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by

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Committee in charge:

Professor Ellen Oliensis, Chair
Professor Anthony Bulloch
Professor Christopher Hallett
Professor John Lindow
Professor Andrew Zissos

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the ways Latin poetry reworks the mythological tradition of which it itself is a part. I approach this broad topic primarily from the angle of mythological variation—that is, the competing and sometimes contradictory versions of individual myths which are an inherent component of the Greek and Roman mythological system. In Greece, myths and their variants played an important role in interfacing religion with politics. Through three "case studies" on the works of Ovid and Valerius Flaccus, I demonstrate different ways in which Roman poets, too, could utilize the pluralities of the tradition for their own poetic and political ends. Combining close reading with both focused and synoptic views of mythology, my methods present an approach to mythological poetry that comes squarely to terms with mythic variation as a significant textual strategy. The result is a version of intertextuality where the "text" at issue is, in effect, the complete body of myth. I show in particular how Ovid and Valerius Flaccus use the pluralities of the mythic tradition to offer the reader intertextual associations and resonances.

Chapter 1 examines the Athenian hero Theseus in the poetry of Ovid. I argue that by sometimes referring to the hero as son of Aegeus and sometimes as son of Neptune, Ovid illuminates particular aspects of Theseus's character depending on which father is brought to the fore, and that Theseus is associated more strongly with Neptune in the *Heroides* and with Aegeus in the *Metamorphoses*. I also look at how missing pieces of Theseus's story are narrated through the seemingly unrelated tales that abut and interrupt the so-called "*Theseid*" in the central books of the *Metamorphoses*. Finally, I consider how Ovid's belated connection of Theseus and Augustus in *Met.* 15 requires us to reexamine Augustus in the light of Theseus's portrayal. As the *princeps*, like Theseus, claimed two fathers—his adoptive father, the deified Julius Caesar, and his mortal father, Gaius Octavius—we may possibly understand Ovid's focus on Theseus's paternity as a commentary on imperial propaganda regarding issues of inheritance, succession, and the right to rule.

Chapter 2 investigates the extended catalogue of curses in Ovid's *Ibis* in relation to both the mythographic tradition and Ovid's own poetic corpus. By elucidating parallels between the organizational structure of the catalogue and mythographic catalogues such as Hyginus's *Fabulae*, I demonstrate how the *Ibis* plays with presenting itself in the manner of these

mythographic texts while exploiting the polyvalency of the mythic tradition's inherent mutability and syncretism. I also discuss how major themes of the poem, such as a prevalent emphasis on names and their suppression, and an identification of the poetic corpus with the poet's own body, echo the thematic concerns of Ovid's other exile poetry. Finally, I argue for identifying Ovid's pseudonymous enemy "Ibis" with the Muses, whose "love/hate" relationship with Ovid is clearly expressed in the exile poetry.

Chapter 3 turns to Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*, which picks up on many of the same themes of name, identity, and mythic variation that I explore in the first two chapters. Conscious of his epic's belated position in an extensive Argonautic tradition, Valerius is highly skilled at incorporating myriad versions of a single narrative incident through devices such as misleading foreshadowing and intertextual allusion. He also plays with mythic homonyms, blending together figures who share names so that they no longer fit into discrete existences. These reworkings of the tradition reflect an overarching concern with duality, manifest in paired characters, repeated episodes, and the poem's emphatic bipartite structure: the first half presents positive models of fraternal interaction, while the second half is fraught with fratricide and civil war. I argue that the clear thematic parallels which Valerius draws between the Argonauts and the Flavian *gens* suggest reading the epic politically. In particular, I propose that the epic may reflect two possible futures for Rome, harmony or civil strife. The imperial heirs, Titus and Domitian, find an echo in the twin Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, who were the traditional mythical *exemplum* of fraternal piety for joint imperial heirs. Valerius's split emphasis on positive and negative pairings confronts this problematic future and ultimately reads as a cautionary tale; the entire epic is crafted to promote its double vision.

For Jamie, Marisa, Lorraine, and Jim
magistris meis

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Introduction

καθόλου δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μύθους οὐχ ἁπλῆν οὐδὲ συμπεφωνημένην ἱστορίαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκε· διόπερ οὐ χρὴ
θαυμάζειν, ἐάν τινα τῶν ἀρχαιολογουμένων μὴ συμφώνως ἅπασι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι συγκρίνωμεν.

- Diodorus Siculus 4.44.5–6

In the following pages, I embark upon a study of mythic variation as it was adapted and utilized by Roman poets. In particular, I investigate how the Roman poets leveraged the pluralities of the mythic tradition in order to offer the reader "intermythical" associations and resonances that are separate from the confines of the text and specific intertextual allusions.[1] Although I limit myself to three distinct case studies, I hope to show that the shared poetic concerns which emerge from these studies can be broadly applied as a productive way of engaging with Roman mythological poetry at large.

In all three of the following chapters, I investigate myth as literature, but myth in literary contexts cannot really be a separate concern from myth outside of literature.[2] I therefore combine close reading with both focused and synoptic views of mythology, in an effort to present an approach to mythological poetry that comes squarely to terms with mythic variation as a significant textual strategy. The result is a version of intertextuality where the "text" at issue is, in effect, the complete body of myth.[3] However, because my focus in this dissertation encompasses both Roman poetry and, to some extent, myth as an independent entity, I need to begin by marking out and leveling our playing field.

As the Greek poetic tradition was the origin of the Roman, and as the Greek mythic system was, in large part, the origin of the myths that appeared in Roman poetry, I first provide a broad overview of myth and poetry in Greece. I then discuss the transition of mythic poetry to Rome, followed by a more specific contextualization of my dissertation. Finally, I provide some necessary background in a few specific areas, in particular the ancient fascination with doubling and the poetic propensity for wordplay.[4] The "rules" of these word-games within Latin poetry have been fairly thoroughly codified and are necessary for understanding some pieces of my discussion; I therefore give an overview of these, too.[5]

Greek myth was nothing if not inconsistent.[6] Iphigenia might be the daughter of

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[1] On the term "intermythical," see p. 6.

[2] Chris Hallett's forthcoming book on art and the *Aeneid* provides multiple compelling illustrations of the extent to which the Romans were steeped in visual depictions of myth, in both private and public spheres. Also see Barchiesi (2005).

[3] See pp. 6ff.

[4] See pp. 9ff. By the late republic, if not much earlier, Roman poetry had developed a pervasive system of both serious and frivolous word-games (etymological and otherwise) that were frequently tied to theories of myth and religion and which also were, in many ways, a direct inheritance from the Greeks. Plato's *Cratylus* is full of etymologies from start to finish (on these, see Sedley [1998]); the names of the gods are discussed at 401A–409B. As jests rather than serious etymologizing, cf. Cameron (1995a) 51 on the punning (and scathing) derivation of "Boeotian" from βοῶν ὦτα by the Hellenistic poet Antagoras of Rhodes. For the scope and use of ancient etymologizing, see the papers in Nifadopoulos (2000). On the connections between etymologizing and ancient theories of religion, cf. Hinds (2006).

[5] See pp. 11ff.

[6] In using terms such as "inconsistent" or "contradictory," I do not mean that the Greeks felt that there was any problem with having multiple truths that seem, to a modern audience, like incompatible versions. However, we

Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra in countless versions of her story, but she could also be the daughter of Theseus and Helen elsewhere.[7] This sort of variation was not due to confusion, of course, but was rather a function of mythology's intrinsic ties to Greek religion, which in turn was mediated through local cult.[8] In a system that was simultaneously pan-Hellenic and comprised of numerous local cults with their own particulars of form and function,[9] variation in the aetiological stories behind religious ritual was both expected and necessary, and these variants had to compete rather than conform.

Moreover, in this exclusively performative religion, the literary presentation of mythology adhered to the same framework of competitive religious practice.[10] All mythological poetry in Greece was composed in the context of religious ritual (or at least in the faux-context of religious ritual).[11] Behind all of Pindar's epinician odes, all of Euripides'

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have no words other than these in English to express the concept of two disjoint identities, places, and so forth existing simultaneously.

[7] E.g., Ant. Lib. 27.1: Θησέως καὶ Ἑλένης τῆς Διὸς ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Ἰφιγένεια καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέτρεφεν ἡ τῆς Ἑλένης ἀδελφὴ Κλυταιμήστρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἶπεν αὐτὴ τεκεῖν· Ἑλένη γὰρ πυνθανομένων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔφη κόρη παρὰ Θησέως ἀπελθεῖν ("Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus and Helen, daughter of Zeus, and Helen's sister Clytaemnestra reared her, but she said to Agamemnon that she bore her; for Helen said, when her brothers asked, that she departed from Theseus a virgin").

[8] An excellent introductory essay on this issue, with five case-studies (ranging from the Homeric Hymns to Callimachus) on the close relationship between myth, religion, and literature in ancient Greece, is Calame (2007).

[9] Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) 101: "Greek deities existed at two levels—the local, *polis* level, and the Panhellenic level. Too often, in the study of Greek divinities, the local personality of a deity is overshadowed by the Panhellenic one and the individuality of the different local deities is ignored." More recently, see, e.g., Schachter (2000).

[10] Edmunds (1990) 14: "Greek myths were never told without a motive, which was often competitive." He goes on to observe, looking specifically at Pindar's famous discussion at *Olympian* 1.28–32 of truth and falsity in myth, that "[Pindar's] version displaces the other. No wonder, then, that references to *mythos* in Greek literature are often negative. My version is truth, but yours is a *mythos*." Another way to perceive this is Nagy's ([2007] 59) explanation of the same passage: "*muthoi* 'myths' can be imagined as additions to the kernel of truth as expressed by wording that is *alēthēs* 'true'. Such additional myths stand for an undifferentiated outer core, where various versions from various locales may contradict each other, while the wording that is *alēthēs* 'true' stands for a differentiated inner core of myth that tends to avoid the conflicts of localized versions." Ultimately, this boils down to "a multiplicity of 'false' myths" contrasted with "a singular master myth described as *logos* 'wording' that is *alēthēs* 'true'." Abstracted from the competitive element, Greek myth can be defined very simply, as per Edmunds (1990) 15: "A Greek myth is a set of multiforms or variants of the same story."

[11] Feeney (1998) 38–9 comments that, although "the assumption is that Greek hymns of the pre-Hellenistic period were actually performed in a genuinely religious or cultic setting, . . . in fact . . . remarkably few of the hymns surviving from the canon of pre-Hellenistic times were definitely composed for initial 'real' performance in a cult context." Implicit in these statements is an assumption that Hellenistic poetry was *not* composed for "real" cultic performance. However, Cameron (1995a) 24–70 has argued that much of Hellenistic poetry *was* composed for agonistic, ritual, and frequently encomiastic performance. A ritualized and localized context can also be envisioned, to some extent, for the mytho-historical works composed by Greek historiographers, which, "even if they abandoned the rhythmic and ritualized forms of poetry, remain inscribed in constant efforts to reformulate a heroic past and adapt it to the exigencies of a social and political present strongly marked by the influence of the gods and by ritual and discursive acts used to communicate with them" (Calame [2007] 261). Only purely mythographic texts, such as ps-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheka* or Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoseis*, stand separate from this religious and political environment, instead preserving, in an easily digestible form divorced from the original performative context, the wide range of competing mythic variants that functioned in the poetry. (They do not always actively preserve variants, of course, often only giving a single narrative version which may or may not be reflected elsewhere in ancient mythography, but it is not uncommon to see a set of alternative traditions provided in ps-Apollodorus—opening the text at random, I find: Ἄργου δὲ καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ παῖς Ἴασος, οὗ φασιν Ἰὼ γενέσθαι. Κάστωρ δὲ ὁ συγγράψας τὰ χρονικὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τραγικῶν Ἰνάχου τὴν Ἰὼ λέγουσιν· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος Πειρῆνος αὐτήν φασιν εἶναι, "And the child of Argus and Ismene, daughter of

tragedies, and all of Callimachus's apparent innovations in the hymnic form lay unseverable bonds with religion and, frequently, politics. In fact, mythic variation played an important role in interfacing religion with politics in ancient Greece, where religious practice was "always integrated into the calendar that [gave] rhythm to the religious and political life of each city, in conjunction with the particular assemblage of gods and heroes who [were] honored there."[12] The variant that was selected, therefore, or the innovation that was made, frequently tied in with some current political issue, whether it was Athens' claim to dominance in the Delian League, Argos's destruction of Mycenae, or Ptolemy Philadelphus's accession to co-regency;[13] and the mythological innovation itself served to honor the god(s) involved in the story told, as the performance was an offering, and "the poems . . . present themselves as cult acts."[14]

Therefore, in this system of multiple mythic truths, great political or religious importance and meaning lay behind *which* truth a poet offered to his audience.[15] Did Theseus abandon Ariadne on Naxos or on Cyprus?[16] Were the Corinthians—or was Medea herself—responsible for the murder of Medea's children?[17] Each variant that was selected or invented made a statement, and each tradition that was rejected made another statement. Genealogy, too, was of utmost concern, especially as mythic kinship was used as justification for treaties and alliances in Greece and Asia Minor. This meant that obscure local variants could become very important, if they created the connection between two city-states, and links could also be "discovered" if necessary.[18] Mythology itself showed the importance and validity of even distant kinship, for a persistent concept of "blood will tell" permeated the complex mythic network, thanks in particular to curses that worked their way from generation to generation.[19]

Asopus, was Iasus, by whom they say Io was sired. But Castor the chronographer and many of the tragedians say that Io was the daughter of Inachus; and Hesiod and Acousilaus say that she was the daughter of Peiren," *Bibl.* 2.1.3§5).

[12] Calame (2007) 259.

[13] Athens and the Delian League: Bacchylides 17; see Calame (2007) 267–70. Argos's destruction of Mycenae: Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*; see Hall (2007) 336: "It was Aeschylus who transferred Agamemnon to Argos in the *Agamemnon* of 458 BCE, following the Argive destruction of Mycenae a decade earlier." Ptolemy Philadelphus: Callimachus's *Hymn to Zeus*; see Clauss (1986), who also provides bibliography for earlier discussions of the poem, and Stephens (2003) 77–144.

[14] Calame (2007) 260.

[15] Feeney (1998) 129 observes that "the Romans appear to have had a keener relish for . . . multiple exegesis than the Greeks." I think that the truth of the matter is that the Greek practice is to choose and emphasize one version of myth as the "truth," while the Roman practice is to embrace all versions as equally plausible possibilities. If the Greek religious model is competition, the Roman model is assimilation and adaptation; however, enquiry and debate are practical results of both models.

[16] For the claim of Cyprus, see Plut. *Thes.* 20.4–7.

[17] On the variant versions of the deaths of Medea's children and the possibility of Euripides as the innovator of Medea-as-murderess, see, conveniently, Gantz (1996) 368–71 and Mastronarde (2002) 49–57.

[18] Patterson (2010). Cf. Cameron (1995a) 26: "Every new city the length and breadth of the Hellenistic world devised links of one sort or another with the mythical past, declaring some itinerant god or hero . . . its founder and proclaiming his name on the coinage, in the hope that some day a poet or historian would work out a connected narrative."

[19] A famous example is Myrtilus's curse on the Pelopidae, eventually expiated by Pelops's great-grandson Orestes, with positive repercussions for all of Pelops's descendants including the Athenians (Theseus, too, was the great-grandson of Pelops, through his maternal grandfather, Pittheus). Another ill-fated bloodline that joins with the Pelopidae in a late generation is that of Europa's descendants. Their recurrent suffering may be the result of Aphrodite's hatred (Pasiphaë, the mother of Minos's children, is a daughter of Helios, who famously tattled on the affair of Aphrodite and Ares), or it may be the result of Minos's failure to keep a vow to Poseidon. Regardless, the mother of Agamemnon and Menelaus is Aerope, the granddaughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, so that finally the two curses become joined and indistinguishable. (On Europa's descendants, see Armstrong [2006].) The inescapability

Apart from the intentional use that was made of myth's flexibility, there are also inconsistencies that appear to be simply the product of myth's evolution. In addition to local variation, where the genealogies and stories of a given figure were debated in accordance with issues of local identity, the Greek religious tendency toward syncretism could result in the conflation of once-separate but homonymous individuals into a single figure. Whatever the original cause, local variation or syncrisis, the results were the same.[20] By contrast, a single figure could appear so differently in regional variants of his story that he could actually fracture into multiple characters with the same name and just a few lingering traces of the original identity.[21]

By the time it was adopted into ancient Rome, Greek myth had become increasingly divorced from its religious roots and concerns of local identity. On some level, this was due to an extended process of codification and erudition promulgated by the scholar-poets of Alexandria. Myth was, effectively, removed from its immediate ritual context and captured on the page.[22] All the same, the origins and functions of mythological poetry were not only recognized but frequently kept intact by the Alexandrians. They (and other Hellenistic poets) were still enshrining *someone*'s current ritual practice in their learned poetry, even if not their own.[23] In addition, if those Hellenistic poets or their audiences happened to travel, they would, everywhere, see myth written on the landscape itself: here the very *lygos*-tree under which Hera was born, there the actual stone which Cronus had swallowed in lieu of Zeus.[24]

The same could not be said of the ties between Greek myth and the Roman landscape, nor between Greek myth and Roman poetry, nor between Greek myth and Roman religion. Despite the overlap of the Greek and Roman pantheons, the figures of Greek myth rarely had a corresponding function in Roman ritual; most Roman cult had little foundation in the narratives associated with Greek religious practice, nor was religious observance exclusively modeled in mimetic ritual poetry.[25] That is not to say that myth, now comprised of both

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of bad blood is well-expressed at Sen. *Phaed.* 907–8: *redit ad auctores genus / stirpemque primam degener sanguis refert* ("a descendant returns to her forebears, and bad blood recalls its first lineage").

[20] An excellent example is Atalanta, who was variously identified as the daughter of Iasios or Schoineus, and whose lover was either Milanion or Hippomenes (daughter of Schoeneus in Hesiod, frr. 75–6 M–W, daughter of Iasion/Iasus/Iasius in Call. *Hymn to Artemis* 216; cf. Fontenrose [1981] 175–81). There were possibly originally two Atalantas, one from Arcadia and one from Boeotia, or there may have only been a single Atalanta whose genealogy varied in accordance with locale. Cf. Hardie (2004) 86: "the Arcadian Atalanta . . . is normally the daughter of Ias(i)us, while Schoeneus is the father of the Boeotian Atalanta," and Fontenrose (1981) 176: "in truth there is only one Atalanta, whatever her place of origin." By contrast, Cicero has Cotta say in *De Natura Deorum* that there were really three Jupiters (*DND* 3.16.42, 3.21.53) and six different heroes named Hercules (*DND* 3.16.42).

[21] This is possibly the case with, for example, Phoenix, who in surviving myth is an alternate for Agenor (the son of Belos and the father of Cadmus, Europa, and Phineus) but who also appears as the son of Amyntor, the aged, blind, infertile nurse of Achilles. Cf. *RE* 20:1, 411–2.

[22] Cameron (1995a), esp. 63–7, argues against removing the Alexandrians entirely from the performance circuit, while Feeney (1998) 40, echoing Cairns (1984) 150, conversely points out that if Archaic works had never been written down (whether before, after, or in lieu of performance), we would not have them. Performance does not automatically equate to ritual performance, however.

[23] Cf. Callimachus's query to Theogenes, the Ician guest: essentially, "Tell me why *you* do this?" (Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσῆνα τ[ί πάτριον ὔ]μμι σέβεσθαι / Πηλέα, "why is it your custom to revere Peleus, king of the Myrmidons?" *Aet.* fr. 178.23–4 Pf). On some possibilities for Hellenistic theology and religiosity, see Bulloch (1984) and Stephens (2003).

[24] The *lygos* tree at Samos: Pausanias 7.4.4; Cronus's stone at Delphi: Pausanias 10.24.6.

[25] Neither of these statements is universally true. The worship of Diana at Aricia, for example, may depend heavily on the Greek narratives of Hippolytus and his resurrection (see Green [2007]), while the song of the Salian

indigenous Roman myths and adopted Greek myths, was not highly important at Rome, nor that it lost all its ties to religion.[26] In many ways, too, Greek concerns of local identity were replaced with concerns of Roman identity, frequently to be mediated through myth.[27] And although myth had lost its performative and competitive religious function, it certainly retained its political function. In both the Republic and the Principate, mythology served as a primary mode and vehicle for propaganda, and that propaganda was generally mediated, disseminated, and commented upon through the visual and verbal arts.[28]

In the context of the interfacing between Greek myth and Greek politics, Jonathan Hall makes a comment on the variability of myth which is crucially important for my arguments in the following case studies and which can apply equally well to the context of the Roman mythological discourse as to the Greek:[29]

> [Greek myths] derived their authority and legitimacy from the fact that they drew on a relatively stable repertoire of symbolic resources. This was particularly important in the context of relationships between Greek city-states, since, as Arjun Appadurai has pointed out, 'any past must be interdependent with other "pasts" to ensure minimal credibility.' Put another way, Greek Myth . . . constituted what structural linguists call a *langue* ('language') or universally comprehensible system of symbols, from which a particular conjunction of symbols – a *parole* or 'speech' – could be assembled, deconstructed, and reassembled to achieve a particular ideological aim. The credibility and intelligibility of the *parole* was directly dependent upon the familiarity with, and recognition of, the *langue*, and for this reason myth was most effective not when it was invented *ex nihilo* but when it represented itself as a modulation of a preexisting theme.

In other words, the discourse of myth would be impossible without a broad knowledge of

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priests is a forceful counterexample of mimetic ritual song (see Habinek [2005]). Also see Green (2002) on the interpretative malleability of myth and religion in the hands of Roman poets, philosophers, and politicians.

[26] Greek myth plays its largest role in Roman religion when the heroes of the Greek mythic narrative traveled into Italy—for instance, the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima is embedded in the Greek mythic narrative of Hercules' defeat of Geryon. Again we see a triangle between myth, landscape, and religion.

[27] It is similarly worth observing that when the Romans wrote aetiological poetry, they primarily limited themselves to Roman *aetia*, and not only in self-professedly aetiological poetry such as Propertius, Book 4, and Ovid's *Fasti*. For instance, Valerius Flaccus, who on some occasions during the Argonauts' voyage follows Apollonius Rhodius nearly word-for-word, especially in the *periplous*, is loath to include Apollonius's numerous aetiologies of landmarks and customs. Instead, Valerius highlights the Romanness of his *Argonautica*—the *aetion* of Aristaeus and Icmaean Zeus is transformed into a simile featuring Italian priests and Calabrian shepherds; the ritual triple shout for Hylas performed by priests on Mysia is subsumed into an intertextual echo, at most; and many of the aetiologies disappear entirely—while on the flipside, the Argonauts visit Troy and experience Laomedon's (hence the Romans') "original sin"; Mopsus performs a purification rite at Cyzicus that is reminiscent of Roman lustral rites (see Boyancé [1935]); Jason and Medea marry in a highly Roman ceremony; and so forth (cf. Zissos [2008] xlii–xliii, with bibliography). Feeney (1998) 71 captures the dynamic perfectly with his description of Ovid's procedure in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*: "Ovid . . . systematically remove[s] from his accounts of metamorphosis almost all the cultic and regional *aetia* of his Greek sources, but this is not because he has no interest in the local or ritual contexts of myth. On the contrary, while he is composing the *Metamorphoses* he is simultaneously composing a poem on precisely such aetiologies, the *Fasti*; and in the 'Italian' books at the close of the *Metamorphoses* he gives his readers a battery of myths which function as aetiologies of contemporary local practices. . . . His regular amputation of such elements from his Greek myths, then, is not accidental or inadvertent, but part of a systematic dialogue between work on Greek and work on Roman myth."

[28] Boyle (2007) 355 observes that "from the third century BCE onwards," the Romans used myth "for social, exegetic, validatory, discursive, exemplary, referential, and (increasingly) overtly political purposes." See, for example, Champlin (2003). Chris Hallett's forthcoming book, *Art, Poetry, and Civil War*, is an extended study on the interaction of the visual and the verbal in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

[29] Hall (2007) 332–3.

earlier manipulations and manifestations of myth. A variant has no life on its own but can only exist in the context of other variants, or, as Lowell Edmunds has phrased it, "each retelling or application produces a new variant, which stands in some degree of antagonistic relation to other variants or other myths and thus takes its place in a system constituted by the proliferation of such relations."[30]

As we have seen, this unceasing process of refashioning was a vital process of Greek myth, and the resulting abundance of variants and the dialogue of their interactions, as well as the process itself—if not the competitive aspect of the refashioning—was inherited by the Romans. It is conceivably the case that Roman poets rarely, if ever, developed their own variants of myth—of course, we can presume that they did, but in the absence of so much Archaic and Hellenistic Greek material, we cannot really know when Romans were adapting and when they were adopting. However, with the rich, extensive, and polymorphous fabric of the Greek tradition available to them, they would hardly have needed to. Instead, they could (and did) mine the extant multiplicity of variants, found in epic, in lyric, in tragedy, in historiography, and even in commentaries, to select the particular version of a myth that best suited their context.[31] The variants were not, of course, exclusively literary, and therefore engagement with the developed network of variants cannot simply be assimilated to intertextuality, unless we define "intertextuality" as separate from text. We might coin the term "intermythicality," which would be used to express intertextuality on the level of myth, divorced from text.[32]

The act of selective mining of variants is also an act of engagement with the tradition, and each Roman appeal to myth is anchored in the already established system. Adopting any particular version must, on some level, lay claim to that version's associations and allegiances. At the same time, the choice of a given variant would appear to imply the tacit rejection of all other variants. However, to those familiar with an extensive body of myths, as were the educated elite who comprised the primary audience for Roman poetry,[33] one version could not entirely exclude all others. In his book on the intertextuality of Roman poetry, Edmunds cites Pasquali's assertion that "allusions do not produce their intended effect except on a reader who

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[30] Edmunds (1990) 15.

[31] Cf. Seneca's advice to Lucilius about treating a much-treated poetic subject: *qui praecesserant non praeripuisse mihi videntur quae dici poterant, sed aperuisse. [sed] multum interest utrum ad consumptam materiam an ad subactam accedas: crescit in dies, et inventuris inventa non obstant. praeterea condicio optima est ultimi: parata verba invenit, quae aliter instructa novam faciem habent. nec illis manus inicit tamquam alienis; sunt enim publica* ("Those who have gone before seem to me not to have snatched away what could be said, but to have revealed it. It makes all the difference whether you are approaching used-up material or well-worked material: it grows day by day, and the things that have been discovered do not stand in the way of those who have yet to discover. Moreover, the condition of the last man is the best: he discovers prepared words, which take on a new face when arranged differently. Nor does he lay his hand on them as though on someone else's property; for they are public property," *Epist.* 79.5–6)

[32] Of course, on the argument that "text" need not mean a written text, the term "intertextuality" serves reasonably well—but I want to emphasize the notion that it is the complete body of myth in all its manifestations to which the Greeks and Romans had recourse. Hinds (2006) makes a similar argument for associative presences in poetry through etymological plays; on Roman poetic etymologies in general, see below. Edmunds (2001) 143 refers to the "system" of myth.

[33] However, even the non-elite—even the illiterate—would also be familiar with a broad selection of myths and variants, as displayed in the visual landscape of frescoes, sculptures, vases, and other artistic representations throughout Italy and Greece. And these visual narratives were a traditional part of the original discourse of the mythic multiform, too.

clearly recalls the text to which reference is made."[34] The same, then, can surely be said of myth—that the adaptation or selection of mythic variants only produces its intended effect on readers who clearly recall the myth to which reference is made—and, presumably, recall multiple versions of that myth. (This has already been observed in the case of the Greeks; it ought to hold equally true for their cultural heirs, the Romans.) Given this state of affairs, the "rejected" variants stand like ghosts alongside the "authorized" variant, allowing a faint discourse to arise between text and non-text.[35]

It is the discourse of these ghosts, and how this discourse is exploited by Roman poets, that is the primary theme of my work. If multiple versions of a myth are always tacitly present in Roman poetry, then not only do their visible irruptions have particular localized meaning (the question provoked is no longer "why?" but "why *here*?"), but also the untold version may always be allowed to influence our reading of the text. In short, the pluralities of the mythic tradition offer the reader "intermythical" associations and resonances, and the variant myths which poets do not tell—the "roads not taken," as it were—become valid, or at least suggestive, alternatives to the versions explicitly authorized by the text. The combination and interaction of mythological variants in Roman poetry has often been read as an explicit competitive engagement with—or an explicit homage to—specific earlier versions of a story.[36] I attempt to take a step back from this model (which not only has merit but is, in fact, a necessary mode of reading) to a place where everything is less concrete and less definitively marked. Certainly I do not mean to suggest that no one has trodden this path before me, especially in reading allusions ambiguously,[37] but recognition of variants has almost always been tied to specific earlier versions of a story,[38] not to the general collective pool of myth as generated by literature, visual arts, and religion.[39] I explore these concerns through the works of two early imperial authors, Ovid and Valerius Flaccus, whose poetry stands late in a long tradition of retellings.[40]

My first chapter pursues the dual tradition of Theseus's paternity throughout Ovid's works as a means of confronting Ovid's engagement with myth's alternate traditions.[41] Ovid refers to the hero, who was either the son of Aegeus or the son of Poseidon, fifty-four times by

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[34] Edmunds (2001) xii, translating Pasquali (1968) 275.

[35] A related phenomenon is Julia Gaisser's term "shadow allusions," but as she presents them, these are shadows generated by *textual* allusion. Her primary example is the presence of Medea within the story of Theseus and Ariadne on the wedding-coverlet in Catullus 64, drawn in through several distant allusions to Medea in Apollonius Rhodius and one more concrete allusion to Ennius's *Medea Exul* (see Gaisser [2009] 158–61): *utinam ne tempore* (Cat. 64.171) vs. *utinam ne in nemore* (Ennius, *Med. Ex.* 208).

[36] See, for example, on Catullus 64, Thomas (1982) and Weber (1983).

[37] E.g., Barchiesi (1997a), to name just one of many.

[38] Cf. Zissos (1999) 290: "For example, there were a number of different accounts of the fate of the dragon that guarded the golden fleece in Colchis. According to Pindar, Jason had himself slain the dragon in order to gain the fleece (*Pyth.* 4.247-49). In Euripides' seminal tragedy, Medea claimed that she had herself killed the dragon (*Med.* 480-82). In the version of Apollonius, Medea had lulled the dragon to sleep with magic (Ap. Rhod. 4.156-66). When confronted with this moment in the narrative, Valerius' Medea seems to offer Jason a choice of variants (8.64-66). . . . It seems clear that Valerius is airing the possibilities offered by rival versions of the myth and in so doing he sets his work in the context of a literary tradition."

[39] Edmunds (2001) 147–8 is a notable exception to this: "To quote a myth is . . . usually to give a particular version of it. But this version cannot suppress the others. Indeed, it may evoke them" (147). Earlier, he identifies this as a mode of referring to *systems* rather than *texts*: "The problem of boundaries becomes still more acute in the case of quotations that refer not to a particular text but to a system. The term *system* is used here to refer to verbal categories, literary and nonliterary, larger than single texts" (143).

[40] Hershkowitz (1998) is an excellent study of the "belatedness" of Valerius Flaccus.

[41] I discuss Greek myth's composition as "variations on a theme" at pp. 1ff.

name and thirteen times through periphrasis; of these, he is *Aegides* nine times and *Neptunius heros* three times.[42] I argue, first of all, that there is significance in which father Ovid attributes to Theseus at any given time and that his application of patronymics is not only contextually relevant but creates a persistent system of characterization for Theseus in Ovid's poetry. Ovid carefully controls a shifting focus on Theseus's paternity that illuminates particular aspects of his character depending on which father is brought to the fore. I then argue that, in playing with the notion of dual divine and mortal paternity, Ovid may also remind his readers of a contemporary Roman who laid claim to two fathers, one mortal and one deified, namely the emperor Augustus. Ovid's focus on Theseus's paternity may ultimately be understood as a commentary on imperial propaganda regarding issues of inheritance, succession, and the right to rule; but, as usual, Ovid does not provide his reader with any definitive answers.

Following on the idea of allowing multiple traditions to stand side-by-side and engage in dialogue, my second chapter offers an extended reading of Ovid's *Ibis*, in particular the lengthy curse catalogue that makes up two-thirds of the poem. In this chapter, mythic variation remains in the spotlight, joined by an emphasis on names and naming. I first argue that, although Ovid's choice of myths in the catalogue initially appears to be haphazard, there is poetic and mythographic logic to the sequence. However, Ovid leaves interpretation and identification of his numerous *exempla* as an exercise for the reader. While most other scholars have understood this as Ovid's erudite (but pointless) showmanship, I instead look at the process of decoding as a necessary part of reading the poem. For instance, the actual lines of poetry point to one version or facet of a myth;[43] to connect the myth with the one that follows, the reader must access a different version or facet of the myth (either in his mind or by consulting a mythographic handbook). By deciphering Ovid's puzzles, furthermore, we are enabled to observe a thematic dialogue which Ovid sets up between the *Ibis*' prologue and catalogue and which engages with Ovid's program of exilic poetics.

In addition, Ovid's choice in the *Ibis* to name or not name the mythic figures of his catalogue also ties in with his obsession with names in the rest of the exile poetry. The double-functioning of names is a gesture repeated frequently in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, and Ovid's equally prevalent emphasis on the suppression of names underscores the poetics of his anonymous mode of address in the *Tristia*. My chapter ends with an observation that the *Ibis* is, in many ways, about interchangeable doublets—Ibis and the *Ibis*, Ovid and Ibis (whom some scholars perceive as Ovid's "evil twin"),[44] homonymous mythological figures A and B. While previous attempts to identify Ibis have headed either toward the political or the fantastical, I instead read the poem in a metapoetic light by suggesting that one possible victim of Ovid's curse in the *Ibis* is his own poetry and Muse.

My third and final chapter, pursuing the intertwined threads of mythic variation and names, turns to Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*, a poem which several scholars have already

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[42] Ovid alludes to the tradition of Theseus's Neptunian paternity on two further occasions (*Rem. Am.* 743–4, *Her.* 2.37–8).

[43] For instance, at *Ib.* 357–60 Ovid touches on the theme of brother/sister and father/daughter incest; at *Ib.* 361–4 he segues into daughters' betrayal of fathers; and at *Ib.* 365–72 he focuses on the stories of Oenomaus, Hippodameia, Pelops, and Myrtilus, and of Atalanta's suitors—the invisible transition (in addition to death "by" chariot-wheels, moving from Servius Tullius to Oenomaus) is the tradition that Oenomaus did not want to give up Hippodameia because he was nursing an incestuous passion for his daughter (cf. ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* E.2.4). Lightfoot (1999) 404n83 notes that "it is not clear whether the incest motif is confined to post-classical versions"; Ovid's placement of the story may suggest that it was not.

[44] See, e.g., Hinds (1999) 65 and (2007) 206; Schiesaro (2001) calls Ibis Ovid's *nemico-doppio*.

shown to respond to the contradictions inherent in the Argonautic tradition.[45] My particular focus of investigation in this chapter is themes of duality and identity. As we shall also see to be true of Ovid, Valerius is concerned with the incorporation of additional or alternate myths through partially- or differently-told stories, disjunctions of name, body, and identity, and the marking of political discourse through the explicit correlation of imperial and epic figures.[46] On a global level, the poem's emphatic bipartite structure shapes it into a self-reflecting diptych, and I argue that, through this dichotomy, the poet tells two stories. While the first half is positive in its outlook and presentation of characters, the second half is fraught with fratricide and civil war, a popular and politically-inspired theme under the Flavian emperors. Ultimately, I propose that the epic may reflect two possible futures for Rome, harmony or civil strife. The imperial heirs, Titus and Domitian, find an echo in the twin Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, who were the traditional mythical example of fraternal piety for joint imperial heirs. However, the epic intimates that civil war, from which Rome has recently emerged, could again result if the heirs do not imitate the Dioscuri's amiable fraternity.

The densely interwoven plurality of Ovid and Valerius Flaccus's sources makes traditional intertextuality very productive for reading these poets, but that same rich tradition of multiple and inconsistent versions, in artwork as well as literature, makes them equally ripe for my mode of reading. In the case of the *Ibis*, where frequently Ovid does not tell any myths extensively enough even to determine whether he is using "a version" at all, I consider in addition how his failure to actually narrate any myths forces the reader to reconstruct the myths for himself without any clear guidelines of which version(s) ought to be followed. This process of reconstruction opens potential windows onto numerous texts, and as a result, what takes center stage is the kernel of the myth, the pure story, not a particular telling of the story;[47] and what also comes to the fore is the necessary (and frequently repeated) process of decoding, which in turn opens a window onto Ovid's self-conscious poetics.

A few additional concerns repeatedly assert themselves in the following chapters. One is the concept of doubling, or multiples (of which doubles are the strongest manifestation, although doubles also have an independent existence). Another is the importance of names and identity. Third is the wordplay in which ancient poets engage and the rules that are associated with it. The term "doubling" can imply many things: anything revolving around the number two, anything that is mirrored, doubling of narrative or of character, manifestations of the Other, splitting and division, intertextual doubling, repeated narrative, syntactic doubling, and so forth. Many of these appear to be crucial concerns for the texts which I am studying, and given my focus on mythic variation, perhaps this is not surprising, as the multiformity of myth necessarily imposes multiplicity on the texts that engage with it. However, the two issues are frequently independent of each other, as well.

Doubling can exist on the pure level of language and syntax, divorced entirely from context. Jeffrey Wills, in his monumental study of repetition in Latin poetry, observes, following Fehling, that repetition is not derived from oratory but developed independently:

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[45] Especially, although not exclusively, Malamud and McGuire (1993), Zissos (1999), Zissos (2004b).

[46] The analogy of epic heroes and imperial persons is of course a commonplace of Roman imperial epic, but I argue that Ovid and Valerius Flaccus set up precise parallels to direct their readers to correlations that are not, perhaps, the most obvious.

[47] Sometimes there are, in fact, identifiable texts lurking behind Ovid's obscure curses, but frequently not; even when there are, it is usually that these are the main texts for a given myth in the Roman literary consciousness, not that they are the only possible version. In addition, the reader frequently cannot determine the myth—and therefore any possible literary work standing behind it—without doing external research of some sort.

meaning derives from the repetition in context, repetition does not lend external rhetorical meaning *to* its context.[48] Wills also provides a consistent and scientific terminology for studying figures of repetition, which, among other benefits, allows him (and us) to detect allusion through syntax as well as through diction.[49] The four main structures of repetition which he identifies are gemination (the simple repetition of a word in the same form, either within or across clauses), polyptoton (the repetition of a word with morphological changes *in a single clause*), modification (the repetition of a word-*stem* in *different* clauses), and parallelism (covering most forms of repetitive vocabulary and syntax, across clauses, that do not fall under the first three categories).[50]

These forms of repetition are used for effect and to instill meaning; beyond these specific repetitions, there also exists a more general ancient tendency toward binary oppositions, particularly noticeable in correlative structures such as ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ, τε . . . καί, *qualis . . . talis*, *hic . . . ille*, and so forth. In a recent collection of articles on parallels and correlatives in Greek and Latin,[51] several contributors refer to this sort of binarism as "a mode of thought";[52] especially (although not exclusively) at Rome, this is true not only on a linguistic level but also on a cultural and ideological level.[53] For example, the paired collegiality of the consuls, as opposed to the unified power of a king, recasts and reshapes the original shared power of Romulus and Remus, while Romulus and Remus's founding fratricide instills a perpetual fear of civil war and fratricide in the Roman people. "One" is, to all extents and purposes, the opposite of "two," but "one" is also inherent in "two."

Philip Hardie has convincingly shown how this opposition of one and two, as well as the idea of the Other, the opponent or sacrificial victim who is both opposite and self, works its way into the Roman literary imagination and plays out in the *Aeneid* and subsequent imperial epics.[54] Civil war and fratricide foment in the Roman identity, thus Roman literature must run an exploratory gamut of civil war and fratricide. A connected idea is that of mirroring, in that that which is reflected both is and is not the self (reflections and echoes are, respectively, the visual and aural manifestations of mirroring).[55] This can be extended: identical twins, for example, are a particular expression of mirroring, one that engages uncertainties over sameness and difference, replacement and substitution.

Also prominent in the following chapters—and tangentially related to the idea of

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[48] Wills (1996) 5–6, with reference to Fehling (1969).

[49] Wills (1996) 15: "We usually make allusive connections on the basis of diction (reused words) or narrative similarities (reused settings), rather than figures of repetition (reused syntax). . . . However, . . . syntax can be as effective in making allusion as any other element of language."

[50] See Wills (1996) for a thorough definition and comprehensive examples of these four basic structures.

[51] De Carvalho and Lambert (2005).

[52] E.g., Rousseau (2005) 60, Briand (2005) 220: "un mode de pensée."

[53] See Alföldi (1974) and Bettini (2000) for investigation of these issues.

[54] Hardie (1993a), (1993b). Additionally, the opposing axes of east/west and heaven/hell create an idea of polar oppositions that, in addition to being a pervasive idea in Vergil and later epic poets, is also visible in the earlier Greek idea of the East as a place of inversion, an idea which is inherited by the Romans. This in itself causes a crisis of Roman identity—as Trojans, they ultimately come from the East, but the Eastern association with *luxuria* is antithetical to Roman *mores*.

[55] This idea, of course, is intrinsic to Lacanian theory. Micaela Janan has repeatedly applied Lacanian theory to Roman literature (so far, Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid), in part because, as she says, "Lacan . . . offers us the best tools with which to approach this evident crisis in conceiving *Romanitas* [at the transition from Republic to Empire], because his model of subjectivity pivots upon an internal contradiction and division" (Janan [2001] 6–7). Mirroring, as a concept, is prevalent both in myth and in Roman thought; many of the themes are explored in Bettini (1999).

doubles and mirroring—is the concept of personal identity, particularly as expressed in names. In a world where *nomen est omen*, a shared name often results in a shared fate. This is especially true of aetiological stories of metamorphosis, where a boy named Kyknos or Cygnus will be unable to escape his destiny of transformation into a swan. But even without shared fates, associations are inevitably drawn. Who, when confronted with one Ajax, does not invariably think at least fleetingly of the other?[56]

On the one hand, I treat all the aforementioned modes of transference, substitution, and association as intentional throughout the following chapters. On the other hand, it seems likely that subconscious associative trains may in many cases be the motivating factor, and the idea of the "textual unconscious" as suggested by Ellen Oliensis in her recent book, *Freud's Rome*, is a productive one to keep in mind for my discussion, not least because it enables us to see how multiple (and potentially contradictory) layers of narrative may develop and function free of specific intertextual engagement.[57] Let it, therefore, be understood that, even when I make concrete assertions as to a poet's intentional juxtaposition of stories or choice of name, there is in many of these cases at least some possibility for a subconscious, rather than a conscious, motivation.

Names, of both people and places, were also subject to ancient etymologizing within poetry, and this adds further dimensions to their capacity to function as nodes of meaning. On one end of the practice was the almost scholarly calquing of a word, where the name in question was juxtaposed with a veritable definition or explanation of its derivation. On the other end of the practice was paronomasia (or *adnominatio*), where *CANo* and *CANis* could be cleverly implied to derive from the same root, allowing Ovid to liken the singing god Apollo, chasing after Daphne, to a pursuing dog.[58] The Roman preoccupation with sound- and wordplay, an idea which sometimes underlies my discussion of names, doubling, and even myth (especially in Chapters 2 and 3), is a topic that requires knowledge of the "rules" as they were generally practiced by Roman poets. While several scholars have discussed these in great detail, a brief rundown here is in order, for the purposes of easy reference.[59]

To borrow Alison Keith's adaptation of Andreas Michalopoulos's schema, the main forms of ancient etymologizing in Latin poetry are as follows:[60]

1. Etymologizing on proper names
2. Etymologizing on common nouns from a foreign language (usually Greek)

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[56] The dynamics of this homonymy are explored and exploited by Homer himself, who creates a ring-composed passage that moves back and forth between Oïlean and Telamonian Ajax, with the two Ajaxes yoked together at its center like two bulls sharing a harness (Hom. *Il.* 13.703–7). Janko (1992) 135 *ad Il.* 13.701–22: "The poet moves from a brief mention of Locrian to Telamonian Aias; next, forming the centre of a ring, he depicts both in a simile; he then describes the men of Telamonian and, lastly, of Locrian Aias, with their unique tactics."

[57] Oliensis (2009) 6–7 defines "textual unconscious" as "an unconscious that tends to wander at will, taking up residence now with a character, now with the narrator, now with the impersonal narration, and sometimes flirting with an authorial or cultural address. . . . It is in the very texture of the text, its slips, tics, strange emphases, and stray details, that one discovers it at work. . . . The textual unconscious is an enabling postulate, nothing more."

[58] According to Varro (*LL* 5.99), the connection between the words is etymology, plain and simple (cf. Hinds [2006]). On manifestations of CAN- see Ahl (1985) 31–5. Paronomasia is not precisely the same as punning, for it covers only wordplay that assimilates two similar-sounding words, not actual homophones, but I think the English term "pun" can be applied broadly enough to include paronomasia.

[59] See especially Ahl (1985), O'Hara (1996), Michalopoulos (2001), to name just a few books that deal with this topic. There are also numerous articles on specific instances of ancient etymologies, puns, and wordplay, while Nifadopoulos (2000) provides a collection of papers on ancient etymologizing from Homer to Servius.

[60] Keith (2008) 232, citing Michalopoulos (2001).

3. Etymologizing on common Latin nouns
4. Etymologizing through antonyms (*e contrario*), in which the etymologized lexical item is juxtaposed with a word or phrase pointing to the opposite of its meaning (e.g., the famous *lucus a non lucendo*)
5. Explicit etymologizing, in which a proper noun is following by a full explanation of its etymology
6. Suppressed etymologizing, in which all the elements of etymological wordplay are present except the lexical item itself.

Ahl, meanwhile, gives twelve "rules" for the game of wordplay, both etymological and otherwise, which show how poets actually effected their linguistic play.[61] Those that will be the most relevant to my discussion are the following:

1. The basic unit of sense, for the purposes of play, is the *syllable* rather than the word.
2. Difference in vowel length does not prevent etymologizing wordplay.
6. In some cases, a syllabic play may occur even if there is a change of vowel.
12. Greek words may retain their full Greek force and become the instruments of bilingual wordplay.

In addition to how and when etymologizing may occur, the means of signaling its occurrence is also important; here I borrow a few entries from James O'Hara's *True Names*. "Naming constructions as etymological signposts" involves the use of "words such as *nomen*, *cognomen*, *verum nomen*, *voco*, *dico*, *appello*, or *perhibeo*, . . . especially if the naming construction seems otherwise unnecessary."[62] There are also at least two recognizable physical/visual markers, namely "framing"[63] and "vertical juxtaposition in consecutive lines"[64]—the first relies on connected words being placed at the beginning and end of a line or even passage, while the second is self-explanatory. These techniques can also be used to highlight associations between words or concepts that are not etymologically related.

Finally, as another form of layered meaning that could be embedded in poetry, acrostics and anagrams were favored poetic games.[65] The former, which were also used by the Hellenistic poets, tend to encode at the beginnings of lines words which are thematically related to the context or to a matter of poetics, as well as providing a location for the poet's *sphragis*. Famous ancient acrostics include, among many others, ΛΕΠΤΗ at Aratus, *Phaen.* 783–7, and an Ennian acrostic recorded by Cicero which read *Q. ENNIUS FECIT*.[66] Anagrams were also popular in both Greek and Latin literature, although they are often somewhat less readily accepted by modern scholars.[67] Ahl shows a number of clear anagrams in Vergil, such as the

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[61] Ahl (1985) 55–9. Ahl's book provides examples and a full explanation of how each rule could manifest. Scholars are deeply divided over the merits and "reality" of Ahl's approach; I believe that it has, in general, a good deal to recommend it.

[62] O'Hara (1996) 75–6.

[63] O'Hara (1996) 82–6.

[64] O'Hara (1996) 86–88.

[65] Acrostics will not be relevant to my discussion; I include them here as a matter of completeness and due to their relationship with much-maligned anagrams (see n. 67).

[66] Cicero, *De Div.* 2.54§111. The Aratean acrostic imitates an acrostic in Homer at *Iliad* 24.1–5, ΛΕΥΚΗ. For a full bibliography of work on ancient acrostics, up-to-date as of 2003, see Damschen (2003), with some more recent bibliography provided by Katz (2008). There are some modern attempts to see ancient acrostics, however, which I find completely untenable: in particular, Janssens (1981), which claims to find the name of C. Ateius Capito embedded several times in Ovid's *Ibis* and *Tr.* 5.11.23–9.

[67] Haslam (1992) 203 rightly points out that "anagrams have much in common with acrostics, both theoretically (a matter of camouflage) and historically (Lycophron's ἀπὸ μέλιτος comes to mind)." For ἀπὸ μέλιτος, see n. 68.

half-line *pulsa palus* (*Aen.* 7.702), as well as pointing out that as serious a philosopher as Plato includes theories of anagrams in the *Cratylus.*[68]

In most of the aforementioned types of wordplay, we can imagine ancient readers taking as much delight in noticing and solving them as people today take in solving crosswords; indeed, the American "straightforward" crossword and British cryptic crossword cover between them most of these types of wordplay. And the same, I argue, is true of the poets' use of mythic variation—readers would enjoy teasing out the spoken and unspoken strands of myth and observing the layered dimensions of meaning added to the text by the play of contradictions. Of course, enjoyment was not the only reason for these—as I shall argue, the meaning of the text frequently derives in large part from unspoken and hidden elements of the text.

The three case studies that follow are bound together by the common threads of inquiry that I have laid out above. I hope to show that the Roman poets did, in fact, offer the reader text-free "intermythical" associations and resonances as well as specific intertextual allusions. Further, the mode of reading that I demonstrate can, I believe, be applied to nearly all Roman mythological poetry; the following is merely a sampling.

A note on names and transliterations

For the Olympian gods, who mostly have very distinct names in Greek and Roman literature, I attempt to choose the name according to literary context. Thus I may sometimes jump between, for example, Neptune and Poseidon in the same sentence, if I am discussing how a Roman author alludes to a Greek text. If I am speaking of a god in the abstract, I will tend to use the Greek name. Transliteration similarly depends on context and familiarity. As a general rule, I will go with "Hercules" and "Heracles" (not "Herakles"), but I restrict myself to "Achilles" (unless "Achilleus" is demanded by a need for clarity). At the same time, to avoid confusion, I call Apollonius Rhodius's epic the *Argonautika* and Valerius Flaccus's the *Argonautica*. Hopefully readers will not find the inconsistencies too bewildering or frustrating.

Textual searches of the ancient corpus were performed using Peter Heslin's Diogenes v.3.1.6 on the TLG disc E and the PHI discs 5 and 7.

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[68] Ahl (1985) 44–54, looking at Plato, Vergil, and Ovid. At *Cratylus* 395D–E, for instance, Socrates proposes that ταλάντατον is behind Tantalus's name. (See Sedley [1998] on the etymologies of the *Cratylus*, whether anagrammatic or otherwise.) Tzetzes (*Schol. Lyc.* p. 5.6–8 Scheer) records, perhaps spuriously (Cameron [1995b] 481–2, but cf. West [1984] 129n11), that Lycophron invented anagrams, including two on the names of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe (ἀπὸ μέλιτος and Ἥρας ἴον, respectively). Cameron (1995b) disputes the existence of non-etymological anagrams in antiquity, but the example he chooses from Ahl (1985) to prove that "almost all the cases that carry any conviction at all are etymological associations of one sort or another" (479) first of all ignores the presence of a secondary and non-etymological anagram in the same line and, secondly, does not take into account the existence of such half-line anagrams as *pulsa palus*: "Verg. *Aen.* 8.322–3, *LATIUmque vocari / maluit, his quoniam LATUIsset [tutus] in oris*. The reader is clearly encouraged to look for the meaning of the name here, scarcely an anagram as we understand the term, since it is the very similarity of the words that is held to justify connecting them" (479). The presence of *maluit* at the beginning of 8.323 defies Cameron's dismissal of non-etymological anagrammatic play in these lines; *contra* Harrison (1986), who believes that intentional anagrammatic play in such cases "seems fundamentally unlikely. The error here is not to find anagrams but to ascribe them to the poet" (237).

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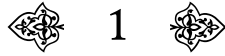
Fathers and Sons

Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes,
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell.
                                    Ding dong.
Hark, now I hear them.
                                    Ding dong bell.
                    - W. Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act I, Scene 2

One of the most basic types of variation that we find in ancient mythology is genealogical variation, effectively posing the question of who a hero's parents are.[69] If there are competing answers, the reason often pertains to local identity, or it may hint at a deeper level of mythological significance that informs the hero's own identity.[70] This chapter will focus on one instance of genealogical variation, the two fathers of Theseus; how these alternate traditions and, by extension, the character of Theseus come into play in Ovid's poetry; and what the broader poetic significances of Ovid's choices are.[71]

In terms of mythic thought, conflicting genealogical traditions do not insist on our choosing between them. Both Poseidon *and* Aegeus can be understood to have fathered Theseus; in other words, he actually has two fathers.[72] Mythic variants which seem to conflict are not necessarily mutually exclusive; therefore, invoking the tradition that calls Poseidon the father of Theseus does not mean automatically denying that Aegeus is his father, nor vice versa.[73] When a hero's mother sleeps with a mortal and an immortal lover in the same night,

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[69] See Introduction, p. 4.

[70] For instance, a mortal father may tie the hero to a given locale through hereditary autochthony, while a divine father frequently bestows particular attributes (cleverness, hubris, etc.).

[71] I do not consider Theseus in the exile poetry (unless the double *Heroides* are post-exilic), but this topic has recently been ably explored in Trimble (2010).

[72] Scholars generally understand Theseus's dual paternity to be a fusion of the tradition at Troezen (Poseidon as father) and the tradition at Athens (Aegeus as father)—see, e.g., Barrett (1964) 2 and 333–4 *ad* 887, Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 18, *RE* Suppl. 13, 1053.36–1057.24. There is no hard evidence for these ideas, however, and the two facets of Theseus's character may argue otherwise; see n. 73. The possible origins of the dual paternity are not relevant for later engagement with the tradition; e.g., Walker (1995) 83 makes the argument that in Bacchylides' two surviving dithyrambs on Theseus (17 and 18), the hero, "who should be the prototype of the autochthonous citizens of Athens, is in fact an embarrassing counterexample to all these proud assertions by the Athenians, and he is clearly cut off from the land that gave birth to them all."

[73] See, e.g., Bulloch (*forthcoming*): "The dual paternity is typical for someone of Theseus' status and is not to be explained away as some kind of inconsistency or contradiction ('who was his *real* father?'): the duality is a fundamental feature designed to convey that the hero's nature and role contain an element of the supra-human. At the same time, it does make a critical difference who the divine father is." Walker (1995) makes much of the

as Theseus's mother Aethra did, the result is usually twins, one semi-divine and one mortal.[74] Theseus, by contrast, incorporates both halves within himself.[75] His retrieval of Aegeus's sword and sandals from under the stone where Aegeus left them proves him the irrefutable son of the Athenian king,[76] but he also displays clear indications of his descent from Poseidon: three curses granted by his divine father, his welcome by Poseidon and Amphitrite into their underwater kingdom, and a lifelong association with bulls.[77]

Today, the tradition is most strikingly and fully preserved in Bacchylides 17, which tells of an encounter between Theseus and Minos on board the ship that was taking the Minotaur's Athenian victims to Crete. The two of them faced off over Minos's treatment of one of the female captives, Theseus backing his defense of the maiden with a boast that his father was Poseidon. Minos in turn asserted that his own father was Zeus and proceeded to prove it by calling thunder out of a clear sky. When Minos then ordered Theseus to prove his divine

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troubling ambiguities that arise from Bacchylides 17 and 18, the former focusing on Poseidon's claim to Theseus's paternity, the latter on Aegeus's claim.

[74] e.g., Heracles and Iphicles or Pollux and Castor. (In the latter case, there is occasional dispute as to which twin is the son of Zeus and which the son of Tyndareus.) Eurytus and Cteatus were a pair of Siamese twins who also may have had a double paternity, Actor and Poseidon (cf. ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.2§139). Theseus is, therefore, a rare bird. However, Hyginus attributes a similar double paternity to Meleager: *cum Althaea Thestii filia una nocte concubuerunt Oeneus et Mars, ex quibus . . . esset natus Meleager* ("Oeneus and Mars lay with Althaea, daughter of Thestius, in a single night, and Meleager was born from them," *Fab.* 171). In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells how two gods, Apollo and Mercury, lay with Chione one after the other; she subsequently produces twins, Philammon and Autolycus, each one with a very clear paternity (11.301–16). See Dasen (1997) on the concept of "superfecundation," the simultaneous conception of two children from different fathers, and its prevalence in Greek mythology. Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 19 argues that "the motif of double paternity was not created **in order** to express the hero's ambivalent nature, which was anyway best expressed through parentage of [one divine and one mortal parent]. . . . It must be concluded the 'double paternity' motif emerged as a result of the juxtaposition in the same version of the legend of the alternatives a) [two mortal parents] and b) [one mortal, one divine parent]." However, this postulate does not take into account the accompanying tradition of twins.

[75] Alternatively, or additionally, Theseus supplies his "missing" twin with a spiritual twin—Pirithous, his inseparable other half.

[76] Even though it is not specified in our surviving texts that no one else could have lifted the stone, folkloric comparanda (motifs H31.1, H31.9) suggest that this is a task which only the true heir could perform (cf. tales of the sword in the stone, etc.; tokens left for a future child after a one-night stand are ATU873 and motif T645). Cf. *RE* Suppl. 13, 1057.26–34. In addition, if Aegeus did *not* father Theseus, then Pittheus's solution to the Delphic oracle's riddle regarding Aegeus's "wineskin" was incorrect.

[77] There are some efforts by ancient authors to explain away this double paternity. Plutarch (*Thes.* 6.1) claims that the story of Poseidon having sired Theseus was merely a false cover spread about by Pittheus and Aethra to hide her brief fling with Aegeus. This is a literalization of a *topos* often found in the mythic narrative, where someone *claims* (or believes) that the story of divine insemination is only a cover story (e.g., Epaphus and Phaëthon at Ov. *Met.* 1.750–64, Cadmus and Semele at Nonn. *Dion.* 7.328–39). Hyginus preserves a justification for Aegeus as the sole father of Theseus: *Neptunus quod ex ea natum esset Aegeo concessit* (*Fab.* 37). Elsewhere, however, Hyginus does acknowledge Neptune's paternity (*Fabb.* 47, 187). Servius gets around the problem by writing Neptune out of the picture entirely, saying on two occasions (at *Aen.* 6.445, 7.761) that Theseus prayed to his father *Aegeus* to grant his wish and destroy Hippolytus, at which point Aegeus sent a *seal* to terrify his grandson's horses! Poseidon's connection with bulls manifests, mythologically, in the two bulls from the sea: that which Poseidon sent to Minos for sacrifice, and that which he sent to destroy Hippolytus. In religious terms, Poseidon sometimes bears the epithet ταύρειος ([Hes.] *Scut.* 104). Euripides' *Hippolytus* would likely have been the most influential ancient text to follow the tradition of Poseidon as Theseus's father, containing as it does the curse levied by Theseus against Hippolytus through the paternal power of Poseidon. Euripides' lost *Theseus* may have contained another of the wishes granted by Poseidon; cf. Mills (1997) 213–14, 254, citing the scholia at Eur. *Hipp.* 46: μίαν μὲν ᾐτήσατο τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐξ Ἀΐδου, δευτέραν ἐκ λαβυρίνθου, τρίτην <τὸ> τῷ Ἱππολύτῳ <θάνατον πεμφθῆναι> ("he used one wish to come up from Hades, a second to escape from the labyrinth, the third for death to be sent against Hippolytus").

parentage by retrieving Minos's ring from the ocean floor, Theseus jumped overboard and entered the realm of Poseidon and Amphitrite, where he was warmly welcomed, entertained by dancing choruses of Nereids, and given gifts:

φέρον δὲ δελφῖνες {ἐν} ἁλι-
　　ναιέται μέγαν θοῶς
Θησέα πατρὸς ἱπ-
　　πίου δόμον· ἔμολέν τε θεῶν　　　　100
　　μέγαρον. τόθι κλυτὰς
ἰδὼν ἔδεισε Νηρέος ὀλ-
　　βίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαῶν
　　λάμπε γυίων σέλας
ὧτε πυρός, ἀμφὶ χαίταις　　　　　105
　　δὲ χρυσεόπλοκοι
δίνηντο ταινίαι· χορῷ
　　δ' ἔτερπον κέαρ ὑγροῖσιν ἐν ποσίν.
εἶδέν τε πατρὸς ἄλοχον φίλαν
σεμνὰν βοῶπιν ἐρατοῖ-　　　　　110
　　σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις·
ἅ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν ἀϊόνα πορφυρέαν,
κόμαισί τ' ἐπέθηκεν οὔ-
　　λαις ἀμεμφέα πλόκον,
τόν ποτέ οἱ ἐν γάμῳ　　　　　　115
δῶκε δόλιος Ἀφροδίτα ῥόδοις ἐρεμνόν.
　　　　　　　　　(Bacchylides, *Ode* 17.97–116)

And sea-dwelling dolphins swiftly carried great Theseus to the home of his father, lord of horses; and he came to the hall of the gods. There, seeing the famous daughters of wealthy Nereus, he was afraid; for a gleam like fire was radiating from their shining limbs, and gold-woven ribbons were eddying around their hair; and they were delighting their hearts in a dance with their pliant feet. And he saw his father's dear, holy wife, ox-eyed Amphitrite, in their lovely home; she cast around him a purple garment, and she placed on his curly hair a blameless wreath, dusky with roses, which once wily Aphrodite gave to her during her marriage.

From surviving visual evidence, this scene of Theseus's underwater reception seems to have been a popular subject for Athenian vase-painters in the 5th century BC, around the time when Bacchylides wrote his dithyramb.[78] In addition, Pausanias tells us that a contemporary painting by Micon in the Theseion at Athens depicted a part of this story.[79]

　　While there are no surviving Roman treatments of the subject in the visual arts,[80] nor

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[78] For a catalogue and discussion of some of these images, see Jacobsthal (1911) and Brommer (1982) 77–83. Others can be found in Dobrowolski (1972), Pollitt (1987), and *LIMC* vol. VII, Theseus 36, 219–27 (VII.A-D). The vast majority of surviving depictions are of Attic production; however, the story does appear elsewhere: for instance, *LIMC* Theseus 223 is a black-figure vase from Thasos, while *LIMC* Theseus 225 is a Melian relief.

[79] Paus. 1.17.3. Pausanias gives a fairly full account of the story, noting that it was not well-known in his time and that the painting made little sense without narrative background. The apparent popularity of the subject in the 5th century has been taken by some to be a propagandistic promotion of Athenian naval power; see, e.g., Mills (1997) 36–8, Harrison (1976), and Calame (2007) 267–70. Smith (1898) tries to separate out instances of a "Minos's ring" story from a "Theseus visits Poseidon" story.

[80] Harrison (1976) and Möbius (1965) argue for this story as the subject of the image on the Portland Vase. There is really nothing definite to promote this reading of the vase over any of the numerous other suggestions, however.

any surviving narration of Theseus's visit to Poseidon,[81] the tradition of Poseidon as Theseus's father, and even Theseus's underwater journey, were certainly known to the Romans. Aristocratic Romans who visited Greece for educational pursuits, or later for sheer tourism, would not have failed to pay visits to the country's famed monuments and works of art.[82] Southern Italy and Etruria were large-scale importers of Corinthian and Athenian pottery, including, specifically, the cup of Euphronios which depicts Theseus's undersea journey in the tondo.[83] And the tradition of Poseidon as Theseus's father is certainly alluded to in literature, even if the story itself is not directly narrated.

Ovid, in particular, repeatedly proves himself familiar with the tradition, calling Hippolytus and Demophoon the grandsons of Neptune in the *Remedia Amoris* and the *Heroides*, respectively,[84] and referring to Theseus on three occasions as *Neptunius heros*.[85] Recent scholars tend not to agree with Parry's original supposition that in Homeric verse, epithets and patronymics were chosen according to a strict metrical adherence and that "the epithet has no bearing on the idea of the sentence";[86] in Roman epic, the matter is even less contentious. Heinze observes that Vergil may use "stock characterizing epithets . . . follow[ing] traditional epic practice; but . . . he is careful to illustrate them in the action."[87] Despite this awareness of poetic selection, however, patronymics—perhaps *because* they are less able to be "illustrated in the action"—still frequently slip under the wire.[88] I intend to demonstrate that *Neptunius heros* is not used for Theseus on any occasion simply as a stock epithet.[89]

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[81] With the exception of Hyginus, *Astron.* 2.5.3–4, which, as an essentially mythographic text, may be drawing on primarily Greek sources.

[82] On Roman tourism in Greece, see Stumpf (2003), esp. pp. 92–168.

[83] Louvre G 104. The cup's find-spot was Caere (modern Cerveteri), in Etruria; for a recent (and correspondingly up-to-date) assessment of the Etruscan predilection for Athenian vases, see Spivey (2007).

[84] *parces, Neptune, **nepoti**, / nec faciet pavidos taurus **avitus** equos* ("may you spare your **grandson**, Neptune, and not let the **grandfather's** bull make the horses shy," Ov. *Rem. Am.* 743–4); *perque tuum mihi iurasti (nisi fictus et ille est), / concita qui ventis aequora mulcet, **avum*** ("and you swore to me by your **grandfather** (unless he has been invented), who soothes the waters riled by the winds," Ov. *Her.* 2.37–8).

[85] *Her.* 4.109, *Her.* 16.21, *Met.* 9.1. Housman (1920) 299–300 also emended a corrupt couplet in the *Ibis* (447–8) to read as an oblique allusion to Theseus's descent from Poseidon; I do not think, however, that his emendation can be sustained by the context of the passage in which it occurs (see Chapter 2, p. 90, n. 447), and I much prefer to follow those (e.g., Rosen [1988]) who understand the couplet as an allusion to Hipponax. Leaving aside Housman's conjecture of *Pittheides*, Theseus is named directly or via periphrasis 67 times in Ovid. In the *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Fasti*, and *Ibis*, he is invariably "Theseus" (1 time, 6 times, 5 times, and 2 times, respectively). In the single *Heroides* he is "Theseus" 15 times, *Aegides* once, and *Neptunius heros* once. In the double *Heroides* he is "Theseus" 4 times and *Aegides* and *Neptunius heros* once each. In both the *Tristia* and the *Ex Ponto*, he is "Theseus" 4 times in each and *Aegides* once in each. Finally, in the *Metamorphoses*, he is "Theseus" 13 times, *Neptunius heros* once, *Cecropides* once, and *Aegides* 5 times. The weight given to the patronymic *Aegides* in the *Metamorphoses* is clear; in no other Ovidian poem or set of poems does it occur more than once. I shall discuss the significance of *Aegides* below (see pp. 26ff).

[86] Parry (1930) 73. *Contra* Parry: e.g., Higbie (1995), Shive (1987), Whallon (1961).

[87] Heinze (1993) 228–9.

[88] For instance, every commentary that I have consulted on *Neptunius heros* at *Met.* 9.1 (its only appearance in the epic) says only something more or less approximating "in some traditions, Theseus was the son of Neptune." Kenney (2011) *ad Met.* 9.1–3 does, however, make the incisive point that *Neptunius heros* and *Calydonius amnis* correspond precisely. Commentators on Ovid's non-epic works have fared better; see, for instance, Casali (1995) 221–2 on the use of *Aegides* at *Her.* 4.59. An example of a profitable study in the choice between direct name, patronymic, periphrasis, and so forth in an epic is Edwards's (1999) investigation of Hercules in Valerius Flaccus.

[89] In fact, *Neptunius heros* does not seem to be a stock phrase at all. In all of extant Latin literature, the periphrasis is used just four times, three in Ovid and one in Statius (*Theb.* 12.588), only ever referring to Theseus. Statius also once calls Theseus *Neptunius Theseus* (*Theb.* 12.665). Other descendants and children of Neptune, such

However, frequently Ovid does not give us very much to go on. He tells Theseus's story in such a way as to never have to choose how to narrate its various contradictory aspects; in fact, he really never tells Theseus's story at all. Sara Mack has well demonstrated the near-invisibility of Theseus in the *Metamorphoses*. Although she suggests, as a possibility, the idea that "Ovid perhaps especially dislike[d] Theseus," her observation that Ovid tells a "nonstory about Theseus" is far more insightful.[90] For whatever reason, Theseus is fairly absent from Ovidian narrative, but this is not a case of out of sight, out of mind.[91] Instead, throughout Ovid's poetry, Theseus's very absence becomes an almost palpable presence. When the hero does show up, it is more frequently outside the bounds of his own story than within it.

Born from Stone, Nursed by Stone, with a Heart of Stone

Theseus is most visibly absent in the *Heroides*, where an entire poem is dedicated to his absence. There, in the tenth letter of the *Heroides*, an abandoned and terrified Ariadne castigates the vanished Theseus with words that echo centuries of poetic tradition: "*nec pater est Aegeus,*" Ariadne writes to the absent hero, "*nec tu Pittheidos Aethrae / filius; auctores saxa fretumque tui!*" ("Your father was not Aegeus, nor are you the son of Pittheus's daughter Aethra; rocks and the sea spawned you!" Ov. *Her.* 10.131–2). This invective, so justly delivered by Ariadne against her faithless paramour, takes the form of a common *topos* of Greek and Latin literature. Ovid is doing something very specific here, however, and we need to look at the developmental history of the *topos* to see the precise implications of Ariadne's phrasing.[92]

Our oldest example is a complaint addressed by Patroclus to Achilles in the *Iliad*, rebuking him for allowing the Myrmidons and other Greeks to die by refusing to return to battle:

> νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεύς,
> οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα
> πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.   35
> (Homer, *Iliad* 16.33–5)

> Pitiless man, your father was not the horseman Peleus, nor was Thetis your mother; but the grey sea bore you, and the untraversable cliffs, given that your mind is harsh.

This seems, on the surface, a fairly basic sentiment, and later authors pick it up and elaborate on it until it becomes a complex bundle of themes. We can witness the gradual accretion of more and more particulars, as each author tries to refer to previous implementations of the *topos* and simultaneously to express originality.

While the precise details vary, the basic pattern of the *topos* tends to remain the same: a fleeing or otherwise obdurate lover is accused of being nursed by or descended from exotic

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as Hippomenes and Cycnus, are called *proles Neptunia*, a periphrasis which is never used of Theseus but appears to be the stock epithet for Neptune's other offspring. Vergil: Messapus (*Aen.* 7.691, 9.523, 10.353, 12.128); Ovid: Hippomenes (*Met.* 10.639, 665), Cycnus (*Met.* 12.72); Valerius Flaccus: Erginus (1.415), Amycus (4.150, 213, 256); anonymous: Polyphemus (fr. 55 Blänsd.). (Some MSS transmit *Neptunia proles* for the people of Onchestus at Stat. *Theb.* 7.271, but the majority read *plebes*.) *Hapax legomena* are *Neptunius incola* of Polyphemus ([Tib.] 3.7.56) and *Neptunium iuvenem* of Cygnus (Sen. *Troad.* 183–4). Sextus Pompey is, of course, *Neptunius dux* at Hor. *Epod.* 9.7–8.

[90] Mack (1988) 136–41. Both quotations derive from page 140.

[91] Mack (1988) 141 believes that Ovid's treatment of Theseus is an example of his experimentation with "the many ways a story can be told: one way is not to tell it at all. In order to make your reader see that you are not telling it, you have to bring it to his attention and then move off in another direction."

[92] For extensive discussions of the *topos*, see Weinreich (1959) and Navarro Antolín (1996) 391–411.

beasts or mythological monsters, or occasionally from a notable geographic feature such as the Caucasus mountains. Often an explicit refutation of the lover's human (or divine) parentage precedes the accusation; such invective serves, essentially, to establish a hereditary precedent for the hero's inhuman pitilessness by identifying the hero's actual parents as monstrous and inhuman.[93] Although in surviving examples from Greek literature the speaker is usually male,[94] in Latin literature it becomes the norm for an abandoned woman to hurl the accusation at her departing lover.[95] We have nine surviving full implementations of the *topos* prior to Ovid, and Ovid himself adds seven more.[96] Each of these is comprised of a different combination of elements, which I see as falling into seven approximate categories:

1. Denial of the hero's specific parents or ancestors, by name.
2. Birth from the sea.
3. Birth from, or among, things made of stone (rocks, cliffs, mountains, etc).
4. Birth from or nursing by a wild beast.
5. Birth from female monsters.
6. Birth from, or rearing in, the wilderness.
7. Hero is made of stone or iron.[97]

Table 1 allows us to see, in a general way, the influence of one author on another, although the

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[93] The implementation of the *topos* by Lygdamus (see n. 96) inverts precisely this aspect: he is astonished at Neaera's betrayal precisely because she is *not* descended from a panoply of monsters but rather from *longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater / isque pater quo non alter amabilior* ("a mother far and away the most gentle of all other women, and a father than whom no other is more lovable," *Corp. Tib.* 4.93–4). Cf. also Byblis' address to Caunus at *Met.* 9.613–15. In the ancient world, character was understood to be imbued through breast-milk, whether of the mother or of the wet-nurse, so that finding a nurse of good character was of paramount importance. Cf. Aul. Gell. 12.1, Plut. *Cato the Elder* 22.3. Thanks to Jörn Soerink for conveying some very interesting information on the topic of ancient wet-nursing.

[94] In Greek literature: Hom. *Il.* 16.33–5 (Patroclus to Achilles), Eur. *Med.* 1342–3 (Jason to Medea), Eur. *Bacchae* 988–91 (chorus to Pentheus), Theoc. *Id.* 3.15–16 (about Eros), Ps-Theoc. *Id.* 23.19–20 (*erastes* to *eromenos*). The relationship of Patroclus and Achilles has been discussed since antiquity, but a number of parallels and allusions suggest that they were lovers as well as alter-egos—the subsequent use of this *topos* in primarily sexual relationships is but one indication of the way they were perceived by the Greeks. See Clarke (1978) for a full perusal and evaluation of the Homeric material on this point.

[95] In Latin literature, prior to Ovid: Cat. 60 (Catullus to, possibly, Lesbia), Cat. 64.154–6 (Ariadne to Theseus), Verg. *Ecl.* 8.43–5 (about Amor) and Verg. *Aen.* 4.365–7 (Dido to Aeneas). Horace also makes a passing allusion to the *topos* at 3.10.11–12 (addressed to Lyce).

[96] Ovid uses the *topos* in echo of Catullus 64 at *Her.* 10.131–2 (Ariadne to Theseus) and in echo of the *Aeneid* at *Her.* 7.37–40 (Dido to Aeneas). He constructs a triptych of versions of the *topos* in the central books of the *Metamorphoses*, from a hypothetical use at *Met.* 7.32–3 (Medea, regarding herself) to a full-blown version of the *topos* at *Met.* 8.120–5 (Scylla to Minos) to, essentially, a *recusatio* of the *topos* at *Met.* 9.613–15 (Byblis about Caunus). Outside of Ovid's mythological poetry, two versions of the *topos* also appear in the *Tristia*, at 1.8.37–44 and 3.11.3–4. Finally, a Lygdamus poem in the *Corpus Tibullianum* features a reversal of the *topos* at 3.4.85–94 (Lygdamus to Neaera); whether this poem dates from before or after Ovid is a perennially unanswerable question (although for a recent appraisal of the issue and the current state of scholarship see Navarro Antolín [1996] 3–20, who believes that Lygdamus is a Flavian author).

[97] Ps-Theocritus uses the adjective λάϊνος (*Id.* 23.20). Ovid in particular seems to have picked this up, perhaps inspired by Tib. 1.1.63–4 (professing that the soft-hearted Delia will weep when he dies), as a variation in which the heart contains or is surrounded by stone, flint, iron, or adamant. The appearance of both this category and category 3 in *Tr.* 1.8 and 3.11 prevents us from combining the two into a single category. Ariadne also in fact invokes this category of the *topos* independently from her outburst at *Her.* 10.131–2; at *Her.* 10.107–10, she repeatedly utters variations on the theme of a heart of stone, in direct opposition to Tibullus's formulation.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Iliad 16	■	■	■				
Medea				■	■		
Bacchae				■	■		
Theoc. 3				■		■	
Ps-Theoc. 23				■			■
Catullus 60			■	■	■		
Catullus 64		■		■	■		
Ecl. 8			■				
Aen. 4	■			■	■		
Her. 7		■	■	■		■	
Her. 10	■	■	■				
Met. 7		■	■	■			■
Met. 8	■	■	■		■		
Met. 9				■			■
Tr. 1.8			■	■			■
Tr. 3.11		■	■	■			■
Lygdamus		■	■	■	■	■	

1. denial of parents; | birth from: 2. sea, 3. stone, 4. beast, 5. monster, 6. wilderness; | 7. made of stone

Table 1. The development of the unnatural birth topos.

specific variations within each group tell a more detailed story of influence and allusion.

