HARVARD
Department of the Classics

PERSEPHONE

The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal

Vol 1, No. 1, Winter 2016

Table of Contents

Cover portrait, Narcissus by John William Waterhouse (1912), *accessed from Wikimedia Commons under public domain.*

Dear Readers,

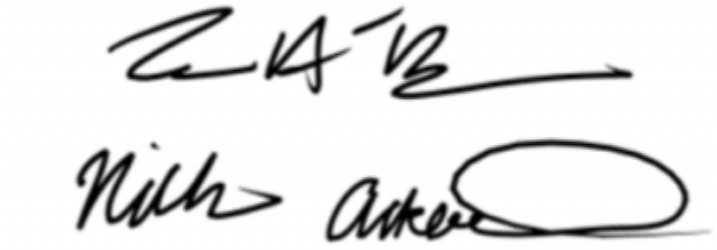
It is our pleasure to bring Persephone back to the land of the living after a protracted, chthonic residency of nearly three years. In order that she may spread her bounty as far as possible, we have decided to relocate her to the worldwide web. This new medium will allow us to post articles with greater frequency and, in so doing, increase dialogue among undergraduate classical scholars at universities and colleges across the globe.

We have selected articles that we feel reflect the tremendous breadth of our colleagues' research. These articles address topics that range from Platonic philosophy, to medieval law codes, to verse translations and beyond. The swathe of institutions from which we have solicited articles is likewise diverse; our contributing authors attend schools all over the world, including the University of Oxford, the University of Cambridge, the University of Pennsylvania, Haverford College and Brown University.

We hope you enjoy the Winter 2016 edition of Persephone and that you find the web format convenient and pleasing. It has been an honor working on these articles with our peers, and a privilege standing at the helm of Persephone.

Sincerely,

Talia Boylan and Nicholas Ackert '17,
Co-Editors in Chief



HARVARD
Department of the Classics

AN INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD F. THOMAS ON BOB DYLAN AND THE CLASSICS

By The Persephone Editorial Staff

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 1-4

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/bob-dylan-and-classics-interview-professor-richard-f-thomas

An Interview with Richard F. Thomas on Bob Dylan and the Classics

Persephone Editorial Staff
Harvard University

Richard F. Thomas is Harvard University's George Martin Lane Professor of the Classics. He has served as the Director of Undergraduate Studies, Director of Graduate Studies, and Department Chair in the Department of the Classics. He is Co-chair of the Seminar on "The Civilizations of Ancient Greece and Rome," in Harvard's Mahindra Humanities Center. He has served as Director of the American Philological Association and as Trustee and Director of the Vergilian Society of America, of which he is currently President. Since 2001, he has been a Trustee of the Loeb Classical Library, and is currently serving as Editor of Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.

He has taught extensively about Bob Dylan and the Classics. The following interview was conducted in reference to Professor Thomas' article, "The Streets of Rome: The Classical Dylan," published in Oral Tradition 22/1 (2007):30-56.
http://journal.oraltradition.org/files/articles/22i/Thomas.pdf

P: Do you remember the first Bob Dylan song you ever heard?

RFT: Yes; Dylan is nine year older than I am and he started putting out music when I was 11 or 12… "Blowin' in the Wind" I guess is the obvious one…In the context of 1963 it was the civil rights song. I remember singing that in my school chorus.

P: So this was in New Zealand?

RFT: Yeah. Things usually arrived in New Zealand about a year later.The same album had "Masters of War," which is generally acknowledged as the greatest song of the anti-war period. That wasn't about Vietnam, though, which was just starting at that point, it was about the [military] industrial complex…The thing about Dylan's performative essence is he keeps singing these old songs as well as the new songs… In Iraq, after 2003, Dylan was singing this forty-year-old song but with new meaning. He tends not to have geographical or chronological markers that tie a song to its context.

P: When did you first begin to notice intertextuality between Bob Dylan and classical authors?

RFT: It really wasn't until 9/11. Dylan had an album that came out on that morning called "*Love and Theft*." Now I had noticed intertextuality of a similar sort in 1997 with the song "Highlands" from the album *Time Out of Mind*, a very long, narrative song that

has the refrain “My Heart’s in the Highlands.” So [that was from] Robert Burns... But it wasn’t really until the 2001 album *“Love and Theft”* [that I noticed intertextuality with classical authors]…Now if the intertexts are activated in the mind of the listener, it’s not just Vietnam, the war of Dylan’s youth, it’s all of these literary wars, including the Roman wars of Aeneas and the Civil Wars, for which they in some way stand.

P: You write quite a lot about Dylan’s lyrics. For you, is his appeal primarily textual, or would you say that the music plays as important a role in your listening experience as his lyrics?

RFT: That’s a great question. I think the latter; there are some singer-songwriters who start out as poets. And...Dylan wrote and published poetry in the early 60s, but then started writing songs… He’s a poet in the sense of bard, *oidos* or *vates*. He truly is a poet whose song is part of the poetry.

P: In your article “The Streets of Rome: the Classical Dylan,” you mention T.S. Eliot’s maxim “immature poets imitate; mature poets steal.” And you’ve found that his lyrics consist of a mélange of intertexts -- “stolen” words from other authors. Does he engage in the same sort of “theft” in his music?

RFT: Yes, absolutely… He put out an album in 1992 called “World Gone Wrong.” There are blues songs in that...in which the melody is stolen. But who do the blues belong to? Blues songs, like folk songs, are a continuous stream.

P: Every author wants to claim that he or she was the progenitor of some creative movement, although it might be said that nothing can ever be truly “original” because our inspiration has to come from somewhere. Do you think that intertextuality is an inherent component of any literary genre and its reception, whether that intertextuality is intentional or not?

RFT: Sure - Look at the song “Fourth Time Around,” released in 1966, which came out soon after the Beatles released “Norwegian Wood,” and compare the songs side by side.

The Beatles sing: “I once had a girl, or should I say, she once had me / She showed me her room, isn't it good, norwegian wood?”

But let’s cross-reference it with Dylan’s lyrics: “I stood there and hummed / I tapped on her drum and asked her how come /And she buttoned her boot /And straightened her suit /Then she said, ‘Don’t get cute’ / So I forced my hands in my pockets / And felt with my thumbs / And gallantly handed her /My very last piece of gum.”

I would like to think that with this simplistic rhyming Dylan is sort of making fun of "Norwegian Wood." Also think about the last verse: "I never asked for your crutch / Now don't ask for mine." But who is the "you" here? Is it John Lennon?

P: So in a song like "Fourth Time Around" it seems as though the intertext is intentional, but do you think there are other songs where he's less conscious of the authors whom he is alluding to or incorporating? Are there songs where intertexts emerge organically?

> RFT: I think the process and the composing is [mostly] pretty conscious. [But] during a 60 Minutes interview, Ed Bradley starting quoting "It's Alright Ma." Bradley wanted to know where it came from. And Dylan didn't know… Basically he read a lot, and he's always read eclectically as opposed to canonically. One of the things he discovered was the evoking of other literature, including Ovid's exile poetry or Kimrod's Confederate Poetry. These two authors are referenced in some songs together, actually. Dylan's always been interested in the Civil War, which perhaps led to his interest in Rome. There is a song from *Modern Times* with 18 lines of Ovid.

P: Just to play devil's advocate, do you think those lines represent a conscious intertext? Is there any way that these similarities could be coincidental?

> R: No, no, these lines, almost word for word, can be nailed specifically to Peter Green's translation of Ovid. And that's part of the effect. In the first song of that album, "Thunder on the Mountain," Dylan sings "I've been sitting down studying the Art of Love / I think it will fit me like a glove." Of course, the *Ars Amatoria* isn't explicitly there, but as you listen, you're thinking of Ovid.

P: You mention briefly that you've come close to meeting Dylan, but you've never actually met him. Would getting answers immediately would ruin the joy of interpreting his music, and does this distance speak to an ideal relationship between a poet and scholar?

> RFT: Some artists respond to critics' questions about their art. I think Dylan would refuse to respond to questions of that sort. Think about the movie *Don't Look Back.* It portrays musical critics trying to understand the phenomenon of Dylan's popularity, which they don't approve of because they dislike his music, and Dylan is contemptuous of all of them. Dylan has always written about personae...to maintain that distance. Afterall, Bob Dylan is itself a non-name. [He was born Robert Zimmerman]. There's one famous song– around Halloween in '63 – where he says "I've got my Bob Dylan Mask on today."

P: Do you believe that Dylan is aware that classicists are interested in him?

RFT: Yeah, I have reason to think that those of us who have written about Classics have showed up on his radar... Dylan has a line in the song "Nettie Moore" from *Modern Times.* He sings, "The world of research has gone berserk. Too much paper work." Some of us thought he might referring to the excessive writing about his music.

Moreover, look at the song "Early Roman Kings." At a superficial glance, it sounds Roman, but the Roman Kings actually refers to a 60s gang in New York. He's playing with his audience, because the title is much more Latin than the other titles of songs that actually have Ovid.

In the bigger picture, isn't this the case with Roman intertextuality too? Didn't Vergil or Ovid expect his readers to constantly be thinking about intertext and past precedent? Consider Horace's quote in Epistulae II.224: "cum lamentamur non apparere labores" – we lament that our hard work isn't seen. Horace complains that his efforts at intertextuality are not appreciated even though they exist.

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

THE SHORTFALL OF STICKS AND STONES: SENSES AND SENSIBILITY

By Elissa Foord, Trinity College Cambridge University

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 5-20.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/shortfall-sticks-and-stones-senses-and-sensibility

The Shortfalls of Sticks and Stones: Senses and Sensibility

Elissa Foord
Trinity College, Cambridge University

P1) ἦ πάσχομέν τι τοιοῦτον περὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις τε καὶ οἷς νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν τοῖς ἴσοις; ἆρα φαίνεται ἡμῖν οὕτως ἴσα εἶναι ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ ὃ ἔστιν, ἢ ἐνδεῖ τι ἐκείνου τῷ τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἷον τὸ ἴσον, ἢ οὐδέν;

καὶ πολύ γε, ἔφη, ἐνδεῖ.

P2) οὐκοῦν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅταν τίς τι ἰδὼν ἐννοήσῃ ὅτι βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ὃ νῦν ἐγὼ ὁρῶ εἶναι οἷον ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων, ἐνδεῖ δὲ καὶ οὐ δύναται τοιοῦτον εἶναι ἴσον οἷον ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν φαυλότερον, ἀναγκαῖόν που τὸν τοῦτο ἐννοοῦντα τυχεῖν προειδότα ἐκεῖνο ᾧ φησιν αὐτὸ προσεοικέναι μέν, ἐνδεεστέρως δὲ ἔχειν;

ἀνάγκη.

τί οὖν; τὸ τοιοῦτον πεπόνθαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἢ οὐ περί τε τὰ ἴσα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον; (Plato, *Phaedo*, 74d-e)

"Now then," said he, "do the equal pieces of wood and the equal things of which we were speaking just now affect us in this way: Do they seem to us to be equal as equality itself is, or do they somehow fall short of being like equality itself?"

"They fall very far short of it," said he.

"Do we agree, then, when anyone on seeing a thing thinks, 'This thing that I see aims at being like some other thing that exists, but falls short and is unable to be like that thing, and is inferior to it,' that he who thinks thus must of necessity have previous knowledge of the thing which he says the other resembles but falls short of?"

"We must."

"Well then, is this just what happened to us with regard to the equal things and equality itself?"[1]

A prolonged debate has not brought scholars into agreement over what Simmias here affirms unhesitatingly. Clear to all is that Socrates' claims regarding the shortfall of equal sticks and stones are central to Plato's ontological theory. Less clear is the substance of these claims. In this paper, I re-examine Socrates' arguments with a view to unravelling Plato's understanding of equal sticks and stones' 'falling short', and its consequences for the Form-particular relationship.[2] I especially oppose the view that identifies their deficiency as approximation.[3] I will then offer some remarks as to the significance of this view of the relationship in the broader context of Plato's ontological thought, particularly regarding the attention due to senses.

It will be useful to make some broad and preliminary introduction of the entities that Socrates' claim relates, namely τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις τε καὶ οἷς νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν τοῖς ἴσοις and αὐτὸ τὸ ὃ. Socrates earlier introduced these himself, asking Simmias,

φαμέν πού τι εἶναι ἴσον, οὐ ξύλον λέγω ξύλῳ οὐδὲ λίθον λίθῳ οὐδ᾽ ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἕτερόν τι, αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον: φῶμέν τι εἶναι ἢ μηδέν (74a);

> We say there is such a thing as equality. I do not mean one piece of wood equal to another, or one stone to another, or anything of that sort, but something beyond that—equality itself. Shall we say there is such a thing, or not?

