak of an auditor throughout, even though properly speaking a reader may read silently, because of the analogical slippage between the reader as someone who sees and someone who hears, as will become clear below. In my discussion, I refer to these elements by number.

The example of Charite's rescue illustrates the way this schema plays out in practice (see Figure 1 for a graphic representation): Charite's abduction (IV.23) and Tlepolemos's disguise as a robber are the context (1). Tlepolemos is the storyteller (2). His yarn about the exploits of himself as Haemus the Thracian (VII.5-8) is the story (3). The robbers are the auditors (4). And the robbers' acceptance of the story and appointment of 'Haemus' as chief (VII.9) is the reaction (5). Note that the robbers' stance (5) presupposes the presence of the other four elements. The story (3) is not strictly an instrumental vehicle for transmitting information or truth, but is rather one member of a continuing social interaction: the robbers (4) perceive the daring character of Tlepolemos (2); Tlepolemos in his narrative (3) plays on the robbers' habit of deceit (4); the robbers, having lost the most valiant members of their band (1), are predisposed in favour of new recruits such as Haemus; and so on. The particulars of the encounter between Tlepolemos and the robbers as a social event make sense of the narrative and determine the robbers' response (5).

Figure 1: The Robbers Hear Tlepolemos

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditors	(5) response
rescue of Charite, depopulated robber band	Tlepolemos	Haemus the Thracian	robbers	inauguration of Haemus as leader

### Parasociality

The storytelling relation does not apply equally to all narration in *The Golden Ass*. Third-person narratives are more readily integrated into the schema than the novel as a whole as story (3), of which the readers are the audience (4). In this situation, we run up against limitations that bring the social relation into question. Indeed, these are general problems of socialization via the medium of writing: the storyteller is absent (2), and though there is some context within which we read the novel (1), it is not necessarily shared with anybody else, and particularly not with the author. The question that arises is, do social relations,

including the storytelling schematic, still apply to written texts?<sup>5</sup>

In fact, they do. These seemingly intractable disjunctures are not extraordinary in human experience. Human social faculties function unabated even with an absent partner, by means of imaginatively conjuring the partner's presence, a behaviour known in psychology as parasociality. The concept of parasociality was initially developed to describe antisocial behaviours such as stalking, but it also includes ordinary human experiences such as rehearsing for a job interview, imagining a friend's

<sup>4</sup>See Nancy Shumate, "Apuleius' Metamorphoses: The Inserted Tales," in *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*, ed. Heinz Hofmann (London: Routledge, 1999), 96-99, for a summary of the evidence and a list of the tales in *The Golden Ass* which are missing from *Lucius or the Ass*. Shumate lists twelve sub-narratives (including the ghost story and "Psyche and Cupid") and six episodes in the main narrative (including the Isis book) that she ascribes to Apuleius's authorship.

<sup>5</sup>Daniel Allington, "How to Do Things with Literature: Blasphemous Speech Acts, Satanic Intentions, and the Uncommunicativeness of Verses," *Poetics Today* 29, no 3 (2008), 473-523, argues that the answer is no: written texts have in fact exited the realm of the social. I disagree, for the reasons explored in this section.

reaction to a gift, writing a letter, or shadow-boxing. Sarah Iles Johnston has applied the idea of parasociality fruitfully to the context of myth, in which art and storytelling about gods and heroes conjure them vividly in the minds of people who continue the relationship in the form of cult and further mythmaking.<sup>6</sup> The same applies to characters in the realm of fiction, as psychological research has amply demonstrated.<sup>7</sup>

The parasocial faculty can also target the author of a text,<sup>8</sup> but it is severely handicapped relative to the mythic and fictional parasociality in that all the features that Johnston calls out as enhancing the reality of a mythic figure—vivid narration, deixis, episodic narration, and plurimediality—are absent.<sup>9</sup> However, the reader is not alone in her difficulties: the writer shares in her predicament. To the writer (2), the reader (4) is as radically absent as she is to him, and there is no shared context (1). In this predicament, the writer may well take steps to bridge the gap, and in the case of *The Golden Ass*, this is exactly what we find.

Apuleius's first and most straightforward parasocial technique is the second-person address of the prologue:

But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style of yours, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper, if only you will not begrudge looking at Egyptian papyrus inscribed with the sharpness of a reed from the Nile, so that you may be amazed at men's forms and fortunes transformed into other shapes and then restored again in an interwoven knot...We are about to

begin a Greekish story. Pay attention, reader, and you will find delight. (I.1)<sup>10</sup>

Second-person address presumes two persons' presence and attention to each other, hence a parasocial relationship between writer (2) and reader (4), reinforced by the first-person plural "we begin" (*incipimus*) that comprehends both. However, the shared context (1) evoked by second-person address is shattered by the prologue's self-conscious writtenness: it is aware of itself as being inscribed on papyrus<sup>11</sup> and intended to be looked at and read. The physical presence being conjured is not a human being but an object, a book. Thus, in the prologue, the conjuring of writer and reader is only partial.