Although we have no surviving versions of the *topos* between Homer and Euripides, Euripides transforms it in such a way as to suggest that he is adapting an already-well-known pattern:[98] in the *Medea*, he does not describe unnatural birth (as do all other implementations) but rather the unnatural nature of Medea herself, who is directly assimilated to a lioness and Scylla. Neither of these elements shows up in the Homeric version, and Euripides seems to be playing with an already established *topos*; as Jeri DeBrohun has observed, "Medea herself is specifically characterized in terms of her own role as monstrous mother,"[99] a characterization that is less rhetorically effective without the weight of tradition behind it.[100] Euripides' other use of the *topos*, in the *Bacchae*, follows the traditional implementation (the chorus accuses Pentheus of unnatural birth) but contains the same elements (categories 4 and 5) as his *Medea* version. If Euripides had only used the *topos* this once, it would be reasonable to suggest that he himself had made the changes to Homer. As it is, however, it seems more probable that we

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[98] We can use the generalizing breakdown of Table 1 to make suggestions about lost variants of the *topos*. For example, it seems plausible that there was, by Euripides' time, at least one other well-known implementation of the *topos* that varied significantly from Homer's, featuring a lioness (category 4) and some female monster (likely Scylla, category 5), although see n. 101. The lioness (and later tigress) as mother or nurse (category 4) shows up in every single example of the *topos* after Homer with three exceptions: *Eclogues* 8 (which is, nevertheless, clearly indebted to Theocritus 3), Horace *Odes* 3.10 (which is only a partial implementation of the *topos* and is not included in Table 1), and *Heroides* 10.

[99] DeBrohun (1999) 428.

[100] As Garrison (1995) observes in his note on the *topos* as used in Catullus 60, "its literary pedigree . . . makes it more effective than if it had been a purely original and spontaneous outburst."

are missing at least one influential example between Homer and Euripides.[101] Nonetheless, it does little harm to allow Euripides' *Medea* and the *Iliad* to stand as a joint *locus classicus* for future instances.

My purpose here is not to provide a detailed accounting of the *topos*'s evolution and variation for its own sake but to establish the tradition in which Ovid was working when he composed Ariadne's attack on Theseus's parentage in *Heroides* 10. On a general level, by uttering this rebuke, Ovid's Ariadne claims an affinity with other spurned heroines such as her immediate literary ancestress, the Ariadne of Catullus 64, or Dido in Book 4 of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The exact phrasing of the passage, however, traces out a different literary genealogy, namely a direct line of descent from Homer. Following centuries of branching and flowering and a generally ever-increasing baroqueness of the *topos*, it is notable and, I believe, significant that Ovid's Ariadne returns so starkly, so simply, to the original Homeric form. In imitation of Patroclus's denial that Peleus and Thetis were Achilles' parents, Ariadne explicitly denies Theseus's parentage of Aethra and Aegeus.[102] She omits mention of lions, tigers, Scylla, Charybdis, or any named geographical feature such as the Syrtes or the Caucasus mountains. Instead, again like Patroclus, she only mentions rocks and the sea. Why this sudden reversion, almost a regression, to the *topos*'s oldest and most basic form?[103]

I propose two reasons for the shift, one literary and one mythological. To begin with, the primary model for *Heroides* 10 as a whole is Catullus 64; it serves as a source text for the later poem.[104] Every choice that Ovid makes must therefore be considered in the light of how it relates to that earlier text. Although Catullus's Ariadne, too, casts aspersions on the nature of Theseus's parents, in her implementation of the *topos* she clearly adheres to the "Euripidean" form of the *topos*, thus placing a particular emphasis on the monstrosity of Theseus's mother:[105]

> quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena,
> quod mare conceptum spumantibus exspuit undis,   155
> quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis,
> talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita?
> (Catullus, 64.154–7)

What lioness bore you beneath a lonely crag, what sea, having conceived you, spat you from its foaming waves, what Syrtis, what rapacious Scylla, what vast Charybdis—you who offer back such rewards in return for sweet life?

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[101] It is possible, of course, that Euripides did make the changes himself, and that in the *Bacchae* he is not employing a standard *topos* but is rather engaging his own earlier description of Medea. Scholars have also argued for a lost Hellenistic example of the *topos* prior to Theocritus; see, for example, Lieberg (1966).

[102] This aspect of the *topos* (category 1) does not appear in surviving Greek examples of the *topos* other than Homer; the closest is the assertion of the chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae* that Pentheus is not born ἐξ αἵματος γυναικῶν ("from women's blood," 988–90). Vergil finally reincorporates this feature in the *Aeneid*.

[103] As we can see from Table 1, this is the only occasion on which Ovid—or any author after Homer—employs so basic a form of the *topos*.

[104] Cf. Knox (1995) 233–4. Each epistle of the *Heroides* has one or two primary source texts with which Ovid is continuously engaging and to which many of his heroines' comments respond (see Knox [2002] 123ff; Anderson [1896] explores the *Heroides*' intertexts with what he imagines to be the most prominent ancient versions, often based on "clues" from within the poems). As Verducci (1985) 82 puts it, "the words of most of Ovid's heroines exercise a calculated challenge, by way of parody, to an earlier literary prototype." There are also numerous secondary sources, of course; see Jacobson (1974) 213–15 for discussion of the possible influences on *Heroides* 10.

[105] DeBrohun (1999) 427: "If we look closely at Ariadne's scornful questions, we see that it is the identity of Theseus' mother on which she is especially fixated in these lines. . . . She restricts herself to female monsters as possible progenitors for Theseus."

DeBrohun has highlighted a number of important issues for Catullus's epyllion devolving from this attack on Theseus's maternity, including a correspondence between Theseus and Medea, his stepmother.[106] Ovid, however, is making a clear statement of departure from the Catullan model (thus setting aside the issues raised therein) by returning to the earliest form of the *topos* rather than following his literary exemplar. Instead of following Catullus's gesture toward Euripides' Medea, Ovid is gesturing, through Homer, to Achilles' parents, as we have already observed. Catullus's Theseus and Ariadne are ecphrastically embedded in a frame of the wedding of those same parents, Peleus and Thetis; Ovid has, therefore, neatly reversed the framing device, so that his reworking of Catullus's embedded ecphrasis contains, in turn, an embedded allusion to Catullus's frame narrative.

The allusion to Peleus and Thetis is more than a literary reversal, however. The scholia to the *Iliad* preserve for us an ancient allegorical reading of Patroclus's claim which understands Patroclus as reducing both sides of Achilles' parentage to the elemental forms of their dwelling places:

> ὅρα δέ, πῶς αὐτὰ τὰ δυσχερῆ δοκοῦντα πρὸς τὰς τῶν γονέων ἁρμόζουσιν οἰκήσεις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ τὸ Πήλιον ὄρος, ἡ δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν.
>
> <div align="right">(T-scholia at Iliad 16.34–5)</div>

> And notice how these things, seeming unfriendly, fit with the dwelling places of his parents; for he [Peleus] dwells on Mount Pelion and she [Thetis] in the sea.

Thus Achilles' mother, the sea-nymph Thetis, is replaced by the sea, and Peleus, whose name was connected to Mount Pelion by a common folk-etymology,[107] is replaced by cliffs. Even without reading the passage as strictly allegorical, Patroclus can still be understood as emphasizing a real correspondence between Achilles' mother and an element that is proverbial for its cruelty and injustice.[108] I propose that Ovid chose to use the Homeric version as his model for exactly that reason, namely that one of Achilles' parents was a sea goddess and that Patroclus was, by subtly alluding to this fact, underscoring Achilles' cruel nature.[109] Specifically, I see in Ariadne's words an allusion to the tradition of Theseus's double paternity, in which Theseus was almost literally sired by the sea.[110]

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[106] DeBrohun (1999). On the relationship between Theseus and Medea, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1979).

[107] cf. Eustathius 1043.6; also see under *Peleus* in *RE* 19:1, 271.35–272.41.

[108] For examples of this trope, see Pease (1943). We may also compare Eustathius's paraphrase of Patroclus's accusation: καὶ θαλάσσης μὲν ἔκγονον σύ, ὥς που καὶ Κύκλωψ ὁ ἀγριώτατος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐκείνῳ τοῦ θαλασσίου περιᾴδεται Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς εἶναι ("and you are the sea's offspring, just as also the most savage Cyclops and anyone else like him is said to be a son of oceanic Poseidon," 1043.6–7). However, Dobrowolski (1972) 10 argues that the sea was the arbiter of justice for the Greeks, citing Solon fr. 11 Diehl[3]. In fact, the sea may be just in the same way as Minos—too just to be kind—but in addition, the Solon fragment actually is very ambiguous in its import: ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν / μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη ("and the sea is riled by the winds; but if none moves it, it is the most equitable of all things," Solon fr. 12 West = fr. 11 Diehl[3] = Plut. *Sol.* 3.6).

[109] Ovid himself also points elsewhere to the connection between cruelty and a sea-goddess mother: *Aeacidae Chiron, ego sum praeceptor Amoris: / saevus uterque puer, natus uterque dea* ("As Chiron was the teacher of Aeacus's descendant *[=Achilles]*, I am the teacher of Love: each boy cruel, each born from a goddess," *Ars Am.* 1.17–18). Venus and Thetis are not just goddesses, but goddesses who originate in the sea.

[110] Barchiesi (1993a) 347 suggests this point as well: "At 10,132 *auctores saxa fretumque tui* is again a topos . . . but it comes near to reality if one pauses to think that Theseus is either the son of Poseidon or of a man who is going to give his name to the Aegean sea." It is also worth considering that Theseus's double paternity may actually

Like Patroclus, who asserts that the sea, not a sea-goddess, is Achilles' mother, Ariadne replaces the god of the sea with the sea itself. I am understanding an elided step in Ariadne's rhetoric here, specifically an omission of any direct reference to Neptune. The fuller and un-elided idea behind her rhetoric would go something like this: "You don't have two fathers, you only have one; actually, even that story is false, it was not the sea *god* but the sea itself which fathered you." Thanks to the Homeric formulation of the *topos*, the ellipsis can readily be restored by the reader.[111] By following Patroclus's condemnation of Achilles as closely as she does, Ariadne simultaneously implies that a marine deity is Theseus's parent and reduces that divine parent to his more wild and lawless metonymic equivalent.[112] The accusation makes Theseus a bastard twice over, depriving him of Athenian autochthony and semi-divinity in one fell swoop.[113]

Son of Neptune

As a general rule, the sons of Poseidon are something less than laudable; among their ranks, one finds such illustrious figures as Polyphemus, Procrustes, and Amycus, savage brutes who terrorized the mythological world and failed to properly cultivate the gods and who even include in their number several "biological monstrosities. . . . Among Posidon's children are the hundred-armed Aegaeon, the Siamese twins, Cteatus and Eurytus, the one-eyed Cyclops, the snake-formed Cychreus, the Harpies, and various giants."[114] According to Aulus Gellius, it is a matter of course that unlike Jupiter, who sired just and virtuous men, Neptune sired bold and inhuman men.[115] Gellius is not the only one to make this claim; we find similar sentiments in

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highlight an early strand of myth, in which Aegeus was originally, in some fashion, a doublet for Poseidon. See, among others, Fowler (1988). I find that I am anticipated in many of my points by Casali (1995) 221–2, albeit with great brevity.

[111] An extra nudge is provided by the recurrent theme in the *Heroides* of Theseus's divine heritage; see pp. 24ff.

[112] The greatest difference between the versions of the *topos* in the *Iliad* and *Heroides* 10 is the order in which the elements occur. In the *Iliad*, it is *father–mother–sea–cliffs*, while in the *Heroides* it is *father–mother–rocks–sea*. This change actually underscores the parallel, however, as each ordering results in a chiastic *A–B–B–A* formulation: Achilles' mother is the sea-goddess, while Theseus's father is the sea-god.

[113] The other half of the accusation, in which Ariadne claims that Theseus was born from rocks, must by analogy refer to his mother. There are a few possible interpretations of this. 1) It is worth imagining that herein lie shades of Catullus 64, which put so much emphasis on Theseus's similarity to Medea, since in Euripides' *Medea*, Medea is frequently associated with stony and rock-like heroic valor. If Theseus has two fathers, he *nearly* has two mothers, his birth-mother and his step-mother to whom he is assimilated by Catullus. (See Sourvinou-Inwood [1979] on Theseus and Medea, and see Bongie [1977] on rock-imagery for Medea in Euripides' *Medea*.) In each case, Ariadne replaces the more laudable of Theseus's possible parents with a reductive elision of the less laudable parent. 2) Alternatively, Ariadne rejects Theseus's maternity *entirely*. The language of *Heroides* 10 constantly assimilates Theseus *himself* to rocks (cf. 10.107–10), so that he effectively becomes auto-generated. 3) Finally, we can see some element of literal truth in the idea that Theseus came from the *saxa*, an idea that is prefigured earlier in the poem: *reddebant nomen concava saxa tuum* ("the hollow rocks were returning your name," *Her.* 10.22) is, in fact, close to etymologically true when we recall Plutarch's statement that Theseus was called Theseus because of the recognition tokens that had been "placed" (διὰ τὴν τῶν γνωρισμάτων <u>θέσιν</u>, Plut. *Thes.* 4.1) under a rock.

[114] Pease (1943) 70–1.

[115] *Praestantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus Iovis filios poetae appellaverunt, ut Aeacum et Minoa et Sarpedona; ferocissimos et inmanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tamquam e mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt, Cyclopa et Cercyona et Scirona et Laestrygonas* ("Those outstanding in virtue, prudence, strength, the poets called sons of Jupiter, like Aeacus and Minos and Sarpedon; the most fierce and threatening and different from all humankind, as though born from the sea, they said were sons of Neptune: Cyclops and Cercyon and Sciron and the Laestrygonians," Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XV.21).

Eustathius and in the older Iliadic scholia.[116] By denying Aegeus as Theseus's father, Ariadne suggests that Theseus is no different from any of Neptune's other numerous sons, several of whom are the very villains whom Theseus himself worked to purge from the Greek countryside. Through Ariadne's insult, Theseus becomes no longer the civilizer, but the uncivilized.[117] Ariadne makes the two-dimensional Theseus a one-dimensional monstrosity, and the repercussions of his dehumanization extend throughout the *Heroides*.[118] Nowhere is Theseus-the-Athenian to be found; he is banished from the text as surely as the hero himself, who only appears *in absentia*.[119]

Theseus's divine parentage is something of a recurrent theme in the *Heroides*, and in fact, in those poems, Neptune is named as his father more frequently than Aegeus.[120] Apart from Ariadne's assertions in *Heroides* 10, both Phyllis and Phaedra mention Theseus's Neptunian heritage in their letters, written to Theseus's sons Demophoon and Hippolytus respectively. Given the construction of the *Heroides* in general as a diatribe against the deceitfulness and faithlessness of men,[121] such a focus on the "negative" side of Theseus's genetics (and that of his male descendants) makes perfect sense.[122] Phyllis explicitly refers to Neptune as the grandfather of Demophoon in the context of his forsworn oath, saying that Demophoon swore to her by the sea and his grandfather:

> per mare, quod totum ventis agitatur et undis,   35
>   per quod nempe ieras, per quod iturus eras,
> perque tuum mihi iurasti—nisi fictus et ille est—

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[116] See p. 22, n. 108; also cf. the T-scholia at *Il.* 16.34: γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα: διὰ τὸ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ μάλιστα ἐν χειμῶνι· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἀπηνεῖς Κύκλωπας καὶ Λαιστρυγόνας Ποσειδῶνός φασι καὶ Πολύφημον Θοώσης τῆς Φόρκυνος ("'and the grey sea bore you': on account of the gloominess and inexorable nature of the sea, especially in winter; also for that reason they say that the ungentle Cyclopes and Laestrygonians are sons of Poseidon, and that Polyphemus is the son of Thoösa, daughter of Phorkys"). Similar sentiments are found in the A-scholia.

[117] Ariadne's assertion tacitly rejects Theseus's paternal claim to the city of Athens, not because Neptune *is* his father but because Aegeus is *not* his father; this also withdraws Theseus's status as the autochthonous Athenian civilizer-hero.

[118] It is not particularly relevant whether we conceive of the *Heroides* as a haphazard collection or whether we believe that the current order of poems is Ovid's own. However, Pulbrook (1977) provides manuscript evidence that the single *Heroides* may originally have been published in three books of five. If we accept his evidence, we could begin to see some traces of a grander scheme to the ordering of the *Heroides*, in which the first book interleaves tales of the Trojan War with letters to Theseus's sons, while the second book begins with a letter from Ariadne's granddaughter, Hypsipyle, and ends with Ariadne's own letter written moments before the conception of Hypsipyle's father. (These are primarily my own observations; I have difficulty accepting many of Pulbrook's suggestions.) On the thematic structure of the *Heroides*, also see Stroh (1991) and Reeson (2001) 2–3, the latter of whom concludes that no proposed hypothesis on the thematic arrangement of the epistles "stands convincingly up to the facts."

[119] At the same time, the pairing of rock and sea throughout the poem (e.g., 10.25–6, 10.49, 10.136) repeatedly gives birth to Theseus, who through Ariadne's language is present everywhere, just as he himself is present nowhere.

[120] See p. 17, n. 85.

[121] Cf. Farrell (1998) 323–9.

[122] Dido's implementation of the *topos* of unnatural birth at *Her.* 7.37–40 reflects a number of these same issues, including, perhaps, Aeneas's birth from the sea instead of a sea-goddess. However, the formulation of the *topos* is very different there, as is Vergil's construction of the *topos* at *Aen.* 4.365–7, so that a whole different set of intertextual (and even generic) issues are raised by Ovid's reshaping of his Vergilian model. See especially Miller (2004) on the connection between the Vergilian and Ovidian employment of the *topos* in *Aen.* 4 and *Her.* 7. On *Aen.* 4 and *Her.* 7 more generally, see Desmond (1993).

concita qui ventis aequora mulcet, avum
(Ovid, *Heroides* 2.35–8)

> You swore to me by the sea, which is completely stormy with winds and waves, over which you
> had surely sailed away, over which you were to return, and by your grandfather—unless he has
> been invented—who soothes the waters riled by the winds.

Her astonishment at Demophoon's subsequent desertion makes it clear that she was not aware
of the possible implications behind Demophoon's heritage.[123] She evidently failed to recognize
that such an oath would be the ancient equivalent of swearing by the inconstant moon—the
inconstancy and faithlessness of the sea were proverbial in ancient times.[124] And in telling
Neptune's *other* grandson, Hippolytus,[125] that his father will not be returning to Troezen any
time soon because he is too wrapped up in his beloved Pirithous and does not care about his
family, Phaedra calls Theseus *Neptunius heros*, again highlighting the connection between his
Neptunian heritage and his negative characteristics.[126]

Aegeus is not entirely absent from the *Heroides*, but his presence in the work is strictly
limited. Phaedra calls Theseus *perfidus Aegides* ("the treacherous son of Aegeus," *Her.* 4.59),
perhaps implying that Theseus is not just treacherous because of his Neptunian heritage, but
this is the only acknowledgment of Aegeus as Theseus's father.[127] The form *Aegidas* also
occurs at *Heroides* 2.67, but there it refers generally to the Athenians, or at most to Aegeus's
descendants at large, not specifically to Aegeus's putative son. The Neptunian side of
Theseus's paternity has a far greater emphasis in the *Heroides*, therefore, while the mere
existence of Aegeus seems to have been pushed into the background.

We find the issue of Theseus's paternity cropping up again in the double *Heroides*, the
set of paired poems in which the heroines' epistles are a response to their lovers' letters, and
here the distinction drawn between Theseus's two fathers is crystallized.[128] In *Heroides* 16,
Paris reminds Helen of her abduction by Theseus, calling him by the patronymic *Aegides*: *nam
sequar Aegidae factum . . . / te rapuit Theseus* ("For I shall follow the deed of Aegeus's son. . . .
Theseus carried you off." *Her.* 16.327–9). However, in her reply to this, *Heroides* 17, Helen puts
a different spin on the identity of the man who kidnapped her: *an, quia vim nobis Neptunius
attulit heros, / rapta semel videor bis quoque digna rapi?* ("Or, because the Neptunian hero
brought force to bear on me, having been carried off once do I now seem worth carrying off
twice?" *Her.* 17.21–2). It is not the mortal son of Aegeus whom Paris wishes to emulate, Helen

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[123] Barchiesi (1992) 135 observes that Phyllis' words also allude to Theseus's double paternity ("la paternità di
Teseo è in effetti dubbia, e anzi, secondo una certa maggioranza di testimoni, il vero «nonno» di Demofoonte
dovrebbe essere Egeo e non Posidone")—but Demophoon is acting entirely in-character for the grandfather he has
aligned himself with. Nonetheless, the problematizing of Theseus's paternity persists throughout the *Heroides*.

[124] For numerous examples, see Pease (1943). It would be fascinating to know what exact oaths, if any, were
contained in Ovid's source for this epistle. We may also compare Catullus's *sententia* that fickle words might as
well be written *in rapida aqua* (70.4); on this epigram and its antecedents, see Gaisser (2009) 135–6.

[125] Hippolytus is a mirror image of his half-brother Demophoon if there ever was one! Perhaps Demophoon
learned from Hippolytus's fate in a kind of "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em" mentality.

[126] If we take the order of poems as Ovidian in origin (see n. 118), then this trio of allusions to Theseus's divine
heritage becomes a carefully structured, reverse-chronological set of references leading up (back) to Ariadne's
outright denial of Aegeus as Theseus's father. This could go some way towards showing the intratextuality of the
Heroides as an intentionally-ordered unit.

[127] Casali (1995) 221 sees the reference in these lines to the labyrinth and Ariadne (the sequence of events that
ultimately led to Aegeus's death) as cause for the choice of *Aegides.* On the "genetics" behind Ariadne and
Phaedra as (literal) sisters in misfortune, see Armstrong (2006).

[128] For my point here, it does not matter whether the double *Heroides* are exilic or not.

says, but rather the semi-divine son of Neptune.[129] Paris is mistaken if he believes that the deed is merely the act of a mortal hero. In her presentation of *Neptunius* as the inverse of *Aegides*, Helen appears to indicate that she is a reader of the earlier *Heroides* and that she has understood Ariadne's recriminations and the emphasis on Theseus's divine parentage.[130] One might assume that, as another of Theseus's victims, she understands Ariadne all too well. She may be suggesting that Paris, by carrying her off, would become a worse monster than even Theseus ever was, and without the same proclivity for abducting women that Theseus inherits from his divine father.

For our purposes, Helen's reply to Paris is most significant in the way that it enables us to see Ovid's choice of diction at work. Here we have two overtly linked poems which feature a trans-epistolary juxtaposition of Theseus's possible patronymics. *Neptunius* in one poem answers *Aegides* in the other, making it clear that Ovid's choice of patronymic or epithet in other works, too, is likely to be far from haphazard. In the light of this binary opposition that Ovid has established between *Aegides* and *Neptunius* and the two sides of Theseus's character, we can turn to references to Theseus's father(s) elsewhere in Ovid's poetry.

Son of Aegeus

Theseus's most prominent in-person appearance in Ovid's works is in the central three books of the *Metamorphoses*, but he appears less in his own story than in the connective tissue between stories; and the reader can piece together a clearer picture of Theseus when he is offstage than when he is onstage. Not infrequently, his story quietly plays out through the stories of others. For instance, towards the beginning of Book 8, Scylla and Minos seem to take on the roles of Theseus and Ariadne and to play out their story in advance, whereas Ovid will later recount Theseus's actual abandonment of Ariadne in just four highly compressed lines. Similar reflections—and even full-on "replacements"—of Theseus's story can be found repeatedly throughout the middle books of the *Metamorphoses*.[131]

Is it coincidence that Minos was the father of Ariadne, or that Theseus and Scylla were

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[129] Michalopoulos (2006) 282–3 discusses the import of *Aegides* versus *Neptunius* in these passages, although I disagree with the primarily positive emphasis of his interpretation: "First, she [Helen] wants to shake off any responsibility for her abduction: since she was abducted by the son of a god, she could not possibly defend herself. Secondly, she intends to weaken Paris' position: he should not use Theseus as a role model, because he was the son of a god, whereas Paris' parents were mortal. . . . Thirdly, this may be a case where Helen's vanity takes over. She wants to remind Paris that she had been worthy of abduction by a demigod." Casali (1995) 222 also calls Helen's version "flattering" (*lusinghiera*), and Bessone (2003) 159 believes this to be "the more honorable version of Theseus's double paternity" (*della doppia paternità di Teseo la versione più onorifica*). I would like to insist on the oxymoron inherent in "*Neptunius heros*," however. In connection with Helen's narration of her abduction, it is also worth observing her possible inability to tell the truth: she says that Theseus left her a virgin, but this is exactly the same lie she feeds to her brothers when she passes the baby Iphigenia off to Clytaemnestra to raise (Ἑλένη γὰρ πυνθανομένων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔφη κόρη παρὰ Θησέως ἀπελθεῖν, "for Helen said, when her brothers asked, that she departed from Theseus a virgin," Ant. Lib. 27.1; also, according to the manchette, possibly in Nicander's *Heteroioumenoi*).

[130] Helen's response to Paris, in addition to answering Paris' own letter (both 16.327–9 and 16.149–62), also answers an assertion previously addressed by Oenone *to* Paris in *Heroides* 5 (previously in literary, if not mythological, chronology): *vim licet appelles et culpam nomine veles; / quae totiens rapta est, praebuit ipsa rapi* (*Her.* 5.31–2). Moreover, having clearly read their letters, she cites Hypsipyle and Ariadne as witnesses to the perfidy of overseas guests: *Hypsipyle testis, testis Minoia virgo est* (*Her.* 17.193). On the women of the *Heroides* as readers of the *Heroides*, see Fulkerson (2005); she addresses Helen, specifically, as a reader of the earlier *Heroides* at pp. 62–3.

[131] See pp. 30ff and p. 38, and also cf. Mack (1988) 136–41, Gildenhard and Zissos (2004), Boyd (2006). Gildenhard and Zissos (2000a) discuss a similar phenomenon of story-in-lieu-of-story that is unrelated to Theseus.

cousins? Coincidence has little place in Ovid, while the generational recursivity of Greek mythology frequently rears its head in his poetry.[132] The clearest link between these parallel stories of deceit and betrayal comes when Scylla addresses Minos with a lengthy implementation of the unnatural birth *topos*, denying that Europa is his mother and Jupiter his father:

> non genetrix Europa tibi est, sed inhospita Syrtis,   120
> Armeniae tigres austroque agitata Charybdis.
> nec Iove tu natus, nec mater imagine tauri
> ducta tua est: generis falsa est ea fabula! verus
> et ferus et captus nullius amore iuvencae,
> qui te progenuit, taurus fuit.   125
>   (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.120–5)

> Europa is not your mother, but the inhospitable Syrtis, Armenian tigresses, and Charybdis, riled by the southern wind. Neither were you born from Jupiter, nor was your mother led astray by the image of a bull: that story of your birth is false! Real and wild and captured by love of no heifer was the bull who begot you.

While the first two lines closely (and extravagantly) resemble earlier examples of the *topos*, especially Latin versions, the overall scheme here is tellingly innovative. Scylla's attack on Minos's parentage uniquely falls into two halves, one for each parent. Her rejection of his mother combines elements from Catullus 64 and *Aeneid* 4: Scylla explicitly denies Europa by name (cf. *Aen.* 4.365),[133] proposing instead a named geographical feature (specifically the Syrtes, dangerous shoals off the coast of Libya, taken from Cat. 64.156), tigresses (replacing the more traditional lionesses and taken from *Aen.* 4.367),[134] and Charybdis (evidently first added to

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[132] DeBrohun (2004) 417 calls Ovid "the most self-conscious of poets"—he is ultimately aware of his narrative. On the particular recursivity of Europa's descendants, in Ovid and elsewhere, see Armstrong (2006) and Introduction, p. 3, n. 19. Ovid has Phaedra observe: *in socias leges ultima gentis eo! / hoc quoque fatale est* ("I am the last to go into the shared laws that govern my family! This too is destined," *Her.* 4.62–3). In another of the *Heroides*, Phyllis remarks on the traits shared by Theseus and his son: *heredem patriae, perfide, fraudis agis* ("You conduct yourself as the heir of your father's deceit, treacherous one," *Her.* 2.78). In the heavily intertextual *Heroides*, enactments of generational recursivity may also serve as comments on literary repetition of events (cf. Phyllis' *perfide*, which makes her the linguistic heir to Ariadne and makes Demophoon the heir to Theseus's epithets as well as his deceit). Outside of Ovid, compare Phaedra's "self-consciousness about the pattern of family sin" (Armstrong [2006] 61) in Euripides (*Hipp.* 337–41). We find the same generationally-recurring themes in other families, recalled in sentiments such as *mens cunctis imposta manet* ("the mindset that is bestowed on them all remains," Stat. *Theb.* 1.227) of the Argive and Theban royal houses, and *intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido* ("then their grandfather's sin, greed for royal power, imposed on these plans," Livy 1.6.4) of Romulus and Remus.

[133] Otto Weinreich, although misunderstanding Scylla's rejection of Europa as a rejection of Minos's homeland, not his mother, unwittingly exposes what may be an Ovidian double-play on name. Weinreich (1959) 81: "Neu, darum an den Anfang gerückt, ist die Negation des wirklichen Heimatlandes." Europa is Minos's mother, and that is the role in which Scylla is rejecting "*genetrix Europa*," but it is entirely possible that the transference of her name to a continent has inspired Ovid's quasi-geographical bent in this catalogue. Weinreich may perhaps have in mind Ovid's subsequent alteration of the *topos* at *Tr.* 1.8.37ff, where he denies that his faithless friend was born in Rome, suggesting instead Pontic cliffs and Scythian and Sarmatian hills. That purely geographical revision of the *topos*, substituting the maternal city for the mother, seems far more likely to be an innovation in the context of the *Tristia*.

[134] Making the tigresses Armenian rather than Hyrcanian is almost certainly Ovid's idea of an etymological joke, as Varro remarks that *tigris* is an Armenian word: *vocabulum e lingua armenia* (*De Ling. Lat.* 5.100). Ovid seems fond of this collocation, which also occurs at *Am.* 2.14.35 and *Met.* 15.86.

category 5 of the *topos* at Cat. 64.156).[135]

Following this Catullan and Vergilian rejection of Minos's mother, Scylla begins anew: *nec Iove tu natus, nec mater imagine tauri* (*Met.* 8.122). This *nec . . . nec* is familiar from the other two Latin formulations of the *topos* which reject both parents (*Her.* 10.131 and *Aen.* 4.365), but in those cases the anaphora occurs in the first line of the *topos*, as the abandoned heroine rejects each of the hero's parents in turn at the outset. Ovid at first appears, therefore, to be grafting two complete versions of the *topos* together, for Scylla has just delivered two lines that fully encapsulate the post-Homeric "maternal" variant of the *topos*; now she seems to be starting afresh with the original, Homeric, two-parent version of the *topos*, rejecting first father (*nec Iove tu natus*) and then mother (*nec mater*). It soon becomes clear, however, that Scylla has already dealt with the issue of Minos's mother to her satisfaction and is now turning exclusively to his father. He was not, she says, Jupiter in the shape of a bull, but a *real* bull.[136] This refutation of the father is precisely analogous to Patroclus and Ariadne's outbursts, except here Scylla provides the un-elided version of those earlier implementations of the *topos*, spelling out what her counterparts had left implicit, namely the transition from sea god to sea incarnate (or here, bull-shaped god to real bull). Additionally, by proposing that the bull who sired Minos was a real bull, she implicitly identifies Minos himself with the Minotaur, the semi-cannibalistic monster whose mother was human and whose father was a bull.[137]

When Ovid returns to the equivalent story in the next generation, he summarizes in just a few lines the entirety of what he once spent hundreds of lines on:

> protinus Aegides rapta Minoide Diam
> vela dedit comitemque suam crudelis in illo   175
> litore destituit. desertae et multa querenti
> amplexus et opem Liber tulit
>
>   (Ovid, *Met.* 8.174–7)

> Immediately the son of Aegeus, with Minos's daughter snatched away, set sail for Dia and cruelly stranded his companion on that shore. To her, deserted and lamenting much, Liber brought embraces and aid.

The first line is crucial to Ovid's new construction of the story. In this truncated version, he emphasizes the previously-neglected side of Theseus's paternity by use of the patronymic *Aegides*, and he juxtaposes it with Ariadne's patronymic in the same line, thereby pointing back to the opening episode of Book 8, the story of Scylla and Minos, and reminding the reader

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[135] Category 5: birth from female monsters. Catullus had taken Euripides' inclusion of Scylla in the *Medea topos* and added Charybdis for extra monstrosity. Ovid's Scylla moves one step further along this progression by naming only Charybdis—for a very good reason. Even though Ovid makes an active distinction between this Ciris-Scylla, daughter of Nisus, and the sea-nymph Scylla who became a dog-waisted monster (whose story Ovid tells at *Met.* 14.1–74), still the coincidence of their names and frequent contamination of their stories make it impossible for this Scylla to suggest the "other" Scylla as Minos's mother. With similar attention to context, Ovid has Byblis soliloquize (*Met.* 9.613–15) that Caunus *must* be able to be conquered because, as his sister, she knows that he was *not* born from or suckled by a tigress or a lioness.

[136] Weinreich (1959) 82 notes the sense- and wordplay in *ferus* and *verus* at *Met.* 8.123–4.

[137] Scylla again gestures in this direction a few lines later: *iam iam Pasiphaen non est mirabile taurum / praeposuisse tibi: tu plus feritatis habebas* ("So then it is no wonder that Pasiphaë preferred a bull to you: you were possessed of more wildness," *Met.* 8.136–7). This confluence of Minos and the Minotaur, while appropriate, may pay further homage to Catullus 64, where, as DeBrohun (1999) has shown, Ariadne had portrayed herself as unable "to discern the difference between her brother, the monstrous Minotaur, and the falsely attractive but genuinely cruel Theseus" (422).

of the parallel events that occurred there. Ariadne is, perhaps, paying her father's karmic debt for his rejection of Scylla.[138] This is a family affair in more ways than one—Scylla is also Theseus's cousin, as Aegeus and Scylla's father, Nisus, were brothers. If Theseus were still strongly branded as the son of Neptune, as he was in the *Heroides*, that second familial parallel would be missing. However, in the central books of the *Metamorphoses*, Aegeus has stepped into the spotlight as Theseus's father.

Every mention of Aegeus in these books, three times in Book 7 and three times in Book 8, stresses his paternal role. His name first occurs immediately before Theseus himself appears on the scene:

> excipit hanc Aegeus, . . .
> iamque aderat Theseus, proles ignara parenti,
> qui virtute sua bimarem pacaverat Isthmon
> (Ovid, *Met.* 7.402–4)

Aegeus received her [i.e., Medea], . . . and now Theseus was present, a child unknown to his parent, who had, by his prowess, pacified the Isthmus with its two seas.

Aegeus's parental aspect is highlighted here by the appositive tag describing Theseus, *proles ignara parenti*,[139] and in a reversal of Theseus's portrait as Ovid had painted it in the *Heroides*, here Theseus is cast in his role as heroic civilizer. Even more specifically, Theseus is actively opposed in this first appearance to Neptune and his offspring: Neptune was the god of the Isthmus, and Theseus had killed Neptune's son, Sinis the Pine-Bender,[140] on the Isthmus outside of Corinth.

Theseus and Medea also take on an odd sort of parallelism and inversion in this passage. Medea had fled, in a long digression (*Met.* 7.350–93), via her flying serpent-drawn chariot, from Thessaly to Corinth, and then in another four lines had enacted Euripides' *Medea* (*Met.* 7.394–7). The next four lines take her, again via her winged serpents, from Corinth to Athens. Immediately afterwards, Theseus appears—having followed, it seems, the exact same route, albeit by land, from the Corinthian Isthmus to Athens.[141] Medea then concocts a poison of aconite to kill Theseus, and Ovid goes off on a twelve-line digression concerning the drug's

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[138] Ariadne's lament that she will not return to Crete since she has betrayed father and country, *non ego te, Crete centum digesta per urbes, / adspiciam, puero cognita terra Iovi, / ut pater et tellus iusto regnata parenti / prodita sunt facto, nomina cara, meo* ("I shall not see you, Crete divided into your hundred cities, land known to Jupiter as a boy, since my father and the land ruled by my just father, dear names, have been betrayed by my deed," *Her.* 10.69–70), finds multiple reflections in the language of Minos and Scylla at *Met.* 8.90–130, including emphasis on Crete as Jupiter's birthplace. See Padel (1996) on the recursive interactions between Athens and Crete.

[139] It is possible that a secondary reading of *ignara* ought to be understood here. Although the dative *parenti* requires a passive sense of *ignara* (=*ignota*, cf. *TLL* 7:1, 275–6), prior to reaching the final syllable of the line it seems that the phrase will mean "a child unknowing *of* his parent." As this is the first appearance of Theseus in the epic, Ovid may be alluding to the paternal ambiguity from the outset.

[140] Different authors naturally have different accounts of Sinis' parentage; however, the consistent mythic idea that pervades accounts of Theseus's exploits is that he killed a number of brigands during his journey from Troezen to Athens, some of whom had a genealogical connection to Poseidon, and at least one of whom was closely related to Theseus himself. Cf. Brelich (1956). The Isthmian Games were dedicated to Poseidon, and one tradition held that Theseus had re-founded them in honor of his divine father (originally they had been dedicated by Sisyphus to the infant hero Palaemon), possibly as a result of having killed Sinis or Procrustes (cf. Plut. *Thes.* 25.5–7, Schol. Pind. hyp. *Isthm.*).

[141] This may be the first manifestation of a replacement of Theseus's story by a parallel story; see p. 26, n. 131, pp. 30ff, and p. 38.

origins. In some ways, this digression ends Theseus's story before it even begins. When Hercules brought up Cerberus from the Underworld, wherever the hellhound's saliva fell, the earth subsequently bore aconite (*Met.* 7.408–19). Traditionally, however, one feat performed by Hercules while he was visiting Hades to fetch Cerberus was the release of Theseus and the attempted release of Pirithous—thus Theseus's story comes full circle at the very start.

The second occurrence of Aegeus's name is sandwiched between the words *parens* and *nato*: *ea coniugis astu / **ipse parens Aegeus nato** porrexit ut hosti* ("by his wife's cunning, **father Aegeus himself** proffered this [poison] **to his son**, as though to an enemy," *Met.* 7.419–20). Once more, this emphatic mention of Aegeus's paternity is followed by a reference to Theseus's civilizing aspect, as just a few lines later the Athenians sing a catalogue of the brigands and monsters whom Theseus has overcome in his journey along the Isthmus from Troezen to Athens (*Met.* 7.433–50).[142] They begin with his defeat of the Bull of Marathon—this, too, is a story that appears to have collapsed into the space between lines, as Callimachus's *Hecale* had begun with Medea's attempt on Theseus's life,[143] and thus a Callimachean reader might well expect to encounter the same sequence of events here.

The third instance of Aegeus's name also comes in close proximity to *nato*:

> nec tamen (usque adeo nulla est sincera voluptas,
> sollicitumque aliquid laetis intervenit) **Aegeus**
> gaudia percepit **nato** secura recepto: 455
> bella parat Minos; qui quamquam milite, quamquam
> classe valet, patria tamen est firmissimus ira
> Androgeique necem iustis ulciscitur armis.
> <div align="right">(Ovid, Metamorphoses 7.453–8)</div>

> However, despite recovering his **son**, **Aegeus** did not gain joys free from care (it is perpetually the case that no pleasure is ever unalloyed, and some worry intervenes in happiness): Minos is preparing war; he who, although strong in soldiery and strong in his fleet, is nevertheless most strong in paternal anger, and he is avenging the death of Androgeos with just weapons.

Ovid's phrasing suggests to his reader that the epic is about to proceed to the next logical milestone in Theseus's story, namely his journey to Crete to rid Athens of her tribute to the Minotaur, levied over the death of Androgeos—after all, Aegeus's joy in the arrival of his son is tempered by concern over Minos. However, what in fact follows is an unexpected shift, not only away from Theseus's story but even back in time. Most translators and commentators take *ante tamen* at the beginning of the next line (*Met.* 7.459) to mean that Minos sought allies before he attacked Athens, and on one level this is true. However, when Ovid finally returns to Theseus's story in Book 8, a little bit of simple math makes it clear that the intervening 577 lines have been a chronologically misplaced digression.[144] The Athenians only pay the

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[142] A similar catalogue does appear in the *Heroides* (2.68–76), but the capping example of Theseus's deeds there is his abandonment of Ariadne, and prior to that comes an allusion to Theseus and Pirithous's visit to Hades to carry off Persephone. It is true that neither of these abductions has occurred yet by this point in the *Metamorphoses*, but the two catalogues speak to very different sides of Theseus's personality, regardless.

[143] See Weber (1983) 264–6 on the opening of the *Hecale* and its tacit inclusion in Catullus 64.

[144] The structure of the story, including the digression, very closely follows Diodorus Siculus's account: he narrates Theseus's cleansing of the countryside (4.59) and Aegeus's recognition of Theseus (4.59.6), then begins to turn to the Minotaur (4.60.1) but breaks off to give the necessary background, saying explicitly, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶ προσαναδραμόντας τοῖς χρόνοις τὰ συμπεπλεγμένα τούτοις διελθεῖν, ἵνα σαφὴς ἡ σύμπασα γένηται διήγησις ("but it is necessary, retracing the events of earlier times, to expound matters that are intertwined with these affairs, so that the entire explanation is clear," 4.60.1).

Minotaur's tribute every nine years, and it has been paid twice by the time Theseus puts a stop to things: *et Actaeo bis pastum sanguine monstrum / tertia sors annis domuit repetita novenis* ("and twice the monster had been fed on Attic blood, but the third allotment, demanded again every nine years, overcame him," *Met.* 8.170–1). Thus it has been, at the very least, seventeen years since Androgeos's death and Minos's initial vengeful campaign against Athens.

The expected emphasis on Theseus following his arrival in Athens instead metamorphoses into an emphasis on Minos. Minos visits the island of Aegina, where Aeacus refuses an alliance; he sails away and is immediately (*classis . . . etiamnum . . . spectari poterat*, "the fleet could still even now be seen," *Met.* 7.490–1) replaced by another visitor, Cephalus. Now the narrative thread seems to move away from Minos before returning to him at the beginning of Book 8, but at the heart of Cephalus's tale of the death of Procris lies an unmentioned connection with Minos: he was the original source of the dog and javelin which Procris in turn gave to Cephalus.[145] Minos therefore essentially hijacks Theseus's story, as he is the sung or unsung hero of all three stories that interrupt the flow of Theseus's narrative, and it is therefore especially fitting that the third story, the tale of Minos and Scylla, stands in for the tale of Theseus and Ariadne, since on some level Theseus should have been the focus of these lines.[146] Perhaps Ovid realized that he could not directly narrate Theseus's voyage to Crete; after all, it was on that voyage, at the instigation of Minos, that Theseus visited the realm of Poseidon, and in the *Metamorphoses*, the emphasis is on Theseus as Aegeus's son.

Despite his prominence as Theseus's father, Aegeus never again appears in person after his initial welcome of Theseus. He now exists exclusively in relation to Theseus. Where Aegeus's name appeared three times in Book 7, the patronymic form *Aegides* appears three times in Book 8. The first occurrence of *Aegides* is at Theseus's abandonment of Ariadne, which, as we have seen, is a brief event in the *Metamorphoses*. But following this, where we would expect to hear of Aegeus's death on Theseus's ill-fated return to Athens, his death is in fact completely glossed over, just as Theseus's departure from Athens was left unmentioned. The denouement of the story of Theseus and Aegeus is lost somewhere in the story of another Athenian father and son, complete with deaths caused by falling from heights and into eponymous oceans.[147] The insertion of the Daedalus and Icarus story here seems to supply the missing story of Aegeus's death, as Minos and Scylla supplied the missing story of Theseus and Ariadne.[148] Daedalus's son Icarus and nephew Perdix (namely his biological son and his, as it

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[145] Cephalus was married to the Athenian princess Procris. After a series of episodes of unfaithfulness and presumed unfaithfulness, Cephalus accidentally killed Procris with an unerring javelin that had been a gift from Procris herself. Ovid narrates the story in full (or, rather, has Cephalus himself narrate the story) at *Met.* 7.690–862. Cephalus tells Phocus that Diana gave the dog, Laelaps, to Procris (7.753–5), but in some other versions of the story (ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.1§197–8, Ant. Lib. 41), Procris received the gifts from Minos in exchange for curing him of his sexual malady. Whether Ovid is giving a different version of the story here or whether Procris lied to Cephalus about the origin of the gifts (or even whether Cephalus is lying, as the other versions do not reflect well on him) does not matter; through variants of this tale, there is an implicit connection with Minos. Mack (1988) 131–4, in an insightful dissection of these and other suppressed versions, sees here evidence of the unreliability of Ovid's narrators.

[146] Cf. Bömer *ad Met.* 7.453–474: "In dem großen Ring der Geschichten, die durch den Namen des Theseus zusammengehalten werden (VII 404–IX 94ff.), bilden die Erzählungen um Minos sozusagen einen engeren Kreis (VII 453–VIII 259), in dem dieser eine ähnliche Rolle spielt wie Theseus in dem größeren Ring."

[147] Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 3 observes of the myth in general that Theseus caused Aegeus's death "by omission"; here Ovid complicitly omits the omission itself.

[148] Similarly, Narcissus's story of tragic self-knowledge replaces Oedipus's story at the appropriate juncture (see Gildenhard and Zissos [2000a]). This metamorphosis of one tale into another is an Ovidian specialty, something of a meta-metamorphosis of his narrative.

were, intellectual son) cover between them the two possible traditions regarding Aegeus's death: Icarus falls into the sea and Perdix falls from the Acropolis.[149] The situation of a father with two versions of sons for whose deaths he is somewhat (or entirely) responsible seems to invert Theseus's position as a son with two versions of fathers, over the death of one of whom he holds some modicum of responsibility.[150] Nevertheless, Aegeus's death is, on the surface of things, simply missing from the *Metamorphoses*.

Abbreviation of events is a standard Ovidian ploy to signal his implicit inclusion of an earlier version of the story.[151] Outright omission may serve a similar function;[152] it also may encourage the reader to import multiple versions of the story; and it may, as I am arguing here, open windows onto reflections of the story in the surrounding text. It also seems to me that Ovid's decision not to narrate Aegeus's death serves to suppress the dark side of the narrative under a layer of forced positivity inspired by Theseus's joyous return to Athens:

> iam lamentabile Athenae
> pendere desierant Thesea laude tributum.
> templa coronantur bellatricemque Minervam
> cum Iove disque vocant aliis, quos sanguine voto   265
> muneribusque datis et acerris turis honorant.
> sparserat Argolicas nomen vaga fama per urbes
> Theseos . . .
>
> (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.262–8)

> Now Athens had ceased to pay out her lamentable tribute, thanks to Theseus. The temples are garlanded, and they call on warrioress Minerva as well as Jupiter and the other gods, whom they honor with blood vowed and gifts bestowed and boxes of incense. Wandering fame had scattered the name of Theseus through the cities of the Argolid . . .

The word-order of the Latin even sets up an expectation that we will hear about Aegeus's death, following *lamentabile*, but the adjective turns out to refer to the human tribute which

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[149] Most Greek sources (Diod. Sic. 4.61.7, Paus. 1.22.5, Plut. *Thes.* 22, ps-Apollod. E1.10) only recount Aegeus's suicide as occurring from the Acropolis. Gantz (1996) 276 suggests that "not impossibly the whole idea [of Aegeus's plunge into the Aegean] is a Roman notion, prompted by the fact that the names of king and sea possess greater similarity of appearance in Latin (*Aegeus, Aegaeus*) than they do in Greek (*Aigeus, Aigaios*)." However, the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* 1.831 (which range from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD, see Dickey [2007] 62) do preserve the story in Greek, attributing it to the Hellenistic Nicocrates; on the one hand, the name is corrupted, and therefore the date and source cannot be confirmed (cf. Fowler [1988] 99n13), but on the other hand, both traditions should presumably have been available to Ovid. Hyginus (*fabb.* 43, 242) explicitly preserves the tradition of Aegeus's drowning. Ovid associates the deaths of Aegeus and Perdix in the *Ibis*, including them both in a list of those who fell to their deaths (*Ib.* 493–500).

[150] On this whitewashing replacement, and the appearance of Theseus's patronymic at this particular juncture, see also Boyd (2006) 190–2. Daedalus was only indirectly responsible for Icarus's death, but he committed Perdix's murder with his own hands (*Met.* 8.240–59), a crime which Ovid in no way conceals: *Daedalus invidit sacraque ex arce Minervae / praecipitem misit* ("Daedalus was jealous and sent him headlong from the sacred citadel of Minerva," *Met.* 8.250–1).

[151] Tarrant (2002) 26: "Radically abbreviating a story can show deference to an earlier version by implying that it has left nothing more to be said: examples are Medea's murder of her children (*Met.* 7.394–7) and Ariadne's abandonment by Theseus and rescue by Bacchus (*Met.* 8.174–9), which nod respectfully to Euripides and Catullus, and also to Ovid himself (*Medea* and *Heroides* 10)."

[152] E.g., Aegeus's death may be "recalled" as the version of Aegeus's death previously told in Catullus 64, a poem which has stood as an intertext for earlier Ovidian narrations of Theseus and Ariadne.

Athens was forced to send to the Minotaur.[153] Theseus, at least on the surface of things, is not to be seen as a parricide, but any display of filial sorrow is also lacking.[154]

In the *Heroides*, Phaedra had already pointed out to Hippolytus that Theseus's devotion to Pirithous surpassed any familial devotion of his:

> tempore abest aberitque diu Neptunius heros;
>   illum Pirithoi detinet ora sui.   110
> praeposuit Theseus (nisi si manifesta negamus)
>   Pirithoum Phaedrae Pirithoumque tibi
>   (Ovid, *Heroides* 4.109–12)

> For the time being, the Neptunian hero is away, and he will be away for ages; the shore of his darling Pirithous is detaining him. Theseus has put Pirithous before Phaedra and Pirithous before you (we can't deny what's clear).

That same overwhelming devotion to Pirithous is prominent in the *Metamorphoses*, and it is in this context of Theseus's fondness for Pirithous that the patronymic *Aegides* occurs for the second time in Book 8, during the Calydonian boar hunt. Coming more than two hundred lines after Aegeus's death should have been narrated, the juxtaposition of Theseus's desperate concern over Pirithous's safety with the patronymic of his unlamented father ironically highlights the failed ties of kinship:

> ibat in adversum proles Ixionis hostem
> Pirithous valida quatiens venabula dextra;
> cui 'procul' Aegides 'o me mihi carior' inquit   405
> 'pars animae consiste meae! licet eminus esse
> fortibus: Ancaeo nocuit temeraria virtus.'
>   (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.403–7)

> Ixion's offspring, Pirithous, was heading against their opponent, shaking a stout hunting spear in his right hand; to him, Aegeus's son said, "Oh, dearer to me than myself, part of my soul, stand back! Brave men can stay at a distance: rash virtue did in Ancaeus."

The forgetful Theseus who paid little heed to his father's instructions for the return voyage from Crete is attentiveness itself when it comes to Pirithous. Theseus and Pirithous are, in fact, the perfect couple (*felix concordia*, 8.303), even to the professed extent of sharing a soul.

In the *Metamorphoses*, Theseus is prominently marked as son of Aegeus, and we have seen how this role is connected with his civilizing exploits along the Isthmus. We have also seen, however, that Theseus has two sides, and the non-Athenian side is only temporarily out

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[153] Ovid initially seems also to suppress the death of Minos at the hands of Cocalus and Daedalus, going so far as to mention Cocalus (*Met.* 8.261) before veering off to return to Theseus, but it turns out subsequently that Minos is living out his old age (*Met.* 9.434–42).

[154] The replacement of one tale with another can also highlight aspects of the omitted tale which would otherwise be less apparent, and here Theseus's relative guilt may be expressed through the story of Daedalus and Icarus. As often, echoes of an Ovidian gesture may be found in Flavian epic: Ahl (1986) 2895–6 observes the similarities between Statius's Theseus and Ovid's Daedalus which make "Theseus' accession to power . . . clouded by the uncertainty of his father's death: was the failure to change the sails deliberate, or was it the result in absentmindedness?" It is worth noting, in addition, that the ritual celebration and lamentation of the Athenian Oschophoria, half-recalled in the lines quoted above (*Met.* 8.262–8), is meant to recall the Athenians' simultaneous rejoicing over Theseus's triumphant return from Crete and mourning over Aegeus's death (Plut. *Thes.* 22–3, Walker [1995] 99).

of sight in the *Metamorphoses*, not completely out of mind. The lack of grief over Aegeus's death—and, indeed, Theseus's role in that death—both evoke the unsympathetic and monstrous son of Neptune who marauded through the verses of the *Heroides*. In particular, his less savory exploits that were repeatedly recalled in those epistles, such as carrying off or deserting women, cannot be erased; they are just ineffectively swept under the rug. Whenever Theseus is joined with his other half, Pirithous, this uncivilized, un-Athenian nature seems to well to the surface, perhaps brought on by the overwhelming influence of their unsurpassable bond of devotion—or perhaps brought on by Pirithous's own uncivilized behavior.[155]

In Book 12, Theseus's "union" with Pirithous is again on display:

> 'quae te vecordia,' Theseus
> 'Euryte, pulsat,' ait, 'qui me vivente lacessas
> Pirithoum violesque duos ignarus in uno?'
> (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12.227–9)

"What insanity strikes you, Eurytus," says Theseus, "you who assail Pirithous while I live and, unaware, violate two men in one?"

With this exclamation, placed as it is at the beginning of the Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, Theseus equivalently turns himself and Pirithous into a single individual. Their opponents, the Centaurs, are inherently doubled creatures, as demonstrated by a plethora of doubling words that Ovid uses of the Centaurs (*bimembres*, 240, 494; *duo pectora*, 377; *geminae vires*, 402; *natura duplex*, 403; *gemini*, 448; *biformis*, 456) and which surround this episode in general (*geminata libidine*, 221; *vulnere geminato*, 257; *bis . . . bis*, 412–13).[156] As *duos in uno*, Theseus and Pirithous, too, are a hybrid creature.

Traditionally, Theseus and Pirithous's battle against the Centaurs is a civilizing event, representing the triumph of order over chaos.[157] In the *Metamorphoses*, however, nothing is as it seems. Do Theseus and Pirithous serve as an opposing foil to the Centaurs? Or do they, through their collapsed identity, become assimilated to the Centaurs, as a two-in-one being that carries off women?[158] The Lapiths and the Centaurs are not, in fact, easily distinguishable from each other, and Ovid takes pains to blur the boundaries even further.

At almost the exact center of the Battle comes the love story of Cyllarus and Hylonome.[159] These pastoral, elegiac lovers, with their perfection of form and their perfection of love, stand in counterpoint to Theseus and Pirithous—even the perfect *felix concordia* (*Met.* 8.303) of Theseus and Pirithous is matched by Cyllarus and Hylonome's *par amor* (*Met.* 12.416). DeBrohun sees in Cyllarus and Hylonome "a partial blurring of the distinction between hybrid

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[155] See p. 35, n. 166.

[156] DeBrohun (2004) also observes various forms of verbal repetition throughout.

[157] The status of the Centauromachy in Greece is demonstrated by its depiction on a vast quantity of civic monuments in Athens and elsewhere, such as the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Apollo at Bassae, and, in Athens, the Parthenon, the statue of Athena Promachos, the statue of Athena Parthenos, the Theseion, and the Hephaestion. On the Centaurs and Amazons in Greek thought generally, see, among others, duBois (1991).

[158] Abducting women is the Centaurs' favorite past-time apart from getting drunk. We have already seen Nessus carry off Deïanira (*Met.* 9.107–33), and here the Centaurs are engaged in carrying off the Lapith women, among them Pirithous's bride (*Met.* 12.224–5). Elsewhere, the centaur Eurytion tries to carry off the daughter of Dexamenus, who is engaged to Hercules. (Ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.5§91 calls her Mnesimache; Hyginus *fabb.* 31.11, 33.1 says that she is Deïanira. The story is alluded to at Ov. *Ib.* 404 without mention of the girl's name.)

[159] DeBrohun (2004) 417: "Almost exactly in the middle."

and human";[160] Theseus and Pirithous demonstrate an almost identical blurring. Where Cyllarus and Hylonome are elevated and idealized by their inseparable love, however, Theseus and Pirithous appear debased and uncivilized in their fighting.

 In particular, Theseus's *aristeia* (*Met.* 12.342–60) is repeatedly marked by his use of a club (*stipite querno*, 12.342, *robore nodoso*, 12.349, *robore*, 12.350). The club a mark both of Theseus's heroic prowess and his lack of proper civilization—he had taken the club from the famous Periphetes during his civilizing tour along the Saronic Gulf,[161] but Theseus's proper weapon, as an Athenian ephebe, should be a sword and spears, specifically the ivory-hilted sword that enabled his recognition by Aegeus.[162] This contrast is only underscored by the incongruity of the epic's final use of *Aegides* (*Met.* 12.343), immediately before Theseus jumps onto the back of a centaur named Bienor and beats him around the face with his club.[163] As the Centauromachy is meant to be one of Theseus's greatest civilizing acts, the juxtaposition is ironic, to say the least.[164]

Theseus's Sea-Change

 Despite the almost constant undercutting of Theseus's status as Athens' major civic hero in the *Metamorphoses*, he is repeatedly presented in these terms, while his Neptunian side is strongly repressed in the *Metamorphoses*. I have suggested that the recurrent emphasis on Pirithous as Theseus's "other half" is problematic in its implications for both heroes, and it may be that we are meant to see the undeveloped, negative aspects of Theseus more fully developed in his boon companion. In addition to their less-than-positive behavior in carrying off women, Pirithous is explicitly called one who spurns the gods (*deorum spretor*, *Met.* 8.612–13), a description which would well suit sons of Neptune such as Polyphemus or Amycus.[165] Ovid here uses the periphrasis *Ixione natus*, granting Pirithous a genetic explanation for his attitude of contempt,[166] but Theseus's impossibly close relationship with Pirithous includes Theseus in

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[160] DeBrohun (2004) 419.

[161] Plut. *Thes.* 8.1–2.

[162] Cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.422–3, Bacchyl. 18.46–59.

[163] Servius (at *Ecl.* 9.60) explains "Bianor" (an equivalent name to Bienor) as *quasi animo et corpore fortissimus*, ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ ἠνορέης. Here it might well be considered a pun using the Latin prefix bi- and the Greek ἀνήρ, and I believe this is picked up by Valerius Flaccus, who calls one of the Cyzicans Bienor and describes him as *Pyrno melior genitore* ("better than his father, Pyrnus," *Arg.* 3.112)—he was (literally) twice the man his father was.

[164] For Pirithous, at least, assimilation to a centaur provokes some mythological inversion. (For Theseus, the untwinned twin, it seems almost appropriate!) Pirithous was, according to most traditions, the son of Ixion, but he was also the son of Zeus from early on: Homer calls Pirithous the son of Zeus at *Il.* 2.741 and 14.317–8, and Pindar fr. 243 Maehler calls Pirithous the son of Zeus, in connection with Theseus as the son of Poseidon. The Centaurs were also Ixion's children, fathered on a cloud in the shape of Hera, again only according to some traditions (e.g., Hyg. *Fab.* 33, Diod. Sic. 4.69.5). According to others (e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 2), the Centaurs were the children of Centaurus, who was the son of Ixion and the cloud. Ovid follows the first version, calling the Centaurs *nubigenas* (*Met.* 12.211) and having the centaur Monychus specifically allude to Ixion as their father (*Met.* 12.505–6). (Nessus is also called a son of Ixion at *Met.* 9.124 through a highly wrought periphrasis.) Thus Pirithous and the Centaurs represent the two branches of Ixionidae, the civilized and the uncivilized. The tradition in which Zeus is Pirithous's father is an alternate way of expressing this dichotomy. Zeus's children are inherently civilized (see p. 23), and Zeus fathers Pirithous in response to Ixion's hubris that eventually produces the Centaurs.

[165] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.272–80, Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.218–19.

[166] Ixion was one of the famous sinners in the Underworld, strapped to a flaming wheel as eternal punishment for his hubris. Ovid likes to emphasize Pirithous's negative heritage. He is named directly in the *Metamorphoses* seven times (8.303, 8.404, 12.218, 12.229, 12.330, 12.332, 12.333), but he is named through periphrases involving Ixion another five times (*Ixionides*, 8.567; *natus Ixione*, 8.613, 12.210, 12.338; *proles Ixionis*, 8.403). The repercussions of this paternity are clear in phrases such as *spretor deorum* (8.613) and *Ixione audaci* (12.210) and in the Centaurs'

the bad press by extension. Just as Barrett remarks on Theseus's Poseidonian heritage in Euripides' *Hippolytus* that Theseus "is Poseidon's son only where the curse is in question,"[167] so in Ovid Theseus seems to be Neptune's son only where Pirithous is involved. With Pirithous by his side, he acts like a son of Neptune even when he is not explicitly labeled as such. In the *Metamorphoses*, where Theseus is almost always called the son of Aegeus, the disjunction between name and behavior is particularly noticeable, as I have discussed above.

In the *Heroides*, specifically in Phaedra's letter to Hippolytus, Theseus is *Aegides* in connection with the labyrinth and Ariadne (*Her.* 4.59–60)[168] but *Neptunius heros* when Phaedra mentions that he is dallying with Pirithous (*Her.* 4.109ff).[169] Again, we saw Helen, in her reply to Paris, answer Paris' mistaken *Aegides* with *Neptunius heros*. Theseus had carried off Helen with the aid of Pirithous, although his companion is not explicitly mentioned in Helen's letter. In the *Metamorphoses*, however, although he is frequently found in the company of Pirithous, Theseus is only called *Neptunius heros* once. Because of the strong Athenian focalization of Theseus in the *Metamorphoses*, it takes a very special state of affairs for Theseus to be explicitly called Neptunian. The necessary ingredients are found at Achelous's house, in a sequence of embedded tales and interstitial narrative glue that stretches from *Met.* 8.547 to 9.97.

The final occurrence of the patronymic *Aegides* in Book 8 comes towards the beginning of this episode. When Theseus and his companions arrive at Achelous's house, on their way back to Athens from Calydon, the river god addresses him as *Cecropide*, and as soon as Achelous is done speaking, Ovid refers to Theseus as *Aegides* just before he steps inside Achelous's cave, both patronymics underscoring Theseus's Athenian side.[170] This is, after all, the homeward-bound hero of Athens, who has just performed one more civilizing deed to add to his roster, even if he has not been very effective in his duties.[171] But then Theseus enters Achelous's watery domain, where many of the stories told are tales of sea-change in which Neptune plays an active role. The river god's stories of Perimele and Erysichthon, which bracket the tale-telling, both involve Neptune as the agent of transformation:

> excepi nantemque ferens "o proxima mundi   595
> regna vagae" dixi "sortite, Tridentifer, undae,
> adfer opem, mersaeque, precor, feritate paterna   601

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own claims to Ixion as their father (see n. 164). Ovid never refers to the possible alternative that Jupiter was Pirithous's father.

[167] Barrett (1964) 334 *ad* 887.

[168] Casali (1995) 221 observes that these circumstances lead directly to Aegeus's death, and thus the patronymic is ironically appropriate; we saw the same ironic use of *Aegides* at *Met.* 8.174.

[169] In his *Phaedra* (fr. 686 J–P), Sophocles had attributed Theseus's long absence to his sojourn in Hades (cf. Barrett [1964] 31–2). It is possible that Ovid is here alluding to the Sophoclean tradition, but Phaedra, of course, is unaware that Theseus and Pirithous have left Thessaly in order to unsuccessfully carry off the bride of Hades. Seneca follows this tradition, but his Phaedra is aware of Theseus's true errand (*Phaed.* 91–8).

[170] As a literal descendant of Cecrops, Theseus is autochthonously linked to the city of Athens. However, the term here may simply be a toponymic, in the same way that *Aegidae* was used for the Athenians at *Her.* 2.67. Walker (1995) 83–97 observes that Theseus's claim to autochthony is highly dubious, even as Aegeus's son, since he notoriously comes to Athens from the outside, from the borderland city of Troezen, "an outlying marginal region that is neither fully Athenian nor completely foreign" (95), where he is the *epikleros* of that city's ruler.

[171] See Horsfall (1979) for the "burlesque" of the Boar Hunt. Several commentators (e.g., Hollis [1970] 98, Simpson [2001] 342–3, Boyd [2006] 199–200) point out that Theseus and his friends must have been heading the wrong way if they arrived at Achelous's stream en route from Calydon to Athens. This is true (more heroic ineptitude?), although there are "logical" possibilities, such as intended sea travel, to explain their odd detour. Boyd's (2006) and Pavlock's (2009) conception of Book 8 as an inescapable labyrinth furnishes an excellent alternative explanation.

da, **Neptune**, locum, vel sit locus ipsa licebit!"
<div align="center">(Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.595–602)</div>

I caught her as she swam and, holding her up, said, "O Trident-Bearer, who received by lot the kingdoms of the wandering wave that lies next to the world, bring me aid, and, I pray, to her who is drowned by her father's savagery, grant a place, **Neptune**, or let her be a place herself!"

> et vicina suas tendens super aequora palmas
> "eripe me domino, qui raptae praemia nobis   850
> virginitatis habes!" ait: haec **Neptunus** habebat;
> qui prece non spreta, quamvis modo visa sequenti
> esset ero, formamque novat vultumque virilem
> induit et cultus piscem capientibus aptos.
<div align="center">(Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.849–54)</div>

Standing next to the water, she held her palms above it and said, "Snatch me from my master, you who have from me the prize of my stolen virginity!" It was **Neptune** who had this prize; he did not spurn her prayer, and although she had just been seen by her pursuing master, he alters her form, and she dons a man's face and garb suited to a fisherman.

In addition, Neptune is Erysichthon's paternal grandfather, although Ovid omits mention of this point. In Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter*, Erysichthon's father, Triopas, prays to his father, Poseidon, for aid, although without receiving any response:

> καὶ δ᾿ αὐτὸς Τριόπας πολιαῖς ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔβαλλε,
> τοῖα τὸν οὐκ ἀίοντα Ποτειδάωνα καλιστρέων·
> ʻψευδοπάτωρ, ἴδε τόνδε τεοῦ τρίτον, εἴπερ ἐγὼ μέν
> σεῦ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο
> τοῦτο τὸ δείλαιον γένετο βρέφος. . . .'   100
<div align="center">(Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 6.96–100)</div>

And Triopas himself cast his hands upon his grey hair, calling upon Poseidon, who did not listen to such things: "False father, see this third generation after you, if I am your son by Aeolus's daughter Canace, and moreover this wretch here is my offspring. . . ."

By creating an additional and active relationship between Neptune and Erysichthon's daughter, Ovid has increased the sea god's role in the story.[172]

The standard scholarly reading of this segment of the *Metamorphoses*, especially the story of Baucis and Philemon, points to an obvious connection with Callimachus's *Hecale*.[173] There, Theseus is the hero who stops in at Hecale's poor cottage, on his way to fight the Bull of Marathon. Here, Theseus is the storyteller's audience, and Ovid shows that the hero

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[172] Neptune also is connected with the other stories told at Achelous's banquet, although he plays a more minor role. The brief discussion of Proteus which separates Lelex's story of Baucis and Philemon from the story of Erysicthon also involves a sea-god, if not Neptune himself. The centrality of the polymorphous Proteus is a key talking point for recent work on the *Metamorphoses* (e.g., Feeney [1991] 229–32, Hardie [2002b] 4), but his connection with the sea is no less relevant than his power of metamorphosis. Finally, while the story of Baucis and Philemon does not feature Neptune, not only does it have a clear connection with water through flooding (cf. Crabbe [1981]), but it is parallel with the story of Hyrieus as told at *Fasti* 5.495–536. In that similar tale of aged piety, Neptune makes a third companion to the traveling pair of Mercury and Jupiter and helps to father a heroic but monstrous son (namely, Orion). It is clear that Neptune is thoroughly twined into the string of narrative within Achelous's walls.

[173] This borrowing has long been noted. See, e.g., Hollis (1970) 106–8, Kenney (1986) xxviii, Barchiesi (2001b) 51. For recent discussions, see Gildenhard and Zissos (2004), Boyd (2006) 196–202.

recognizes the allusion to his own tale: *cunctosque et res et moverat auctor, / Thesea praecipue* ("the tale and its teller had moved them all, especially Theseus," *Met.* 8.725–6). This device of narrative replacement of Theseus's story with another story is no different from the several replacements of Theseus's story already outlined in this chapter. However, this time Ovid makes sure the reader cannot miss the analogy, by thinning the fabric and drawing the intertext close to the surface.[174] Moreover, this alternative un-Theseian tale leads, almost directly, into one more: Achelous's story of his own de-horning by Hercules, which is parallel with Theseus's own possible de-horning of the Bull of Marathon.[175] Even Achelous's narration of his own story in answer to Theseus's question, therefore, may serve as a "replacement" of a Theseian story.[176] The temporal placement works, too. The tales of Minos and Scylla (i.e., Theseus and Ariadne) and of Daedalus, Icarus, and Perdix (i.e., Theseus and Aegeus) happened at the appropriate chronological junctures in Ovid's untold "*Theseid*," while these inset tales at Achelous's house are narrations of past events—and Theseus's defeat of the Bull of Marathon had occurred before he even arrived at Athens (*Met.* 7.434). In further temporal continuity, the tale of Baucis and Philemon (i.e., Theseus and Hecale) is, appropriately, told before the tale of Achelous and Hercules (i.e., Theseus and the Bull of Marathon). Finally, the ending of this non-*Theseid* brings us back to the very beginning of Theseus's story in the *Metamorphoses*, where Medea was busy contriving Theseus's death—immediately before, on a Callimachean model, Theseus would have ventured against the Bull of Marathon.[177] We have, in effect, come full circle.

Theseus's own interstitial story conceals one further literary and mythological allusion, entirely apart from this scheme of chronologically appropriate "replacement episodes" in the extended *Theseid* that lies beneath the surface of Book 8. Just as one can draw parallels between Theseus's visit to Achelous's house and Aristaeus's visit to the conflux of rivers where his mother, Cyrene, dwells, in Book 4 of Vergil's *Georgics*,[178] so Theseus's entrance into the watery grotto is also reminiscent of his paternal welcome into Poseidon and Amphitrite's *megaron* in Bacchylides' narrative. This allusion is, in fact, particularly activated through the Vergilian intertext, which has a very close relationship with this section of Bacchylides' dithyramb.[179] We do well to apply Richard Thomas's concept of the "window reference,"[180] or Annette Giesecke's development of Thomas's concept as the framing *parergon*,[181] to this scene.

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[174] Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 68: "Ovid continues a pattern of narrative displacement of Theseus in this part of the *Metamorphoses*. The way in which the episode is framed adds insult to injury: the Athenian hero finds himself listening to what is, in intertextual terms, a 'knock-off' of his own epyllion."

[175] Callimachus evidently called the bull of Marathon οἰόκερως, "one-horned," in the *Hecale* (Call. *Hec.* fr. 69.1 Hollis), suggesting that Theseus broke a horn off the bull; although it may have been previously dehorned by Heracles (as recounted by Nonn. *Dion.* 25.227–9).

[176] This may also give some additional justification for the periphrasis *Neptunius heros*: It is as Neptune's son that Theseus is associated with bulls, and thus the parallel story here invokes his Neptunian side more than his Aegean side.

[177] See pp. 30ff.

[178] See, e.g., Hollis (1970) 100 *ad* 562ff, Crabbe (1981) 2289n98.

[179] This was first pointed out by Norden (1934b) 638. He is followed by Klingner (1963) 205, Wilkinson (1969) 114, Knauer (1981) 911, and Brenk (1981) 766.

[180] Thomas (1986) 188. The window reference "consists of the very close adaptation of a model, noticeably interrupted in order to allow reference back to the source of that model: the intermediate model thus serves as a sort of window onto the ultimate source, whose version is otherwise not visible."

[181] Giesecke (2002). On Giesecke's model, the passage from the *Georgics* would be Ovid's primary *parergon*, and the Bacchylides narrative, together with several Homeric passages to which Vergil alludes (cf. Knauer [1981] 910–12), would be the secondary *parerga*.

Essentially, the passage from the *Georgics* functions as an intermediary allusion through which Ovid alludes to the ultimate source of his immediate model.

　　The interfacing between Vergil and Ovid occurs primarily in the precise description of the underwater grottoes and the banquets held therein (*Geo.* 4.374–9, *Met.* 8.562–73), as well as in the discussion of Proteus that occurs in the midst of the after-dinner tales (*Met.* 8.732–7) and recalls Cyrene's preparation of her son to face the god (*Geo.* 4.387–414).[182] The intertext is present throughout Theseus's visit, therefore, but it is not overwhelming. Vergil's allusions to Bacchylides are more sustained. In the *Georgics*, Aristaeus dives into the water and *unda / accepitque sinu uasto misitque sub amnem* ("the wave received him in its vast bay and sent him beneath the flood," *Geo.* 4.361–2); we may compare Theseus's own dive into the water in Bacchylides, at which point πόντιόν / τέ νιν δέξατο θελημὸν ἄλσος ("the sea's grove received him willingly," Bacch. 17.84–5). The πόντιον ἄλσος here, and later πατρὸς ἱππίου δόμον ("the home of his father, lord of horses," Bacch. 17.99–100) and θεῶν μέγαρον ("the hall of the gods," Bacch. 17.100–1), are all echoed by Aristaeus's marveling arrival at *domum . . . genetricis et umida regna / speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis* ("the home of his mother and the damp kingdoms and the lakes enclosed by grottos and the resounding groves," *Geo.* 4.364–5) and by his mother's earlier use of the term *limina divum* ("the threshold of the gods," *Geo.* 4.358). The collective presence of Cyrene's nymph sisters, Nereids, and Oceanids (*Geo.* 4.333–56), plus Aristaeus's amazement at the noisy conflux of rivers (*Geo.* 4.365–73), recalls Theseus's fear at the κλυτὰς Νηρέος ὀλβίου κόρας ("the famed daughters of wealthy Nereus," Bacch. 17.101–3). Finally, Cyrene anoints her son with ambrosia at his departure:

<div style="text-align:center">

liquidum ambrosiae defundit odorem, 　　　　　415
quo totum nati corpus perduxit; at illi
dulcis compositis spirauit crinibus aura
atque habilis membris uenit uigor.
(Vergil, *Georgics* 4.415–18)

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　　She poured out the perfume of ambrosia, which she spread over her son's whole body; and a
　　sweet breeze wafted from his orderly hair, and strength came to his nimble limbs.

Amphitrite had similarly bedecked Theseus with a robe and a wreath of roses, and when he emerged from the water it was with divinely shining limbs:

<div style="text-align:center">

ἐπεὶ
μόλ᾽ ἀδίαντος ἐξ ἁλὸς
θαῦμα πάντεσσι, λάμ-
　　πε δ᾽ ἀμφὶ γυίοις θεῶν
δῶρ᾽. 　　　　　　　　125
(Bacch. 17.121–5)

</div>

　　When he came from the water without a drop on him, all were amazed, and the gifts of the gods
　　shone around his limbs.

Theseus is, in this way, likened to the Nereids, who earlier had been described as having "a gleam like fire radiat[ing] from their shining limbs" (ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαῶν / λάμπε γυίων σέλας /

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[182] Fantham (1993) 23.

ὦτε πυρός, Bacch. 17.103–5).[183] Although Theseus's androgyny as he rises from the sea has elements of mythic, religious, and cultural significance,[184] for the Vergilian allusion the point is that both mother-figures have made their sons' limbs more shiningly divine.