Plato here draws a contrast between equality, ξύλον…ξύλῳ and λίθον λίθῳ, and αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον. He routinely employs sticks and stones to represent mundane physical objects in general (e.g. *Gorg.* 468a, *Hipp. Ma.* 292d, *Parm.* 129d, *Tht. 156*e).[4] Although Socrates in the *Phaedo* makes repeated references to *vision* of these objects (ἰδόντες (74b), ἰδὼν (74d)), he situates them within the broader category of sensible objects; he refers to them as πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν (75b), and remarks that their recollection-provoking experience is ἰδεῖν ἢ ἅψασθαι ἢ ἔκ τινος ἄλλης τῶν αἰσθήσεων: ταὐτὸν δὲ πάντα ταῦτα λέγω (75a). And although initially it is *cases* of equality that partake in the contrast, he quickly moves to contrasting the items *themselves* (e.g. 74b) with αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον (74a).

The majority view is that the opposite element of the contrast, to which I have applied Plato's term αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον (74a), signifies, from the off, the Form of Equal, the intelligible entity of Equality itself, carrying all the metaphysical baggage that Plato's theorising attaches to it, of which his reader would have been well aware.[5] As Sedley notes, 'αὐτὸ τὸ F' (where 'F' is an adjective of neuter, singular inflection), is Plato's standard formula for 'the Form of F,'[6] and Plato uses it to designate this 'equality itself' throughout his argument.. Socrates later remarks that this 'equality itself' falls into the class that we label ὃ ἔστι (75d), his preferred technical term for the Forms[7]. However, this opposite element is not introduced in such recognisable and well-established terminology. As quoted above, it is introduced as τι…ἴσον (74a); he offers some description, contrasting it with the equality between sticks and stones, and only then is it denominated as αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον (74a). I do not doubt that Plato and his readers would have had the Form of Equal in mind from the off, but I do contest the view that Socrates here refers to the Form of Equal in all its development in Plato's metaphysical and epistemological theories. Rather, I contend that by τι…ἴσον (74a), he intends to introduce some concept of equality, which we intuitively sense contrasts with cases of equality between sticks and stones (I refer to this as 'the deflationary reading'). Plato does not mean the gloss αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον (74a) to identify this concept with the Form of Equal, but simply to name the entity that he has introduced.

Sedley argues against placing such emphasis on the unusual terminology by which Plato introduces this 'equality', τι…ἴσον (74a),[8] For Socrates, he remarks, later makes uncontroversial references to recognisable Forms by using similar indefinite terminology, mentioning καλόν τέ τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν (76d). Yet I do not think that this terminology contradicts the view that Socrates' introduction of the concept of equality does not carry the full theoretical force of the Forms. In the course of the argument, Plato attaches metaphysical baggage to this concept of equality, such that it emerges as what we would recognise as a Form. The terminology by which it was introduced and the terminology for a Form are, by page 76, therefore equivalent. But that does not mean that they start out as such.

Further, other than by comparison with this later usage, the terminology τι…ἴσον (74a) is unusual. As Sedley notes, we see it elsewhere with an "αὐτὸ" inserted. That insertion alone, I would suggest, is enough to establish that the

terminology at 74a is notably eccentric; however, we might suggest tentatively that in each of Sedley's examples, there is some implication that Socrates may not, at the very juncture at which he uses this terminology, yet be importing the full weight of his developed metaphysics. In *Cratylus* 439, Socrates uses such indefinite terminology to ask, in a way comparable to the *Phaedo*, whether or not they recognise 'a beautiful itself and a good' (439c), a question that has often occupied his dreams. The occurrence of this phrasing in the *Republic* comes before he makes his most substantial claims as to the nature of Forms of the work (*Rep.* 476c). In *Parmenides* 130b, Parmenides uses this terminology before Socrates has properly elaborated any theory of Forms. And in *Timaeus* 51b, again, this terminology arises as Timaeus asks whether we recognise abstract Forms, and offers an explanation of what he means by it; he does not, then, use it as a technical denomination of well-established meaning.

I would suggest that at none of these instances does Socrates bring out the theory of Forms with guns blazing; he is much more tentative. And, whether or not we accept this last point, this terminology, with the inserted αὐτὸ, as well as the formulae 'αὐτὸ τὸ F' and ὃ ἔστι, possesses a definite, specific tone (established by αὐτὸ, τὸ and ὃ respectively, and to differing degrees) that τι…ἴσον (74a) lacks. It is, I contend, sufficiently eccentric, then, to demand a reading that does not dismiss that eccentricity. I will return to this point below.[9]

But why does Socrates relate these two terms, equal sticks and stones and the form of equal, as he does? Why does he introduce the 'falling short' of sticks and stones into his argument? Socrates' project at this stage of the *Phaedo* is, in broad terms, to prove that the soul must have predated birth, since it can recall knowledge that it has previously had and lost: knowledge that it cannot have acquired at or after birth. He secures Simmias' agreement to the premises that:

> R1) εἴ τίς τι ἀναμνησθήσεται, δεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦτο πρότερόν ποτε ἐπίστασθαι (73c).
>
> If anyone is to remember anything, he must know it at some previous time.
>
> R2) ἐάν τίς τι ἕτερον ἢ ἰδὼν ἢ ἀκούσας ἤ τινα ἄλλην αἴσθησιν λαβὼν μὴ μόνον ἐκεῖνο γνῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον ἐννοήσῃ οὗ μὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλη (73c).
>
> If a man, when he has heard or seen or in any other way perceived a thing, knows not only that thing, but also has a perception of some other thing, the knowledge of that thing is not the same, but different.

As has been frequently noted, R1 suggests a necessary condition for recollection, R2 a sufficient condition. [10] Socrates seeks to show that our experience with regard to equal sensible items is a case of recollection so that he can apply the necessary condition contained in R1 to it; granted the premise of the necessary condition, then we have knowledge of the equality that we recall prior to our thinking of it. To establish this experience as a case of recollection, he endeavours to show that it fulfils the sufficient condition for recollection implied by R2. He asks Simmias,

> πόθεν λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην;…ἢ ξύλα ἢ λίθους ἢ ἄλλα ἄττα ἰδόντες ἴσα, ἐκ τούτων ἐκεῖνο ἐνενοήσαμεν, ἕτερον ὂν τούτων (74b);
>
> Whence did we derive the knowledge of it?... Did we not, by seeing equal pieces of wood or stones or other things, derive from them a knowledge of abstract equality, which is another thing?

The sufficient condition falls into two tenets, each in correspondence with Socrates' question. First, one must perceive one thing, and recall another. Second, the perceived object must be the object of knowledge different from what it leads us to recall. Socrates immediately goes on to argue for the application of the latter tenet, offering a syllogistic argument to establish the non-identity of equal sensible objects, and the form of equal. When he then turns to consider the line of thought of one confronted with sensible equal objects, and remarks on the awareness we will come to of the 'falling short' of sticks and stones (74d), he addresses the former tenet. The claim with which he has originally addressed this, that our knowledge of the form of equal is derived from sensible equal objects (74b), is not self-evident, and Socrates seems to offer this elucidation of the thought-process of one whom he claims to be recollecting in order to show how, and therefore that, perception of equal objects leads us to think of the form of equal.

I

As most scholars agree, Socrates has offered an earlier precedent for the process of one experiencing recollection prompted by equal sticks and stones, as in P2. [11] Once he has defined the principles of recollection, he offers a portfolio of examples of its occurrence. He begins with cases of unlike recalling unlike (e.g. a lyre its owner (73d)), but ends with just one example of like recalling like: the scenario in which one sees a picture of Simmias and is reminded of Simmias himself. He then attaches an additional necessary condition to cases of like recalling like. He asks,

> [P3] ὅταν γε ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀναμιμνήσκηταί τίς τι, ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον τόδε προσπάσχειν, ἐννοεῖν εἴτε τι ἐλλείπει τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα εἴτε μὴ ἐκείνου οὗ ἀνεμνήσθη (74a);
>
> And whenever one recollects something from things like it, will he not also inevitably consider whether they bear a perfect resemblance to what is recalled, or fall short of it?[12]

The case for connecting this description of recollection to that in P2 is a strong one. Although Socrates and Simmias do not explicitly designate the example of recollection prompted by sticks and stones as an instance of like recalling like, it does appear to be such. For the distinction between the two breeds of recollection in Socrates' list of examples is that like recalling like is a relation of similarity between the two entities that leads us to recollect. In the case of unlike recalling unlike, it is some other relation (e.g., ownership) that prompts recollection. Recollection of the form of equal prompted by equal things seems to be of the former character. Broadly, it is the immediately sensible equality, regardless of its possible shortcomings, of equal sticks and stones that leads us to think of the form of equal. This reading also explains Socrates' addition of this necessary condition; it would be a surprising inclusion were he to make no further use of it. We might also note that the verbs ἐνδέω and ἐλλείπω share very close nuances. According to this reading, then, in P3 Socrates offers a model for the cognitive process at P2.

To begin to understand this model, we must consider what Plato regards as like things, or "ὁμοία" (74a). The *Phaedo* seems to suggest that anything that is like something else must bear some sensible resemblance to that thing.[13] Yet Plato does not provide any great detail as to the nature of that resemblance. It is not clear in how many respects a likeness must imitate its original, nor how perfectly it must imitate it in each of these respects.

We may find some helpful context in the *Cratylus*. There, Socrates remarks:

> οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν δέῃ πάντα ἀποδοῦναι οἷόν ἐστιν ᾧ εἰκάζει, εἰ μέλλει εἰκὼν εἶναι (*Crat.* 432b)
>
> Certainly must not reproduce every feature of the nature of that which it imitates, if it is to be an image.

He also suggests that there would not be Κρατύλος…καὶ εἰκὼν Κρατύλου ('Cratylus and his image'), but rather δύο Κρατύλοι (*Crat.* 432c) (two Cratyluses), if a god were to replicate not only Cratylus' colour and form, as do painters, but also his insides, his mobility and warmth, his life, intellect and all other qualities (*Crat.* 432b-c). This implies that a likeness must have *some* features in some way in common with the original, but not *every* feature identical to its every feature. It would otherwise not be a likeness, but a duplicate.

I follow Harte in suggesting that a likeness must also stand in some dependent relation to that which it is like; this may be an intentional relation of representation (e.g. a life-painting), or an unintentional dependency, such as that between a reflection and the reflected object (*Rep.* 510a).[14] Here in the *Phaedo*, such a dependency emerges not only in the obvious case of the painting's likeness to its object, Simmias, but in the case of equal sticks' and stones' likeness to the form of equal. It is suggested not only by the apparent analogy of the two cases, but by Socrates' remarks that equal things "wish" (βούλεται (74d)) and "stretch"(ὀρέγεται (75a)) to be like the form of equal; this evokes a similar relationship of dependency as that of painting to original, ascribing to equal things the sentiments of the painter attempting to achieve a likeness.

With this in mind, I return to the model that Socrates sets up in P3; he suggests that it is "ἀναγκαῖον" (74a) whenever a person recollects something ('*y*') from the stimulus of something like it ('*x*'), he considers whether or not *x* falls short of *y*. It has long been wondered why it should be "ἀναγκαῖον" (74a) that we make this assessment. It is no stretch to accept that this line of thought *may* be prompted by such recollection, but why *must* it be? This speaks to the heart of the cognitive process unfolding. I suggest that what Socrates shows us here is the process of *distinguishing x* from *y*, rather than that of qualitatively comparing them, and that to judge whether *x* 'is lacking' in comparison to *y* is simply to detect that it is different from *y*. By this reading, we can understand why this should be necessary in any case of recollection; were we to fail to detect the non-identity of *x* and *y*, the case would not be one of recollection, but of mistaking *x* for *y*.[15] And, in the cases of likenesses to originals, any basis for non-identity is not a neutral difference, but a falling short of the original on which it is dependent.