Nevertheless, the prologue takes this important step, that justifies its incomplete conjuring: it invites a potential reader to read. So long as the novel is a papyrus scroll or codex laid upon a shelf, it is inert. Similarly, from the perspective of the novel, a non-reader is also inert. It is the act of reading that makes relationship possible. Accordingly, the potential reader is invited progressively to look, to read, and to attend. These are the actions that will transform her from an inert passerby to someone who has a formal relationship with the text: a reader. In this way, the prologue establishes the novel, although written, as sharing features with an oral storytelling event involving a social relation, even though most of the features of that relation are necessarily omitted. This allows us to partially fill in the storytelling schematic in Figure 2.

<sup>6</sup>Sarah Iles Johnston, "How Myths and Other Stories Help to Create and Sustain Beliefs," in *Narrating Religion*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston (Farmington Hills: MacMillan, 2017), 141-156. Note, however, that Johnston expends a fair amount of effort on distinguishing between real (social) and imaginary (parasocial) persons, and real (social) and imagined relationships (parasocial). However, this distinction introduces an unnecessary complication, especially in connection with parasocial partners such as gods, for which existence claims are unstable. The key feature is that the parasocial partner be invisible or otherwise inaccessible.

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, Joanne Ingram and Zoe Luckett, "My Friend Harry's a Wizard: Predicting Parasocial Interaction with Characters from Fiction," *Psychology of Popular Media Culture* 8, no. 2 (2019), 148-158.

<sup>8</sup>I do not draw the usual distinction between the real author of the text (the man Apuleius) and the notional author implied by the text because the "author" under consideration is something slightly different from both: it is the ghostly figure summoned parasocially

by the reader's imagination in response to perceived authorial features of the text.

<sup>9</sup>Johnston, "How Myths Sustain Beliefs," *passim*. In this context, deixis is the correlation of stories with concrete features such as geographical locations or religious rites; plurimediality is the use of different media, such as pictorial art and storytelling, to elaborate a myth.

<sup>10</sup>"At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam, modo si papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere, figuras fortunisque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursus mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris...Fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. Lector intende: laetaberis."

<sup>11</sup>Or, howbeit, printed on paper or displayed on an LCD, as it is today, although of course neither has the power to evoke Isis that Egyptian papyrus does, to a reader in the know about book XI.

Figure 2: The Readers Hear Apuleius (first pass)

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
???	papyrus/Apuleius (imaginatively conjured)	<i>The Golden Ass</i>	reader	???

### Transformative Analogy

The existence of an attentive reader secured, the novel begins—but it begins on its own margins. Like the novel's readers, Lucius is outside Hypata, where the fateful adventures that transform him into an ass take place; he is on the road, alone, untethered by any social context or relationships. And it is here in this liminal space that he encounters Aristomenes and his companion, the Skeptic.<sup>12</sup> In brief, Lucius chances on the pair of travelers and persuades Aristomenes to tell his story over the Skeptic's objections by faithfully promising to believe it, and moreover to buy Aristomenes dinner (I.4). After Aristomenes tells his ghost story, Lucius and the Skeptic once more dispute over whether to credit the story (I.20), and finally they part forever (apparently without dining together):

This was the end of both our conversation and our shared journey. My two companions turned off to the left towards a nearby farmhouse, while I went up to the first inn I spotted after entering the town... (I.21)<sup>13</sup>

The features of this encounter are generic: Aristomenes exists only as a storyteller; Lucius, for now, only as an attentive listener; the Skeptic only to doubt. These generic functions invite allegory, and here we can notice a certain affinity between our own predicament as readers of a novel and Lucius's position as auditor of the ghost story: we are in both cases the auditors of a wondrous story told in first-person monologue, in a fleeting encounter with a storyteller whom we expect never to see again. By the process of transformative analogy, the reader is allegorically

conflated with Lucius, and the writer with Aristomenes.<sup>14</sup>

A transformative analogy requires three features: a formal framework, a defective item, and an analogy with a similar, sound item to repair the defect. As we have seen, the prologue's invitation defines the formal framework (the practice of reading) and the defective item (the lack of shared context between writer and reader). The ghost story provides the remedy: it is similar to the novel, but Lucius has the advantage of the novel's reader in possessing a shared context with Aristomenes, the chance meeting of travelers (1). Figure 3 represents the correspondence between these events by placing them together in the storytelling schematic. The analogy remedies the reader's defect by encouraging her to imaginatively conjure herself into a similar context: being "on the road," and "hearing" the novel from a fellow traveler. This is an eminently suitable context: the radical disjuncture of writer and reader means that the home turf of neither is a plausible shared context, so that any shared context must remove both from home. Travel is a first-rate solution, in being at once a place not at home, and still a common human experience readily available to the parasocial imaginations for both writer and reader.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, the travel context partially migrates in Figure 3 from the ghost story row to the *Golden Ass* row.