We can see, then, that Aristaeus's underwater journey bears a good deal of resemblance to Theseus's, and that Theseus's visit to Achelous draws on Aristaeus's visit to his mother. There are no direct allusions to Bacchylides' narrative in the *Metamorphoses*—there is only a general flavor. But despite the lack of direct allusion, the intertextual chain comes full circle: Ovid's Theseus draws on Vergil's Aristaeus who draws on Bacchylides' Theseus. Thus, ultimately, Theseus is characterized as Theseus.

Tellingly, in the first line of the next book of the *Metamorphoses*, Theseus is, for the first and only time in the epic, *Neptunius heros*. He too has undergone a sea-change, if perhaps a temporary one, in this household of water and metamorphosis. His Athenian guise has been stripped away to remind the reader that while Theseus is Aegeus's son, as Ovid has been asserting for the last two books and will continue to assert throughout the epic, still he is also Neptune's. Here, he becomes *Neptunius heros* when all the Athenian overlay of the *Metamorphoses* has been swept away by the constant deluge of the watery narratives. Such a blatant irruption into the text of Theseus's Neptunian heritage may make even the reader who has missed earlier intertextual hints wonder about its earlier presence. As I have remarked, however, Ovid's engagement with Vergil does not overwhelm. There are echoes to be noticed, but not to the extent of Vergil's echoes of Bacchylides. And yet, even were there no Vergilian text at all to provide a window-reference, we still see Theseus here in a divine realm of water, entertained by an aquatic god. The reminiscence of his underwater visit is forcible. And if we are content with allowing the corpus of myth to stand on its own as an intertext, then we can bypass Vergil and even Bacchylides completely, while still arriving at the same conclusions.[185]

What purpose does it serve for Ovid to pull the other half of Theseus's paternity into the text? I propose both a quasi-literary reading and an extra-textual foray into the surrounding political environment of Ovid's day. The literary reading is, essentially, what I have already been tracing out in the preceding pages. Theseus has two sides—Aegeus's son, the civilizing Athenian hero purportedly depicted in the *Metamorphoses*, and Neptune's son, the unfeeling monstrosity portrayed in the *Heroides*—and Ovid is playing them off each other in the same way that the alternative stories he has been telling in place of Theseus's own story play off the "core" Theseian narrative.

The political reading requires drawing together a number of disparate threads. In reactivating the notion of dual divine and mortal paternity in a setting where Theseus has recently inherited Athenian rule on the occasion of his (newly encountered) mortal father's death, Ovid may remind his readers of another son of ambiguous paternity who had, not all that long before, taken the reins of power from his newly adoptive and deified father. The stretch from Theseus to Augustus is not difficult to make, especially within the *Metamorphoses*,

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[183] The ἀμεμφέα **πλόκον** (17.114) which Amphitrite places on his head also echoes the Nereids' χρυσεό**πλοκοι** ταινίαι (17.106–7).

[184] Calame (2007) 268 observes that Theseus "appears like a betrothed woman, displaying traits that, at the very least, are ambiguous in terms of 'gender.'" Ephebes are traditionally at an androgynous stage—Walker (1995) 100 notes that "transvestism is a characteristic feature of initiation rites, and it is also found in myths about young heroes on the verge of manhood." Pausanias (1.19.1) recounts that when Theseus arrives at Athens, he is mistaken for an unmarried girl because of his long hair and long "dress." On the gendered inversion of the *ephebeia*, see Vidal-Naquet (1986) 114–17.

[185] See Introduction, p. 6.

where Theseus is primarily depicted as the civilizing ruler of Athens; and Ovid himself makes this stretch at *Met.* 15.850–60, a point to which I shall return.[186] As the star city of the Greek world, Athens is easily perceived as a calque for Rome—or as an inferior prototype. Ingo Gildenhard and Andrew Zissos argue for the negative presence (as opposed to absence) of Athens throughout the *Metamorphoses*, invoked particularly through the textual and geographic (dis)placement of certain key Atthidographic tales in the epic. Ultimately, in their view,[187]

> Ovid's careful, systematic account of Roman origins at the end of the epic stands in pointed contradistinction to his earlier treatment of Athens. In the international, largely urban, culture of Ovid's own day there could be but a single *urbs*, a single world capital. Thus, insofar as it is able, the *Metamorphoses* undermines the status of a city that championed Hellenic civilization and which, on the cultural level at least, continued to challenge the privileged, hegemonic status of *Roma aeterna*.

Even if (or especially if) Ovid is setting up Athens as the supplanted precursor to Rome, in so constructing the opposition he simultaneously establishes the two cities as parallels of each other.[188] Gildenhard and Zissos put forward the tale of Baucis and Philemon as a key example of the Ovidian privileging of Rome,[189] but Rome's displacement of Athens—and what we may assume should be Augustus's concomitant displacement of Theseus—demands further investigation in light of Theseus being suddenly cast as the Neptunian hero. One could argue that this sudden volte-face in the presentation of Theseus effectively knocks the legs out from under Ovid's rhetorical diminution of Athens and her hero—since the Neptunian Theseus is hardly Athenian at all—or one could argue that Athens is *further* diminished *because* her hero is scarcely worthy of the Athenian name.[190] And, no matter the rhetorical effect, what exactly

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[186] See pp. 44ff.

[187] Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 71.

[188] Traditionally Thebes was the antithetical mirror of Athens (Zeitlin [1990]) and was later similarly employed at Rome (Hardie [1990], Braund [2006]); this co-opted model can also set up a commutative correspondence between Athens and Rome, as each is, in some fashion, the mirror of Thebes. Plutarch clearly sees Athens and Rome as equivalent (they are πόλεις αἱ ἐπιφανέσταται, "the most outstanding of cities," *Thes.* 2.2), and he proposes to pair Theseus and Romulus in his *Parallel Lives* because each was the founder of their city: ἐφαίνετο τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων οἰκιστὴν Ἀθηνῶν ἀντιστῆσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀνικήτου καὶ μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης ("It seemed reasonable to compare and contrast the founder of the excellent and glorious Athenians with the father of unconquered and outstanding Rome," *Thes.* 1.5). Theseus was not, in fact, the actual founder of Athens, but he unified it (ὁ δὲ συνῴκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας, *Thes.* 2.2) and, as with Augustus, his rule was seen as a new starting point for his city. Suetonius (*Aug.* 7.2) records that the senate proposed to call Octavian "Romulus" *quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis* ("as if he, too, were the founder of the city").

[189] Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 68: "in a morally charged context in the very centre of the poem, Ovid offers his readers an allegorical preview of Rome, more specifically Rome as defined by Augustan ideology. Indeed, at the heart of 'Philemon and Baucis' lie two fundamental motifs that are widespread in Augustan literature: 'moral fibre' as the source of imperial greatness, and the transformation of humble dwellings into monuments of marble and gold. The metamorphosis of the cottage into a temple plays out in miniature what Augustus claimed to have done to the entire city of Rome."

[190] Augustus, by contrast, was definitively Roman—unless one bought into the rhetoric of his detractors, who made slurs about Augustus's Arician heritage (his maternal grandfather, M. Atius Balbus, was possibly an Arician money-changer and baker). This Latinate origin evidently earned Octavian several nasty comments in his youth; the only one recorded in contemporary material is a slur of Antony's preserved by Cicero (*Philippics* 3.6.15–17). Antony apparently called Octavian's mother *Aricina mater*, which was meant to suggest her foreignness and Octavian's *ignobilitas*. Cicero disputes the supposed negative connotations of *Aricina* but in doing so makes Antony's import clear: *"Aricina mater." Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere* ("'Arician mother.' You would think

does this change say about Theseus's Roman replacement, Augustus?[191]

Divi Filius

By setting up a correlation between Theseus and Augustus, even one in which it is intimated that Augustus has surpassed his Theseian model, Ovid demands that the reader think about the emperor in a new light.[192] Like Theseus, Augustus was not truly, or at least solely, the son of the father from whom he claimed paternity. We find a multiplicity of fathers worked into Augustus's own rhetoric, although to a greater or lesser extent depending on the contemporaneity of certain traditions. Suetonius repeats a story which may or may not have been current in Augustus's own day, that Apollo had fathered Octavian on Atia in the form of a serpent while she slept in his temple:

> In Asclepiadis Mendetis Theologumenon libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte uenisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius extitisse maculam uelut picti draconis nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. . . . somniauit et pater Octauius utero Atiae iubar solis exortum.
>
> (Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.4)

> I read in the books of Asclepiades of Mendes' *Theologoumena* that Atia, when she had come to a solemn rite of Apollo in the middle of the night, fell asleep on a chaise placed in the temple, while the other women were sleeping. Suddenly a serpent came slithering up to her and went away after a little while. She purified herself as if she were purifying herself following sex with her husband, and at once a mark, like a tattooed serpent, stood forth on her body, and she was never able to get rid of it, so that not long afterwards she stopped going to the public baths for good. Augustus was born in the tenth month after that and, because of this, was considered the son of Apollo. . . . And Augustus's father, Octavius, dreamed that a ray of sun arose from Atia's womb.

There are no utterly impeachable contemporary references to this story, but Augustus certainly took pains to associate himself with the sun god, and, as we can see from Suetonius's report, the tradition was mainstream less than a century after Augustus's death.[193]

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that instead of 'Arician' he was saying 'from Tralles' or 'Ephesian,'" *Phil.* 3.6.15). See Green (2007) 34–9, 268–9 on the various insults Octavian endured about his heritage. Many thanks to Guy Smoot for directing me to this passage of Cicero and to Green's book.

[191] An allusion to Augustus may also be underlined by the Vergilian intertext that we saw above: various scholars (e.g., Nadeau [1984], Lee [1996], Morgan [1999]) have discussed Vergil's Aristaeus as an Augustus-figure.

[192] As well as implying the correlation between Theseus and Augustus through the rhetoric of Athens' diminution in favor of Rome as the new world power (Gildenhard and Zissos [2004]), Ovid makes it explicit at *Met.* 15.850–6. See pp. 44ff.

[193] Later authors put much stock in this tradition, which may post-date Augustus's death. However, according to Kleiner (1988) 354, Suetonius's source, Asclepiades, "appears to have composed his *Theologumena* during Augustus's lifetime." See also Cassius Dio 45.1.2–3. Gurval (1995) 100–2 discusses the possible political inspirations for the story and determines that, if the story is from the Augustan period at all, it is likely from either the immediately post-Actian period or from the very end of Augustus's reign, as his death and presumed deification approached. Other rumors regarding Augustus's paternity may also have existed; three centuries later, Donatus attributed to Augustus himself the assertion that *putant alii me natum Octavio, quidam suspicantur alio me genitum viro* ("some think me the son of Octavius, while some suspect that I was sired by another man," *Vita Virgiliana Donati Aucti* 15 Brugnoli–Stok). Here it is addressed as a riddle to Vergil, who jestingly replies that Augustus's father was in fact a baker; the evidence, he says, is in the fact that Augustus has repeatedly ordered

This story of Augustus's serpentine conception owes many of its details to the story of Alexander the Great's conception. However, even if putative Apolline paternity could be confirmed as a post-Augustan fabrication on the model of Alexander, its subsequent popularity may point to a widespread idea that Augustus's paternity had to have been something out of the ordinary for him to have been so great a man. In fact, Augustus indisputably laid claim to two fathers: his biological and mortal father, C. Octavius, and his adoptive and divine father, C. Julius Caesar. Although Augustus made much of his "divine" paternity, he may have also made a point of reincorporating Octavius into his rhetoric as soon as his claim to *imperium* was on a solid footing. After Actium, Octavian dedicated an arch in honor of Octavius,[194] and Diana Kleiner argues that the dedication of the arch to Octavius shows that, following his victory at Actium, Octavian had "the security to proclaim publicly his *pietas* or devotion toward his real father as he had earlier for his divine adoptive 'father,' Julius Caesar."[195] The dedication certainly reveals an adjustment of his rhetoric, as for the previous twelve years Octavian had put himself forward only as the son of Caesar.[196] Such self-presentation was necessary, as Paul Zanker reminds us, since constant reminder of the slain dictator "was Octavian's most valuable political tool."[197] But certain aspects of Caesar's career, such as his involvement in civil war and his rumored desire for kingship,[198] were problematic for the new princeps, and any distance from these models that he could attain would be to his benefit. The arch in honor of Octavian's real father could only serve to emphasize, advantageously, the young ruler's plurality of fathers.[199]

There are, in addition, many other parallels between the two rulers. Both Theseus and Augustus were the founders and re-founders of numerous festivals, in honor of various gods but particularly in honor of their own divine patrons and fathers.[200] Both were also strongly associated, specifically, with Apollo. In Augustus's case, his association with Apollo is well-known, given the emperor's possible claims of Apolline paternity and definite self-portrayal as

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bread to be given to the masses, which could only be the act of a baker or a baker's son (*Vita Donati Aucti* 17). There may be some truth to this statement, as Augustus's maternal grandfather was possibly a baker (and at the very least was from Aricia, where bakers were closely tied to Diana's sanctuary), which brought Octavian a fair amount of grief from insults (see n. 190).

[194] Kleiner (1988) 352 notes that this is "the only instance of an arch set up in honor of a deceased member of a Roman *gens* that is crowned by statues of divinities," attributing this "unique hybrid of Republican traditions" to Octavian's triple paternity (Octavius, Caesar, and Apollo).

[195] Kleiner (1992) 82.

[196] Both Kleiners see a reference to Augustus's ambiguous paternity in this post-Actian dedication, although the ambiguity they in fact wish to illuminate is the juxtaposition of Octavius and Apollo, since the crowning sculpture was one of Apollo and Diana in a chariot. See Kleiner (1988), Kleiner (1992) 82.

[197] Zanker (1988) 34. Reinhold (2002) 60 suggests that Octavian was in fact "ashamed of his father's family background and of the relatively humble rank of the Octavii within the highly stratified, status-conscious Roman social and political hierarchy."

[198] For a convenient narration of the events and rumors surrounding Julius Caesar and the kingship, see Gelzer (1968) 315–325.

[199] Taylor (1931) 131: "like the ancient kings of Egypt, he [Augustus] could have many fathers and all the advantages that the idea of the incarnation of gods in him could bring."

[200] Theseus refounded the Isthmian Games in honor of Poseidon (see p. 29, n. 140), while at Athens he established the Pyanepsia in honor of Apollo and a number of other festivals in honor of himself and various other gods (Plut. *Thes.* 21.1–25.4). Augustus, in addition to renewing the Ludi Saeculares in 17 BC and generally reviving various aspects of Roman cult, highlighted his own family's connections with a number of extant festivals (cf. Fantham [2002]). Also see Gurval (1995) 74ff for a number of games and festivals that Octavian established and re-established in honor of his victories.

Apollo.[201] As for Theseus, he was primarily represented as an ephebic hero, performing most of his noteworthy deeds while in the transitory stage between youth and maturity with which Apollo is identified in Greek religious thought.[202] Further, both the Athenian temple of Apollo Delphinius and worship of the god himself played a recurrent role in Theseus's story.[203] Octavian's ephebic state at the inception of his power lends further credence to the parallels with Theseus.[204] Plutarch refers to Theseus as the unifier of Athens (*Thes.* 2.2); Augustus stresses in the *Res Gestae* his unification of Italy (10.2, 25.2); both could be (and were) considered founders of their cities.[205] It is also worth noting that the Athenian people's joyful singing in praise of Theseus at *Met.* 7.433–50 mostly celebrates his success in making the frontier safe—suspiciously like what Augustus has putatively accomplished by bringing the world under Roman rule.[206] The *pax Augusta* was one of Augustus's major accomplishments of foreign policy, and this civilizing influence that Rome had over the barbarians during Augustus's rule is a theme of his *Res Gestae*, which presumably echo the general rhetoric of the imperial government.[207]

So far the connections between Theseus and Augustus have only arisen from intertextual and extra-textual associations; nothing within the *Metamorphoses* has joined the two of them. However, Theseus's final appearance in the *Metamorphoses* does make his comparison with Augustus explicit, and this same passage serves as a culmination of the paternity issue within the epic. At the very end of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid names sons who have surpassed their fathers:

> natique videns bene facta fatetur   850
> esse suis maiora et vinci gaudet ab illo.
> hic sua praeferri quamquam vetat acta paternis,
> libera fama tamen nullisque obnoxia iussis
> invitum praefert unaque in parte repugnat:
> sic magnus cedit titulis Agamemnonis Atreus,   855
> Aegea sic Theseus, sic Pelea vicit Achilles;
> denique, ut exemplis ipsos aequantibus utar,

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[201] For a discussion of the numerous connections between Augustus and Apollo, see Gurval (1995) 87–136.

[202] For both Theseus and Apollo as ephebes, and the connection between them, see, e.g., Graf (2009) 84–5. On the ritual and religious implications of Theseus as ephebe, see Walker (1995) 94–104.

[203] Plutarch, *Theseus* 12.3, 14.1, 18.1, 22.4; Pausanias 1.19.1. In addition, Bacchylides 17, which narrates the story of Theseus's visit to Poseidon and focuses generally on the Athenian hero, was composed for performance at the Delia (see especially Calame [2007] 267–70).

[204] Octavian's straddling of the line between *adulescens* and *iuvenis* is emphasized in such acts as the public ceremony he held to celebrate the first shaving of his beard (see Taylor [1931] 130). Far more tenuously, Theseus and Octavian may both receive their "names" only once they pass into manhood: Octavian received the name Caesar at this transitional period of his life and, later (in 27 BC), assumed the name Augustus, while Plutarch records two possible etymologies of "Theseus," one of which is that he got the name at Athens when Aegeus acknowledged him (θεμένου, *Thes.* 4) as his son.

[205] See p. 41, n. 188.

[206] Augustus also frees the Roman state from tyranny (*RG* 1.1, with Cooley [2009] 108–11 *ad loc.*). Interestingly, all the robbers and other monsters whom Theseus purges from the land are themselves the children of Poseidon in one tradition or another; this is, perhaps, Theseus's redemption of his patrilineage. Alternatively, it makes him into a kin-slayer.

[207] See Cooley (2009) 28–9 on the imperialist ideology of the *pax Augusta*. Cf. Strabo (6.4.2): οὐδέποτε γοῦν εὐπορῆσαι τοσαύτης εἰρήνης καὶ ἀφθονίας ἀγαθῶν ὑπῆρξε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ὅσην Καῖσάρ τε ὁ Σεβαστὸς παρέσχεν ἀφ᾽ οὗ παρέλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοτελῆ ("In any case, it was never possible for the Romans and their allies to abound in so much peace and abundance of goods as Caesar Augustus provided, from the time he took absolute power").

> sic et Saturnus minor est Iove: Iuppiter arces
> temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis,
> terra sub Augusto est; pater est et rector uterque.   860
> (Ovid, *Met.* 15.850–60)

> And marking well the deeds of his son, [Caesar] confesses that they are greater than his own and
> delights to be conquered by him. As for [Augustus], although he forbids his own acts to be set
> before those of his father, still insuppressible fame, stilled by no command, sets him before
> though he is unwilling and fights against him in this one respect: thus great Atreus yields to
> record of Agamemnon's deeds, thus Theseus conquers Aegeus, thus Achilles conquers Peleus;
> and finally, so that I'm using examples that are equal to *them*, thus too is Saturn less than Jupiter:
> Jupiter holds sway over the airy citadels and the kingdoms of the triply-shaped universe, the
> earth is subject to Augustus; each is father and ruler.

This catalogue is strange on several levels. Neither Atreus nor Aegeus was particularly well-known for deeds of daring-do; Atreus's famous deeds mostly involved internecine slaughter,[208] while Aegeus's most prominent acts were siring Theseus and marrying Medea. In addition, presumably because of their fathers' shared status as comparative nonentities, Theseus and Agamemnon are not typically leveraged as *exempla* for the *topos* of father-surpassing sons—indeed, Theseus primarily "surpassed" Aegeus by causing his death.[209] Nonetheless, Theseus and Aegeus sit at the center of the mortal catalogue, highlighting a paradox of inherited power: it is highly likely that Theseus's unmentioned divine heritage is what enables him to surpass his mortal father in the first place.

The same is true of Augustus—only a god can engender a god. Therefore, to paraphrase Barchiesi, Augustus requires a divine father in order to be seen to have the ancestral *gravitas* and familial continuity necessary for personal *imperium.*[210] "Caesar had to be made a god because Octavian *could not be a mortal. . . .* Augustus molds Caesar into a 'double' of himself."[211] The terrestrial power wielded by Augustus was, to a large extent, inherited from the divine honors accorded to Caesar by (primarily) senatorial vote while he was still alive.[212] Therefore, Caesar's apotheosis lifted some of Augustus's honors out of the mortal realm in which the emperor was still firmly anchored.[213] Ovid himself had already spelled this out: *ne foret hic igitur mortali semine cretus, / ille deus faciendus erat* ("Therefore, lest he [Augustus] be thought to derive from mortal stock, he [Caesar] had to be made a god," *Met.* 15.760–1).

And yet, given the generative language that Ovid employs in his description of Caesar's adoption of Augustus (*genuisse,* 15.758; *mortali semine cretus,* 15.760), can we perhaps detect a

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[208] Atreus's crime of treating his brother to a feast of his brother's own children was so horrible that the Sun reversed his course, a striking image that pervades the tragedies dealing with the House of Atreus.

[209] Although we may hypothesize some mythographic catalogue entitled *Qui patres suos vicerunt* which could have included Theseus and Agamemnon, the generational succession of the gods and, as an extension of the same, Achilles are really the only examples of this. It seems highly suspicious, given the thrust of this catalogue, that Octavian was adopted *in Caesar's will.*

[210] However, see Gruen (2005) on the possibility of Augustus *avoiding* anything that smacked of dynastic intent.

[211] Barchiesi (2001b) 77. Even if Augustus refused to receive divine cult directly for himself, rather than for his *genius,* from Roman citizens (Taylor [1931] 181–95, Reinhold [2002] 67–8), he was still worshipped as a god elsewhere in the Empire and, in addition, presumably did in fact hope to be apotheosized after his death.

[212] Taylor (1931) 82–94.

[213] Taylor (1931). This transference of honors from "father" to "son" actually enabled Augustus to *refuse* divine worship from the Roman people, while accepting it from his Eastern and Greek subjects, because he still was afforded the necessary power. Cf. Reinhold (2002) 67–8: "In Augustus's own conception of himself, there was never any question that distance between himself and the gods should be maintained, and that his proper role was that of mortal mediator between the divine and human spheres."

slightly ironic tone? Ovid classifies the adoption as the greatest of all Caesar's deeds (*neque enim de Caesaris actis / ullum maius opus, quam quod pater exstitit huius*, "for none of Caesar's deeds was a greater endeavor than becoming the father of this man," *Met.* 15.750–1), but the way that he phrases the subsequent lines partially cheats Caesar of that particular deed.[214] After all, it was really Octavius who performed the generative act, prior to Caesar establishing his claim.[215] Adoption, therefore, seems to become another form of metamorphosis in this Roman book of the *Metamorphoses*, retroactively altering Augustus's genetics. In addition, if Augustus has surpassed his father's deeds, he must have surpassed even the magnificent greatness of his own adoption—which only occurred with Caesar's death.

If only a god can engender a god, it is equally the case that only a god can surpass a god. This is further illustrated by the subsequent shift, following the catalogue of Agamemnon, Theseus, and Achilles, to what Ovid tellingly calls *exemplis ipsos aequantibus* ("examples equal to them," 15.857), citing Jupiter's preeminence over Saturn—exactly the model that Jupiter's own, unmentioned, fears of overthrow by a son were based on. This point is prefigured by the final father/son pair in the mortal exemplary catalogue, since Peleus became Achilles' father for exactly that reason, namely awareness and fear among the immortals, especially Jupiter himself, that Thetis' son would surpass his father. Ovid had previously explained that in great detail:

<div style="text-align:center">

nam coniuge Peleus
clarus erat diva nec avi magis ille superbus
nomine quam soceri, siquidem Iovis esse nepoti
contigit haut uni, coniunx dea contigit uni.   220
    Namque senex Thetidi Proteus 'dea' dixerat 'undae,
concipe: mater eris iuvenis, qui fortibus annis
acta patris vincet maiorque vocabitur illo.'
ergo, ne quicquam mundus Iove maius haberet,
quamvis haut tepidos sub pectore senserat ignes,   225
Iuppiter aequoreae Thetidis conubia fugit,
in suaque Aeaciden succedere vota nepotem
iussit et amplexus in virginis ire marinae.
(Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.217–28)

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For Peleus was celebrated with a goddess as his wife, nor was he more proud of his grandfather's name than his father-in-law's, and even if it did not befall only one to be the grandson of Jupiter, a goddess spouse befell one alone.

For Old Man Proteus had said to Thetis, "Goddess of the wave, conceive: you will be the mother of a youth who will, in his bold years, conquer the deeds of his father and will be called greater than he." Therefore, lest the universe contain anything greater than Jupiter, even though he had felt more-than-warm fires beneath his breast, Jupiter fled the nuptials of watery Thetis, and he ordered Aeacus's son, his grandson, to take his vows in his stead and to enter the embraces of the marine maid.

Without Thetis' divine blood and the near-immortality that she bestowed on her son, Achilles would not have surpassed Peleus; if Jupiter had dared to be his father, Achilles would have surpassed Jupiter. For his part, Jupiter only proved his superiority by deposing his own

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[214] Looked at another way, Caesar's greatest deed was to be assassinated.

[215] Sharrock (2002) 105 notes "the ironic stress on the genetic significance of Caesar's fathering of Augustus."

father.[216] But Augustus, whom Ovid touts as having surpassed his divine father, is not a god—yet. Dark undercurrents of contradiction and criticism seem to swirl around this catalogue, none of them directly applicable to Augustus, but all of them making Ovid's effusive praise sit a little more uneasily.[217]

The final line of the father/son catalogue in Book 15 arouses further suspicions. Both Jupiter and Augustus are called *pater et rector* (15.860); in a context where they have just been described as sons who surpassed their fathers, especially given the great lengths Jupiter took to avoid further generational repetition, the explicit emphasis on their shared paternal aspect is unsettling. Following the adoption of Tiberius in AD 4, Augustus was no longer just *pater patriae*, but he was now also a father in as true a fashion as Caesar was his own father. However, the mention of Tiberius's adoption a scant twenty lines earlier avoids the suggestion that Augustus had any part in generating Tiberius.[218] This sets the adoption in sharp contrast to Augustus's own adoption, as does the explicitly commanded bestowal of the name "Caesar" on Tiberius (*ferre simul nomenque suum curasque iubebit*, "he will order him to bear his name and his concerns at the same time," 15.837). Has Augustus, then, surpassed Caesar by managing to "reproduce" himself while still alive, or are his attempts doomed to failure? Will Tiberius, too, surpass his father, as the comparison with Jupiter suggests (and will Germanicus or Drusus, in turn, surpass him), or can Augustus safely rest on his laurels? Ovid provides us with no answers, only problems.

Intimations of Imperium

If all the preceding material of the *Metamorphoses* rests behind the final events of the epic and colors our interpretation of Ovid's words, Habinek similarly suggests that the earlier myths of the *Metamorphoses* need to be "retroactively interpreted"[219] with reference to the present-day events of Book 15. Let us, therefore, retroactively interpret Ovid's *Theseid*. The suppressed and displaced Athenian narrative has been read as a sustained counterpoint to the promised glory of Rome,[220] and in Book 15, we have finally reached that glorious culmination; but I have been proposing that this closing picture may not be so perfect as Ovid had intimated with his progressive "deconstruction" of Athens.

A bad image of Theseus does not automatically read badly for Augustus—after all, Theseus is the proto-Augustus, not Augustus's equal. And yet, the *Metamorphoses* is constructed so as to emphasize Theseus's Athenian side, his role as civilizer, and it is only this narrative which Ovid deconstructs in order to elevate Augustus and Rome. In order to give

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[216] The phrase *Iove maius* becomes something of a by-word in Ovid for this issue of the Divine Succession Theme. He uses the phrase four times, once addressed by the Sun to Phaëthon (*Met.* 2.62), but every other time in connection with or in allusion to the succession (and avoided succession) between Saturn, Jupiter, and Achilles: *Met.* 11.224, *F.* 5.126, and *Tr.* 2.38. Valerius Flaccus, always a careful reader of Ovid, picks up on this phrase and reuses it in the exact same context, of Thetis sighing that her son will not be born *Iove maiorem* (*Arg.* 1.133). Gee (2000) 143–7 sees Augustan significance in the phrase *nil maius*: not only does it "signal an assimilation of Augustus and Jupiter" (146), but it plays on the increasing *aug-* of Augustus's surname.

[217] We may also remember the general thrust of the Parcae's song in Catullus 64: Achilles will be greater than Peleus, but *greater* is not necessarily *better*.

[218] Tiberius's birth is attributed solely to Livia, through the periphrasis *prolem sancta de coniuge natam* ("the child born from his holy spouse," 15.836). Cf. Sharrock (2002) 105–6.

[219] Habinek (2002) 57.

[220] Gildenhard and Zissos (2004). See pp. 41ff.

prominence to this narrative, Theseus's divine heritage is outwardly suppressed.[221] Within the house of Achelous, however, where truth and fiction become particularly confused and mutable, Ovid takes pains to remind the reader that Theseus has two sides. Theseus is the son of the mortal Aegeus, surpassed by Augustus as the son of the divine Julius—but Theseus is also the son of the problematic Neptune.[222] Theseus civilized the Isthmus, defeating bandits like Sciron and Procrustes, while Augustus civilized the whole world—but Theseus also carried off Helen, Ariadne, and the Amazon queen, Antiope/Hippolyta.[223] If we read between the lines, Theseus all but killed his own father, while Augustus brought his father's killers to justice[224]— but what about the fact that Octavian only came into power because Caesar was murdered, and what about his biological father, Octavius, who apart from one dedicatory arch seems to have been nearly as forgotten as Aegeus?[225] Again, there is no direct criticism, but the foundations of Ovid's argument for the teleological glory of Rome may become slightly unstable.

There is also the matter of a key piece of Augustan iconography that surfaces in this central region of the *Metamorphoses*, while Theseus is still "on stage," as it were. Achelous's story of his battle with Hercules segues into an aetiology of the cornucopia—it was made from the horn which Hercules sheared off Achelous's forehead:

> nec satis hoc fuerat: rigidum fera dextera cornu   85
> dum tenet, infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit.
> naides hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,
> sacrarunt; divesque meo Bona Copia cornu est.
>   (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.85–8)

> Nor had this been enough: while his fierce right hand holds my stiff horn, he breaks it off and tears it from my maimed forehead. The naiads preserved it, filled to the brim with fruits and scented flowers; and Good Abundance is rich with my horn.

However, at approximately the same time as Ovid was writing the *Metamorphoses*, he was also writing the *Fasti*, and therein lies a very different origin of the cornucopia:

> nascitur Oleniae signum pluviale Capellae;
>   illa dati caelum praemia lactis habet.
> Nais Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida,   115
>   dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem.
> huic fuit haedorum mater formosa duorum,
>   inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,
> cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis,

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[221] Even in Hippolytus's narration of his death (*Met.* 15.492–546), no connection is made between the bull from the sea and his father, nor between the bull and the god whom all readers would know to have sent it.

[222] It would be worth considering possible connections with Sextus Pompey, who claimed that he was the son of Neptune. For recent work on Sextus Pompey, see Powell and Welch (2002).

[223] Plutarch (*Thes.* 29) adds several more women to this list. Walker (1995) 103 observes that abduction by force "is the most common form [of 'marriage'] in the myth of Theseus, and accounts for no less than five of the ten unions listed by Plutarch."

[224] In Augustus's own words, *qui parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eo]s in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum [fa]cin[us, e]t postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici b[is a]cie* ("Those who killed my father, I cast them into exile, having revenged their crime in a legitimate court, and afterwards I conquered them twice when they brought war against the republic with their battle-line," *RG* 2.1). Ovid puts it very similarly, perhaps borrowing his language from the *Res Gestae*: *caesique parentis / nos in bella suos fortissimus ultor habebit* ("and as the most brave avenger of his slain parent, he will have us [gods] as his allies when waging war," *Met.* 15.820–1).

[225] Every reference to Augustus's *pater* or *parens* in the *Res Gestae* (2.1, 10.2, 15.1, 20.3) implies Caesar.

> ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis.　　　　　　120
> lac dabat illa deo; sed fregit in arbore cornu,
> 　　truncaque dimidia parte decoris erat.
> sustulit hoc nymphe cinxitque recentibus herbis,
> 　　et plenum pomis ad Iovis ora tulit.
> ille ubi res caeli tenuit solioque paterno　　　　　　125
> 　　sedit, et invicto nil Iove maius erat,
> sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
> 　　fecit, quod dominae nunc quoque nomen habet.
> 　　　　　　　　　(Ovid, *Fasti* 5.113–28)

> The rainy constellation of the Olenian Goat is born: she has heaven as her reward for the milk
> that she gave. The Naiad Amalthea, noble on Cretan Ida, is said to have secreted Jupiter in the
> woods. She had a beautiful nanny-goat, the mother of two kids, conspicuous among the
> Dictaean flocks, with horns that were towering and curved onto her back, with an udder of the
> sort which Jupiter's nurse ought to possess. She was giving milk to the god; but she broke a horn
> on a tree, and she was shorn of a half part of her beauty. The nymph took this and wrapped it in
> fresh herbs, and she brought it, filled with fruits, to the mouth of Jupiter. He, when he held the
> sky's realms and sat on his father's throne and nothing was greater than unconquered Jupiter,
> made his nurse a constellation and his nurse's horn bountiful, and now it too has the name of its
> mistress.

Scholars are realizing more and more frequently that the *Metamorphoses* cannot be read
without the *Fasti*, and vice versa,[226] and this pair of alternate aetiologies is a perfect case in
point. In the *Fasti*, the cornucopia comes from the forehead of the goat who was the infant
Jupiter's nurse, not from the forehead of the river-god Achelous—and suddenly, it seems, the
banquet at Achelous's house in the *Metamorphoses* has everything to do with Augustus, for
whom the cornucopia (the *Copiae cornu*) and another goat-constellation (Capricorn instead of
Capella) were important symbols of his rule.[227] A lone mention of the cornucopia in the
Metamorphoses, especially lacking the concomitant associations with royal and divine power,
could be overlooked, but the double mention in the two poems, with their entirely incompatible
aetiologies, cannot be ignored.

　　　Once again, we must ask whether the scenario in the *Metamorphoses* is entirely positive
for the Augustan associations. Achelous's horn, which he has just described in full glory, is
presented with almost ritual ceremony to the assembled company, including Theseus:

> dixerat: et nymphe ritu succincta Dianae,
> una ministrarum, fusis utrimque capillis,　　　　　90
> incessit totumque tulit praedivite cornu
> autumnum et mensas, felicia poma, secundas.
> 　　　　　　　　　(Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.89–92)

> He had spoken: and a nymph girded up in the fashion of Diana, one of his attendants, her hair
> spilling over either shoulder, marched in and brought all autumn's abundance in the

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[226] Cf. Barchiesi (1997b) 264: "There are many . . . meaningful connections between the *Metamorphoses* and the
Fasti."

[227] For Augustus's iconographic use of the cornucopia and Capricorn, see Galinsky (1996) 106–18, Barton (1995),
Wray (2002), Taylor (1931) 165–6. Gee (2000) 142 demonstrates the Ovidian correlation between Capricorn and
Capella: "Ovid's Capella carries the same set of associations as Capricorn, but is one step removed from civil war
and its propaganda, a demilitarised form of Capricorn, pertaining more to the youth of Jupiter than to his
fulmina." She also observes that the cornucopia itself also serves as a medium to join the two goats: it originates
from Capella, but in Augustan iconography it is associated with Capricorn.

surpassingly rich horn, and the dessert, bountiful fruits.

This Presentation of the Horn, together with the aetiology that precedes it, has clear verbal ties to the preservation of Amalthea's goat's horn and its presentation to Jupiter in the *Fasti*. Amalthea is not just a nymph, but a naiad (*Nais*, *F.* 5.115); the naiads preserve Achelous's horn after its loss (*naides hoc . . . sacrarunt*, *Met.* 9.87–8). The loss of the goat's horn diminishes her beauty (*dimidia . . . decoris erat*, *F.* 5.122); the loss of Achelous's horn deprives him of his (*ablati . . . iactura decoris*, *Met.* 9.98). The removals of the horns themselves are described in similar terms (*sed fregit in arbore cornu / truncaque*, *F.* 5.121–2; *cornu / . . . infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit*, *Met.* 9.85–6),[228] and both horns are filled with fruit (*plenum pomis*, *F.* 5.124; *pomis . . . repletum*, *Met.* 9.87). Finally, the presentations of the horns have a high incidence of shared vocabulary (*nymphe cinxitque . . . tulit*, *F.* 5.123–4; *nymphe ritu succincta . . . tulit*, *Met.* 9.89–91), with *nymphe* even occupying the same metrical position.[229]

The similarities between the two irreconcilable aetiologies are notable and ultimately serve to further distance the passages even as they bring them together. In the *Fasti*, the horn is associated with cosmic power, and that is how Augustus's rhetoric employed the symbols of Capricorn and the cornucopia.[230] In the *Metamorphoses*, the cornucopia becomes almost a symbol of defeat. Amalthea's horn is presented to the future *rector mundi*, who, in apparent cause and effect, immediately assumes his celestial throne and absolute power after the defeat of his father (*et invicto nil Iove maius erat*, *F.* 5.126),[231] while Achelous's horn—or a substitute for it—is presented to its previous owner and the new ruler of Athens, who immediately departs the scene, presumably to return to his city (again, newly-acquired after the death of his father).[232]

Is the central episode of the *Metamorphoses* positive, or negative? Which aetiology is truth, and which is fiction?[233] Neither aetiology gives an answer, but each casts the other into doubt. The issue of truth and falsity is aired openly at Achelous's banquet,[234] and Boyd has shown the questionable framework on which *Fasti* 5 is constructed, not least in connection with Jupiter himself as a Cretan liar.[235] Even the tale of Jupiter's rearing on Crete and his

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[228] One might argue that there are only so many words that Ovid can use to describe the breaking of a horn, but he repeatedly shows in his poetry that he can avoid verbal repetition entirely if he so desires. Cf. Steiner (1958) 232: "Ovid is perfectly able to echo a situation without repeating words."

[229] It is very tempting also to see in *capillis* (*Met.* 9.90) an echo of *Capellae* (*F.* 5.113), especially as this line seems almost completely devoid of content.

[230] On the Augustan importance of this first catasterism in *Fasti* 5, see Gee (2000) 126–53.

[231] The following lines of the *Fasti*, 5.125–8, cut directly to Jupiter's undisputed rule of heaven and his placement of Amalthea's goat and the cornucopia among the stars, glossing over the prolonged battles of the Titanomachy that took place in between.

[232] Pavlock (2009) 86 suggests that Theseus's group departs hastily because they are offended by Achelous's great lapses in proper hospitality. This is possible, although on Crabbe's (1981) reading of the scene, it is not Achelous who behaves improperly, but several of his guests.

[233] Contemporary prose-writers had a tendency to blur the two stories: Diodorus Siculus (4.35.3) and Strabo (10.2.19) both say that Achelous's horn was presented to Oeneus as "the horn of Amaltheia." In what actually seems to be a sensible interpretation of this apparent misnomer, ps-Apollodorus (2.7.5§148) says that Achelous traded the Horn of Amaltheia, which was for some reason in his possession, to Heracles in exchange for his own horn.

[234] Hardie (2002b) 4. Cf. Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 67–8: "In effect, this *deorum spretor* (8.612–13), beloved companion of fellow-guest Theseus, questions the entire 'truth-value' of Ovid's poem. By calling into question the foundational premise of the *Metamorphoses*, Pirithoüs gestures back negatively to its very beginning—and triggers a response that anticipates its end."

[235] Boyd (2000).

acquisition of the horn come into doubt, given Ovid's intertextual incorporation of not only multiple contradictory sources, but even self-professedly unreliable sources.[236] In other words, set a short while after the opening of the first book of the second half of the *Metamorphoses*, where we might expect to find a medial invocation,[237] we find instead an alternative and untrustworthy aetiology for what is an equally untrustworthy and displaced allusion to the opening of Aratus's *Phaenomena*: "The invocation of Zeus rests uneasily at *Fasti* 5.111 as the preface to the rising of the star Capella, the first astronomical entry of Book 5, but the beginning neither of the work (*opus*, 111) nor even of the book."[238]

If we read Ovid carefully, he creates many problems, but he never provides answers. What he does provide are questions and riddles, and these are what may be gleaned from the text by a careful reading—they are, I believe, answers in and of themselves, even if they provide no resolution. Ovid does not require the reader to choose between alternative branches of the tradition; he seems content for us to come away with a sense of nothing more than utter ambiguity. If we do choose to choose, we lose the literary and mythological heritage behind the version that we have rejected—letting all the possibilities stay and enrich the text ends up being far more fruitful than settling on one. Ovid gives us a model of this mode of reading in the *Fasti*, where he himself is the "reader" of the aetiologies provided by a plethora of divine authorities; and we, as his readers, can do no better than our *praeceptor*.[239] The next Ovidian work to which I shall turn, the *Ibis*, gives us the chance to practice our lessons. The *Ibis* is, in fact, the best example that we could have asked for of this need to decode and understand, but not to choose.

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[236] Boyd (2000) 73–4: "Zeus' birth on Crete had been a relatively uncontroversial 'fact' of myth before Callimachus raised doubts about its authenticity, but in the opening of *Hymn* 1, Callimachus turns this tradition into a logical enigma, asserting that the Cretans who claim Zeus' birthplace as their own cannot be trusted, for Cretans are always liars. . . . Ovid's endorsement of the Cretan tale has significant implications, then, for our reading of this first episode after the book's second proem. Ovid indicates clearly that his authority for this tale comes from Callimachus; yet the reliability of Callimachus as authority is cast into doubt by the very tale Ovid chooses to recall."

[237] It is typical, especially following Vergil, for the medial invocation to be postponed (e.g., Fowler [1989] 95–7; on medial proems generally, see Conte [1992]). On the other hand, Holzberg (1998) 93–4 proposes that the *cornu* of Achelous stands for the book-roll's *cornua*. The two suggestions are not, of course, incompatible.

[238] Gee (2000) 129. Gee does, however, read at least this section of the *Fasti* encomiastically.

[239] On a number of occasions in the *Fasti* (e.g., 3.656–62, 4.783–805, 5.108–10, 6.97–100), Ovid allows himself as unequal to the task of choosing between possible aetiologies, particularly when each is backed by a different divinity—indeed, to do so would be dangerous.

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The Pedant's Curse: A Reconsideration of Ovid's Ibis

POOH-BAH: No, of course we couldn't tell who the gentleman really was.
PITTI-SING: It wasn't written on his forehead, you know.
<div align="right">- W. S. Gilbert, The Mikado, or The Town of Titipu, Act II</div>

Hypocrite lecteur,—mon semblable,—mon frère!
<div align="right">- C. Baudelaire, "Au Lecteur," Les Fleurs du Mal</div>

The *Ibis*, composed during Ovid's exile, is the red-haired stepchild of Ovidian scholarship. Its neglect derives primarily from the highly periphrastic and allusive mode in which it is written, for even a casual attempt at reading the poem turns, of necessity, into a prolonged exercise of scholarly research and investigative cross-referencing. Moreover, we know nothing of the poem's true context. If we are to take Ovid's assertions within the *Ibis* at face value, the poem was written as an attack against an ex-friend at Rome who had been blackening Ovid's name in his absence and making hay with his misfortunes.[240] Ovid conceals the name of this enemy under the pseudonym "Ibis," following in the footsteps of Callimachus, who had also written a curse poem entitled *Ibis* against an anonymous enemy.[241]

Ovid's *Ibis* consists of two main parts. There are two hundred and fifty lines of introductory ritual cursing of Ibis, including an extensive description of his ill-omened birth, followed by a further nearly four hundred lines of catalogue in which Ovid wishes on Ibis the fates suffered by mythological and historical figures, citing one or more per couplet. The majority of these figures are named only through extreme periphrasis. Reactions to this catalogue of *exempla* have been generally unfavorable, and consideration of Ovid's program in the *Ibis* has frequently been sidelined by scholars in their eagerness to ask, repetitively, a limited series of questions, summarized by Gareth Williams as: "Who is Ibis? What had he done to provoke Ovid's curse? What can be inferred from the Ovidian poem about the length, metre, and (extra-)literary purpose of Callimachus's Ἶβις? Who was Ἶβις?"[242] Another favorite scholarly pursuit is the clarification of exactly which myth each couplet obliquely refers to, to the exclusion of all other concerns. Lindsay Watson observes that "this tendency has been reinforced by the wanton obscurity of Ovid's *Ibis*, which has meant that the thrust of scholarly research upon the poem has of necessity been directed towards elucidating the frequently abstruse details of Ovid's mythology."[243] In all this, few have stopped to consider

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[240] *Ib.* 7–22.

[241] *Ib.* 55–62. Nothing of Callimachus's *Ibis* survives. The tradition holds that it was composed against Apollonius Rhodius, although there is little ancient evidence to support this. For an in-depth and balanced discussion of the possibility, with bibliography, see Watson (1991) 121–30.

[242] Williams (1996) 3. Another, similar list of favorites, this time compiled by Watson (1991) 79–80, includes "the relationship of Ovid's *Ibis* to its Callimachean prototype; the sources of the two *Ibides*, particularly Ovid's; . . . the worth of the various scholia to the Latin *Ibis*; the significance of the sobriquet 'Ibis' which the two poets attached to their respective enemies; the identity of the persons so named; . . . the admixture of Greek and Roman elements in Ovid's *Ibis*."

[243] Watson (1991) 80.

the Ovidian, exilic, and poetic contexts of the poem.[244]

In recent years, Gareth Williams in particular has endeavored to fill this gap,[245] arguing that the *Ibis* "plays an integral role in creating the 'wholeness' of the poetic persona featured so centrally in the exilic corpus; for in the broader context of an all-pervading melancholy, the curse takes on a special significance as the expression of a manic, desperate and inevitably futile frustration."[246] He adds that "any understanding of Ovid's exile poetry is incomplete without recognition of what the *Ibis* contributes to the overall collection."[247] I agree that the *Ibis* is an integral piece of Ovid's exilic corpus, and I find Williams' idea of the *Ibis* as a study in deranged poetic mania convincing. However, I feel that the *Ibis*' extended catalogue of curses, in particular, merits further attention.[248] This chapter will, in broad terms, investigate the reasons behind Ovid's choice and arrangement of mythic *exempla* in the catalogue[249] and attempt to provide a more detailed reading of the parallels between the *Ibis* and the rest of Ovid's exilic corpus.

The majority of comments on the arrangement of *exempla* in the *Ibis* catalogue reveal that their authors perceive a basic lack of structural coherence to the work. Even Williams, who is one of the few to remark at all on the catalogue's organizational principles, calls it "a dream-like fantasy in which all temporal distinctions cease to apply"[250] as "Ovid's need to feed his malice with more and more *exempla* takes precedence over any respect for literary chronology or narrative consistency."[251] He tantalizingly refers to its "*seemingly* random sequence"[252] but does not expound upon what possibly less random sequence might be lurking in the catalogue's "only loose coherence."[253] This is exactly where perceptions of the *Metamorphoses* stood barely fifty years ago, when it was still seen by many as "a disjointed succession of disparate, unrelated, and irrational incidents."[254] In the face of this, some work has been done on the internal coherence of the *Ibis* catalogue, particularly by Ursula Bernhardt, who shows how the catalogue's *exempla* are thematically grouped and breaks the text into fifty-one mini-catalogues[255] and thirty-five "Einzelexempla."[256] María García Fuentes has

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[244] In fact, the decoding of *exempla* is an integral part of reading the poem, as I hope to show; however, it is not and should not be the poem's *telos*.

[245] See particularly Williams (1992) and (1996).

[246] Williams (1996) 5.

[247] Williams (1996) 5.

[248] Williams devotes a whole chapter of his 1996 monograph to the catalogue, but I see this as only the tip of the iceberg. Recent in-depth work on the intertextuality of the introductory section has been done by Chiara Battistella (2010), and Samuel Huskey is preparing a critical edition and commentary of the entire poem.

[249] Some work has been done in this direction by Bernhardt (1986) and Gordon (1992).

[250] Williams (1996) 101.

[251] Williams (1996) 92.

[252] Williams (1996) 92, italics mine.

[253] Williams (1996) 92. Ultimately, Williams sees even the patterns which he identifies within the catalogue as supporting "the invective role [Ovid] had assumed programmatically in the poem from the start" (102). My reading is not meant to contradict Williams's but rather to look at the poem and Ovid's program in a different (and hopefully complementary) light. Some scholars, however, have taken Williams's work too far in one direction; cf. Claassen (1999) 288n40: "An understanding of why the poem was produced [is] more important than the deciphering of puzzles deliberately created by our poet to baffle his readership." I hope that the following study will show the misguidance of such assertions.

[254] Steiner (1958) 218. Certainly the *Ibis* is meant to *appear* chaotic and rambling at first glance, but a careful reading of the poem swiftly dispels this initial impression.

[255] My term, also employed by Gordon (1992).

[256] Bernhardt (1986) 328–99. La Penna (1957) xlvi–xlix analyzes the catalogue similarly, although he simply passes in silence over the *exempla* that do not "fit."

examined how themes recur throughout the catalogue, suggesting twenty-nine categories (some broader and some more specific) into which many or most of the *exempla* fall.[257] Neither approach functions perfectly in isolation. García Fuentes makes no explicit mention of the various *exempla* which she includes in more than one category, nor of Ovid's frequent localized groupings of *exempla* from a single category. At the same time, Bernhardt's paring down of *exempla* to only their apparent overriding aspect (manner of death, name, etc.) serves to suppress the connective bridges between mini-catalogues and ultimately results in her need to construct a category of *Einzelexempla*.[258]

As Williams briefly suggests, the catalogue truly does form a sort of *carmen perpetuum*,[259] driven on by links of grammar, mythology, genealogy, vocabulary, nominal coincidence, and more. It would be beyond the scope of this study to provide an exhaustive *exemplum*-by-*exemplum* or verse-by-verse analysis of the work.[260] Instead, I begin with a close reading of two extended passages (*Ib.* 469–94, 253–84), after which I shall illuminate more complex structures of the catalogue through further investigation into the poem at large.[261]

Starving the Slender Muse: The *Ibis* as mythography

The *Ibis*' inclusion within the category of curse-poems, particularly Hellenistic *Arae*, is not a debatable proposition.[262] The tightly compact and interwoven structure of the *Ibis*, however, does not seem to adhere to what we know of these curse-poems' physical arrangement.[263] Instead, it more closely resembles a series of mythographic catalogues, such as those found in Hyginus's *Fabulae* and a number of papyrus fragments.[264] These sub-literary texts appear to have been popular in the ancient world, and Alan Cameron argues that Ovid

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[257] García Fuentes (1992a), (1992b).

[258] She does give a more in-depth discussion of eight mini-catalogues at 352–75, but her observation of actual overlaps between mini-catalogues is limited. In a list of mini-catalogue themes (336–8) she notes only the *exemplum* of Phoenix in two consecutive categories ("*Von d.Stiefmutter Verleumdete*" and "*Geblendete*"). Both Bernhardt and García Fuentes were anticipated, to some extent, by Ellis (1881) xliv–xlviii, who observes a number of mini-catalogues and a number of recurring themes, as well as perceiving some of the methods of connection between mini-catalogues.

[259] Williams (1996) 90: "Ovid is experimenting with a new kind of *carmen perpetuum* – a spell whose composite elements are interwoven in unbroken, unexhausted sequence, but one in which we find a drastic pruning of the familiar narratival devices employed in that earlier *carmen perpetuum*, the *Metamorphoses*." Hutchinson (2006) 74 elucidates two "types" of catalogue in both poetry and prose, "either a) formally continuous or b) formally discontinuous." Ovid's curses in the *Ibis*, despite their brevity, definitely fall under type a), as do the stories of the *Metamorphoses*. Compressed catalogues occur in the *Metamorphoses*—the most extensive is at *Met.* 7.351–90—but there is no evidence that these do not, for instance, directly summarize a section of Nicander, such that the stories would have been readily accessible in a single—and obvious—source. In this case, Ovid's summaries may amount to a mythographic *praeteritio*—he will, explicitly, not write these stories that others have told.

[260] Gordon's unpublished 1992 dissertation remains the only modern commentary in English on the *Ibis* (although one is in preparation by Samuel Huskey). In it, she occasionally notes aspects of structural correspondence within the catalogue (see, e.g., her comments on lines 263–4 and 345–6) and also marks some of Ovid's methods of transition from one mini-catalogue to another (e.g., on 271–2).

[261] For line numbers, I use the numeration followed by Lenz (1944), La Penna (1957), and André (1963); for readings, transpositions, and deletions I tend to follow one of these three, and I discuss my choices where relevant. In addition to the editions and commentaries listed in the bibliography, I have also taken into consideration various articles published on the readings of individual lines and passages, which are cited *ad loc.*

[262] For a thorough discussion of these Hellenistic *Arae* and their connection with Ovid's *Ibis*, see Watson (1991).

[263] Watson (1991) 96–100. It is, of course, impossible to know where Callimachus's *Ibis* stood in relation to its fellow Hellenistic texts on the one hand and Ovid's *Ibis* on the other.

[264] For a comprehensive collection of these, see Van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998).

used them and other types of mythographic treatises as research material for his poetry, particularly the *Metamorphoses* and *Ibis*.[265] Basing his claims on the learned obscurity of Ovid's text, which he believes comprises simply too much detail for even a poet of genius like Ovid to hold in his head, Cameron suggests that Ovid *must* have used mythographic texts—not necessarily to find stories, but more in order to furnish himself with recherché details of alternate names, ethnics, and genealogical periphrases.[266]

It may well be that Ovid employed mythographic texts as research tools and reference works, but this is scarcely the end of their service to Ovid. I propose that Ovid in fact constructed the *Ibis* in a manner intended to be reminiscent of mythographic catalogues. Both his ordering of the material and his heavy paring down of the mythic narrative reflect similar features of mythographic prose works.[267] Ultimately, however, Ovid goes beyond the mythographic urge to summarize, instead creating a catalogue of *exempla* which are so desiccated that it is difficult to identify their subjects, much less any coordinating links between them, without doing one's own investigative research.[268]

In some cases, Ovid appears to aid the reader in this research, further enhancing the mythographic flavor of the work. At lines 469–500, for example, Ovid states outright the themes of four mini-catalogues, in a manner that reflects the titles of mythographic catalogues. Although such explicitness is not unique to this part of the poem, it is still the exception rather than the rule. The order of mini-catalogues here goes: "those struck by lightning," "those killed by dogs," "those killed by snakes," "those who fell to their deaths."[269] The first of these, occupying eight lines, is more fully delineated than those that follow, as both the opening *and* closing lines make it very clear what fate Ovid is wishing on his enemy:

> aut Iovis infesti telo feriare trisulco,
>> ut satus Hipponoo, Dexitheaeque pater,　　　　　470
> ut soror Autonoës, ut cui matertera Maia,
>> ut temere optatos qui male rexit equos,
> ut ferus Aeolides, ut sanguine natus eodem
>> quo genita est liquidis quae caret Arctos aquis;

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[265] Cameron (2004) 269ff. As a possible counter-example, on the evidence of *PHerc* 1602 fr. 6 (a mythographic catalogue of Neptune's love affairs from Philodemus's *De Pietate*), Obbink argues that Ovid seems more likely to have shared a source with Philodemus for his similar lists at *Her.* 19.129–40 and *Met.* 6.115–20 than to have used Philodemus's catalogue itself, although he may well have known the work (see Obbink [2003] 194–8); but Obbink proposes that their common source was the Περὶ θεῶν by Apollodorus of Athens (later abridged as ps-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheka*), so Ovid's source may be mythographic after all.

[266] That said, there is no doubt that the quantity of mythological information to which Ovid and his readers had ready mental access greatly surpassed the mental store of even the greatest modern scholar of myth; due in particular to methods of schooling, ancient memory was far superior to modern memory. See Cameron (1995a) 65, Marrou (1982) *passim*.

[267] Ovid's scheme here is also not unfamiliar from poetry. The grouping of *exempla* or stories by genealogies or theme occurred in catalogue poetry ranging from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* to Boios's *Ornithogonia* (see West [1985], Hunter [2005], Hutchinson [2006], Lightfoot [2009]); it seems also to have been an organizing principle for Hellenistic curse-poetry (Watson [1991] 99–100). What is conspicuous about Ovid's mode in the *Ibis*, apart from the level of obscurity, is the unremittingly dense compression of the *exempla*; any element of narration has been sucked out completely.

[268] Requiring a reader to supply extra information that is necessary for understanding the narrative is a technique familiar from Hellenistic epigram; cf. Bing (1995), who labels the practice "Ergänzungspiel," essentially "a game of supplementation." Also see Cameron (1995a) 80–1 on the genre of riddling epigrams.

[269] See Fig. 2 for a fuller outline of the contents.

> ut Macelo rapidis icta est cum coniuge flammis—   475
>   sic, precor, aetherii vindicis igne cadas.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 469–76)

> Or may you be struck by the three-grooved weapon of hostile Jupiter, as was Hipponoüs's son
> *[=Capaneus]* and the father of Dexithea *[=Demonax]*,[270] as was the sister of Autonoë *[=Semele]*,
> as was the one whose aunt was Maia *[=Iasion]*, as was the one who poorly guided the longed-for
> horses *[=Phaëthon]*, as was the wild son of Aeolus *[=Salmoneus]*, as was the one born from the
> same blood from which Arctos, who is deprived of the liquid waters, was born *[=any son of
> Lycaon]*;[271] as Macelo was struck, along with her spouse,[272] by the swift flames—thus, I pray,
> may you fall by the fire of a heavenly avenger.

In many ways, this is, I think, the most clearly identified and obviously "coherent" mini-catalogue of the entire text. The theme even echoes a mythographic catalogue in Hyginus of which, frustratingly, only the title is preserved: *Qui a fulmine icti sunt* ("Those who were struck by lightning," *Fab.* 264). Of the exemplary figures, some are easily identifiable while others are more obscure or their identities still debated; even so, it can be demonstrated that the arrangement in no way reflects the "disjointed ordering of *exempla*"[273] which Williams sees in the catalogue, nor Watson's claim that, although "Ovid quite often groups together two or more couplets which invoke a like fate . . . this is not his usual procedure, and in the main his curses tumble out one after the other without any thematic interrelationship."[274]

The opening and closing lines balance each other with an express wish for Ibis' death by lightning.[275] The second and second-to-last lines of the mini-catalogue (470 and 475), with their mention of Demonax, both reference the story of the Telchines,[276] framing the rest of the

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[270] Demonax or Damon, depending on whether we believe that the scholia preserve an authentic alternate version of the story that derives from Nicander rather than Callimachus. (See Housman [1920] 300–4 for discussion of the story preserved here and at line 475.)

[271] Most commentators and translators take this to be Lycaon, not his son, following Housman (1920), who apparently could "not see how *quo* can be referred to *eodem* and *natus* made to signify a brother of Callisto's" (298). However, *idem* is perfectly capable of referring forwards as well as backwards (*TLL, s.v. idem* [*caput primum*] IV.A.1.c; the *TLL* citations include this passage), and in any case *eodem* has nothing in the previous clause *to* refer to, as Jupiter, not Aeolus, is the ancestor common to Salmoneus and Lycaon (see p. 58, n. 280). Additionally, Lycaon was very famously (and etymologically necessarily) changed into a wolf, while his sons were very famously struck by lightning. (That is not to say that Lycaon himself should be absent from the reader's mind. There are variants in which Lycaon's children were also turned into wolves or Lycaon and his children were all struck by lightning [*RE* 13:2, 2249–50]. Ovid follows the "famous" version at *Met.* 1.218–43, and that should be the primary interpretation here, especially in grammatical terms; but allusion to alternate versions is a part of Ovid's game in the *Ibis*.)

[272] Macelo's *coniunx* (475) may be the same as *Dexitheae pater* (470), although Housman (1920) 304, following the scholia, argues for their distinction. For our sources, see n. 276.

[273] Williams (1996) 91.

[274] Watson (1991) 99–100. As Watson has just commented that "lump[ing] together a number of curses involving similar fates . . . reflects a common procedure of Hellenistic curse-poetry" (99), it is unfortunate that he not only sees the majority of Ovid's poem as haphazardly organized, but even calls La Penna's demonstration of the organization "an over-schematic attempt to analyse *Ibis* 251–632 in these terms" (99n195).

[275] A diagram of the passage is to be found at Fig. 1.

[276] All our versions of the story of the Telchines are fragmentary. The majority of our scanty evidence comes from Pind. *Paean* 4.35–45 (fr. 52d Maehler), Bacch. fr. 1.72–138 S–M, Call. *Aet.* 3 fr. 75.64–9 Pf., Diod. Sic. 5.55.1–56.3, Ov. *Met.* 7.365–7, and Nonn. *Dion.* 18.35–8. We can glean that they were the children of a sea divinity and that they were powerful and vindictive sorcerers but also great inventors and metalworkers. They seem to have been destroyed by Zeus and Poseidon, who struck them with lightning and submerged their land beneath the waves, leaving behind a single branch of the family that had proven itself pious.

exempla except for Capaneus (with whom Demonax shares the pentameter).[277] Within this frame, the progression runs: Semele, Iasion, Phaëthon, Salmoneus, and a Lycaonid. Semele and Iasion (who share a hexameter) can be connected genealogically.[278] Iasion was in some traditions Semele's uncle, a familial connection which was probably not lost on Ovid and which he may have intended to draw to the surface through the genealogical nature of the periphrases used for Semele and Iasion.[279] The latter is, in fact, identified by means of reference to his own aunt.

At the heart of these eight lines, Iasion also heads a run of three figures who can be perceived as forming a discrete mini-catalogue. Ovid consecutively mentions Iasion, Phaëthon, and Salmoneus, all of whom were struck by lightning (thus their inclusion in this section); but thanks to Hyginus we know that these three have another commonality, as they all appear in his catalogue *Quae quadrigae rectores suos perdiderunt* ("Teams of horses which destroyed their own drivers"):

> Phaethonta Solis filium ex Clymene. . . . Iasionem Iouis filium ex Electra Atlantis filia.
> Salmoneus, qui fulmina in quadrigas sedens imitabatur, cum quadriga fulmine ictus.
> <div align="right">(Hyginus, Fabulae 250)</div>

> Phaëthon, son of the Sun by Clymene. . . . Iasion, son of Jupiter by Electra the daughter of Atlas.
> Salmoneus, who was sitting in his chariot making fake claps of thunder, was struck by a
> thunderbolt along with his chariot.

Thus here in the *Ibis* we have, in essence, an overlapping Venn diagram of mythographic catalogues (see Fig. 3), one labeled and one not, although Ovid may signpost the unlabeled catalogue by identifying the central figure, Phaëthon, through his fatal inability to control the

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[277] It is also perhaps worth noting the adjoining of the destruction of the Telchines to the stories of Lycaon and Tantalus in book 18 of Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* (18.18–41). While there is an obvious connection in context, namely the inappropriate versions of *xenia* offered to the gods by all of the aforementioned, Nonnus also so frequently retains for us lost elements of Hellenistic poetry (see Hollis [1994]) that it is conceivable that an earlier author, also known to Ovid, connected the fates of the sons of Lycaon with the Telchines. Nicander, whom the scholia cite and in whom Housman (1920) puts so much stock as a potential alternate source for the story, is a plausible candidate. Another tenuous connection of the Telchines to Lycaon is preserved by Servius, who records that Apollo's cult title *Lyceus* may possibly have been derived from killing the Telchines in the guise of a wolf (*ad Aen.* 4.377); this evidently bears no relation to our other versions of the story.

[278] Although Semele and Iasion may exist, mythologically speaking, as inversions (or parallels) of each other, it seems unlikely that this influenced their juxtaposition in the *Ibis*. Their parallelism is as follows: Each is punished for having sex with an immortal (Zeus and Demeter respectively); however, while both are ultimately killed by Zeus's lightning, Semele's punishment is instigated by Hera's jealousy, and Zeus's hand in her death is unwilling, while Zeus himself chooses to punish Iasion. Their liaisons, unusually, both produce immortal rather than semi-divine offspring. These children, Dionysus and Ploutos (Wealth), both bring joy to mortals without discrimination (cf. Aristoph. *Plout.* 87–91). For the story of Iasion, Demeter, and Ploutos, see Hes. *Th.* 969–74 and Hom. *Od.* 5.125–34.

[279] Iasion is Semele's uncle according to mythic variants which make Harmonia (Semele's mother) the daughter of Zeus and Electra and therefore the sister of Iasion and Dardanus, rather than the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite (e.g., Diod. Sic. 5.48). Nonnus reconciles the two versions (or follows a tradition which does so) by having Electra foster Harmonia in her palace on Samothrace (*Dionys.* 3.373ff), although he does not mention Iasion. Diodorus Siculus 5.48ff follows the tradition in which Harmonia and Iasion are siblings, rejecting the other tradition: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κάδμον . . . γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἰασίωνος Ἁρμονίαν, οὐ καθάπερ Ἕλληνες μυθολογοῦσι, τὴν Ἄρεος ("But after these things, Cadmus married Harmonia, the sister of Iasion, not, as the Greeks relate, the daughter of Ares," 5.48.5). This version, therefore, was certainly available to Ovid even without the evidence provided by Nonnus for a possibly corresponding Hellenistic version.
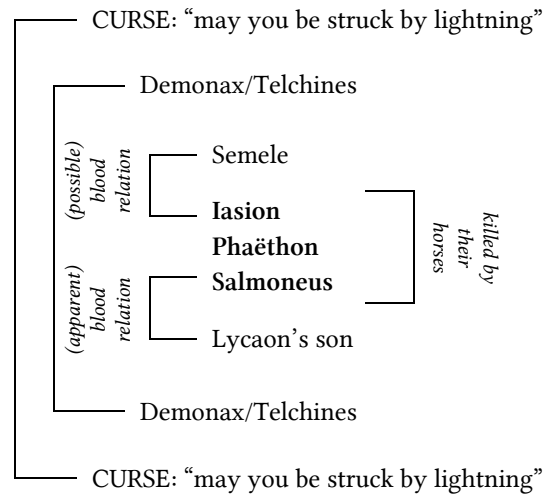
CURSE: "may you be struck by lightning"

Demonax/Telchines

(possible) blood relation

Semele

Iasion

Phaëthon

Salmoneus

killed by their horses

(apparent) blood relation

Lycaon's son

Demonax/Telchines

CURSE: "may you be struck by lightning"

Figure 1. Concentric structure of Ib. *469–76, "Those struck by lightning."*

Sun's horses (*ut temere optatos qui male rexit equos, Ib.* 472).

So far the structure of the mini-catalogue has been fairly neatly balanced; if this is not simply coincidence, we will expect to find a relationship of sorts between Salmoneus and the Lycaonid who follows him. Ovid does not disappoint, since at first reading, Salmoneus indeed seems to be followed by a blood-relation, another Aeolid, referred to by *sanguine natus eodem* (*Ib.* 473).[280] However, such an interpretation is in fact highly dubious in genealogical terms, and it would be far more Ovidian for *sanguine eodem* to *seem* to refer to the previous *exemplum* until the pentameter is reached, at which point the apparent blood-relationship (another descendant of Aeolus) is swapped out for an entirely unrelated figure (not a relation of Aeolus's at all, but a sibling of Callisto's), disrupting the reader's horizon of expectation and in essence layering two mythic figures—the predicted and the actual—on top of each other.

If the mini-catalogue of "those struck by lightning" matches a Hyginus catalogue in subject matter, the next mini-catalogue nearly matches one in the actual figures it names. The subject takes more decoding than the previous one, as Ovid's imprecation is not so clearly spelled out, but ultimately it can be identified as a mini-catalogue of "those torn apart by dogs":

praedaque sis illis, quibus est Latonia Delos
ante diem rapto non adeunda Thaso,

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[280] This is how most scholars have understood the reference, and such an interpretation at first appears to make sense in that it "matches" the familial connection of Semele and Iasion. However, by understanding Lycaon as the subject of *Ib.* 473–4, scholars are actually interpreting the next *exemplum* as another descendant of Jupiter, not another Aeolid, since in no surviving version can Lycaon's genealogy be twisted to such an extent. (Lycaon was generally considered to be the son of Pelasgus, the son of Niobe and Zeus; his mother varies. Salmoneus was, according to most versions, the son of Aeolus, who again according most versions was the son of Hellen and grandson of Deucalion and Pyrrha; however, according to ps-Apollodorus [1.7.2§49] and Hyginus [*Fab.* 155.2], Zeus sired Hellen on Pyrrha. Other versions make Aeolus the son of Hippotes, of whom little is known.) To have *sanguine eodem* mean "a descendant of Jupiter" is grammatically inefficient, and if the pentameter forces one revision of expectation (from Aeolus to Jupiter) it might as well force more (i.e., *sanguine eodem* [473] does not refer back to Salmoneus at all). See p. 56, n. 271 for further discussion of *sanguine eodem* and the interpretation of this couplet.

<div align="center">

quique verecundae speculantem labra Dianae,[281]
quique Crotopiaden diripuere Linum.   480
(Ovid, *Ibis* 477–80)

</div>

> And may you be prey for those who must not go to Latonian Delos because of Thasus being
> snatched away before his time, and for those who tore apart the one watching the bath of chaste
> Diana *[=Actaeon]*, and for those who tore apart Crotopus's descendant Linus.

A nearly identical list comprises Hyginus's *Qui a canibus consumpti sunt* ("Those who were
eaten by dogs"):

> Actaeon Aristaei filius. Thasius Delo, Ani sacerdotis Apollinis filius; ex eo Delo nullus canis est.
> Euripides tragoediarum scriptor in templo consumptus est.
>
> (Hyginus, *Fabulae* 247)

> Actaeon the son of Aristaeus. Thasius, on Delos, the son of Apollo's priest Anius; this is why
> there is no dog on Delos. Euripides the writer of tragedies was eaten in a temple.

The consonance between the two catalogues is obvious, down to their shared emphasis on the
aetiological aspect of Thasus's death. Only the last figure of the three differs: where Hyginus
names the tragedian Euripides, Ovid gives pride of place to the child Linus. This final
exemplum, and its placement, may help to shed light on the interconnections between mini-
catalogues in the *Ibis*, revealing further method behind the madness.

Linus, as represented here, is the son of Apollo and Psamathe; this is made indisputable
by the patronymic *Crotopiades*. As with Thasus, Linus's death has an aetiological element. He
was exposed by his grandfather Crotopus and subsequently torn apart by dogs, and after
Apollo sent Poine (Punishment) and a plague to punish Crotopus and the Argives, their ritual
expiation included singing the eponymous linus-song. Callimachus dealt with the story in
Book 1 of the *Aetia* (frr. 26–31 Pf.), and Ovid includes two other relevant couplets elsewhere in
the *Ibis* (573–6).[282] Linus obviously fits into the immediate context of the *Ibis* because of his
manner of death, but there are much broader-reaching connections.

Whether the name Linus was shared between several mythic figures or whether it
belonged to one figure with a highly variable story was debated in antiquity.[283] This sort of
variability of narrative and nominal confusion or conflation is, of course, an intrinsic part of
Greek mythology.[284] Not all versions of Linus's story represent him as a baby, nor do they
agree on his parentage or manner of death. Really, the only constant is his association with
music and poetry, sometimes as a musician himself and sometimes simply in providing an
aition for the linus-song. He is typically either the son of or killed by Apollo; he is also often
connected with Orpheus and a number of other famous mythical figures (generally the sons of
the Muses) who are attributed with the inventions of various musical, poetic, and rhetorical

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[281] Alessandro Barchiesi points out to me that *labra Dianae* may be a "translation" of Callimachus's Λουτρὰ τῆς
Παλλάδος, thus drawing the story of Tiresias, as well, into the catalogue, and inverting the reference to Actaeon
in Callimachus's hymn (where Callimachus does, indeed, use the term λοετρά, 5.113). The same, then, would
presumably apply to *Fasti* 4.761, where the phrase also occurs (*nec nos videamus labra Dianae*).

[282] A fuller version of the story, possibly drawn from Callimachus, is preserved at Statius *Theb.* 1.557–668. (Also
see Konon *FGrH* 26 F 1§19.)

[283] Paus. 9.29.6–9.

[284] See Introduction, pp. 1ff.

skills. Table 2 shows a few of the numerous versions of his story.[285] It should be noted that in addition to dogs or Apollo as Linus's possible slayers, the title also is borne by Hercules (*s.v.* "Killed by"); Linus was the hero's music teacher until Hercules killed him in a fit of pique by braining him with a lyre.

Mother	Father	Killed by	Musician	Connected figure(s)	Source (e.g.)
Psamathe	Apollo	dogs	no		Pausanias 1.43.7, 2.19.8
Calliope	Oiagros/Apollo	Hercules	yes	Orpheus (brother)	Ps-Apollodorus 1.3.2§14
Calliope	Apollo	?	yes	other sons of Muses	Asclepiades *FGrH* 12 F 6b
Ourania	Amphimarus	Apollo	yes		Pausanias 9.29.6
Ourania	Hermes	Apollo	yes	other genre-inventors	Diogenes Laertius 1.4

Table 2. Variations on the parentage and death of Linus.

The version of Linus who appears in the *Ibis* is clearly Psamathe's son Linus, who was torn apart by dogs as a baby—at least on the surface. But the following mini-catalogue, a set of those killed by snake-bites, begins to activate associations with other versions of Linus:

> neve venenato levius feriaris ab angue
>   quam senis Oeagri Calliopesque nurus,
> quam puer Hypsipyles, quam qui cava primus acuta
>   cuspide suspecti robora fixit equi.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 481–4)

> Or may you be struck by a snake no more lightly than was the daughter-in-law of old Oeagrus and Calliope *[=Eurydice]*, than was Hypsipyle's boy *[=Opheltes-Archemorus]*, than was he who first fixed the hollow oak of the suspected horse with a sharp spear-point *[=Laocoön]*.

The first victim in this catalogue is Eurydice, the wife of Orpheus, and as Table 2 shows, Orpheus is the brother of "another" Linus. The periphrastic revelation of Eurydice's identity through the names of her parents-in-law, Oeagrus and Calliope, therefore associates her specifically with the parents of that other Linus. Opheltes-Archemorus, the catalogue's second *exemplum*, is another heroized figure who, like the first version of Linus, was killed as an infant.[286]

Ovid then appears to begin a list of those who fell to their deaths (*Ib.* 485–500), starting with Elpenor (485–6), but again he employs misdirection. Although he follows the opening couplet of the list with *tamque cadas* ("and so may you fall") in an evident continuation of the list of those who fell, he segues, with the next *exemplum*, into a list that employs the figurative meaning of *cadas* ("may you die"), specifically naming a trio of those killed by Hercules (487–92). With the exception of Laocoön (483–4) and Elpenor, we can see Ovid spinning out the catalogue along the alternate threads provided by the name of Linus. One strand points to the tradition of Linus as Orpheus's brother, another follows the tradition of Linus dying as a baby, and a third strand reminds the reader that Hercules could also have been Linus's killer.

These threads can potentially become even more snarled as one pursues the onomastic connection further. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 273.6) and ps-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.9.14§104,

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[285] Propertius refers to *Inachio . . . Lino*, namely a Linus from the same region as Crotopus's grandson, as an accomplished poet who must, therefore, have lived to adulthood: *tunc ego sim Inachio notior arte Lino* (II.13.8). Pache (2004) 67, who only distinguishes two Linoi (an adult and a baby), observes that "both were . . . buried in Argos."

[286] See Pache (2004) 95–134 for discussion of Opheltes-Archemorus.