Let us consider the example of Simmias' portrait. This might be like Simmias in form and colour, whether perfectly or approximately so. The shortcoming that we *must* detect need not lie in how well it fulfils its role as a likeness (e.g. in the accuracy of its colour), but simply in that it is a mere likeness; it is cold, it is two-dimensional, and it is therefore not identical to Simmias. Its colour may well be deficient, and that would assist us further in detecting its status as a likeness, but even it were a perfect visual representation, it would still be deficient of Simmias himself in that there is more to him than the visual, such as warmth and dimensionality. This interpretation finds support in the passage of the *Cratylus* cited above (*Crat.* 432); there, Socrates' focus in demonstrating the deficiency of images was that they do not capture every feature of their originals, not that they capture those features imperfectly. And indeed

he uses the same verb, ἐνδέω (*Crat.* 432d), to denote deficiency of this kind as Socrates uses in his later example of the same process in the case of sticks and stones.

Gallop objects to interpretations of this kind, claiming that according to this view, in differentiating between likenesses and originals, we articulate in our minds the nature of the differences between them.[16] I agree that it is possible (indeed, normal) to be entirely aware, upon looking at a life-painting, that it is a likeness of its original rather than mistaking it for the original itself, without explicitly acknowledging to ourselves how exactly it differs from the original. But what Socrates here stresses is that we *must* somehow draw this distinction somewhere in the course of the cognitive process of recollecting, even if not explicitly, if we are not to mistake a likeness for its original; thinking or reflecting (ἐννοεῖν"(74a)) only requires that the idea be present somewhere in our minds, not that we consciously articulate the differences between likeness and original.

Sedley raises a more serious objection.[17] He points out that in P3 Socrates takes the view that it is inevitable that either we consider whether *x* falls short of *y*, "εἴτε μὴ" (74a), "or we do not". He argues that this "εἴτε μὴ" implies that there could be a case of recollection between like things in which the likeness in no way falls short of the original. On the interpretation of falling short, I have argued, a likeness will always fall short of its original, in so far as it is a likeness rather than a duplicate, to Plato's mind. There would thus never be any possibility of a likeness not falling short, and so there would be no need to consider whether it falls short "εἴτε μὴ" (74a); in other words, the thought process implied by this "εἴτε μὴ" (74a) would be redundant. Sedley therefore prefers a reading in which we notice that likenesses fall short in the extent to which they fulfil their capacity as likenesses (i.e. in imperfectly representing the select aspects of the original that they imitate); many likenesses would fall short by this reading, but a perfectly true visual likeness would not. It would then make more sense to contemplate the possibility of a likeness not falling short.

However, as Sedley himself concedes, this reading does not make sense of the inevitability with which we undertake the process of contemplating whether *x* falls short of *y*.[18] Why could we not see a painting of Simmias, and immediately reflect on our desire to see him in person, rather than considering minor inaccuracies in the artist's representation of the shape of his fingers? This reading does not entail the necessity that Plato seems to see for detecting shortfalls, which the kind of interpretation I have favoured does explain. And I do not believe that the "εἴτε μὴ" (74a) option does disqualify the reading I have taken, if understood as follows. At P3, Socrates considers the process of being reminded of *y* by *x*, not mistaking *x* for *y*. According to Socrates' view, upon seeing something ('*a*') that resembles something else ('*b*'), of which we have external knowledge, we, consciously or unconsciously, *consider whether or not a* is identical with *b*. If we decide that it is, then we mistake *a* for *b*, but if, and only if, we decide that it is not, then we think of *b* without believing *a* is *b*. In both cases, *a* evokes *b*, but only in the second case do we recollect; the first is a case of mistaken identity. Thus it is true to say that whenever one is reminded of *b* upon perceiving *a*, one considers *whether or not a* falls short of *b* in that *a* is non-identical with *b* (by the sense of 'falling short' that I have contended); in cases of recollection, we will always answer ourselves that it *does* fall short in this way. In other words, mistaking identity and recollecting share the first steps of their respective thought processes, the stage of questioning the identity of *a* and *b*; once we have answered ourselves, the experiences diverge.

I see no reason, therefore, to reject the reading I have favoured on the basis of these objections. Recollection in the case of Simmias and his portrait therefore proceeds as follows: one sees a picture of Simmias, which shares enough features with Simmias that Simmias himself surfaces in the mind; at this stage, we ask ourselves whether the picture falls short of Simmias himself or not. If we correctly notice that it does fall short, then we recollect; the picture has prompted us to recall Simmias, but we have not mistaken it for him. If we do not notice that it falls short, it still prompts us to recall Simmias, but we have mistaken it for him.

II

What does this mean for the experience of Socrates' recollector faced with equal sticks and stones at P2? This thought process is parallel to that which I have just described at P3. We might suggest that the knowledge that Socrates argues that we recover in this case, knowledge that has never surfaced in our embodied lifetime of the form of equal, seems to be more tenuous than what resurfaces when we look at a painting of Simmias, whom we recognise; the passage makes no stronger suggestion than that Simmias is simply not at the fore of our minds before we look at the painting. But from this we should merely conclude that Socrates conceives of our forgotten knowledge of the form of equal as latent just as our knowledge of Simmias is latent, such that perception of something with enough features in common with something else is called to mind; we must ask ourselves whether or not that something is identical with the form of equal. And that is what, according to this argument, occurs here: the recollector perceives equal, sensible items, they prompt the Form of Equal to resurface in his mind, and he distinguishes between the two entities, realising that they are not duplicates of the original, but fall short.

By this argument, any distinction that the recollector detects between equal things and the form of equal would be sufficient for him to distinguish between the two. But what does Socrates show us to be the difference in question? Here we should consider the subtle difference in phrasing between P1 and P2. P1 might, at first glance, appear to be restated in P2. P2 is, as we have discussed, states that in discerning original from copy, one must realise that they are not duplicates, that is, one must detect a 'falling short'. However, P1 contains some detail as to the difference that we see: Socrates asks whether equal things seem to us to *be equal* as the Form of Equal is *equal*. This slight difference suggests that Socrates equates the process of detecting a 'falling short' and the process of detecting the difference in how each of the two entities are equal; in other words, the 'falling short' we detect is in the difference between their equalities.

And, happily, Socrates has just provided an explanation as to the difference between their equalities in his syllogistic argument for the non-identity of equal things and the form of equal. As discussed, the formal function of this argument is to establish a non-identity such that the two entities will meet a criterion for recollection that he has set out, which demands that they be the objects of different knowledge. He seeks to show [S1], $\exists P(Pm \,\&\, P'n)$, which breaches his implicit condition for identity, [S2], $\forall P(Pm \leftrightarrow Pn)$ (where P = a predicate, *m* = equal sticks and stones, *n* = the form of equal). He need only identify one predicate that satisfies S1 to do so, and it need not, in fact, be the difference by which the recollector distinguishes them; anything qualifying them as objects of different knowledge will do. However, the difference

that he here highlights does indeed seem to be the precise difference that a recollector would detect: the difference in their equalities.

The syllogism that Socrates sets up is riddled with interpretive difficulties. At the outset, we can roughly set out its form as follows (the translation of what I have left in Greek will be discussed below):

A1) Equal sticks and stones sometimes seem equal "τῷ μὲν" and not "τῷ δ'" (74b).

A2) To Simmias, the form of equal[19] never seems unequal, and equality never seems to be inequality[20] (74c).

A3) Therefore equal sticks and stones are not the same as the form of equal (74c).

Clearly, we must consider carefully whether the first two terms of this argument can be so construed as to yield its conclusion, and what the implications might be for our understanding of the relationship between equal items and the form of equal.

What Socrates means when he points out that equal sticks and stones "τῷ μὲν ἴσα φαίνεται, τῷ δ' οὔ" (74b) has split the field of scholars. I follow Sedley in understanding "ἴσα" (74b) ('equal things') as 'things that are equal to each other'; this is the far more natural interpretation of the Greek, and finds better support in Socrates' earlier comments about equality (ξύλον ξύλῳ etc.)[21] than the alternative that he considers, that Socrates refers to a group of items which are each equal to some further item. Therefore, we can reject the interpretation rendering "τῷ μὲν…τῷ δ'" (74b) as equal 'to one thing, but not to another'; it is the equality between them that is in question.

We might next consider the possibility that Socrates here uses datives of reference to be taken alongside φαίνεται; equal things sometimes 'appear equal to one person, but not to another'. This would allow us to modify the syllogism to:

B1) Equal sticks and stones sometimes seem equal to one man, and not to another man (74b).

B2) The form of equal never seems unequal, and equality never seems to be inequality, to Simmias (74c).

B3) Therefore equal sticks and stones are not the same as the form of equal (74c).

This interpretation, too, has its difficulties. Socrates seems, in B1, to predicate to equal sticks and stones the property of inconsistency of appearance to *different people*, but, in B2, to predicate to the form of equal the property of consistency of appearance to the *same person*, namely Simmias. He would not thereby have shown that the same predicate does not apply to his two entities. In my view, it is possible that Socrates here uses Simmias as a representative of all people, as Mills argues.[22] Alternatively, we may wish to translate "τῷ μὲν…τῷ δ'" as 'to one spectator…to another,',where Simmias would qualify as a different spectator when he a different position; Simmias in one position is one spectator, Simmias in another position is another. Thus, the "σοι" referring to Simmias would be a reference to different spectators (as it would refer to every different position or context of spectatorship that Simmias has ever taken up).

Socrates would then contrast equal things and the form of equal in that they respectively lack and possess a single property, that of consistency of appearance to different spectators, which would be the predicate involved in B1 and B2. That is to say, Socrates would be making a very broad point about the contextual dependence of the appearance of equal sticks and stones. I do not think these two interpretations are as obscure as Sedley believes, although they are not so obvious as to eliminate the need to consider further interpretative options.[23]

Another possible interpretation is based on a respectable manuscript tradition replacing the problematic τῷ μὲν…τῷ δ', which reads τότε μὲν ἴσα φαίνεται, τότε δ' οὔ.[24] The syllogism would then stand as:

C1) Equal sticks and stones sometimes seem equal at one time and not at another (74b).

C2) The form of equal never seems unequal, and equality never seems to be inequality to Simmias (74c).

C3) Therefore equal sticks and stones are not the same as the form of equal (74c).

The predicate that Socrates suggests can be attributed to sticks and stones, but not to the form of equal, is that of appearing unequal over time, in contrast to the form, which never appears unequal. If we, reasonably, interpret "σοι" (74c) as referring to spectators in general, then this makes for a coherent syllogism. Sedley finds support for this reading in the *Theaetetus*, noting that this would render the argument very similar to that against the other-judging model of false belief (*Theaet.* 190b-d). It is, though, difficult to believe that Plato should write ἐνίοτε ταὐτὰ ὄντα τότε μὲν ἴσα φαίνεται, τότε δ' οὔ, following ἐνίοτε with τότε in this way. Yet this does make sense; the ἐνίοτε is still required because this inconsistency cannot be assumed in every case (for example, if someone remains at the same angle to equal things, they may appear continuously equal, or continuously unequal). And, as Sedley notes,[25] this clumsiness may have been what motivated the scribal correction to the standard reading.[26] We therefore find here another plausible reading.

III

This passage has often been taken to suggest the necessarily approximate nature of particulars to their Forms, with so-called equal sticks and stones never achieving exact equality, but always having the potential to approximate it more closely.[27] My contention is that Plato's argument involving sticks and stonescommits him to no such position, neither in his suggestion that equal sticks and stones fall short ("ἐνδεῖ" (74e)) of the form of equal, nor in the differences he highlights in the syllogism. [28] For, as I have argued, the sticks' and stones' falling short need only consist in that they do not capture every feature of the form (which, as physical items rather than an abstract concept, they clearly do not), not in that they imperfectly capture whatever features they do share with the form. On the argument so far, they might or might not capture perfectly those features that they have in common.

Turning to the syllogism, whichever of the most plausible options we adopt (Mills', or my version of the B reading, or the C reading), although the details of Socrates' view might not be clear, his point is: the appearance of sticks and stones as

equal is unstable and dependent on the context of their viewing. But that is not to say that they are not by nature always objectively equal.[29] They are introduced as unequivocally, objectively equal (74b), as Sedley points out,[30] and there is no suggestion that their reality changes; it is the opposite, in fact, for Socrates notes that this change in their *appearance* takes place with them "ταὐτὰ ὄντα" (74b). And it would be very strange indeed for Socrates to imagine, without properly explaining, a situation in which the objective size relation between two sticks is changing, that is, in which at least one of them is growing or shrinking; we would have to possess a very good reason to assume such a peculiar reading. I cannot find any such reason. Sticks and stones differ from the form, in terms of equality, in that we assess their equality by means of the senses, and the senses provide necessarily unreliable evidence. Anything whose equality we assess by the senses will necessarily be of unstable appearance, and sometimes appear unequal. But the form of equal is not subject to such vulnerability, for we do not access or judge its equality through the senses. Contrary to the approximation view, Plato's focus, then, is not on the actual size relation of e.g. sticks, but rather on their membership of a class (sensible, physical items) whose equality is judged by the senses, a necessarily unreliable authority.