The analogy carries the parasocial relationship one further. While the writer-reader relationship is defective in that the reader must be mute whilst the writer is loquacious, the allegory conjures also the auditor's side of the dialogue and her attitude toward the storyteller: like Lucius, she is enjoined to good-

<sup>12</sup>The companion remains anonymous; I call him the Skeptic, after his function in the story.

<sup>13</sup>"Is finis nobis et sermonis et itineris communis fuit. Nam comites uterque ad villulam proximam laevorsum abierunt. Ego vero quod primum ingressui stabulum conspicatus sum accessi..."

<sup>14</sup>Transformative analogy is an illocutionary force produced by ritual or formal frameworks. Jessie Allen, "A Theory of Adjudication: Law as Magic," *Suffolk University Law Review* 41, no. 4 (2008), 809-813, discusses the social efficacy of ritual in magical practice, and in judicial contexts on pp 817ff. Transformative analogy is like

persuasive analogy, explored in Tambiah, "Form and Meaning in Magical Acts," 465-469, following Hesse, *Models and Analogies*, 62-63: two items are compared which bear some similarity and some difference. The similarity authorizes the analogy in the minds of the listener, whereas the difference marks a problem which the analogy aims to amend.

<sup>15</sup>To be sure, journeys are a genre convention of romance, but by no means does that negate their effectiveness. On the contrary, the more readers *expect* the journey as a setting, the better primed they are to imagine themselves into that setting as participants.

natured civility, earnest entreaty to tell the story, and a willingness to share a meal. This feature, too, appears in Figure 3.

Figure 3: The Readers Hear Apuleius (second pass)

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
<i>journey-like, conviviality</i>	Apuleius	<i>The Golden Ass</i>	reader	<i>credence?</i>
journey, conviviality	Aristomenes	ghost story	Lucius	credence

### What Sort of Credence?

The only element of the storytelling schematic that has yet to be established is the reaction (5), which is the very subject of the dispute between Lucius and the Skeptic. Here the plight of the auditor (4) becomes severe: a storyteller may declare the absolute truth of his story while telling an outrageous falsehood.<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, a storyteller may do everything to discredit his work, yet still recount a sublime philosophical allegory.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the episode of the ghost story displaces all responsibility onto the auditors (4), for Aristomenes himself gives no help in regard to his story,<sup>18</sup> and it is left to the Skeptic and Lucius alone to work out what they think of it (5).

Returning to the transformative analogy, with Lucius standing in for the reader, the reaction (5) to which the reader is pressed, in alignment with Lucius, is credence. But what sort of credence is it that can be promised sight unseen, and can yet be held after being told such a yarn as Aristomenes's ghost story?

When facts are at issue, credence may entail taking mistaken action (5), as in the case of the robbers, whose nomination of Tlepolemos as their leader proves fatal (VII.12-13). However in the case of the ghost story, Lucius's avowal of credence does not entail acceptance of any propositional content, and obligates him to no consequent action (apparently not even buying dinner). Though Lucius is explicitly dealing in credence (*credo* I.4, 20), a different type of credence must be under discussion here than in the case of the robbers. This sort of credence entails immersion in the story-world: the novel makes truth claims not about the world which the reader is inhabiting, but the one which she is imaginatively conjuring while listening to the narrative.<sup>19</sup> Credence is just the auditor's acceptance (5) of what is narrated (3) as facts of the story-world. Being as it is an act of the imagination, this sort of credence is also comprehended in the parasocial relationship of the

<sup>16</sup>Aristomenes calls Helios to witness the truth of his ghost story (I.5); the Skeptic accuses him of telling an outrageous falsehood (*mendacio absurdus* I.20).