Those struck by lightning (469–76)
    Capaneus: struck by lightning
    Demonax: struck by lightning
    Semele: struck by lightning
        Iasion: struck by lightning + destroyed by his team of horses
        Phaëthon: struck by lightning + destroyed by his team of horses
        Salmoneus struck by lightning + destroyed by his team of horses
    Lycaon's son: struck by lightning
    Macelo & husband: struck by lightning
Those killed by dogs (477–80)
    Thasus: torn apart by dogs
    Actaeon: torn apart by dogs
    Linus: torn apart by dogs
Those killed by snakes (481–84)
    Eurydice: killed by a snake
    Opheltes-Archemorus: killed by a snake
    Laocoön: killed by a snake
Those who fell to their deaths (485–500)
    Elpenor: fell to his death
        [the Dryopians: killed by Hercules + "fell" to their death (verb *cadere*, "to die/fall")]
        [Cacus: killed by Hercules + "fell" to his death (verb *cadere*, "to die/fall")]
    Lichas: killed by Hercules + fell to his death
Those who fell to their deaths, take 2 (493–500)
    Cleombrotus: fell to his death
    Aegeus: fell to his death
    Astyanax: fell to his death
    Ino: fell to her death
    Perdix: fell to his death
    the †Lindian girl: fell to her death [+ possibly killed by Hercules]*

Figure 2. Lines 469–500 in schematized form.

3.6.4§64), Opheltes-Archemorus was the son of Lycurgus and a woman named *Eurydice*.[287] Additionally, Actaeon, who immediately precedes Linus in the catalogue, was the son of Aristaeus—who, in Augustan poetry (following Vergil), was connected with the death of Orpheus's wife Eurydice. It appears that whether Ovid is thinking of one Linus or several, the *name* of Linus (and possibly of the surrounding figures, such as Eurydice),[288] not a specific telling of his story, is what really matters here. The shifting relationship of names and identities prompts this particular collocation of mini-catalogues to occur. This emphasis on shared nominality is an important aspect of the *Ibis* to which I shall return later.[289]

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[287] Gordon (1992) 199 accurately calls Ovid's periphrasis for Opheltes, *puer Hypsipyles* (*Ib.* 483), "a misleading expression, which initially appears to refer to a son of Hypsipyle," but this misdirection with its specific attention to the child's mother places even more emphasis on the woman's real, unstated name.

[288] Knauer (1981) 914n88 observes that there may be a connection between Orpheus's wife Eurydice in the *Georgics* and Aeneas's wife Creusa in the *Aeneid* because, "according to Lesches and the 'Kypria', the name of Aeneas' spouse was Eurydike, . . . [and] Opheltes', son of Lykurgos, mother is named Eurydike in one tradition, Creusa in another." Thus we can see interlocking chains of names that stretch between works and traditions.

[289] See pp. 77ff.

* The text of line 499 is corrupt. If we read *Lindia*, however, there is certainly some connection with Hercules. Callimachus tells the story of the Lindian sacrifice in the *Aetia* (frr. 22–8 Pf.), which apparently involved sacrificing to Hercules while uttering abuse (ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11§116). Additionally, for *Aet.* fr. 23.6 Pf.,

Ovid's playing with intertwined catalogues here is not limited to the propagation of Linus-variants. The catalogue of those killed by Hercules, which interrupts the apparent catalogue of those who fell to their deaths, comes full circle with the final *exemplum*, Lichas, whom Hercules killed by throwing him off a cliff into the ocean. Lichas, therefore, like Elpenor (492), "falls" in both the literal and figurative senses of *cadas*.[290] At this point, a new catalogue seems to begin, syntactically speaking,[291] but the category is, in fact, precisely that which Ovid had already begun with Elpenor and to which Lichas belongs, (re-)introduced here with *vel de praecipiti venias in Tartara saxo* (493). There is clearly nothing straightforward about even the most basic groupings of the catalogue, which are meticulously arranged (see Fig. 2) so as to unceasingly propel the catalogue forward in the fashion of a true *carmen perpetuum*.

If the chain of mini-catalogues we just looked at serves to show the interconnectedness of the *Ibis* catalogue, then the opening of the *Ibis* catalogue can serve equally well to show the interconnectedness between the two halves of the *Ibis*, catalogue and prologue. Before examining these correspondences, however, let us first consider the catalogue's opening on its own terms, in an effort to understand the interfacing of *exempla* as Ovid has organized them.

The first lines of the catalogue are couched in an epic context, which Williams sees as a tactic meant to scare Ibis: "As the catalogue begins, Ovid sets out to intimidate the enemy by ostentatiously displaying its epic credentials. . . . The stage is set for an epic performance in the catalogue, and Ovid duly obliges by taking his starting-point from Troy."[292] Williams takes a dimmer view of the coherence of the subsequent *exempla*:[293]

> [Ovid] immediately seizes the advantage by following this first body-blow with specific jabs
> which follow no particular order or pattern: all that connects the allusions to Philoctetes (253–4),
> Telephus (255–6), and Bellerophon (257–8) is a general point of reference to Graeco-Roman
> tragedy, a source which Ovid mines further in his allusions to Phoenix (259–60), Oedipus (261–2),
> Phineus (265–6), Polymestor (267–8) and Phineus' sons, blinded by their father (271–2). And yet
> the allusions to Tiresias (263–4), Polyphemus (269–70) and Thamyris and Demodocus (272)
> disrupt the irregular sequence of tragic references by introducing discordant, non-tragic
> elements.

Based primarily on an assumption that the tragic genre is the driving force behind the passage, Williams's statement that the *exempla* "follow no particular order or pattern" underestimates Ovid. Just as we saw that the ordering of *exempla* in the mini-catalogue of those struck by lightning (*Ib.* 469–76) in fact had a balanced, if perverted, logic, so these *exempla* have a good deal of coherence within their distichic ranks.

Philoctetes, Telephus, and Bellerophon, the first *exempla* of the catalogue after the Trojans, comprise a mini-catalogue of those who were crippled, and they are followed by a mini-catalogue of those who were blinded:

> neve sine exemplis aevi cruciere prioris,
>   sint tua Troianis non leviora malis,
> quantaque clavigeri Poeantius Herculis heres,

Wilamowitz conjectured ἐσσὶ] γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἃ καὶ Λί[ν]ος οὔ σ' ἔχε λέξ[αι. This would provide yet another connection back to Linus, this time by means of intertextual reference.

[290] The intersection of "those who fell" and "those killed by Hercules" has also been noted by Bernhardt (1986) 366–70.

[291] The repeated use of *quam*, dependent on *cadas* (487), changes to *ut*, dependent on *venias* (493).

[292] Williams (1996) 91.

[293] Williams (1996) 91–2. See below for my discussion of the *exempla* which Williams mentions in this quotation.

> tanta venenato vulnera crure geras.
> nec levius doleas, quam qui bibit ubera cervae,   255
>   armatique tulit vulnus, inermis opem;
> quique ab equo praeceps in Aleïa decidit arva,
>   exitio facies cui sua paene fuit.
> id quod Amyntorides videas, trepidumque ministro
>   praetemptes baculo luminis orbus iter,   260
> nec plus aspicias quam quem sua filia rexit,
>   expertus scelus est cuius uterque parens.
> qualis erat, postquam est iudex de lite iocosa
>   sumptus, Apollinea clarus in arte senex,
> qualis et ille fuit, quo praecipiente columba   265
>   est data Palladiae praevia duxque rati,
> quique oculis caruit, per quos male viderat aurum,
>   inferias nato quos dedit orba parens;
> pastor ut Aetnaeus, cui casus ante futuros
>   Telemus Eurymides vaticinatus erat;   270
> ut duo Phinidae, quibus idem lumen ademit,
>   qui dedit; ut Thamyrae Demodocique caput.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 251–72)

Or that you may not be tortured without the examples of an earlier age, may your misfortunes be no lighter than the Trojans', and may you endure just as many wounds in your envenomed leg as Poeas's son *[=Philoctetes]*, the heir of club-bearing Hercules, endured. Nor may you be more lightly pained than he who drank at the hind's udder *[=Telephus]* and endured the armed man's wound, the unarmed man's aid; and he who fell headlong from his horse into the Aleïan fields *[=Bellerophon]*, whose face was nearly the cause of his destruction. May you see just what Amyntor's son *[=Phoenix]* saw, and may you fumble at your trembling journey with a staff to guide you, deprived of sight; and may you see no more than he who was guided by his daughter *[=Oedipus]*, each of whose parents experienced his iniquity. May you be such as he was, after he was appointed judge over the playful debate, the old man famed for his Apolline art *[=Tiresias]*; and such as he was, at whose instruction a dove was used as forerunner and leader for Pallas's ship *[=Phineus]*; and he who lacked the eyes through which he had evilly seen the gold *[=Polymestor]* and which the bereft parent gave as a funeral sacrifice to her son; like the shepherd of Aetna *[=Polyphemus]*, to whom Telemus the son of Eurymus had previously prophesied his future misfortunes; like the two sons of Phineus, from whom the same man took away the light as gave it; like the head of Thamyras and Demodocus.

Williams, who is well aware of the overarching theme of blindness, does not think it a suitably unifying feature.[294] What draws his attention instead is Ovid's "discordant tone" and "undiscriminating reference," along with other "incongruities."[295] How indiscriminate and incongruous are the *exempla* really, though? The first level of comprehension breaks the passage into two catalogues: "those crippled" and "those blinded." But Bellerophon, in fact, fits into both catalogues—in some versions of his story he is lamed by his fall into the Aleïan fields,[296] while in others he is blinded.[297] So Bellerophon, who appears at the end of the first mini-catalogue, or the beginning of the second, may serve as a lynchpin between the two. In addition, Bellerophon has more than just blindness in common with the two figures who immediately follow his *exemplum*. Bellerophon, Phoenix, and Oedipus are each accused of committing adultery with their father's or host's wife or mistress—in the case of Bellerophon,

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[294] Williams (1996) 92: "The theme of blindness gives only loose coherence to . . . lines 259–72."

[295] Williams (1996) 92.

[296] e.g., Hyg. *Fab.* 57.4; cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.200–2.

[297] e.g., scholia *ad* Lycophron, *Alexandra* 17.

the accusation is false; in the case of Phoenix the truth or falsity varies with the version of the story;[298] and in the case of Oedipus the accusation is well known to be true.[299]

At this point, another sub-catalogue begins, as all but one of the remaining *exempla* in the blindness catalogue either are *vates* or are connected with a *vates* (in its poetic or prophetic sense). Tiresias heads the list, as "the most famous prophet of ancient literature,"[300] and he is followed by Phineus, a seer who holds nearly equal fame. Gordon has observed several structural features of the catalogue which are centered on Phineus:[301]

> Phineus, who occupies the central position in this mini-catalogue of victims of blindness, has connecting links with both the *exemplum* which opens the series (257-258, Phoenix) and with the concluding couplet of the series (269-270, the Phinidae); for although Phineus was usually said to be the son of Agenor (A.R. 2.237; Apollodorus *Bib.* 1.9.21; Hyginus 19), there was a tradition (scholia *ad* A.R. 2.178) that Phineus was the son of Phoenix, and we thus have an interwoven structure of Phoenix being blinded by his father, for allegedly seducing his father's concubine, Phineus, the son of Phoenix, and Phineus' sons, blinded by their father on a charge remarkably similar to that brought against Phoenix. The *exemplum* of Phineus also has connecting links with the couplet which precedes it, since like Tiresias he had prophetic skills and lived to a very old age, and with the couplet which follows it, since he, like Polymestor, was a Thracian monarch.

The Phoenix who is sometimes named as the father of Phineus is not, in fact, usually understood to be the same as Amyntor's son Phoenix, who served as Achilles' nurse and guardian and accompanied him to Troy (he is instead from a much earlier generation, Sidonian, and the son of Belos). That said, not only may they have originated as a single figure which later evolved into two unique characters,[302] but in addition we have already begun to see that, in the *Ibis*, shared names allow for some level of shared identity.[303]

Gordon's suggestion that the point of connection between Phineus and Polymestor is that both are Thracian monarchs may well be correct,[304] and it seems to me that Polymestor is followed by Polyphemus in order to highlight their shared role as violators of *xenia* (one by

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[298] True in Homer *Il.* 9.453 (τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα, "I obeyed her and did it"); false in ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8§175 (οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυφλώθη καταψευσαμένης φθορὰν Φθίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακῆς, "he was blinded by his father, since his father's mistress Phthia lied because of a grudge").

[299] In yet another quasi-parallel, Phoenix nearly slays his own father, while Oedipus famously, if unwittingly, does kill his own father.

[300] Gordon (1992) 105. Tiresias presumably also begins the mini-catalogue through associative logic: he delivered the prophetic accusation of Oedipus's incest, and he follows Oedipus as the next *exemplum* in the catalogue.

[301] Gordon (1992) 106.

[302] "Die Vermutung, daß P[hoinix] aus der Kadmossage stamme . . . , gewinnt noch an Wahrscheinlichkeit, wenn man sieht, wie er mit Kadmos einen ganz wesentlichen Zug gemein hat, nämlich daß er ebenfalls nach dem Osten versetzt zum großen Kolonisator wird. . . . Denn P., der Vater der Europa, ist wohl kein anderer als der homerische P." (*RE* 20:1, 411–2). Ovid also mentions Amyntor's son Phoenix and Phineus with his sons in successive couplets at *Ars Am.* 1.337–40, separated only by Hippolytus. There the connection is explicitly stated to be crimes caused by a woman's lust (*omnia feminea sunt ista libidine mota*, *Ars Am.* 1.341), a variant of the stepmother-connection in these verses.

[303] As I have mentioned (Introduction, pp. 7ff; Chapter 1, pp. 51ff), part of the trick of reading Ovid (and other Roman poets) is allowing variant myths to exist simultaneously.

[304] Ovid has an apparent predilection for *exempla* situated in or deriving from Thrace, Epirus (particularly Ambracia), and Thessaly or Macedonia. Of course, it could be argued that a preponderance of Greek myth simply takes place in those hinterlands, and that other regions such as Thebes, Athens, Sicily, and Troy are, proportionally, equally well represented within the *Ibis*. For another explanation of the northern region's popularity, see p. 95, n. 475.

lines	mythic figure	lamed	blinded	adultery with father's wife* [false] [true]		*vates* †	Thracian	slays guest
253–4	Philoctetes	■						
255–6	Telephus	■						
257–8	Bellerophon	■	■	■				
259–60	Phoenix		■	■				
261–2	Oedipus		■		■			
263–4	Tireisias		■			■		
265–6	Phineus		■			■	■	
267–8	Polymestor						■	■
269–70	Polyphemus		■			▨		■
271–2	sons of Phineus		■		■	▨	■	
	Thamyras				■	▨	■	
	Demodocus		■			▨		

■ prophet-*vates*   ▨ poet-*vates*   ▨ only associated with a *vates*

Table 3. Catalogue opening by theme.

murdering his guest and the other by eating several of his).[305] While Polymestor is neither a poet nor a prophet, he sits at the center of the vatic catalogue, balancing the two couplets on either side.[306] Polyphemus is also lacking in vatic skill, but Ovid specifically identifies him through the prophecy of his blinding delivered by Telemus son of Eurymus: *cui casus ante futuros / Telemus Eurymides vaticinatus erat* (269–70).[307] Then, as Gordon has noted, the catalogue shifts its weight and returns to the family of Phineus, belatedly positioning him as a second, genealogical fulcrum.[308]

Table 3 provides a schema of the connections between *exempla*, including Gordon's suggestions of the recurrent Phineus-centric genealogy and the link of shared Thracian monarchy between Phineus and Polymestor. The shape of the catalogue, as can be seen, is not entirely balanced, but the progression of *exempla* has a demonstrable logic even if on the surface it seems haphazard and chaotic. It does not matter if the *vates* are "bards of very different distinction"[309] (just as the cause of punishment was immaterial in the catalogue of

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[305] The repetition of Poly- in their names may also have something to do with their juxtaposition—of course, neither is actually named in the text, so the jingle is only apparent after the reader has "solved" the riddling *exempla*.

[306] A flight of fancy, but in both the *Aeneid* (3.13ff) and *Metamorphoses* (13.628ff), the death of Polydorus at the hands of Polymestor is followed immediately by the arrival of the Trojans to Delos and the *vates* Anius, which would (very remotely) create a vatic link for this *exemplum*.

[307] The prophecy is narrated in detail at *Od.* 9.507–12.

[308] Although Phineus is placed earlier in the text than Polymestor, who is at the center of the vatic couplets, Ovid constantly urges the reader to return to and to reconsider earlier *exempla* after encountering later ones.

* Really, an *accusation* of adultery (true or false) with a father's *or* a host's wife *or* mistress. See p. 66, n. 312 on Thamyras's inclusion in this category, a connection of which Ovid may or may not have been aware.

† In the case of Polyphemus, a prophet is involved in his story rather than him being a *vates* himself, as I have mentioned. In the case of Phineus's sons, they themselves are not *vates*, but of course their aforementioned father is. This column can be further broken down into prophet-*vates* (Tiresias and Phineus), *vates* associates (Polyphemus and Phineus's sons), and poet-*vates* (Thamyras and Demodocus), which I have indicated with different shadings.

[309] Williams (1996) 92. In some ways, of course, their vatic differences matter very much, and the *exempla* are grouped accordingly (see Table 3).

those struck by lightning); what seems to matter for the purpose of the catalogue's arrangement is their basic classification as *vates*, while the non-vatic aspects of their characters play an additional role in determining their precise ordering within the mini-catalogue.

    The scholiasts on this passage prove their understanding, on some level, of the closely intertwined nature of the *exempla*, but they confusedly attempt to further the connections, providing more correspondences than actually exist. They claim that Phoenix blinded his sons Thirtilas[310] and Dorilas (who appear to be invented out of whole-cloth, presumably by analogy with Phineus's sons) for a false accusation of adultery by their stepmother Licostrata, daughter of the Gothic king Regulus; and the names Polymestor and Polydorus are given to Phineus's sons by one set of scholia,[311] clearly brought to mind by the earlier *exemplum* of Polymestor. They treat the *exemplum* of the next couplet similarly: while traditionally Thamyras is blinded for a hubristic offence against the Muses[312] and Demodocus is said to be beloved by the Muses,[313] the scholia claim that both engaged in contests of song and were similarly punished accordingly.[314]

    It is also worth noting that the *exempla* of Phineus's sons, Thamyras, and Demodocus all occupy a single couplet; such a clustering towards the end of a sub-catalogue is not unique to this passage,[315] and these three *exempla* manage, cumulatively, to tie their couplet back into much of the preceding blindness catalogue. The genealogical relevance of Phineus's sons to their father has already been noted; Phineus's sons are punished (by blinding) for the same purported crime that caused the blindness of Bellerophon and Phoenix; and Thamyras and Demodocus round off the vatic theme.

    So much for how these final *exempla* point backwards; how do they serve to propel the catalogue forward? The following couplet (*Ib.* 273–4) invokes Uranus's castration by Saturn. Many have scratched their heads over the relevance of this *exemplum*, which seems not to fit into either the preceding or following mini-catalogues:

> **sic aliquis tua membra secet, Saturnus ut illas**
>   **subsecuit partes, unde creatus erat.**
> nec tibi sit melior tumidis Neptunus in undis,   275
>   quam cui sunt subitae frater et uxor aves;
> sollertique viro, lacerae quem fracta tenentem
>   membra ratis Semeles est miserata soror.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 273–8)

Thus may someone slice off your "piece" (*membra*), as Saturn cut off those parts whence he

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[310] Or Tesatas, Thetillas, Thirilas, or Terilas.

[311] The P-scholia (= Phillippicus 1796 / Berolinensis Latinus 210) at 271. Other scholia supply the names Polydector and Polydorus. Within the broader tradition of scholia and mythographers, many other names are given. See the editors' note on Sophocles fr. 704 J–P and Levin (1971) 152–5.

[312] Devereux (1973) 41 suggests that Thamyras's crime was originally an incestuous one, much like Oedipus's; he calls it a "very cleverly expurgated" story and comments that "in versions in which Thamyris is the son of a Muse, the prize he competes for is *not* a sexual one; where it *is* sexual, his mother is *not* a Muse."

[313] κῆρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἄγων ἐρίηρον ἀοιδόν, / τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε· / ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν ("And a herald approached, leading the outstanding singer, whom the Muse loved exceedingly, but she gave him both good and evil; she robbed him of his eyes, but she gave him sweet song," Hom. *Od.* 8.62–4).

[314] In dealing with the scholia, it is difficult to know where to draw the line—do they preserve vestiges of lost evidence or are they total fabrications? It is best to take them all with a tablespoon of salt and to judge each one individually, as we have evidence of both possibilities being the case.

[315] Cf., e.g., *Ib.* 347–8 and *Ib.* 407–8.

had been created. And may there be no kindlier Neptune for you in the swollen waves than there was for him whose brother and wife were suddenly birds *[=Ceyx]*, and also for the crafty man *[=Ulysses]*, on whom Semele's sister took pity as he held onto the shattered pieces (*membra*) of his raft.

Bernhardt lists the couplet as the first of her *Einzelexempla*.[316] But there are in fact links, both backwards and forwards, both verbal and thematic; the Uranus/Saturn couplet is closely attached to its surroundings in a number of ways.

Where the sons of Phineus suffered removal of a body-part by the one who created it (*quibus idem lumen ademit, / qui dedit* [*Ib.* 271–2], with apt word-choice in *lumen*, playing on its literal and figurative meanings), Uranus suffers the same dismemberment at the hands of the one whom that body-part created (*subsecuit partes, unde creatus erat* [*Ib.* 274]). Such verbal echoes often serve to link couplets within the *Ibis* catalogue.[317]

On a thematic level, the couplet's apparently unique theme of castration (preceded by those who were blinded and followed by those who drowned or nearly drowned) does not actually cause it to stand on its own in extra-catalogic fashion as Bernhardt suggests. Castration can, in fact, be seen as isomorphic to blinding. Devereux has demonstrated that in mythology one finds "the frequent substitution of blinding for castration, and vice versa, as if the two were somehow analogous."[318] So Ovid makes a logical leap here, within the context of mythic thought.[319] Moreover, in Greek, the ideas are further analogized through their collocation under the term πηρόω, which can be used for maiming or crippling, but also specifically for castrating or blinding; Thamyras is an excellent case in point. The essentials of his story are narrated briefly in the *Iliad*:

<div align="center">

Δώριον, ἔνθά τε Μοῦσαι   595
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς
Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος·
στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ
Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
αἳ δὲ χολωσάμεναι **πηρὸν** θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν·   600
(Homer, *Il.* 2.594–600)

</div>

Dorium, where the Muses, encountering Thamyris the Thracian by the Oechalian Eurytus as he came from Oechalia, stopped him from singing; for he declared, boasting, that he would be victorious even if the Muses themselves, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, should sing; and they,

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[316] Bernhardt (1986) 339. Other scholars similarly have trouble discerning Ovid's thought process on one or both transitions. On the transition from blind men to Saturn, cf. Williams (1996) 92: "initial expectations are confounded when Ovid suddenly departs [at line 273] from the theme of blindness to a very different form of punishment. . . . Through this early example of abrupt transition, the pattern is set for the rest of the catalogue." On the transition from Saturn to Ceyx, cf. Gordon (1992) 111 *ad loc*: "Ovid here makes a rather forced association, as he turns from Saturn, to the myth of Ceyx, in which Saturn's son, Neptune, plays a role." La Penna (1957) justifies including Saturn with the preceding group of "accecati" (xlvi) by calling him "gravemente mutilato" (xlvii).

[317] E.g., Ovid moves from periphrasis involving a brother (*cui frater*, "the one whose brother," *Ib.* 276) to periphrasis involving a sister (*Semeles soror*, "Semele's sister," *Ib.* 278); from *Achillea humo* ("Achillean soil," *Ib.* 330) to *Larisaeis* ("of Larissa [Achilles' homeland]," *Ib.* 332); and he ends lines with *ipsa parens* at *Ib.* 616 and 624. Rhyming and alliterative jingles on the level of syllabification, within and across couplets, are also common.

[318] Lightfoot (1999) 234–5, referring to Devereux (1973).

[319] Gordon has noted both the inverse parallel between 271f and 273f and the connection between castration and blinding as per Devereux (1973).

having grown angry, made him *pērós*, and in addition they took away his divine singing and made him forget the art of playing the cithara.

The result of Homer's use of this potentially ambiguous word πηρός (2.599), that is, crippled in some fashion, has caused some to suggest, now as in antiquity, that Homer's account of Thamyras's punishment does not in fact imply his blinding at all, but rather the laming of his limbs.[320]   However, Parthenius uses the word of Daphnis' punishment for infidelity to a nymph and specifically compares Daphnis' fate of blinding with Thamyras's fate,[321] while the historiographer Charon of Lampsacus uses the word in recounting the similar story of Rhoecus.[322]   In both contexts, the unfaithful lover is apparently blinded (definitely in the case of Daphnis), but one might imagine castration to be a punishment better fitting the crime.[323]

Although Uranus is the only mythic figure in this part of the *Ibis* catalogue who is actually castrated, the contiguity between his fate and the blindness catalogue is clear. The Uranus couplet also connects with the subsequent chain of couplets, which concerns the separation and dispersal of body parts, or more accurately, of *membra*, in clear association with *sic aliquis tua membra secet* (*Ib.* 273). This chain, too, contains several mini-catalogues that aggregate according to different rules, just as we saw that Iasion, Phaëthon, and Salmoneus created an independent cluster within a general set of those destroyed by lightning, and just as "those made πηρός" could be said to cover all of the smaller groupings of *exempla* from 253–74.[324]

The overarching theme of dismemberment only becomes available through wordplay and intertextuality, as well as "intermythicality."[325] In the context of the myth, Uranus loses his genitals while he is engaged in sex with Gaia, and the genitals fall into the sea and create Venus. In the poem, however, they "fall" into the next couplet, where we find *tumidis Neptunus in undis* ("Neptune amidst swollen waves," *Ib.* 275) as the agent of destruction.[326] The poem moves downward along the same vertical axis as Saturn's detached *membra*.

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[320] *RE* 5A:1, 1241.28–1242.23.

[321] μὴ πειθομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ συμβήσεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις ἀποβαλεῖν. . . . καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦδε ὁμοίως Θαμύρᾳ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ δι᾽ ἀφροσύνην ἐπεπήρωτο ("For [she said that] if he did not obey, it would come about that he lose his eyesight. . . . And because of this, he was crippled similarly to Thamyras the Thracian on account of his folly," Parth. *Erot. Path.* 29).

[322] Rhoecus's crime, however, may have been something other than or in addition to infidelity (as seems to be the case in this version): καί ποτε πεττεύοντος αὐτοῦ περιίπταται ἡ μέλισσα· πικρότερον δέ τι ἀποφθεγξάμενος, εἰς ὀργὴν ἔτρεψε τὴν νύμφην, ὥστε πηρωθῆναι ("And once the bee flew around him while he was playing at draughts; and having addressed it a bit sharply, he made the nymph angry, so that he was crippled," Charon Lampsacenus *FGrH* 262 F 12).

[323] Cf. Cybele's consort Attis, whom the goddess forced to castrate himself following his infidelity.

[324] The confusion as to Bellerophon's fate may well come from use of the word πηρόω, which certainly appears in the *Iliad* D-scholia (citing Asclepiades' *Tragoidoumena*): ὥστε ἐκπεσεῖν μὲν τὸν Βελλεροφόντην καὶ κατενεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ τῆς Λυκίας πεδίον τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλούμενον Ἀλήιον πεδίον, ἀλᾶσθαι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πηρωθέντα ("with the result that Bellerophon fell off and tumbled down onto a plain of Lycia, which was called the Aleïan plain from him; and he wandered around after this, having become *pērós*," *ad Il.* 6.155).

[325] See Introduction, p. 6.

[326] Might these waves be tumescent in the fashion of Uranus's severed *membra*, which they received? Ovid certainly uses *tumidus* in a sexual sense elsewhere—his description of Faunus's attempt to rape Omphale/Hercules at *Fasti* 2.345–6 (*ascendit spondaque sibi propiore recumbit, / et tumidum cornu durius inguen erat*, "he climbed up and lay down on the bed that was nearer to him, and his swollen groin was harder than horn") leaves no room for doubt as to the sexual relevance of the word. This playful connection obviates a need for Gordon's ([1992] 111) complaint of "a rather forced association, as he turns from Saturn, to the myth of Ceyx, in which Saturn's son, Neptune, plays a role." Between the several connections of *membra* and oceans, no forcing is needed.

In Uranus's couplet, *membra* is used in a strictly anatomical sense (although it is a slightly transferred usage, from limbs to the *membrum virile*).[327] Two couplets later, the word resurfaces with a more metaphorical flavor, as Ulysses clings to the broken *membra* of his ship. This usage is implicit in the intervening couplet, featuring Ceyx, whose story as told in the *Metamorphoses* is rife with the rent *membra* of his shipwreck (and other words of breaking):[328]

> **frangitur** incursu nimbosi turbinis arbor,
> **frangitur** et regimen . . .
>   . . . alii **partes et membra carinae**
> **trunca** tenent; tenet ipse manu, qua sceptra solebat,   560
> **fragmina navigii** Ceyx
>   (Ovid, *Met.* 11.552–3, 559–61)

The tree is broken by the cloudy turbine's onslaught, and the steerage is broken. . . . Some hold onto **pieces and chopped-off bits of the craft**; Ceyx himself holds **the fragments of his vessel** with the hand that was accustomed to a scepter.

The broken *membra* of ships are also found at both *Tristia* 1.2.1–4 and *Ibis* 17–18, the former describing Ovid's stormy journey to Tomis and "allud[ing] to his own account of the storm which kills Ceyx in *Metamorphoses* 11"[329] and the latter a passage from the very beginning of the *Ibis*:

> di maris et caeli—quid enim nisi vota supersunt?—
>   solvere **quassatae** parcite **membra ratis**.
>   (Ovid, *Tristia* 1.2.1–2)

Gods of sea and sky—for what do I have left except for prayers?—refrain from breaking apart **the pieces of my shaken raft**.

> cumque ego **quassa** meae complectar **membra carinae**,
>   **naufragii tabulas** pugnat habere mei
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 17–18)

And while I clasp **the shaken pieces of my craft**, he fights to possess **the planks of my shipwreck**.

The specific connections between the prologue and the catalogue of the *Ibis* will concern us later,[330] but for now I wish to stress the similarity of language between these three passages and the excerpt from *Metamorphoses* 11 quoted above: the death of Ceyx and the *membra* of shipwrecks are well associated in Ovid, and thus the *exemplum* of 276 is imbued with intertextual imagery of shattered and scattered *membra*.

Following the *exempla* of Ceyx and Ulysses come three further *exempla* (279–84) which apparently cap the dismemberment catalogue. Of these, the first two (Mettius Fufetius and M.

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[327] This usage is I.A.3.b.α in the *TLL* (*s.v. membra*, pp. 636.49–637.13)

[328] The phrase *partes et membra*, which occurs in the description of Ceyx's shipwreck (and is recalled by *membra . . . partis* in Saturn's *Ibis* couplet, *Ib.* 273–4), is repeated at *Met.* 14.541, again with respect to ships, but specifically ships created from Cybele's groves (*nemorum partes et membra meorum*). The origins of Cybele's groves are the metamorphosed, castrated Attis (Ov. *Met.* 10.103–5).

[329] Hinds (1985) 26.

[330] See pp. 70ff.

Regulus) are drawn from Roman history and the third (Priam) from mythology.[331]   The next twenty-four couplets form a mini-catalogue that holds together as a list of historic and mythic kings and tyrants, the majority of whom ruled over Thessaly and Epirus, with some Macedonian, Pontic, Persian, and Asian rulers thrown in for good measure.[332]   At the same time, however, the division is not so clean-cut. Recurrences of the dismemberment theme are (appropriately) scattered throughout at least the first ten couplets of the catalogue of kings. Regulus ("Little King")[333] and Priam himself, the ruler of all Asia, whose death (as famously recounted in Vergil) involved the separation of his head from his corpse (*Aen.* 2.557–8), serve as the hinge between these two mini-catalogues.[334]

   At this point, we have a general understanding of the *exempla* and their interconnections. I have demonstrated how the structure of the catalogue is baroque but comprehensible; how many *exempla* face backwards and forwards in Janus-like fashion but with entirely different aspects of their story active in either case;[335] and how sometimes the aspect of an *exemplum* which is the most relevant for its connection to surrounding *exempla* turns out to be completely absent from the text.[336]   With these things in mind, let us return to the beginning of the catalogue.

The Curse of Pedantry: The program of the *Ibis*

   The ten lines preceding the catalogue serve as a bridge between prologue and catalogue, in many ways allowing the opening of the catalogue to function as a complete restarting of the poem:

> flebat, ut est fumis infans contactus amaris,
>   de tribus est cum sic una locuta soror: 240
> "tempus in inmensum lacrimas tibi movimus istas,
>   quae semper causa sufficiente cadent."
> dixerat; at Clotho iussit promissa valere,
>   nevit et infesta stamina pulla manu,

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[331] Mettius Fufetius and M. Regulus are a contrasting pair drawn from Roman history, the former one who betrayed his Roman allies (cf. Livy 1.28) and the latter one who upheld Roman ideals (cf. Cic. *In Pis.* 19.43). Mettius Fufetius was torn apart by horses (Livy 1.28.10–11), while Regulus's dismemberment was restricted to the removal of his eyelids.

[332] A number of these also suffer death specifically as a result of betrayal, although the groupings of the catalogue are more along genealogical and onomastic lines.

[333] On conscious poetic associations with the meaning of Regulus's name, cf. Hardie (1993b) 9 on Regulus in the *Punica*: "His name itself is perhaps significant, 'little king', the greatest Roman hero of his day but who presents the least risk of aiming at sole rule." Also cf. a pun on Regulus's name at *Punica* 6.257: *ablato ni Regulus arte regendi* ("had Regulus, not deprived of his art of rei(g)ning, . . .").

[334] The Vergilian description of Priam's death, with its recollection of Pompey, may also provide a transition from the Roman to the non-Roman; see Bowie (1990) 475 on the hints of Pompey generated by the phrase *regnatorem Asiae* (*Aen.* 2.557).

[335] It appears that Callimachus employed a similar organizational principle in the *Aetia*. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 45: "At one point . . . the poet asks the Muses a double question: 'He enquires why people accompany sacrifice to Apollo in Anaphe with mutual mockery and sacrifice to Heracles at Lindos with curses.' . . . The cataloguing instincts of the young pedant's mind have already grouped similar cult practices together . . . , but the answers to the related questions would seem to have had nothing to do with each other. . . . Be that as it may, the Lindian story looks both forwards and backwards, for it is followed by a similar story of how Heracles killed an ox."

[336] E.g., Telephus's wounded leg, and therefore his crippling, is not mentioned at all, just his *vulnus* in general, nor is Bellerophon's crippling or blinding mentioned, just his fall.

> et, ne longa suo praesagia diceret ore,   245
> "fata canet vates qui tua," dixit, "erit."
> ille ego sum vates: ex me tua vulnera disces.
> dent modo di vires in mea verba suas,
> carminibusque meis accedent pondera rerum,
> quae rata per luctus experiere tuos.   250
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 239–50)

> The infant was weeping, as he was touched by the bitter smoke, when one sister of the three
> spoke thus: "For time without end have we provoked those tears for you, which will always fall
> with sufficient cause." She had spoken; but Clotho commanded her promises to flourish and
> spun the dark threads with a hostile hand; and, that she not speak the long prophecies with her
> own mouth, she said, "There will be a bard who will sing your fates." I am that bard: from me
> you will learn your wounds. May the gods only grant their own strength to my words, and the
> weight of realities will be added to my songs, which, granted fulfillment, you will experience
> through your own sorrows.

Ovid here repeats the first word of the *Ibis*, *tempus*, as the first word of the speech delivered by a Fury who has been tending to the baby Ibis. As Stephen Hinds has observed, "the metapoetic force [of the repetition] . . . is at once inescapable. Lines 241–2 mark an *incipit* for 'Ibis' the life, just as lines 1–2 marked the *incipit* of *Ibis* the poem."[337] With the repetition of *tempus*, Ovid creates a temporal hall of mirrors: the *tempus* of the Fury's speech, promising a future eternity of tears for the infant Ibis, doubles reflexively back to *tempus* as the opening word (and therefore the alternate title) of the much later (temporally speaking) poem-*Ibis*.

The repetition of the *Ibis*' *incipit* at the beginning of the Fury's speech marks the restarting of the poem on a purely verbal level. The subsequent lines further this idea of a new beginning but simultaneously mark a mid-point transition.[338] Many works of poetry feature a medial re-invocation of the Muses, modeled on Homer's re-invocation of the Muses prior to the catalogue of ships at *Iliad* 2.484–93. In the *Ibis*, however, where the Muses were not invoked in the first place and are conspicuously absent from the rest of the poem,[339] the medial invocation does not (and cannot) adhere to convention: what has not happened once cannot happen a second time.

Rather than solemnly requesting that the goddesses of poetry aid him because his mortal mouth is not up to the task of singing so great a catalogue, Ovid replaces the Muses with a mixed-up pair of triplicate sisters, ambiguously analogized Fury-Fates. And where normally the *poet* invokes the *goddess*'s aid, here the usually-longwinded Clotho casually passes off to her newly-minted *vates* the boring task of singing the catalogue *ne longa suo praesagia diceret ore* ("so that she doesn't have to deliver the extensive prophecy with her own mouth," *Ib.* 245).[340] Hinds calls Ovid's assumption of the vatic role here "Roman poetry's most overt (or

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[337] Hinds (1999) 64.

[338] Hinds (1999) 63 takes the transitional passage as "a kind of second proem for the *Ibis*: not so much a *proemio al mezzo* . . . but rather a kind of anterior or pre-textual preface." See Conte (1992) for the *proemio al mezzo*.

[339] The Muses only appear in the very first couplet, and then only with reference to Ovid's previous poetry. Their absence is reminiscent of their absence in the *Metamorphoses*, where they appear *in propria persona* in Book 5 but are only invoked by the poet when the epic has nearly run its course, at 15.622–3. On Ovid's sidelining of the Muses in both the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, see Barchiesi (1991).

[340] This, of course, is theoretically the same Fate (or one of the three) who sang the extensive fifty-nine-line prophecy of Achilles' future supremacy at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Cat. 64.323–81). These are also the same Fates who uttered dark intimations of Meleager's death in *Metamorphoses* 8—a death that was, in Homer, ultimately fulfilled by the Erinyes. Cf. Hinds (1999) 63n31: "It seems not unlikely that the vexed reference to 'one sister of the three' in the transitional passage is precisely intended to highlight the mythological doubling between

perverted) enactment of the *uates*-concept."[341] By repeating the poem's *incipit*, by parodying the traditional invocation (and re-invocation) of a goddess's aid, and by self-consciously assuming, after a full 245 lines, the vatic role that a poet usually adopts at the outset of his work,[342] Ovid leaves the reader with no doubt that his poem is, in many ways, beginning anew.

Given this prefatory nature of the ten-line bridge, together with the well-recognized presence of programmatic material at the beginning of a poem,[343] we are justified in looking for statements of programmatic intent in the lines that follow. The catalogue begins in an ostentatiously epic fashion[344] with the catalogue's first curse, *sint tua Troianis non leviora malis* ("may your misfortunes be no lighter than the Trojans'," *Ib.* 252), which effectively alludes to the events of both the *Iliad* and *Aeneid.* Given the storied history of Ovid and epic, however, this very epic flavor of the *Ibis* catalogue's opening, along with the reduction of Trojan woes to a non-epic pentameter, should put the Ovidian reader on alert.[345] Ovid's refusal to maintain any genre, let alone the epic genre, is practically proverbial,[346] and here his generic foibles again come into play.

Like the *Amores*, the second part of the *Ibis* opens with an emphasis on crippled feet.[347] Following the Trojans' epic afflictions[348] come Philoctetes and Telephus, who occur elsewhere in Ovid's work, sometimes as a pair, usually as *exempla* of incurable wounds.[349] Here they are generally understood as *exempla* associated with the epic Trojan War context that Ovid has

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Fury and Fate. . . . The abiding impression will be of the ominous overlap between the two sets of sisters." Hinds (1999) also remarks on "the affinity in the Latin literary imagination between Parcae and poets as spinners of extended tales" (64), citing Rosati (1999) for further discussion, but the complete absence of the Muses, especially together with their replacement by these syncretized Fury-Fates, seems sinister to me.

[341] Hinds (1999) 64.

[342] See Newman (1967) for the concept of the *vates*, essentially the poet's self-projection into his poetry as a poet-prophet figure, in Augustan poetry. The phrase *ille ego (sum)* in Ovid also has recurrent associations with his literary production and poetic career; see Farrell (2004).

[343] See, e.g., Keith (1992). Hinds (1992a) 90 also advances the idea that "Augustan poetry contains more or less continuous strata of programmatic discussion."

[344] Cf. Williams (1996) 91.

[345] Ovid has had epic openings to his various works before now. In the *Amores*, he began with the epic *arma* (weapons) and meter of Vergil's *Aeneid*, only to find that Cupid was crippling his poetry by stealing a foot and thus turning epic meter into elegiac (*Am.* 1.1.1–4). A short-footed and limping elegiac Muse subsequently reared her head in Book 3 of the *Amores* (*Am.* 3.1.7–8), and similar metrical jests appear elsewhere in the Ovidian corpus, playing on the shared dactylic line of the epic and elegiac meters.

[346] See, e.g., Harrison (2002).

[347] On Ovid's previous markers of generic affiliation and proemial metrical jests, from the *Amores* through the *Metamorphoses*, see Gildenhard and Zissos (2000b). Hinds (1985) discusses several programmatic foot-puns in Book 1 of the *Tristia*, not least one that is very pertinent to my discussion here—Hinds points out that Oedipus ("Swollen Foot") is a perfect parricidal analogy for Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* because he has *misshapen feet*, just like the elegiac *Ars.*

[348] Williams (1996) 91 sees "the tragedy of the *Iliad*" as the epic subject of the line, but while this is certainly a logical reading of *Troianis . . . malis* (252), in Ovid's Augustan and post-Vergilian world another logical reading— perhaps the more logical and immediate reading—would be the woes endured by the Trojans after the fall of Troy. This seems especialy borne out by the parallel imprecation of *Ib.* 339–40, which deals with the post-Iliadic fate of the Greek fleet.

[349] As *exempla* of incurable wounds: *Tr.* 5.2.9–20 (Telephus & Philoctetes); *ExP.* 1.3.3–10 (Philoctetes). Telephus as an *exemplum* of a wound which could only be cured by its cause: *Tr.* 1.1.97–100; *Tr.* 2.19–22. Previously, both their wounds had been likened to the wounds of love: *Rem.* 111–16 (Philoctetes), *Am.* 2.9.7–8 (Telephus), *Rem.* 47–8 (Telephus).

just set up.[350] But taken together with the pseudo-epic context of the first *exemplum*, their respective wounds can also serve another, very different, purpose. Philoctetes was wounded in his foot, and Telephus was wounded in his leg (ultimately as the result of catching his foot in a vine-shoot). Both of them, therefore, limp, and their injured feet cripple the epic nature of Ovid's first *exemplum* far more definitively than its simple confinement to an elegiac pentameter.

This is, I submit, another *pes*-pun, like the many which riddle Ovid's earlier and contemporary work. In the *Ibis* catalogue, the precise location of Philoctetes' wound is not mentioned; rather, Ovid simply notes that his *crus* was afflicted. But his foot was famous as the location of his wound, and Ovid, who loves to mention the "foot" of his meter, can scarcely have ignored this. Philoctetes' wounded foot therefore echoes the stolen foot of *Amores* 1.1 and the shortened foot of *Amores* 3.1, as well as the limping foot of *Tristia* 3.1. Telephus's wounded leg, in association with Philoctetes' foot, functions similarly.

Ovid's playing in the *Amores* with the foot-discrepancy between hexameter and pentameter (1.1, 3.1) is flamboyant and self-conscious and hence widely remarked, and the frequency with which he comments on the near-epic weight his slender elegiac verses must bear in the *Fasti* has also garnered scholarly attention.[351] Although the apparent *gravitas* of the *Metamorphoses*' fully epic meter did not allow for such obvious metrical puns,[352] with Ovid's exilic return to elegiacs came a concomitant return to metrical games. Betty Nagle observes that Ovid's predilection for punning remarks about the elegiac meter, in the exile poetry as well as the *Amores* (e.g., *Tr.* 1.1.16, 3.1.11–12), ensures that "the reader realizes its role as a constant" in poetry of love and poetry of pain. She notes that "all Ovid's *pes*-puns contain a statement of poetics";[353] it is up to Ovid's reader to determine where the less obvious puns are lurking.

Within the *Ibis*, Ovid has already placed a great deal of stress on his meter, including the potential unsuitability of its *pes.* A major concern of the prologue is the discrepancy between meter and content: *prima quidem coepto committam proelia versu, / non soleant quamvis hoc **pede** bella geri* ("Indeed I shall join the first battles with my verse begun, although wars are not standardly waged in this meter," *Ib.* 45–6).[354] His elegiacs are not the proven bloodletting iambics of Archilochus; that would take, he claims, another poem:[355] *postmodo, si*

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[350] Cf. Gordon (1992) 98: "[Ovid] moves by association to the man whose weapons were destined to end the Trojan war."

[351] E.g., Hinds (1992a), (1992b). Ovid is, of course, by no means the only Augustan poet to play with the double meaning of *pes* (see especially Keith [1999]), and the tradition of such punning in Latin stretches back at least as far as Catullus, with (for example) his allusion in *C.*63 to the swiftness of the galliambic meter (*citato . . . pede*, 63.2). For Greek punning on ποῦς, see Bassi (1989) 229–31 and Barchiesi (1994).

[352] The *saeva Cupidinis ira* (*Met.* 1.453) and its subsequent amatory perversion of the work were presumably enough generic confusion, although one might suppose the *pedibus* (*Met.* 1.448) with which the victorious Apollo tramples on the defeated Python to be the epic feet of the meter which Cupid's wrath is about to undermine five lines later. Additionally, the *ictus* of Pegasus's equine *pes* as the source of the Muses' poetry in Book 5 has been well noted by Hinds (1987).

[353] Nagle (1980) 22.

[354] Williams (1992) 172: "Ovid's military strategy begins on the wrong metrical footing. . . . According to the Roman generic code the obvious metre for war is of course the hexameter. . . . The iambus is also implied in line 46 as the more usual medium for poetic battle. Whichever metre is eschewed in lines 45–6 – the hexameter, the iambus, or both – the main point is that in the *Ibis* Ovid creates a correspondence between his own alleged unfamiliarity with abuse and the unfamiliar medium in which he presents that abuse."

[355] Debate rages over whether *hoc . . . modo* (*Ib.* 56) can be taken to mean that Ovid's Callimachean model was written in elegiacs, or whether *modus* merely refers to style. If the latter, Ovid may be suffering from "anxiety of

perges, in te mihi liber iambus, / tincta Lycambeo sanguine tela dabit ("Afterwards, if you continue, my iambic book shall send against you missiles dyed with Lycambean blood." *Ib.* 53–4). Emphasis on the *Ibis*' inappropriate *pes* recurs in the poem's coda, echoing the sentiments and language of the prologue: *postmodo plura leges et nomen habentia verum, / et **pede** quo debent acria bella geri* ("afterwards, you will read more things, things that have your true name and are in the meter in which bitter wars ought to be waged," *Ib.* 643–4).

However, Ovid's harping on the unsuitability of elegy to warfare is disingenuous on several levels. First, Catullus used elegiacs as well as hendecasyllables in an iambic mode,[356] so even Ovid's application of them to verbal warfare is not so unprecedented as he claims. Moreover, Ovid's own elegiac lover is a soldier, albeit in the camp of Cupid: *militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido* ("every lover is a soldier, and Cupid has his own encampment," *Am.* 1.9.1). For all that the elegiacs of the *Ibis* are not amatory, the "bellicose" element established by *militat omnis amans* adheres to the meter at large. And although Ovid claims that his hands are unaccustomed to weapon-like poetry (*cogit inassuetas sumere tela manus*, *Ib.* 10), in the *Amores* he had referred to his own elegies as *tela*: *blanditias elegosque levis, mea tela, resumpsi* ("I have once more taken up my weapons, flatteries and light elegies," *Am.* 2.1.21).[357] Finally, Ovid's favorite metrical pun associates elegiacs and iambics. Elegiacs "limp" in a similar way to a famous iambic cursing meter, Hipponactean choliambics ("limping" iambs), which Ovid himself calls *parum stabili . . . carmine* ("a very unstable song," *Ib.* 523). The limping *pes*, then, which is such a crucial part of Ovidian elegiac poetics, can be perceived as interchangeable with the iambic *pes*.[358]

Philoctetes and Telephus are not alone in their limping gait, however, as their mini-catalogue is rounded off by another cripple, Bellerephon. This may, in fact, be an *Ibis*-specific variation on the elegiac *pes*-pun. Since Philoctetes' wounded foot alone would suffice to elegize the epic theme of the preceding *exemplum*, by grouping all three *exempla* together Ovid is clearly stressing their lamed and limping gait, not just the wounded foot. In addition, these three appear together outside of Ovid's poetry. They form a Euripidean trio which the scholia to Aristophanes' *Frogs* claimed were the reason that Aristophanes called Euripides χωλοποιός ("cripple-maker").[359] Thus, I suggest, the traditional foot pun has evolved, in an echo of the prologue's metrical dilemmas. Through their collective limping nature, the three lame men together move Ovid's elegiac invective into a quasi-choliambic mode, appropriate for cursing.[360]

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influence" with regard to his revolutionary choice of meter. Heyworth's (1993) idea of Horace's book of *Iambi/Epodes* as his own *Ibis* is as good a reason as any for suggesting that Callimachus's invective poem really was written in iambics; he argues that Callimachus's meter was "presumably not elegiac: given the proximity of Ov. *Ibis* 43f. . . . , *modo* in *Ibis* 53. . . . means 'manner', not 'metre'" (94n10). The English derivative "mode" serves to ambiguously translate Ovid's *modo* such that manner or meter could be understood.

[356] Nagle (1980) 41: "A considerable part of the Catullan corpus consists of invective, much of it in elegiac epigrams, rather than in iambs"; also see Heyworth (2001). On the generic implications of iambic in Latin poetry, see, conveniently, Harrison (2005).

[357] The difference in *tela* is irrelevant to my point—whether Ovid's elegiac weapons are dainty triolets or bloodletting darts, they are *tela* all the same. (For the mixture of metaphorical weapons and love-songs, cf. the song of Hilarion, Cyril, and Florian in Act 1 of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Princess Ida*, where they vow to woo and win the princess and her maidens "with verbal fences, / with ballads amatory and declamatory," and so forth.)

[358] See Barchiesi (1994), Heyworth (2001), Schiesaro (2001), degl'Innocenti Pierini (2003).

[359] τὸν χωλοποιὸν: διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς, Βελλεροφόντην, Φιλοκτήτην, Τήλεφον ("'cripple-maker': on account of these three, Bellerophon, Philoctetes, Telephus," Schol. vet. *ad* Aristoph. *Frogs* 846).

[360] Can we further imagine the trio to provoke a jesting play on tragedy's iambic *trimeters*? On the importance of Ovid's *denial* of the poem's affiliation with iambic, see Schiesaro (2001). An additional possible reading of the

We may derive two lessons from the opening of the *Ibis* catalogue. First, there are thematic (and suppressed verbal) connections between the prologue and the catalogue, and we shall see more evidence of this shortly. Second, the *Ibis* is a fully functional part of Ovid's poetic corpus and the exilic corpus specifically, not only drawing on themes that occur throughout Ovid's work, but modifying them in ways that find resonance in the other exile poetry. This is particularly true of Philoctetes and Telephus, whom Ovid can use to make a self-reflexively programmatic statement about the genre in which he is writing because he has used them before. Their presence also recalls his exilic use of elegy in a non-amatory vein.

Wounds, no matter their source (love or grief), cause elegy. Ovid's conversation with Venus at the opening of *Fasti* 4 posits her (and by extension her son or sons, the *gemini Amores*) as the source of all wounds, and therefore all elegy.[361] In the previous book of the *Fasti*, Ovid had handily disarmed *bellicus* Mars to make him exclusively an *inermis* lover (*Fasti* 3.1–10), adding to the conceit of love as the only source of wounds.[362] That, however, was likely written before Ovid had to face the alternate wound of exile. Here in the *Ibis*, the wounds at issue are not amatory (Philoctetes was wounded by a snake bite, and Telephus was wounded by Achilles' spear),[363] but I see a further statement of poetics in these lines, too.

All of Ovid's previous poems, he claimed in the *Ibis*' opening couplet, whether amatory, aetiological, epic, or tragic, were completely harmless.[364] However, one of those harmless poems paradoxically wounded Ovid by causing his exile,[365] inextricably intertwining his poetry with the incurable exilic wound and leading to an extensive program of correlation between the two. In fact, for the exiled Ovid, his previous poetry has *become* the very cause of his wound, and he repeatedly uses both Philoctetes and Telephus as *exempla* to discuss this fact, where previously he had invoked the pair as *exempla* for the incurable wounds of love.[366] In accordance with this transference of exemplary signification, Ovid continues to insist in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* that the wounded, limping elegiac meter is the appropriate meter for his exilic verses;[367] and in the *Ibis*' resurgence of the elegiac foot pun, Philoctetes and Telephus

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Bellerophon *exemplum* involves the implicit presence of the winged horse Pegasus, whose equine *pes* Ovid had presented in the *Metamorphoses* (5.256–68) as the ultimate source of the Muses' poetry. Bellerophon's crippling was due to being bucked from Pegasus's back while aloft, which has rather Icarian overtones for a fallen poet like Ovid.

[361] See Hinds (1992a).

[362] Addressed by Hinds (1992a), (1992b). Heyworth (1993) 86 makes the point that the first word of *Fasti* 4 is *alma*, rather than *arma*, effectively disarming the martial *Aeneid*, which concerns Venus's other son, Aeneas.

[363] Aid, not wounding, came from the *inermis* party, signifying either the healer Machaon or Achilles, now without his wounding spear (which instead functions as Telephus's cure).

[364] *omne fuit Musae carmen inerme meae* ("every poem of my Muse was unarmed," *Ib.* 2). I have mentioned Ovid's disingenuity in making this declaration (see p. 74). Williams (1992) 171 has pointed out the metrical and verbal coincidence between *carmen inerme* here and in Propertius 4.6, his Actium poem, marking Ovid's "move into bellicose poetics." Propertius's line, *aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae* (4.6.32), had depicted Apollo's substitution of harmless lyre for devastating bow in order to bring Octavian victory. Keith (1992) has discussed the resonances between *Amores* 1.1 and Propertius's elegy.

[365] *nullaque, quae possit, scriptis tot milibus, extat / littera Nasonis sanguinolenta legi: / nec quemquam nostri nisi me laesere libelli, / artificis periit cum caput arte sua* ("And there exists not a single letter of Naso's, out of the thousands that have been written, which could possibly be read as bloodstained: nor have my books harmed anyone except me, since the artist's head has perished by his own art," *Ib.* 3–6).

[366] See p. 72, n. 349.

[367] Cf. Nagle (1980) 42–3: "He shows that even in its highly specialized subjective-erotic Augustan form, elegy is an appropriate medium for his response to his situation in exile. He does this by analogizing the *dolores exilii* to the *dolores amoris* to suggest that an analogous situation warrants an analogous response."

(cripples) replace Cupid (crippler).[368] As their wounds had previously been likened to the equally incurable wounds of love, so their new programmatic function echoes the replacement of love's pain with exile's pain that allows Ovid an explicit justification for maintaining the elegiac meter in his exilic lamentations.[369] Ovid's short-footed Elegy in *Amores* 3.1 was beautiful because of her "foot problem,"[370] but the respective crippling wounds of Telephus and Philoctetes cause them nothing but pain.[371]

The *Ibis* catalogue continues, as we have seen, with *exempla* of blind men, and here again we find a connection with the *Ibis* prologue. Early on in the prologue, Ovid threatened to wrap his poem in *historiis caecis* (*Ib.* 57) as Callimachus had.[372] While most scholars apply the label to all of Ovid's riddling *exempla*,[373] Williams points out that the nine blind men who appear at the start of the catalogue literally exemplify those promised *historiae **caecae**,*[374] thus creating another link between the two halves of the poem. The emphasis on blindness also activates a "vocabulary of sight"[375] which Jennifer Ingleheart argues is present throughout the exilic corpus, with the result that traces of Ovid's greater exilic and poetic program can again be seen.

The first eleven couplets of the catalogue, then, the cripples and the blind men, connect with the clearly programmatic language and sentiments of the prologue and with the broader scheme of imagery which marks Ovid's exilic poetic corpus. What about the couplets that follow? We have already touched on this issue. The mangled and broken *membra* of the next six couplets, especially given Ovid's early emphasis on their connection with shipwrecks (*Ib.* 275–8), also pick up a couplet from the prologue (*Ib.* 17–18), yet again linking prologue with catalogue. In addition, since the fragments of Ovid's own poetic shipwrecks appear elsewhere in the exile poetry (*Tr.* 1.2.2), here too we glimpse Ovid's pan-exilic program within the *Ibis*.[376]

The trope of Ovid's poetic corpus as his physical *corpus* surfaces time and again in his poetry, particularly following his exile, and numerous times in the *Tristia* Ovid is concerned

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[368] Given Ovid's extensive program of correlation between his poetry and his exilic wound, it seems possible that he intends the *vulnus inermis* of *Ib.* 256, occurring in the same metrical position as *carmen inerme* (although not a grammatically intact unit), to pick up an echo of *carmen inerme* and to substitute the poem with a wound. The *Ibis*, then, would actively maintain the same rhetoric of analogized *exilium* and *amor* that is visible elsewhere in the exile poetry, with *vulnus* replacing *carmen.*

[369] It is possible that the *exemplum* of Telephus at *Tr.* 2.19–22 follows another unnoticed *pes* pun at 2.15–16.

[370] *pedibus vitium causa decoris erat* ("the defect in her feet was the cause of her beauty," *Am.* 3.1.10).

[371] In addition to shifting the elegiac pair of Philoctetes and Telephus into a choliambic context, Bellerophon may serve a similar pan-exilic programmatic function to the other two: his lameness was caused by falling from the back of Pegasus, the original source of poetry (see p. 74, n. 360).

[372] *nunc quo Battiades inimicum devovet Ibin, / hoc ego devoveo teque tuosque modo, / utque ille, historiis involvam carmina caecis, / non soleam quamvis hoc genus ipse sequi* ("now, in the same mode as Battiades cursed his enemy Ibis, I curse you and yours, and as he did, I shall wrap my songs in obscure stories, although I myself am not used to writing in this genre," *Ib.* 55–8).

[373] E.g., Bernhardt (1986) 335: "der Reihe der *caecae historiae*"; Guarino Ortega (2000) 93: "la larga serie de *caecae historiae* o *dirae.*" While Ovid does of course intend *historiis . . . caecis* to refer to the entirety of the catalogue, it has particular relevance to this opening mini-catalogue.

[374] Williams (1992) 181.

[375] Ingleheart (2006) 67. And again: "The reader perhaps thinks of the role which sight has already played in Ovid's exile when reading *Ibis* 259-272, a passage in which Ovid imagines blindness as a possible punishment for 'Ibis' for his involvement in Ovid's exile; the punishment seems particularly fitting, although Ovid fails to make the connection with what he himself saw explicit" (68n6).

[376] This imagery is not limited to the exile poetry (cf. *Ars Am.* 1.412: *vix tenuit lacerae naufraga membra ratis*), but elsewhere it does not have so potentially literary an application. See pp. 69ff for discussion of Ovid's shipwrecks.

with the idea or language of dismemberment.[377] Ovid's "heavy and overt use of mythic victimology . . . give[s] some circumstantial encouragement to the idea that all stories told in the exile poetry, including stories of bodily mutilation, are really about Ovid's own relegation,"[378] so it is no surprise to find the *topos* repeated several times in the *Tristia*. Forms of the word *membrum* appear fourteen times in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* together, only four in the context of dismemberment;[379] there are thirteen uses in the *Ibis*, and only three do *not* occur in the context of dismemberment or mutilation of limbs.[380] The *Ibis*, then, although less obviously "about" Ovid's exile than his other exile poetry, is even more overwhelmingly obsessed with the idea of dismemberment.[381]

Onymous, Anonymous, Pseudonymous: The *Ibis*' "rhetoric of *nomina*"

We have not yet considered one very important aspect of the prologue, and that is Ovid's emphasis on Ibis' name and its pseudonymity. In the rest of the exile poetry, Ovid is "programmatically obsessed"[382] with names, and we have now witnessed several times both how the program of the *Ibis* matches Ovid's larger exilic program, and how reflections of the prologue pervade the catalogue. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the function of names in the catalogue of the *Ibis* might also be important, and we have in fact already seen this to be plausibly true in the case of Linus. In the prologue, Ovid's stress is on his silence regarding Ibis' real name,[383] the pseudonymous nature of the name "Ibis," and its ability to function in lieu of Ibis' real name for the purposes of targeting his curses:

> et, quoniam, qui sis, nondum quaerentibus edo,
> Ibidis interea tu quoque nomen habe.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 61–2)

> And since I am not yet professing to those who ask who you may be, in the meantime you, too, have the name of Ibis.

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[377] On the exilic trope, see Farrell (1999). To name but a few important instances: *Tr.* 1.2.1–4 (discussed above, pp. 69ff); *Tr.* 1.3.73–6, where he envisages himself as Mettius Fufetius; and *Tr.* 3.9, where he etymologizes the name of Tomis from Medea's tmesis of her brother Absyrtus. See particularly Oliensis (1997) and Hinds (2007).

[378] Hinds (2007) 198.

[379] *Tr.* 1.2.2, 1.3.64, 1.3.73, 1.3.94, 3.8.31, 3.9.27, 3.9.34, 4.10.48, 5.6.20; *ExP.* 1.10.28, 2.2.74, 2.7.13, 3.3.8, 3.3.11. Those in the context of dismemberment are: *Tr.* 1.2.2, 1.3.73, 3.9.27, 3.9.34. Hinds (2007) 199–200 connects the corporal dissolution of *Tr.* 3.8.23–36 with the dismemberment of *Tr.* 3.9, in which case the poet's *membra* there, too, are in danger of a similar fate to Absyrtus's, as "Ovid's body (*corpora*) is . . . weakened by exile" (200). I use *membrum* as a sample because of its relevance to the programmatic language of the *Ibis* and because it is likely the most relevant term. *Viscera* and *artus* (used eleven and six times in the *Ibis*, respectively) are other terms which would be worth investigating.

[380] *Ib.* 17, 149, 192, 233, 273, 278, 364, 366, 435, 454, 518, 548, 634. *Not* in the context of dismemberment are: *Ib.* 192, 233, 518. Arguably only the first two, both in the prologue, are external to this context, as the myth alluded to at *Ib.* 517–8 (*Brotean*) is to a large extent unknown. The best suggestion may be to combine the accounts of ps-Apollodorus E.2.2 and Pausanias 3.22.4 and conclude that this Broteas was a son of Tantalus and a sculptor, who offended Artemis and as a result was driven mad, immolating himself. (However, I do not in fact believe that we should read *Brotean* here at all.) Burning one's living limbs on a funeral pyre seems somewhat akin to mutilation, as well as akin to Ovid's burning of his poetic *viscera* on a pyre (*Tr.* 1.7.19–20).

[381] This projection of a fragmented poetic corpus through fragmented physical corpora may find resonance in later authors such as Lucan; see Bartsch (1997) 10–29 on the fragmentation of bodies as a marker of dissolved boundaries that equate to civil war. For other resonances of dismembered *membra*, see p. 93, n. 460.

[382] Hinds (2007) 207.

[383] *nam nomen adhuc utcumque tacebo* ("for as yet I shall remain silent as to his name," *Ib.* 9).

> neve minus noceant fictum execrantia nomen
> vota, minus magnos commoveantve deos:
> illum ego devoveo, quem mens intellegit, Ibin,   95
> qui se scit factis has meruisse preces.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 93–6)

> Nor may my execrating prayers harm his name less because it is fictitious, nor may they stir less
> the great gods: him I curse as "Ibis" whom my mind understands to be him, he who knows that
> he has deserved these prayers by his deeds.

The correspondence between this need for a name and the standard practice of *defixionum tabellae* to precisely express their target's identity has often been highlighted,[384] but Ovid's continued focus on the importance of nominality in the catalogue of the *Ibis* has been less remarked.[385]

Like the other aspects of Ovid's program which we have identified within the *Ibis*, a focus on naming and not naming also corresponds with Ovid's pan-exilic program—the importance of names (or their absence) in the exile poetry has been frequently discussed.[386] The shift from anonymous to named addressees between the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* is certainly an explicit part of Ovid's program in the *Ex Ponto*; he expresses the sole difference of these later poems from the *Tristia* as follows:

> non minus hoc illo triste quod ante dedi.
> rebus idem titulo differt; et epistula cui sit
> non occultato nomine missa docet
>   (Ovid, *ExP.* 1.1.16–18)

> This [work] is no less sad than that which I delivered previously. The same in subject, it differs
> in title, and the letter professes to whom it has been sent since the addressee's name is not
> hidden.

While the poet of the *Tristia* is "programmatically obsessed . . . with the dangers that come from naming people's names,"[387] the poet of the *Ex Ponto* is obsessed with the flexibility of shared *nomina*. As Hinds has argued, the first two poems of the *Ex Ponto* (along with several others) make explicit or implicit comparisons between their addressees and (in)famous homonymous historical individuals, often with little apparent regard for the effect this will have on public (or Augustan) perception of the addressee.[388]

It seems to me, however, that even prior to the *Ex Ponto*, the same duality of shared names is already functioning within the catalogue of the *Ibis*, as we have briefly seen in the case of Linus. By contrast, Ovid's pseudonymous appellation of "Ibis" to his enemy appears to fall more under the aegis of the *Tristia*'s anonymous form of address (and indeed, many have

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[384] See, e.g., Watson (1991) 204–6, Garriga (1989). On the possible associations between the *Ibis* and *defixionum tabellae* at large, see especially Watson (1991) 194–216 and Zipfel (1910).

[385] Hinds (2007) mentions the importance of Cinna (*Ibis* 539–40), whose ambiguous *cognomen* led directly to his death, with regards to Ovid's obsession with names in the exile poetry at large, but this is only one of many such instances in the *Ibis*.

[386] See especially Oliensis (1997), Hardie (2002c), and Hinds (2007).

[387] Hinds (2007) 207.

[388] Hinds (1986) 321. Similar blurring of identity has been discussed by Ahl (1976) 140–5 and Feeney (1986) in the context of the parade of heroes in *Aeneid* 6; I thank John McDonald for suggesting to me this parallel.

seen in Ibis the anonymous enemies of *Tristia* 1.6, 3.11, and 4.9, among others).[389] Both the prologue and the catalogue emphasize the suppression of names, the catalogue doing so most obviously through the poet's tendency not to name the subjects of his *exempla*. The generally accepted theory is that the *Ibis* was likely published in between the *Tristia* and the *Ex Ponto*,[390] and its "rhetoric of *nomina*"[391] would seem to confirm this relative date, as its mode of flexible nominality places it between the *Tristia*'s anonymity and the *Ex Ponto*'s onomastic freedom.

Ovid's name-games within the catalogue manifest in a wide variety of forms, in particular:

1. encoding into the text puns, etymological and otherwise, on the names of mythical figures (a very Alexandrian and Augustan gesture);
2. employing a shared (but usually unstated) name as the method of connecting two *exempla*, more or less explicitly;
3. using an *exemplum* to evoke a homonymous mythic figure who fits the context of the catalogue better or who can create associations with surrounding *exempla* (in this case the name of the figure tends to be stated explicitly);
4. choosing *exempla* which themselves actually focus on the idea of names, lack of names, and transference of names.

In all of these cases, what ultimately concerns Ovid seems to be the dynamics of anonymity and "onymity." In particular, he strives, with nearly paradoxical effort, to make fully comprehensible to his reader a purportedly anonymous reference, while simultaneously exploiting homonymy (explicit or implicit) to blur the precisely delineated edges of figures' individual integrity.

Puns are the easiest feature to spot and the most in accord with the mode of Alexandrian poetics to which all of Ovid's poetry more or less adheres.[392] The most frequently remarked of these appears in a couplet on the death of Ulysses, who was killed with a spear made from a stingray's barb. Ovid refers to the agent of Ulysses' death as *teli genus*:

> ossibus inque tuis teli genus haereat illud,
> traditur Icarii quo cecidisse gener.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 567–8)

> And may that kind of poker fix in your bones, from which Icarius's son-in-law is said to have fallen.

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[389] Cf., e.g., André (1963) vi: "Les concordances formelles de *Trist.*, 1, 6, 13, et *Ibis*, 9, suggèrent l'identité du personnage." Casali (1997) 103 rightly notes that "it is impossible to establish who out of the other enemies assailed by Ovid in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* could be identified with 'Ibis'. . . . A complex pattern of echoes and correspondences can always be discerned between one 'enemy poem' and another, but no coherent system can be constructed out of this network of cross-references." On the poetics of the pseudonym "Ibis," see pp. 93ff.

[390] Williams (1996) 132n52 collects bibliography proposing "a date of composition for the *Ibis* no later than A.D. 12, when Ovid was well into *Tristia* 5 if not already embarking on the *Epistulae ex Ponto*." Herrmann (1945) labored under the theory that the *Ibis* and *Tristia* 2 were published in the same book roll, although later (Herrmann [1965]) he rejected that idea in favor of proposing that the *Ibis* was not in fact an Ovidian text at all but was rather the work of one C. Caesius Bassus in the early Flavian period.

[391] The phrase is borrowed from the title of Oliensis (1997).

[392] See Introduction, pp. 11ff, on the functional rules for puns and other etymological play in Latin poetry.

It has been pointed out by most commentators that *teli genus* is sounded out, approximately, as "Telegonus," thus also indicating the human agent of Ulysses' death to the ear of the Roman reader.[393]

Another pun appears in one of Ovid's first *exempla*. His reference to Telephus as *qui bibit ubera cervae* ("he who drank at the hind's udder," *Ib.* 255) precisely translates the ancient etymology for Telephus's name, given by the *Etymologicum Magnum* as ἐκλήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ θηλάσαι αὐτὸν ἔλαφον ("and he was called that on account of a deer nursing him," 756K.54–5). This is a pun that only functions if the reader is already aware of Telephus's identity,[394] but the potentially appreciative audience is larger than one might initially imagine. We must remember that Roman readers would have had recourse to mythographic texts for clarification, and as it happens, a catalogue recorded in Hyginus gives the names of *Qui lacte ferino nutriti sunt* ("Those who were nourished by the milk of a wild animal," *Fab.* 252), the first line of which reads: *Telephus, Herculis et Auges filius, ab cerva* ("Telephus, son of Hercules and Auge, by a hind"). Thus, were a reader to be consulting mythographic handbooks for aid, as seems eminently plausible given their apparent popularity,[395] he would have a high chance of appreciating the pun.

A third pun[396] is even more in line with standard Augustan poetic practice, which has a tendency to place bilingual puns and etymologies at the ends of lines, framing a passage.[397] At *Ib.* 419–20, Ovid prays that Ibis' fortunes will never increase but always diminish:

> filius et Cereris frustra tibi semper ametur,
>   destituatque tuas usque petitus opes.   420
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 419–20)

And may Ceres' son always be loved by you in vain, and may he, sought continually, forsake your wealth.

Ceres' son is the blind god Ploutos, or wealth; the last word of the couplet is *opes*, namely the Latin equivalent of πλοῦτος. Again, the reader needs to understand the *exemplum* to appreciate the pun, but Ovid has put the answer to his "riddle" in plain sight. Puns such as these are the most comprehensible and "normal" aspects of Ovid's onomastic play. His other three types of name-game require a fuller understanding of the *exempla*—and of mythology in general—in order for appropriate connections to be drawn.

The case of names shared by contiguous *exempla* is another reasonably obvious game of Ovid's.[398] As our understanding of the catalogue's *exempla* currently stands, this is a device which Ovid employs four times, twice in order to join separate mini-catalogues and twice in the form of mini-catalogues whose central theme is the shared name. He juxtaposes Ajax the Lesser and Ajax the Greater at *Ib.* 341–4, joining the homeward-bound Greeks to a list of insane

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[393] See, e.g., La Penna (1957) 152–3 *ad loc.*, André (1963) 54, Gordon (1992) 233 *ad* 565–566. Telegonus was Odysseus's son by Circe. He arrived on Ithaca and unknowingly killed his father with a stingray-tipped spear; subsequently, he married Penelope and Telemachus married Circe. For versions and sources of the Telemachus story, see Gantz (1996) 710–12.

[394] O'Hara (1996) 79–80: "Vergil and other Augustan poets often suppress or omit a name or word that must be supplied by the reader, so that the etymological wordplay only really 'takes place' when the missing word is supplied."

[395] See Cameron (2004).

[396] As best I can tell, this pun remains unremarked by commentators.

[397] O'Hara (1996) 82–8.

[398] Ellis (1881) xlvi and Guarino Ortega (1999) 276 point out Ovid's use of shared names as a connective device.

men, and two figures named Hippomenes at *Ib.* 457–60, joining Cybelean associates to those who were shut away.[399] In all four of these *exempla*, none of the relevant figures is named outright:

> utque ferox periit et fulmine et aequore raptor,
> > sic te mersuras adiuvet ignis aquas.
> mens quoque sic furiis vecors agitetur, ut illi,
> > unum qui toto corpore vulnus habet.
> > > > (Ovid, *Ibis* 341–4)

And as the fierce rapist *[=Oïlean Ajax]* perished by both lightning and water, thus may fire assist the waters that are about to drown you. Also, may your mind thus be driven insane by furies, as for that one who has a single wound in his entire body *[=Telamonian Ajax]*.

> inque pecus subito Magnae vertare Parentis,
> > victor ut est celeri victaque versa pede.
> solaque Limone poenam ne senserit illam,
> > et tua dente fero viscera carpat equus.   460
> > > > (Ovid, *Ibis* 457–60)

And may you suddenly be turned into a beast of the Great Parent, as was the winner *[=Hippomenes]* and the loser *[=Atalanta]*, diverted on her swift foot. And lest Limone *[=Hippomenes' daughter]* alone experience that punishment, may a horse pluck at your entrails with fierce tooth.

In the former case, the anonymity has led to a great deal of scholarly debate as to whether or not Telamonian Ajax is even the subject of the second *exemplum*, although I think the identification is indisputable.[400] In the latter case, the first Hippomenes *cannot* actually be

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[399] Both of these juxtapositions are debatable, once due to scholarly disagreement over identification and once due to Housman's ([1918] 228) declaration that *Ib.* 459–60 should be transposed, having been moved to its current location by "a reader who knows too much and yet too little."

[400] In the context of those driven mad (stated explicitly at *Ib.* 343), *unum qui toto corpore vulnus habet* (*Ib.* 344) can, in my opinion, only refer to Ajax, whose single vulnerable spot in his armpit (or shoulder or side) was once a well-known part of his story (Pind. *Isth.* 6.35–54, Lyc. *Alex.* 454–61). However, many modern scholars, along with most of the scholia, wish to see an allusion to Marsyas (other scholia say Pentheus) due to marginal linguistic overlap with *Met.* 6.387–8 (Marsyas) and 15.528–9 (Hippolytus); see André (1960) for an argument in favor of Ajax and Guarino Ortega (1999) 274–6 for a fairly full accounting of the evidence in either direction. We may also consider one artistic representation: *LIMC* vol. 1, Aias I 135 (=Boston 99.494) is an Etruscan mirror that shows Ajax with a bent sword (see Fig. 4), clearly the result of numerous unsuccessful attempts to stab himself. *LIMC* 1:1.331: "L'arme est manifestement tordue: l'artiste connaissait donc le détail de l'invulnérabilité partielle du héros." This corresponds with a surviving quotation from Aeschylus's *Threissai*, which may well have been Ovid's inspiration for the particular detail of this *exemplum* (if one insists on a specific intertext rather than the mythic narrative in general): τὸ ξίφος ἐκάμπτετο οὐδαμῇ ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ χρωτὸς τῇ σφαγῇ, × – ‿ τόξον ὥς τις ἐντείνων ‿ –, πρὶν δή τις παροῦσα δαίμων ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κατὰ ποῖον μέρος δεῖ χρήσασθαι τῇ σφαγῇ (fr. 83 Radt). Stégen (1967) argues that *having* one wound in the body is not the same as *being able to* have only one wound in the body ("Ovide écrit *habet*, et non *habere potest*"); this is an obtuse denial of the evidence to hand. If only the last of numerous suicide attempts is successful, as narrated in the Aeschylus fragment, then there is plenty of reason for Ovid to say, very literally, *unum qui toto corpore vulnus habet* (*Ib.* 344) without alluding to merely the general tradition of his invulnerability. This also obviates the need for Gordon's ([1992] 138) forced interpretation of *vulnus* "in the sense of 'vulnerable' or 'vulnerable place.'" It seems to me that the nominal transference from Oïlean Ajax to Telamonian Ajax is the clear transition between mini-catalogues here, while a reference to Marsyas would make no sense in context.

given a name until the following *exemplum* is understood, as Atalanta's husband has two names (Hippomenes and Milanion), even within Ovid's poetry.[401]

In the other two passages, a catalogue of Pyrrhi at *Ib.* 301–8 and of Glauci at *Ib.* 555–8, we should again observe Ovid's pattern of naming, misnaming, and not naming, together with his use of *nomen* in each instance.