I find evidence that Plato was inclined towards this kind of thinking in the *Symposium*. There, he sets out that where the Form of Beautiful differs from beautiful particulars is that the Form is

> οὐ τῇ μὲν καλόν, τῇ δ᾽ αἰσχρόν, οὐδὲ τοτὲ μέν, τοτὲ δὲ οὔ, οὐδὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ καλόν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αἰσχρόν, οὐδ᾽ ἔνθα μὲν καλόν, ἔνθα δὲ αἰσχρόν, ὡς τισὶ μὲν ὂν καλόν, τισὶ δὲ αἰσχρόν (*Symp.* 211a)
>
> It is not in part beautiful, in part ugly, nor beautiful at one time and not at another, nor beautiful in one respect, but not in another, nor beautiful in one position, but not in another, such that it seems beautiful to some and not to others.

Again, Plato does not seem here to indict the objective nature of particulars as beautiful or not beautiful. For it would be extremely obscure to rely on the undefended view that particulars' objective nature changes from time to time or place to place. A far more natural construal is that Plato here refers to different contexts of viewing (as especially suggested by the gloss "ὡς τισὶ μὲν ὂν καλόν, τισὶ δὲ αἰσχρόν" (*Symp.* 211a)). These particulars may well possess objective beauty; it is its appearance, how it is judged by the senses, which is unreliable.

Plato seems also to contrast objective reality with the unreliability of the senses as he discusses the appeal of art and poetry in the *Republic*; he remarks that the senses may easily be deceived as to differences of size, quantity and weight, but that in these cases measurement, counting and weighing will reveal the objective relations of the items, and set us aright (*Rep.* 602d). Furthermore, Plato does seem to conceive of perfect instantiations of the Forms, such as god, in *Theaetetus* 176b-c, and the ideal city *Republic* 427e.[31] These particulars are also remarkable in that Plato seems to think that they could never be perceived by the senses;[32] the pairing of these eccentricities (perfect instantiation and non-sensibility) supports my view that it is belonging to the domain of the senses that explains the particulars' shortfall.

And so, I hope that I have helped to wrest this passage of the *Phaedo* from those citing it in support of the approximation view of the Form-particular relationship. Equal sticks and stones fall short of the form of equal in that their size relation is necessarily approximate to objective equality; that is, they can never be more than inexactly equal, whereas the Form does exhibit perfect equality. Yet, as I

have discussed, in remarking on the shortfall of sensible particulars, Plato here, as elsewhere, roots their deficiency in that, as sensible objects, we will necessarily judge their equality by means of the senses, which are unreliable.

He does not indict their objective nature, and indeed he does seem to suggest that these sticks and stones *are* objectively equal. Nehamashas done a great deal of the work in refuting the approximation view more broadly. [33] What I hope here to have contributed is some suggestion of how central Plato's view of senses and sensibility must be to such refutation, and to any explanation of the Form-particular relationship seeking to supplant the approximation view.[34]

IV

The importance of an accurate understanding of the Form-particular relationship to the general study of Plato needs no explanation here. But I think that a special significance of the interpretation of the shortfall of sticks and stones that I have urged in this passage emerges if we consider it in the light of the deflationary reading of "τι…ἴσον" (74a). This significance deserves some brief explanation, even if it cannot be fully explored within the confines of this paper.

If we accept the deflationary reading, then, this passage of the *Phaedo* may be construed as arguing for, rather than assuming, the Forms. By this reading, Socrates would start by suggesting that we entertain some general concept or standard of equality, which lies behind our understanding of individual cases of equality; this loosely-termed claim would seem uncontroversial to most interlocutors. His argument would then lead us to see that this concept of equality, as we entertain it, is something fundamentally different from individual cases of equality, and thus that it must be some separate entity, existing of itself and separate from these cases. The implication of this passage would thus be that our unexamined beliefs about equal things and equality yield the conclusion that there must be τι…ἴσον, existing of itself, beyond individual cases of equality, which he will denominate "αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον" (74a). That is to say, Plato forces us to acknowledge that the concept of equality exists as some independent entity by pointing to its difference from equal things as we conceive of them.

This may well insinuate something further about how Plato himself reached his theory of Forms. I have argued that it is a difference of order that Plato highlights in this passage. A full exposition of how my account of this difference bears on the deflationary reading is for a work of greater scope. But what is immediately clear is that this difference may be not merely central, but formative, to the theory of Forms. An accurate understanding of it, then, takes on a corresponding significance.

Notes

1. All translation of the *Phaedo* quoted is Fowler's, unless otherwise noted in places where I have made slight emendations.

2. The relationship in which Forms in general to their given particulars, which to some extent defines Plato's conception of each.

3. The 'approximation view' suggests that the particulars' shortfall of the Forms lies in that they never exactly achieve the relevant quality; equal particulars are never exactly equal. For example, a particular triangle is never perfectly triangular.

4. cf. *Alc.*111b-c, *Gorg.*468a, *Euthyd.*300b, *Hipp.Ma.* 292d, *Parm.* 129d3, *Tht.* 156. David Sedley "Form-particular resemblance in Plato's Phaedo." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 106 (2006): 325.

5. For details on a possible 'Theory of Forms', see Fine, Gail, *Plato on Knowledge and Forms*. Oxford: OUP, 2003.

6. David Sedley, "Equal Sticks and Stones." In *Maieusis*, edited by Dominic Scott. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 72.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 73.

9. I will hereafter refer to the concept of equality that Socrates opposes to equal sticks and stones as the 'form of equal'. I deviate from the traditional word-initial capitalisations in an attempt to render my understanding of Plato's initial terminology as introducing this entity without the technical implications of his preferred terminology for the Forms.

10. David Bostock, Plato's *Phaedo*. (Oxford: OUP, 1986), 60-1.

11. E.g. Sedley, "Equal Sticks and Stones".

12. This translation is my own.

13. Plato considers in detail cases in which the feature of the perceived object that is common with the recalled object is a visible one, judged by the senses alone without cognitive processing. But Plato expands the principle of his argument beyond visible size-relations, to beauty, good, justice and piety, and indeed any quality that has a Form (75c-d). Plato certainly did regard individual instances of apparent, e.g. justice, as different from, and inferior images of, the Form of Just, as emerges in the image of the Cave in the *Republic*. But our detection of such instances did, to his mind, differ from our detection of the particulars of forms of directly sensible (e.g. visible, audible) things. Plato regards our identification of particular instances of e.g. justice as opinion rather than sense-perception. In the *Theaetetus*, Plato argues for the non-identity of opinion and sense-perception; he argues that sense-perception of any given thing involves just one particular sense, whereas the formation of an opinion

about something requires ideas that are not specific to one sense. Thus opinion differs from sense-perception in that it uses the whole mind. Nevertheless, as in the Cave, he frequently appears to regard them as roughly equivalent, as perhaps the very need for an argument for their non-identity implies. Despite Plato's emphasis on sense-perceptible similarities, we should therefore note that a feature in common may well be sensible.

14. Verity Harte, "Beware of Imitations: Image Recognition in Plato." in *New Essays on Plato*, edited by F-G Hermann. (Wales: University of Wales Classical Press, 2006), 28.

15. In such a case *x* would nonetheless evoke *y*, and we have no less reason to attribute prior awareness of *y* to the person recollecting than in cases of recollection proper. I follow Harte (2006) in suggesting that it does not seem right to say that someone who makes this mistake is recollecting, when they cannot distinguish the likeness from reality.

16. David Gallop, *Plato*. Phaedo. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 119.

17. Sedley, "Form-particular resemblance." 313-4

18. Ibid., 315.

19. The Greek has an unexpected plural, "αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα" (74c). Since it is the form of equal, Socrates intends to distinguish from equal items through the syllogism, a singular reference to the form is what we would expect in the second term of the syllogism. Two main lines of explanation have emerged in response to this difficulty. The first argues that Socrates here introduces new entities; the second, that this is simply an alternative turn of phrase for the Form. The alternative entities are typically argued to be mathematical objects (by e.g. Hackforth (1955)), which Aristotle reports that Plato understood as an additional category to sticks and stones (Aristotle, *Met.* A 987b14-18), or the forms immanent to objects that manifest them (e.g. 'the equality in Simmias') (by e.g. Bluck (1959)) as appear later in the *Phaedo*. In brief, these readings strike me as unlikely, as Plato could hardly hope to be understood in introducing a new entity, unannounced, and unexplained, which would confuse the structure of the argument. I therefore prefer, as does Sedley (2007), the interpretation of the phrase as referring to the Form. I do not agree with interpretations that suggest that Plato attempts to convey any nuance to the Form-particular relationship through this terminology, for relying on one occurrence of this unusual terminology to do so would, again, be far too obscure to be understood. I believe, rather, that he uses it to highlight the contrast in the two terms of the syllogism, which uses the plural "ἴσοι" in its first term. Yet he must have had some reason to permit this usage; I have not here space to answer this question, but wonder if Plato had some idealised particulars perfectly instantiating the relevant quality at the back of his mind.

20. The addition of "ἢ ἡ ἰσότης ἀνισότης" is also unexpected. For Socrates has not argued that equal sticks and stones ever appear to be inequality, and thus it does not seem to set up a contrast. We might suggest that the predicate that Socrates contrasts is 'appearance as one's own opposite', if we understand the opposite of an

equal particular as an unequal particular. Bostock's objection (1986) that this would be invalid since things of such different orders (items and Forms) have different relations to their opposites and therefore it is natural that a predicate regarding opposites would not apply consistently to both classes can be diffused if we note that this difference of order may be the very distinction of order that the syllogism seeks to highlight. But why should Socrates intend the syllogism to diverge into two separate syllogisms at this stage? It is possible, but I think the better interpretation is that this is a gloss of his unusual terminology in the first half of the line, and that he expects us to infer that, if equality has never appeared to be inequality, it has never appeared unequal.

21. Sedley, "Equal sticks and stones", 76.

22. K.W. Mills, "Plato's "Phaedo" ", 74b7-c6". Phronesis 2, no. 2 (1957): 50.

23. Sedley, "Equal sticks and stones", 78.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 79.

26. We should also note that a further objection may apply to either or both texts; namely, the possible fallacy of syllogisms reliant on predicates involving appearance, or opinion. In such cases, the assumption of the syllogism that $\forall P(Px \leftrightarrow Py) \rightarrow x=y$ (where P = predicate, x = an entity, y = an entity) breaks down, because identical things termed or regarded differently may become subject to different opinions, but are independent of the objective reality of the possibly identical entities. The extended B reading is certainly vulnerable to this objection, since it turns on subjective judgments of the two entities in question. Can we rescue the C reading? We can, if we can interpret φαίνεται as other than involving personal judgment. Greek usage of the verb would allow for this; it may be translated as 'seem to be and are', or 'show themselves to be', as well as 'appear to be', and since the form of the verb (an infinitive or participle) is elided, linguistically we might permit any of these readings. The first finds support in Socrates' argument to the lovers of sights and sounds in *Republic* 5; there, particulars 'seem' (e.g. φανήσεται (479a)) both F and not-F, and are treated as things that both are and are not. But we cannot uphold such a reading here, since the personal dative σοι (74c) shows that the action must involve the judgment of individuals. If we favour the reading 'show themselves to be,' suggesting that sticks and stones do have opposite properties, and manifest these alternately over time, this σοι is less problematic. But this reading will also not do, since the sticks and stones are introduced unequivocally as equal (74b); their equality must therefore lie in their very dimensions, not in their manifestations of themselves, which would give us an equal claim to introduce them as unequal. We must therefore resort to the 'appear to be' reading, implying subjective judgment of an appearance that does not imply a reality. Therefore, the objection stands, and we cannot use it in combination with principles of charity to favour one reading or another. Indeed, perhaps to do so would be to attribute to Plato an anachronistic awareness of this fallacy, as Sedley suggests (Sedley, "Equal Sticks and Stones", 81).

27. E.g. A.E. Taylor, *Plato*. (London: Methuen, 1922) and John Burnet, *Plato's* Phaedo (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911).

28. I here make no claim about Plato's ontology beyond the *Phaedo*, although any contemplation of his wider ontology from this perspective should address this passage.