<sup>17</sup>Apuleius self-deprecatingly call his narrative a *fabula* in the Milesian (lowbrow) style recounted solely for entertainment (I.1), tell it in the persona of a credulous ass (Lucius), and employ a revolting old woman as a mouthpiece for "old wives' tales" (IV.27). Stefan Tilg, "The Poetics of Old Wives' Tales, or Apuleius and the Philosophical Novel," in *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*, ed. Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon N. Byrne (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 552-569, explores what it meant to put "Psyche and Cupid" in the mouth of the drunk old woman. Compare also with Lucian's prologue to *True History* (Lucian, *Phalaris. Hippias or The Bath. Dionysus. Heracles. Amber or The Swans. The Fly. Nigrinus. Demonax. The Hall. My Native Land. Octogenarians. A True Story. Slander. The Consonants at Law. The Carousal (Symposium) or The Lapiths*, trans. A. M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library 14 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 253). These problems are not unique to *The Golden Ass*: the novelistic genre was at bottom a paradox, a fiction in the style of a plausible historical testimony, the writing of which could be and was the subject of criticism. J.

R. Morgan, "Make-Believe and Make Believe: The Fictionality of the Greek Novels," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. Christopher Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), 184-187. Andrew Laird, "Fiction, Bewitchment and Story Worlds: The Implications of Claims to Truth in Apuleius," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. Christopher Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), 153, also comments on the similarity in technique between factual and imaginary genres.

<sup>18</sup>Indeed, he arguably runs interference against his auditors by narrating his own alternations of doubt and credence as part of the ghost story (I.14-19).

<sup>19</sup>This sort of credence has been explored for the ancient novels in Morgan, "Make Believe," 193ff, and Laird, "Fiction, Bewitchment and Story Worlds," 151-153. Morgan, 193-194, expresses it thus: "The theme to be explored here is that the reader's belief is itself part of the fiction, that, as part of the rules of the game, the reader undertakes imaginatively to believe what he knows to be fiction. This is what most people observably still do when reading novels, and such imaginative belief, make-believe, can (indeed cannot not) exist in tandem with objective and conscious awareness of fictionality."

auditor with the storyteller. And, being immersive, it has the power to divert and delight that makes time pass quickly, which is claimed for the ghost story (I.20), Psyche and Cupid (IV.27), and the novel as a whole (I.1).

The criterion for acceptance of a story from a stance of immersive credence is not truth; that is, it is not the correspondence between the story-world and the lived world, as in the case of the identification of Haemus with Tlepolemos. Rather, the referent is reflexive: it is the correspondence between the story-world and itself, which we can name coherence.<sup>20</sup> Coherence implicates the storyteller: Lucius's immersive credence is justified by the coherence of

Aristomenes's narrative, that is to say, by its being a good, suspenseful, hair-raising ghost story.

The ghost story is also Apuleius's contribution to the developing parasocial relationship with his reader: it is a credible story, in the immersive sense, with an implicit promise of more if the reader continues. But the reader has done her own part to bring it into being, as well, for it is not the words on the page, the reading of them, nor even the comprehension of the words that makes a ghost story hair-raising, but rather the reader's immersive credence, which she must grant *a priori* as well as throughout in order to achieve the hair-raising effect. Figure 4 amends the storytelling relation accordingly.

Figure 4: The Readers Hear Apuleius (third pass)

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
<i>journey-like, promise of credence</i>	Apuleius	<i>The Golden Ass</i>	reader	<i>immersive credence</i>
journey, promise of credence	Aristomenes	ghost story	Lucius	credence

### What Sort of Doubt?

Immersive credence need not entail Coleridge's "willing suspension of disbelief" in that disbelief is simply *not* suspended here: the Skeptic's voice is both audible and credible.<sup>21</sup> But whereas Lucius's credence is immersive—that is, referring to facts about the narrative in relation to itself—the Skeptic's doubt is of the factual sort, most clearly directed against the correspondence between the story world and the physical lived world:

"That lie you told is just as true as if someone should assert that by magic mutterings rivers can be reversed, the sea sluggishly shackled, the winds reduced to a dead breathlessness, the sun be halted, the

moon drop her dew, the stars made to fall, daylight banished, and the night prolonged!" (I.3)<sup>22</sup>

The Skeptic's litany calls out the correspondence of language with actions in the physical world; it is thus a different sort of proposition than immersive credence, the correspondence of language with itself, and the two can thus coexist happily. The Skeptic's presence as a second auditor in the narrative of the ghost story suggests that this is in fact what the reader is called on to do. As illustrated in Figure 5, the reader's response (5) can parallel that of both auditors to be simultaneously one of immersive credence and factual doubt.

<sup>20</sup>Ursula K. le Guin, *The Language of the Night*, (New York: Putnam, 1979), 66, calls it "appropriateness"; the idea is the same. Morgan, "Make Believe," 187-191, discusses the criterion of plausibility rather than truth that was operative in ancient rhetoric, which is another way of taking a step away from truth. However, ancient literary theory did not apply its categories to the novel.