> aut ut Achilliden, cognato nomine clarum,
>   opprimat hostili tegula iacta manu,
> nec tua quam Pyrrhi felicius ossa quiescant,
>   sparsa per Ambracias quae iacuere vias.
> nataque ut Aeacidae iaculis moriaris adactis;   305
>   non licet hoc Cereri dissimulare sacrum.
> utque nepos dicti nostro modo carmine regis,
>   Cantharidum sucos dante parente bibas.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 301–8)

> Or like "the son of Achilles" *[=Pyrrhus I the Great]*, famous from a related name, may a tile thrown by enemy hand fall on you, and may your bones rest no more fruitfully than Pyrrhus's, which lay scattered through the Ambracian streets. And may you die like the daughter of Aeacides *[=Deidamia?]*, with javelins thrust at you; Ceres is not permitted to conceal this sacrifice. And like the grandson of the king just now spoken of in our song *[=Pyrrhus II?]*, may you drink the Spanish flies' juices with a parent providing them.

We have, here, four couplets which concern the genealogical nightmare that is the kings of Epirus and their extensive network of name-sharing relatives. The first two couplets are much more intelligible to a modern reader than the second two, and this is only partially due to Ovid's periphrastic mode; far more problematic for our comprehension is the utter confusion and patchy nature of our sources. Since we can definitively establish the identity of the first two couplets, let us begin there. *Achillides* (301) is not in fact the son of Achilles, but his very distant descendant,[402] Pyrrhus I the Great, and the first joke is that he shares a name with Achilles' actual son, who is himself named outright in the next couplet. Achilles' son Pyrrhus, in turn, had two names, Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus; Ovid is making a point by explicitly stating one.[403] Does *cognato nomine* (301), then, refer to Pyrrhus I's ancestor Achilles, or to Pyrrhus I's ancestor and namesake, Pyrrhus, himself the subject of the next couplet? Ovid seems to leave the question as an exercise for his reader; nonetheless, we can definitively say that this run of *exempla* begins with a historical Pyrrhus and a mythical Pyrrhus. The figures who follow are far less certain.

Our confusion centers not only around the identity of the woman periphrastically identified as *nata . . . Aeacidae* (305), but around the identity of her father. "Aeacides" could be a patronymic or a proper name,[404] and there was, in fact, a member of the Aeacid dynasty who

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[401] Milanion at *Am.* 3.2.29; *Ars Am.* 2.188, 3.775; Hippomenes at *Her.* 16.265, 21.124; *Met.* 10 (*passim*). I take this inherent need for nominal clarification as grounds for rejecting Housman's proposed transposition of *Ib.* 459–60 (see n. 399).

[402] Pausanias (1.11.1) says that there are fifteen generations between Achilles' son Pyrrhus and Pyrrhus the Great's great-great-grandfather, Tharypas (see Fig. 5a).

[403] What exactly Ovid's point *is* is uncertain; see below. Sources disagree as to whether Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus was the given name and which was a byname (cf. Paus. 10.26.4, ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8§174, Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 1.2).

[404] As a patronymic, *Aeacides* is really a general allusion to the dynasty of Aeacidae, the kings of Epirus who were descended from Aeacides, the father of Pyrrhus the Great. They all were distantly descended from Achilles' grandfather Aeacus, which ultimately accounts for the name. Pausanias calls them Aeacidae at 1.13.9 and records

was actually named Aeacides: he was the father of Pyrrhus I and also of a woman named Deidamia.[405] This Deidamia cannot be the subject of 305–6, but just as we first passed from one Pyrrhus to another Pyrrhus, so the hint given by *nata Aeacidae*, literally understood as "Deidamia," may imply a different Deidamia, who is in fact the daughter of yet a third Pyrrhus (Pyrrhus II). Most scholars do understand the couplet as an allusion to this younger Deidamia.[406] This interpretation is not impossible, but it leaves us with a number of unanswered questions. First of all, according to our sources, this Deidamia was killed in a temple of Artemis Hegemone by an assassin named Milo, not by a barrage of spears, and not in any sort of connection with Demeter.[407] Scholars usually gloss over this problem by suggesting that Ovid may be our only surviving source for Deidamia's death in a temple of Demeter,[408] or by positing "a desire on Ovid's part to draw a connexion between Ceres' role in Pyrrhus I's death, and Deidamia's death in her temple."[409] Williams lets everyone off the hook by allowing that "the pentameter need not . . . mean that the death occurred in the temple of Ceres,"[410] simply that the goddess's finger was in the Aeacid pie; but the fact remains that Deidamia only really works as the subject of this couplet because scholars want her to, not because her story is a good match.[411] As an alternative, Ellis posits that *nata Aeacidae* is in fact Alexander the Great's mother, Olympias, who according to Pausanias was stoned to death.[412] This would

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an inscription calling them Aeacidae at 1.13.3, while Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 1.2) calls the dynasty Pyrrhidae, from Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus.

[405] According to Plutarch, this Deidamia was originally engaged to Alexander the Great's son Alexander, but she ultimately married Demetrius Poliorcetes (*Dem.* 25.2, *Pyrrh.* 4.2).

[406] Williams (1996) 108n64 and Gordon (1992) 125, probably mistakenly, call Deidamia the daughter of Pyrrhus I; this may result from a misinterpretation of Polyaenus, who simply calls Deidamia Πύρρου θυγάτηρ ("Pyrrhus's daughter," 8.52) without specifying *which* Pyrrhus. Polyaenus does say, however, that Deidamia captured Ambracia to avenge the treacherous murder of Ptolemy; as Pyrrhus the Great's son Ptolemy died in battle at Sparta, it seems far more likely that the Ptolemy whom Polyaenus mentions was the brother (or father, cf. Pausanias 4.35.3) of Pyrrhus II, and thus the uncle (or grandfather) of Deidamia (see Figs. 5a and 5c). (Cross [1962] reconstructs a possible family tree that makes Ptolemy the *son* of Pyrrhus II; see Fig. 5d.) According to Justin 28.3.1, this Ptolemy died of sickness shortly after succeeding to the throne of Epirus; it is possible to imagine some sort of treachery that would demand vengeance. On the other hand, Lévêque (1957) 681 finds more merit in arguments which make Deidamia the sister of Nereis and both of them the daughters of Pyrrhus I, although there is no clear evidence that Pyrrhus I had a daughter named Deidamia. If Lévêque (and Williams and Gordon) is correct, Ptolemy would be the nephew of Deidamia.

[407] Polyaenus 8.52, Justin 28.3.5–8. Justin, who calls the woman Laodamia, recounts how the Epeirots suffered various disasters as divine retribution for the sacrilege, and Milo himself was driven insane. By contrast, Pausanias 4.35.3 says that Deidamia, who was childless, entrusted Epirus to the people when she was about to die, which sounds like a somewhat different story from Justin's, although Pausanias does mention that the result was anarchy.

[408] Gordon (1992) 125.

[409] Gordon (1992) 125; also cf. La Penna (1957) 69 *ad loc.*: "Ma l'avvenimento poté essere considerato, religiosamente o poeticamente, come una conseguenza della persecuzione di Cerere contro Pirro e la sua stirpe in seguito alla violazione, da parte di Pirro, di un suo tempio."

[410] Williams (1996) 108n64. La Penna (1957) 69 also rejects the need for a temple-location, instead seeing a reference to the Eleusinian mysteries; he paraphrases *Ib.* 306 as "come nasconde i sacri riti dei misteri eleusini."

[411] I do not mean to imply that she is *not* the subject of the couplet, simply that a lot of stretching of our surviving sources is necessary to fit her in. The closest we come to any relevance of Demeter is Justin's comment that crop failure and famine followed the assassination of Laodamia (*nam et sterilitatem famemque passi et intestina discordia vexati externis ad postremum bellis paene consumpti sunt*, "for having suffered crop failure and famine, and having been harassed by internal strife, ad last they were nearly consumed by foreign wars," 28.3.7). Tangentially, do we catch puns in Justin's *intestina* discordia and *paene* consumpti?

[412] Paus. 9.7.2. Diodorus Siculus 19.51.5 similarly records that she was murdered by a group of Macedonians, but he does not mention the precise mode of death. Justin 14.6.11 says that she was stabbed by a crowd of soldiers.

solve the phrase *iaculis adactis* (*Ib.* 305),[413] but it does not clarify the mention of Ceres.[414] However, it fits beautifully in another way: Olympias was the daughter of a Neoptolemus. This again continues the run of Pyrrhus-figures—we moved from Pyrrhus I to Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, and now we would move from Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus to Neoptolemus. Regardless of which interpretation we follow, then, we can see Ovid moving between homonyms.[415] Both interpretations leave us with a similar sense of Ovid's onomastic play.

The fourth couplet is just as inscrutable as the third, and our sources are just as ill-matched. *Dict[us] nostro modo carmine re[x]* ("the king just now mentioned in our song," *Ib.* 307), purportedly the grandfather of the subject of 307–8, must be one of the three kings mentioned previously, either Pyrrhus I the Great (subject of 301–2), Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus (subject of 303–4), or the periphrastically-identified "Aeacides" of 305–6, presumably either Pyrrhus II or Neoptolemus. Because Deidamia is usually understood as the subject of the third couplet, and because the only conceivable grandson of her putative father, Pyrrhus II, is Hieronymus, the son of Nereis and Gelo (who is well-attested to have died in extremely different circumstances),[416] the unnamed *rex* is usually taken to be Pyrrhus I. Pyrrhus I's only known grandsons are Pyrrhus II and Ptolemy, both generally thought to be the sons of Alexander II of Epirus.[417] As with the previous couplet, we have stories that are close enough for scholars to latch onto them, but nothing definite. Most scholars identify Pyrrhus II as the subject of 307–8 because our sources preserve stories connecting him with poison: Athenaeus tells us that Pyrrhus's mother, Olympias, poisoned Pyrrhus's mistress, a Leucadian woman named Tigris,[418] while Photius records that Helladius mentioned *Pyrrhus* poisoning his *mother*, Olympias.[419] Justin, however, says that Olympias herself died of grief after both her sons had died and makes no mention of poison.[420] Justin's account is irreconcilable with that of Photius and Helladius, while Athenaeus's account could be thought to work with either one of the other two sources. Although the versions given by Athenaeus and Justin can work with Ovid's version, Ovid's account is, again, so unique that we must wonder if it really refers to this parent and son.

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[413] Williams (1996) 108n64 thinks that this phrase "hardly suggests stoning," but according to the *TLL* (I.B.2.a), *iaculum* can be *fere i. q. res quae iacitur* ("essentially equivalent to 'a thing that is hurled,'" 7:1, 77). La Penna (1957) 69, speaking of Deidamia's death, imagines "un nugolo di dardi scagliati dal popolo in rivolta."

[414] Ellis (1881) 173–4 gives a convoluted explanation involving the worship of Demeter and Kore at Samothrace, the initiation of Olympias into a variety of mysteries at Samothrace, and Demeter's association with a snake at Eleusis (which he connects with the serpent that lay near Olympias).

[415] Should we subscribe entirely to the *communis opinio* on 305–8, we may understand 307–8 as "Pyrrhus grandson of Pyrrhus," such that Williams (1996) 94 rightly calls this a "sequence of tangentially related Pyrrhi."

[416] He was slain in the streets of Leontini by a band of Sicilian conspirators (Livy 24.7.1–7, 26.30.1–3, Diod. Sic. 26.15.1, Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 14.101–9). If Nereis really was the daughter of Pyrrhus I, as several ancient sources make her (Paus. 6.12.3, Livy 24.6.8, Polyb. 7.4.5; possibly also Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 14.94–5), then Pyrrhus II had no grandchildren at all.

[417] See Fig. 5d for a different suggestion of their genealogy.

[418] Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Ἠπειρωτῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν τρίτος ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος, ἐρωμένη ἦν Τίγρις ἡ Λευκαδία· ἣν Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ τοῦ νεανίσκου μήτηρ φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινεν ("And Tigris the Leucadian was the lover of Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes, who was the grandson of the Pyrrhus who campaigned in Italy; Olympias, the boy's mother, killed her with drugs," Athen. *Deipn.* 13.56).

[419] ὅτι ὄνομα θεραπαίνης Πηλούσιον ἦν, δι' ἧς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Πύρρος ἀνεῖλε φαρμάκῳ τὴν μητέρα ("[Helladius tells] how the name of the slave-girl through whom Molossian Pyrrhus poisoned his mother was Pelousion," Photius, *Bibl.* 279.530a). It seems plausible to me that ὄνομα θεραπαίνης is meant to be a periphrasis for θεραπαίνα, and that in fact Helladius said that the slave-girl was Pelusian (i.e., from Pelousion in Egypt), not that her name was Pelousion.

[420] Justin, *Epit.* 28.3.

However, *nepos* can also simply mean "descendant," which allows us to include in our consideration any descendant of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus—that is a broad range of figures to deal with, and we have very little information about most of them. Even narrowing the scope to just a few generations, this broader application of the term allows us to include all descendants of Pyrrhus I (which still makes Pyrrhus II a plausible candidate even if Deidamia is not the subject of 305–6)—or, if we follow Ellis in treating Olympias as the subject of 305–6, a broad view of *nepos* allows us to include not only all of Pyrrhus I's descendants, but all the descendants of Neoptolemus, the grandfather of Alexander the Great.[421] Of course, just as *nepos* can mean "descendant," so *parens* can be used for most earlier generations, so that we begin to wonder just how many generations removed this internecine poisoning may in fact be.

In short, we have two unsolvable couplets, which scholars like to tie off neatly by calling them solved, but which in fact resist modern attempts at a solution. Nonetheless, even unsolved, they allow us to say a great deal about Ovid's *modus operandi*. The precise genealogy of the Epeirot kings, with their profusion of recurring mythological names, was likely already a hopeless tangle in Ovid's day,[422] and it is precisely the dynasty's penchant for onomastic repetition that I believe Ovid was exploiting.

Another instance of Ovid purposely invoking a case of confused and irreconcilable identity and genealogy may be seen at 407–10, a passage which has continuously vexed commentators with its apparent triplicate reference to Sinis, the pine-bender. Contorted attempts to make sense of the periphrases *cum Polypemone natus* (407) and *qui . . . trabes pressas ab humo mittebat in auras* (409) without allusion to Sinis (who appears by name at *Ib.* 407) have led to such suggestions as the existence of *two* pine-benders, one called Sinis and the other called Pityocamptes,[423] or that Procrustes rather than Sinis was the son of Polypemon.[424] Housman wished to transpose the third reference to Sinis (409–10) to a position following 396—this would eliminate a definite double reference to Sinis and would instead allow one of them to be a reference to Sinis' *victims*.[425] The ambiguity between Sinis and Polypemon's son would remain, however, unless one should choose to allow the scholia their identification; Housman did wish this, based on one interpretation of Bacchylides 18.19–30. However, Ovid was dealing with variant mythological genealogies even more tangled than the lineage of the Aeacid dynasty. For example, according to ps-Apollodorus and Pausanias, Sinis was the son of Polypemon, while Polypemon was an alternative name for Procrustes.[426] Bacchylides 18 preserves versions in which Sinis is the son of Poseidon and Polypemon is possibly said to be

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[421] Ellis concludes that the subject of 307–8 could be Heracles, the son of Alexander the Great by the Persian princess Barsina, who was poisoned by Polysperchon at the behest of Cassander. He gets around *parente* (308) by suggesting that maybe the poison was unknowingly administered by Barsina. Ellis (1881) 173: *Sic a Neoptolemi filia Olympiade transitur ad huius ex Alexandro nepotem Heraclem, cui Barsine, mater sua, uenenum, fortasse inscia, tradidisse fingitur* ("Thus we pass from Neoptolemus's daughter Olympias to Heracles, her grandson from Alexander, to whom his mother Barsine is imagined to have delivered poison, perhaps unwittingly.") Barsina feels to me to be very much shoe-horned in; a more plausible candidate in this branch of the family would be Philip III Arrhidaeus, the stepson of Olympias and half-brother of Alexander the Great, whom Plutarch records to have been mentally deficient as a result of his poisoning by Olympias. Although *parens* cannot be used to actually mean *noverca*, the two can be used as diametric opposites (cf. Plin. *NH* 7.1, Quint. 12.1.2), which would give *parens* here an appropriately tongue-in-cheek meaning.

[422] See Dakarēs (1964) on the mythological origins of the various names used by the members of this dynasty.

[423] Gordon (1992) 167–9, cf. Eustathius 158 *ad Il.* 1.593.

[424] This is the claim of the scholia.

[425] Housman (1918) 237f.

[426] Ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.16.2§218, Paus. 1.38.5; Plutarch (*Thes.* 11.1) gives "Damastes" as an alternate name for Procrustes.

the father of "Procoptes," which modern scholars presume to be an alternatively-scanning form of Procrustes (who, we may recall, was the *same* as Polypemon according to ps-Apollodorus and Pausanias).[427]   Just as Ovid may be exploiting the tangled profusion of homonymous Epeirot rulers at 301–8, perhaps his intention at 407–10 is a similarly mischievous exploitation of bynames and alternate genealogies, in this case invoking the *exact same* character three times in a row under three different appellations and thereby putting the mythic variation on display for his reader through a magnificent sleight-of-hand.

By contrast with the barely-named messes of the Aeacid dynasty and Theseus's adversaries, the names of the three Glauci at 555–8 are made very explicit:

> Potniadum morsus subeas, ut Glaucus, equarum,   555
> inque maris salias, Glaucus ut alter, aquas,
> utque duobus idem dictis modo nomen habenti,
> praefocent animae Cnosia mella viam.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 555–8)

> May you undergo the bites of Potnian horses, like Glaucus, and may you leap into the waters of the sea, like another Glaucus, and like the one who has the same name as the two just mentioned, may Cnossian honey choke up your breath's passage.

These three Glauci, despite sharing a name and being named in conjunction, each suffer a distinctly different fate and are never confused with each other in poetry or myth. Ovid does his best, however, to conflate the first two by the similarities of his hexameter and pentameter:

> *Pot***NI***adum* ***MOR***s***US SU***b***EAS, UT GLAUCUS, EQUAR***um,*
> **IN***que* **MAR***IS* **SA***l***IAS, GLAUCUS UT** *alt***ER, AQU***as.*

The lines share a high density of phonemes, arranged in the same order, with occasional anagrammatic transpositions. For Roman poets' linguistic play, consonants mattered more than vowels,[428] and thus *MORsus* and *MARis* begin with essentially the same syllable. *Glaucus ut* is a reflection of *ut Glaucus*, while the very letters of *EQUAR* become rearranged as *altERAQUas*.[429]   The alliterative, assonant, and anagrammatic nature of the lines may reflect the similar titles of two tragedies by Aeschylus on these characters, Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς and Γλαῦκος Πόντιος; or it may be an effort on Ovid's part to demonstrate how similar and yet different those who share a name can be; or Ovid may just be having some fun. Regardless, in all these cases of juxtaposed homonymous individuals, the characters manage (more or less) to retain their integrity, despite sharing their names.

The third method of playing with names hinges on Ovid's actually naming a character in the text.[430] Frequently, such an explicitly-named figure will happen to share a name with another, unrelated, individual from myth or history who would actually fit the context well.

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[427] The genealogies for the brigands slain by Theseus were incredibly varied and frequently confused, due no doubt to their plethora of names and similar characteristics as well as to the basic variability inherent to Greek mythology. To summarize just a few of the variants, Hyginus calls Corynetes and Procrustes sons of Neptune and Cercyon a son of Vulcan (*Fab.* 38) but lists both Corynetes and Cercyon in his *Vulcani filii* (*Fab.* 158); Bacchylides makes Sinis a son of Poseidon (and possibly Procrustes a son of Polypemon, 18.19–30); ps-Apollodorus says that Sciron was the son of Pelops or Poseidon (E.1.2) and that Cercyon was the son of Branchos and Argiope (E.1.3), while he names Periphetes/Corynetes as the son of Hephaestus and Anticleia (3.16.1§217) and Sinis/Pityocamptes as the son of Polypemon and Sylea (3.16.2§218); and Pausanias gives Cercyon as a son of Poseidon (1.14.3).

[428] See Introduction, p. 12, and Ahl (1985) 57–9.

[429] This is a normal feature of linguistic play; see Introduction, p. 13, n. 68.

[430] For the four main types of name-game that Ovid employs in the *Ibis*, see p. 79.

Shared names have resonance in Ovid's earlier poetry; for example, in the *Metamorphoses*, shared names seem to retain "an association from the first bearer of the name that exerts a pressure on the kind of fate experienced by the second bearer,"[431] while in the *Fasti* shared names can act in the service of sympathetic magic.[432] In the *Ibis*, nominal transference allows the fleeting doubling of Ibis' prophesied fate, a bifurcated future of which the road not taken remains in the traveler's (or reader's) memory. We have already seen, in the case of Linus, the ability of a polyvalent name to create associations with the surrounding *exempla*. In other cases, the alternate identification of a named figure—in general, an identification alluded to but ultimately rejected by context—has less impact on the structure of the text than do the possible variants of Linus's myth, which I have argued prompt the themes of the next twenty lines.[433] I will touch on two instances of what I see as doubly-functioning names, their "correct" reading in stark contrast to a context that is detectable below (or perhaps just above) the surface.

Within a section on the deaths of poets, Ovid briefly steps out of the context of the mini-catalogue and wishes on Ibis the death of Orestes, who died from a snake bite; his next *exemplum* is Eupolis, who died on his wedding-night:

> utque Agamemnonio vulnus dedit anguis Oresti,
> > tu quoque de morsu virus habente cadas.
> sit tibi coniugii nox prima novissima vitae:
> > Eupolis hoc periit et nova nupta modo.   530
> > > (Ovid, *Ibis* 527–30)

> And as a snake gave a wound to Agamemnonian Orestes, may you too fall from a bite possessing poison. May your first night of married life be your very last: Eupolis and his new bride perished in this way.

This transition is surprising, to say the least.[434] The combination of poetic deaths and snake-bites in the hexameter instantly draws the reader's imagination to Eurydice,[435] who died of a snake-bite earlier in the *Ibis*. The illusion is left intact until the second syllable of the pentameter, where it turns out, to the reader's presumably immense surprise, that the figure actually being alluded to is Eupolis. There is a famous Eupolis who fits the poetic context—the comic playwright Eupolis—and for a brief moment the reader's world makes some sense, until he realizes that this is not, in fact, the comic poet Eupolis, who probably died at sea (and may in fact be the subject of *Ib.* 591–2).[436] Instead, it is Nicias's son Eupolis, whose death is lamented

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[431] Hardie (2002c) 249.

[432] Hardie (2002c) 250–1 cites *Fasti* 4.941–2: *pro cane sidero canis hic imponitur arae, / et quare pereat, nil nisi nomen habet* ("The dog is placed on the altar instead of the sidereal dog, and he perishes for no reason except the name he has").

[433] See pp. 58ff.

[434] Cf. Watson (1991) 178–9: "Ovid . . . will sometimes deliberately insert an alien myth into a homogeneous sequence." His examples, however, such as "mention of Hannibal at *Ib.* 389–90 in the midst of tales from the *Odyssey*, or 527–8, the death of Orestes by snakebite [which] interrupts [a] sequence on deaths of literary men" (179n62), are not so far afield from the broader context as they seem; I discuss the snake-bite below, while Hannibal's murder of the senators of Acerrae is only out of place if we treat the chain of *Odyssey* tales as exclusively Odyssean. In the equally suitable context of "those who died *en masse*," there is no disruption (the principle of overlapping mini-catalogues being the same as those discussed above, cf. Fig. 1 and Table 3).

[435] The G-scholia also wish to interpret the incomprehensible *Ib.* 525–6 as a reference to Orpheus.

[436] For lengthy discussion of the comic poet Eupolis' death and other possibilities for *Ib.* 591–2, see Gordon (1992) 242–3 *ad* 589–590. La Penna (1957) 159 suspects that Ovid was *actually* confused as to the identity of the epigrammatic Eupolis (although he admits that his suspicions may be unjustified).

in an anonymous epigram from the Palatine Anthology:

αἰαῖ, τοῦτο κάκιστον, ὅταν κλαίωσι θανόντα
  νυμφίον ἢ νύμφην· ἡνίκα δ' ἀμφοτέρους,
Εὔπολιν ὡς ἀγαθήν τε Λυκαίνιον, ὧν ὑμέναιον
  ἔσβεσεν ἐν πρώτῃ νυκτὶ πεσὼν θάλαμος,
οὐκ ἄλλῳ τόδε κῆδος ἰσόρροπον, ᾧ σὺ μὲν υἱόν,   5
  Νῖκι, σὺ δ' ἔκλαυσας, Θεύδικε, θυγατέρα.
                                        (*AP* 7.298)

> Alas, this is the most evil thing, whenever they lament the death of a bridegroom or a bride; but
> when it is both, like Eupolis and noble Lycaenion, whose wedding-song their bedchamber,
> having fallen, extinguished on the first night, this is a grief matched by no other, with which
> you, Nicias, bewail your son, and you, Theodicus, your daughter.

The reader's most logical explanation at this point might be to imagine that Ovid has quit his catalogue of poets in order to turn to another catalogue of those who died from collapse in one way or another;[437] but the following *exemplum* features the tragic poet Lycophron, who was killed by arrows, and the catalogue of vatic deaths resumes just a few couplets further on.

In making sense of the Eupolis *exemplum*, the reader likely passed through two identifications—identifications which could almost seem to be intentionally provoked by Ovid—before arriving at the "correct" readings of the passage and the name.[438] Does this correct reading invalidate the earlier interpretations? If Linus can die as a baby and be killed as an adult by Hercules, it seems reasonable to imagine that the poetry-associated figure who dies (possibly of a snake-bite) on his or her wedding-night can *also* be Eurydice, and that the Eupolis who dies in a vatic context can *also* be the comic poet, even if the couplet taken as a whole implies a different figure entirely.[439]

My other example is more readily "accurately" identifiable within its context, but the name is equally transferable. The catalogue of vatic deaths fades away at approximately *Ib.* 552 but returns for a final hurrah somewhere around *Ib.* 591, before reaching its logical endpoint at *Ib.* 599–600 with the death of Orpheus. The reason for my vagueness in the start and end points of the break is that the catalogue of *vates* (which includes musicians and philosophers in its

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[437] *cadas* at 528 followed by the collapse of a chamber is similar to the connection of Hercules' three victims with their general context of falling (485–500) by means of a play on *cadas*; that mini-catalogue (for which see pp. 60ff) is followed at a short distance by a mini-catalogue of those who died as a result of things falling *on* them (505–12).

[438] Two critical concepts can be applied to this process of reading. One is Peter Bing's term "Ergänzungspiel" (see p. 55, n. 268), and the other is Nelly Oliensis's "textual unconscious" (see Introduction, p. 11, n. 57). The former is an "authorized" process of reading, imposed upon the reader by the author, while the latter is a private process which may or may not be shared by the author.

[439] Gordon (1992) 219: "Ovid may have been thinking of a link with the playwright Eupolis." La Penna suspects real confusion (see p. 87, n. 436). It is worth noting here a suggestion made by Ellis (1885) 95ff on a couplet occurring just a few lines earlier (*Ib.* 525–6). He wishes "to explain this distich by supposing two persons of the same name to be confused. The name is Philokles." (One Philokles was an Athenian general who cut off the right hand or thumb of his prisoners, the other was a tragic poet known for his harsh style.) No plausible explanation has been posited for this couplet, and in our world of nominal conflation, Ellis's hypothesis suddenly seems feasible. Another scholarly explanation similarly based on this sort of "confusion" would allow the preservation of *Ib.* 291–2 (usually bracketed by editors). Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924) 101n1 suggests that Ovid's intention may be to allude to a Thessalian Prometheus by naming the mythic Prometheus. Lenz (1944) 34, paraphrasing Wilamowitz, says: "poetam ludibundum ex more Lycophrontis non solum de heroe cogitare, sed etiam de Prometheo Thessalo." Also in favor of retaining *Ib.* 291–2 is the aural echo of Prometheus in *PaRUM-MITIS*, as well as Propertius's use of <u>parum</u> cauti for Prometheus (Prop. 3.5.21–2).

ranks) never disappears completely—between *Ib.* 553 and 590 come the proto-seer Glaucus (*Ib.* 557–8),[440] the philosopher Socrates (*Ib.* 559–60), the philosopher Anaxarchus (*Ib.* 571–2), two *exempla* (Crotopus and the Argives) associated with Linus (*Ib.* 573–6), and the lyre-playing Amphion (*Ib.* 583–4). Amphion's death comes within the context of several *exempla* relating the death of his family (*Ib.* 581–5), and Niobe's death by petrifaction (*Ib.* 585) is followed by the similar fate of the tattling Battus (*Ib.* 586), whose story Ovid had recounted at fuller length in the *Metamorphoses* (2.676ff).

Because Battus shares a couplet and a fate with Niobe, it is obvious that he is the loose-tongued old man who attempted to snitch on Mercury's cattle-rustling. However, an equally famous Battus, especially in Neoteric and Augustan poetry, is the founder of Cyrene, whose name is preserved in Callimachus's frequently-used patronymic Battiades and therefore is suited to the quasi-vatic context of the passage.[441] The descriptive phrase *laesus lingua*, which precedes Battus's name, not only holds a faint echo of the Cyrenean Battus's famous speech defect but also, according to Hesychius's gloss on Βάττος (i.e., τραυλόφωνος, ἰσχνόφωνος), is nearly a calque on the name. If the text almost reads *laesus linguam*, if the nasal is almost aurally implicit before the B- of Battus, Ibis narrowly avoids being cursed with, perhaps, the same fate that the stammering Battus narrowly avoided by overcoming his βαττολογία[442]—he will not, for now, nearly be eaten by a lion.

My last category of Ovidian name-play involves *exempla* which are themselves concerned with names, and my first example is one in which the name itself was the cause of death. At the funeral of Julius Caesar, the poet C. Helvius Cinna was mistaken for the conspirator L. Cornelius Cinna and, on no more grounds than this nominal coincidence, was torn apart by an angry mob:

> conditor ut tardae, laesus cognomine, Myrrhae,
> urbis in innumeris inveniare locis.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 539–40)

> Like the creator of slow Myrrha, harmed by his surname *[=Cinna]*, may you be found in countless areas of the city.

The resonances of this couplet are multifold. Hinds observes that "it is Cinna's name which puts him in harm's way, as a kind of rogue signifier."[443] The *exemplum* shows that names can be dangerous, a sentiment which serves as the refrain of the *Tristia*. In the *Ibis*, however, unlike in the thoroughly anonymized *Tristia*, Ovid makes clear the control he can retain over names if he so desires. Who is the *conditor . . . tardae, laesus cognomine, Myrrhae* (539)? It is Cinna-the-poet, but *not* Cinna-the-conspirator. Ovid both identifies *and* specifies without saying the name at all, perhaps because history had already proven the danger of naming that particular name. The most familiar version today, from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, is an

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[440] After Polyidus revived Minos's son, the Cretan king forced him to teach his prophetic skill to the boy. Polyidus complied but, on leaving Crete, ordered Glaucus to spit into his mouth, at which point Glaucus forgot what he had learned (ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.1–2§17–20).

[441] Cameron (1995a) 8, together with White (1999), argues that *Battiades* in Call. *Epigr.* 35 = *AP* 7.415 is only "a claim to descent from the ancient royal house," not an indication that Callimachus's own father was named Battus.

[442] Bömer *ad Met.* 2.688 associates βαττολογία with the tattling, not the stuttering, Battus, evidently taking ἀκαιρολογία as speaking out of turn, not as taking too long to speak. On a possible direct and self-inflicted iambic association of *both* Battuses with Callimachus, see Konstan and Landrey (2008).

[443] Hinds (2007) 207.

uncannily perceptive retelling:

> CINNA: Truly, my name is Cinna.
> FIRST PLEBEIAN: Tear him to pieces; he's a conspirator.
> CINNA: I am Cinna the poet, I am Cinna the poet.
> FOURTH PLEBEIAN: Tear him for his bad verses, tear him for his bad verses.
> CINNA: I am not Cinna the conspirator.
> FOURTH PLEBEIAN: It is no matter, his name's Cinna. Pluck but his name out of his heart and turn him going.
>
> (Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 3)

Possession of a name is potentially problematic, but it can also serve to aid in a form of immortality, which is how a poet's name should function;[444] and Cinna is an example of the malfunctioning of that norm. Once his name is said aloud, the name that should win him his fame instead wins him his death. Suppression of the name would have saved Cinna's life—but also would have deprived him of poetic immortality.

Immortality through the name can also function in a non-poetic context. A number of Ovid's *exempla* transfer their names to geographic features that outlast their namesakes' deaths and will potentially last *in perpetuum*. These include the rivers Evenus, Tiberinus (*Ib.* 513–14), and Marsyas (*Ib.* 551–2), and a Roman landmark, the Lacus Curtius (*Ib.* 443–4).[445] In each of these cases the word *nomina* is highlighted by placement at either the beginning of a pentameter or following the pentameter's caesura, but in each case it functions differently. In the case of Curtius, his fate of publicly drowning (or wallowing, cf. Livy 1.12.10) in muck is wished on Ibis, but Ovid explicitly deprives his enemy of the resultant fame: *dummodo sint fati nomina nulla tui* ("provided that no name is derived from your fate," *Ib.* 444).[446] In the case of Evenus and Tiberinus, it is not so much their deaths by drowning that Ovid curses Ibis with, but rather the transference of their names to the rivers in which they drowned (*nomina des rapidae . . . aquae*, "may you give your name to the rushing water," 514); while for Marsyas, the transference of his name to the river appears to be only incidental and not clearly intended to be part of Ibis' fate at all. However, in all three of these cases, Ovid can in fact be understood as, yet again, wishing for the evanescence of Ibis' name—as Catullus famously opined (70.4), what is written on the *rapida aqua* is only temporary.

The death of Curtius, reinforced by the *exempla* of the rivers, speaks the most loudly to Ovid's wishes for Ibis.[447] Although he is to be famous (after all, he is the subject of this poem),

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[444] Oliensis (1997) 186: "To be an author is to be able . . . to speak of oneself by name and in the third person, as one's public does. Like Ovid's poetry books, the name 'Naso' circulates independently of Ovid and is still to be found at Rome long after his departure for Tomis, and among the living long after his departure from life."

[445] To some extent, the Vicus Sceleratus (*Ib.* 363–4) also fits into this category, although there it receives its name from the crime, not the person.

[446] There may also be a hint of the ultimate anonymity of the Lacus Curtius's namesake—Varro provides us with three possible versions and three possible Curtii (*De Ling. Lat.* 5.148–50).

[447] Pleasingly, the *exemplum* falls at the exact center of the catalogue, barring deletions and transpositions, and it becomes clear a few couplets later that the *caenum* in which Ibis is to drown can be fruitfully compared with the *proiecta . . . aqua* (450) which the Egyptian ibis uses to clean itself. Ovid curses Ibis with drowning *in medii . . . voragine caeni* (443), such that *medium* could refer to the middle of the *Ibis*' morass of curses in addition to the public location of the Lacus Curtius. The Lacus Curtius also has a certain centrality in Rome itself, positioned at the center of the Forum and between the two seats of Augustan power, the Capitoline and Palatine, in addition to having connections with the Underworld. (See Ogilvie [1965] 75–6 on the Lacus Curtius generally and Spencer [2007] on the dynamics and tensions of the Lacus Curtius in Livy.) Even if textual emendation forces the couplet

he is not to have any fame from his fame. No one (except Ovid and Ibis himself) is to know his identity, but his fate will be remembered. As the impossibility of identifying even some of Ovid's named *exempla* shows, an individual's name is not always his most important feature, but as the ease of identifying anonymous others proves, names are not always a necessary factor for identification. Two other *exempla* further aid Ovid in his paradoxical endeavors both to blacken Ibis' name (a fair exchange for the *candor* of which Ibis has been depriving Ovid's own name, cf. *Ib.* 7–8) and to deprive him of one altogether.[448]

At *Ib.* 417, Ovid curses Ibis with the fate of *binominis Iri.* The very obvious result of using the epithet *binominis* combined with *one* name is to make the reader dredge up from his memory (or look up in Homer) Irus's other name, which turns out to be Arnaios. Irus is the nickname (due to the beggar's habit of carrying messages) and Arnaios the given name (Hom. *Od.* 18.1–7). One school of etymological thought in the ancient world held that the name Arnaios came from ἀραῖος, with a pleonised *n.*[449] Although this was understood by the ancients as a favorable name,[450] the adjective was derived from the primarily unfavorable ἡ ἀρά. Ovid may well be schooling his readers to think of this association, just as in the prologue *funeris ara* (*Ib.* 104) is possibly a play on ἀρά.[451] Names invariably have more than a single facet.

The death of Priam brings us to our final example of Ovidian name-play. It occurs as the first *exemplum* in a list of historic and quasi-historic kings,[452] in addition to being located in an overlapping mini-catalogue of those who were dismembered. Priam's dismemberment is perhaps not the most obvious aspect of his death, and Ovid makes no mention of it in the *Ibis*, but Priam is well-identified as the one whose altar of Zeus Herkeios did him no good:

> nec tibi subsidio praesens sit numen, ut illi,
> cui nihil Hercei profuit ara Iovis.
> (Ovid, *Ibis* 283–4)

And may a divinity, though present, afford you no protection, as for that one whose altar of Jupiter Herceus profited him nothing.

For the Ovidian, and therefore Augustan, reader, the automatic literary reference for this death would have to be *Aeneid* 2.547–58—a celebrated passage which, according to tradition, is meant to echo the death of Pompey:[453]

> haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
> sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem   555
> Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum

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from the exact center, it is still located within a group of several couplets (*Ib.* 443–50) which all could serve equally well as a centerpiece to the catalogue; it is perhaps best to take the entire set of couplets as the center.

[448] Schiesaro (2001) 125 and Williams (1992) 181–4 see the dark (*caecus*) obscurity of Ovid's riddles as the inverse of Ovid's normal "clarity" (*candor*) of his writing. What Ibis sows, so shall he reap.

[449] παρὰ τὴν ἀρὰν, ἀραῖος· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ Ν ("derived from *ará* (prayer, curse), meaning *araîos* (prayed to, accursed); and with pleonasm of N," *Etym. Magn.* 146K.12).

[450] ηὔχοντο γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ γονεῖς γεννηθῆναι ("for his parents prayed that he be born," B-scholia at *Od.* 18.5).

[451] Williams (1996) 53n61, citing Barchiesi (1993b) 79.

[452] Alternatively, the preceding *exemplum*, Regulus, can be seen as the first in the list of kings—another name game (see p. 70, n. 333).

[453] On this point, see Hinds (1998) 8–10, Narducci (1979) 44–7, Bowie (1990). Pompey's beheading is a persistent theme of Roman literature—it may well have even appeared in Asinius Pollio's *Histories* (see Moles [1983])—and Pompey's fate is juxtaposed with Priam's as early as Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (1.35.85–6).

> regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
> avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
>   (Vergil, *Aeneid* 554–8)

> This was the end of Priam's destiny; this allotted destruction carried him away, seeing Troy
> burned and Pergama collapsed, once the proud ruler, over so many peoples and lands, of Asia.
> His huge trunk lies on the shore, and his head torn from his shoulders, and a body without a
> name.

The last three lines are relevant to the themes of the *Ibis* catalogue at this point, dismemberment and kings, making it clear how the *exemplum* fits into the Ovidian context. More importantly for our current discussion, however, the body's lack of name (*sine nomine corpus*, 558) recalls the active namelessness of the *Tristia* and the ambiguous anonymity of the *Ibis* itself.[454] Priam's death is the Cheshire Cat of Ovidian metamorphoses, which usually result in a name without a body, not a body without a name. But the *nomen*, like any other member of the body, is detachable; this is seen over and over in the *Metamorphoses*.[455]

Let us return to the *exemplum* of Cinna, which has a clear resonance with Ovid's programmatic interest in names. Hinds, while interested in the *exemplum*'s nominal relevance, also calls it a "post-Orphic story of the author-as-victim,"[456] rightly seeing the intersecting themes of poetry and dismemberment which coalesce at this point in the catalogue. However, poetry and dismemberment fuse into poetic dismemberment through Ovid's verbal play: Cinna's dismembered limbs are found *in **innumeris** . . . locis* (*Ib.* 540), a word-choice which suggests the death of poetry as well as poet.[457] One can even spot the poet's limbs in the surrounding verses (*Ib.* 537–52), as every couplet of the dismemberment mini-catalogue—apart from Cinna's own—includes a body part. Immediately before Cinna's death, Philomela's *lingua* falls before her *pedes* (*Ib.* 538), which could additionally be construed as a clue to the metrical pun (*innumeris*) in the following couplet.[458] Subsequently, the Achaean poet's *lumina* are blinded (*Ib.* 541–2); Prometheus's *viscera* are put on display (*Ib.* 543–4) and the *viscera* of Harpagus's and Thyestes' children are consumed (*Ib.* 545–6); the *membra* of Mamertas (or Mamercus or possibly Mimnermus) are mutilated by a sword (*Ib.* 547–8); the *faux* of the Syracusan poet (Theocritus?) is constricted with a noose (*Ib.* 549–50); and Marsyas's *viscera* are put on public display (*Ib.* 551) in addition to his *nomen* being detached and given to a river (*Ib.* 552).

The transference of various body parts to rhetorical terminology is a widespread occurrence that provides what Keith terms "a conventional literary vocabulary that

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[454] Ovid was no doubt pleased to discover that the first line of Pyrrhus's address to Priam contains Ibis' name, with the name of Ovid's first exilic work (*Tristia*) in the subsequent line: *cui Pyrrhus: "referes ergo haec et nuntius **ibis** / Pelidae genitori. illi mea **tristia** facta / degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento* ("Pyrrhus said to him: 'So go as a messenger to my father, the son of Peleus, and report these things. Remember to tell him of my sad deeds, and that Neoptolemus is a disgrace to his father's name,'" *Aen.* 2.547–9). For allusion to a larger context than is recalled through the precise allusion, see Thomas (1986) 178–9.

[455] See, e.g., Hardie (2002c). I shall discuss another instance of names without bodies and bodies without names in Chapter 3, pp. 108ff.

[456] Hinds (2007) 206.

[457] Hinds (2007) 206 also points out that *in innumeris inveniare locis* "remakes—or premakes—the pentameter of *Tristia* 3.9.28," *in multis invenienda locis*. The layering of Cinna on top of (or beneath?) Absyrtus puts him forth as a doublet for Ovid as well as a model for Ibis (on whom Absyrtus's fate is also wished, at 435–6, in another echo of *Tristia* 3.9.28). See Oliensis (1997) for Ovid's self-reflexive use of Absyrtus's story.

[458] The set-up for the joke is only viable if one follows the majority of MSS in reading *pedes*; G (Codex Galeanus 213) and P₁ (Parisinus latinus 7994) read *oculos*. See La Penna (1957) *ad loc.* for a defense of retaining *pedes*.

metaphorically figures texts and parts of texts as their authors' bodies and limbs."[459]   In this instance, Cinna's dismemberment is akin to his poetry's destruction, resulting in his and its *membra* being scattered through Ovid's *numeri* just as the locations in which Cinna's own limbs were found were *innumeris*, a reversal of Horace's claim that Lucilius's dismembered hexameters would not *even* produce *disiecti membra poetae* (*Sat.* 1.4.63).   Ultimately, all the surrounding verses' *membra*, which correlate with the strewn limbs of Cinna's dismembered body, belong to Cinna's poetic corpus as well as to his physical one through the metaphorical transference of rhetorical limbs.[460]   As with Ovid's conceit of his own poetry as his *viscera* (*Tr.* 1.7.20), there is an identification between the two *corpora*.[461]

Cursing the Hand That Feeds You

Who is Ibis?   That is a question which nearly every reader of the poem has asked and many have answered, with a dizzying array of results.   I shall refrain from recounting most of the frequently colorful suggestions that have been made in an effort to reach an answer, but there are two, one old and one recent, which are worth mention.[462]   The former is the frequently cherished suggestion of Housman that Ibis, who was too perfect an enemy to exist, was, in fact, "Nobody."   Like Ibis himself, this suggestion is too good to be true, too facile a solution to accept as the final answer to Ovid's riddles; but it has a grain of what I perceive as truth, as I shall shortly discuss.   The latter, a suggestion made by Sergio Casali and Alessandro Schiesaro, is that Ibis represents Augustus.[463]   This is an excellent assessment of much of the evidence provided in the *Ibis* itself and in Ovid's other exile poetry, and it is not entirely divorced from what I am about to propose.[464]   However, I think that Ovid's employment of his exilic program in the *Ibis*, as I have laid it out in this chapter, suggests a slightly different (and very interesting) conclusion which fits the evidence even better.   Let me recapitulate my main points.

On the surface, the catalogue of the *Ibis* can be understood as a collection of short mythographic catalogues, but the text ultimately defies that basic understanding of its

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[459] Keith (1999) 41.   This paper contains a particularly in-depth discussion of the trope with regards to the Neoteric and Augustan poets, accompanied by relevant bibliography.

[460] A further poetic association of limbs is the Greek μέλη, meaning "limbs" or "songs," putting an additional self-referential twist on Horace's *disiecti membra poetae*.   I owe this idea to Peirano (2009) 195, who makes the connection with regards to Vergil's Philo**mela** and the *mutatos artus* of Tereus (*Ecl.* 6.78–81).   This would, in addition, put even more poetic emphasis on the tongue and feet of the dismembered Philomela of *Ib.* 538.   Even Cinna's (or rather, Myrrha's) tardiness may hold some poetic significance—Catullus calls Vulcan *tardipedi deo* in close association with his own iambics, surely not an innocent choice of words (see Heyworth [2001] 125–6, with bibliography).

[461] See Farrell (1999) on this Ovidian conceit as applied to the *Metamorphoses*.

[462] Williams (1996) 27n51: "For lists of candidates see Ellis xix–xxvii, La Penna xvi–xix and André xxiv–vi with Watson 130 n. 344 for updated bibliography."   Since then, Casali (1997) and Schiesaro (2001) have made an additional suggestion, which I discuss below.   Guarino Ortega (2000) 12–20 also summarizes a number of theories, and Williams (2008) xxv collects a brief bibliography on the issue.

[463] I called this a recent suggestion, although it in fact dates back as far as the early 13th century humanist Brunetto Latini, in his *Li Tresors* (1.160.7).   See Hexter (1986) 99n63.   As both Casali (1997) and Schiesaro (2001) point out, the apparent impossibility of Augustus as Ibis (given an explicit negation at *Ib.* 23–8) could easily be a case of the poet protesting too much.

[464] As with Williams's ([1996] 23) suggestion that the entire poem is a "contrived display of an irrational psychology erupting in violence," this suggestion is not incompatible with my own.   There are certainly conceptual affinities; Schiesaro (2001) emphasizes the significance of Ovid's iambic denials to a reading of the poem, seeing poetry's double-headed offering of praise and blame as a central theme.

arrangement. Contradicting its deceptively mythographic appearance, the poem asks its readers to be armed with real mythographic treatises (or to possess an encyclopedic knowledge of mythology) before they approach its labyrinthine structure, and what it gives with one hand as the reader solves its riddles (comprehension), it takes away with the other as the catalogue changes course in midstream (uncertainty). Mythography's reductive prose stands alone and serves to make sense of other works, while the *Ibis*, with its lines of poetry that are reduced far beyond any prose text and far beyond simple comprehension, relies on other works to make sense of it. Without active reference to other works, in fact, understanding of it would be limited.[465]

The double functioning of names is another basic characteristic of the *Ibis*, a gesture repeated frequently in the *Ex Ponto*,[466] whereas Ovid's emphasis on the suppression of names underscores the poetics of his anonymous mode of address as featured in the *Tristia*. However, with all this consideration of anonymity, pseudonymity, and nominal doublets, there is one name in the poem, invisible for its omnipresence, that I have so far ignored: Ibis, or *Ibis*. The name is scattered throughout the text, six times as the pseudonym or title itself (55, 59, 62, 95, 100, 220), another four times suppressed into the anonymizing "*nomen*" (9, 51, 93, 643),[467] and once as the riddling answer to an *exemplum* (449–50). "Ibis" is a pseudonym and *Ibis* a literary title, but the poem and its addressee are therefore homonymous *nomina*, just as the poem and its author are traditionally interchangeable *corpora*.

I would not go so far as to say that "Ibis" actually designates the *Ibis*, in a recursive snarl of ultimately pointless metapoetic self-reference.[468] Still, Ovid's plays on shared names within the *Ibis* cannot be ignored in the case of *the* name, intrinsically doubled, and it is worth investigating the results of this subsidiary echo. Ibis and *Ibis* must inevitably become identified with each other through Ovid's program of homonymy that is active in the *Ibis*, especially given the shared *incipit* of *tempus* that begins both *Ibis* the poem and Ibis the person.[469] It must be stressed, however, that none of this deprives Ovid's poem of a potentially flesh-and-blood target—even if *Ibis* is to be read under "Ibis," "Ibis" is still ultimately a pseudonym, not simply a self-reflexive title. But what is *Ibis* other than a poem of Ovid's, and therefore one *membrum* of his poetic corpus?

It has frequently been noted that much of what Ovid wishes on Ibis is identifiable with his own fate, in a form of *lex talionis*.[470] "Ovid treats the pseudonymous Ibis as a kind of evil twin, cursing him with a catalogue of mythological fates which often invite identification with the terms in which the poet describes his own fate in the *Tristia*."[471] This makes sense, in terms of ancient curse-practice's eye-for-an-eye theory,[472] because Ibis, as the one who has harmed him, is far more deserving of Ovid's fate than is Ovid himself: *heu! quanto est nostris dignior ipse malis!* ("Alas! How much worthier is he himself of my sufferings!" *Ib.* 22). But, we must ask, who exactly has harmed Ovid, and how has he done it? Despite occasional poems addressed to anonymous enemies who have inflicted some outrage on the absent Ovid, the

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[465] We may recall the *exempla* of Ceyx and Priam in their contexts of dismemberment, as well as Priam's loss of his name along with his head.

[466] Hinds (1986) 321, Oliensis (1997), Gowing (2002).

[467] Forms of *nomen* occur fourteen times in the *Ibis*.

[468] That said, two intriguing points have been made to me along these lines (by Robin McGill and Gareth Williams, respectively): read backwards, *Ibis* becomes *sibi*, and a possible accusative of *Ibis* is *Ibidem*.

[469] See above (p. 71) and Hinds (1999).

[470] E.g., Hinds (2007) 206ff, Casali (1997) 105ff.

[471] Hinds (2007) 206.

[472] See Watson (1991) 42–6.

primary answer from nearly every other poem, and from the *Ibis* itself, is that the persistent cause of Ovid's suffering is his own poetry, his own Muse:

> nec quemquam nostri nisi me laesere libelli,   5
>   artificis periit cum caput Arte sua.
>   (Ovid, *Ibis* 5–6)

nor have my books harmed anyone except myself, since the head of the artist has perished by his own art.

Twice, speaking of his own exilic wound, he uses the *exemplum* of Telephus as one who may be cured only by his wound's inflictor, and in each case his poetry or his Muse is designated as the offending party.[473] Elsewhere, he admits to cursing his Muses and verses at the same time as he, an addict, cannot abandon them:[474]

> non tamen ingratum est, quodcumque oblivia nostri
>   impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert.   30
> quamvis interdum, quae me laesisse recordor,
>   carmina devoveo Pieridasque meas,
> cum bene devovi, nequeo tamen esse sine illis,
>   vulneribusque meis tela cruenta sequor.
>   (Ovid, *Tristia* 5.7.29–34)

Still, it is not displeasing, whatever prevents my being forgotten and puts the exile's name back into mouths. Although in the meantime, I curse my songs and my Pierides, which I recall have harmed me; when I have cursed them soundly, still I am unable to exist without them, and I chase after weapons that are bloody from my own wounds.

Ibis may have many possible faces, but one is most certainly the nine-fold face of the Pierian sisters,[475] or even perhaps specifically Ovid's own *Ars Amatoria.* Ibis' alleged crimes do not stand in the way of this alternate reading—several of them, in fact, correspond well with the

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[473] *Tr.* 1.1.97–100, *Tr.* 2.19–22.

[474] Williams (1996) 124: "In cursing the exilic Muses (*Tr.* 5.7.31–3) and burning his poetry (*Tr.* 4.1.101–2), Ovid unleashes his own form of manic violence in word and deed, the Muses being the intimates . . . who suffer on these occasions – if, that is, the Muses can be distinguished from the poet, who indirectly attacks himself." Similar professions of an unhealthy addiction are to be found at *Tr.* 2.1–4,13–14; 5.12.45–8; and elsewhere.

[475] The Muses' complete absence from the poem (excepting their historical mention in the context of Ovid's *other* poetry at line 2) is suspicious. (Casali [1997] 107 similarly notes the absence of the words *Caesar* and *Augustus* in the *Ibis*.) If I were to go out on a very precarious limb, I might point out the preponderance of *exempla* connected with Thrace, Ambracia, and Pieria (near Larissa in Thessaly or Macedonia), all of which hosted major cults of the Muses. Many who wish to pin an identity on Ibis have made much of *Ib.* 501–2 (*feta tibi occurrat **patrio** popularis **in arvo** / sitque Phalaeceae causa leaena necis*), noting that the lion's native soil is Africa and connecting this with *Cinyphiam . . . humum* (222) in the prologue. Phalaecus's native soil, however, was Ambracia, where he was tyrant; can we perhaps think particularly of the cult of the Muses which Fulvius Nobilior brought to Rome from their "native soil" of Ambracia (along with statues of the Muses, which were installed in the temple of Hercules Musarum)? Certainly, the Ambracian Muses have featured in Ovid's poetry before: they and Hercules close the final (medial?) book of the *Fasti* (*doctae adsensere sorores; / adnuit Alcides increpuitque lyram*, "her learned sisters agreed; Alcides nodded and rattled his lyre," *Fast.* 6.811–12). The connections between this lyre-playing Hercules Musagetes and Hercules as the lyre-student of Linus are somewhat murky, but I also wonder if we might not interpret Hercules' rattling of his lyre here, usually read as an encomium of Germanicus or signifying the approval of the Muses (Hardie [2007], Barchiesi [1997b] 268–9), as a subtle threat to the artist. Certainly, Linus is "the personification of lament" (Pache [2004] 7), and for Horace (*Odes* 4.15.2), Apollo's rattling of the lyre was indeed a warning.

effects which Ovid attributes (rather gratefully) to his other poetry in the above passage. Of course Ovid's poetry must make his name heard in the Forum (*Ib.* 14),[476] and the continued existence of the *Ars* deprives Ovid of an untainted claim to *candor* (*Ib.* 7–8),[477] thanks to Augustus's condemnation of it, even if the accusation is unjust (*Tr.* 2.239–40).[478]

The *exemplum* of Cinna, with its composite dismemberment of the poet's *corpus* and his poetic corpus, aids in this reading of the *Ibis*. The proliferation of *exempla* of dismemberment[479] and vatic deaths,[480] not infrequently overlapping, becomes a further prayer for the destruction of Ovid's poetry; he has already tried, he claims, a more traditional method of destroying his poetry, namely burning it, but to no effect (cf. *Tr.* 1.7.23–4). So now, much like Hercules' skinning of the Nemean lion with its own claws, Ovid attempts to turn his poetic *tela*, already bloodied from Ovid's own *vulnera* (*Tr.* 5.7.34), back against themselves. If Ovid's verses can harm the poet's *corpus*, surely they can harm themselves, the poetic corpus, or the goddesses who inspire them.

Through Ovid's curses, Ibis is treated *ipso facto* in the same fashion as Ovid claims to treat his verse in exile.[481] His foot is to be lamed (cf. *Tr.* 3.1.11ff), his limbs are to be dismembered and burned (cf. *Tr.* 4.1.95–102), his name is to be removed and his identity thereby lost (cf. *ExP.* 1.1.30)—and yet still he will survive unscathed to launch further attacks on Ovid, an aspect of the *Ibis* that has troubled some:[482]

> If Ovid sets any store by his curses, 'Ibis' ought by rights to have been dead a hundred times over by the end of the poem. The effect of the couplet [643–4] – threatening 'Ibis' with further literary invective – is to debunk all that has gone before, or at least to reduce it to the status of a mere literary exercise.

Again, this freakish, cockroach-like survival ability beckons the reader irresistibly to look towards Ovid's resilient Muse, who continually prompts Ovid to write verses even as he destroys earlier incarnations of that *corpus*, and whom Ovid repeatedly blames even as he again

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[476] See p. 90, n. 444.

[477] This accusation comes immediately after Ovid's announcement that he alone has been harmed by his *ars* or *Ars* (5–6); and the *unus* (7) who deprives him of his *candoris titulum* (8) could just as easily be understood as *unus libellus* (the always unspecified *carmen crimenosum*), which would in fact be the obvious reading to carry over from the previous couplet, a misdirection continued by use of *titulum*.

[478] Another aspect of Ibis which could potentially be seen as poetic is his doglike nature. Ahl (1985) 31ff points out the grammatically inherent wordplay between *canis* (you sing) and *canis* (dog) that occurs in Vergil. If Ibis is *Ibis* (or Ovid's poetry in general), then the pun may be active within the *lacte CANino* (*Ib.* 229) he drinks as a baby and the *verba CANina* (*Ib.* 232) he produces as a result. Williams (1992) 182–3 relates Ibis' dog-like nature to his barking attacks and to a spiteful and cowardly *invidia*.

[479] The primary mini-catalogues of those who suffered dismemberment as (part of) their fate are found at 273–304, 435–56, and 533–55, with individual *exempla* elsewhere.

[480] Again, the primary mini-catalogues of vatic deaths are 263–72, 521–52, and 583–600. A comment by Ingleheart (2006) 75 is relevant: "It is perhaps tempting to see in Ovid's use [in *Tristia* 2] of Actaeon's myth as a parallel for his own fate an allusion to the death of Euripides (and perhaps also other **poetic** deaths: for dogs killing Linus, see Call. *Aet.* fr. 26 Pf. and Conon 19), another poet noted for the erotic aspect to his *oeuvre*."

[481] The assimilation of Ibis' birth to Meleager's that we saw above (p. 71, n. 340) aids in this analogy. Cf. Farrell (1999) 140–1: "In *Tristia* 1.7, . . . Ovid gives a detailed account of his attempt to burn the *Metamorphoses* . . . , an account that involves reading himself into the story of Meleager. First, Ovid informs us, he played the role of Althaea by trying to bring about the death of his own 'child' by fire; then he suggests that the true correspondence is between himself and his poetry, resembling the magical relationship between Meleager and the log, since he speaks of his manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* as 'my book-rolls, my own flesh and blood, destined to perish along with me.'"

[482] Watson (1991) 138.

seeks her out.[483] At the same time, the surface chaos of the *Ibis*-catalogue may reflect the chaos of "a world without Muses," which Boyd sees in the "studied chaos" of *Fasti* 5, "even as it makes meaning emerge from the Muses' dissent."[484]

If I have ended up arriving at what appears to be yet another attempt at identifying Ibis, it must be remembered that the process was organic, developing out of a close textual reading. I began with contemplation of the *exempla* which Ovid chooses, the way in which he orders them, and what intrinsic meaning they might have (particularly in context); I compared the results of this study with the most clearly programmatic elements of the *Ibis*' prologue and of Ovid's other exilic poetry; and I reexamined the catalogue in the light of the correspondences which arose. These efforts, in turn, provoked the interpretation of Ibis/*Ibis* which I ultimately suggested.[485]

At this point, it would be prudent to stress again the probable secondary nature of all this identification, whether or not one chooses to assign a specific flesh-and-blood identity to Ibis.[486] It is the echo, the almost-but-not-quite, the Eurydice and comic Eupolis who can be read peering through the lines of the epigrammatic Eupolis (529–30), or the adult version of Linus who is not torn apart by dogs but provokes a catalogue of those killed by Hercules (480ff). The *Ibis* is, in many ways, about interchangeable doublets—Ibis and *Ibis*, Ibis and Ovid, the Fates and Furies.[487] The death of Remus is appropriate as a penultimate *exemplum*, a twin killed by his twin, the biggest difference between them being the propagation of one name and the suppression of the other (here inverted)[488]—capped only by the *exemplum* of Ovid himself. Finally, we must acknowledge that the ill-starred *dies Alliensis* (219–20) is, surely, a birthday eminently suited to a figure that is, ultimately and inherently, both alias and Other.[489]

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[483] Williams (1996) 132n44: "Since Ovid goes on in *Tr.* 5.12 to wish that the *Ars amatoria* had been destroyed . . . , he seems still to reproach the Muse who contributed to his downfall; which suggests that he burns his poetry . . . out of continued frustration at the *studium* which has destroyed him."

[484] Boyd (2000) 65; also cf. Barchiesi (1991). In *Fasti* 5, the Muses disagreed with each other, leaving Ovid adrift as a result, without his poetic guide and possibly without "authorization as poet" (64). In the *Ibis*, Ovid finds a new goddess to grant him poetic authority (*Ib.* 246, cf. pp. 71ff), but as in *Fasti* 5, which is full of alternative "authorities," the absence of the Muses forces the poet to create an "intricate narrative patterning" which "keeps sending us back, inviting us to make new connections between previously unconnected phenomena" (95).

[485] This reading is not at odds with the ideas proposed in Williams's fruitful monograph on the piece; indeed, apart from Williams's view of the *Ibis*' structure as dreamlike and incoherent, I believe that they are complementary.

[486] Williams (1996) 121–5 connects Ovid's cursing of the Muses at *Tr.* 5.7.31–3 with the general cursing atmosphere of the *Ibis* but does not go further than this. He ultimately takes the *Ibis* as Ovid tilting at windmills in the depths of his melancholy, straddling the divide between most scholars' attempts to assign an identity to Ibis and Housman's desire to see "Nobody" behind the pseudonym.

[487] See p. 71, n. 340. I should also note that if we peel back another layer of Ibis' onomastic onion we uncover his inherent literariness, since ibises were associated with the god Thoth, the inventor of writing (and hence with the intrinsically hermeneutic Hermes/Mercury, cf. *Met.* 5.331). This connection may be behind the close placement of the *exempla* of Callimachus's *Ibis* (449–50) and Cadmus's *Sidonia . . . manu* (446), another inventor of writing, in the central section of the curse catalogue, following the *exemplum* of the muck-wallowing Curtius.

[488] Cf. Feeney (1986) 9: "It was possible simply to suppress mention of Remus." See also Oliensis (2004). In related geminate/fraternal strife, Ovid tells Ibis (35–6, 39–40) that the unmingled smoke of Eteocles and Polynices will merge before the two of them can again be friends: *et nova fraterno veniet concordia fumo, / quem vetus accensa separat ira pyra, / . . . / quam mihi sit tecum positis, quae sumpsimus, armis / gratia, commissis, improbe, rupta tuis.*

[489] Catullus had paved the way for plays on Allia and *alia*: *ne vestrum scabra tangat robigine nomen* [sc. *Allius*] / *haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia* ("may this day and that day and another and another day never touch your name with scaly rust," Cat. 68.151–2). See also Bright (1982).
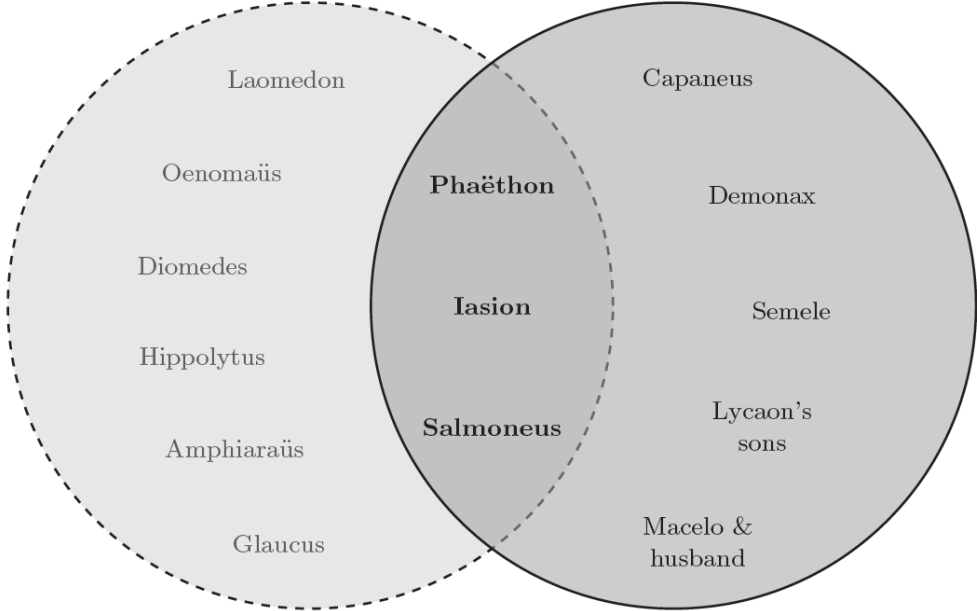
Figure 3. "Those struck by lightning" & "Those destroyed by their teams of horses."

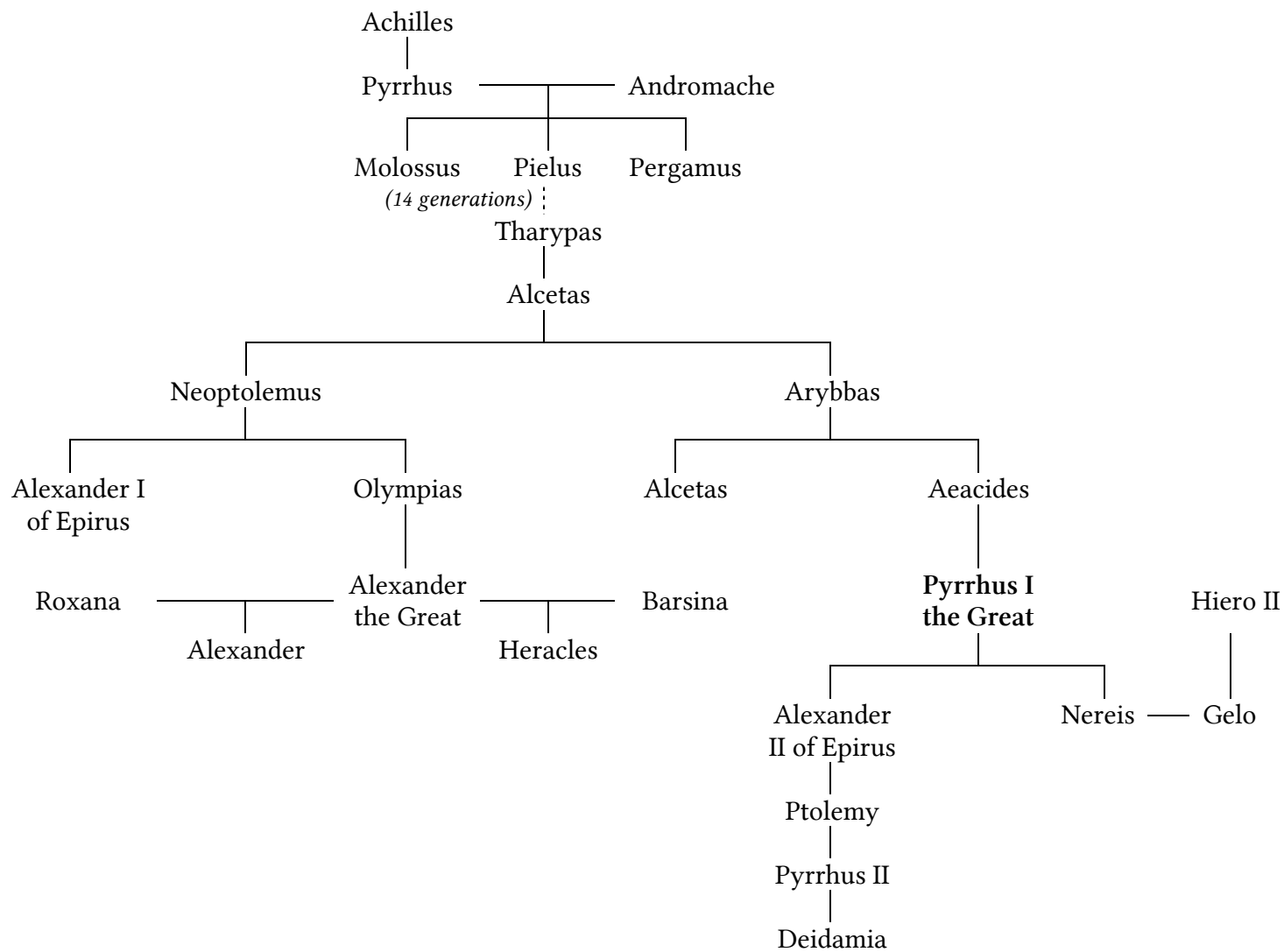*Figure 4. Ajax's failure to wound himself. (Boston 99.494)*

Figure 5a. Aeacid rulers of Epirus, descendants of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, according to Pausanias (1.11.1–4, 4.35.3–4, 6.12.3, 9.7.2).
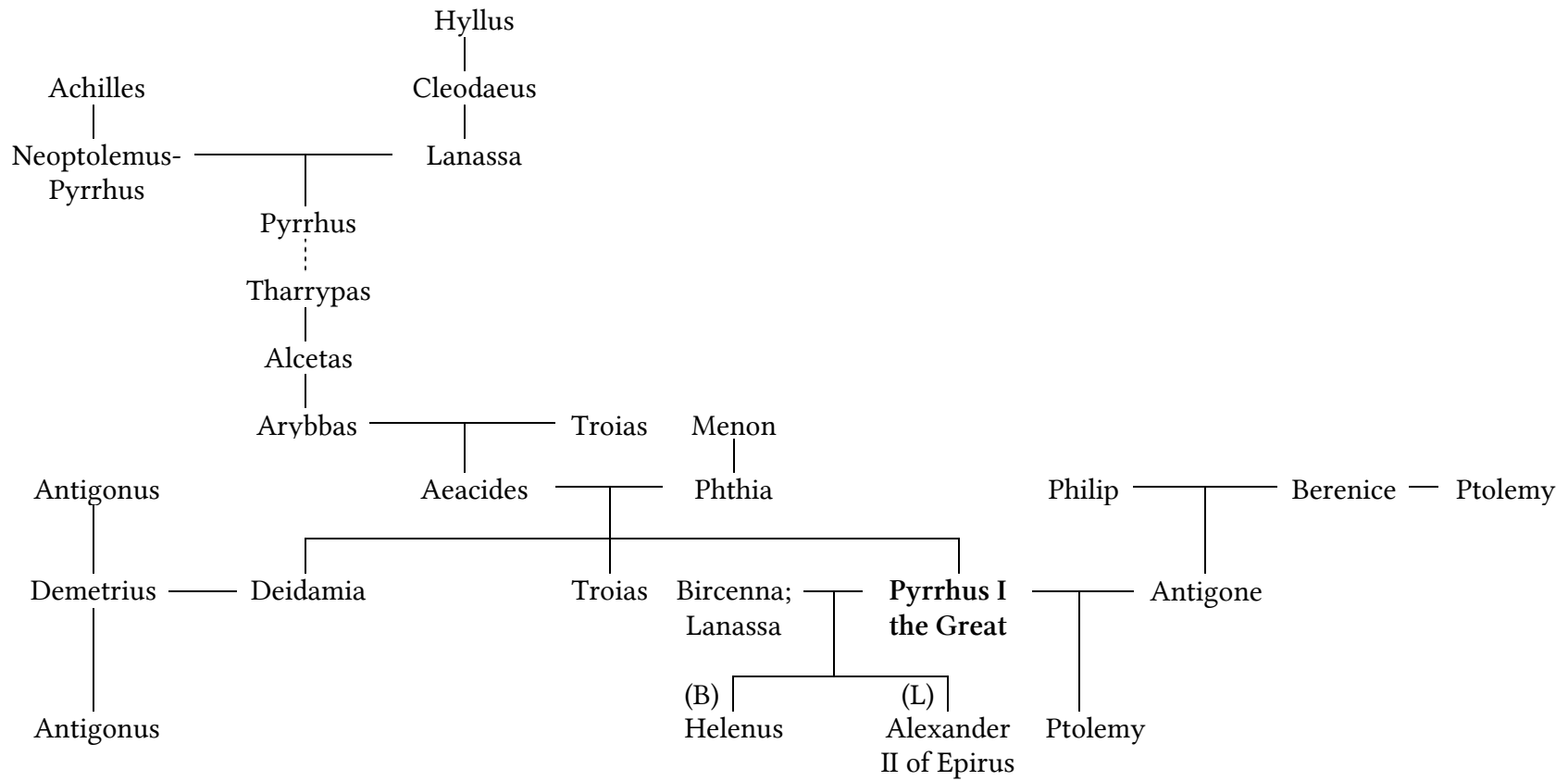
Hyllus

Achilles · · · · · · Cleodaeus

Neoptolemus-Pyrrhus —————— Lanassa

Pyrrhus

Tharrypas

Alcetas

Arybbas —————— Troias   Menon

Antigonus   Aeacides —————— Phthia   Philip —————— Berenice — Ptolemy

Demetrius —— Deidamia   Troias   Bircenna; Lanassa —— **Pyrrhus I the Great** —— Antigone

    (B)   (L)

Antigonus   Helenus   Alexander II of Epirus   Ptolemy

Figure 5b. Aeacid rulers of Epirus, descendants of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, according to Plutarch, Pyrrhus.

Hercules

Achilles

Pyrrhus ——— Lanassa ?

Piales (7 other children)

Tharybas

Neoptolemus ?

Olympias   Alexander I of Epirus   Aeacides   Troas ——— Arrybas*

Alexander the Great   **Pyrrhus I the Great**

Helenus†   Olympias ——— Alexander II of Epirus   Ptolemy

Phthia   Ptolemy   Pyrrhus II

Hiero II   §

Gelo ——— Nereis   Laodamia
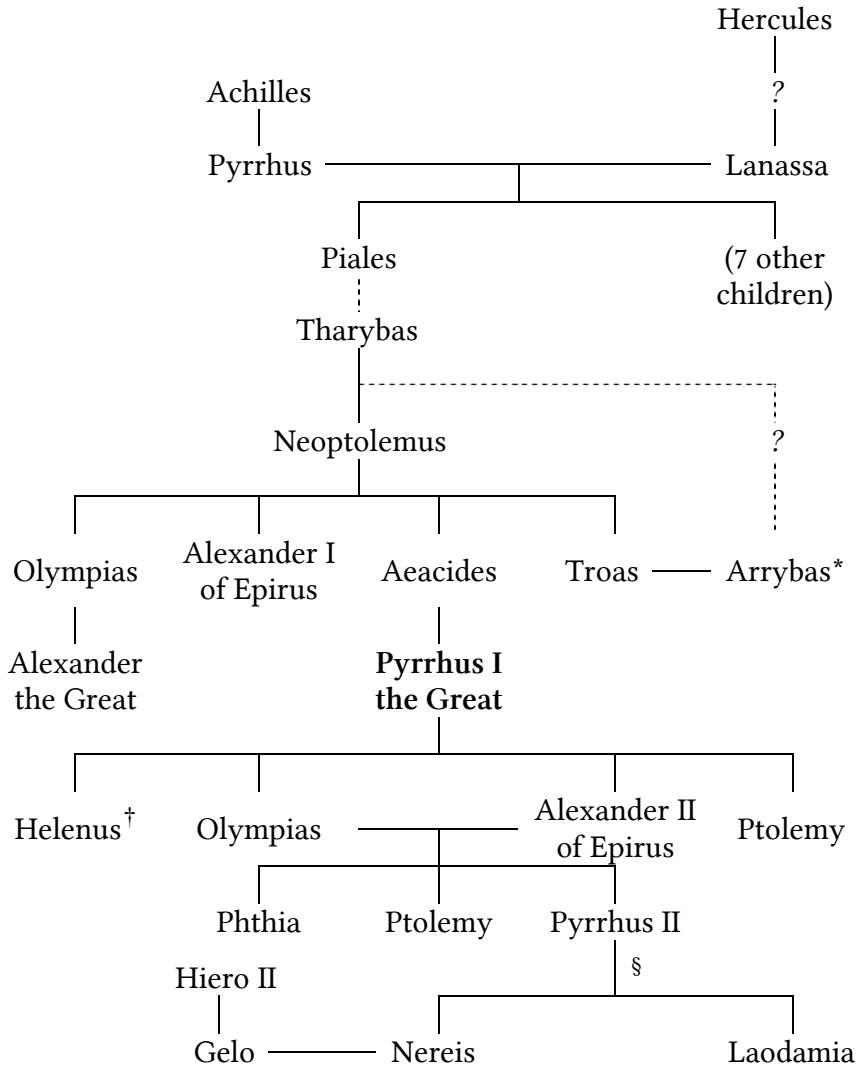
Figure 5c. Aeacid rulers of Epirus, descendants of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, according to Justin,
Epitome of Pompeius Trogus *(7.6, 17.3, 18.1, 28.1, 28.3).*

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* Justin calls Arrybas the *frater patruelis* of Olympias (i.e., the son of her paternal uncle). According to Pausanias (1.11.1), Arybbas was Olympias's uncle (and Aeacides' father), so that either Justin has made a mistake, or *frater patruelis* can have a transferred usage. This would, however, be the only occurrence of such a meaning of *frater patruelis*, so that the *TLL* suggests that it may, in fact, not be meant as "uncle" here in Justin, but may actually simply be a factual error that makes Arrybas and Olympias cousins: "*ipsum p a t r u u m* : IVST. 7, 6, 10 conciliante nuptias Olympiadis fratre [patruel]i ... Arryba (*qui fuit eius patruus; sed vide ne scriptor re potius quam verbo erraverit, cf. similem errorem Oros. hist. 3, 12, 8* Olympiadem Arubae ... sororem)" (*TLL* 10:1, 792.4–7).