29. I do not mean to suggest that every pair of sticks we see and judge to be equal actually *are* equal; it is quite possible for us to mistake approximately equal sticks for equal ones. But, I argue, that is not the case Socrates invites us to consider here.

30. Sedley, "Equal Sticks and Stones", 81.

31. Sedley, "Form-particular resemblance", 314.

32. Whether one could ever perceive Callipolis (i.e., whether it could be realised) is controversial. But Socrates does close the explicitly political theorizing of his work by contemplating this question, and remarking that perhaps his ideal city is merely ἐν οὐρανῷ…παράδειγμα (*Rep*. 592a) for anyone who wants to see it and found it in himself; this may well mean that he sees it as never to be seen on earth, i.e. visible to the eye.

33. Alexander Nehamas, "Plato on the imperfection of the sensible world." *Plato 1: Metaphysics and Epistemology*, edited by Gail Fine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 171-91.

34. I have not here the space to contemplate fully how Plato understands the shortfall of particulars whose relevant property is not judged by the senses alone (cf. n. 7), nor do I think that we can properly understand this from this passage of the *Phaedo* alone. Plato only offers full detail of a case in which the relevant property is in a sense-perceptible category. But I think that what has been shown is that essential to the particulars' deficiency for Plato is not so much the nature of their exhibition of the property in question as the influence of their order on how we judge their exhibition of that property. We should certainly bear this passage in mind in attempting to broaden the scope of our understanding of the Form-particular relationship.

Bibliography

Bluck, Richard, *Plato's* Phaedo. *A translation with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices*. London: Routledge, 1959.

Bostock, David, *Plato's* Phaedo. Oxford: OUP, 1986.

John Burnet, *Plato's* Phaedo. Oxford: Clarendon, 1911.

Dancy, Russell, *Plato's introduction of Forms*. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

Fine, Gail, *Plato on Knowledge and Forms*. Oxford: OUP, 2003.

Fowler, Harold North, *Plato. Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Gallop, David, *Plato*. Phaedo. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Hackforth, Reginald, *Plato's* Phaedo. *Translated with Introduction and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

Harte, Verity, "Beware of Imitations: Image Recognition in Plato." In Hermann, F-G. (ed.), *New Essays on Plato*. Wales: University of Wales Classical Press, 2006.

Mills, K. W. "Plato's "Phaedo", 74b7-c6". *Phronesis* 2, no. 2 (1957): 128–47.

Nehamas, Alexander, "Plato on the imperfection of the sensible world." In Fine, G. (ed.), *Plato 1: Metaphysics and Epistemology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Sedley, David, "Form-particular resemblance in Plato's *Phaedo*." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 106 (2006): 311-27.

Sedley, David, "Equal Sticks and Stones." In Scott, D. (ed.), *Maieusis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Taylor, A.E., *Plato*. London: Methuen, 1922.

I am also grateful to Dr F.C.C. Sheffield for extremely helpful conversation on this topic, especially with regard to the arguments for the deflationary reading of "τι…ἴσον" (74a).

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

SELECTIONS FROM THE FORMULARIES OF ANGERS AND MARCULF

By Jane Jacoby, Brown University

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 21-30.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/selections-formularies-angers-and-marculf-translation-notes-0

Selections from the Formularies of Angers and Marculf

Jane Jacoby
Brown University

What follows are selections from two Merovingian formulae, or legal handbooks, collections of template-like documents written to guide others to structure similar documents. They reveal aspects of daily life rarely included in more traditional textual sources like contemporary histories or literary texts, in which the goings on of ordinary people may have been perceived as trivial. Neither Marculf, the author of one of these two formulae, nor the various authors of the Formulae Andevavenses, *or* Formularies of Angers, *ever tried to avoid potentially banal topics like disputes over vineyards or divorce settlements. But neither did these works gloss over the dark realities of their time—both include documents touching on murder, slavery and rape.*[1]

The translation and interpretation of these particular documents pose several problems. The Latin itself is often difficult to parse, since the vocabulary and grammar differ from that of classical Latin. But this can make the documents all the richer, for they present a snapshot of a dynamic vernacular Latin that continued to be spoken as a lingua franca throughout Europe. This occasionally creates difficulties for the translation.[2] *My translation also suffers from working off of a much later transcription, in this case a version of the* Formvlae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi,[3] *edited by Karl Zeumer in 1886, which appeared in the* Monumenta Germaniae Historica.[4] *The* Monumenta *is a well regarded source for primary documents, but working from any edited source can add to potential inaccuracies. Unfortunately, the few images of the manuscripts that are available are even more problematic—compare the first few lines from the image of the manuscript (included on the final page) to Zeumer's text, which reads "domino ac reverentissimo pape Landerico Marculfus, ultimus ac vilissimus omnium monachorum."*[5] *The manuscripts are themselves imperfect records, especially with the Angers Formularies, since they were copied by various scribes over a period of some two hundred years, and not always together. The profusion of spelling differences and grammatical confusions often within one sentence show that these scribes may have had a less than perfect grasp of the words they were copying.*[6] *The concept of a formulary itself creates complications—how can one interpret situations when no specifics are given? How many of these relate to common events, and how many to the unusual? Questions of context thus plague the understanding of these texts.*[7] *They are, nevertheless, exceedingly compelling, and so worth the trouble.*

I have chosen to translate sections of these two texts on the issues that take up the majority of space in both, detailing the position of the ecclesiastical and political elites as well as those dealing with more bizarre or dire subjects. I have also included the remarkable introduction of Marculf and the start of his capitula *or "little headings," since they stand out as noteworthy markers of this text's singular author, and are rare in works of this type. Since I wrote the original translation near Christmas, I have also included a nativity greeting.*

From the *Formulae Andecavenses*:

The Formulary of Angers *is considered the oldest surviving legal formulary. It is a collection of separate documents whose origin seems to be the city of the Angers in what is now western France. These documents, written not by one author, but over the course of potentially two hundred years, relate to mostly local events.* [8]

In the name of Christ these documents begin.

No. 2. This is an act of sale[9], for him who is selling himself.[10]

To my lord A and also his wife B, from I, C. [11] Because my negligence conspired to cause me to steal your goods, and I am unable to accomplish this in any other way, except the following; in order to appease you I am to give my complete status [of freedom] to your service; so that it is clear, before you I bind my [free] status to your service without injunction, but in fact fully out of my free will, albeit owing to the fact that my falsehood is evident. I am giving myself to you for the price of D[12] *solidi*[13], which is agreeable to me, so that whatever from today on you should wish to do with me in all things you may go forth with the power of executor, just as with the rest of your obedient slaves obtained by sale, with God's favor. If I myself or some of my kin or people from wherever and not of my household should take steps against the enacting of this sale, which I with good will asked to be made, let him commit himself with a solemn pledge some E *solidi*, to be divided between you and the royal purse, and may he be unable to lay claim[14] to what he seeks, and may this sale and my will stay firm.

No. 26. So commences a guarantee of security

When a case has been previously decided, for example some[15] woman named A deliberately levied an accusation of rape against a man of the Saint B named C, of which she was herself the victim, and it was settled that he would have to make an agreement with the woman herself out of her own free will, which accordingly he did.[16] Whence it was unanimously decided that if the man furthermore were to receive a letter made firm by her hand,[17] which accordingly he also did, that, if the woman herself after this day should wish to bring action against the man, she must deposit D *solidi.* The deed of security has been made.[18]

From the *Marculfi Formulae*

This collection has the distinction of having "the reputation of being the archetypal formulary." It is "the longest…, the best known, [and] the most studied."[19] *Unlike the Formulary of Angers, this later collection had only one author, a 7th century monk named Marculf, possibly belonging to the order of St Denis, who was appointed the task by one Bishop Landeric.*[20] *Marculf goes above and beyond what his patron asks for. This collection is of a much broader scope than Angers, detailing both quotidian and monarchical events, and has two innovations—the lengthy introduction, of a style and verbosity one would expect from a more literary work, and the table of contents.*

In the name of God the preface of this book begins. [21]

To the holy Lord, eternally worthy of most blessed and apostolic honor, receiving all praise and enduring glory, and to the most honored lord and bishop Landeric, from Marculf, the last and humblest of all monks. [22] If only, dear father, I had the strength to follow your order as effectively as I wished, since the undertaking of this affair of yours to which I have been yoked since first entering it is now beyond my abilities, when I may stuff fully seventy years or more with living,[23] and now my shaking hand is no longer fit for writing, nor my darkened eyes sufficient for seeing, nor my blunt senses equipped to thinking, because as a saying by certain most foreseeing men goes: in boys buds sense, in young men it blooms, in old men it ebbs. [24] Therefore it is not possible for me to make this work eligant(sic)[25], as I wished, however I made it orderly, as I am able, and [included] not only those [pieces] that you had ordered, but in truth even many others. My artless and rustic nature took pains to put as many peasant charters as royal precedents in like manner in this document.[26] For I know there will be many, both you and other most wise and eloquent men, skilled at rhetoric and dictation, who this, if they were to read it, alas, having compared it against their good taste, would spurn as trifling and likewise nonsensical, and would certainly distain to read. But instead I am not before such men; to the contrary, I wrote for the initiation of boys, so I wrote as plainly and simply as I was able.[27]

Therefore, here are a considerable number of men's affairs, as many from the Palatine Hill[28] as from the country, about which no one else has been able to write until they were collected one after another; and only now can they be written about with words and acted upon with deeds alike. Truly, I took care to heap together into this one tome, as per the custom of this place, those things which men greater than I, with whom we live, acquainted me with, and also what I thought of out of my own senses, such as I was able, and I set down little headings, so that when a questioner wishes, he may easily find again a writing he had found before.

These little chapter headings begin this work.

1. How one may establish prerogative
2. The surrender by the king of this privilege
3. The king's immunity
4. Establishing immunity from the king
5. Document from the king about the office of a bishop
6. A short letter from the king to a metropolitan bishop, so that he might consecrate another bishop.
7. Agreement of the citizens in favor of an episcopate.
8. Charter of a dukedom, position of a patrician, or countship.
9. A short letter of recommendation to another king, when a diplomatic envoy is arranged and sends mere words
10. The reply to the king through his counsel, etc.

I. 1. About Privilege

To the holy Lord and venerable brother in Christ abbot A or the whole congregation of the monastery of B place, in honor of the blessed him of C, having been built in the province of D, by bishop E. This is driven by our affection for your love, a burning ray from god, to provide for your peace those things which may remain our reward, and to define these things in a lasting

way, through virtuous courses and with an undisturbed path, which with the approval of God may hold fast to strength; since future recompense from God is hoped for no less by he who lives in contemplation of his downfall[29] than by he who in this present situation gives to the poor. And let no one judge us disparagingly, or determine that in this they discern a change of tune, [30] when similar cases have been seen to stand firm from the time of antiquity; through the imperial order of pontiffs, the holiest of holy monasteries, Lérins, Agaune, and Luxeuil, [31] or by innumerable measures throughout the whole kingdom of the Franks, under the privilege of freedom. But through reverence of the sainted, and fulfilling the mandates of all my brothers, having taken in wholly their advice, I unfold my obedience. We entrust that which genuinely you or your successors, advised by the Holy Spirit, may successively defend, and assuredly those sacred things which the bishop of the church of this province should need to fulfill, by including them [here]. This is, that a man of your congregation, who in your monastery should be responsible for [performing] the sacred services, a man whom the abbot with all of the congregation of B will have chosen, must receive wholly consecrated rites from us or from our successors, having first received no honorary gifts. The bishop himself shall bless the altar and sacred chrism[32] in the aforesaid monastery each year, if they should wish to ask [for it]. In reverence of the place he shall depart without payment. And as divine supervision when the abbot from his own monastery to the lord will have flown, whom unanimously the whole congregation the monks of B will have chosen from themselves for his outstanding knowledge of the [monastic] Rule and a life being suited to service, without first the bishop of the city himself may memorably advance to abbot. And may none, neither of us nor our of succeeding bishops or archdeacons, nor of the rest of the orders, nor another person of the city, presume to have wholly some other power in this monastery, neither over its affairs, nor over arranging of people, nor over villas conferred by now or in some later time by a king as a gift or which may be granted by individuals, or the remaining property of the monastery. Nor let whoever dare to hope to take away tribute from this monastery as from parishes or other monasteries with a cause nor anything from this place, to which God fearing men have carried or offered on altars, or sacred scrolls or whatever sort of ornament, which concerns the apparel of divine adoration, these having been gathered by the present or in some later time. And unless asked by the congregation of that place or the abbot to celebrate the mass, may it not be permitted of us to approach the sanctitude or to proceed through the palisade of the monastery's border. And if this pontiff was asked there for the celebration of mass or for their benefit draws near, to celebrate and to preform the divine mysteries, a simple and sober benediction having been taken, and having refused from them any gifts he may desire to have must return, so that monks, who are called solitary, quiet having been achieved, may be able to stay strong, with God as their guide, standing before time to exult and living under sacred rule and pursuing the lives of blessed fathers, so they may be fully able to entreat the lord for the position of the church and the health of the king of country, and if one or another of these monks have cooled to this conscientiousness or act otherwise, may they shortly be set straight by their abbot according to their rule, if they can; if otherwise, the pontiff of this[33] city[34] must use force, since, whatever may be imparted to the domestics[35] of faith for the quiet of calm, nothing of canonical authority may be driven out. If any one of us, may God prevent this, having been moved by cunning or misled by cupidity, should presume to violate those things which are enumerated above with a rash spirit, having been thrown down by divine vengeance, may he be subjected to a curse of excommunication and for three years from the community of all brothers be known as a stranger, not the least so this privilege may remain perpetually unspoiled. Indeed, that our constitution may remain standing with enduring vigor, both we and our brothers of the

lord bishops decided to confirm it with a signature by our hands. Conducted here on this day F, in this year G.