<sup>21</sup>Regine May, "Apuleius on Raising the Dead: Crossing the Boundaries of Life and Death while Convincing the Audience," in *Recognizing Miracles in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Maria Gerolemou (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 358, comments on Apuleius's problematizing the "willing suspension of disbelief" by means of the juxtaposition of Lucius and the Skeptic. However,

she concludes that features such as witches' "actually" (in Lucius's experience) behaving the way that Aristomenes says they do (in the ghost story) suggest that the readers "are drawn into the plot and prepared to accept the presence of miracles like necromancy in the novel as 'true'" (359; see also 363, 376). This position is very like the "willing suspension of disbelief." My point is that the correspondence of witches that May elucidates contributes to internal coherence that contributes to narrative credibility, but need not thereby have any effect on doubt.

<sup>22</sup>"Ne istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimos expirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri."

Figure 5: The Readers Hear Apuleius (fourth pass)

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
<i>journey-like, promise of credence</i>	Apuleius	<i>The Golden Ass</i>	reader	<i>immersive credence factual doubt</i>
journey	Aristomenes	ghost story	Lucius and Skeptic	credence and doubt

Taking stock: in a written story, the mutual absence of the storyteller and auditor generates a void in place of a relationship. *The Golden Ass* takes steps to remedy this void: first with the prologue, inviting a passerby to enter into the formal relationship with the text that makes her a reader; then with the ghost story, which imaginatively conjures a shared context of encounter between storyteller and auditor. These strategies point outside the text to the reader and writer, and enable a parasocial relationship between them by imagining a context in which they can meet and the novel can be told. The transformative aspects of the analogy press the reader to take an attitude of friendliness toward the storyteller and immersive credence toward the story. At the same time, the Skeptic's warnings enjoin the reader to factual doubt, which makes it clear that the veracity of the narrative is not principally at issue, but rather the story's existence and coherence. The reader's formal act of reading from an attitude of immersive credence makes possible the story's existence; the story's coherence in turn feeds the reader's continuing immersion.

Although immersive credence on the whole requires reflexive reference, of the story with itself, we have already encountered external reference: the prologue addresses a passerby, the allegory of telling a ghost story addresses the writer and reader—and the Skeptic denies external reference to the story, which is, though negative, a form of external reference. These external references have all been in service of developing the relationship of writer with reader. In order to see what Apuleius will do with that relationship, we must understand how he imagines another external relation: the relation with the gods.

Accordingly, in the next section, I look at both internal and external reference to the gods, beginning with the Skeptic's speech quoted above.

### **Dialogue with the Divine**

The passages examined thus far address strictly inter-human relationships.<sup>23</sup> By contrast, the wonders that the Skeptic names in his tirade (I.3) are divine powers, most of them explicitly named in the Isis book.<sup>24</sup> The Skeptic warns us that it is impossible for human craft to effect divine wonders, and therefore that treating outrageous tales as factually true amounts to hubris. This is a fundamentally pious proposition, and, belonging as it does to the storyteller's companion, it is a hint that Apuleius himself takes a pious stance, for all his outrageous storytelling.<sup>25</sup> Within the transformative analogy, it also functions as an instruction to the auditors: the awareness of factual doubt, following the Skeptic, is a preservative from hubris and a guide to honouring the gods. If immersive credence is a necessary component of the parasocial relationship of the reader with the writer, factual doubt is a necessary component of the parasocial relationship of humanity with the gods. Accordingly, the novel presents human relations with the gods not by means of factual statements, but by means of storytelling between humans, for which the storytelling schematic will continue to be applicable. In the following sections I look at human response to the divine in the Psyche and Cupid episode, and then in the Isis book.

<sup>23</sup>The ghost story of Aristomenes involves witches with magical powers, but nothing marks out the witches as other than human, and they are certainly not divine.

<sup>24</sup>Some are claimed by Isis for herself (stars, wind, sea XI.5); others are a part of the initiation (sun, day, night XI.23).

<sup>25</sup>There is also a hint of Apuleius's piety in his narrative of the Syrian Goddess. Although the *galloi* are heavily satirized, the statue of the goddess herself is always treated with respect: even

when the *galloi* are in dire straits, they take care that the statue is carried in state (VIII.30); and when they are finally seized by the law, the goddess herself is honoured and properly installed for worship (IX.10). This restraint while otherwise raking the cult over the coals without mercy is a pious move by Apuleius as writer, to keep from offending the Goddess herself—not the Goddess in the narrative, but the Goddess "out there," who could bring divine wrath upon Apuleius's head for writing slander against her.