† Justin explicitly says (23.3) that Helenus is the son of Agathocles' daughter, who according to other sources would be Lanassa. However, according to the same other sources (e.g., Diod. Sic. 21.4.1, 22.8.2), Alexander is the son of Lanassa and grandson of Agathocles, while Helenus is the son of the barbarian Bircenna.

§ Justin does not specify the father of these sister princesses. Based on evidence from Pausanias, Nereis is the daughter of Pyrrhus I, while one *Dei*damia is the daughter of Pyrrhus II. Polyaenus gives a Deidamia as the daughter of a Pyrrhus and has her avenge a Ptolemy, but again, there is no certainty as to which Pyrrhus or which Ptolemy. Livy and Polybius agree with Pausanias in making Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus I. Scholars usually suppose that "Laodamia" is a mistake for "Deidamia," but that does not help to reconcile the paternity of Nereis. Lévêque (1957) 680 calls the situation hopeless: "Le cas de *Néréis* est plus complexe et, à notre sens, désespéré."
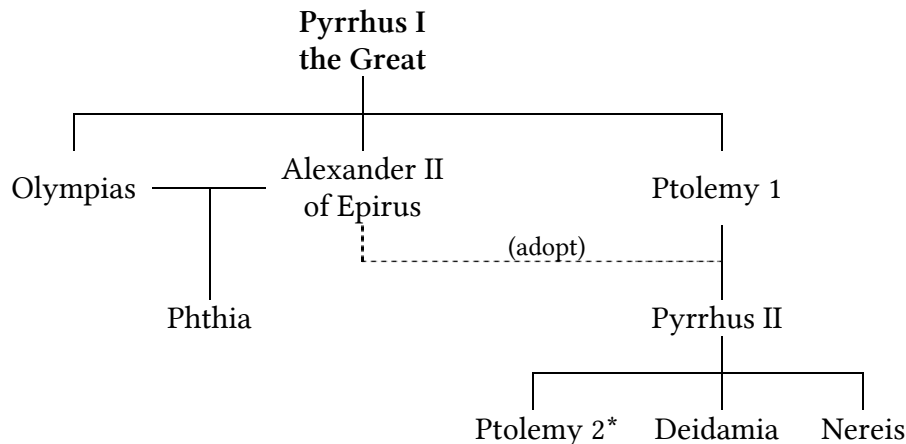
Figure 5d. Aeacid rulers of Epirus, descendants of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus: Cross's reconstruction of a possible family tree.
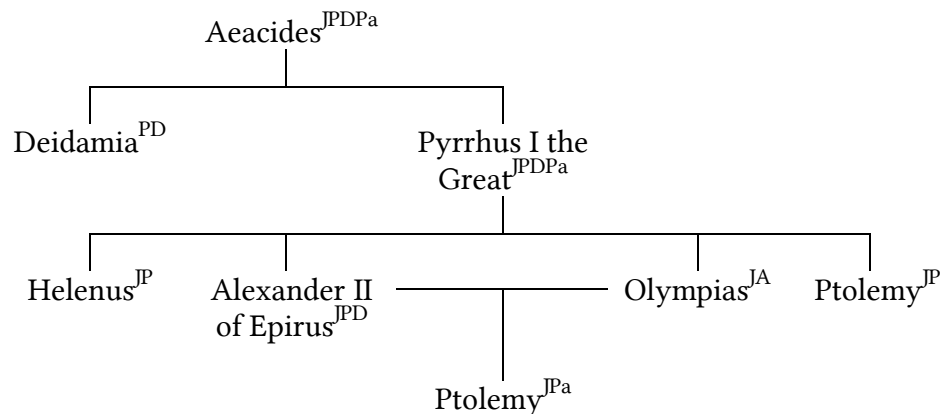
Sources:
Justin, Epitome of Pompeius Trogus (J)
Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* (P)
Diodorus Siculus 19.35.5, 22.8.2 (D)
Pausanias (Pa)
Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.56 (A)

Figure 5e. Aeacid rulers of Epirus, descendants of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, as agreed on by more than one ancient author and not contradicted by any.

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   * All of our sources make Ptolemy 2 a son of Olympias and Alexander II and a brother of Phthia; Cross thinks that Ptolemy 2's name makes him likely to be a direct descendant of Pyrrhus I's son Ptolemy 1. The suggestion (made by Lévêque [1957] 680 and Bernard [2007] 259n37) that Olympias was the full sister of Ptolemy 1 and only a half-sister of Alexander II, however, would reconcile Cross's onomastic point with the evidence of our sources.

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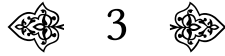
A Tale of Twos

Anyone with your father's name you call "father," anyone with your wife's name you may call "wife," anyone with your son's name you may call "son," and so on. . . . If your name is /Tontah, . . . all /Tontahs are your *!kun!as* [namesakes]. All who /Tontahs birthed are your children. All who birthed /Tontahs are your parents, and all who married /Tontahs are your wives.

<div align="right">- R. B. Lee, "Kinship and Social Organization," The Dobe Ju/'hoansi[490]</div>

GIUSEPPE: Now, although we act as one person, we are, in point of fact, two persons.
ANNIBALE: Ah, I don't think we can go into that. It is a legal fiction, and legal fictions are solemn things.

<div align="right">- W. S. Gilbert, The Gondoliers, or The King of Barataria, Act II</div>

       In the previous two chapters, we examined how Ovid exploits the pluralities of the mythic tradition in order to engage and problematize questions of name and identity. Chapter 1 followed the path laid by two intertwined strands of myth, examining how details ranging from character traits to programmatic concerns can be obscured and revealed through the foregrounding of different mythic variants. We also saw how stories can be told through other stories, leading to the creation of a narrative palimpsest. Chapter 2 ultimately dealt with similar concerns, but our approach took us through the murky waters of anonymity and homonymy, as well as opening a window onto the collective (un)conscious of myth as text.

       In this final chapter, I shall examine how a set of these highly Ovidian concerns reappears in the context of Valerius Flaccus's Flavian *Argonautica*. In particular, the incorporation of additional or alternate myths through partially- or differently-told stories, the triangle of name, body, and identity, and the marking of political discourse through the explicit correlation of imperial and epic figures—all of which we have seen operating within Ovid's poetry—are, I shall argue, active features of the *Argonautica*. At the same time, for reasons that we shall see, these concerns are embedded within a structure that privileges the notion of duality, so that many ideas are promulgated along binary lines.

       Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*, like all Flavian epic, has in recent years enjoyed a flourishing of scholarly reconsideration and appreciation. Unlike his fellow Flavian epicists, however, Valerius cannot be placed precisely into the events of the age, nor do we know anything definite about his political and personal affiliations. The current scholarly consensus is that he probably began his epic somewhere in the 70s AD and died early in Domitian's reign with his epic uncompleted.[491] Any more biographical details, such as suggestions of Valerius's

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[490] Lee (2003) 71, 75.

[491] There is no real evidence for any of these assumptions—beginning date, ending date, or the epic's state of completion at the time of Valerius's death. (Stover [2006] 216–40, in arguing for his own ideas on Valerius's dates, gives a useful overview of theories regarding the date of poetic composition.) The only definite reference to Valerius at all is at Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 10.1.90, where amidst the unfortunate early deaths of several talented poets he mentions the "recent" death of one Valerius Flaccus: *multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus* ("we have recently lost much in Valerius Flaccus"). This gives us a likely *terminus ante quem* of c. 93–6, when Quintilian probably published his work; however, Stover (2008) points out the approximate nature of *nuper* in Quintilian,

position as a quindecimvir, are based purely on evidence internal to the poem and should therefore not be relied upon to provide "insight" into Valerius's particular take on the Argonautic tradition.[492] Determining biographical facts about an author purely from the contents of his mythological epic is risky business, especially when this pseudo-autobiographical information is then recursively brought to bear on an interpretation of the epic. The same does not hold true for investigations into the poet's programmatic intentions. As with any poet, considerations of Valerius's program ought to stem primarily from within the confines of his epic, only being confirmed (rather than generated) by external factors.

Valerius's epic, as a part of the long and varied Argonautic tradition, must be understood both on its own terms and in relation to its predecessors. However, as a self-conscious latecomer to what Martha Davis calls the successive "literary conversation"[493] between Argonautic authors, Valerius's contributions to the dialogue are most manifest in which variants he chooses or rejects, what he incorporates or leaves aside, and where his particular innovations lie (insofar as they can be determined). Two important articles have explored in great detail Valerius's sleight-of-hand manipulations of myth, showing how he includes myriad versions of a single narrative incident through proleptic and analeptic references to the event and through intertextual allusion to competing variants.[494] These choices reflect Valerius's awareness of his belated position in the Argonautic tradition and his interaction with the rest of Greek and Latin poetry.[495]

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thus allowing the possibility that Valerius died a number of years before the composition and publication of Quintilian's treatise. The only other definite piece of chronological evidence comes from within the *Argonautica* itself and provides us with a *terminus post quem* for Valerius's death. At *Arg.* 4.506–9 Valerius uses Mount Vesuvius's eruption as a simile for the Boreads' pursuit of the Harpies. Since Vesuvius erupted in August 79, Valerius was unquestionably alive and composing his epic until some point after that date. Stover (2008) takes an extreme (but persuasive) position in suggesting that Valerius cannot have been writing much past 80; for the other extreme, that Valerius began his epic c. 78 and died with it incomplete c. 94–5, see Syme (1929). For recent discussions of the epic's state of (in)completeness, see particularly Poortvliet (1991b) and Hershkowitz (1998) 1–34.

[492] The relevant passages are the reference to the Sibyl of Cumae and an associated tripod in Valerius's home (*si Cymaeae mihi conscia vatis / stat casta cortina domo*, 1.5–6); the purification rite explained and performed by Mopsus (3.377–458); and the bath of Cybele (8.239–42). Martha Davis (1989) 72n14 confesses to have "no patience with persons who insist on a literal reading of these lines because of a desire for biographical information about Valerius Flaccus. . . . Every element in 1.5-7 can be linked to literary reference . . . ; and every example of religious ritual in the remainder of the epic can be traced to sources in literature, obviating the need for reference to some function of Valerius as a priest in the real world." However, Andrew Zissos has conveyed to me a remark made by Leofranc Holford-Strevens that, in the Roman culture of poetic *recitationes*, if Valerius were *not* a quindecimvir, it would be awkward for Valerius to stand in front of an audience and solemnly claim to belong to the college of quindecimviri, when his entire audience would have known it for a lie. Some information on the role of the quindecimviri can be found both in Boyancé (1964) and in Beard and North (1990); primarily, they supervised the Sibylline books, the *Ludi Saeculares*, and foreign cults. See Zissos (2009) 355n17 for bibliography on the literature for and against the idea of Valerius as a literal quindecimvir.

[493] Davis (1989) 48.

[494] Malamud and McGuire (1993), Zissos (1999). On Valerius's use of prolepsis and analepsis generally, see Hershkowitz (1998) 14. She applies to the *Argonautica* Genette's distinction between *internal* (the predicted/remembered event occurring within the bounds of the narrative) and *external* (looking outside the bounds of the narrative) prolepsis and analepsis. Prolepsis looks forward to an event that has not yet happened, while analepsis looks backward to an event that has already happened.

[495] Numerous authors prior to Valerius, both Greek and Roman, had treated the story of the Argonauts and the connected tragedy of Medea. In addition to what we recognize as the primary surviving Greek precursors, Pindar's *Pythian* 4, Euripides' *Medea*, and Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautika* (there are countless more which do not survive or are only fragmentary, such as *POxy* 4712), Roman poets from Ennius onwards had written

The most marked influence on all of Flavian epic is Vergil's *Aeneid*, particularly in terms of style and the poets' reflections of contemporary culture and politics.[496] The Flavian poets were naturally drawn to imitation of Vergil because of the *Aeneid*'s status as the Great Roman Epic, but they were likely also encouraged by parallels of political circumstance—the imperial accession of the Flavian dynasty was in many ways a repetition of the early days of the Julio-Claudians.[497] Against the background of civil war, a new dynasty had again emerged to replace the old, following the pattern of civil wars which had first generated and then repeatedly marred, or threatened to mar, the principate.[498] Internecine strife was, in this way, affirmed as Rome's tragic but inescapable destiny.[499] Although it is difficult to determine whether Flavian Rome publicly acknowledged the wars of AD 69 to be civil wars, it is inherently likely that they would have generally been perceived as such; this, like the half century of civil wars prior to the principate, posed a sticky problem for imperial poets.[500] The founding of glorious Rome, which should have been the subject of song, was inextricably linked to Romulus's fratricidal murder of Remus; and worse than that, all subsequent *re*-foundings of Rome were marked by that same "uncomfortable stigma of civil conflict."[501] From Romulus and Remus to Caesar and Pompey, from Octavian and Antony to the prolonged civil wars of 69, Rome could not shrug off her origins, and this was worrisome for the future. Contemporary with Valerius's *Argonautica*, Statius's *Thebaid* is a probable commentary on this inescapable

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numerous *Medea*s and *Argonautica*s. Ennius had written a tragedy on Medea (possibly two, cf. Braund [1993] 13–14), as had Pacuvius and Accius; Ovid had written another (his *Medea* is now, lamentably, lost to us); and most recently prior to Valerius, Seneca too had written a *Medea*. On the more Argonautic side of the tradition, Varro of Atax had certainly written an *Argonautica*; there is, as yet, no consensus as to whether it was a direct translation of Apollonius's epic or whether it was a more original work. (Accius's tragedy, the *Argonautae*, seems to have dealt with the Argonauts' return voyage rather than being a more straightforward Medea story, while Pacuvius's was set *after* Medea's departure from Greece.) Catullus's famous epyllion, *Carmen* 64, began and ended with the story of the Argonauts; his little poem 4 seems also to be an Argonautic text (if one of miniature, Callimachean proportions), as is Ovid's *Tristia* 1.10, which in turn has a clear engagement with Catullus 4 (the Argonautic concerns of Catullus 4 have recently been examined in Massaro [2010]). For a fuller discussion, with bibliography, of the tradition (Greek and Latin, poetry and prose) prior to Valerius, see Zissos (2008) xvii–xxv; on the interaction of specifically Augustan and post-Augustan texts, see Davis (1989). On the obsession of the Romans with the story of the Argonauts, see Fabre-Serris (2008) 167–214.

[496] See especially Hardie (1993b).

[497] Gowing (2005) 104 calls the Flavian dynasty "an odd and abbreviated iteration of the Julio-Claudian" dynasty. See also Boyle (2003) 4–7.

[498] Cf. Hardie (1993a) 62. Cf. also McGuire (1997) 32: "Statius' cyclic conception of strife at Thebes is no less appropriate than Valerius' to 1st century Rome, for . . . though the Julio-Claudian and Flavian houses had each brought decades of respite and political stability to Rome, the specter of civil war and governmental collapse still reared its head repeatedly."

[499] Cf. Bannon (1997) 137–8, Henderson (1998a), Breed et al. (2010) *passim*. Green (1994) 205: "Fratricide and civil war were the private and public faces of the same crime."

[500] On the likely public perception (as opposed to official propaganda) of the wars, see Henderson (1993) 166, McGuire (1997) 30–32. The persistent thematic *topos* of civil war in the Flavian poets may in fact speak to a propagandistic suppression of the civil nature of the recent wars.

[501] Welch (2005) 101. Green (1994), in arguing for understanding the ritual of the *rex nemorensis* behind the portrayal of Caesar and Pompey in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, includes discussion of how firmly entrenched in the Roman imagination were Rome's fratricidal beginnings. See also Hinds (1992b) on the subject of Augustus and the conflict between Romulus and Remus. Ross (1975) 13n1 claims that he has "found no trace [in Catullus's time] or before of the Romulus who will appear in Augustan poetry: the fratricide whose crime led to civil war, the source of a curse upon Rome."

destiny: Rome's mythic double, the city of Thebes,[502] founded amidst the fratricide of the Sown Men, must again see civil war between Eteocles and Polynices, who are the descendants of the intrinsically fratricidal Spartoi.[503]

Donald McGuire has clearly demonstrated the Flavian preoccupation with internecine strife, a result of the Roman civil wars which saw Vespasian's rise to power.[504] A related predilection for issues of doubling also occupies the Flavian poets.[505] Philip Hardie has observed that this concern is inherited from Vergil, "who first undertakes a far-reaching exploration in a 'foundational' Latin epic of the interconnected themes of sacrifice, sacrificial violence, violence directed against a double, and the confusion of identity."[506] Hardie suggests that the Flavian interest in these Vergilian themes is an artifact of their shared historical circumstances:[507]

> Questions of unity and division of course have a particular urgency for the historical moment of the composition of the *Aeneid*, immediately after the civil wars that destroyed the Republic. The unity of the Roman state under the principate is periodically called into doubt throughout the first century A.D.; the obsessive recurrence of the themes under discussion in the epics of Lucan, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, and Silius Italicus is determined both by the continual return to the *Aeneid* as model, and by the consciousness of contemporary history.

Hardie has shown how Vergil's interest in doubling and unity is prominently reflected in the Flavian poets; other scholars have recognized and successfully examined the *topos* in Statius, specifically, whose engagement with twins and doubling has been the focus of several recent studies.[508] A reading of Valerius's *Argonautica* confirms that Statius is not alone among the Flavians in his emphasis on doubling and fratricide.[509]

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[502] This idea of Thebes as Rome's double inherits but alters the position of Thebes in Athenian drama, where Cadmus's city is Athens' Other, not her twin (see Zeitlin [1990], Hardie [1990]; also cf. Braund [2006], Janan [2009]). On the contemporary political appropriateness of Thebes as Statius's subject, see Rosati (2008) and Dominik (1994) 153.

[503] Oedipus of course completely shares his sons' genealogy, but in his case it is only on his mother's side that he is descended from the Sown Man Echion, who was Agave's husband and Pentheus's father—on his father's side, he is descended exclusively from Cadmus and Harmonia. His sons, by contrast, have no mitigating "uncontaminated" bloodline to prevent their self-destructive fratricide. (Vian [1963] 234n2 proposes that Harmonia, as a daughter of Ares, can be grouped with the Spartoi for purposes of understanding a systematic arrangement of cross-marriages between the Cadmeids and Spartoi. However, even her name shows how far apart she is from their fratricidal tendencies, and she is also the daughter of Aphrodite.)

[504] McGuire (1997).

[505] Braund (2006) 270 suggests that "the initial act of fratricide by Romulus upon Remus . . . is surely the explanation behind the obsession with Two and One that is so central in Roman thought. . . . The same dynamic generated the dual consulship of the republic as a way to avoid returning to the archaic kingship, by setting up the two consuls as a potential team and as a mutual restraint."

[506] Hardie (1993a) 57.

[507] Hardie (1993a) 57.

[508] To name but a few: Henderson (1993), Henderson (1998b), O'Gorman (2005), Braund (2006), Blume (2008).

[509] My observations in this chapter are drawn from a more comprehensive reading of doubling in Valerius's *Argonautica*. In addition to the multiple forms of doubling that I observe in Valerius and the obvious fratricidal doubling in Statius, Hardie (1993a) 66–9 explores "the calculus of One and Two" (66) in Silius's *Punica*, while McGuire (1997) 32, 61–2, 93, 136–44 discusses Silius's polyvalent use of "suggestive and anachronistic" (136) Roman names to turn his Punic narrative into a narrative of civil war. Lucan served as an intermediary between Vergil and the Flavian poets; see Masters (1992) on his various exploitations of doubling. In a recent article, Schmitz (2009) discusses Valerius's repetitions of narration.

From a clearly delineated dyadic structure to a marked predilection for twins and other sorts of paired characters, Valerius not only "employs antithesis and antinomy as compositional principles"[510] within the narrative structure but also places a recurrent emphasis on doubles in general, whether intertextually or intratextually, verbally, thematically, or syntactically. The multiple forms of doubling in the *Argonautica* serve, on the whole, to imbue the epic with an overall sense of repetition and mirroring.[511] It is against this backdrop of doubling, especially noticeable in Valerius's predilection for sonic repetition and rhetorical devices such as epanalepsis and anaphora,[512] that Valerius positions his structural and narrative examples of doubling. As Don Fowler rightly noted, once one is sensitized to doubling, "one instantly starts to notice all over Latin poetry the play of the single and the double, the One and the Many."[513] It is doubling's thorough permeation of Valerius's epic, its lurking around every stichic bend, that makes the *Argonautica* notable.

The grandest doubling of the epic may lie in the poem's clear-cut bifurcation into conflicting halves, the former positive and harmonious, the latter negative and strife-ridden. Andrew Zissos, in his important study on the dichotomous structure of the *Argonautica*, sees the marked central division and the generic sensibilities of each half as a reflection of "a fundamental tension in the developed mythographic tradition"[514] that arises from the forced juxtaposition of epic and tragic material.[515] I argue, by contrast, that the poem's tensions of narrative dichotomy are not the be-all and end-all of doubling in the poem but rather serve as only one manifestation of a broader concern with doubling. Within this overarching theme, the two halves reflect each other like a distorted mirror: the first half, celebrating "the predominantly civilising activities of protagonists" (Zissos's "epic"), shows primarily positive or neutral patterns of doubling, while the second half, with its "various perversions of civilised life"[516] (Zissos's "tragedy"), provides a narrative of unremitting civil strife and features the recurrence of positive images from the first half in an inverted or perverted fashion. This structural bifurcation finds expression within the text in numerous ways, particularly in the poem's repetitive and recursive nature and its tendency towards dualism.

Doubling occurs throughout the *Argonautica* in a number of fashions.[517] There is doubling revolving around a word like *gemino* or *pariter*, as seen in the Dioscuri's catalogue

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[510] Zissos (2004b) 312.

[511] Laird (1999) 291n59 observes that Valerius's penchant for repetition manifests even on the micro-level of the epic's linguistic building-blocks, as "the *Argonautica* has an unusually dense pattern of sonic repetition (phonemic as well as verbal) in comparison with other Latin epics." Spaltenstein (2004) 397 remarks on "son goût pour les objets dédoublés . . . et symétriques."

[512] Epanalepsis is "the adjacent repetition of a word" and anaphora "repetition at the beginning of a unit (clause or line)," but I have arbitrarily selected these terms out of many available. Wills (1996) 11ff (whose definitions of epanalepsis and anaphora I quote) gives a much better system of syntactic and verbal repetition than the terms which have traditionally been used, marking four basic categories: gemination, parallelism, polyptoton, and modification (see Introduction, p. 10). Valerius is particularly fond of certain types of these repetitions; Barich (1982) 29 observes that, of these forms of repetitive syntax, anaphora as a closural device is practically "a mannerism of Valerian speeches."

[513] Fowler (1993) 73.

[514] Zissos (2004b) 311–12.

[515] Zissos ultimately derives the poem's dichotomy from the dissonance of the inherited literary tradition: the heroic, epic endeavors of the Argo and her crew as opener of the seas contrast with the inescapably tragic events surrounding and depending from Jason and Medea's marriage.

[516] Both quotations derive from Zissos (2004b) 318.

[517] I shall only discuss a limited subset of these in this chapter.

notice;[518] doubling embodied in sworn brothers, real brothers, or, even more clearly, twins; doubles like the two prophets, Mopsus and Idmon, whose roles in the epic are markedly similar; the doubling of homonyms, either within the text or between the texts of Valerius and Apollonius; and the so-called proleptic doubling that echoes from the reader's knowledge (and Valerius's sign-posting) of future events. Structural dichotomies are not limited to the all-encompassing bifurcation of the epic but can, in addition, be found on a smaller scale.

I've Often Seen a Corpse without a Name, but a Name without a Corpse!

False mirroring and identity, also both pervasive concerns of the epic, play out in particular through two closely connected episodes, the Argonauts' stay on Mysia (encompassing the disappearance of Hylas and the departure of Hercules) and the episode at Bebrycia. These episodes form a set, one a display of loss of body and the other loss of name, together engaging with the same triangle of name, body, and identity that we saw in the *Ibis*. Names are, in general, a concern for Valerius, and following an analysis of these episodes, I shall turn to further instances of nominal play in the epic.

Hylas is a shadow. He is the shadow of Hercules, dogging his steps upon his arrival in Thessaly (and the epic, VF 1.107–11) and dogging his steps upon his disembarking at Mysia from the Argo (and the epic, VF 3.485–6). He is the shadow of himself (*umbra*, VF 4.41) at the very last. And ultimately he is the shadow of a sound, the repeated echo of his name, just as he was traditionally metamorphosed into an echo. Half the appearances of his name are in the context of echoing and redoubling. First, in the war at Cyzicus, his name is repeated in an early anticipation of his natural and nominal echo: *Hylas . . . Hylas* (VF 3.183–4). This is Hylas's first and last moment of glory in battle.[519] Then, twice in the tale of his disappearance (and once more for good measure), beginning the instant he himself is gone, his name repeatedly repeats: *Hylan . . . Hylan* (VF 3.569–71), *rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan* (VF 3.595), and *Hylan resonantia* (VF 4.18). The repetition of "Hylas" always manifests on the lips of Hercules. With this we may compare the aetiological tale of Hylas's metamorphosis in Antoninus Liberalis:

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[518] See pp. 113ff.

[519] This redoubled Hylas appears immediately after the death of Crenaeus. Crenaeus himself (especially with his proximity to Hylas) is potentially fascinating; his name, comparable to Κρηναῖος ("of the fountain," cf. Dinter [2009] 553, Dräger [2003] 410 *ad* 3.178), is similar to the epithet of Athena Cranaea in Phocis, whose priest is a pre-pubescent boy and whose temple is located near the Cephisus river (Paus. 10.34.4). The Cephisus is, in turn, the father of Narcissus (*Met.* 3.342–6), and Valerius's description of Crenaeus resembles in many ways the description of Narcissus in the *Metamorphoses*. His eyes are *orbes purpureos* (VF 3.178–9); in death he will lose his *candor* (VF 3.179) and *decus* (VF 3.180); and, *durus*, he will leave behind the *nemus* and *nympharum amores* (VF 3.181). Narcissus, too, was insensate to the love of the nymphs (Ov. *Met.* 3.353ff), and as he wastes away he loses his former color and bright beauty: *et neque iam color est mixto candore rubori* (Ov. *Met.* 3.491). Given the strong associations between Hylas and Narcissus later in the book, the similarity of Crenaeus and Narcissus and the juxtaposition of Crenaeus with Hylas here is suspicious, as is the placement of these possibly-paired figures (VF 3.177–85) directly in between the potential Idmon-confusion (VF 3.167–77, see p. 122) and the averted fratricide of the Tyndaridae (VF 3.186ff, see p. 142). Even without the Narcissus-connection, Crenaeus and Hylas are clearly watery alter-egos of a sort. In the *Thebaid*, we find a twice-redoubled Crenaeus (9.320–1, 9.356). Statius's choice to reduplicate the name of his Crenaeus (and to make him the son of a river-nymph) may be a commentary on this entire extended network of allusions. Sanna (2008) includes both Valerius's Hylas and Statius's Crenaeus in his collection of Flavian boy-heroes for whom water is the "preferred surrounding" (195), but he does not remark on Crenaeus's Valerian precursor and his direct association with Hylas. (On Hylas in Flavian poetry, also see Vinchesi [1998].)

καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὕλας ἐφανὴς ἐγένετο, Ἡρακλῆς δ᾽, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐνόστει καταλιπὼν τοὺς ἥρωας ἐξερευνᾷ πανταχοῖ τὸν δρυμὸν καὶ ἐβόησε πολλάκις τὸν Ὕλαν. νύμφαι δὲ δείσασαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, μὴ αὐτὸν εὕροι κρυπτόμενον παρ᾽ αὐταῖς, μετέβαλον τὸν Ὕλαν καὶ ἐποίησαν ἠχὼ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοὴν πολλάκις ἀντεφώνησεν Ἡρακλεῖ.

<div align="right">(Ant. Lib. Met. 26.4)</div>

And Hylas disappeared, but Heracles, when he didn't return to him after leaving the heroes, searched the thicket for him everywhere and often shouted for Hylas. But the nymphs, having feared lest Heracles find him hidden among them, transformed Hylas and made him an echo, and it often spoke back to Heracles' shout.

Valerius's Hercules cannot even think of Hylas, let alone speak his name, without it producing an echo (*rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat / avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago*, "he calls 'Hylas' again and 'Hylas' again, repeatedly, through the long pathless tracts: the woods reply, and the wandering figment rivals them," 3.596–7).[520] By contrast, the Argonauts' sole attempt to call him meets with evident silence, as his name disappears mid-sea (*medio pereuntia nomina ponto*, 3.725). It is difficult to see this as anything other than the effect of the nymphs' meddling as preserved in Antoninus, but the disappearance of a name in the water also restages and inverts the loss of Hylas's body into the spring and even foreshadows the related events of the next book.

Malamud and McGuire discuss the Hylas episode as a model of how Valerius confronts mythic variation and his literary debt: "In this episode, rather than attempting to 'tell the myth of Hylas', Valerius instead constructs a situation where variant versions of the myth are put into confrontation with one another."[521] Valerius repeatedly engages with conflicting myth-variants, but the Hylas episode is a spectacular one to use for this purpose. A myth that already deals with echoes and reflections becomes here a locus of intertextual echoes and reflections. To this end, Valerius (following Propertius) incorporates the language of the Ovidian Narcissus into his Hylas, but unlike Propertius he also incorporates the *character* of Narcissus: Valerius's Hylas is a hunter, and he is not only the desired *eromenos* but is also himself possessed of desire. This creates in him a problematic duality, both on the erotic axis alone and along the axis of hunter/lover.[522] For Hylas, as for Narcissus, these two faces of his persona are mirror-images, and thus his inherent duality fractures him to such an extent that he becomes twice reflected, visually (in the pool) and aurally (as an echo), therefore embodying not only Narcissus but also Narcissus's lover, the nymph Echo.[523]

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[520] Barchiesi (2001c) 139–40 reads the echoing and reechoing of the episode as a forceful statement of belated and complex intertextuality; he also, convincingly, sees 3.596 as yet another echoing of the name "Hylas," this time as a bilingual pun: "Valerius has his *silvae* repeat the name *Hylas*, a word containing the Greek equivalent to *silva* – *hulê* – producing a perfect convergence of signifier and signified."

[521] Malamud and McGuire (1993) 194–5.

[522] See Malamud and McGuire (1993) 201–8, Heerink (2007). Davis (1983) presents the inherent and disastrous conflict between *amor* and the hunt in Ovid, shades of which are visible in this version of Hylas's story. Another paradoxical duality extant in Hylas is the contrast between his name and his ultimate fate: ὕλη and *silva* can be used to signify material or substance (*LSJ s.v.* ὕλη A.III; *OLD s.v. silva* 5a), but Hylas ends up as only the name *without* the substance it implies. However, if the implication of ὕλη/*silva* as *literary* material (*LSJ s.v.* ὕλη A.III.3; *OLD s.v. silva* 5b) is active, then Hylas's re-echoed echo is precisely that (cf. Petrain [2000]).

[523] By contrast, Narcissus's *beloved*, his own reflection, is in Hylas's case a separate being—his reflection metamorphoses into his raper as Dryope rises soundless from the pool. In this appearance of the female rapist from the pool, Valerius's Hylas episode imitates Ovid's story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in the *Metamorphoses*, a correspondence which Heerink (2007) has examined.

As an echo, Hylas becomes only a name, shouted in triplicate by the local priests forever after.[524] To the Argonauts, however, who shout his name (and that of Hercules) as they sail away, his name, like his body, is lost mid-sea (*medio ponto*, 3.725).[525] The Argonauts, too, disappear from the narrative at this point, and the remainder of the book and the first eighty-one lines of the next book are taken up with Hercules' fruitless search for Hylas and the set-up of Prometheus's release. When we return to the Argonauts, they are about to land in Bebrycia, where the loss and retention of names will take on a whole new dimension.

James Shelton has convincingly explored the Bebrycian episode as "a study in the preservation of identity."[526] He notes the focus on periphrases involving *nomen* (e.g., *nomen amici*, 4.136) and the frequent utterance of phrases such as *quicumque es* (4.140, 4.191) and *quisquis es* (4.240).[527] The corpses of Amycus's previous victims have neither face nor name (*nulla / iam facies nec nomen*, 4.184–5) and thus no identity; and Pollux, eventually the victor, tells his defeated foe to report his name to the shades (*nomen mirantibus umbris / hoc referes*, 4.313–14).[528] Shelton observes that the importance of *nomen* in this episode is that "it stands for a person's identity—the thing which is at stake when a person confronts the forces of the sea."[529] This is both true and untrue. There is a division between name and body—one remains, the other is lost. What the sea in fact does is to *separate* name from body: Helle's body is lost, but her name/identity survives in the name of the Hellespont (2.585–6) and the cenotaph by the mouth of the Phasis (5.198–9), and as we have just seen, Hylas's body is lost while his name survives as an echo; but a drowned corpse is a body with no name or identity. The bodies of Amycus's victims are left, but their names are not.[530]

Shelton makes much of the simile in the episode's opening lines, which compares the Bebrycians to the Cyclopes, echoing Homer:

> rex Amycus. regis fatis et numine freti
> non muris cinxere domos, non foedera legum
> ulla colunt placidas aut iura tenentia mentes.
> quales Aetnaeis rabidi Cyclopes in antris
> nocte sub hiberna servant freta, sicubi saevis   105
> advectet ratis acta notis tibi pabula dira
> et miseras, Polypheme, dapes, sic undique in omnes
> prospiciunt cursantque vias, qui corpora regi

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[524] Antoninus Liberalis gives this as the aetiology of a local festival: Ὕλᾳ δὲ θύουσιν ἄχρι νῦν παρὰ τὴν κρήνην οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ὀνόματος εἰς τρὶς ὁ ἱερεὺς φωνεῖ καὶ εἰς τρὶς ἀμείβεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠχώ ("and even now the locals sacrifice to Hylas at the fountain, and the priest calls him three times by name, and an echo answers him three times," Ant. Lib. 26.5). Apollonius Rhodius does the same, although less explicitly: τούνεκεν εἰσέτι νῦν περ Ὕλαν ἐρέουσι Κιανοί, / κοῦρον Θειοδάμαντος ("therefore even now the Cians ask after Hylas, the son of Theiodamas," AR 1.1355). It is possible that Valerius's three repetitions of Hylas's name in Hercules' mouth (VF 3.569–71, 3.595, 4.18) recreate the *aition* of this triple hieratic shout.

[525] By contrast, Hercules' name survives on his oar—the Argonauts had inscribed their names on their oars before launching the ship (VF 1.352)—but Hylas was only a passenger aboard the Argo.

[526] Shelton (1984) 18.

[527] It is true that *nomen*, especially in periphrases, can stand for fame or glorious reputation (*OLD s.v. nomen* 11), but I do not believe that this is its only—or even primary—function here or elsewhere in Valerius.

[528] Something that neither participant realizes is that the shades already know the victor's name, for they have been watching the entire combat (VF 4.257–60).

[529] Shelton (1984) 19n4.

[530] We have already clearly seen the detachability of the *nomen* as a body-part in Ovid's *Ibis* (see Chapter 2, especially pp. 91ff), which was in many ways a study in the preservation and destruction of identity.

capta trahant. ea Neptuno trux ipse parenti
sacrifici pro rupe iugi media aequora supra   110
torquet agens.

(Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.101–11)

Their king was Amycus. Relying on the king's fates and divine power they did not surround
their houses with walls, they maintain no legal treaties nor any laws that keep minds calm. As
the raving Cyclopes in Aetna's caves watch over the wintry straits at night, in case a ship driven
by cruel south winds carry to you dread fodder and unhappy banquets, Polyphemus, thus they
look forth everywhere and run over all the roads, in order to drag captured bodies to their king.
He himself, savage, hurls them forth off the cliff of a sacrificial hill, over the midst of the sea, to
his father Neptune.

Κυκλώπων δ᾽ ἐς γαῖαν ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων
ἱκόμεθ᾽, οἵ ῥα θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν
οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτὸν οὔτ᾽ ἀρόωσιν,
ἀλλὰ τά γ᾽ ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται,
πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ ἠδ᾽ ἄμπελοι, αἵ τε φέρουσιν   110
οἶνον ἐρισταφυλον, καί σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει.
τοῖσιν δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες,
ἀλλ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἠδ᾽ ἀλόχων, οὐδ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.   115

(Homer, *Odyssey* 9.106–15)

And we arrived at the land of the overweening, lawless Cyclopes, who trusting in the immortal
gods neither plant things with their hands nor plough, but all things grow unsown and
unplowed, wheat and barley and vines, which produce wine made of fine grapes, and the rain of
Zeus makes them grow. And for them there are neither council assemblies nor laws, but they
dwell on the peaks of the high hills in hollow caves, and each lays down the law for his children
and wives, and they do not take heed of each other.

What Shelton draws from these similarities and explicit allusion is the strange and threatening
nature of the Bebrycians.[531] Perhaps he thought another aspect so obvious that it did not
require saying, but he omits mention of the most major correspondence between his identity-
centric reading of Valerius's Amycus episode and the Odyssean Cyclops episode: namely, that
Odysseus intentionally robs himself of an identity, briefly becoming "no one." It is only after
Polyphemus is blinded and Odysseus's crew is sailing out of range that Odysseus thinks it safe
to reveal his true name.[532]

The retention and deprivation of names does not function in precisely the same way at
Bebrycia—the Argonauts do not intentionally rob themselves of names in order to defeat
Amycus—but there are a number of related forces at work here. The first event at Bebrycia is
Echion's discovery of a youth *caesi maerentem nomen amici* ("mourning the name of his slain
friend," 4.136); the phrase *nomen amici*, a seeming periphrasis for *amicum*, serves as the
opening of an episode where names in general are of great importance.[533] In making Echion,
specifically, the first Argonaut to appear on the scene here, Valerius may be drawing out the

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[531] Shelton (1984) 18–19: "The Argonauts have now entered into a realm in which they will confront a foe who is
both physically threatening and totally barbarous."

[532] Zissos (1997) 168–9 does briefly discuss the relevant and related significance of naming in the Homeric
episode.

[533] Cf. Shelton (1984) 19.

previous episode's theme of echoing and ultimately prolonging this theme into the Bebrycian episode to serve as a bridge across the first hundred lines of Book 4.[534] Given, moreover, Valerius's redistribution of roles among Mercury's sons at their introduction,[535] Dymas is spot-on when he addresses Echion as *quicumque es*; having identified in him the physical characteristics of a herald,[536] a reader of Apollonius (which some of Valerius's characters seem to be)[537] would take the figure to be Aethalides. Sometimes physical appearance and identity can be at odds.[538]

The contradiction between these two aspects is again evident when Pollux confronts Amycus. The king addresses Pollux as *quisquis es* (4.240), a true enough utterance because he has not bothered to ask Pollux's name, but also easily understandable in another way: Pollux is an identical twin, his identity therefore perpetually uncertain. Immediately following this comment, Amycus allusively activates the *topos* of identical twins in battle: *haud tibi pulchrae / manserit hoc ultra frontis decus orave matri / nota feres* ("in no way will this charm of your fair brow remain for you, nor will you bring a known face back to your mother," 4.240–2).[539] Presumably unaware of the (to him) faceless Argonauts that surround him, Amycus does not in fact make this boast in the context of Pollux as a twin, and his allusion to the trope is

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[534] Spaltenstein (2002) 189 *ad* 1.436 has observed that Echion's catalogue notice, which establishes his function as herald (*nuntia verba ducis populis qui reddit Echion*, "Echion, who returns the leader's words of announcement to the people," 1.440), is strangely worded, as if Valerius were trying to bring forth a false etymology of Echion's name that connected it to "echo." For a discussion of Echion's own association with names, see pp. 117ff.

[535] This is likely an intentional mix-up. Valerius's trio of Mercury's sons, Aethalides, Eurytus, and Echion (VF 1.436–40), echoes Apollonius's grouping of them (AR 1.51–6) in some but not all respects. In Apollonius, Aethalides has a different mother from Erytus and Echion. (Pindar, who does not mention Aethalides at all, explicitly calls Erytus and Echion διδύμους [*Pyth.* 4.178].) Valerius does not mention the maternal variation, and he makes a pair of *Aethalides* and Eurytus by contrasting their different fighting styles (VF 1.436–9). This explicit martial distinction may suggest that Valerius is pairing Aethalides and Eurytus as twins, as it repeats the differentiation of the two definite sets of twins within the Catalogue of Argonauts: Amphion and Deucalion as swordsman and javelin-thrower (VF 1.366–7) and Castor and Pollux as horseman and boxer (VF 1.420–26). In addition, Valerius's Eurytus is Erytus (Ἔρυτος) in both Pindar and Apollonius. Zissos (2008) 281 *ad* 1.438–9 suggests that the name-change signifies "an astute mythographic intervention" of Valerius, for Apollonius also includes a Eurytus (father of Clytius and Iphitus, whom Valerius omits entirely) who may or may not have begun as the same figure as Echion's brother. (See also Braswell [1988] 259–69 *ad Pyth.* 4.179[a] on possible formations and mutations of Ἔρυτος/Εὔρυτος.) Moreover, where Apollonius made Aethalides the herald (AR 1.641–3), Valerius transfers the function to Echion (*nec patrio Minyis ignobilis usu / nuntia verba ducis populis qui reddit Echion*, 1.439–40), thus forming a triangle with the following sides: either Aethalides or Echion is a herald; Echion and E(u)rytus are full brothers or even twins outside of Valerius; and Aethalides and Eurytus are martially contrasted within Valerius. (If we accept Zissos's suggestion that Valerius is reconciling mythographic traditions, then Aethalides' skill in archery originally belonged to Eurytus, and this is another blurring of the distinctions between the three brothers.) Zissos (2008) 280 *ad* 1.436–40 suggests that "the intertextual—and genetic—aberration is probably a product of VF's persistent 'militarization' of the myth," but this particular symmetrical construction of the trio, manifesting as a shifting nexus of pairs, is an equally probable motivator. On the Catalogue of Argonauts generally, see p. 113, n. 540.

[536] *contra venientem umbrataque vidit / tempora Parrhasio patris de more galero / paciferaeque manu nequiquam insignia virgae* ("he saw him coming towards him, his temples shaded with a Parrhasian sombrero in the manner of his father, and the vain symbol of a peace-bearing branch in his hand," 4.137–9).

[537] Mopsus and Medea, for example, both seem overly familiar with Apollonius and other Argonautic authors, sometimes getting their own story "wrong" on account of it. Cf. Malamud and McGuire (1993) and Zissos (1999).

[538] This is, of course, never more true than when a goddess disguises herself; I do not consider these various episodes in Valerius's *Argonautica* within my study, but there are several: Rumor as Neaera (2.141ff); Venus as Dryope (2.174ff); Juno as Chalciope (6.477ff); Venus as Circe (7.210ff).

[539] For a brief discussion of the *topos*, see n. 543.

unwitting. However, Valerius has primed the reader to see Amycus's mistake by means of the epic's most double-rich passage of text, the introduction and description of Castor and Pollux in the Catalogue of Argonauts:[540]

taurea vulnifico portat celer aspera plumbo   420
terga Lacon, saltem in vacuos ut bracchia ventos
spargat et Oebalium Pagaseia puppis alumnum
spectet securo celebrantem litora ludo,
oraque Thessalico melior contundere freno
vectorem pavidae Castor dum quaereret Helles   425
passus Amyclaea pinguescere Cyllaron herba.
illis Taenario _pariter_ tremit ignea fuco
purpura, quod _gemina_ mater spectabile tela
duxit opus: _bis_ Taygeton silvasque comantes
struxerat, Eurotan molli _bis_ fuderat auro.   430
quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat
et volat _amborum_ patrius de pectore cycnus.
(Val. Fl. _Arg._ 1.420–32)

The swift Laconian carries bull-hide gloves, hardened with wound-inflicting lead, so that at least he may scatter blows against the empty winds and so that the Pagaseian ship may watch the Oebalian nursling filling the shores with his carefree sport; and Castor, better at pounding mouths with the Thessalian rein, lets Cyllaros grow fat on the Amyclaean herb while he is seeking trembling Helle's bearer. Purple shimmers _equally_ on them, fiery with Taenarian dye, notable work which their mother crafted on a _twin_ loom: _twice_ she had fabricated Taygetos and the leafy woods, _twice_ she had poured out Eurotas with soft gold. _Each_ is borne by his own steed of snowy thread, and the paternal swan flies from the breast _of both_.

This description falls at the exact center of the Catalogue,[541] and it is, in addition, the longest notice of the Catalogue.[542] The centrality and length of the notice urge us, as readers, to pay attention both to the Dioscuri and to their description. In particular, as we can assume that

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[540] Beginning at 1.353, the Catalogue runs for 150 lines, leading up to the arrival of Acastus (1.484–93) and the Argonauts' weighing anchor (1.494–7). The Catalogue names forty-nine Argonauts (usually directly, occasionally by patronymic or periphrasis), excluding Jason and Hylas, while Acastus's arrival serves as a coda to the Catalogue. Forty-two of the Argonauts are rowers, while another seven are allotted the duties of guiding and maintaining the ship, generally in accordance with their mythological functions: Lynceus, famed for his keen x-ray eyesight (AR 1.153–5), is the lookout; Zetes and Calais, who have wings (AR 1.219–23, Pindar _Pyth._ 4.182–3), attend to the rigging; Orpheus, with his musical prowess, is the time-keeping coxswain; and so forth. The matching of nautical position to mythological function may also account for Valerius's omission of Euphemus's ability to run across the waves (AR 1.183–4) and Periclymenus's shapechanging ability (AR 1.158–60), as these could have little relevance aboard a ship. One of the most commonly noted features of the Catalogue is that Valerius divides the crew into "Telamonian" and "Herculean" sides (VF 1.353–5), imposing a lateral dichotomy on the ship.

[541] If we take Asterion (VF 1.355ff) as the first notice of the catalogue proper and Tiphys (not Acastus) as the last (ending at VF 1.483), the center-point would be at line 419/20, right where the Dioscuri's catalogue notice begins. If the catalogue starts with the mention of Telamon (VF 1.353), the center-point is only shifted forward by one line. In terms of the actual numerical position of the Dioscuri, they are thirty-second and thirty-third out of the forty-two rowers (three quarters of the way along) or the forty-nine figures (three-fifths of the way along) named in the Catalogue.

[542] That signal honor is transferred to them from Apollonius's prize pair, Zetes and Calais, who are greatly diminished in Valerius. In Valerius's Catalogue, the Boreadae receive just two lines for the pair of them together (VF 1.468–9).

Valerius did not just decide on a whim that it would be amusing to clothe twins in identical apparel,[543] the Dioscuri themselves, like the words used to describe their garments (*gemina, pariter, bis*, and *ambo*),[544] must be closely watched as markers of doubling whenever they appear. In believing that Pollux's face will not return to his mother, therefore, Amycus is deceived; even if Pollux does not return with face intact, Castor will. Because of their celebrated ability to share *everything*, Pollux and Castor can in fact defy the tragic discrimination which is the potential fate of all twins.

Bebrycia not only has the feature of depriving men of their identity, it also turns them into a homogeneous mass. Amycus, addressing them, wishes to know *cui dona feram* ("to whom shall I deliver gifts?" 4.216), but he quickly adds that *mox omnibus idem / ibit honos* ("the same honor will soon go to all," 4.216–17). In Bebrycia, only the name of Amycus matters (*tune Amyci moriere manu?* "will you die by Amycus's hand?" 4.243); the fact that the Argonauts who wish to fight him are *maxima nomina* (4.224–5) is of no import.[545] Instead, to Amycus, they are the *sociis iniquis* ("unjust/unequal companions," 4.242) who have offered up Pollux as the sacrificial lamb and are themselves unworthy of any attention (just as Dymas escaped getting pulped because of Amycus's tunnel-vision for his opponent, 4.160–9). Although the subset of Argonauts who offer themselves to challenge Amycus do briefly regain some semblance of identity (for the reader, at least), as soon as Pollux becomes the center of (Amycus's) attention, even these great names fade back into the nameless crowd.

The three groups of spectators are equally faceless and homogeneous. Even before the fight begins, the Bebrycians and Argonauts function *en masse*, each moving as a mindless and unindividuated group: the Bebrycians (initially introduced by *cinxere* [4.102], a plural verb without a subject) are Amycus's *turba* (4.200) and *agmina* (4.279), while the Argonauts, apart from Pollux, are collectively and anonymously *Minyae* (4.246, 298), *socii* (4.292), and *manus omnis heroum* (4.324–5). When they reach Amycus's killing ground, they are all silent (*oculos cuncti inter se tenuere silentes*, 4.189) until Pollux speaks; then, like sheep, they all suddenly desire to fight the tyrant, and a simile even clearly discloses their herd mentality:

> omnibus idem animus forti decernere pugna,
> exoptantque virum contraque occurrere poscunt.
> qualiter ignotis spumantem funditus amnem
> taurus aquis qui primus init spernitque tumentem
> pandit iter, mox omne pecus formidine pulsa
> pone subit iamque et mediis procedit ab undis.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.193–8)

All have the same spirit to decide the issue with a strong fight, and they desire and demand the

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[543] Valerius had used the poetic *topos* of indistinguishable identical twins earlier in the catalogue (VF 1.365–8); this is another matter entirely. That *topos*, which describes identical twins only made distinguishable by battle wounds, is a commonplace of Silver Latin epic and derives from Vergil's "fatal discrimination between twins at the hand of Pallas in 10.390–6" (Hardie [1993a] 62). Although Vergil seems to be the originator of the *topos*, Lucan develops and mediates it for the Flavian poets, setting his example into a much broader context of doubling (cf. *BC* 3.583–669, in which the discrimination of twins occurs at 3.603–8).

[544] Each line of the description's second half bears a single, verbal marker of doubling (underlined above). *Quemque*, which is properly used of more than two referents, is perhaps less of a key doubling word than the other four, but Zissos (2008) 278 *ad* 1.431–2 notes that *quisque* for *uterque* is "a frequent substitution, esp[ecially] with *suus*." See K–S vol. 1, 648§119n10.

[545] On the particular selection of heroes here, see pp. 144ff.

man to come out against them. Just as when one bull enters a flood that foams from below with unknown waters and cares not a whit that it is swollen, and he spreads open a path—soon all the herd, with its fear cast aside, enters behind him and now proceeds through the middle of the waves.

The third set of spectators, the shades of Amycus's former victims, are so homogenized that they form a single black cloud on the hilltop (4.258–60); furthermore, precisely because they are Amycus's former victims, they must be literally faceless and unidentifiable.[546] So everyone in Bebrycia, apart from Amycus, is nameless and faceless, and those who are not must become so. Dymas never gives his own name nor requests the names of the Argonauts (they are anonymous bodies), but he is devoted to preserving as best as possible the name of his dear departed companion Otreus (who is named but bodiless). Amycus alone is present in both body and name. But by denying a name to anyone else, Amycus must take everything at face value (as it were), and this proves to be his defeat.[547] Pollux's surge to victory depends on a single feint:

> emicat hic dextramque parat dextramque minatur
> Tyndarides; redit huc oculis et pondere Bebryx
> sic ratus, ille autem celeri rapit ora sinistra.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.289–91)

> Tyndareus's son flashes and shows his right hand here and threatens with his right hand; the Bebrycian goes after it with his eyes and weight, having fallen for the trick, but the other ravages his face with a swift left hand.

Amycus falls for a skilfully delivered but classic trick, as Pollux's right hand (note the reduplication as a verbal echo of the feint: *dextram . . . dextram*) draws Amycus's attention while the left hand takes away his face—the loss of Amycus's name will follow. Before that, however, he loses his *discrimen* (296), here probably best translated "discernment"[548] as it also perhaps implies a new anonymity for the formerly distinguishable king, even prior to his death.[549] Unlike Amycus's other opponents, Pollux has preserved his own identity.[550]

During the fight, Pollux was alone, set apart from all the other Argonauts; but immediately after Amycus's death, Castor, too, extricates himself from the mass of Argonauts

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[546] Murgatroyd (2009) 144 *ad* 4.258: "In view of the severe damage inflicted on people by Amycus and the fact that ghosts were believed to retain the injuries that killed them . . . , this would be an especially horrific group, terribly disfigured." Zissos (2003) 663 sees this third, ghostly audience, arranged across the hilltops, as "schematically reproduc[ing] the anonymous mass audience that occupied the upper tiers of seating in contemporary arena events."

[547] Again, we may think of Polyphemus's untroubled acceptance of "Nobody" as Odysseus's name.

[548] "Judgment" is in fact a more accurate English translation, but this does not encompass the sense of separation always inherent in *discrimen*. Pelias (1.37) and Mopsus (1.217) both refer to the dangers of the sea as *discrimina*; Amycus is one of those dangers, and his power is precisely that of separation.

[549] Dinter (2009) 542 observes that in the epitaphic formula which Pollux pronounces over the defeated Amycus (4.312–14), "the centrally placed *nomen* emphasises that the most important information, the name of the deceased, is missing. *Amyclis* thus appears to be placed in the first line so as to play on the dead man's missing name, *Amycus.*" The punning replacement of Amycus's name with Pollux's city of origin ties in well with the complexes of identity at work in this scene.

[550] Here, Pollux is, appropriately, *Iove natus* (4.313) and *Iovis proles* (4.327). However, defeating Amycus also gives Pollux a new identity, and in Colchis he is only named by periphrasis as *qui / Bebrycio †nuper† remeavit ab hospite victor* (6.343), as his divine identity is apparently subsumed.

and again becomes a named individual—the only one among them to regain his individuality—as though his identity is in some way linked to Pollux's. As for Pollux himself, his identity as one of an inseparable pair quickly reasserts itself. He is doubly addressed in duplicate (*'salve vera Iovis, vera o Iovis . . . proles,'* / *ingeminant*, "'Hail, <u>Jupiter's true</u>, o <u>Jupiter's true</u> child,' they <u>reiterate</u>," 4.327–8); the lines become rife with clumps of mostly-paired alliteration;[551] and he pours not one but two libations to his father (*victori <u>geminans</u> cratera parenti*, "<u>redoubling</u> bowls of wine for his victorious parent," 4.343). Although he stands out here as an individual, he still attracts doubling, and Castor is nearby.

Back-to-back, then, we find one episode in which a body disappears and only a name survives and one episode in which bodies remain but names and identities are lost. Standing as inversions of each other, one episode is obsessed with mirroring and reflections while the other deprives its characters of any recognizable features. In addition to serving as a pair on their own terms, both episodes are extensions of a concern with homonymity and anonymity that is visible elsewhere in the epic.

What's in a Name?

We find, throughout the epic, a persistent propagation of minor occurrences of name-play that are reflections of a general concern with names, although occasionally they are important nominal loci in their own right. Even leaving aside the many homonymous minor figures encountered by the Argonauts,[552] a large number of Argonauts share names with each other and with other figures,[553] and these shared names create ambiguity and uncertainty in the narrative.[554] They also reflect the widespread concern with identity and false mirroring

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[551] To select the most prominent examples: <u>magnanim</u>is <u>mem</u>oranda (328), <u>dumque ea d</u>icta (330), <u>t</u>enues <u>t</u>amen (330), <u>respiciensque r</u>atem (335), <u>curre coro</u>na (336), <u>praeci</u>piunt <u>pec</u>udum (341).

[552] There may be a rich body of material in the names of minor figures included by Valerius, whether repeated or not; as an example, we may consider the briefly-spotlighted Crenaeus (see p. 108, n. 519), who has clear relevance to the figures that surround him in the battle, or Thapsus and Itys (see p. 143, n. 677), with their evocation of civil war and internecine strife. Spaltenstein (2004) 37–8 *ad* 3.98 observes that Valerius took some names from Apollonius and was seemingly inspired on other occasions by Vergil, but he thinks that the bulk of proper names stem from Valerius's own imagination, inspired by circumstance, geography, or individual characteristic. Spaltenstein (2002) 352–3 *ad* 2.162 suggests that repetitions of name across books and episodes are essentially coincidence, or at least that the repetition is immaterial; I am not certain that this is the case, and I hope to explore this issue elsewhere.

[553] Within Valerius's epic, the names which repeat among the Argonauts are Iphiclus and Ancaeus; Valerius avoids adopting from Apollonius the second half of a third homonym, Iphitus (although see pp. 123ff), and of a near-homonym, Asterion/Asterios. There are also three Argonauts in Valerius who seem to be distinct from, and therefore homonymous with, their namesakes among Apollonius's Argonauts: Nauplius (VF 1.370–2), Butes (VF 1.394–7), and possibly one Iphiclus (VF 1.369–70). Periclymenus (VF 1.387–90) is the son of Neleus in both Apollonius and Valerius, but he is sometimes confused with another Periclymenus, the son of Poseidon, in the Argonautic tradition. On these last four, see Zissos (2008) *ad locc.* Finally, many Argonauts share their names with major mythical figures from outside the Argonautic tradition. For instance, Deucalion is the survivor of the flood; Echion is one of the Theban Spartoi and the father of Pentheus; Polyphemus is the famous Sicilian Cyclops; and Argus is the many-eyed guardian of Io (as well as a son of Phrixus who appears in the *Argonautica*). Many other Argonauts similarly share their names with major and minor mythical figures, sometimes resulting in confusion in the tradition as to precisely which figure was or was not an Argonaut.

[554] Ambiguity of name is a technique utilized by Apollonius, too, although the Hellenistic poet seems primarily to have toyed with names as a learned game for his audience, without implicating the broader dynamics of his epic. Jackson (1999) demonstrates, for instance, that Apollonius teases his audience with an allusion to Sinope the daughter of Asopus (AR 2.946–54) without initially making it clear whether he refers to the Boeotian Asopus or

that we saw clearly expressed in the disappearance of Hylas and in the Bebrycian episode.

Some nominal issues, as we have seen, are marked by Valerius's insertion of the word *nomen* or depend on recollection of nominal associations stressed earlier. A prime example of this sort of transference is the Argonaut Echion. The most famous mythical Echion is not the Argonaut but one of the Theban Sown Men, husband of Agave and father of Pentheus. Valerius uses the name Echion (or an adjective derived from it) seven times in his epic, once in the Catalogue and six times outside of it. Of those six occurrences, three refer to the Argonaut Echion, but the other three refer to Pentheus's father, sometimes used metonymically for the Spartoi. Every time Echion the Argonaut appears, Valerius emphasizes his name, twice through use of *nomen* within the space of two lines (not, however, directly associated with Echion), and the third time through mention of the other Echion just eleven lines later:

> paulumque egressus <u>Echion</u>
> invenit obscura gemitus in valle trahentem
> clam iuvenem et caesi maerentem <u>nomen</u> amici.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.134–6)

And <u>Echion</u>, having gone a little way off, finds a youth in a hidden vale, secretly drawing in groans and mourning the <u>name</u> of his slain friend.

> atque celer terras regemque exquirit <u>Echion</u>
> dicta ferens lectos (fama est si <u>nominis</u> umquam)
> Haemoniae subiisse viros, det litora fessis.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.734–6)

And swift <u>Echion</u> asks after the lands and king, bringing news that the chosen men of (if a <u>name</u> ever possesses fame) Haemonia were drawing near, let him grant his shores to the weary.

> contra venit Arcas <u>Echion</u>
> dicta ferens iam Circaeis Mavortis in agris
> stare virum, daret aeripedes in proelia tauros.
> . . .
> pars et <u>Echionii</u> subeunt immania dentis
> semina, pars diri portant grave robur aratri.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 7.543–5, 554–5)

Arcadian <u>Echion</u> comes before him, bringing news that already the man is standing in the Circaean fields of Mars, that he should send forth the bronze-footed bulls into battle. . . . And some shoulder the immense seeds of the <u>Echionian</u> tooth, some bear the heavy oak of the dread plow.

This triple juxtaposition is unlikely to be coincidental, especially as the first appearance of Echion (echoed by the second) occurs at the beginning of an episode that we have seen to be highly concerned with identity and names,[555] while the ethnic *Arcas* (7.543) applied to Echion in the third instance makes clear his distinction from the Theban Echion at the same time as the

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the Sicyonian Asopus, the confusion arising from a dichotomy in the literary-mythological tradition. (Valerius, despite his marked faithfulness to Apollonius in this passage, omits any mention of Sinope's father, VF 5.108–12.)

[555] See pp. 110ff.

nearby homonym blurs the issue.[556] The Theban Echion does not appear at all in the narrative until Book 7, first mentioned in a simile as the father of Pentheus (7.301); once he does appear, he begins to reclaim the use of his name from the Argonaut Echion.

Valerius's use of the adjective *Echionius* to refer to the Colchian dragon's teeth is somewhat out of place—the warriors born from them are Echion's cousins (or perhaps brothers), not his descendants.[557] Because this use of *Echionius* for the Colchian dragon-teeth is apparently unique to Valerius, there must be motivation behind this particular epithet.[558] I would argue that the coincidence of name is the primary reason, which also then connects with the highlighting of Echion's name through the false etymology of *echo* and pertains to the otherwise unexplained transferred role of herald from Aethalides to Echion.[559]

Numerous other Argonauts share their names with figures from mythology—both minor and major figures, both within the epic and outside of it—and we can only consider the importance of these homonyms on a case-by-case basis.[560] The Argonauts who have homonyms within the epic are Polyphemus, Argus, Zetes, possibly Idmon,[561] Ancaeus, Iphiclus (these latter two sharing their name with another Argonaut), and, as I shall argue, Iphis. Polyphemus is homonymous with the famous Cyclops, and each is named once—in the vocative—within Valerius's narrative (the Argonaut at 1.457, the Cyclops at 4.107). Of the two, the Cyclops takes precedence for time on stage, as he also appears (anonymously) on the Argo's hull, calling to the fleeing Galatea (*Siculo revocat de litore Cyclops*, "the Cyclops calls her back from the Sicilian shore," 1.136), whereas the Argonaut appears nowhere else in the epic. This is in contrast to Apollonius's Polyphemus, who is abandoned with Heracles in Mysia and plays a not-insignificant role in the episode of Hylas's disappearance.[562] Within the tradition, Polyphemus's Cyclopian homonym seems, to some extent, to be conflated with his Argonautic self—both Euphorion and the historian Socrates of Argos purportedly made the Argonaut's

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[556] Valerius's description of Echion as one who *verba reddit* (1.440) may highlight the similarity between his name and the word *echo* (see p. 112, n. 534). Echion's name would therefore literally echo itself and the other Echion each time it appears, in a sort of *mise en abyme.* Braswell (1988) 260 *ad Pyth.* 4.179(a) suggests that Pindar (and presumably any Greek-speaker?) would have connected Echion's name with ἔχις "snake," which was presumably the real etymology of the Theban Echion's name. VF 4.734–5 seems to contain a similar etymology to VF 1.440; Echion at line-end is juxtaposed with *dicta ferens* at line-beginning, followed by *fama est si nominis umquam* (and the collocation *Echion / dicta ferens* is repeated at 7.543–4).

[557] Apollonius explains as the origin of Aeetes' dragon-teeth (AR 3.1176–90) a story which Valerius seems to take as given in his narrative, that after Cadmus had killed the dragon at Thebes, Athena had taken half of the teeth and given them to Aeetes.

[558] Elsewhere, the adjective occurs once as part of a periphrasis for the Argonaut Echion himself (*Echionio lacerto*, Ov. *Met.* 8.345), but apart from that it is exclusively applied to various aspects of Thebes' city and her people: once in Vergil (*Aen.* 12.515), once in Horace (*Od.* 4.4.64), once in Ovid (*Tr.* 5.5.53), once in Lucan (*BC* 6.357), and thirteen times in Statius.

[559] See p. 112, n. 535.

[560] Argonauts who share their names with figures that do not appear in the epic could be important but are not definitively so; I shall only discuss those who have homonyms within the epic. See p. 116, n. 553 for a partial listing of Argonauts who have homonyms exclusively outside the epic.

[561] The reading of the name at 3.167 is Idmon or Hidmon, but scholars conjecture that this must be a scribal error.

[562] This metaphorical disappearance of the Argonaut Polyphemus from Valerius's text, contrasted with the real disappearance of Polyphemus from Apollonius's text, may represent exactly that divergent tradition, also marked in the *si venias* of Polyphemus's catalogue notice.

father Poseidon, rather than Eilatos.[563] Socrates of Argos additionally made Polyphemus, rather than Heracles, the lover of Hylas.[564] Hunter also points out that the pair of Theocritus's *Idylls* addressed to Nicias on the subject of *eros*, one involving the Cyclops Polyphemus and the other Heracles and Hylas's disappearance, may subtly speak to the two branches of this tradition.[565]

Like Polyphemus, the ship's builder Argus shares his name with a famous mythological monster who is also named within the epic, in this case the many-eyed guardian of the cow Io. He also shares his name with one of Phrixus's sons, and this latter homonymity presents a standard mythological confusion as to which of them actually built and gave his name to the Argo.[566] The potential ambiguity between them only surfaces once in Valerius's epic, in the war at Colchis, where the brief *aristeia* of an Argus (named at 6.553) leaves open the question of exactly which Argus the poet is referring to. It is probably the son of Phrixus, as he and his brothers (*proles Aeetia Phrixi*, 6.542) have just been mentioned as showing their prowess to the Greeks and Colchians. However, Argus's killing of three of Perses' allies is preceded by Jason's killing of two, and the next several of Aeetes' allies mentioned are Argonauts (Calais, Eurytus, and Nestor), so this could just as easily be the Argonaut Argus. The slight ambiguity may well be intentional.[567]

The epic's final Argus, the monstrous guardian of Io, does not cause issues of confusion with the other two, just as there is no real uncertainty in Valerius as to which Polyphemus is which. Within the tradition, however, just as in the case of Polyphemus, there is a certain amount of genealogical and narrative ambiguity between the Argi. We have seen already that the building and naming of the Argo causes some confusion. The father of Argus—an issue entirely avoided by Valerius through careful use of his town's name in lieu of a patronymic—is given by Apollonius as Arestor (AR 1.112), but according to Ovid this was the father of Io's guardian (*Arestoridae servandam tradidit Argo*, "[Juno] handed her over to Arestor's son Argus

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[563] τὸν Πολύφημον Ἐλάτου παῖδα εἶπεν Ἀπολλώνιος. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ Εὐφορίων Ποσειδῶνος ("Apollonius said that Polyphemus was the child of Elatus. But Socrates and Euphorion, that of Poseidon," Σ at AR 1.40).

[564] Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Εἰδόθεόν φησι τὸν Ὕλαν ἐρώμενον Πολυφήμου, καὶ οὐχ Ἡρακλέους, γενέσθαι ("Socrates, in his *On the Image of Gods*, said that Hylas was the beloved of Polyphemus, and not of Heracles," Σ at AR 1.1207).

[565] Hunter (1993) 39n120.

[566] Argus is also the ship's namesake, although *which* Argus is a matter of debate in the tradition. Hunter (1993) 125 asserts that "the usual version" in Apollonius's day adhered to the tradition that the Argo was named after Phrixus's son Argus (Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 106 and Ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16§110 preserve this version). He observes that "Wilamowitz . . . believed that Apollonius invented this second Argos; this is perhaps unlikely, although he may here have innovated with relative freedom within existing traditions." Gantz (1996) 343, by contrast, believes that Apollonius's Argus was the more traditional builder and points out that the scholia seem to distinguish between "the Argos who built the Argo" (Ἄργου τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος, Σ *ad* AR 1.4) and Pherecydes' "Argos son of Phrixus." At any rate, an informed reader would certainly know of all these variants no matter what their origin. Initially, however, such alternatives are outwardly suppressed in Valerius. On Valerius's covert allusion to these and other alternative etymologies of the Argo, see Keith (2008) 235–8. (For Catullus's equally suppressed allusions to the Argo's competing etymologies, which presumably influenced Valerius, see Thomas [1982].)

[567] Ahl (1985) 318–19, on the homonymity of Argus in Apollonius's epic: "People who meet their doubles may afterwards disappear. ARGus the ARGonaut, who had been sailing east, vanishes from Apollonius' epic shortly after his encounter with ARGus, the son of Phrixus, who is sailing west." In Valerius, rather than vanishing, the two seem almost to merge into one. Galli (2010) actually argues for an identification of the two, based on a putatively shared Boeotian origin. I think there may be hints of this, but I do not agree with their complete assimilation.

for safekeeping," 1.624). Other traditions give him other fathers, of course,[568] but the attestation of Ovid for this variant and of Apollonius for the same Arestor as the father of the Argonaut Argus makes Valerius's silence on the issue more suspicious.[569]

Apart from Echion, Polyphemus, and Argus, no Argonaut shares his name with another well-known, non-Argonautic mythological figure who is actually mentioned in the text.[570] There are, however, a few other circumstances of nominal confusion and conflation. To begin with, Ancaeus and Iphiclus are doubled within the Argonautic crew. In the case of Iphiclus, the ambiguities revolve more around which Iphiclus is actually aboard the ship than which Iphiclus is referred to at a given point,[571] since neither appears outside the Catalogue, but Ancaeus does appear outside of the catalogue—the main question is which. Both Ancaei are diminished characters compared to their Apollonian counterparts, and although an Ancaeus appears several times, it is only through intertextual cross-referencing that the reader is able to determine which Ancaeus is which, particularly when Ancaeus kills two figures in the Cyzicene war at 3.138ff. At the first mention of Ancaeus here, it is not clear which of the pair—son of Lycurgus or son of Neptune—Valerius intends. However, in Book 1, Ancaeus had sacrificed an ox; Valerius commented there that *non illo certior alter / pinguia letifera perfringere colla bipenni* ("no other was more sure than he at breaking through fatty necks with the death-dealing double axe," 1.191–2). This description, too, would be ambiguous between the two Ancaei, except it points to Apollonius's description of Lycurgus's son Ancaeus:

> βῆ δ' ὅγε Μαιναλίης ἄρκτου δέρος ἀμφίτομόν τε
> δεξιτερῇ πάλλων πέλεκυν μέγαν· ἔντεα γάρ οἱ
> πατροπάτωρ Ἀλεὸς μυχάτῃ ἐνέκρυψε καλιῇ,
> αἴ κέν πως ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἐρητύσειε νέεσθαι.
> <div align="center">(Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1.168–71)</div>

> And he [Ancaeus] came wearing the skin of a Maenalian bear and brandishing a great double-cutting axe in his right hand; for his grandfather Aleos hid his weapons tucked way away in a nook, in case somehow he might still prevent him from going.

Therefore, the axe-bearing Ancaeus must be Lycurgus's son, but Valerius further confuses the issue in the next line. At first reading, *ipse ter aequoreo libans carchesia patri* ("himself pouring

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[568] Ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.2§4, 2.1.3§6. Io's guardian Argus is generally distinguished by the epithet *Panoptes*, as his body was covered with eyes.

[569] Galli (2010) believes that Valerius's silence is due to a learned assimilation of Argus to the son of Phrixus (see n. 567).

[570] Many share their names with figures not mentioned in the text, but those associations are potentially arbitrary.

[571] In addition to the numerous Argonauts whom Valerius inherits from Apollonius or other Argonautic authors, there are a few whom Valerius creates out of his own imagination or alters so far from their conceivable parallels in Apollonius that they must be perceived as entirely new. One newly-minted Valerian pair of brothers is Clymenus and Iphiclus. In Apollonius, there is a similarly-named pair, Clytius and Iphitus, the latter of whom is homonymous with another Argonaut; and there are two Argonauts called Iphiclus, one the maternal uncle of Jason and the other the maternal uncle of Meleager. By replacing Clytius and Iphitus with Clymenus and Iphiclus, Valerius abolishes one homonymous pair (Iphitus) and retains another (Iphiclus). At the same time, he alters the identity of one Iphiclus: Valerius includes the uncle of Jason in the Catalogue of Argonauts (although he appears nowhere else in the epic, his advisory role being partially transferred to the still-young Nestor), but the Iphiclus who is the brother of Clymenus is not clearly the uncle of Meleager, although scholars do generally interpret him this way.

three libations to the watery father," VF 1.193) seems as though it should continue to refer to Ancaeus, and therefore *aequoreo patri* would mark this Ancaeus as Neptune's son; however, it turns out that *ipse* points forward to *Aesonides*, thus allowing Ancaeus to be Lycurgus's son after all, who is, as a result, subsequently marked out as the bearer of a *bipennis*.

This *bipennis* may or may not again come into play here in Book 3, depending on textual emendation.[572] If we read *duplicata* at 3.140, the ambiguity of Ancaeus's identity vanishes when sudden emphasis is laid on the very doubled nature of Telecoon's death:

> elatae propius succedere dextrae
> Telecoonta sinit duplicataque ora securi
> disiecit cervice tenus.
>
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.139–41)

> He allows Telecoon to come nearer to his raised right hand and splits apart his face with his
> two-fold axe, right down to the neck.

However, the manuscripts do not read *duplicata*, instead providing *delicata*, which Spaltenstein notes begins with a cretic and is therefore an impossible reading.[573] He follows Bailey and Ehlers in supplying *librata* for perceived lack of a better alternative,[574] rejecting *duplicata* on the grounds that it would mean a double blow, not the blow of a double axe (and therefore the comparison with Ancaeus's *bipennis* in Book 1 is irrelevant).[575] However, he also notes the similarity to two passages of the *Aeneid* (9.749ff, 12.306) and a passage from each of the other Flavian poets (Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 4.239, Stat. *Theb.* 8.488). Hardie has discussed the first *Aeneid* passage as a prominent locus of disastrous duality in the epic, noting its clear imitation by Statius.[576] Although a reading of *librata* would correspond with the Statius passage, which is certainly an argument in its favor, each of these passages contains at least two words of doubling or division, while Valerius's barely has one (*disiecit*, 3.141) without reading *duplicata*.[577] In Vergil, the doubling is thematically troublesome, as it is part of the concept that "duality leads to disaster";[578] here, the doubling (if correct) would in some ways serve as a solution rather than a problem—the double blow of Ancaeus's double axe, as in Book 1, distinguishes between an otherwise ambiguous homonymous pair of figures.

Homonymity can also provoke distressing uncertainty for the reader. In the war at Colchis, Boreas's son Calais has a brief moment of glory in which he kills three of Perses' allies (6.557–68); two (Barisas and Ripheus) are slain within the space of two lines, but then five lines are taken up by a description of Ripheus. One more figure, Peucon, falls, evidently also slain by Calais, and the fifth line of his six-line description echoes Calais' second victim ten lines earlier:

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[572] See Spaltenstein (2002) 100 *ad* 1.191 for discussion of which Ancaeus is the bearer of the *bipennis*. See below for discussion of the MS corruption.