II. 16. If someone carries off an unwilling girl

To my sweetest wife A, from B. While I did not have us betrothed with the will of your parents, and against your or your parents desires I wickedly snatched [you] my wife by abduction, or; while, being arrogant, in opposition to the will of your parents I wickedly grabbed my wife through abduction, for which I put myself in danger to make such an attack.[36] But through the intervention of priests and good men, I have been given my life, [37] however in this way—that I should sanction through this letter of agreement what I had owed to give to you as the marriage gift or in the dowry document before our wedding day, if I had been betrothed to you, or if it is suitable, a surrendering of goods, which I might do to stay strong; which accordingly I also did. For that reason I give to you a place called by name C, situated in the province D, with houses suited for habitation, and all necessary and useful essentials, with land, with tenants, with E many slaves obtained by *mancipium*, with vineyards, woods, meadows, pastures and everything of service that remains, F many nags, G many oxen, with a herd of horse, a herd of cattle, a herd of pigs, a herd of sheep, with gold, silver, jewels, carpets worth H solidi. All this that is listed above having been bound on the present day I yield into your power and authority, for your possession: thereafter you, having free ability, may hold onto or do with it whatever you choose to. If someone truly, *etc*. [38]

II. 45 A further item on the nativity of the Lord

Wanting to know the love of mutual happiness brought universally from heaven, without bounds, preferring to precede your clemency with letters, or your sanctity, with gifts given to you by your patron A, desiring with estimable and devoted care, that some note of your pious example should instruct us with what cheer you spent the feast of the nativity of the Lord. For word of the improved recovery of your health shall be a dear thing of abundance to us.[39]

Fol. 60. Cod. Paris. 4627.

Domino adreuerentissimo papa Landerico Marculfus
uilissimus omnium monachorum. Dum assepate
ussione uram tae efficaciae qua spontaneae obtemperare
ualuerim quia iam supra uirem meam possibilitatis co

Fol. 60'

Utpotui eo acseruare Inuni aurum. Oe coepit pnotam.
Vtfaciliur qd ualuerit aquerena Inantea scripto repessam;

Incip. cap. scedolae operis huius.

1 Qualiter priuilegium condatur

Cod. Lugdun. Voss. 86.

Incipiunt scedolae equalitercartas pagensis fiantur sta
demagnanem quiuult ex icio
aut abbonasterio construere

omine uenerace. scae atque
sedola ostensione patenter;
uir tarum miraculis xpi re
muneratione fulgens ora
turus accellola. In honore

Bethmann scr.

Cod. Paris. 10756.

Fol. 5.

Anno xc to regnante Carolo rege.

Domno reo et in xpo uenerabile fratri et abb uel cuncta congre-
gationem monasterii situ in onore beatae illius abbatis in pago tal construc
to tel pr cellam; affectio cartarum uenerationem flagitat et diuino
illius uno adquiescendum quae nobis maneant ad merces dem et aeterno
praemia inconuulsa limina terminari. q. per deincepsque placante
deo obtenendam firmitatis qm mihi ad nostra tribuit sperantes

Notes

1. Both collections contain documents focused on *raptus*, which I have translated as "rape." The word *raptus* had broader implications in Medieval Europe. As C. Saunders points out in her essay, "Classical Paradigms of Rape in the Middle Ages," *raptus* could describe "noncontractual marriage by abduction… with or without the woman's consent" as well as "forced coitus". Alice Rio, the author of the only recently published translation of these two Formularies, chooses not to translate *raptus* as rape, stating that it "can mean either 'rape' or 'abduction,' or even 'elopement' when it was done with the woman's consent," despite noting that in this context there clearly is no consent, and so the first is the "more probable" of the three. For more, see C. Saunders, and A. Rio's works, cited below.

2. Since I am unfamiliar with Late Latin, I referred frequently to A. Rio's excellent translation to avoid utter confusion.

3. "Formulae from the Merovingian and Carolingian ages."

4. The *Monumenta* are a collection of primary sources focused on the history of early Germany and its neighbors, focusing on the era between 500 AD and 1500 AD.

5. *Formulae Andecavenses*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hanover, Germany: Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aeui, 1886). My best guess of "Domino doreuerenanimo poopelandemo mareulfur uloms aeulirnmurommū monachorū" is, with the exception of Domino, entirely gibberish.

6. As in Angers no. 26, where the number of the verb changes from singular to plural and back for no particular reason.

7. For more on the complications of the formulae and their context, see either of A. Rio's works on this subject: the introduction to *Formularies of Angers and Marculf* or "Charters, law-codes and formulae: the Franks between theory and practice".

8. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf,* pp. 38-46

9. The word *vindicio,* "an act of sale", like many other terms in these collections, does not exist in classical Latin, but takes its root from older words—in this case *vendere*, "to sell", which is also used in this sentence.

10. There are several other documents in these two formularies on self-sale. In Angers no 3., the man's punishment is even harsher than the one here—he is "tortured and convicted and could have been put to death." (Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf,* pp. 51). For further examples, see Angers nos. 19 and 25, or Marculf II, 28.

11. These documents are intended for use as a "Mad-Libs" of the law—find the appropriate document, and simply fill in the blanks. In both *Angers and Marculf, ille,* "that", is

used as a placeholder for names, dates and locations. Following Rio's lead, I have translated it as person A, date B, location C, etc., for perspicuity.

12. Not *ille*, but *tantus*, "so great," which has the same space-holding purpose.

13. Gold coins of a roman style which continued to be minted into the Carolingian period.

14. There are many quirks of the language of these formularies. Often a word will seem to be the same as a classical one, with one letter off, as is the case here with *vindecare*, which I have taken to mean *vindicare*, "to assert a claim to." Occasionally, the editor of the *Formvlae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* will in his footnotes have suggestions for substitutions which I have heavily relied upon.

15. *Aliqua*, "some," could be taken to be dismissive, but I would argue it is simply part of the generalized style of these documents, and in English could be used as akin to the indefinite article "a."

16. D*eberunt* and *facerunt*, which seem to refer to the *homine sancti illius*, the accused man, are plural.

17. i.e. signed by her hand.

18. This document is clearly not intended to adjudicate on the case of rape, as it is stated that the case has gone not *incognitum*, that is "not untried," but to avoid additional litigation. The absence of any record dealing with the original trial is interesting, as are the unnamed arbitrators who "unanimously decide" this case. See Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, p. 69.

19. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, pp. 104.

20. There is no consensus with regards to the dating of Marculf, and of where and when this bishop Landeric was from. For a fuller discussion of the various arguments, see Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, pp. 107-117.

21. Marculf's self-deprecating introduction may refer to the preface of Orosius's *History against the Pagans* (see Uddholm, *Formulae Marculfi: Etudes Sur La Langue et Le Style*, p. 222), purposefully negating Marculf's claims of ignorance.

22. *Papa*, now taken to mean the Pope of Rome, at this time implied simply "bishop" (see Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, pp. 125).

23. That is, since he is pushing seventy.

24. Marculf's proverb is typical of the unexpected expressive language he uses throughout the formularies.

25. The use of *eliganter* rather than *eleganter* can be seen as an error, or if interpreted as a deliberate misspelling, as yet another example of his ironic efforts to belittle his work.

26. The word *scedola* is included in no dictionary that I checked. I have taken it to mean "document."

27. I can see two potential interpretations of *ut potui,* "as I was able," either that he is writing in the only way he is able, that is plainly, or that he is writing as plainly as he can. This confusion adds to the repeated and seemingly false modesty of the preface.

28. The centermost of the Seven Hills of Rome, i.e., from the lofty city.

29. The use of *succiduis* to mean "downfall" as it does here is a nice example of the Christianization of Latin during this period. *Succiduis* comes from the classical latin adjective *succiduus,* meaning "sinking," but as a noun in this later period has connotations of one's own death and judgment.

30. Literally, "new song".

31. Three influential monasteries founded in the 6th century.

32. Oil used for anointment.

33. Here and elsewhere, *ipse*, "self," has been translated as "this," since the implication seems to be the selfsame or previously mentioned, and I feel "this" is a cleaner rendering.

34. The word *civitas* in classical Latin meant "citizenship", but in later Latin comes to be synonymous with *urbs*, "city". See Charlton T Lewis and Charles Short, *Harpers' Latin Dictionary: A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon edited by E.A. Andrews* (Oxford: Larendon Press, 1879), last accessed December 6, 2014, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph, s.v. "*civitas".*

35. i.e., servants

36. For more on the use of *raptus* and consent in the Medieval world, see note 1.

37. I.e., allowed to live.

38. This document, like many others in the collection, ends abruptly with *et cetera,* leaving the ending up to the interested party to fill in himself.

39. This document is the equivalent of the modern Christmas card. Since it refers to the clemency of the recipient, and asks after how he had spent his Noel, it appears to be a belated note to make up for tactlessly neglecting to send nativity greetings earlier. The addendum of "recovery" adds a "get well soon" spirit to the end.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Formulae Andecavenses, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Hanover, Germany: Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aeui, 1886. Last accessed December 8, 2014, http://goo.gl/PZJBz4.

Marculf. *Marculfi Formulae*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Hanover, Germany: Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aeui, 1886. Last accessed December 8, 2014, http://goo.gl/0uejS2.

Secondary Sources

Lewis, Charlton T and Short, Charles. *Harpers' Latin Dictionary: A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon edited by E.A. Andrews.* Oxford: Larendon Press, 1879. Last accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph.

Niermeyer, J.F. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Lexique Latin Médiéval-Français/Anglais.* Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1984.

M. D. Knowles, "Presidential Address: Great Historical Enterprises III. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 10, (1960): 129-150. Accessed at http://www.jstor.org/stable/3678777

Rio, Alice. *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks.* Translated Texts for Historians. in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

Rio, Alice. "Charters, Law-codes and Formulae: The Franks between Theory and Practice." *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Medieval Europe*. Ed. Paul Fouracre and David Ganz. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2008. 7-27.

Saunders, Corinne J. "Classical Paradigms of Rape in the Middle Ages." *Rape in Antiquity*. Ed. Susan Deacy and Karen F. Pierce. London: Classical of Wales, 2002. Web.

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

THE DIALECT OF SAPPHO AND ALCAEUS AND THE DIALECT OF EPIGRAPHIC LESBIAN: A LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

By Keita Kashima, Magdalen College Oxford

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 31-42.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/dialect-sappho-and-alcaeus-and-dialect-epigraphic-lesbian

The Dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus and the Dialect of Epigraphic Lesbian: A Linguistic Commentary

Keita Kashima
Magdalen College Oxford

ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε λέπτον
δ' αὔτικα χρωῖ πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμηκεν…

Abstract

The literary dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus, and its relationship with the vernacular, epigraphic Lesbian dialect, have been much discussed in the past. At first sight, the poets appear to write naturally in their vernacular dialect; one may therefore think that the dialect in which their poems were written is the same as the non-literary dialect. However, the current consensus is that many of their poems use epic diction, and that a number of other problematic factors, including uncertainties in textual transmission, emendation and the absence of useful archaic inscriptions, complicate our examination of the literary dialect and its similarities/differences with the epigraphic dialect. This paper has three objectives: first, to summarize briefly the problems involved in our examination; secondly, to demonstrate through a detailed linguistic commentary on IG XII 2.1 that, with a few exceptions, the individual, dialectal features which we find in the poems are very similar to those we find in inscriptions (**§1**); and finally, to discuss the preposition ὑπό and its problematic, potentially hyper-Aeolic form ὐπά́ (**§2**), showing its interesting but frustrating *argumentum ex silentio*.