## Storytelling the Gods

The human relationship with the divine is similar to the writer-reader relationship in that the gods are radically absent. However, in this case, the absence is not total, because the gods do communicate fleetingly with humans in the form of oracles, appearances, and dreams, which provide a starting point for relationship. The possibilities for relationship play out in the novel's first contact with the divine, which comes to Charite in the form of a dream (IV.25) soon after her kidnapping, when Charite has cried herself to sleep (1), which shows her Tlepolemos being killed (3). Charite's instinctive response is to startle awake and lament (5). The old woman who is guarding Charite takes issue with Charite's response (5), both her stance and her behaviour. Once she has heard the cause of Charite's distress, she chides her that dreams are often

metaphoric (IV.27). She then begins the fairy tale of Psyche and Cupid, in order to soothe Charite's distress (IV.28ff).

The unmediated dream is harsh and distressing. The old woman's actions progressively domesticate it by discursive means: first by hearing Charite's account of the dream, which transforms it from a divine communication to a human one; and then by storytelling of her own. Thus, there are three progressive storytelling episodes: the dream, the dream retold, and the fairy tale, diagrammed in Figure 6. Note that whereas in the previous figures, the columns represent correspondences between members of transformative analogy, in this instance each row is a reaction to the previous row, and forms a layer of padding between the raw experience (the dream) and the auditor (Charite).

Figure 6: The Domestication of Charite's Dream

	(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
<i>a. encounter</i>	Charite kidnapped	gods	dream	Charite	literal credence, lament
<i>b. recounting</i>	Charite lamenting	Charite	dream narrated	old woman	doubt, metaphoric credence, storytelling
<i>c. integration</i>	oneirophany	old woman	fairy tale	Charite	soothing

## The Auditors Multiply

In spite of the immediate narrative context, of a conversation is carried out wholly between Charite and the old woman, with Charite as the auditor of the fairy tale overheard also by Lucius (4), Charite's and Lucius's responses are only nominally the subject of the storytelling episode.<sup>26</sup> As illustrated in Figure 7, there are also two other implicit auditors to the fairy tale: the gods and the readers, which I address in turn.

With respect to the gods: storytelling as a reaction to divine communication functions similarly with respect to the gods that the allegory of the journey and the ghost story does with respect to the writer and reader. Just as the reader can meet Apuleius in the imaginative space of the journey and the ghost story,

the fairy tale is an imaginative space wherein humans and gods can meet face-to-face.

The characters in the fairy tale must be understood as allegorical. That is, just as Apuleius is not Aristomenes, nor is the reader Lucius, the characters in the fairy tale—even when they are called "Venus," "Juno," "Ceres," and "Cupid"—are not the gods themselves, nor is the narrative the fictional exploits of the gods themselves. The Skeptic's cautions against hubris are thus not implicated in this instance, for the fairy tale does not pretend to factual accuracy, the correspondence of the story world with the lived world. Rather, the characters in the fairy tale signify the gods indirectly, allegorically, by being correctly

<sup>26</sup>Though the old woman tells the tale in order to divert Charite (*avocabo* IV.27), we are never informed of the old woman's success. The only narrated response is Lucius's, who laments that he could not note down "such a pretty tale" (*tam bellam fabellam* VI.25). His reaction suggests immersive credence, as before. Note

that this language also evokes the prologues of both the fairy tale (*narrationibus lepidis* IV.27) and the novel as a whole (*lepido susurro* I.1), in spite of the variation of vocabulary. See below for the correspondence between the two prologues.

situated relationally, with respect to each other and with respect to humans: they are invisible (at least until Psyche illuminates Cupid's features with the lamp V.23), Venus is implicated in the domain of beauty and love (IV.29), death (Proserpina's cosmetic) is Psyche's nemesis (VI.21), and so on. These are, schematically at least (for knowledge of the gods themselves must always be imperfect), the relations that actually obtain, and they authorize the allegory for its listeners. As we have seen, it is in the differences that the analogy does its work. In the case of Psyche, there are many differences that may be said to do transformative work, salvation from death (or from symbolic death) being perhaps the most obvious.

A dream is a statement by a god, which demands an answer. The god has spoken, and in the parasocial imagination, he is, perhaps, watching and listening for a response. Though storytelling is directed grammatically to other humans, in the context of a reaction to divine communication (1), it is also directed implicitly to the god, as the human side of a two-way parasocial conversation.<sup>27</sup> The allegorical form is a way of making that address a transformative analogy, pressing the gods to act as they have been said to act—in the case of the fairy tale, to take, like Cupid, a salvific role.