[573] Spaltenstein (2004) 49–50 *ad* 3.138.

[574] Spaltenstein (2004) 50 *ad* 3.138. Liberman (1997) emends to *deducta*.

[575] Spaltenstein (2004) 49–50 *ad* 3.138: "*duplicata* . . . désignerait un coup redoublé, non celui d'une double hache."

[576] Hardie (1993a) 61, 70n10. Additionally, the killer of the first *Aeneid* passage is Turnus, while here in the *Argonautica* Nestor prevents Ancaeus from stripping off the belt of his victim, thus preventing him from becoming a second Turnus.

[577] Verg. *Aen.* 9.749ff: *mediam, gemina* (9.750); *dividit* (9.751); *aequis* (9.754); *Aen.* 12.306ff: *mediam* (12.308); *discissit* (12.308); Stat. *Theb.* 8.486ff: *puer . . . puer* (8.486); *bipennis* (8.487); *finduntur utroque* (8.488); *dividui* (8.489); Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 4.238ff: *mediam* (4.238); *divisum* (4.239).

[578] Hardie (1993a) 61.

Riphea (6.558) is recalled by *ripas* (6.568), thus renewing the opening of this *aristeia*.[579] Three more lines intervene, and suddenly Zetes falls in combat—at first glance, given the extended focus on Calais and his victims, this must be Calais' own twin.[580] It cannot be, of course, as the reader must realize on reflection—Zetes is fated to die with his brother at the hands of Hercules (as Apollonius makes clear and Valerius intimates).[581] But not only is the Argonaut Zetes replaced with a homonymous doppelgänger, it is not even entirely clear on which side of the combat this second Zetes was fighting.[582] His killer, Daraps, is mentioned nowhere else— unless he is the Daraps whom Valerius mentioned as *not* being present among Perses' allies, having sent Datis in his place while he nurses a wound.[583] The uncertainty of his identity and alliance reinforces the inherent confusion of the Colchian civil war, in addition to surrounding the false Zetes' death with ambiguity. By creating this homonym, who seems just barely to escape dying at the hands of Calais (by a scant three lines), Valerius evokes but avoids direct fratricide.

The same sort of effect *may* be true of Idmon in the earlier war at Cyzicus. This depends entirely on how much credit we give to the manuscripts, but I shall make an argument that will hold true *if* we wish to retain the manuscript reading of Idmon or Hidmon at 3.167 (and perhaps will, in its implications, argue for retention of the manuscript reading).[584] Hercules kills a figure named (H)idmon; as with Zetes in the war at Colchis, the automatic assumption is that this is the Argonaut. The poet does nothing to correct this assumption, in fact furthering the misguided reader's horror: Hercules announces that his weapon is responsible for the man's death (*'occumbes et nunc,' ait, 'Herculis armis,'* "'And now,' he said, 'you will succumb to Hercules' weapons,'" 3.169), and his opponent shudders and "recognized

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[579] Given Valerius's penchant for sonic repetition (see p. 107, n. 511), this echo is an unobjectionable link.

[580] Loehbach wanted to transpose 6.572–74 after 6.554 (see Wijsman [2000] 221 *ad* 6.572), which would place "Zetes" and Calais back-to-back. Intriguing as this would be thematically, no modern editors follow his suggestion, but everyone puts in their oar regarding the name Zetes. Fucecchi (1997) 173: "se il testo non è corrotto . . . può trattarsi del fratello di Calais . . . oppure di un omonimo indigeno della Colchide." Baier (2001) 234: "Zetes dürfte kaum der gleichnamige Argonaut sein, da die ruhmlose Art seines Todes einem so bekannten Helden unangemessen ist. Auch hier scheint VF einen Colcher beliebig benannt zu haben, oder die Überlieferung hat den Namen verfälscht." Spaltenstein (2005) 168–9: "Il reste que ce nom de Zétès est surprenant: on peut penser que Val. s'amuse à faire écho à la mise en scène de Calaïs dans les vers précédents en évoquant ainsi indirectement son frère, et la fuite de ce Zétès pourrait aussi faire allusion à celle du Zétès fils de Borée, quand Hercule les poursuivra . . . , comme autant de traits ingénieux."

[581] Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.1302–8; Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.524–5. *RE* 10A, 240.34–55 gives several accounts of the Boreads' death, but always at the hands of Heracles.

[582] Fucecchi and Baier believe that Zetes is a Colchian; Wijsman seems to agree (although he seems uncertain whether Zetes dies at all, in which case perhaps this *is* the Argonaut). Spaltenstein (2005) 168 *ad* 6.572 thinks he must be one of Perses' allies and that his killer, Daraps, belongs to Aeetes' army: "Daraps doit être un allié d'Éétès, puisque Val. semble décrire ici des succès des Colques." Latagus (Daraps's other victim) is the name of one of the Colchians pointed out to Jason by Aeetes during the banquet in Book 5 (5.602), and we may assume that this is the same figure (*contra* Spaltenstein); although as his companion in death is the apparent homonym of an Argonaut, and his killer arguably ought not to be in the field at all, who is to say what name is a sure marker of identity? Other evidence is the adversative *at* (6.572), implying that the triumphant Daraps is on the other side of the fighting from those just mentioned.

[583] *Datin Achaemeniae gravior de vulnere pugnae / misit in arma Daraps* (6.65–6). Poortvliet (1991b) cites the second mention of a Daraps as evidence that Valerius never managed to complete his epic, believing the absent and present Daraps to be a single individual.

[584] Thilo changed the name to "Admon," which Spaltenstein (2004) 58 *ad* 3.167 notes is an entirely arbitrary choice; Heinsius recorded the presence of a marginal note "Agmon" in a Venetian MS, for which Liberman posits "Acmon."

the **friendly** name" (*horruit . . . nomenque agnovit* **amicum**, 3.171). Even without the confusion of Idmon's name, the bonds of *xenia* between Hercules and his victim are made clear, but in this near-civil war in the confusing darkness, it is entirely plausible that Hercules would kill one of his Argonautic comrades, just as the Dioscuri will mistake each other's identity fifteen lines later.[585] Here, Valerius draws out the suspense for a while. The reader retains his belief that Hercules has killed the prophet Idmon for another four lines, through the build-up to the death of Ornytus, and suddenly Idmon himself is present, appearing from far away (*procul advenit Idmon*, 3.175) and wearing Ornytus's own guest-gift (reinforcing the theme of *xenia*), to kill the Cyzican. Idmon's name, delayed until the end of the line, comes as a welcome shock. This false encounter between Hercules and Idmon will also increase the reader's worry when presented with the averted fratricide between Castor and Pollux, now just ten lines off, as it seems like this will have to be the point at which two Argonauts really do come to blows. Again, shared names can cause distressing uncertainty.

Seemingly distinct names can also cause the reader uncertainty. At the end of the rowing contest (VF 3.470–80) that results in the Argonauts' detour to Mysia comes an often-noticed problem in Valerius's description of Hercules sprawling over his comrades.[586] I hope, by illuminating another aspect of Valerius's nominal play, to explain the apparent disparities between the order of rowers in this scene and the order of rowers given in the Catalogue.

The victims of Hercules' misplaced strife during the rowing contest are Talaus, Eribotes, Amphion, and Iphitus.[587] Although it is unclear in which of the two rows each of the named individuals is placed,[588] it is certain that (in accordance with the Catalogue) Talaus, Eribotes, and Amphion are all named in order of their relative distance from Hercules. They are also placed on alternating sides of the vessel. Iphitus, named last, is the outlier, sitting nearer to Hercules than Amphion (and possibly than Eribotes) and on the same side as two of the three other rowers. However, Iphitus is addressed in the vocative, and this puts us in mind of another, similarly named, Argonaut who not only received an apostrophe in the Catalogue but is sometimes actually called Iphitus in the tradition: Iphis.

Iphis is barely known outside of Valerius, and his inclusion in the epic may be an

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[585] See pp. 142ff.

[586] See, e.g., Kleywegt (1988) 356–7, Spaltenstein (2002) 153 *ad* 1.353, Spaltenstein (2004) 143 *ad* 3.475—although Spaltenstein, for one, does not worry about the discrepancy, thinking it unlikely that Valerius had actually made up a plan of the Argo with the names of the rowers.

[587] Valerius's Hercules, like Apollonius's Heracles, is a problematic element of discord in an otherwise unified Argonautic crew (cf. Hunter [1993] 15–45), especially as the immediate result of his action is to unbalance the equal rowing of the Argo.

[588] There is great dispute over which side of the ship Valerius begins with in the Catalogue of Argonauts, depending partially on the transposition of 1.403–10. In short, the various arguments run as follows. If Valerius begins his enumeration with Telamon's side and the transmitted line-order is kept, there are only nineteen rowers to port but twenty-three to starboard, presenting an obvious problem. (Spaltenstein [2002] 152–3 *ad* 1.353, 158 *ad* 1.358 sees no compelling reason for numerical consistency, but *it pariter propulsa ratis* [1.494] strongly suggests to me the inherent equality of the ship's complement of oars.) The two solutions are to transpose 1.403–10 to before 1.382, effectively moving Peleus and Menoetius to the other side of the ship (a transposition proposed by Kennerknecht), or to understand the catalogue as beginning with Hercules' side, in which case *quin etiam* (1.387) in Tydeus's catalogue notice is a marker of continuation, not alteration (an argument first expounded by Kramer). See Kleywegt (1988) 355–9 and (2005) 203–4, 224, 227–8 for arguments in favor of the manuscript tradition and of Kramer's explanation of numerical consistency in beginning with Hercules' row; see Zissos (2008) 258 *ad* 1.403–10, 263 *ad* 1.387 for arguments in favor of Kennerknecht's transposition.

excellent example of Valerius's proposed familiarity with the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius.[589] The scholia at AR 4.223–30a mention an Iphis, son of Sthenelus and brother of Eurystheus (Heracles' labor-setter), who died at the hands of Aeetes. They attribute this information to Dionysius the Milesian.[590] Diodorus Siculus gives a very similar account (4.48.4) but calls the Argonaut *Iphitus*, rather than Iphis, thus adding a third possible Iphitus-homonym to the pan-tradition group of Argonauts.[591] I submit that Valerius's address to Iphis in the Catalogue actually plays with this alternative set of traditions: *non Iphi tuis* (VF 1.441) sounds remarkably close to *non Iphitus.* Indeed, at one point the text was apparently even read as *Iphitus* rather than *Iphi tuis.*[592]

The connection, I believe, is furthered in the events of the rowing contest. Iphis' catalogue notice (*sed non, Iphi, tuis Argo reditura lacertis . . . cessantemque tuo lugebit in ordine remum*, 1.441–3) finds a certain echo in the address to Iphitus here following Hercules' somersault (*inque tuo posuit caput, Iphite, transtro*, 3.480). Both passages have *tuo* immediately before the primary caesura (also corresponding with *tuis* in the first line of Iphis' notice), both apostrophize the relevant Argonaut, and both take as their focus the row in which Iphis or Iphitus sits. Here, Iphis would be the expected name, both in position and in textual echo; Valerius again foils the reader's expectation at the last second, inserting the alternate name from the tradition and therefore indicating a different Argonaut entirely.[593] As though the direct result of Hercules' problematic strife, the entire physical framework of the boat is called into question, wreaking havoc with the names, placement, and identities of the Argonauts in the same way that Apollonius's Heracles threatened the very integrity of the Argo herself (ἐτίνασσε δ' ἀρηρότα δούρατα νηός, "he shook the fitted planks of the ship," AR 1.1163).[594]

The preceding examples have been homonymous but separate characters; the conflation of homonymous figures from mythology occurs as well. An important syncretism made by Valerius is the identification of Hypsipyle's father Thoas with the human-sacrificing king of the Taurians. It seems to be Valerius's innovation, found only here and in Hyginus (*fabb.* 15, 120), whose dates are perennially uncertain.[595] Poortvliet remarks that "according to Immisch (Roscher 5.814.42ff.), this mythopoeia goes back to Sophocles' Chryses, and Preller–Robert (2.3.854, n.4) hold that Valerius was preceded by Euripides in his Hypsipyle, but there is not a

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[589] See, e.g., Summers (1894) 15–17, Bessone (1991), Cameron (2004) 63–4; also see Galli (2007) for a reasonable survey on the current state of scholarship on this matter.

[590] *FGrH* 32 F 10; Dionysius of Miletus and Dionysius of Mytilene (the latter is the "correct" ethnic) are generally identified with Dionysius Scytobrachion (cf. Rusten [1980]).

[591] In fairness, this is the only Iphitus that Diodorus names, just as the only Iphiclus he names (4.49.3) is the brother of Heracles. Since he is likely working with Dionysius as his source (Zissos [2008] xxiv; Rusten [1980]), it is difficult to know how to understand the name-change.

[592] See Burmann (1781), *s.v.* Iphys. Cf. Levitan (1993) on the Homeric recollection in Juno's first words in the *Aeneid.*

[593] Liberman (1997) 242n122 *ad* 3.480 suggests that Valerius nodded and confused Iphitus with Iphiclus; he prefers this to the suggestion that the MSS are incorrect, as *Iphiclus* could not actually stand metrically (Iphĭtus versus Iphīclus). For my part, I prefer to hypothesize elegant intentionality than to assume a careless mistake.

[594] Here in Valerius, we may imagine Hercules ricocheting back and forth across the sides of the Argo, until he finally comes to a stop with his head on Iphi(tu)s's bench. In doing so, he completely destroys the careful discrimination between the vessel's sides.

[595] Cameron (2004) 11 concludes that since ps-Dositheus copied some excerpts from the *Genealogiae* of Hyginus in AD 207, calling it "a work 'known to all,'" the original work of Hyginus "must have been published some while before 207." The version that still survives is over a millennium younger than the text viewed by ps-Dositheus; there is really still no way to judge the original date of Hyginus.

shred of evidence for either of these suppositions."[596] If Valerius really did innovate this conflation of identities, or even if he is following a rare tradition, it speaks strongly to his predilection for homonymous confusion, which is, additionally, entirely in keeping with the tendencies of Greek mythology to confuse and conflate.[597]

Seeing Double

I turn now from characters who share names to characters who share roles. The vatic surplus created by the presence of two prophets, Mopsus and Idmon, aboard the Argo has long been recognized as the probable result of a concatenation of two Argonautic traditions, one celebrating the oracular agency (and perhaps primacy) of Dodona, and the other of Delphi.[598] Apollonius, who may himself have been responsible for the fusion of the two prophetic traditions,[599] expunges nearly all traces of a connection between Mopsus and Dodona and identifies him as an Apolline prophet:

> ἤλυθε δ' αὖ Μόψος Τιταρήσιος, ὃν περὶ πάντων
> Λητοΐδης ἐδίδαξε θεοπροπίας οἰωνῶν·
> (Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.65–6)

And Titaresian Mopsus came, whom Leto's son taught prophecies concerning all birds.

While Parke sees Mopsus's original Dodonean affiliation in his geographical epithet,[600] within Apollonius's text, as in that of Valerius, the Argo herself is the only prophet of Dodona.[601] In addition to affiliating Mopsus with Apollo, Apollonius explicitly makes Idmon both the prophet and son of Apollo:

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[596] Poortvliet (1991a) 175 *ad* 2.300ff.

[597] The conflation of the two Thoases would also distantly connect Hypsipyle (and her father) with the Colchians through the version of the Taurian sacrifice preserved in Diodorus Siculus (4.44.7–45.3), who records that the sacrifice was instituted by Aeetes' niece and wife, Hecate, herself the daughter of none other than Helios's second son Perses.

[598] Mopsus possibly originally represented the Dodonean claim and Idmon the Delphic claim, for which see Parke (1967) 13–15, 41; Matthews (1977) 197, 200. See also Dräger (1998) 206–11 and (2004) 34–5, noting, e.g., the double consultation of Jason at Delphi and Dodona (VF 3.299–303).

[599] See Matthews (1977) 197.

[600] Parke (1967) 14–15: "Of the two [prophets] Mopsus is definitely connected with Dodona. His birth is traditionally associated with the river Titaressos which was . . . grouped with Dodona in the Homeric Catalogue [*Il.* 2.748–54]." It is worth noting that Parke's association of Titaressos and Dodona (pp. 5–6) employs a somewhat circular logic, but none of it seems truly outrageous.

[601] In Valerius, the spirit of the Argo appears to Jason (in partial imitation of the Penates' visit to Aeneas at *Aen.* 3.147ff) and proclaims her prophetic allegiance to Dodona (VF 1.301–8). Apollonius notes the Argo's Dodonean origins twice (1.527, 4.583), the second time in the context of the ship's prophetic utterance (AR 4.580–5). Parke (1967) 35 and 44n4 also observes a connection between the Dodonean dove and Phineus's suggestion that the Argonauts follow a dove through the Clashing Rocks. This is entirely plausible, but I also wonder at a possible connection between the dove (πέλεια) and the tyrant Pelias—or between all three. The *Etymologicum Magnum* connects Pelias with doves through a "blackness" word: πέλεια . . . ἐτυμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τὸ πέλαν, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ μέλαν. . . . καὶ γὰρ πέλλην λέγουσι βοῦν, τὸν τοιοῦτο χρῶμα ἔχοντα· καὶ Πέλλη, πόλις Μακεδονίας, ὅτι βοῦς αὐτὴν εὗρε, πέλλη τὸ χρῶμα· καὶ ὁ Πελίας, ὄνομα ("'dove (*péleia*)' derives from *pélan*, which means black (*mélan*). . . . And they also say that an ox that has such a color is dusky (*péllē*); and Pelle, the city of Macedonia, [derives from it] because an ox that had dusky (*péllē*) skin found it; and also the name Pelias," 659K, *s.v.* πέλεια).

Ἴδμων δ' ὑστάτιος μετεκίαθεν ὅσσοι ἔναιον
Ἄργος, ἐπεὶ δεδαὼς τὸν ἑὸν μόρον οἰωνοῖσιν   140
ἤιε, μή οἱ δῆμος εὐκλείης ἀγάσαιτο·
οὐ μὲν ὅγ' ἦεν Ἄβαντος ἐτήτυμον, ἀλλά μιν αὐτός
γείνατο κυδαλίμοις ἐναρίθμιον Αἰολίδῃσιν
Λητοΐδης, αὐτὸς δὲ θεοπροπίας ἐδίδαξεν
οἰωνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἠδ' ἔμπυρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι.   145
(Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.139–45)

And Idmon came last of all among all those dwelling at Argos, since even though he had learned
his fate from the birds, he went along so that people would not wonder if he deserved his heroic
renown. He was not in fact the true son of Abas, but Leto's own son fathered him to be
numbered among the glorious Aeolidae, and he himself taught him prophecies and how to
reckon the birds and understand signs within the fire.

Valerius imitates Apollonius in this but moves the primary description of Idmon out of his
postponed catalogue and into the earlier passage of the competing prophecies (VF 1.205–39).[602]
This passage, as Zissos has shown, encapsulates the *Argonautica*'s structural dichotomy,
as "Valerius ingeniously exploits the vatic 'surplus' offered by the literary tradition in order to
give expression to the duality inherent in the received *Argonautica* myth."[603] In place of
Idmon's lone prophecy in Apollonius, here Mopsus and Idmon deliver back-to-back and
seemingly contradictory prophecies to the Argonauts. The sequence of the passage is typically
Valerian, in that it appears to begin very much like its Apollonian model (AR 1.425–49) with the
sacrifice of bulls to the gods of the sea (VF 1.188–206) but suddenly veers wildly in a different
direction, here indicated by *ecce* (VF 1.207).[604] The surprise twist is not the arrival of a prophet
on the scene, which is prefigured by Idmon's prophecy in Apollonius (AR 1.436–47), but the
arrival of *Mopsus*, who bursts into the picture in a disarray of vatic inspiration:[605]

ecce sacer totusque dei per litora Mopsus
immanis visu vittamque comamque per auras
surgentem laurusque rotat. vox reddita tandem,
vox horrenda viris. tum facta silentia vati.   210
(Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.207–10)

Behold! Mopsus along the shore, holy and entirely possessed of the god, huge to see, and he
whirls his fillet and his hair rising through the breezes and his laurels. At last his voice returned,
a voice dreadful to men. Then silence was accomplished for the prophet.

As Zissos puts it, "after carefully matching Apollonius's build-up to Idmon's exposition,
Valerius foils intertextually-authorised expectation with Mopsus' sudden appearance."[606]
Mopsus's intrusive prophecy, furthermore, imports the language of tragedy into the epic, also

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[602] Direct correspondences with Apollonius's passage include Idmon's talents at pyromancy and bird-augury (VF
1.232–3) and his own death along the journey (VF 1.239).

[603] Zissos (2004b) 319. Most, but not all, of the surviving accounts include both prophets on the voyage.

[604] Valerius's tendency is to follow a given model in meticulous detail up to a point before "the poem abruptly
effaces the horizon of expectation that has been so scrupulously established in this textual sequence" (Zissos [2002]
75). In doing so, he can avail himself of both the rejected model and the resultant narrative.

[605] Mopsus imitates in some particulars the Cumaean Sibyl's prophetic madness at *Aeneid* 6.46–101, and even
more so the Pythia's frenzy at *Bellum Civile* 5.165–76.

[606] Zissos (2004b) 320.

highlighting key events to come.[607]

Mopsus's tragic and dismal interpretation of events is contrasted with Idmon's subsequent optimistic prophecy as he resumes his interrupted role as "intertextually-authorised" prophet. Idmon's prophecy and demeanor are positive and encouraging, properly "epic" in the heroic ideal. He provides no intimation of his or the Argonauts' future sufferings; in fact, where Apollonius's Idmon bravely revealed to the Argonauts' his own denied homecoming (AR 1.443–7), Valerius's Idmon omits mention of his early demise:

> 'quantum augur Apollo
> flammaque prima docet, praeduri plena laboris   235
> cerno equidem, patiens sed quae ratis omnia vincet.
> ingentes durate animae dulcesque parentum
> tendite ad amplexus!' lacrimae cecidere canenti
> quod sibi iam clausos invenit in ignibus Argos.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.234–9)

> "So much do augur Apollo and the first flame teach me: I do indeed perceive things full of exceptionally hard labor, but the enduring ship will overcome them all. Great souls, endure, and strive forth to the sweet embraces of your parents!" Tears fell for him as he sang, because he found in the flames that Argos was now closed to him.

It is only after Idmon has delivered his optimistic prophecy that he allows himself to mourn (privately) for his own death. Because of Idmon's silence concerning both his own death and the death of Jason's parents, Zissos has read Idmon's prophecy as "steeped in dramatic irony" and even "a sham,"[608] a perspective with which I do not fully concur. Certainly it is the case that Idmon's prophecy is teleologically tied to the medial boundary of the epic, its optimistic intimations of epic triumph coming to a close together with Idmon's own death and the closure of the first half;[609] whether this restriction of vision is exclusively positive or negative remains to be seen.[610]

Mopsus and Idmon's pair of prophecies, conflicting and even competing in their generic sensibilities and overtones,[611] provides an early and striking locus of doubling in Valerius's epic. The pairing serves a twin function in this, for not only does it signpost the epic's structural and generic division, but it literally doubles the single prophecy delivered in Apollonius, an obviously intentional alteration of what began as the exact same scene. The architectural significance of this "prophetic dual" is not, however, unique.[612]

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[607] For tragic language in the style of Seneca's *Medea*, see Zissos (2004b) 320n34. Mopsus's version of future events will prove in some cases not to be entirely accurate (for which see Malamud and McGuire [1993], Zissos [1999]). The key word *discrimina* (1.217) flags potential narrative discrepancies and loci of doubling as well as the more literal dangers which the Argonauts will face, such as the Clashing Rocks (which Mopsus does not explicitly mention).

[608] Zissos (2004a) 32.

[609] Zissos (2004b) 319–23.

[610] See pp. 140ff.

[611] Zissos (2004b) 321 points to *contra* (1.228) as a marker of the competitive element generated by the dissonance between the two prophecies.

[612] The term "prophetic dual" comes from Zissos (2004b) 319.

Two-Part Harmony

If Apollonius possibly innovated to bring Mopsus and Idmon together aboard the Argo, Valerius innovates to join more closely another set of figures. Tiphys and Argus, whom Valerius juxtaposes within his Catalogue of Argonauts (VF 1.477–83), are not listed together in Apollonius's Catalogue.[613] Argus does, however, play an incidental role in Tiphys's entry:

> Τῖφυς δ' Ἁγνιάδης Σιφαιέα κάλλιπε δῆμον
> Θεσπιέων, ἐσθλὸς μὲν ὀρινόμενον προδαῆναι
> κῦμ' ἁλὸς εὐρείης, ἐσθλὸς δ' ἀνέμοιο θυέλλας,
> καὶ πλόον ἠελίῳ τε καὶ ἀστέρι τεκμήρασθαι.
> αὐτή μιν Τριτωνὶς ἀριστήων ἐς ὅμιλον
> ὦρσεν Ἀθηναίη, μέγα δ' ἤλυθεν ἐλδομένοισιν·
> αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα θοὴν κάμε, σὺν δέ οἱ Ἄργος
> τεῦξεν Ἀρεστορίδης κείνης ὑποθημοσύνῃσι·
> τῶ καὶ πασάων προφερεστάτη ἔπλετο νηῶν
> ὅσσαι ὑπ' εἰρεσίῃσιν ἐπειρήσαντο θαλάσσης.
>
> <div align="right">(Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1.105–14)</div>

> And Hagnias's son Tiphys left the Siphaean people of Thespiae, good at predicting the aroused wave of the broad sea, and good at predicting gusts of wind and at steering his course by sun and by star. Tritonian Athena herself called him forth to the crowd of heroes, and he came to them greatly hoping for him. And she herself also built the swift ship, and with her Arestor's son Argos fashioned it by her counsels; and then it was the most excellent of all ships that sailed, so many as ever made trial of the sea with their oars.

In Apollonius, Tiphys hails from the town of Thespiae, and Argus's presence in his catalogue notice is linked solely to the manufacture of the Argo. In Valerius, however, not only Tiphys but Tiphys *and* Argus come from Thespiae.[614] This is evidently an innovation on Valerius's part,[615] and the repeated stress that Valerius puts on Argus's origins signals the importance of this innovation: Minerva flies down *in moenia Thespiaca* (VF 1.92–3) to find Argus and teach him how to build the ship; he is referred to as *Thespiades* during the actual construction (VF 1.124); and in the Catalogue he comes from *moenia Thespia* (VF 1.477–8). Tiphys, the only Argonaut to hail from Thespiae in the tradition, is also twice referred to as *Thespiades* (VF 2.368, 5.44).[616]

Tiphys, as helmsman, and Argus, as shipwright, must naturally work together to ensure the Argo's ability to function as a viable vessel, and their close association continues beyond the boundaries of the Catalogue: when the Argonauts depart Lemnos, Jason summons *Argum*

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[613] Tiphys's notice is at AR 1.105–14 while Argus is belatedly crammed together with Acastus at AR 1.224–7, the very end of the Catalogue.

[614] Whether this is the Thessalian or Boeotian Thespiae remains a matter of contention: the scholarly sides are clearly drawn in Galli (2010) 149.

[615] Zissos (2008) 135 *ad* 1.92–3: "No other ancient source . . . makes Argus a native of any Thespiae. . . . Various critics argue that VF has confused or conflated Argus and Tiphys, a native of Boeotian Thespiae. . . . This might have arisen from the proximity of the pair in AR's catalogue, or because both embody technological prowess." Whatever the inspiration, I believe that the association of Argus and Tiphys through their now-shared origin is absolutely intentional on Valerius's part, as I hope to show.

[616] The use at VF 2.368 requires some thought to determine which of the two it refers to, and they are mentioned in one breath just over twenty lines later. I believe that Argus is also relevant to the use at 5.44 (see pp. 136ff).

Tiphynque (VF 2.390) to make ready for the voyage. The very fact of their shared toponymic also serves to link them closely, and it is this nominal association that I wish to pursue more closely now. Tim Stover, in a recent article, makes a compelling argument that Argus's construction of the Argo (VF 1.121–9) is a representation of Valerius's own construction of his *Argonautica* and a programmatic declaration of his adherence to Callimachean poetics.[617] The metaphor of Valerius's Argo as the poetic craft has been previously recognized,[618] but Stover elucidates specific key terms of *doctrina* in the ship-building scene and shows, moreover, how Argus's dismantling of Pelion's old-growth forest and his refashioning of the timber into a new ship suggests Valerius's own process of reworking the extant Argonautic material into a new form.[619]

Valerius's only use of *Thespiades* to refer to Argus, as opposed to Tiphys, occurs within this ship-building scene. The name, whether patronymic or toponymic, is not much-attested in ancient literature. It occurs most frequently of Hercules' sons by the fifty daughters of King Thespius, himself the founder and namesake of the Boeotian town Thespiae.[620] As a plural, however, the same name usually refers to either the daughters of Thespius[621] or to the Muses,

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[617] Stover (2010). Marks (2010) 190–1 proposes that, for the Flavian poets, "Callimacheanism" implies a choice of mythological epic over historical epic. Since Valerius has already delivered a traditional *recusatio* of historical epic in the dedication to Vespasian (VF 1.12–14), it seems less likely that he is reiterating that same point here, and thus we may assume that a more "traditional" Callimacheanism is also operative for the Flavian poets.

[618] Davis (1989).

[619] Stover (2010) 642–3.

[620] Diod. Sic. 4.29.1–5; cf. Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 12.363–4. Diodorus Siculus mentions the presence of the sons of Thespius (τοὺς Θεσπίου παῖδας, 4.41.2) among the Argonauts, later reporting that "the Thespiadae, as they are called" (τοὺς Θεσπιάδας προσαγορευομένους, 4.48.5), were wounded at Colchis. There may be some relationship with Valerius's Thespiadae here, but it is difficult to ascertain exactly what; Diodorus's Thespiadae are presumably, in fact, a subset of Heracles' sons by the fifty daughters of Thespius. Statius's twin Thespiadae, who appear a handful of times in the *Thebaid*, may also be some of Hercules' numerous sons from this liaison. These identical twins, who could be influenced by Valerius's Thespiadae, recur possibly twice in Statius's narrative. At their first appearance (and death at the hands of Tydeus), one is named Periphas, the other left unnamed. When they reappear (*Theb.* 3.147–9), even their patronymic has been lost—they are now the sons of Ide, not the Thespiadae, but their circumstance betrays their identity. The third time they appear (9.292–5), they seem to have been reincarnated (one thinks of Masters's [(1992) 28] comment that in civil war "what falls rises again"), this time facing Hippomedon; and rather than killing them both, he worsens their fate, killing just one. Again, the unslain twin is named, but this time he is called Panemus. Is this Periphas's brother? Did Statius simply make a mistake and reuse the scene? Certainly Shackleton-Bailey (2003) 81n17 believes the repetition to be "doubtless an inadvertence." An intentional repetition is more likely, however, as Henderson (1998) 241–2 believes: "Statius will re-make this set-piece of set-pieces / in 'parapotamian', underwater transmogrification" (also see Hulls [2006]). Are these second Statian Thespiadae not the same as the first set but rather their cousins, suggesting that these Thespiadae are a subset of Hercules' innumerable offspring by the fifty daughters of Thespius (and therefore not a very precious commodity)? If so, then *nostris turribus aequis / Thespiadae* (*Theb.* 3.13–14) could almost imply *any* of Hercules' children, not just the two actually slain during the ambush of the previous book. The identification with Hercules' children is entirely possible, as some of the Thespiadae remained at Thebes after Iolaus took the rest to colonize Sardinia. Diodorus Siculus says only two remained (4.29.4), but in Statius's world of geminate Thespiads, that could easily equal four (or even more). According to ps-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.8§161 the eldest daughter of Thespius bore twins, and according to Pausanias 9.27.5 the eldest and youngest both did. Scholars on Statius, going back at least to Snijder (1968), seem to have propagated the idea that *all* Hercules' Thespiad sons were traditionally twins, but there is no obvious source for this.

[621] cf. [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 369–70.

who were associated with the town of Thespiae.[622] Valerius's choice to use this particular periphrasis of Argus, specifically in his role as poet-craftsman, as well as of Tiphys the helmsman, may have resonance with these more celebrated Thespiads.[623] An association with the Muses is appropriate for both the builder and the guide of this poetic craft.

Orpheus joins Argus (and Tiphys) in playing a poetically significant role. As the ur-*vates*, Orpheus can always be seen as a doublet for the poet, and this trope is certainly active in Apollonius's *Argonautika*, where Orpheus is the central poet-figure.[624] In Valerius's epic, Orpheus's power of song allows him to serve as entertainer and expositor of aetiological narratives,[625] but aboard the ship he has a more important function, which is advertised in the Catalogue (VF 1.470–3). He, together with Argus, is employed in ensuring the Argo's harmony and integrity.[626]

Argus's purpose on board is to prevent the ship from being rent asunder by the capricious ocean (1.477–80):

> Arge, tuae tibi cura ratis, te moenia doctum
> Thespia Palladio dant munere; sors tibi nequa
> **p**ar**t**e **t**raha**t t**aci**t**um **pupp**is mare **f**i**ss**aque **f**luctu
> vel pice vel molli conducere vulnera cera.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.477–80)

> Argus, yours is the care of your ship, the Thespian walls grant you, learned in Pallas's gift; yours the allotted task that the poop nowhere draw in the silent sea, and to lead back together the wounds, fissured by the flood, whether with pitch or soft wax.

The alliteration of 1.479 plays a role in reinforcing the need for Argus's task—the insidious sea does constantly try to creep in, the hard dentals repetitively beating apart the ship's gentler plosives, and its quiet hissing through the planks is echoed by the fricatives and sibilants of

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[622] Ov. *Met.* 5.310, Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 7.20, *RE* 6A:1, 60.51–61.2. There was a large cult of the Muses at Thespiae (see *RE* 6A:1, 45.20–47.66), which Varro gives as the probable reason for the name Thespiades (on analogy with the name Olympiades), but I also wonder whether there is an echo of θεσπίζω ("prophesy, foretell") to be heard.

[623] I do not agree with Galli (2010) that the purpose of Argus's town of origin is to imply that he is the son of Phrixus.

[624] Orpheus is paralleled in this role by Phineus and later displaced by Medea (see, e.g., Albis [1996] 28–31, Hunter [1993] 120–1: "the presence of Orpheus on the ship reinforces this sense that the poet is a 'fellow-traveller'"). For the Augustan *vates*, see Newman (1967). For subsequent poetic modifications and implementations of the *topos*, see O'Higgins (1988) on Lucan, Lovatt (2007) on Statius, and Casali (2006) and Marks (2010) on Silius Italicus's poet-warrior. The *vates* as persona in Valerius Flaccus has not yet received proper investigation, but Schubert (1998) has looked at the figure of Orpheus in the *Argonautica*, and Tim Stover is currently engaged in a project on the Valerian and Vespasianic *vates*.

[625] In particular, Orpheus sings the stories of Phrixus and Helle's voyage through the Hellespont (1.277–95) and Io's crossing of the Bosporus (4.346–422).

[626] I read an unspoken bilingual pun in Argus's and Orpheus's tasks. Argus, as shipwright, is ultimately responsible for the vessel's structural integrity, having fitted her planks together and thus imbued her with literal ἁρμονία (the well-fitting joins of a ship's planks). Orpheus is responsible for musical and social harmony, the primary meaning of Latin *harmonia* (agreement of sounds, concord), as his harmonious song keeps time for the rowers' strokes (1.470–2). It is also worth observing the the Muses were actually associated with ὁμονοία, or Latin *concordia* (see Barchiesi [1991]).

fissaque fluctu.[627] Argus's particular office, then, is to keep the ship completely intact, free from any divisive fissures.

Stover observes the strangeness of one element of the Argo's construction: in sawing trees into planks, Argus initially destroys (*dissolvere*, 1.123) the wood with which he will then build the ship, but *dissolvo* is more typically used of already-built ships, not timber, being broken apart. As Stover puts it, "it is as if previous instantiations of Argo must first be 'pulled apart' in order to yield the material to (re)build the ship anew."[628] Without Argus's constant attention, the Argo would disintegrate back into her component parts, whether pine, oak, and ash, or epic, tragedy, and elegy.[629] The enforced integrity of the Argo's hull, carefully maintained by Argus, allows the poem-ship to move as an intact unit through epic and real waters. However, she is at risk from the sea's powers of division in more ways than one.[630]

As the scene of her construction implies, the Argo is a symbolic instantiation of the epic itself, a metaliterary gesture on which Valerius insists in multiple ways. In addition to the Argo's "material" being sourced from multiple origins, the tensions of the epic's bipartite structure are reflected in the Argo's own physical composition, just as they will later be expressed through the dual prophecies of Mopsus and Idmon. Internally, the Argo is split by the precise bifurcation of the Argonauts along the Argo's medial axis;[631] externally, scenes of both concord and strife, encapsulating the two halves of the epic, are depicted on her two-sided hull as though in outward expression of her (or the epic's) internal dichotomy. On one side is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, presented as a temporary scene of harmony even if it will ultimately dissolve. On the other side, the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs also takes place in the context of a wedding—as the archetypal scene of heroic strife, this event marks a disruption of cosmic order but ultimately results in the triumph of civilization over disorder.[632] As with the ship's material composition, these ecphrastic scenes are metaliterary markers "emblematiz[ing] the hypertextual nature of Valerius' epic."[633] The juxtaposition of the paintings further illustrates the irreconcilable conflict built into the Argo and the tensions that are only restrained by Argus—and, as we shall see, by Orpheus. As the first half of the epic

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[627] The *p*- alliteration also refers the reader back to the passage in which Valerius described the ship's construction; there he mentioned the *non pervia ponto puppis* (1.127–8). Now he modifies that earlier assertion of impermeability—the ship is *non pervia ponto* so long as Argus is vigilant.

[628] Stover (2010) 645–6n30. Valerius is anticipated by (and perhaps indebted to) Lucan in his metaphor of tree de(con)struction as poetic construction. Masters (1992) 25–9 observes shades of civil war inherent in Lucan's destruction of a grove of trees, and he also understands Lucanean deforestation as analogous to Lucan's own epicizing.

[629] Petrain (2000) also discusses the metaliterary resonance of *silva* generally, as it can refer to poetic material (see p. 109, n. 522)—the word itself is absent here, but its echo is present in *nemus, pinus,* and *trabes.*

[630] See pp. 110ff.

[631] See p. 113, n. 540.

[632] Further opposition can be seen in the presence of Chiron (the archetypal "good" Centaur) at Peleus and Thetis' wedding, set against the rowdy and uncivilized Centaurs involved in the battle. Several of the Argo's own crew (Nestor, Peleus, and the fathers of Jason and Menoetius) are involved and specifically depicted in the battle, imputing to the crew a potential for strife.

[633] Zissos (2002) 94. The image of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis alludes to both Catullus 64 and Ovid, *Met.* 11.221–65, while the Centauromachy alludes to Ovid, *Met.* 12.168–525 (Davis [1989] 65–8, Barchiesi [2001c] 137–8). The phrase *insignis veterum labor* (VF 1.143) is worth particular notice in this context; Zissos (2008) 163 *ad* 1.142–3 sees it as "noteworthy for the recursive gesture whereby an ecphrasis (the paintings on Argo's hull) . . . is momentarily 'called to order' by something like a second-order ecphrastic signature: i.e. the impromptu weapons are themselves said to be works of art," but I also see the phrase as extending its reference back to encompass the entire description, not just the *pocula,* and thus alluding to the notable *labores* of ancient *poetae.*

progresses, these tensions of a perpetually repressed disharmony become strained further and further, until the ship finally bursts through the Clashing Rocks and the epic's medial line, and herself bursts apart (both metaphorically and physically).[634]

  Despite the tensions of opposition and multiple sources that are worked into the Argo's hull, the most dangerously discordant element inherent to the Argo is her oarage. Orpheus's primary purpose as coxswain is to actively prevent strife amongst the crew's oars:

> nec vero Odrysius transtris impenditur Orpheus
> aut pontum remo subigit, sed carmine tonsas
> ire docet summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.
>   (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.470–2)

>   And Odrysian Orpheus is not expended on the rowing-thwarts, nor does he plow the sea with
>   his oar, but with his song he teaches the blades to go so that they do not fight indiscriminately
>   on the surface of the water.

In Apollonius, Orpheus's song was said to have bewitched the rocks, rivers, and beeches so that they stood in rank and file (AR 1.26–31); his mythic function is always to pull order out of disorder.[635] Here in Valerius's epic, however, the potential disorder is a more dangerous form of strife than the basic chaos of the wilderness. Oars must move in unison, or dreadful turmoil will ensue as they bash into each other and tangle their blades.[636] In addition, a ship, moved along by two banks of oars, cannot function properly without parallel harmony. Her rowers sit two to a bench, and if their transverse rowing is not equal, the ship will not move in a straight line. If they row at different speeds, the ship will not move anywhere at all. Because of the equal division of her crew and the harmonizing power of Orpheus, the Argo does indeed move evenly (*it pariter propulsa ratis*, 1.494),[637] but there are occasions when her harmony seems threatened. For example, during the rowing contest in Book 3, as the direct result of Hercules' outburst of strife, the sudden absence of one rower causes problems for the vessel's movement.[638] There is, in addition, an uneasy equation between oars and the men who ply

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[634] On the Clashing Rocks as a locus of civil war, see pp. 146ff.

[635] Even his traditional song is the cosmogony, which necessarily begins in chaos and ends in form. On this function of Orpheus in Apollonius's *Argonautica* specifically, see, among others, Clare (2002) 231–60.

[636] Kleywegt (1988) 368–9 thinks that the implication of these lines is that the oars fight against the waves, not against each other; I disagree with this reading.

[637] The Argonauts are divided precisely down the ship's middle (see p. 113, n. 540).

[638] After Hercules' oar breaks, the Argo moves *tardior hinc cessante viro* ("slower henceforth with the man sitting idle," 3.483). The Argo needs an evenly-balanced crew in order to move well, and Meleager apparently alludes to this in his argument for abandoning Hercules: *ibant aequo nempe ordine remi* ("I'm sure our oars were going in equal measure," 3.675), i.e., prior to Hercules messing things up. It is not clear who subsequently takes Hercules' place as stroke to counterbalance Telamon, causing the reader to preserve the ship's original mapping in his mind, even if in fact it must necessarily have changed. An interesting, related side-note is Hyginus's account of the Argonauts' placement: he puts Telamon and Peleus *ad proram et remos* and Hercules and Idas together *ad pitulum*, but after Hercules' departure, Peleus takes his place (*Fab.* 14.32). One obvious conclusion to draw from this is that the Argonauts' placement aboard the Argo and their subsequent changes *was* a topic of discussion in the tradition—Valerius surely expects his readers to be aware of these earlier discussions. None of Hyginus's placements of the Argonauts makes very much sense with regard to actual placement on a ship, so we may assume that he has misunderstood whatever source he was reading. The *pitulus* is equivalent to Greek πίτυλος, which originally signified the "plash" of the oars as they entered the water—like the clearly confused *ad proram et remos* (although this could signify the prow-oars, through hendiadys, which would then put the Aeacidae at the rear of the rowers' lines), this is not a very locational position, but perhaps Hyginus somehow means the middle of the

them.

In Apollonius's *Argonautika*, Orpheus's first appearance outside of the Catalogue of Argonauts is on the eve of the Argonauts' departure, immediately after two drunken Argonauts, Idmon and Idas, have launched into a quarrel and are about to come to blows (AR 1.462–94). Orpheus's cosmogonic song functions at this point precisely to spread peace and prevent the incipient strife:

> χώετ᾽ ἐνιπτάζων· προτέρω δέ κε νεῖκος ἐτύχθη,
> εἰ μὴ δηριόωντας ὁμοκλήσαντες ἑταῖροι
> αὐτός τ᾽ Αἰσονίδης κατερήτυεν· †ἂν δὲ καὶ† Ὀρφεύς,
> λαιῇ ἀνασχόμενος κίθαριν, πείραζεν ἀοιδῆς.
> ἤειδεν δ᾽ ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
> τὸ πρὶν ἔτ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ,
> νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα·
>   (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.492–8)

> He [Idas] angrily rebuked him [Idmon]; and the quarrel would have gone further had not their companions, shouting together, and Aeson's own son, held them back as they argued; and had not also Orpheus, holding up his cithara with his left hand, embarked on a song. He sang of how the earth and sky and sea, once joined together in a single form, were split asunder because of deadly strife. . . .

This is in keeping with Orpheus's mythological role, to bring order out of chaos by means of his song.[639] In Valerius's epic, there is no Argonautic quarrel, and the narrative location of this song, on the eve of the Argonauts' departure, is replaced (approximately) in Valerius with the first part of the triptychic story of Phrixus and Helle (VF 1.277–93), the precursor to the Argonauts' own voyage, which has the comic effect of putting the drunken Argonauts to sleep. Orpheus's full investiture with his mythological role as bringer-of-order is postponed until his catalogue entry, which explicitly describes his prevention of strife among not the crew, but the crew's oars.[640] By keeping Apollonius's quarrelling Argonauts in mind and reading Valerius through Apollonius, we can glean that perhaps these trouble-making oars stand for those who ply them and that Orpheus's task may also be to prevent strife between Argonauts—but what does Valerius gain by shifting the apparent focus of Orpheus's powers of harmonization to the ship's oars, rather than her crew? I propose that there is a key reason.

Oars present a problem, and this is the result of a chance intersection between the Latin language, Roman history, and the tendency of Roman poets to make linguistic puns. We can easily observe the similarity of the standard Latin word for "oar," *remus*, and the name of Romulus's ill-fated brother, Remus. Apart from the length of the first syllable, the words are in fact identical, and this differing vowel quantity in *rēmus* and *Rĕmus* would not have bothered

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ship, thus placing Hercules and Idas where Apollonius had placed Heracles and Ancaeus. Casson (1995) 311 suggests that Latin *pitulus* is an actual naval rating, a sort of time-keeper, but this does not square with Hyginus's apparent use of it as a locational term. The only clear element of Hyginus's narrative is that Peleus took Hercules' place after his departure—if this were derived from a source known to Valerius, it could create an interesting fraternal conjunction aboard his Argo. Certainly, Telamon and Peleus are never named together in Valerius's narrative until Hercules' departure, after which they appear together twice (4.223, 5.573).

[639] On the correspondence, see, e.g., Karanika (2010).

[640] An Apollonian model for Orpheus's task is AR 1.540–1, but this passage only accounts for Orpheus's role as coxswain, not his role as pacifier (of men or oars).

Roman poets when it came to linguistic punning.[641] Furthermore, by the time Valerius was writing, at least one poet had punned on this coincidence. Propertius, in his Actium poem, twice joined the issues of Romulus and Remus's augury contest with the language of sailing and the fleets at Actium (4.6.19–21 and 43–5), either creating or utilizing a prior association of the words.[642] Thus, any time oars appear, we may justifiably listen for an undercurrent of fratricide or civil war. Just as Augustan poets never mentioned Romulus and Remus without an intimation of civil war,[643] so oars become potentially problematic, a difficulty that works especially well in the context of the *Argonautica*, with its temporal placement at the end of the Golden Age, when brother first turned against brother.[644]

We have seen that Valerius's use of the word *nomen* can be marked; on two occasions, he closely joins names with oars. When the Argo is first launched, the Argonauts inscribe their names on their oars and benches: *dant remo sua quisque viri, dant nomina transtris* ("the men, each one of them, give their names to their oar, they give them to the rowing thwarts," 1.352). In this way, Valerius associates *remus* with the Argonauts themselves, as the heroes physically (or possibly metaphorically) inscribe their names on their oars.[645] Another passage from the middle of the epic repeats this association-by-proximity when three of Hercules' old companions join a now-diminished Argonautic crew: *nova dux accedere gaudet / nomina desertos et iam sibi currere remos* ("the leader rejoices that new names are approaching and that the abandoned oars will now ply for him," 5.118–9). This second passage evokes a memory of the first passage, the metonymic *nomina* recalling the literal *nomina* which are inscribed on the abandoned oars, and further develops an equivalence between oars and Argonauts. Equally importantly, the repeated association of oars and names also prompts consideration of the *nomen* "*remus*" itself.

Of the numerous passages in which oars appear, however (this is a nautical epic, after all), the most crucial for a reading of the epic is the description of Orpheus's onboard duties. Orpheus is spared the task of rowing with a *remus*, instead being given the all-important job of preventing the oars from strife. These oars, however, are labeled *tonsae*, not *remi*. This is not, I propose, simple poetic variation. *Tonsa* is an occasional Ennian synonym for *remus* that gets picked up by later poets, and as the words are metrically equivalent, something else governs a poet's lexical choice.[646] The two usual suggestions offered by scholars are *variatio* and

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[641] See Introduction, pp. 11ff, for a basic rundown of the basic principles of Latin punning.

[642] See Welch (2005) 101ff.

[643] Ross (1987) 127: "Remus and his . . . brother must suggest the ultimate fratricide attending Rome's foundation: there was no escaping the association when, as Suetonius reports, the honorific *Romulus* was suggested in 27 BC for Octavian . . . , and no mention of the twins in Augustan verse is without suggestion of civil war." Also see Hinds (1992b) 143.

[644] Cf. Cat. 64.397–408.

[645] The other suggestions for the import of this line are either that *nomina* is being used here in metonymy for the heroes themselves, meaning simply that they take their places, or that the Argonauts are "laying claim" to their positions (cf. Kleywegt [2005] 202 *ad* 1.350–2). Additionally, *nomina dare* can also be used for enlisting in the army (*OLD s.v. do* 11c, *s.v. nomen* 21; *L&S s.v. do*, II.A.1); Liberman (1997) 158n76 *ad* 1.352 believes that on a military vessel the oars are permanently associated with the rowers who have been assigned those places by lot.

[646] If nothing else, as *tonsa* appears to be purely poetic in origin, it may frequently serve as an intertextual marker. Certainly there are at least two such uses of *tonsa* in Valerius—VF 1.313–14 seems to refer to *Aen.* 7.28, while VF 1.369 echoes our two surviving Ennian uses of *tonsa* (*poste recumbite vestraque pectora pellite tonsis* and *pone petunt, exim referunt ad pectora tonsas, Ann.* 7, frr. 218–19 Sk). Unfortunately, we cannot be certain as to the context of these fragments, although the former is clearly an instruction in how to row and the latter, so similar to the former, seems to be a carrying out of those earlier instructions.

euphony; a third possibility is intentional choice. Valerius only uses *tonsa* on five occasions (as opposed to thirty-three uses of *remus*), and none except for this occurrence within Orpheus's catalogue notice can easily be understood as *variatio*, since *remus* does not appear near any other occurrence of *tonsa*. Euphony, too, at least the avoidance of gemination (-*re re*-), seems not to be an operative concern in Valerius's selection of vocabulary.[647] Instead, Valerius's motivation for using *tonsa* versus *remus* seems to be a matter of determined choice.

I suggest that Valerius uses *tonsa* as the oar-word that has no improper associations, such as an inherent implication of civil war.[648] In light of this, let us revisit and pick apart Orpheus's catalogue notice: *nec . . . Orpheus / aut pontum remo subigit, sed carmine tonsas / ire docet summo passim ne gurgite pugnent* (1.470–2). This is the only passage in the epic where *tonsa* and *remus* occur side-by-side. Orpheus does not plow the sea with a shades-of-civil-war/ fratricide-inspiring *remus*. Instead, his song, which traditionally brings order out of chaos, teaches the oars not to fight but to work in harmony. In the present circumstance, already under the influence of Orpheus's song, the *remi* take on the pseudonym of *tonsae*, their inherent fratricide suppressed. The automatic instinct of a *remus* is to wreak havoc; a vatic coxswain is necessary to keep it in line.

Furthermore, although the use of *subigit* in this context could simply be evoking the standard metaphor of rowing as plowing, in connection with *remus* it can also be seen as referencing the plowed *pomerium* over which Remus jumped.[649] (It is always worth remembering that even if Remus was the one who ended up dead, he is also the one who "provoked" Romulus's attack in the first place.) The confraternal host aboard the Argo cannot be allowed to repeat such a fatal Remoran mistake, so Orpheus must keep them *and* their oars in order with his song. He is apparently successful in his endeavor, for as the Argo leaves the harbor she moves evenly (*it pariter propulsa ratis*, 1.494), rowed by her harmonious and precisely-divided crew, and until she reaches the Clashing Rocks, the only real episode of strife aboard the Argo comes after the rowing contest, when Hercules' oar breaks.

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[647] Based primarily on Vergilian usage of *tonsa*, scholars suggest its primary purpose is avoidance of the geminated syllable *re*, although there seem to be occurrences of this repeated syllable in most authors who choose to employ *tonsa*. Norden (1934a) 150–51 *ad Aen.* 6.88 observes that such avoidance of doubled *re* may be the sole Vergilian consideration for the synonym: "So fiel mir auf, daß Vergil zweimal das ennianische *tonsa . . .* statt *remus* braucht, um das Hintereinander von zweimaligem *re* zu vermeiden: 7, 28 *marmore tonsae* 10, 299 *consurgere tonsis*." Spaltenstein (2002) 163 *ad* 1.369 admits that this cannot be Valerius's sole motivation for the word choice and that he is certainly not always driven by such pursuit of euphony: "Val. emploie encore ailleurs *tonsa* là où ce terme ne semble pas dicté par une telle raison . . . et qu'on trouve 2,392 *litore remos* et al." At 1.340, 2.392, and 5.119, Valerius's use of *remus* does result in -*re re*-, implying that, even if avoidance of that gemination is sometimes operative, Valerius's choice of *remus* over *tonsa* on these occasions was driven by a stronger poetic concern than euphony. Altogether, there are thirty-two occurrences of -*re re*- in the epic, usually (but not always) at the end of the fifth foot or bridging the fifth and sixth feet of the line. At 1.313, use of *remos* instead of *tonsas* would provoke emphatic alliteration with <u>marmore summo</u>, but Valerius is usually a proponent of egregious alliteration (see p. 107, n. 511), and the smoothness of the liquids would even have been appropriate to the sense here.

[648] Festus claimed an etymological connection with *tondo*, which most scholars follow for want of a better derivation: *Ennius significat remum, quod quasi tondeatur ferro* ("Ennius means *remus*, as if it were shaved with iron," Sex. Pompeius Festus, *De Verborum Significatione* 356M, *s.v. tonsam*). De Vaan (2008) *s.v. tōnsa* observes, however, that "this does not make any sense semantically."

[649] This was the action which earned him his death at the hands of Romulus (or Romulus's hasty proxy, Celer, if Romulus's nose is being kept clean). Livy 1.7.2 follows the usual story of fratricide; Ovid pins the blame obliquely on Romulus at *Fasti* 2.133–43 but explicitly on Celer at *Fasti* 4.837ff.

Split Personalities

All of the poem's concerns that we have considered so far—specifically, the triangle of name/body/identity, the blurring of clear demarcations between characters through homonymy, and the epic's five vatic figures—come into contact in a single episode, the deaths of Idmon and Tiphys, which may fall at the precise midpoint of the epic.[650] Idmon's death, occupying the first three lines of Book 5, marks the end of the first half and therefore closes the book on his own optimistic prophecy while simultaneously opening the doors on Mopsus's prophecy of despair. That superfluity of prophets is, swiftly, reduced to a single prophet. Next, Tiphys dies, and in doing so he leaves behind Argus, the other "Thespiades." Jason, explicitly lamenting that the Argo will be unable to move "without Thespiades" (VF 5.44–5), highlights Tiphys's role as poetic guide. Not only the ship but the epic, at this midway point in its venture, appears to have been beached.[651] The metapoetics of Book 5's opening are worth investigating in closer detail.

Several scholars have pointed out the emphasis on middles and turning-points in these lines (*cardine summo*, 5.19, *medio ponto*, 5.34) and the uncertainty of whether the joint voyage/ epic can move further (*movebimus ultra*, 5.44).[652] Scholars also frequently mention that Valerius's medial proem (VF 5.217–24) is postponed in the fashion of Vergil's belated re-invocation of the Muses (*Aen.* 7.37–46).[653] However, Valerius's proem is delayed much further than Vergil's, in addition to which, all of Vergil's proems-in-the-middle serve, according to Conte, as "the privileged locus of literary consciousness."[654] This sort of self-reflexive literariness is not so visible in Valerius's second proem, when we finally reach it. Where it is visible, I propose, is here, in Jason's lament at the death of Tiphys—namely, at the precise same point in the *Argonautica*'s fifth book as was Vergil's medial proem in his seventh book, lines 37ff.

Where Vergil places his second proem, we find a veritable proemial void in Valerius. The continuation of the voyage is at stake; the vessel's guide has, Jason asserts, abandoned

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[650] Since the *Argonautica* is unfinished, breaking off abruptly in the middle of the eighth book, there is no end of speculation as to its intended length. Most scholars these days agree that eight books would have been the final count (although see Hershkowitz [1998] 4–13 for other possible suggestions), and therefore the "middle" of the epic can be approximated but not pinpointed. Book 1, the longest of the complete books, runs to 850 lines; the others range from 653 to 762 lines. The center of the surviving text is at 4.542 (in the middle of the Argonauts' stay at Bithynia); we know, therefore, that the actual center would have come after this point. The average line-count of the complete seven books is 732; if we use this approximation for the length of Book 8, the midpoint of the epic falls at 4.674, which is right in the middle of the Clashing Rocks episode (see pp. 146ff). Finally, using 850 lines (the length of the longest book) gives us 5.29 as the midpoint. This comes a scant few lines after the Argonauts have collectively uttered a prayer to Apollo that, as Don Fowler ([1997] 20–1) once pointed out, self-reflexively refers to the ambiguity of the middle of a venture: *ulla laboris / si nostri te cura movet, qui cardine summo / vertitur atque omnis manibus nunc pendet ab unis* ("if any care for our task moves you, which is rounding its zenith and now hangs entirely suspended from one set of hands," 5.18–20). Either this episode or the Clashing Rocks would be a very pleasing (and very possible) midpoint for the epic.

[651] The Argo, with her medial bifurcation and her hull's contradictory sides (see p. 131), as well as her own possession of a vatic voice, is in many ways the proverbial poetic craft. On the ship as poem and the metapoetic connotations of seafaring, see, e.g., Davis (1989), Rosen (1990), Harrison (2007), Stover (2010), and (as an unmistakable metaphor) Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae* 1pr.

[652] E.g., Fowler (1997) 20–1, Hershkowitz (1998) 7–8, Zissos (2004b) 328–31.

[653] See n. 652 and, e.g., Adamietz (1976) 68–9, Schetter (1959) 301–7, Lewis (1987). I find Lewis's attempt at numerology conceivable but unnecessary.

[654] Conte (1992) 153.

them in their venture:

> ʻquid tantum infensa repente
> numina? quas nostri poenas meruere labores?
> bina (nefas) toto pariter mihi funera surgunt
> litore. magna adeo comitum numerosaque pubes?   40
> aut socios rapit atra dies aut ipse relinquo
> sontibus impulsus Furiis. ubi Tiphys? ubi Idmon
> fata canens? ubi monstriferae par ille novercae?
> te sine, Thespiade, nos ulla movebimus ultra
> aequora? nec summa speculantem puppe videbo   45
> Pleiadumque globos et agentes noctibus Arctos?
> cui Minyas caramque ratem, cui sidera tradis?
> carpere securas quis iam iubet agmina noctes?
> hoc labor, hoc dulci totiens fraudata sopore
> lumina et admotis nimium mens anxia Colchis   50
> profuit? heu quantum Phasis, quantum Aea recessit!
> nunc quoque, si tenui superant in imagine curae,
> adsis umbra, precor, venturi praescia caeli
> rectoremque tuae moneas ratis.ʼ
>
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 5.37–54)

"Why suddenly are the powers so greatly hostile? What punishments have our trials merited? A pair (unspeakable horror!) of deaths rise equally before me along the entire shore. Is the youthful flower of my companions so great and numerous? Either a black day snatches my companions, or I myself abandon them, driven by criminal Furies. Where is Tiphys? Where is Idmon, singing the fates? Where is he who was equal to his monstrous step-mother? Without you, Thespiades, shall we set in motion any further waters? Shall I not see you watching, from the top of the poop-deck, the globes of the Pleiades and the Bears that lead us in the night? To whom do you hand over the Minyae and your dear ship, to whom the stars? Who now bids the ranks enjoy restful nights? This labor, this, has it profited your eyes, cheated of sweet slumber, and a mind too anxious as the Colchians drew near? Alas, how much has Phasis, how much has Aea drawn away! Now too, if cares survive in an evanescent ghost, be you present as a shade, I pray, prescient of the sky to come, and guide the helmsman of your ship."

The initial interrogatives (*quid, quas*) recall Vergil's *qui reges . . . quae tempora* ("what kings . . . what times," *Aen.* 7.37), while the final line, asking the prognostic shade of Tiphys to stand by and direct the ship's new helmsman (*rectorem moneas*), echoes not only Vergil's second direct apostrophe to his Muse, *tu vatem, tu, diva, mone* ("you, goddess, you guide your bard," *Aen.* 7.41), but also Valerius's own initial invocation to Apollo, *Phoebe, mone* ("Phoebus, guide me," VF 1.5).[655] Vergil had promised to move on to a greater work (*maius opus moveo, Aen.* 7.45)— but Jason asks, plaintively, how they shall move on at all (*movebimus,* VF 5.44) without Tiphys, apostrophized as *Thespiade.* The use of the toponymic here stresses the poetic importance of Tiphys as the Argonauts' and the Argo's guiding light, just as previously, during the creation of the Argo, it had stressed Argus's poetic importance as craftsman.

Valerius had also called Tiphys "Thespiades" in Book 2 (VF 2.368), during the Argonauts' sojourn at Lemnos—interestingly, this was the other point at which the continuation of the epic was in doubt. Not long afterwards, as I have previously mentioned,[656]

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[655] Earlier in the scene (5.17–20), the Argonauts also address a prayer to Apollo on Tiphys's behalf, appropriate for one who is dying of plague, but also appropriate for an Argonautic proemial sequence.

[656] See pp. 128ff.

Jason summoned Argus and Tiphys together (*Argum Tiphynque*, 2.390) to set the voyage in motion again, and this summons was followed by a gesture towards poetic (re)-embarkation. Ready to begin the voyage again, Tiphys seeks *arma viros pariter sparsosque in litore remos* ("arms, men (equally), and oars scattered on the shore," 2.392). The first two words are, very obviously, an homage to the opening of the *Aeneid*, and the meter of the line also imitates the meter of the *Aeneid*'s first line.[657] Therefore, by having Jason invoke *Argum Tiphynque* (2.390), the two Thespiadae, Valerius seems to be including traces of an invocation to the Muses. Argus and Tiphys's joint presence is ultimately appropriate for the resumption of the poetic voyage at this point in the narrative.

It seems that Jason, who summoned Argus and Tiphys in Book 2 to resume the voyage and who delivers the non-proem of Book 5, cannot conceive of how the epic will continue without Tiphys. Jason's lament is inaccurate, however. As we saw before, the Argo in fact would not be able to move without the *other* Thespiades, namely Argus, as she would lack sufficient integrity; Tiphys, it turns out, is at least somewhat replaceable, both in name and in function.[658] Certainly, "Thespiades" has not disappeared, despite Jason's misguided complaint, and of course both voyage and epic do eventually continue, although under darker auspices.

Separated from their other halves, in death Idmon and Tiphys are turned into a pair. They burn on *geminis . . . rogis* ("twin pyres," 5.35–6), and Jason observes that *bina . . . pariter mihi funera surgunt* ("a pair of deaths rise equally before me," 5.38).[659] Not wishing to separate these two Argonautic companions, Jason decrees that their bones should be placed together:

> haec ubi fatus,
> sola virum flammis vidit labentibus ossa.   55
> 'quod tamen externis unum solamen in oris
> restat,' ait 'caras humus haec non dividat umbras
> ossaque nec tumulo nec separe contegat urna,
> sed simul, ut iunctis venistis in aequora fatis.'
> haud mora, reliquias socii defletaque miscent   60
> nomina.
>
> (Val. Fl. *Arg*. 5.54–61)

When he had said these things, he saw only the men's bones as the flames died down. "However, the one single solace which remains on foreign shores," he said, "let not this earth divide your dear shades, and let it cover your bones with neither separate tomb nor separate urn, but together, as you went upon the waters with joined fates." There is no delay; the companions mix up the remains and the wept-over names.

Physical remains and names are mixed together here, not separated, an attempt to defeat the

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[657] *Pariter* can be seen as replacing *-que*; *in litore* even echoes *ab oris*. Where Vergil was concerned with weapons and a single man, Valerius's epic picks up again after an amatory hiatus with a professed concern for weapons, multiple men, and oars.

[658] On the potential crisis and significance of Tiphys's replaceability at the helm, see Zissos (2004b) 328–31. Argus is only replaceable by another Argus who may or may not be himself (see pp. 119ff). The third poetic figure, Orpheus, has a unsuccessful "replacement," a musician who "dared" (*ausus*, 3.160) to compete with the Thracian bard but who meets his maker at 3.158–60.

[659] Intriguingly, Jason adds *nefas* after *bina*—to his mind it is the double aspect of the death that is so devastatingly horrible, but *nefas* is also a key term marking civil war in the Flavian poets, following a connection established by Lucan (see McGuire [1997] 144–6 and Ganiban [2007] 33–8).

sea's propensity for permanently severing one from the other.[660] Of course, ultimately the attempt must fail, as there is an inevitable resultant confusion as to which bones belong with which name, and even the names themselves become uncertain: *misceo* can imply mental confusion as well as a physical mingling.[661] Furthermore, as we have just seen, Jason was already confused over their names and identities, lamenting Tiphys by his sole non-unique identifier. It makes sense, then, that just as he cannot comprehend the sharing and separation of names and identity, he would not see the problem inherent in mingling their bones and creating a single being out of two individuals.

Two for the Price of One

Throughout the epic, the separation and redistribution of pairs seems to herald the onset of disaster.[662] We have seen the troubling collapse and recombination of two vatic pairs (Mopsus/Idmon, Argus/Tiphys), but nowhere is this trend more evident than in the case of the Dioscuri. Let us, then, at last return to the twins whom we have seen to be marked out by Valerius as the epic's primary agents of doubling. The perfect illustration of fraternal concord, they are a light to lost sailors, an example of how to reach for the stars, and a way out of any sort of peril, especially that imposed by the sea. In a doubled crew comprised of doubles, they are the pinnacle and primary demonstration of doubling.

The Dioscuri's importance is underscored by Jupiter's prophecy later in the first book. Immediately after the Argo launches there occurs a confrontation between the Sun and Jupiter in which the Sun complains (VF 1.505–27) about the world's takeover by Jupiter's progeny at the expense of his own. Jupiter's response to this (VF 1.531–60) is a metaphorical unrolling of the scroll of fate (the Sun here replaces Venus in the *Aeneid*) that describes in Herodotean fashion the prolonged *quid pro quo* skirmishes between Greeks and Asians, eventually culminating in the demise of both in favor of (apparently) the Romans; although, unlike in the parallel Vergilian passage (*Aen.* 1.254–96), the promise of *imperium sine fine* is not explicit and can easily be read otherwise. Following this disclosure of his *Weltenplan*, Jupiter turns to the agents who will set these events in motion, namely the Argonauts, and more specifically, his own three sons among the Argonauts:[663]

> tunc oculos Aegaea refert ad caerula robur
> Herculeum Ledaeque tuens genus, atque ita fatur
> 'tendite in astra, viri: me primum regia mundo
> Iapeti post bella trucis Phlegraeque labores
> imposuit; durum vobis iter et grave caeli   565
> institui. sic ecce meus, sic orbe peracto
> Liber et expertus terras remeavit Apollo.'
> dixit et ingenti flammantem nubila sulco

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[660] See p. 110 for this danger of the sea.

[661] *OLD s.v. misceo* 11. It is no wonder that everyone is *dubius* two lines later! There may also be an allusion here to several famous epitaphs of epic where bones and names are preserved together on a foreign shore, such as Caieta's epitaph at *Aeneid* 7.1–4 and Phaëthon's epitaph at *Met.* 2.325–39. See Dinter (2009) on epitaphs and epitaphic phrasing in Valerius's *Argonautica.*

[662] This is contrary to the positive rule of monism that operates in Vergil's *Aeneid*, for which see Hardie (1993a).

[663] Feeney (1991) 333–4: "[Jupiter] is addressing his sons in particular here, the Dioscuri and Hercules (561–2), and only these three have explicit similes linking their deeds to deeds performed against Giants or Titans [3.130–4; 4.236–8]. But there is no doubt that the programme is more comprehensive, referring to the Argonauts as a whole, and to all subsequent mankind."

derexit per inane facem, quae puppe propinqua
in bifidum discessit iter fratresque petivit   570
Tyndareos, placida et mediis in frontibus haesit
protinus amborum lumenque innoxia fundit
purpureum, miseris olim implorabile nautis.
interea medio saevus permissa profundo
carbasa Pangaea Boreas speculatus ab arce   575
continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra
concitus.

<div align="center">(Val. Fl. Arg. 1.561–77)</div>

Then he returns his eyes to the blue Aegean, looking at the Herculean oak and the race of Leda, and speaks thus: "Strive for the stars, men: royal power placed me in charge of the universe only after the wars of savage Iapetus and the labors of Phlegra; I have established a hard and heavy heavenward journey for you. Behold, thus my Liber returned with the world traversed, and thus Apollo after making trial of the lands." He spoke and directed through the void a bolt that set the clouds ablaze with a huge furrow. As it neared the ship, it split into a forked path and sought the Tyndarean brothers, and right away it clung calmly to the mid-foreheads of both and harmlessly poured forth a purple light, one day to be beseeched by distressed sailors. Meanwhile savage Boreas, having watched from the Pangaean citadel the canvases allowed mid-deep, immediately strives toward Aeolia and the Tyrrhenian caverns, stirred up.

This passage features several major aspects of doubling. First, on the level of sonority, there is line-initial (and medial) alliteration throughout (*Iapeti–imposuit–institui*, 564–6; *dixit–derexit*, 568–9; *protinus–purpureum*, 572–3; *carbasa–continuo–concitus*, 575–7). *Aegaea* (1.561) is visually and aurally echoed by *Pangaea* (1.575),[664] while Jupiter's lofty vantage point (presumably Olympus) is imitated by Boreas's own mid-air and mid-sea vantage point. On a verbal level, too, there are a number of key doubling terms and echoes (*dixit / derexit*, 568–9; *bifidum discessit*, 570; *fratres Tyndareos*, 570–1; *mediis*, 571; *amborum*, 572). Jupiter's single thunderbolt splits into two in order to mark the twin Dioscuri with their traditional stars.[665] The explicit bifurcation again emphasizes the Dioscuri's doubled nature, as in the Catalogue. Finally, the passage is bracketed by *tendite in astra* (563) and *tendit ad antra* (576). This pair of similar phrases also echoes the end of Idmon's earlier prophecy, which—after prophesying a successful and triumphant conclusion to the Argonautic venture—had concluded with the enjambed *"tendite ad amplexus!"*[666]

Zissos sees this closure of Idmon's speech (which holds out a reunion with parents and children as the journey's final reward) as bitterly ironic because "the promise of family reunion is utterly false for Jason,"[667] serving as a giveaway to the reader that Idmon's prophecy is "a sham." However, Idmon's positive version of the *Argonautica*, with its focus on a return to familial concord as the ultimate mark of success, helps to illuminate the "good" vision proffered by the first four books to which it is tied; I think that its echo in Jupiter's later prophecy to the Dioscuri and Hercules implies that Idmon's prophecy contains at least a modicum of truth. Idmon's vision of familial concord repeatedly finds expression in the poet's emphasis on the Dioscuri, who feature prominently on a number of occasions as shining examples of fraternal

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[664] Valerius places *Pangaea* and *Aegaeo* in close proximity again at 2.359/366.

[665] For *medius* together with *frons* being a bifurcating word, cf. *Aen.* 9.755: *et <u>mediam</u> ferro <u>gemina</u> inter <u>tempora frontem</u> / diuidit.*

[666] There is also, of course, an echo of Apollo's exhortation to Iulus at *Aen.* 9.641, *sic itur ad astra.*

[667] Zissos (2004a) 32.

piety and concord, but only in the first half of the epic.[668] There, the Dioscuri are never apart, and when they are it signals imminent disaster. In the second half of the epic, the Dioscuri are almost never seen *together*. The catasterizing events of Jupiter's prophecy as delivered here, like Idmon's prophecy with which it shares its phrasing, are also restricted to the epic's first half, for no events worthy of immortality occur after the Argonauts' arrival at Colchis, nor is there further evidence of fraternal love.[669]

Idmon only sees as far as the Argo's penetration of the Clashing Rocks. He does not see the grotesque inversions that lie on the other side, to some extent brought on by the end of the Golden Age, the East lying like a Pandora's Box waiting to be opened for the detriment of mankind.[670] Jupiter's vision is not limited by this central division, but the East, on the far side of the Clashing Rocks, is traditionally a world of upheaval and reversal, where black is white and male is female. It is no wonder that the Dioscuri's celebrated model of appropriate fraternity is suddenly left out of view, only to be replaced by the fraternal discord between Aeetes and Perses.

The very first mention of the Dioscuri in the poem comes at 1.167, as Jason sweetly tricks Acastus into joining the Argonautic venture. He names, as men no worthier than Acastus, Telamon, Canthus, Idas, and "the Tyndarean boy" (*Tyndareusque puer*). Most scholars argue that the periphrasis identifies only one of the Dioscuri and not the other; a few suggest that this is a collective singular.[671] The latter seems closer to the truth; we should realize by now that the periphrasis is intended as an indication of the Dioscuri's near-complete indistinguishability. They are the ideal culmination of Jason's list of half-pairs, still a half-pair (singular) but not a determinable half. They are visually indistinct, and they are always together; here, they are interchangeable, and everywhere they are confusable.[672] The reader (and Acastus) can speculate all he likes as to which of the twins is meant here, but he can never be right (or wrong).

Pollux appears on his own in Mopsus's prophecy (VF 1.220), foreshadowing his separation from Castor in the epic's second half. The particular event that Mopsus foresees (Pollux's fight against Amycus) belongs to the poem's first half, and when it is actually played out, Castor will turn out to be right behind Pollux the whole way (metaphorically speaking). However, Mopsus, who is the second-half prophet, envisions and addresses Pollux without his brother: *unde haec tibi vulnera, Pollux?* ("Whence come you by these wounds, Pollux?" 1.220). Pollux's wounding, apparently the focus of Mopsus's vision, does not turn out to be a very

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[668] Valerius moves into his first half several scenes from Apollonius's third and fourth books that feature the Dioscuri working positively in tandem (see p. 144).

[669] Even the Disocuri's stars are outshone by Jason's baleful astral beauty (VF 5.366–72). Their separation and diminution, as we shall see, is not their own doing; greater forces are at work. See Table 4 for a chart of all the appearances of the Dioscuri in the epic.

[670] Apparently, this catastrophic bridging of continents and civilizations, like Pandora's *pithos* full of evils and the subsequent flood, is all part of Jupiter's *Weltenplan*. His prophecy gives no indication of where it all should stop—no "enough is enough!" to end all fratricide and award true *imperium sine fine*. (On the uncertainty of Roman perpetuity in Jupiter's speech, see Davis [1989] 64–5, McGuire [1997] 66–7, Zissos [2008] 322 *ad* 1.558–60.) Are the iterative Roman civil wars also part of Jupiter's Great Plan?

[671] Galli (2007) 99–101, who gives a good overview of the scholars in each camp, also sets up a nice demonstration of the paired nature of each figure that Jason mentions, showing how Jason rhetorically suggests that Acastus will serve as his alter ego in this venture. However, she falls down in her resultant argument for siding with the scholars that take *Tyndareus puer* to mean specifically Castor.

[672] Cf. O'Gorman (2005) 31–2 on Statius's "blurring of identities" in his description of the Dioscuri.

serious event, as it happens (VF 4.329–32); but the division of Pollux from his twin, which Mopsus unwittingly perceives, is a far more serious matter.