Introduction

This paper is a revised extract from my secondary school project in 2014[1] that examined the position of the Lesbian dialect or, to be more precise, the written dialect of Mytilene[2] within the Aeolic dialectal group. It also attempted to examine to what extent the epigraphic (hence non-literary) Lesbian dialect is the same as the dialect in which Sappho and Alcaeus originally wrote their poems. In the project, I discussed the issues in trying to establish the exact relationship between literary Lesbian and epigraphic Mytilenean/Lesbian, and I concentrated on several forms in the fragments of the poets, which are probably hyper-Aeolic (e.g., the doubling of nasals, -αι- for naturally long -α-) or the products of orthographic convention (e.g., the internal -ζ- as -σδ-, the initial δι- as ζ[3]). The introduction of such forms possibly resulted from the standardization of lyric texts and the hypercorrection of their dialectal forms sometime in the history of their transmission, particularly during the Hellenistic Period. The presence of such forms makes our comparison of the literary dialect with the epigraphic dialect extremely difficult, and this problem is combined with many other factors, which I mention briefly below:

(1) The Lesbian dialect is poorly attested in the Archaic Period and even in the Classical Period until the mid-4th century, so most Lesbian inscriptions that we have to compare with the dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus are over three hundred years after the poets *floruerunt*.
(2) There are numerous uncertainties for the transmission and the modification of their texts, and it is possible that their dialect became corrupt or Atticized because of non-Lesbian scribes.[4]
(3) Possible inconsistency in the poets' dialect.[5]
(4) Influence of Homer's language and of other early Greek poetry on the poets.[6]

§1 The linguistic analysis of IG XII 2.1, the oldest inscription from Lesbos that is long enough for a detailed study, seems to suggest that the ancient editors edited the texts of Sappho and Alcaeus accurately without any apparent dialectal alternation, as the dialectal forms in the fragments, except in some cases, seem to correspond to the Lesbian dialect in the Classical Period.[7] This may partially explain why the dialect of the Lesbian poets, who were regarded highly throughout the Classical World, was rarely imitated by later poets: it was extremely local.[8] If the extreme locality of their dialect was a factor that prevented later poets from imitating Lesbian poetry, then Theocritus' *Idylls* 28-30 and Balbilla's *Epigrammata* are truly exceptional. [9]

— — — —E[— — — — — — — — — — ὅττι]
[δέ κε αἰ] πόλις [ἀμ]φότ[εραι .. . . . .]
[.. . . .] γράφωισι εἰς τὰ[ν στάλλαν ἢ ἐκκ]-
[ολάπ]τωισι, κύ[ρ]ιον ἔστω. [τὸν δὲ κέρναν]-
[τα τὸ] χρύσιον ὑπόδικον ἔ[μμεναι ἀμφο]
[τέρ]αισι ταῖς πολίεσσι· δι[κάσταις δὲ]
[ἔμ]μεναι τῶι μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήναι [κέρναν]-
[τι] ταὶς ἄρχαις παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Μ[υτιλ]-
[ή]ναι πλέας τῶν αἰμίσεων, ἐμ Φώκαι δὲ τ-
αὶς ἄρχαις παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Φώκαι πλ[έ]-
ας τῶν αἰμίσεω[ν]· τὰν δὲ δίκαν ἔμμεναι
ἐπεί κε ὠνίαυτος ἐξέλθηι ἐν ἐξ μήννε<σ>-
σι· αἰ δέ κε καταγ[ρέ]θηι τὸ χρύσιον κέρ-
ναν ὐδαρέστερον θέλων θανάτωι ζαμι-
ώσθω, αἰ δέ κε ἀπυφ[ύ]γηι μ[ὴ] θέλω<ν> ἀμβρ[ό]-
την, τιμάτω τ[ὸ] δικαστήριον ὅττι χρὴ α-
ὖτ<ο>ν πάθην ἢ κατθέ[μ]εναι, ἀ δὲ πόλις ἀναί-
τιος καὶ ἀζάμιος [ἔσ]τω. ἔλαχον Μυτιλή-
ναοι πρόσθε κόπτην. ἄρχει πρότανις ὁ
πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκαι δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἀρίσ[τ]-
αρχον

"Anything that both cities write… on the (stele) or erase, let it be valid. Anyone who alloys the gold is to be subject to trial to both cities. For the person who alloys in Mytilene, the judges are to be all the magistrates, more than half in number: in Phocaea (the judges are to be) all the magistrates, more than half in number. The trial is to take place within six months of the end of the year. If one is convicted of willingly debasing the gold, let him be punished with death: but if he escapes the conviction since he did not willingly commit the crime, let the court decide what is necessary to do, what he should suffer or should pay. But let the city be without any responsibility and be unpunished: the Mytileneans drew the lot to issue the coins first: the magistrate after Colonus puts into effect the agreement, and in Phocaea the magistrate after Aristarchus."

Line 2

- πόλις: this is very likely to be nominative plural, because the following subjunctive is in the plural, although we cannot reject the possibility that it is the direct object of γράφωισι.[10] The noun is likely to have a long iota. It is possibly an extension from the accusative plural.[11] This form is unique to Lesbian and no comparable form can be found in poetry.

Line 3

- γράφωισι: the 3rd person plural active present subjunctive (also line 4: …τωισι). This form is found only in Lesbian and in northern Chios, where there is strong Lesbian influence. The original 3rd person plural active ending *–nti* (preserved in West Greek) underwent assibilation in East Greek to *–nsi* (preserved in Arcadian), which underwent further alternation in other dialects. In Lesbian, the *n* in the cluster *–ns(–)* in an intervocalic position or at word end after a vowel was lost gradually, but it influenced the preceding vowel, forming an i-diphthong (e.g., Lesbian λύοισι; contrast with Attic λύουσι,[12] both from λύοντι). In the case of γράφωισι, either the ending *–nti* was attached to the thematic subjunctive stem γράφω- and an i-diphthong was formed even with the long vowel ω, or the ending –ισι simply extended from the thematic indicative and was attached to the omega.[13] See also line 8.

Line 5

- ὑπόδικον: see **§2.2**.

Line 6

- πολίεσσι: dative plural of i-stems in inscriptions is –εσσι (e.g., Sappho 31.11), but this is not uniform in poetry, as –σι is sometimes found (e.g., Sappho, 105.c2, Alcaeus 117.b35); this may indicate that the poets used an older form of the dative plural, although this cannot be confirmed.[14] The ending –εσσι is not exclusively Aeolic, as other dialects also have this ending.[15] If there was originally only one sigma for a s-stem (e.g., Sappho 2.10), it is likely that the i-stem dative plural ending later spread to other stems, including the s-stem.[16]

Line 7

- Μυτιλήναι: the long alpha remains unaltered (cf. line 10: τὰν δὲ δίκαν; lines 13-14: ζαμι-ώσθω; line 17: ἀ; line 18: ἀζάμιος). The same phonological rule applies in Sappho and Alcaeus, even in their 'Homeric-toned' poems (e.g., Sappho 44.34).

Line 8

- ταὶς ἄρχαις παίσαις (also in line 10): from **tans arkhans pan(t)sans*. It is the accusative plural, from *–ns*. The consonant cluster becomes –ις, affecting the preceding vowel (see line 3). By coincidence the same change happens in Elean. See for example Alcaeus 140. 4, Sappho 1.24, etc. αι sometimes replaces long α even when it is not phonologically possible (e.g. Sappho 1.14 μειδι<u>αί</u>σαισ'), and this is likely to be a form of hyper-Aeolism introduced by Hellenistic editors.[17]

Line 9

- πλέας: from *πλέοας (< **plēyoh-n̥s*<**plēyos-n̥s*), found in Homer (e.g., *Il.*2.129). The Proto-Greek form was **pleh₁-yos*, and was replaced by the n-stem (πλείων).[18] In Attic, the older s-stem forms remain in the nominative and the accusative masculine and feminine plural πλείους (< **plē-yoh-es* < **pleh₁-yos-es*). The Attic accusative form is based on the nominative form. No comparable form is found in the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus.
- αἰμίσεων (also line 11): cf. Attic ἥμισυς. ἥμι- derives from the lengthened e-grade of **semi-* and the shift [e:] to [ai] is triggered by /si/ and /mi/,[19] and its form can be compared with Alcaeus 42.13 αἰμιθέων and Sappho 44.14 αἰμιόνοις as well as Αἰσίοδος for Ἡσίοδος cited by the grammarian Herodian from the 2nd century A.D. It is unclear whether this sound change was regular (cf. ἦσι in Sappho 109[20]). Since the prefix ἠμι- is found in Assos and Aegae,[21] αἰμι- may be a local feature of Mytilene, as Miller suggests.[22]

Line 11

- ἔμμεναι: the Lesbian athematic infinitive (also likely in line 7; –μεναι), demonstrating the influence from the East Greek athematic ending -ναι,[23] as in Alcaeus 140.9. See line 12 for the explanation of the double nasal.

Line 12

- κε: this conditional particle (also lines 8) is frequently used by Sappho and Alcaeus.
- μήννε<σ>σι: the double nasal from the simplification of the intervocalic group, which consists of a resonant + s, or s + a resonant, or a resonant+ a semivocalic y, is a feature in Thessalian and Lesbian that is preserved from the Proto-Greek stage.[24] This form can be compared with the nominative singular σελάννα (cf. line 3 στάλλαν; compare also Attic σελήνην), which derives from the Proto-Greek form **selas-nā* (e.g. Sappho 96.8). This double nasal form is likely to be the source of hyper-Aeolic forms, for example Sappho 1.16 κάλημμι; the form probably is not justifiable phonologically and most of the earlier inscriptions do not support the possibility of such forms as being genuine Lesbian.[25]

Line 13

- αἰ: this conditional conjunction is frequently used by Sappho and Alcaeus.
- καταγ[ρέ]θηι: dialectal[26] passive subjunctive for αἱρέω (Sappho 31.14: ἄγρει). ἀγρέω is from **h₂ger-*, the same root as ἀγείρω.[27]
- κέρ-ναν: the masculine nominative singular present participle of κέρνᾱμι (mix), contracted from *κερνάων,[28] where the combination α+ω gives a long α. No comparable form is found in the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus, although Alcaeus has the athematic present participle κέρναις (338.6). The co-existence of thematic and athematic forms is found in Homer as well, for example κιρνάω and κίρνημι.[29]

Line 15

- ἀπυφ[ύ]γηι: the prefix and the preposition ἀπύ is used by Sappho and Alcaeus in all places (e.g., Sappho 98.11).[30] Hodot 1990 agrees that ἀπύ et ἀπό are two Indo-European variants, and suggests the possibility that the two forms always co-existed in Lesbian, although this is impossible to determine because of the paucity of epigraphic evidence between the 5th and the 4th century B.C.[31] Alternatively, ἀπύ in Lesbian may be a later development. The final, original omicron may have changed to an upsilon (which occurs especially in Arcado-Cypriot), but there is no valid explanation for this in Lesbian. It is true that, in Lesbian, the change from [o] to [u] sometimes took place initially

before [m].[32] In poetry, ἀπύ can be apocopated in some conditions (e.g., Alcaeus 371, probably Sappho 27.10), but this is not the case for Lesbian inscriptions.

- ἀμβρότην: Lesbian (as well as Elean and Laconian) thematic infinitives end in –ην, ultimately from **-e-sen* (see also line 17: πάθην; line 19: κόπτην). The Attic equivalent is ἀμαρτεῖν. The origin of the aspirate in Attic and Homer is unknown. Both forms are from the zero-grade of **h₂mert-*. The etymological root for this verb is also unknown but, considering **n̥-h₂mert-es-* > νημερτής (Attic), it is likely that the root had an initial **h₂* and that the aspirate in Attic and Homer is analogical.[33] It was once suggested that ἀμαρτεῖν was formed by adding the alpha privative to the root **smer*, but this raises some phonetic problems.[34] The analogy to the root **smer*, however, would explain the origin of the aspirate. The vocalic liquid develops into ρο/ορ in Lesbian (ρα/αρ in Attic), followed by the epenthesis of the beta in **amrot*, like the delta in **anros* (see ἀνδρός). Cf. Sappho 5.5 ἄμβροτε (strong aorist 3rd person singular). Homer also has the Lesbian form, and it is not aspirated.