As for the reader: she is witness to all these interacting conversations as episodes within the novel, with the fairy tale as a sub-narrative. However, there are also hints that the reader herself is the proper audience (4) of the fairy tale. First and foremost is the fact that the old woman's prologue (IV.27) echoes the novel's prologue (I.1),<sup>28</sup> which creates a confusion of

levels: the fairy tale is at once a sub-narrative embedded within the novel as told by the old woman (2), and it is also a fresh beginning of the novel itself as told by the author or narrator (2) and addressed to the reader (4). The fairy tale also briefly breaks the fourth wall to explain the oracle's being in Latin, excusing it as a special favour to "the author of this Milesian tale" (IV.32); this brief excursion names Apuleius rather than the old woman as storyteller (2), the novel rather than the fairy tale as story (3), and, implicitly, the reader as auditor (4). Finally, the length of the fairy tale, stretching across three books and perhaps twenty percent of the novel, attests to its purpose beyond its immediate context.

The fairy tale has more than one extra-contextual purpose, for example as a philosophical allegory,<sup>29</sup> but for my purposes here, I focus on its parasocial purposes. Just as the old woman relates the fairy tale to Charite as a way for both of them to engage in relationship with the gods, the readers can understand Apuleius's purpose in telling the fairy tale as a way for both writer and reader also to engage in relationship with the gods. The narrative frame to the fairy tale serves a didactic purpose: to demonstrate that the correct and pious response to epiphany is storytelling, inasmuch as dreams are a genuine communication from the gods, and storytelling makes answer by such avenues as are possible to human beings. Even when we imagine Apuleius as storyteller in place of the old woman, the gods are still among the auditors, and Apuleius implicitly endorses transformative analogy as a pious way to relate to the gods and influence them.

<sup>27</sup>Compare with Tambiah's observation regarding magic incantations that are addressed to inanimate objects, a sort of reverse of this circumstance: "All ritual, whatever the idiom, is addressed to the human participants and uses a technique which attempts to restructure and integrate the minds and emotions of the actors" (Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 53). In either event, the grammatical addressee is not the only addressee.

<sup>28</sup>Tilg, "Poetics of Old Wives' Tales," 555, following John J. Winkler, *Auctor and Actor*, (Berkeley: University of California

Press, 1985), 53. The parallels are: (1) opening a second-person address with a conjunction; (2) self-naming as *fabula*; (3) disreputable labelling as Milesian (*Milesio*) or old-wives' tales (*anilibus*); (4) self-naming as *lepidus*; (5) seductive (*permulceam/avocabo*); (6) the story is named in the plural (*fabulas/fabulis*). Tilg also comments on the implication of this parallel, that it implicates the readers, not just Charite and Lucius.  
<sup>29</sup>See Claudio Moreschini, "Towards a History of the Exegesis of Apuleius: The Case of the Tale of 'Cupid and Psyche'," trans. Coco Stevenson, in *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*, ed. Heinz Hofmann (London: Routledge, 1999), 181-192, for a historical review of the allegorical readings.



Figure 7: The Multiform Auditors of 'Psyche and Cupid'

(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditors	(5) response
divine communication	old woman	fairy tale of Psyche and Cupid	Charite	integration of dream
			Lucius	immersive credence
			gods	theurgy <sup>30</sup>
	Apuleius		reader	instruction

### Isis

Charite's dream is at a level of remove from Lucius, being one of the sub-narratives to which he is privy as an ass, but it also serves as a model for when things get personal for him: that is, for Lucius's own encounter with Isis in book XI. Lucius's experience is similar to Charite's, in that both receive significant dreams. However, in neither case are we privy to the divine communication, which is private and can never be shared. Rather, we are privy to the second step in the domestication of the divine encounter: just as Charite recounts her dream to the old woman, Lucius recounts his dream to the reader. What of the third step, integration by means of storytelling? This step is not narrated inside book XI at all: it is the novel as a whole. Figure 8, structured very like Figure 6, illustrates the three steps for the case of Isis.

Like the fairy tale of Psyche and Cupid, the novel functions as a signifier that points to human-divine conversation as the signified. Both *The Golden Ass* (the third level) and Lucius's account of his dream (the second level) are artifices at a level of remove from actual divine encounter, but both presuppose a genuine divine encounter (the primary level) that motivates

them. Taking a position of factual skepticism, we cannot presume to know any facts of that encounter, even insofar as they are narrated to us; but its bare existence is a *social* fact, deriving from the storytelling relation between writer and reader that has developed over the previous ten books.

The conundrum that arises is, what shall the reader's response (5) be? The episode of the ghost story offers one option. In response to the Skeptic's question, "Do you go along with that story?", Lucius answers by an avowal of fatalism:

Well, I consider nothing to be impossible. However the fates decide, that is the way everything turns out for mortal men...But as for Aristomenes, not only do I believe him, by Hercules, but I am also extremely grateful to him for diverting us with a charming and delightful story. (I.20)<sup>31</sup>

This is a possible response for the reader at the close of the novel, as well. It is fitting that the storytelling relation, being social, should elicit a social response of this sort. Faced with the immortal gods—or with the kind of story that epiphany inspires, like Psyche and Cupid or *The Golden Ass*—an auditor can leave fate to the gods and engage wholeheartedly in the storytelling relation.