Apart from this instance, there is only one other appearance of a lone Tyndarid in the first half. This is the appearance of Pollux *sans* Castor at 3.149, during the battle at Cyzicus. Their separation does not seem surprising at first,[673] as one naturally assumes Valerius's selection of prominent Argonauts within the battle to be dictated by a simple desire for *variatio*, as seems to be the case in Apollonius's Cyzican war.[674] However, the Dioscuri's temporary separation in fact serves to set up their subsequent accidental encounter under cover of night at 3.187, where they fail to recognize each other and nearly commit (*nefas*) joint sui-gemini-fratri-cide. This unspeakable horror is prevented by the blazing of stars just recently added to their foreheads, reinforcing the association of the stars with fraternal *pietas*:

> accessere (nefas) tenebris fallacibus acti
> Tyndaridae in sese. Castor prius ibat in ictus
> nescius, ast illos nova lux subitusque diremit
> frontis apex.
>
> <div align="right">(Val. Fl. Arg. 3.186–9)</div>

> The Tyndaridae approached each other (unspeakable crime), led by deceitful darkness. First Castor was heading into an attack, unknowing, but a new light and sudden peak at the forehead drove them apart.

The war itself is driven by mistaken identity, and in this encounter, the Dioscuri become a microcosm of the war which rages around them.[675] The cause of the nearly-civil strife is not hatred, but failure of recognition—were the day to dawn, the action would cease. Unlike the war, however, the Dioscuri's encounter here has a happy ending.[676]

Saved from this geminate fratricide, the reunited brothers show their lack of animosity and their renewed inseparability by fighting back-to-back and sharing one verb for their subsequent kills, while Castor substitutes for his brother another doubled figure:

> tum Castor Ityn, qua caerulus ambit
> balteus et gemini committunt ora dracones,
> frater Hagen Thapsumque securigerumque Nealcen
> transigit et Canthi pallantem vulnere Cydrum.
> <div align="right">(Val. Fl. Arg. 3.189–92)</div>

> Then Castor pierces through Itys where his blue belt encircles him and twin dragons join their jaws; his brother pierces through Hages and Thapsus and axe-wielding Nealces and Cydrus, pale from Canthus's wound.

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[673] Although Valerius may have noted with particular pleasure Apollonius's attribution of a pair of victims to the inseparable Dioscuri (Τυνδαρίδαι . . . ἄμφω, 1.1045).

[674] For the possibility of Apollonius's selection of names depending on a real-world list of Cyzican war-dead, see Goldhill (1991) 317–19.

[675] For Hunter (1993) 43, the equivalent episode in Apollonius's epic is "almost a paradigm of failure of communication."

[676] Two (purportedly) historical events recorded by Livy and Valerius Maximus run along similar lines, but with tragic endings: two brothers are fighting on opposite sides of a civil war, and one unwittingly kills the other in battle; when the surviving brother realizes, he kills himself and is burnt on the same pyre as his brother. (I find these anecdotes in Bannon [1997] 149–50.)

The dragons of the belt's clasp are specifically *gemini*, their faces come together (<u>*committunt*</u>), and the verb used for the belt's encircling is *ambit* (in reality derived from a "surrounding" *ambi-* prefix, but sounding to the ear like a relative of *ambo*). In association with the Dioscuri, these words of doubling must take on a particular resonance.[677]

In the second half of the epic, the twins drift (or are forced) apart. Their unthinkable separation begins immediately following the Argo's passage through the Clashing Rocks. When the Argonauts land among the Mariandyni, Jason takes the initiative of proudly pointing out to Lycus exactly which of his men has succeeded in felling Amycus: *ostentans prolem Iovis 'hic tibi Pollux / en' ait, 'inviso solvit cui pectore poenas'* ("pointing out the offspring of Jupiter, he said, 'Here is Pollux before you, look, to whom [Amycus] paid penalty with his hated breast,'" VF 4.757–8). To indicate one twin without thought of the other is a mistake, as we have already seen, because it suppresses their most important and admirable trait; and it is a mistake that Jason will repeat in Colchis.

The Dioscuri are once more mentioned jointly at 5.367 as two of the nine who are chosen *by lot* (either Jupiter or the poet has a finger in this pie) to accompany Jason to Aeetes.[678] However, repeating his Mariandynian error, Jason forcibly separates them at 5.546 in order to send Castor back to the Argonauts with a message. It is also worth observing that, on this occasion, Jason's grim star-like brilliance outshines the stars on the Dioscuri's foreheads, a visual repression of their promised catasterism:[679]

> iam Talaum iamque Ampyciden **astroque comantes**
> **Tyndaridas ipse egregio supereminet ore.**
> non secus autumno quam cum magis asperat ignes
> Sirius et saevo cum nox accenditur auro
> luciferas crinita faces, hebet Arcas et ingens   370
> Iuppiter. ast illum tanto non gliscere caelo
> vellet ager, vellent calidis iam fontibus amnes.
> (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 5.366–72)

> Now he himself outshines Talaus, and now Ampyx's son, and the Tyndaridae, their hair star-bedecked, with his outstanding face. Not otherwise than when, in autumn, Sirius intensifies his fires, and when the night, tressed with brilliant torches, is set ablaze with cruel gold, Arcas and huge Jupiter creep along. But the field would prefer that he not blaze so much in the sky, and the rivers with their springs now grown warm would prefer it.

Stover has pointed to the importance of Jason's physical preeminence as a primary and positive

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[677] McGuire (1997) 110–11 also points out that both Itys and Thapsus, another of the Dioscuri's victims here, have names which "evoke images of familial and civil war." Thapsus, a city in Africa, was the site of a major battle between Caesar and Pompey; Itys was the son of Tereus and Procne, whom Procne and Philomela butchered and served up to Tereus in vengeance for his rape and mutilation of Philomela.

[678] Of the nine drawn (*et Scythicam qui se comitentur ad urbem / sorte legit, numeroque novem ducuntur ab omni*, 5.325–6), five are left unnamed, but four—Talaus, Mopsus, Castor, and Pollux—are named as being outshone by Jason when Juno enhances his beauty (*iam Talaum iamque Ampyciden astroque comantes / Tyndaridas ipse egregio supereminet ore*, 5.366–7). Apollonius, by contrast, had sent with Jason the four sons of Phrixus, Telamon, and Augeias (3.196–9). Since Valerius does not include any of these except for Telamon with his crew, it is clear why he had to choose a different set; and having the heroes be drawn by lot is a humorous touch, as though the poet is saying, "Well, I can't use the ones my predecessor used, so things might as well be left up to chance!"

[679] Lewis (1984) 95: "Jason's superiority over his fellow-Argonauts is suggested by similes involving heavenly bodies. . . . The theme is Jason's baneful nature. No similes are devoted to the Argonauts as a company after 5.566. This mirrors the shift of attention away from the Argonauts."

mark of this Book 5 simile,[680] but his preeminence at the expense of the Dioscuri's harmonious dualism, like his repeated separation of the Dioscuri in the second half, cannot be read favorably.[681]

From the sixth book onwards, Castor and Pollux only appear separately. Castor has a brief *aristeia* in the battle of Book 6, in some respects matching Pollux's boxing match of Book 4, but with the particular difference that his twin is nowhere to be found during the event, an absence the more keenly felt because of the episode's emphasis on doubling. Castor kills one of two brothers on matched horses (*viderat Hyrcanos paribus discurrere fratres / Castor equis*, 6.203–4).[682] He wields his sword *huc alternus et huc* (6.231), the exact same phrase which was applied to Pollux in his fight against Amycus (4.266). The Colchians who fight near Castor cannot be his equal (only Pollux can, of course)—*non isdem artibus aeque / concurrunt* (6.241–2)—and they subsequently die in a myriad of division and doubling. Campesus falls *mediam . . . in hastam* (6.244), while Sibotes dies despite wearing a twin breastplate (*contra autem geminis fidens thoracibus*, 6.248), and his killer is named Ambenus (6.251).[683] The aptly-named Taxes carries along his *seminecem* (6.242) Colchian victim as he runs, but as he is about to repeat his actions (*recollectam rursus locat*, 6.254), Castor puts a stop to his doubling.

The reader is reminded of the Dioscuri's previous separation in battle (3.187), which nearly resulted in a disastrous fratricide. Here, where real fratricide rages around them, Valerius carefully keeps the divine twins apart. Later, Pollux is periphrastically named as *qui / Bebrycio †nuper† remeavit ab hospite victor* ("the one who recently returned as victor from his Bebrycian host," 6.344), joining several others who hasten to the scene of Canthus's death. He seems to have lost his identity in Bebrycia after all, perhaps because he no longer has the presence of his twin to help keep his name intact.[684]

Several times in the second half of Apollonius's narrative, the Dioscuri were conspicuous in their presence; Valerius moves or removes all of these scenes. In Apollonius, a handful of brave Argonauts, including the Dioscuri, volunteer to undergo the trials instead of Jason (AR 3.504–21). Valerius does not imitate this scene, but Apollonius's list of heroes is

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[680] Stover (2003) 133–5. Many scholars have observed the negative implications of this repetition for Jason's character; see, e.g., Lewis (1984) 94–5; Otte (1992) 109–10, 114; Wijsman (1996) 185 *ad* 5.369; Zissos (2008) 364 *ad* 1.682–5. By contrast, Stover (2003) and Taylor (1994) are lone voices in seeing positive signification behind the Sirius similes in Books 5 and 6. The Apollonian simile on which it is based also reads unfavorably for Jason (cf. Hunter [1989] 202–3 *ad* AR 3.956–61).

[681] A sustained system of similes first opposes and then equates Jason to the Dog-star Sirius, as a positive comment on Jason's character in the epic's first half and a negative comment in the second half. One negative aspect of Jason's character is an individualism that takes precedence over the confraternity of the Argonauts. Valerius may also be alluding, in this passage, to Apollonius's depiction of Pollux before his battle with Amycus (as is Apollonius himself): ὁ δ' οὐρανίῳ ἀτάλαντος / ἀστέρι Τυνδαρίδης, οὖπερ κάλλισται ἔασιν / ἑσπερίην διὰ νύκτα φαεινομένου ἀμαρυγαί (AR 2.40–2), which Hunter (1993) 28 terms "Polydeuces' gleaming erotic power."

[682] Baier (2001) 72–8 understands this as an implementation of the *topos* of identical twins differentiated in death. There is no explicit indication from the surviving text that Medores and his brother are twins, but many details point in this direction (e.g., the matched horses and Medores' desire to die with his brother). It is intensely disturbing that Castor, who already had (*with* Pollux) killed several doubled figures after nearly killing his own brother in the previous battle (see pp. 142ff), should now be killing another identical twin (*without* Pollux).

[683] Spaltenstein (2005) 82 *ad* 6.248 sees a potential pun in this name because he kills two men: "Val. aurait-il joué d'une relation ingénieuse entre Ambénus et *ambo*, puisque ce guerrier tue deux adversaires?"

[684] Alternatively, by "removing" Pollux's name, Valerius is keeping this heavenly twin under cover and safe from his other half in the fratricidal chaos of this civil war. Pius conjectured that MS *propius* could hide *Pollux*, but no modern editors follow his suggestion (see Baier [2001] 186 *ad* 6.343–4 for various editorial suggestions).

remarkably similar to those who volunteered to fight Amycus in Valerius's first half; Valerius has effectively moved the scene into his "good" Dioscuri section and recast the episode.[685] Where Apollonius had the Dioscuri aid Jason in his yoking of the bulls (3.1314–6), and even accorded the action possible divine providence,[686] Valerius's Jason performs his trials alone. Finally, Apollonius makes the Argo speak and announce the will of Zeus, that the Dioscuri must pray to the gods in order to release the Argonauts from a storm (4.576–95). While it is difficult to know whether this scene would have appeared in the lines following the epic's abrupt ending, Valerius includes a similar (but more positive) scene in his first book, when Jupiter marks the Dioscuri with flaming stars above their foreheads immediately before the onset of a storm, inaugurating their divine role as the friends of sailors. We can surmise that, in keeping with the rest of the differences between the halves, Valerius would have ended his epic on a pessimistic note.

Finally, Pollux appears alone in Book 8, during the ill-omened wedding of Jason and Medea, bringing fire and water. This entire passage, already chilling from the stressed proleptic knowledge of future events, becomes more so when read in the light of Pollux being essentially severed from his twin throughout the second half. The language is riddled with words of pairing (even the passage immediately prior underscores the duality of events surrounding Medea's wedding raiment),[687] and the half-twin Pollux carries two elements that, while traditional in weddings, are inherently inimical to each other and are also traditional in funerals:[688]

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[685] Apollonius names Peleus, Telamon, Idas, Meleager, and the Dioscuri (Tyndaridae). In the Amycus episode, Valerius adopts this list but removes Castor (out of place in a boxing challenge), adding Tydeus to pair with Meleager and adding Periclymenus as a boxer.

[686] δὴ γάρ σφι πάλαι προπεφραδμένον ἦεν ("for thus it had been decreed for them of old," 3.1315). πάλαι seems to imply an ancient decree of fate or the gods.

[687] Venus dresses Medea for the wedding and gives her *suam duplicem . . . coronam* ("her own double crown," 8.235). Verbally, this is a reference to the *Aeneid*; among the treasures from Troy which Aeneas gives to Dido is *duplicem gemmis auroque coronam* ("a crown twofold with gems and gold," *Aen.* 1.655). As with the *geminae portae* (VF 1.833), Valerius is importing an already doubled Vergilian phrase into his epic, thus creating a literal double across the two works. (This is reminiscent of Vergil's reuse of the Homeric *hapax*; cf. Wills [1987], Farrell [2001].) However, Valerius also evokes a secondary implication in *duplex* with the subsequent phrase—the crown is not just double but deceitful. Together with the rest of the wedding raiment, this *duplex corona* will be the agent of Creusa's death in Medea's future tragedy: *ipsa suam duplicem Cytherea coronam / donat et arsuras alia cum virgine gemmas* ("Cytherea gives her her own *duplex* crown and gems that will burn with another maiden," 8.235–6). In effect, this ill-fated wedding will happen twice.

[688] It is true that fire and water are part of the traditional Roman marriage ceremony (although in precisely what fashion is unclear, and this passage provides a sizeable chunk of our literary evidence, cf. Hersch [2010] 182–6), but they also are intrinsically opposed to each other. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.736–7: *interdum, faciem liquidarum imitatus aquarum, / flumen eras, interdum undis contrarius ignis* ("sometimes you were a river, your face an imitation of the liquid waters, and sometimes you were fire, the opposite of waves"); Ov. *Fast.* 4.787–8: *cunctarum contraria semina rerum / sunt duo discordes, ignis et unda, dei* ("the opposing seeds of all things are two discordant gods, fire and water"). Henderson (1983) 95 notes of Seneca's *Medea* that "underlying the choice of flame and sea-storm throughout *Medea* we have long recognized the elemental polarity at the heart of the play – which is to inform this chorus [*Med.* 579ff] from start to finish." He derives this observation from Pratt (1963) 214–16, who comments both that "these two elements appear prominently in the legend" (214) and that "as [Medea] is associated with fire and sea-storm, so she *is* fire and sea-storm" (215). As this wedding so forcibly interacts with the events of Seneca's play, it is eminently plausible that Pollux's fire and water allude to the central antithetical elements of that tragedy.

> inde ubi sacrificas <u>cum coniuge</u> venit ad aras
> Aesonides <u>una</u>que adeunt <u>pariter</u>que precari
> incipiunt, <u>ignem Pollux undamque iugalem</u>   245
> praetulit et dextrum <u>pariter</u> vertuntur in orbem.
> sed neque se pingues tum candida flamma per auras
> explicuit nec tura videt <u>concordia</u> Mopsus
> promissam nec stare fidem, breve tempus amorum.
> odit <u>utrumque simul, simul</u> et miseratur <u>utrumque</u>   250
> et tibi tum nullos optavit, barbara, natos.
> <div align="right">(Val. Fl. Arg. 8.243–51)</div>

Then when Aeson's son came <u>with his bride</u> to the sacrificial altars, and they go toward them <u>together</u> and <u>together</u> begin to pray, Pollux proferred forth <u>fire and nuptial water</u>, and they proceed <u>together</u> in a clockwise circle. But neither then did the bright flame unfold itself through the fatty breezes, nor does Mopsus see <u>harmonious</u> incense, nor that their plighted troth remains; the time of their love is brief. He hates them <u>each alike</u>, and <u>alike</u> he pities <u>each</u>, and then he hoped for no sons for you, barbarian woman.

The separation of the Dioscuri is symptomatic of the already tragic nature of the epic's second half. They were the shining example of fraternal concord in the first half, but amidst the numerous evils of the second half, even that pious promise is abolished. In the unremitting despair that envelops the East, civil war is the watchword as appropriate fraternal *pietas* is lost. It seems that it would take only a simple step to reverse the problem: bring the Dioscuri back together. But in so grim a world, that cannot happen.[689]

Every End Is a New Beginning

I have already suggested that the origins of this failure of *pietas* lie, at least symbolically, in the Argo's passage through the Clashing Rocks. Throughout her outward voyage, the Argo sails along rowed by a double crew, her integrity and *harmonia* maintained by Argus and Orpheus. Upon her passage through the Clashing Rocks, however, the Argo herself briefly becomes sundered when the final closure of the Rocks crushes her poop (*parsque (nefas) deprensa iugis; nam cetera caelo / debita*, "and part (unspeakable crime!) was caught by the cliffs; for the rest was owed to heaven," 4.692–3). Valerius's exclamation of *nefas* immediately following *pars* suggests the necessary integrity of the Argo and the absolute wrongness of her fragmentation. The Argonauts' subsequent shout is a hyperbolical interpretation of this—they believe that the Argo has actually physically broken in half straight down the middle (*conclamant Minyae, latera utraque quippe / dissiluisse putant*, 4.693–4). The word *nefas* also evokes an attendant shade of civil war that is already present in the scene.[690]

The Clashing Rocks' inherent civil war is best expressed through Phineus's description of their constant strife: *furor his medio concurrere ponto. . . . sua comminus actae saxa premunt cautesque suas. . . . illae redeunt, illae aequore certant* ("their madness is to dash together over the midst of the sea. . . . Driven forward, they press their own rocks and their own cliffs in close

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[689] It is unclear whether the separation of the Dioscuri occurs as yet another symptom of the evils or whether Valerius ultimately keeps them apart in order to "protect" their pious fraternity. We may think of Jupiter's refusal to let the Dioscuri (and Astraea) watch the combat of Eteocles and Polynices (Stat. *Theb.* 11.125–33).

[690] The connection between *nefas* and civil war is mobilized by the Augustan poets, firmly established by Lucan, and maintained by the Flavian poets. See McGuire (1997) xi, 144–6 and Ganiban (2007) 33–8.

contest. . . . They return, they fight upon the water," 4.562–6).[691] The reflexive adjectives (*sua, suas*) are key to the civil war undertones: these are not unrelated enemies that are clashing together, but a matched pair of twins.[692] They also, through their exact paired nature and the language that surrounds them, serve as a prominent locus of doubling at what could easily be the exact center of epic:[693]

> unda laborantes praeceps rotat ac fuga ponti
> obvia. miscentur rupes iamque aequore toto
> Cyaneae iuga praecipites inlisa remittunt.
> bis fragor infestas cautes adversaque saxis
> saxa dedit, flamma expresso bis fulsit in imbri.   660
> sicut multifidus ruptis e nubibus horror
> effugit et tenebras nimbosque intermicat ignis
> terrificique ruunt tonitrus elisaque noctem
> lux dirimit (pavor ora virum, pavor occupat aures),
> haud secus implevit pontum fragor; effluit imber   665
> spumeus et magno puppem procul aequore vestit.
>   (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.656–66)

> A headlong wave spins them around as they toil and the fleeing sea comes to meet them. The Cyanean crags are brought together and then the clashed rocks hurl back headlong over the whole sea. Twice a crash issued from the hostile cliffs and rock against rock, twice a flame glowed in the spray struck forth. As a many-forked horror escapes the ruptured clouds, and fire flashes amidst shadows and rain-clouds, and terror-inspiring thunder rushes out, and shattered light sunders the night (fear settles on the faces, fear settles on the ears of men), no differently did the crash fill the ocean; a shower of spume issues forth and clothes the far-off ship with much water.

The rocks crash together twice, sending up spray and fire twice (*bis . . . bis*, 659–60); there is aural repetition in *praeceps* and *praecipites* (656, 658), in *rupes* and *ruptis* (657, 661), in *inlisa* and *elisa* (658, 663), in *effugit* and *effluit* (662, 665); *pavor* (664) is repeated in anaphora; and the rocks literally butt up against each other at line end and line beginning (*saxis / saxa*, 4.659–60). In the lines immediately preceding, too, the even opposition of the Rocks is felt in the splitting of the sea, in the rock juxtaposed with rock:

> cum procul auditi sonitus insanaque <u>saxa</u>,
> <u>saxa</u> neque illa viris, sed praecipitata profundo
> siderei pars visa poli. dumque ocius instant,
> ferre fugam <u>maria</u> ante ratem, <u>maria</u> ipsa repente
> deficere adversosque vident <u>dis</u>cedere montes,   645
> omnibus et gelida rapti formidine remi.
>   (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.641–6)

> . . . when, far off, sounds were heard, and the raging <u>rocks</u>; nor <u>rocks</u> were they to the men, but they seemed a part of the starry pole, hurled headlong into the deep. And while they swiftly

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[691] Ganiban (2007) 35–6 observes the Augustan and post-Augustan opposition between *pietas* and *furor*—*furor* serves as the gateway to *nefas*, also therefore serving as a marker of civil war and internecine strife.

[692] Previously, the Clashing Rocks had been explicitly used as a simile in a civil war context, namely Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (2.715–19), and even Vergil alludes to the Clashing Rocks in his famous description of Actium on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.692). On the civil war imagery of opposed mountains in Lucan, see Masters (1992) 29–42.

[693] For discussion of the epic's possible center-points, see p. 136, n. 650.

> draw nigh, they see the <u>seas</u> take flight before the raft, the <u>seas</u> themselves suddenly depart and
> the opposed mountains <u>part</u>; and the oars are snatched from them all by a sudden chilling dread.

Here, again, *saxa* appears at line end and line beginning (641–2); the double juxtaposition of rocks in the space of twenty lines reinforces their perpetual collision. But when the third line-ending *saxa* occurs (672), Valerius slips eighteen lines between one rock and the other, the exact amount of time it takes for the Argo to pass through the cliffs. Text echoes action: Minerva sends her guiding light *per concita <u>saxa</u>* ("through the clashing rocks," 4.672) . . . the Argonauts row headlong *fragores per medios* ("through the midst of the crashes," 4.675–6) as the rocks part and come together, and the ship squeaks through by a oar's breadth . . . until suddenly, *<u>saxa</u> sed extremis tamen increpuere corymbis, / parsque (nefas) deprensa iugis* ("but even so, the rocks clashed on the very tip of the stern, and part (unspeakable crime!) was caught by the cliffs," 4.691–2). The rocks have crashed together for the last time, catching the poop of the Argo between them. This sundering of the ship is akin to civil war (*nefas* must rekindle the association for the reader, if the equal strife of the rocks has not already done so), but the civil war of the rocks themselves is ended for good.

The separation of the rocks, the penetration of Pontus—the successful completion of these events destines the Argo for heaven. As the central event of the epic and as the *telos* of Idmon's prophecy and the first half, this episode has inherent significance. Zissos has pointed out the verbal ring-composition of *tum <u>freta</u>, quae longis fuerant <u>impervia</u> saeclis, / ad subitam stupuere <u>ratem</u>* ("then the <u>straits</u>, which had been <u>impenetrable</u> for long centuries, were dumbfounded at the sudden <u>ship</u>," 4.711–12) with the epic's proem, *prima deum magnis canimus <u>freta</u> <u>pervia</u> natis / fatidicamque <u>ratem</u>* ("we sing of the first <u>straits</u> <u>penetrated</u> by the great sons of the gods, and the fate-speaking <u>ship</u>," 1.1–2), serving as a closural gesture.[694] The next line of the proem, celebrating the Argo's separation of the Clashing Rocks (VF 1.3), corresponds with the immediately preceding events of the epic (VF 4.637–92), and her eventual catasterism (VF 1.4) is confirmed (VF 4.692–3). Given the parallels between proem and dedication, to which I shall return shortly, we are also justified in seeing this medial closure as the final hurrah of the laudatory dedication (1.5–21), which concluded with Vespasian's corresponding apotheosis.[695]

Zissos observes that it is the breaking of the ship which defines her ultimate celestial form.[696] But just as Vespasian must die before he can become a shining star in the heavens (events intimated in 1.14–20), so must the Argo die a symbolic death if she is to be catasterized. Part of this death is accomplished by the sundering of her hull, but she has two more deaths to die before she can finally be laid to rest.[697] By passing through the Clashing Rocks, the Argo and her crew have already reached the inverted world of the East, in which Jason (in particular) cannot discriminate between right and wrong and the Dioscuri are separated time and again. However, as is implied by the the non-proem of Jason's lament and the postponement of the actual medial invocation,[698] we are still in the final stretches of the first half. These events occupy a liminal space between the teleological goal of the prooimion and the medial

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[694] Zissos (2004b) 325–7.
[695] See pp. 154ff.
[696] Zissos (2004b) 327.
[697] Could this be a bizarre comment on the end of the tripartite Flavian dynasty, which Davis (1989) sees as represented by the Argo (invoking the eternal metaphor of the "ship of state")?
[698] See pp. 136ff.

invocation of the Muse; all this counts as the "middle" space of the epic, and it belongs both to first half and second half simultaneously.[699]

The Argo symbolically dies with Idmon and Tiphys, and she symbolically dies at Prometheus's release. The first death is signified in the text by a visual illusion:

> ut vero amplexus fessi rupere supremos
> et rapidae sonuere faces, tunc ipsa cremari
> visa ratis medioque viros deponere ponto.
>   (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 5.32–4)

> But as the weary men broke off their last embraces and the devouring torches crackled, then the
> ship herself seemed to be consumed by fire and to deposit the men in the middle of the sea.

The Argo herself appears to be the funeral pyre, perishing together with her dead crewmen.[700] This "death," like the accompanying deaths of Idmon and Tiphys, comes near the beginning of the liminal section. Towards the end of that same section, the Argonauts pass by Prometheus and his liver-plucking eagle (VF 5.171–6), just as they had done in Apollonius's epic:

> τὸν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀκροτάτης ἴδον ἑσπέρου ὀξέι ῥοίζῳ
> νηὸς ὑπερπτάμενον νεφέων σχεδόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης
> λαίφεα πάντ᾽ ἐτίναξε παραιθύξας πτερύγεσσιν·
> οὐ γὰρ ὅγ᾽ αἰθερίοιο φυὴν ἔχεν οἰωνοῖο,
> ἶσα δ᾽ ἐυξέστοις ὠκύπτερα πάλλεν ἐρετμοῖς.
>   (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.1251–5)

> At the very edge of evening, they saw it flying with a sharp whirring way above the ship, near
> the clouds, but even so, it shook all the canvas as it whizzed past with its wings; for it did not
> have the nature of an airy bird, but it brandished pinions equal to polished oars.

The eagle in Apollonius has long been recognized as a parallel for the Argo.[701] Although transferred metaphors of rowing for flying and flying for sailing are not uncommon in ancient literature,[702] Apollonius marks out Zeus's eagle as a very special bird indeed. The simile is barely a simile, as the bird's wings are not simply *like* oars, nor are they even metaphorical "oars," but they are ἶσα, "equal," to oars; and the bird itself explicitly does not appear to be a bird (οὐ γὰρ ὅγ᾽ αἰθερίοιο φυὴν ἔχεν οἰωνοῖο, 2.1254).

As Calvin Byre notes, "to the reader, the comparison of eagle to ship suggests points of similarity that extend beyond appearance and power: both the eagle and, it seems, the *Argo* and her crew are carrying out the will of Zeus, the former in winging to exact punishment from Prometheus, the latter in sailing to take the Golden Fleece from Colchis."[703] Scholars have

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[699] For his purposes, Zissos (2004b) 314 specifically defines the "middle" as "the closing episodes of Book 4, and the opening episodes of Book 5. . . . let us say 4.626–5.221." Certainly everything between the episode of the Clashing Rocks and the medial invocation falls into this liminal space. See p. 136, n. 650 for attempts at a precise calculation of the epic's midpoint.

[700] We may imagine, as a visual parallel, the burial ships of Vikings millennia later.

[701] Cf. Byre (2002) 52–3, Newman (1986) 82.

[702] Gow (1917) 117n2 provides the following list of implementations of this metaphor of rowing for flying: In Greek, Eur. *IT* 289; Aesch. *Ag.* 52; Lucian 1.151. In Latin, Lucr. 6.743; Verg. *Aen.* 1.301, 6.19; Ov. *Ars Am.* 2.45, *Met.* 5.558, 8.228; Apul. *Met.* 5.25; and Cic. *ND* 2.125.

[703] Byre (2002) 52–3.

occasionally observed that Apollonius closely connects the punishment of Prometheus with the voyage of the Argo, since not only here (AR 2.1256–9) but in Book 3, when Medea cuts the root of the *pharmakon Prometheion* (AR 3.851–66) in order to ensure Jason's success, the reader hears of his anguished cries.[704] Byre, again, remarks that "the success of the voyage of the *Argo*, like the flight of the eagle, entails pain and suffering for Prometheus."[705] On a thematic as well as a visual level, then, it seems that the Argo and Prometheus's winged tormenter are closely connected.

The connection between eagle and ship was evidently noticed in ancient times, too—Theocritus, in *Idyll* 13, seems to reverse Apollonius's comparison of Argo and eagle, for he says that the Argo entered the bay of Phasis ὡς αἰετός ("like an eagle," 13.23). Gow sees a determined connection between these two passages,[706] proposing that Theocritus is intentionally recalling and inverting Apollonius's connection of eagle and ship in the event which, temporally, immediately follows the Argo's sailing past the site of Prometheus's punishment.

Valerius's Argonauts pass by Prometheus somewhat later in the Titan's history of prolonged punishment. In fact, they arrive on the scene just as it is reaching an end:

> contra autem ignari (quis enim nunc credat in illis
> montibus Alciden dimissave vota retemptet?)
> pergere iter socii. tantum mirantur ab alto
> litora discussa sterni nive ruptaque saxa
> et simul ingentem moribundae desuper umbram   175
> alitis atque atris rorantes imbribus auras.
>   (Val. Fl. *Arg.* 5.171–6)

But on the other side, unawares (for who now would believe that Alcides was in those mountains, or would rekindle dismissed hopes?), his companions continue their journey. They only marvel from the deep at the shores littered with strewn snow and at the broken rocks and, likewise, at the huge shadow of a dying bird above them and at the breezes drizzling with black rain.

The bird is no longer flying overhead, as it was in Apollonius; rather, it is dying overhead.[707]

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[704] Donovan (2009), Byre (2002) 64n67, Williams (1991) 103.

[705] Byre (2002) 64n67; cf. Zissos (2004b) 334–7, Williams (1991) 103.

[706] Gow (1938) 14.

[707] The bird, which had been Zeus's eagle in Apollonius, is now a vulture (VF 4.69, 7.359). Especially in connection with Hercules, the vulture evokes several new chains of associations for a Roman audience. On a basic level, vultures were used for augury, and they are, specifically, the birds which Romulus and Remus counted for their ill-fated augury contest—there are, therefore, possible associations with fratricide here (also see n. 708). Second, to turn specifically to Hercules, Plutarch records twice (*Moralia* 286B–C, *Romulus* 9.6–7) that, according to Herodorus Ponticus (*FGrH* 33 F 22b), vultures were not only a well-omened bird but were particularly favorable to Heracles: Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χαίρειν γυπὸς ἐπὶ πράξει φανέντος. . . . ἀποκτίννυσι δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται ψυχὴν ἔχον, πτηνοῖς δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς πρόσεισιν. ἀετοὶ δὲ καὶ γλαῦκες καὶ ἱέρακες ζῶντα κόπτουσι τὰ ὁμόφυλα καὶ φονεύουσι ("But Herodorus Ponticus recounts also that Heracles rejoiced when a vulture appeared during his exploit. . . . And it kills nothing nor harms anything that is alive, nor does it approach winged corpses, on account of their kinship. But eagles and owls and hawks attack and murder their own kind even while alive," Plut. *Rom.* 9.6). In his *Roman Questions*, Plutarch specifies the vulture's favorable appearance for Heracles at the *beginning* of an exploit (μάλιστα γυψὶν ἐπὶ πράξεως ἀρχῇ φανεῖσιν ἔχαιρεν Ἡρακλῆς, *Moralia* 286B). Hercules' slaying of his own favored bird, then, especially in this liminal region of new embarkations, creates associations which are just as morally dubious as the association of fratricide.

Through intertextual allusion, this death of Prometheus's once-ship-like bird suffices for the symbolic gutting of the Argo in Valerius's epic. This further implies that, just as Hercules is conquering his own Clashing Rocks—the *rupta saxa* (VF 5.174) which strew the beach recall the *rumpere* (VF 1.4) of the Argo's fated passage through the Clashing Rocks, and the noise of Prometheus's release puts the Argonauts themselves in mind of their recent travails (VF 5.166–7)—he also is unwittingly performing a sympathetic and symbolic slaying of his old companions, severing the last ties that bind.[708]

Just as the epic displays a series of medial closural gestures, so it simultaneously opens anew several times over.[709] While the phrase *freta . . . impervia* (VF 4.711) finally brings to a close the *freta pervia* of the epic's first line, its surrounding lines open the epic's second half just as the Clashing Rocks themselves now lie open (*undis . . . apertis*, 4.710; *Pontique iacentis / omne solum regesque patent gentesque repostae*, 4.712–13). The first word of the first book was *prima*, and the first word of the third book was *tertia*; finally, as the first word of Book 5, we have the long-delayed *altera*, which opens not the second book but the second half.[710] Jason's lament at the death of Tiphys functions, in intertextual lieu of a medial proem, as a metapoetic comment on the epic's midpoint loss of momentum.[711] The ship gains a new helmsman and the crew's affection is transferred to him, while he embarks on his "maiden" voyage (VF 5.68–70). The Argo's penetration of the Phasis (VF 5.184) is in some ways a recasting of the epic's first line.[712] Finally, Valerius delivers his much-postponed "proem in the middle" (VF 5.217–21). This is the end of Zissos's "middle" of the *Argonautica*, and it not only follows the series of closural gestures which he has noted but also marks the last of the series of alternative opening gestures which I have observed above.

The medial re-invocation of the muse, when it belatedly appears, suggests the changed aspect of the epic just as the pair of prophecies in Book 1 predicted the change. Valerius's renewed invocation alters Apollonius's invocation of Erato at the beginning of Book 3 (AR 3.1–5) to an invocation of *any* muse (*dea*, VF 5.217), which mutes and commutes Apollonius's clear

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[708] Hercules' "slaying" of his companions here may have some mythological truth behind it. Of the fifty Argonauts, Hercules later kills at least six of them in one tradition or another: Zetes and Calais, Erginus, Periclymenus, Eurytus, and Iphitus. (In several of these cases, it depends on which exact figure was an Argonaut; for instance, Hercules kills one of Apollonius's Iphiti but not Valerius's Iphitus, and he can only be surmised to kill Valerius's Eurytus because of the apparent syncretism with another Eurytus.) He is also indirectly responsible for the death of Cepheus, who dies assisting Hercules in battle; and he kills a centaur who is the homonym of Eurytion.

[709] Fowler (1997) 20–1 observes that "the bipartite structure that several works possess (in the wake of the *Odyssey*) means that the end of the first half may often be reflected also in the beginning of the second in an anxiety as to whether we really need a new beginning at all. . . . However much the author is constrained by the plot to keep going, to bring the venture to a close, the reader can always put down the book a bit earlier and go do something useful. The presence of this possibility throughout the work produces a constant awareness of the possibility of a 'premature' closure." For the closural gestures, see Zissos (2004b) 323–4: "The central section of the epic serves as a kind of narrative caesura. To mark this function, Valerius . . . supplies [a] . . . sequence of closural gestures, a series of 'terminations' in Books 4 and 5. . . . These gestures generate at the heart of the poem the kind of closural patterning that is normally found only at the end of an epic narrative."

[710] For *prima* and *tertia*, see Feeney (1991) 315. No one, to my knowledge, has pointed out *altera* as the first word of the second half.

[711] See pp. 136ff.

[712] The first straits made navigable by the collective sons of the gods (*prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis*, 1.1) are replaced by their singular leader's penetration of the first harbor of the river (*prima gravi ductor subit ostia pulsu*, 5.184)—by this point in the epic, in a destructive spirit of monism, Jason has abstracted himself completely from the Argonauts, positioning himself as a discrete individual against his usually-cohesive crew.

identification of the following narrative as a love-story and also rejects the Vergilian model, which had paid homage to Apollonius with its own invocation of Erato. Instead, Valerius makes clear the distinction between the two halves of the epic (*incipe nunc cantus alios*, 5.217); where the first half was travel-narrative, epic, positive, the second half will be battle-narrative, tragic, negative.[713] The non-erotic aspect of the future narrative is clear, as Valerius speaks of the *infanda foedera* (VF 5.219–20) and *impia proelia* (VF 5.221) that are to come.[714] Even if the events are literally *infanda* for him, however, he is compelled to speak of them in the same way as he was "forced" to recount the horrors on Lemnos (VF 2.216–19); the grim realities of civil war are ultimately inescapable.[715]

The epic's second half presents a world that imitates the world which came before in the same way that a nightmare imitates reality—dark and twisted and scary. Without the harmonious integrity of the Argo's hull and crew, without a full complement of vatic figures, without the shining lights of Castor and Pollux and their fraternal *pietas*, the remaining four books are bleak and terrible. The repeat civil war has no blazing beacon of Dioscuri at its heart to chase away the shadows. Oaths are repeatedly foresworn. The promises of the first half are not quite played out in the way that anyone expects. Pairing becomes, if anything, disastrous rather than exemplary.

Sitting at the center of the epic, the Clashing Rocks' perpetual strife has been transferred to the Argo and her crew. No longer held together as a cohesive unit, unevenly divided since the departure of Hercules, they lose perception of their proper relation and distribution—in short, of *harmonia*. This is evident in their, and particularly Jason's, desire to mix the bones and names of Idmon and Tiphys, it is evident in the repeated separation of the Dioscuri, and it is evident in the Argonauts' ready, open-eyed involvement in civil war at Colchis. The center of the epic becomes a line across which everything is reflected, and the reflection is, in fact, a distorted mirror image.[716]

Politicizing the Argo

Although the two halves of the epic are clearly positive ("good") and negative ("bad"), there is no clear-cut division between "good" and "bad" within the scope of those halves, nor is there an ultimate pronouncement of the purpose behind the conflicting halves. Part of this failure to pronounce an external judgment on the characters' affairs lies in the absence of an

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[713] Valerius is of course following the inverse bipartite Homeric pattern of Vergil's *Aeneid* in this (as well as, on a more basic level, the bipartite Hesiodic pattern of Apollonius's *Argonautika*), but in no way is it a slavish and pointless imitation.

[714] *Foedera* can (and probably does) have an erotic context (cf. Catullus 64.335, 76.3, etc), but here these bonds, even if erotic, are completely abhorrent, as everyone except the characters themselves knows exactly what horrors they will eventually lead to.

[715] Like the term *nefas* (see p. 146, n. 690), Lucan had also associated the related terms *infandus* and *nefandus* with civil war, and partway through his epic he, too, avers the unspeakable nature of the fratricidal crimes of which he claims he will not—but ultimately will—proceed to sing (*BC* 7.550–9).

[716] The "civil" war in Book 3 and the civil war in Book 6 are clear analogues which reflect each other in structure as well as in thematic content. One takes place between sunset and sunrise while the other occurs between sunrise and sunset; both wars open with an invocation to a muse (VF 3.14–18, 6.33–41); and both feature a renewal of the invocation partway through (VF 3.212–13, 6.515–16). Each contains a core image of doubling a little way past its approximate center (VF 3.187–92, 6.509–14), although episodes of doubling occur all the way through. These parallel elements between the two episodes of civil war, especially the double invocations, also make them analogues of the epic itself.

ending. Would, for instance, Valerius have ended on Apollonius's positive note of a triumphant and happy return to Iolcus, or in an echo of Vergil's tragic murder of Turnus (whether in the form of Absyrtus or Pelias)?[717] Or would the ending have resembled Statius's series of optional closures?[718] Because we lack a final guiding light, we must allow the extant poem to inform us how to read it, insofar as possible—optimistically or pessimistically, politically or apolitically, "pro" or "anti" or neutrally Flavian.[719]

The prevailing opinion among scholars these days seems to be that the *Argonautica* in some way reflects a contemporary pessimism with the state of the world, but the precise manner of reflection is a persistent bone of contention: Should it be understood as a unified political allegory (and, if so, in what fashion) or simply as a poem influenced by the evidently fashionable literary pessimism of the day?[720] We have already seen that the epic is dichotomous in structure, offering the reader two modes of interpretation, optimistic and pessimistic. (This is markedly different from Vergilian and Ovidian poetry, in which the poems can be read in an optimistic or pessimistic—Stephen Hinds might say "suspicious"[721]—light; here, the poem's internal machinery makes the two modes of reading explicit.) Half of the poem conforms to the optimistic view, the other half to the pessimistic view. The first half presents to the reader averted fratricide (multiple times over); enforced harmony; promise of catasterism; a positive view of the leader, Jason; and the advantaging of balanced pairings. The second half presents overt fratricide; enforced disunity; baleful forces that overwhelm the stars; a negative view of Jason; and the disruption of balanced pairings.[722]

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[717] Cf. Hershkowitz (1998) 9.

[718] Coleman (2003) 21, summarizing Braund (1996): "A close examination of the remaining thirty-eight lines of the poem shows that they comprise three 'supplements,' which are interpreted as offering alternative forms of closure in response to the unfinished state of the *Aeneid.*" If Cristiano Castelletti is correct in his suggestion that the return voyage of the Argo is seeded throughout the *Argonautica* rather than being told outright, then at the end of Book 8 the reader would also be sent on a return journey through the same double waters he has already traversed.

[719] See Galinsky (1975) 210–17 and Barchiesi (1997b) 5–11 for the concepts of "pro" or "anti" literature as pertains to Augustus and his poets and for the dangers inherent in this binary classification. In the recent *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome* (Dominik et al. [2009]), the editors wisely endeavor "to keep the reductive polarities of 'pro-' and 'anti-' from hijacking the conversation we wish to promote" (xi).

[720] In the "general" pessimistic camp we find, among others, Davis (1989), Franchet d'Espèrey (1998), and Zissos (2009). In the "specific" allegorical camp (to a greater or lesser extent) are Otte (1992) and Toohey (1993), espousing two rather different political interpretations, while Taylor (1994) provides a third, positivistic, allegorical, and political reading.

[721] Hinds (2007).

[722] We must remember that fratricide and civil war are not, in fact, entirely absent from the first half. Internecine strife and failure of *xenia* are abundant as the Argonauts sail eastwards, but these ultimately tragic events are divinely inspired as retribution for improper behavior. Furthermore, they are mitigated by the positive presence of the still-harmoniously-doubled Argonauts (who serve as the gods' tool in these matters, cf. Zissos [2005] 505). The Lemnian slaughter (in which the Argonauts do not participate) is balanced by the Argonauts' rekindling of sacrificial fires. Laomedon, although plotting what he would like to frame as fratricide, also fails in his machinations; he offers the Argonauts to stay within his "fraternal walls" (*verum age nunc socios fraternis moenibus infer*, 2.565), but they refuse. (Echoes of Romulus and Remus are clear in *fraternis moenibus.*) The "civil" war at Cyzicus is brightened by the ultimately-appropriate behavior of the Dioscuri and properly mitigated by the appropriate purification rituals. The strife-inspired and -inspiring loss of Hylas and Hercules is balanced by the defeat of Amycus, and the loss of his victims' names is reversed by Pollux's retention of his name and Amycus's loss of his own. In every case the punished have committed some "offense" against the gods, which makes their punishment divinely "just." (Franchet d'Espèrey [1998] 214 observes: "Ce qui fait difficulté, ce n'est pas le principe du châtiment, mais c'est sa nature. En effet pour punir les coupables les dieux leur font commettre un autre crime,

McGuire has observed that the Flavian poets repeatedly suggest links between their mythic material and Flavian Rome, highlighting correlations between epic and empire (or emperor).[723] Given the preoccupation of all three Flavian epicists with civil war and tyrants, it seems narrow-sighted to insist that there is no historical relevance to their poetry.[724] Indeed, there are sufficient clear parallels of identification in Valerius's bipartite prooimion[725] between the events of the *Argonautica* and the Flavian dynasty that we may give ourselves license to have in mind parallels between the Flavian *gens* and the Argonauts. At the same time, these parallel introductions are the first hint of the *Argonautica*'s wholesale interest in dichotomy, doubling, and parallelism.

> prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis
> fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras
> ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
> rumpere flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.
>   Phoebe, mone . . .
> <div align="center">(Val. Fl. Arg. 1.1–5)</div>

> We sing of the first straits navigated by the great sons of the gods, and of the fate-speaking ship, which, having dared to pursue the shores of Scythian Phasis and to burst a middle course between the Clashing Rocks, at last came to rest on flame-bearing Olympus. Phoebus, guide [me] . . .

The first four lines mark the particular importance of the divine lineage of the Argonauts (*deum . . . natis*, 1.1); the opening of the seas (*prima . . . freta pervia*, 1.1); the Argo's passage through the Clashing Rocks (*ausa . . . mediosque inter iuga concita cursus / rumpere*, 1.3–4); and her ultimate catasterism, or apotheosizing placement among the stars (*flammifero tandem consedit Olympo*, 1.4).[726] Valerius's opening at first appears to echo that of Apollonius in form—a four-line prooimion detailing in brief summary the achievements of the Argo—but while his first word *prima* likely echoes Apollonius's beginning of ἀρχόμενος,[727] he withholds *Phoebe* until the fifth line, thereby inserting a second, dedicatory prooimion which splits the opening

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et un crime particulièrement horrible, impie même: les Lemniennes massacrent leurs époux et les sujets de Cyzique leurs hôtes.") The evils of the second half, by contrast, are impervious to such a mitigation, and a refrain of "two wrongs don't make a right" must reverberate in the reader's head. Catullus 64 ends with the dissolution of civic and family values as marking the end of the Golden Age; the lament that *perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres* ("brothers drench their hands with brotherly blood," 64.399) is played out within Valerius's epic.

[723] McGuire (1997) 64.

[724] Dominik (1994) 135: "Many scholars have . . . failed generally to recognise the extent to which mythological poetry in Rome operated close to the corridors of power as an instrument of political dialogue." Dominik, who is making this observation in the context of Statius's *Thebaid*, continues, "Statius was utilising the prototypic myth of internecine war to express the concerns of his age about the contemporary political situation"; but the exact same can be said of Valerius in the *Argonautica*.

[725] The poem's introduction, twenty-two lines in all, is split into a four-line "proem," on the model of Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautika*, and an eighteen-line dedicatory invocation to the Flavian *gens*.

[726] Taylor (1994) 216 also sees four discrete parts to the proem: poetic theme, purpose of the voyage, significant incident, and voyage end. These are slightly different in their emphasis than the themes I have laid out, but they are effectively the same for the purposes of understanding a quadripartite division and a correlation with the following invocation.

[727] Feeney (1991) 315 also notes the numerical play evident in *prima* as the first word of the first book and *tertia* as the first word of the third, a numerical sort of jest not absent from the rest of Valerius's work (see p. 151).

into two parts.[728]   The name of Pelias subsequently appears in the first lines of each poet's narrative portion (AR 1.5; VF 1.22).   Valerius's proem and dedication thus fork from Apollonius's opening to create a double-headed prooemial gesture:

ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν	prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis
μνήσομαι οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας	fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras
Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο	ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ.	rumpere flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.
τοίην γὰρ Πελίης φάτιν ἔκλυεν, ὥς μιν ὀπίσσω	Phoebe, mone, si Cumaeae mihi conscia vatis
. . .	. . .
πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα, τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτή	Haemoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis
(Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.1–5, 23)	(Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.1–5, 22)

Prima may also allude to πρῶτα, the first word of Apollonius's catalogue (AR 1.23, positioned approximately the same distance into the poem as Valerius begins his narrative), creating a complex interplay between the individual pieces of each work's opening—this web is furthered with the beginning of Valerius's pseudo-catalogue at 1.107, as the sound of *protinus* imitates the sound of πρῶτά νυν.[729]

By making *Phoebe* the beginning of his dedicatory invocation, Valerius clearly coordinates his two openings, linking them through their shared reference to his model's single opening.   However, the parallels between the two go far beyond the interplay of their first words.[730]   The dedication marks Valerius's standing as a *vates* (VF 1.5–7), Vespasian's maritime triumphs (VF 1.7–9), the bonds of paternity and fraternity between the three imperial members of the Flavian *gens* (VF 1.12–16), and Vespasian's ultimate deification and catasterism such that he will become an aid to future sailors (VF 1.16–20).

There are several obvious and major correspondences between the proem and dedication. First, the Argo's opening of the seas (*prima . . . freta pervia*, 1.1) is matched by Vespasian's opening of a specific sea (*tuque o pelagi cui maior aperti / fama*, "and you, who have greater fame of an opened sea," 1.7–8).   Dependent on this is the inversion of *Scythici . . . Phasidis oras* (1.2) and *Caledonius . . . tua carbasa vexit / Oceanus* ("the Caledonian Ocean bore your sails," 1.8–9), in which the Argo's penetration of the far East is reversed by Vespasian's successful penetration of the far West.   The divine lineage of the Argonauts (*deum magnis . . . natis*, 1.1) recurs in the emphasis on the divine (or nearly divine) Vespasian's offspring, both *proles tua . . . / sancte pater* ("your offspring, holy father," 1.12–13) and *ille tibi cultus . . . deum . . . / instituet*

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[728] For the sake of easy distinction, I shall refer to lines 1–4 of the introduction as the "proem" and 5–21 as the "dedication."

[729] On the pseudo-catalogue generally, see Zissos (2002) 71–6.   He calls this sound-echo a "speculative claim" (75n26), but given the interlocking puzzle of verbal allusion that Valerius is clearly creating, I see no reason to disbelieve authorial intention.   (See also Keith [2008] 232–3 for the interplay of *prima*, ἀρχόμενος, and πρῶτα.) I propose as my own speculative claim the possibility that Valerius's use of *oras* (1.2) was meant to play aurally (if not grammatically) on the homonymity of *ora* as "shore" or "faces" and thus playfully refer to Apollonius's Πόντοιο . . . στόμα ("the mouth of the Black Sea," 1.2).   It is also worth noticing that Valerius employs a plural verb with *canimus* and again implies plurality with *nostra* (1.20); while the poetic "we" is entirely standard, it may still speak to Apollonius's "correction" of his singular μνήσομαι (1.2) with μνησόμεθα (1.23), implicating the Muses as he begins his catalogue (see Clare [2002] 265: "the plural verb appears almost as a correction of what has gone before").

[730] A number of the parallels are discussed by Taylor (1994), although I do not agree with many of the conclusions she draws.   I shall elucidate the parallels which I see as most crucial over the next few pages.

("for you, he will institute cults of the gods," 1.15–16).[731] The final point of the proem, the Argo's ultimate catasterism (*flammifero tandem consedit Olympo*, 1.4), reappears twice in Vespasian's expected (or recent) deification, both with *lucebis ab omni / parte poli* ("you will shine from every part of the sky," 1.16–17) and *tu si signa dabis* ("if you [as a constellation] give signs," 1.19). Deification is also, presumably, the hope of the remaining two members of the Flavian *gens*.

By tacitly analogizing the three Flavians to the Argonauts through the parallels of proem and dedication, Valerius allows the Argonauts' experiences to reflect upon the Flavian dynasty. They are praised through the Argonauts' successes and condemned by their failures. Thus the first half of the epic speaks well for Vespasian and his sons, but the second half reads much more problematically. I have shown that Valerius places positive emphasis on fraternal cooperation, especially that of the Dioscuri; and the separation of the Dioscuri, as we have seen, is a major issue in the pessimistic world of the second half. This polarization may inform a reading of the poem: fraternal concord, on the model of the Dioscuri, is the right way forward. It is not for nothing that Castor and Pollux were the traditional *exemplum* for fraternal *pietas* between imperial heirs in the Julio-Claudian period, an identification extending through six sets of joint imperial heirs.[732] And if the Dioscuri are the mythic paradigm for

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[731] There is eternal debate as to the identity of *ille* (15), namely whether it refers to Titus or Domitian. Because of Valerius's love for coordinated opposition, I much prefer to understand *ille* as referring to Titus since *proles tua* (1.12) necessarily refers to Domitian. Zissos (2008) 90 *ad* 1.15–16 also notes that "when used in verse to signal a change of subject, *ille* often picks up an object, a noun in an oblique case, or a subordinate subject in the preceding clause." By contrast, he continues, "those who believe 5–21 to have been written after Vespasian's death . . . generally understand *ille* = Domitian." My own opinion on the matter, much like Poortvliet's (1991b) procedure for attempting to determine whether or not Valerius ever applied the *ultima lima* to his epic, is that we should let the text speak for itself. Grammatically and syntactically, *ille* seems to refer to Titus, but this does not have to imply that Vespasian was or was not still alive. Alternatively, *ille* could be intentionally ambiguous, as if the poet is holding his breath and waiting to see which *proles* will actually have the necessary piety to fill the demonstrative adjective's shoes. Zissos (2008) 90 *ad* 1.15–16 rightly observes that "the crucial implication of this statement is that the Flavian dynasty will continue following Vespasian's death"; it does not speak to Vespasian's current state of mortality.

[732] The dynamics of these pairs are somewhat complex. Augustus's grandsons Gaius and Lucius were the first joint heirs, and they were associated with Castor and Pollux in imperial ideology and iconography (see especially Poulsen [1991]). In addition, the title *princeps iuventutis* (awarded to Gaius in 5 BC, Lucius in 2 BC), became associated with the heir(s) of the *princeps* (on the *princeps iuventutis* in general, see *RE* 22:2, 2296.61–2311.50). The Dioscuri were also the patron divinities of the equestrian class (Dion. Hal. 6.13, Wissowa [1912] 268–71, Helbig [1905]), so an association of them with the leaders and protectors of that order was only natural, and the title was, in fact, officially bestowed *by* that order (Taylor [1924] 159). On the death of Tiberius's brother Drusus, the imagery of the Dioscuri extended to that fraternal pair (Poulsen [1991] 126–7); subsequently, the shared title of *principes iuventutis* and imagery of the Dioscuri became more closely associated. The image was next transferred to Drusus *minor* and Germanicus, who were joint heirs and *principes iuventutis* (and Drusus even earned himself the ironic nickname Castor, cf. Cassius Dio 57.14.9). The actual twins Germanicus and Tiberius Gemellus (born AD 19), sons of Drusus *minor*, would of course have brought the twin Dioscuri, already a firmly-entrenched image, to mind, and they are called "the new Dioscuri" (νέων Διοσκόρων Δρούσου Καίσαρος υἱῶν) in an inscription from Ephesus (*SEG* IV.515). Germanicus's sons, Nero and Drusus, until their disgrace in AD 29, were the next joint heirs; and finally Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus. Poulsen (1991) 129 observes that "with Caligula the basis for double heirs within the Imperial family came to an end, and the *princeps iuventutis* title was hereafter conferred on individuals. This also meant the end of the ideological use of the Dioscuri in the succession policy." However, Titus and Domitian were jointly called *principes iuventutis*—they are frequently shown together on coins of Vespasian with the title—and this may suggest a simultaneous revival of Dioscuri imagery, even if it is not so overt as in the early Julio-Claudian period. This is especially plausible because Caligula, who had brought Nero and Drusus back to Rome, displayed them together on a dupondius (BMC 44; RIC[2] 1, 49), after their deaths, as

imperial heirs, then the poem is equivalently saying: the cooperation of imperial heirs is good (to which we may say, of course, this is why the Dioscuri *were* the chosen *exemplum*), while the separation or conflict of imperial heirs is bad.[733]

     I have argued that the Argo's passage through the Clashing Rocks brings in its wake the separation of the Dioscuri and leads to the inversions of the second half. I now propose that this turning-point of both voyage and epic is not merely a case of cause and effect. The Dioscuri, as we have seen, are always together in the first half and always apart in the second. The Clashing Rocks, too, follow this model (albeit off-screen, as it were): until the Argonauts reach them, they are engaged in a perpetual impetus towards each other, while after the Argonauts pass through them, they remain apart for good. In this way, we can read the Dioscuri and Clashing Rocks as parallels, always together, or always apart; but at the same time, they are opposites, since the Dioscuri are always together in harmony, while the Clashing Rocks are always together in strife.

     When combined with the traditional exemplary role of the Dioscuri for imperial heirs, this coincidence strongly suggests two ways to read both the Rocks and the Flavian heirs. One option is to see the cessation of eternal strife as good, as part of Jupiter's extended *imperium* (which "must" be good, at least on a cosmic level). The other option, however, is to recall that this stilling of the Rocks is also the result of the Argo's traditionally "problematic" penetration of the Black Sea, the collapsing of boundaries which brings about the end of the Golden Age. Titus and Domitian, then, if they are together, can either be like the Dioscuri, engaging in fraternal *pietas*, or—as the parallels of the introduction cryptically suggest—like the Clashing Rocks, always at loggerheads. The abatement of strife between the rocks (on the surface a good thing) thrusts us into the grim, reverse world of the East, where the Dioscuri are also forced apart; this may suggest an entirely plausible anxiety about the interaction between Titus and Domitian.

     If Statius's *Thebaid* shows the problems attendant on having two equally-qualified, indistinguishable heirs who will not cooperate with each other, Valerius's epic serves as a meditation on inheritance, considering it from a variety of different angles. The Dioscuri work perfectly—so long as they are actually together. (Apart, they accidentally become copies of

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equites, in a style imitated by Vespasian for Titus and Domitian (e.g., BMC 750)—Nero and Drusus, who had once been the Dioscuri-associated *principes iuventutis*, are the closest thing to joint heirs under the reign of Caligula. (Later, the same style of representation was adopted by the first joint emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; their early imperial propaganda laid heavy emphasis on their parity [see Vogel (1973) 66–7].) However, a revival of the imagery under Vespasian is not necessary for the purposes of understanding Valerius's Dioscuri as a parallel for Vespasian's sons; if anything, the *absence* of contemporary Dioscuri imagery would make a stronger case for a veiled poetic allusion to the heirs. Cf. Ahl (1984) and Dominik's ([1994] 139ff) discussion of the rhetorical figure of *emphasis* as pertains to Statius. As Statius's Polynices and Eteocles can easily be perceived as non-Roman calques for Romulus and Remus, so Castor and Pollux are non-Flavian (but certainly Roman) calques for the imperial heirs. Once a given figure of *emphasis* is too familiar, it no longer provides a successful veiling for its underlying meaning; we can easily see this in, for example, Jupiter as the eternally recognizable figure of the emperor.

[733] Bannon (1997) 174: "Because the figures of Romulus and Remus were problematized in the literature of the civil wars, Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors sought new mythological paradigms for the fraternal harmony that had long represented Roman civic unity. Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri) replace the founders as a paradigm of brotherly partnership."

Eteocles and Polynices, unintentionally out for each other's blood.)[734] Multiple claimants to the throne work less well, or at least provoke fear; we see the fear in Pelias, directed at Aeson and Jason,[735] while we see the reality in Aeetes and Perses, and there it is unclear who is the real claimant to the throne, the one authorized by inheritance, the other by fate.[736] This exploration of the difficulties inherent in determining succession sounds like a tacit approbation of one aspect of (unofficial) Flavian policy, namely to prevent the proliferation of possible imperial pretenders.[737]

Where Vespasian had two heirs, Domitian had none. It seems very likely that Valerius at least began composition of his epic under Vespasian, but he was probably still writing when Domitian finally came to the throne, *sans* heir. An abrupt change in the structure and program of the entire epic would be unlikely, but Valerius must have been eyeing the relations between Titus and Domitian with some trepidation, a fear for Rome's future that is reflected in his pessimistic second half.[738] The publicly-visible interactions between Vespasian's heirs following Titus's accession uncannily resemble the two halves of Valerius epic. Titus was a model of *pietas*, depicting himself and his brother engaged in fraternal harmony, naming Domitian *consors et successor* (Suet. *Tit.* 9.3); Domitian, however, begrudged Titus his status as sole ruler and spread rumors of a forged will (Suet. *Dom.* 2.3).[739] Some scholars believe that Valerius was so disheartened by the events of Domitian's reign that he could not even see his way to finishing the epic, and thus it breaks off intentionally, the poet's internal conflict perhaps even represented in the fragmented ending of the eighth book.[740] The initial setup of the Flavian trio within the epic, however, takes into account both present and future circumstances; the *vates* has no need of truly prophetic powers to see where the empire is likely headed with the Flavian configuration of power distribution.

Flavian ideology stressed the harmony between Titus and Domitian;[741] the reality, it seems, was probably somewhat different. Similarly, Valerius's dedication in the *prooimion*

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[734] O'Gorman (2005) 36 quotes Barthes's *On Racine* (1977: 61) as an explanation of Oedipus's sons: "They hate each other for being unable to tell each other apart." Valerius's night-befuddled Dioscuri have exactly the opposite problem: they cannot tell that they *are* the same.

[735] In the Argonautic tradition, Pelias's right to the throne is sometimes more, sometimes less stable; in Pindar, he is an outright usurper (*Pyth.* 4.109–10).

[736] This may also be the Romulus-and-Remus model, where one sees his vultures first, but the other sees more vultures.

[737] Griffin (2000) 16–17: "The Flavians . . . were to show themselves concerned to avoid an unnecessary proliferation of relatives of the imperial house. So the grandsons of [Vespasian's] brother Flavius Sabinus were both married within the family. . . . It is possible that a fear of confusing the succession issue by producing another legitimate child is what deterred Vespasian from taking a second wife as *princeps*."

[738] As Dominik (1994) 138 notes of Valerius's near-contemporary Statius, he "made the choice of subject for his epic during the rather peaceful reigns of Vespasian (69–79) and Titus (79–81). . . . The epic was well advanced in conception when Domitian ascended to the throne in 81 and in a late stage of composition when his character began to worsen. Therefore Statius's muted criticism of the Principate is not aimed (exclusively) at Domitian." Similarly, Braund (2006) 269 observes of Statius's epic that "some interpretations make much of the alleged similarity between the Theban family of a father with two sons and the Flavian dynasty of a father with two sons. Statius' starting-point of his action in the *Thebaid*, a father's curse upon his two sons who both seek power, has been viewed as closely linked with the fierce resentment of Domitian, the younger son, at his father Vespasian's and especially at his brother Titus' power." (Braund herself rejects this sort of explicit reading, in favor of seeing a more basic Roman mentality in the choice of story.)

[739] See Griffin (2000) 53.

[740] E.g., Toohey (1993), who thinks that Valerius's silence speaks louder than his words.

[741] Griffin (2000) 16, citing Joseph. *BJ* 4.597, 7.119ff.

celebrates Domitian's affection for his brother and the two heirs' *pietas* towards their father (VF 1.12–16). As this fraternal and filial *pietas* is modeled in the epic's first half, so perhaps the second half reflects "reality." Vespasian differentiated clearly between his heirs at the same time as wanting their family to present a harmonious whole; Domitian's souring jealousy shows the unreality of the harmony. Again, intimations of this "reality" may be found in the second half, especially if we see the Dioscuri as emphatically representing Vespasian's heirs within the text (a parallel suggested by the traditional exemplary role of the Dioscuri, even if it was not actively revived by Flavian ideological propaganda).[742] Mattingly observes that "the intention of Vespasian to found a dynasty is most clearly marked by the share given to his two sons in the coinage; but there is no trace of any intention on his part to place Domitian on a level with Titus."[743]

What do we see within the text? Jupiter encourages all three of his sons to strive for the stars; but their treatment within the text is ultimately unequal. Pollux has his moment of glory in the first half, an untried but divinely "authorized" replacement for his half-brother Hercules,[744] and ends up outshining his attendant twin. Castor, however, although the "dominant" twin in Roman ideology,[745] must wait until the second half (and the disappearance of his brother) to shine. His father looks down and laughs (6.209–10) but has given no real divine sanction for his sudden *aristeia*, and Castor is swiftly subsumed into the text again, his brilliance only temporary.[746] In mythology, Pollux offers up his complete immortality in deference to an eternal parity with his lesser brother. In the *Argonautica*, they turn out to be less on par than they originally seemed (thanks, in particular, to Jason's second-half rule of monism), and the Flavian heirs, too, are not equal.[747]

Contemporary anxieties regarding two "fraternally pious" brothers seem likely to evoke recognition of certain parallels, in particular Titus and Domitian (joint imperial heirs) as the

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[742] Braund (2006) 270: "Romans feared repeating the initial act of fratricide by Romulus upon Remus. . . . Roman reverence for the Dioscuri—a pair of brothers who became a sign of loyalty, with Castor giving up his own immortality to share it with the endangered Pollux [*sic*]—replays itself in the notion of cooperating brothers, metaphorically in the case of the consuls of the republic and more literally in the early principate, a time when the Dioscuri grow in symbolic importance, with Tiberius and Drusus, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar paired in their promotion to honours and with Augustus' attempt to do the same with Germanicus and Tiberius' son Drusus." On the Roman obsession with brothers in general, see Bannon (1997).

[743] Mattingly (1923) xliii. Also see Griffin (2000) 17.

[744] Divine authorization for Pollux's victory is visible in Neptune's lament (*before* the competition) that Amycus must die because *iam iam aliae vires maioraque sanguine nostro / vincunt fata Iovis, potior cui cura suorum est* ("now other forces and Jupiter's fates, stronger than our blood, have the upper hand; his concern for his own is more powerful," 4.126–7).

[745] See Poulsen (1991), Bannon (1997) 178–9. The Roman perception of the twins seems to be inverted from the Greeks; depending on the chronology of Valerius's *Argonautica*, and how closely we want to read particular aspects of the political allegory, there may be some of this cross-culture inversion at play.

[746] We may compare Theocritus's *Idyll* 22, in which each twin is purportedly glorified separately; but where Pollux's defeat of Amycus is narrated, Castor is (it turns out) only celebrated in connection with his twin, and in a situation where the Dioscuri seem to come out rather badly (they have stolen the promised brides of the Apharetidae).

[747] Perhaps this is why the *exemplum* of the Dioscuri was *not* revived in imperial ideology: Vespasian wanted to make no bones about his sons' stratification into first- and second-rank heir. Valerius, then, could be commenting on the dangers that are inherent in this ranking system. Bannon (1997) 179: "Since only one brother could succeed, imperial brothers could not enjoy complete partnership in their political careers. . . . The prominence of Castor corresponds to the primacy of the brother who would become emperor, while the shared immortality of the Dioscuri offsets the inequality. And this inequality could be problematic."

traditionally exemplary Dioscuri, while Vespasian is suggested not just by the "obvious" parallel of Jupiter but by Hercules, catasterized before the Dioscuri who will follow in his footsteps.[748] This is contrary to standard assumptions that Jupiter equals the emperor (although this reading is always available following the developed conventions of Augustan poetry)[749] or that Jason, as *dux*, must be Vespasian (with potential subsequent transferring to Titus and/or Domitian).[750] Some textual evidence for the parallel lies in Valerius's collocation and repetition of a pair of phrases. In the dedication, he addresses Vespasian with a plea—*eripe me populis* ("snatch me from the people," 1.10)—following it up at the beginning of the next line with *namque potes* ("for you are able," 1.11).[751] In Book 2, Hesione addresses Hercules with the same two phrases placed back-to-back: *eripe, namque potes* ("snatch me away, for you are able," 2.490). Valerius's verbal echoes of himself are rarely unconsidered (we may compare, for instance, the use of *huc alternus et huc* once each for Castor [6.231] and Pollux [4.266]),[752] so we are justified in seeing some meaning in this repetition.

One wants to avoid heavy-handed, overly deterministic allegorical readings, and this is not what I am suggesting; the perils that lie along this path are demonstrated by one-to-one mappings of historical figures onto characters such as the reading which Taylor provides.[753]

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[748] Hercules' catasterism is in fact followed through to the end within the epic, although the trail frequently grows cold. At the same instant when Hylas becomes an *imago* and an echo, Hercules effectively splits in two, his heroic body proceeding off to sack Troy and rescue Prometheus while his heroic *imago* appears in numerous similes (*imagines* in Latin, cf. Harrison [2003]). Hunter (1993) 30–1 points to Apollonius's allusive incorporation (4.1477–80) of the Homeric split between Heracles' mortal εἴδωλον in the Underworld and his celestial body on Olympus (*Od.* 11.601–3); this effective bisection of Hercules may be Valerius's implementation of the same network of allusions. Hercules' *imago* rescues Theseus from Hades (4.700–2), his *imago* slays the Hydra (7.623–4), his *imago* defeats the Nemean lion (8.125–6), his *imago* dines with Hebe and the other gods (8.230–1). His exploits are also mentioned numerous times, by his abandoned companions who join the Argonauts, by Jason, by Juno, even once by Valerius (in describing the ghost of Sthenelus). It is as though Hercules has been granted his own epic that runs as a substratum to the *Argonautica* and every so often surfaces briefly. This hidden "*Herculeid,*" which (although a "double" of the *Argonautica*) is not quite within the scope of this dissertation, deserves to be examined more fully, and I hope to do so elsewhere. On the parallels between Jason and Hercules and Valerius's elevation of both figures, see Adamietz (1970). The identification of Vespasian with Hercules chances to resonate with the temporally not-too-far-off *de rigeur* identification of the Roman emperor with Hercules. The comparison did not really flourish until the reign of Trajan (Hannestad [1988] 175–6), but Domitian's self-identification as Hercules (cf. Martial *Ep.* 9.65) was an early stepping stone in this association (Hannestad [1988] 141). The trope was already active even under Augustus, however, and in fact adopted from the Hellenistic poets (cf. Galinsky [1972] 116–17, 132–49; Barchiesi [1997a] 192; Taylor [1994] 222–3).

[749] Dominik (1994) 158: "It was usual for postclassical poets to identify their emperors with various deities. Ovid frequently compares or identifies Augustus with gods and demigods such as Romulus . . . , Hercules, Bacchus . . . and especially Jupiter. . . . This practice reached its zenith a half century later under Domitian." He also notes "the association of the emperor with Jupiter that was made in the Roman imperial cult under the Flavians" (160).

[750] See Toohey (1992), (1993); Taylor (1994). Toohey (1993) 200: "Jason should be thought of not as being the prototype for a specific emperor, but as a generic imperial prototype. . . . He is, as we see him in Book 1, the prototype for Vespasian, or for Titus, or for Domitian. It follows, therefore, that Jason may take on attributes or qualities of more than one emperor within this poem."

[751] Samuelsson (1905–6) 82–3 and Getty (1940) very plausibly transpose the beginnings of lines 11 and 13. For recent defenses of the transposition, see Kleywegt (2005) 15–17 and Zissos (2008) 85–6, with a summary of the pro and con arguments at Kleywegt (1986) 318–19. If *namque potes* is left in its original position two lines further on, it must be emended to *namque potest.*

[752] On Valerius's apparently very careful lexical choices in the matter of synonyms, a related issue, see Perkins (1974).

[753] Taylor (1994). She postulates a dynastic and unapologetically pro-Flavian *Argonautica* in which the end of the Golden Age symbolizes the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (so far an unproblematic reading, except in

Her choices seem, to an extent, arbitrary, based primarily on a desire to take the flattery of the dedication at face value, a reading which—as I hope I (and others) have shown—is not easily supported by the rest of the epic.[754]

Of course, on another level, multiple potential political readings are available to the reader, who is encouraged to interpret the text differently with different mappings. Even the basic innovation of the Sun's opposition to the Argonauts' voyage allows a political pro-Flavian surface-reading of the epic, as Nero's heavy identification of himself with Apollo-cum-Sol in his coinage, together with the massive Neronian *colossus,* seem likely to provide a basis for the Sun playing the role of primary divine antagonist in the *Argonautica.*[755] Zissos objects on principle to readings that "depend upon elaborate and sustained symbolic equations, the subjective perception of which makes them inherently difficult to verify or disprove."[756] However, he mentions as particularly inimical to such readings "the dearth of echoes of the initial Flavian apologia (1.7–21) in the narrative proper, and especially the failure to continue developing the parallels between Vespasian and Jason established at 1.7–9."[757] His focus here puts the burden of proof on positive readings, and I hope that I have in fact shown the strong presence of such echoes in the *first half* of the narrative (and that I have obviated the need for a Vespasian/Jason [or Domitian/Jason] parallel as the driving political force). Zissos's point regarding the (supposed) apologia holds absolutely true for the epic's second half.

Just as the dissonance of the halves is prefigured by the competing prophecies of Mopsus and Idmon, so an association between the Flavian *gens* and the events of the poem is suggested by the parallels of proem and dedication. The fraternal impiety of the second half inverts the intensive first-half focus on the Dioscuri, and the more general opposition of the two halves is demonstrated by the frequent reversal of events and images across the middle line. Beneath the optimistic Flavian propaganda of a new age that promised to keep the best of the old and dispense with the rest, Valerius could see—and exposed—the dark shadows of Rome's birthright of civil war and fratricide that threatened to return at the first sign of weakness. Did the title of Caesar Augustus, adopted by Vespasian (and by Titus and Domitian in turn), promise the beneficent rule of Augustus or the depraved rule of the last Julio-Claudian, Nero? If the name makes the man, which man will the Flavians really be?[758] Valerius's ultimate pessimism points—as a warning more than a final sentence—to the worst.

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ignoring the potentially negative context inherent in this mythic *exemplum*) and in which Hercules=Augustus, Jason=Vespasian, Medea=Berenice, Pelias-and-Aeetes=Nero, and Aeson=Thrasea Paetus (with Alcimede as his wife Arria). Subsequent responses to Taylor's article (Zissos [2009] 353n7, Liberman [1997] lxvi n92) have been rightly skeptical of her thesis.

[754] That is not to say that there is no merit in her argument—certainly the article contains many good points—but political allegory is not one of them, and her determination to see praise of Vespasian as central to the epic inevitably distorts a number of her otherwise profitable readings.

[755] Taylor (1994) 229, by contrast, sees Aeetes' descent from the Sun as connecting the Colchian tyrant with Nero. Again, this just goes to show the multiplicity of readings available in the text.

[756] Zissos (2009) 352–3.

[757] Zissos (2009) 353n.

[758] This idea of *nomen est omen* may be behind Valerius's (and Ovid's) pervasive focus on identity and names. In addition to the onomastic dynastic bridge of "Caesar Augustus," Titus bears his father's name, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, in full. The *vates* may also be prophetic: after Valerius's death, Domitian would change the names of his niece's two sons to T. Flavius Vespasianus and T. Flavius Domitianus and cultivate them as his heirs (cf. Griffin [2000] 68). This serves to highlight the contemporary importance of having the right (or wrong) name.

Pollux	Castor	Both (or indeterminate)
		1.167 – Jason entices Acastus (*Tyndareusque puer*)
1.220 – Mopsus's prophecy sees Pollux's fight with Amycus		
		1.420ff – Catalogue notice
		1.562ff – Jupiter's prophecy (*Ledae genus*)
		2.427 – departure from Lemnos (*gemino Castore*)*
3.149 – Pollux alone in battle		
		3.186ff – nighttime *nefas* encounter of Dioscuri
		3.330–1 – C&P comfort Clite (*gemino cum Castore Pollux*)
		3.667–8 – C&P adduced as replacements for Hercules (*Pollux stirpe pares Castorque*)
		3.723 – C&P lament for Hercules (*dulci frater cum Castore Pollux*)
4.190–343 – Pollux and Amycus		4.226, 4.333 – Castor is in full support of his twin, appearing at battle's beginning and end
4.757 – Jason presents Pollux alone as victor over Amycus		
		5.366–7 – C&P accompany Jason to Aeetes (*astro comantes Tyndaridas*)
	5.546ff – Jason sends Castor alone back to Argonauts as messenger	← abrupt division of twins
		5.572 – Jason points out some Argonauts to Aeetes (*natos Iovis*)
	6.204ff – Castor's *aristeia*	
6.344 – Pollux alone hastens to the scene of Canthus's death		
8.245 – Pollux alone brings fire and water for the wedding		

Table 4. Appearances of the Dioscuri.

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* This is typically understood as a use of the Latin dual (cf. Bell [1923] 3–4) or as synecdoche. Parallels for *geminus Castor* or *geminus Pollux* implying both twins are Hor. *Odes* 3.29.64 and Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.746.

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