Figure 8: The Domestication of Apuleius's Dream

	(1) context	(2) storyteller	(3) story	(4) auditor	(5) response
<i>a. encounter</i>	??	Isis?	??	Apuleius	storytelling
<i>b. recounting</i>	Isis book	Lucius	dream narrated Isis narrated	reader	immersive credence
<i>c. integration</i>	oneirophany	Apuleius	<i>The Golden Ass</i>	reader	integration of epiphany, acceptance of fate

<sup>30</sup>In the sense of the gods' taking action under human influence.

<sup>31</sup>"Ego vero nihil impossibile arbitror, sed utcumque fata decreverint, ita cuncta mortalibus provenire...Sed ego huic et credo hercules et gratas gratias memini, quod lepidae fabulae festivitate nos avocavit."

### Conclusion: Real Gods, Pious Doubt, Credible Fabulae

As we have seen, divine encounter is an experience that takes work to integrate and bring to rights. *The Golden Ass* imagines human discourse and specifically wondrous narrative as the right location for coming to terms with divine forces and encounters, and puts itself forward as a discourse of this type. The responsibility this entails, towards gods and humans, is tremendous, and yet the novel is a load of bull. Apuleius is satirically unkind to characters within the narrative, such as the drunk old woman, the depraved *galloi*, and even Lucius, his protagonist. Nevertheless, as I have shown, he maintains a pious attitude towards the gods and takes steps towards parasocial conviviality with his readers: that is, towards the gods themselves, and towards flesh-and-blood readers. He needs that conviviality because human encounter with the divine demands storytelling, but there is no storytelling without an auditor: thus the invitation to the passer-by to read and to engage in immersive credence is essentially selfish. Though he promises (and delivers) delight to motivate the reader to participate, ultimately that participation serves Apuleius's purpose, his need for an audience.

The injunction to doubt is different, in that factual doubt is closely allied with piety, which is very much in the reader's interest. With respect to the narrative, factual doubt is rather unsatisfying without immersive credence, because there is otherwise nothing to draw a reader to a cock-and-bull story. But with respect to the gods and the preservation from hubris, it is a valuable asset of itself: it is a reminder that all representations of gods must be allegorical rather than descriptive. Allegories are not facts, but serve social functions, both between humans and between humans and the divine.

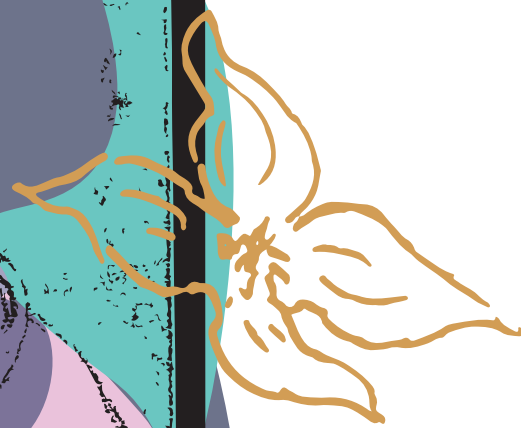
There is one final social fact that arises out of the interplay of social and allegorical forces that converge in the Isis book. In the allegory of the ghost story, Apuleius as storyteller does not correspond with Lucius but with Aristomenes. This disrupts any identification of the notional "I" of the first-person narrative (Lucius) with the writer (Apuleius). The auditor not only of Aristomenes's story but of the many subnarratives that Lucius overhears throughout the novel is Lucius, a feature which Lucius shares with the reader. This nudges the reader to read Lucius's "I" analogically, as her own "I" throughout the novel, strengthening the identification with every narrative they overhear together. However, there is one that is

not shared: the revelation of Isis. Read as the defective element of a transformative analogy, it functions as a wish upon the reader, that she may experience epiphany, as well. Whether that is a generous or perverse wish must be for the reader to decide.

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## POETRY SUBMISSION

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Note from the author: I have chosen to provide two poems composed in Sapphic stanza. Each is written on a somber revelation that I have come to in my journey through classical literature; their titles reflect as much. Please learn from and enjoy reading these poems as much as I have had creating them.

### **Somber Sapphics:**

#### **1. *Iliad* 6.146**

Men are like the leaves that you find in tall trees;  
Sprouting, budding, blooming and then with some breeze  
Letting loose the lives they so dearly clung to  
When they can't bear them.

#### **2. *Jolly Old King Croesus***

Once when I was young I had asked an old man:  
"Are you happy?" "No!" He replied with wide grin.  
"Ere I die, my life could collapse around me,  
Don't count me happy!"