Line 16

- ὅττι: assimilation of **yodkʷid* (cf. Sappho 1.15, the neuter genitive singular in Sappho 16.3-4). The neuter nominative and accusative spread to other forms analogically (e.g. Sappho 26.2, 31.2, Alcaeus 38.A12). However, this is not the case for inscriptions. The attested forms show little variation, as Hodot 1990 (p.139) writes: 'les formes attestées sont peu variées'. The author shows, for example, that the form ὅστις is attested five times, but ὅττις is not recorded (contrast Sappho 31.2).

Line 17

- κατθέ[μ]εναι: apocopation and assimilation of κατά as a prefix are not always observed in the lyric fragments (Sappho 105.c2), and this is true also for the language of inscriptions. Apocopation seems to have depended on the following condition: 'les caractéristiques phonologiques du mot du contexte'.[35]

Line 18

- Μυτιλή-ναοι: Attic Μυτιλήναιοι. See Sappho 98.b3 dative singular Μυτιληνάωι. Hodot 1990 includes a 'monetary caption' (légende monétaire [501]), which has ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΟΝ. It is genitive plural and possibly predates IG XII 2.1, where the Ionic alphabet is used. In front of an internal vowel, diphthongs ending in -i were lost and only the first element of the diphthong was retained as a short vowel. This phonological change seems to be regular (Sappho 16.5, 24.a4 etc.). But see Sappho 31.14 ποίας; this is *metri causa.*

Line 20

- πεδά (also line 12): = μετά, unrelated in origin. It is found in both poets (Sappho 55.4, Alcaeus 50.4) and is used also as a prefix (Sappho 55.2).
- Φώκαι: Attic Φωκαίαι. See line 18 for the loss of the iota in an i-diphthong before an internal vowel. The alpha in Φώκαι is long because of the combination α+α.

§2 In this section, I talk about the difficulty in judging whether ὐπά, which is found in some fragments, is hyper-Aeolic or not. Many scholars either seem to accept that ὐπά is genuine Lesbian without giving any justification or do not mention this problematic preposition.[36] Two publications discuss the issue, Bowie 1981 and Hooker 1977, but their conclusions do not agree with each other:

> Hooker: *"There is no good reason to suppose that the preposition ὐπά was known to Alcaeus and Sappho. It is a grammarians' form, constructed from ὑπό by analogy with κατά, and helped, no doubt, by the existence of ὐπά in WG dialects and of Homeric ὐπαί. ὐπά is found in the following papyri: Sappho 1.9, Alcaeus 6.14, 38a.7, 117b.8. … (and in a) quotation of Sappho 31.10 in the Codex Parisinus. [Footnote 41] it is interesting to notice that in Theocritus' Aeolic poem 29.23 both papyri and codices read ὐποδάμναται. …That it (ὐπά) is not the form used by Lesbian, at least in the Classical Period, is shown by the presence of ΥΠΟΔΙΚΟΝ in the monetary agreement between Mytilene and Phocaea."* [37]
>
> Bowie: *"Hooker (25f.) would keep ὑπό, arguing that ὐπά is a grammarian's creation, on the analogy of κατά: cf. ὐπά in W.Greek and ὐπαί in Homer. However, I do not see why they should have wished to create such a form: κατά is not regular Lesbian and the W.Greek form is hardly to the point. Nonetheless, Alcaeus could have used both ὐπά and ὑπό, which is the inscriptional form."* [38]

In short, Hooker completely rejects the view that ὑπά is genuine Lesbian, whereas Bowie is perhaps more cautious than Hooker and suggests that ὑπά was used by Alcaeus (and presumably Sappho), with the possibility that archaic Lesbian had both ὑπά and ὑπό. My aim is to support Bowie to some extent and question Hooker's firm belief that 'it is a grammarians' form', although I am overall inclined to follow Hooker's view. I divide this section in the following way:

1. Formation of ὑπό and ὑπά
2. Discussion on ὑπόδικον
3. Theocritus 29.23
4. Epigraphic evidence
5. Analysis based on our epigraphic evidence
6. Conclusion

1. ὑπό is from the PIE **(s)upo*,[39] and in Lesbian the breathing was lost through psilosis.[40]

The development of ὑπά from **(s)upo* cannot be explained with utter certainty. Buck's explanation of the formation of ὑπά is the same as Hooker's: he attributes it to the outcome of the analogy with κατά.[41] Buck's statement presumably takes into account the traditional, and perhaps the most convincing, explanation by Bechtel that: 'die Dichter von Homer an ὑπαί [a locative-case form] gebrauchen: das Verhältnis von διά zu διαί, von κατά zu καταί, von παρά zu παραί fordert ὑπά neben ὑπαί'.[42]

More generally speaking, however, there seems to be a tendency for disyllabic prepositions to end with the alpha, and this phenomenon was perhaps a result of some analogical spread in the early post-Mycenaean history of Greek. For example, Mycenaean has *pa-ro*, which is replaced, in later Greek dialects, by παρά (in non Attic-Ionic dialects with frequent apocopation). 'Alpha-Harmonie' has been proposed by to theorize the correlation; it is argued that the vowel of the first syllable affects the second.[43] But the theory can be criticized, as it may not have occurred in the (expected) case of ἀπό. The publication attempts to prove that **apo*/**h₂epo* once became **ἀπά*, but its explanation is not satisfying. More importantly for our question, **(s)upo* does not have an initial alpha and, should the theory apply to other vowels, it would be *(h)upu*,[44] not *(h)upa*. To conclude, little is known about the Post-Mycenaean development of Greek prepositions, and many theories are indeed shaky. ὑπά may have in fact been influenced by both the presence of prepositions ending in alpha and by the analogical proportion described in Bechtel.[45]

Buck claims that ὑπά is a feature of Lesbian, as well as of Boeotian, Locrian and Elean, but ὑπά is found only in compounds in the latter two dialects. ὑπά is therefore very rare in the West Greek dialects, which makes it doubtful that ὑπό was turned into ὑπά by their influence. Moreover, although κατά is not always apocopated (see line 17 of the commentary), apocopation is much more common. It is therefore doubtful that ὑπά was invented by ancient editors through analogy with the more rare, so Hooker's explanation for the presence of ὑπά in the texts of Sappho and Alcaeus is not entirely convincing.

2. The term ὑπόδικον is borrowed from the Athenian legal terminology, and it literally means 'subject to a trial.'[46] Hooker fails to mention that the word is borrowed from the Attic dialect. Did ὑπόδικον undergo psilosis?[47] It cannot be confirmed because of the absence of an elision that gives a non-aspirate as the last letter of the preceding word. For this reason there are, at this point, two proposals:

1. As it is an Athenian legal term, Mytilene had simply borrowed the term without any dialectal alteration; therefore the rough breathing in ὑπόδικον was conserved (but the modern editor of the inscription presupposed psilosis, though breathings are unmarked on the actual inscription).

2. Psilosis did take place for this Attic term.

Both proposals are possible. However, as it is well known that initial psilosis is observed in Lesbian inscriptions, there is every reason to find proposal 2 more plausible. But it is worth considering that loanwords from Koiné can retain their rough breathings, which may suggest that words alien to Lesbian were not always dialectalized; this may also explain the presence of ὑπό rather than ὑπά.[48]

It may also be the case that Atticization was already taking place in the time of IG XII 2.1.[49] If that is the case, then the reason why ὑπά was not the form used in Lesbian at least in the Classical Period can be

attributed to the influence of Attic.

3. As already quoted above, Hooker mentions Theocritus' Aeolic Poem 29.23, where both papyri and codices read ὑποδάμναται. But this hardly helps us in our argument, because it simply leads to wild speculations, as I show below, concerning specifically the codices:

a. If Theocritus imitated the literary Lesbian dialect fully in Poem 29, we have further evidence of rejecting ὐπά as genuine Lesbian.

b. If Theocritus did not attempt to imitate the literary Lesbian dialect fully in Poem 29, we cannot be certain whether ὐπά is hyper-Aeolic.

c. If Theocritus did attempt to imitate the literary Lesbian dialect fully but used texts which had been Atticized and had ὑπό, even though ὐπά should have been the correct reading (and therefore genuine Lesbian) instead, we must conclude that Theocritus 29 was not fully written in the literary Lesbian dialect.

Proposal 'b' does seem true, and proposal 'a' false; in all of Theocritus' 'Aeolic' *Idylls*, Koine and Lesbian forms coexist.[50] But did the poet choose what to imitate, or was his understanding of Lesbian insufficient (for the reasons given in proposal 'c')? But none of these possibilities can be verified with utter certainty and, though it is *interesting*, as Hooker writes, Theocritus 29.23 is not a piece of evidence that can decisively confirm that ὐπά is hyper-Aeolic, because Theocritus' poem is not fully in the Lesbian dialect. So the preverb ὑπό, which we find in 29.23, is hardly a reliable proof (in addition to the possibility of dialectal corruption in the course of transmission).[51]

4. So far, Bowie's argument seems more plausible than Hooker's, but our epigraphic evidence clearly supports the latter. ὐπά (both as a prefix and a preposition) is never found in inscriptions from Mytilene, but only once from the 2nd to 3rd century A.D.[52] According to Hodot, ὑπό in contrast is recorded 33 times (at Mytilene as well as in other Lesbian-speaking cities) as a preposition with the genitive.[53] His examples include Koine and dialectally mixed inscriptions, but also Lesbian inscriptions too, such as IG XII 2.14, which is dated approximately to 300-275 B.C.

5. To account for the presence of ὐπά in some texts of Sappho and Alcaeus and its extreme rarity in epigraphic documents, the following possibilities can be proposed:

A. ὐπά, which had been used in the time of Sappho and Alcaeus, was already obsolete by the time of surviving epigraphic documents, therefore the engravers/commissioners of inscriptions used the more modern form ὑπό.
B. Both forms co-existed: the dialect of Mytilene always retained ὑπό as well as ὐπά, the latter being a post-Mycenaean development.
C. Sappho and Alcaeus consciously used ὐπά, a word alien to their native dialect. Possible reasons may have been to enhance the artificiality of their poetic language and the final alpha that was analogical to many other disyllabic prepositions.
D. The dialect of their poetry was modified through numerous transmissions and/or became standardized at some point. The non-Lesbian form ὐπά was interpolated.

Proposal D may first seem the least credible of the four. As shown in **§2.1**, there is no obvious reason to alter ὑπό and introduce the alien form ὐπά, which is rare even in West Greek. Moreover, as I have already demonstrated in the linguistic commentary (**§1**), the Hellenistic editors seem to have kept the local Lesbian dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus almost intact. It is also important to remind ourselves that ὐπά is never found in Attic-Ionic literature and inscriptions. Though highly speculative, suppose that an Attic-Ionic or Koie speaker copies a text of Sappho, and finds ὑπό in the copying material. Why would he alter it to ὐπά, which is potentially a hyper-Aeolic form, in the process of transmission and without any justification (assuming his lack of knowledge of West Greek dialects)?

Proposal C is possible, but not entirely satisfactory, given that it is generally true that the individual, dialectal features of their poetry are distinctly local, and there is no reason to change such a common preposition and employ a form that is not found even in Homer.

The fact that ὑπό was always used instead in both pure Lesbian and dialectally mixed inscriptions

between the 5th century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. may make proposal B on its own unlikely.

Yet proposal A, or the combination of proposals A and B, is still possible.[54] ὐπα may have been the more common form or was the only form. Its absence in inscriptions may be explained by historical and linguistic changes such as the increasing influence of Attic-Ionic. This may have penetrated so far in the case of ὑπά that the preposition was virtually lost (for proposal A), forgotten or was considered unfashionable (for the combination of proposals A and B), even during the revival of the city's old dialect later in her history.[55]

6. To summarize, given the epigraphic evidence (**§2.4**), it is not unreasonable to conclude that ὑπό was Mytilene's vernacular preposition and prefix in the time of IG XII 2.1 and onwards, which is in accordance with Hooker's assumption. But his explanation does have some weaknesses (cf. **§2.1** and **2**, possibly **3**b and **3**c). ὑπά may well be a literary form or was somehow introduced through emendation by Hellenistic scholars, but because we have an unrecoverable gap in epigraphic documentation of at least 200 years, there is no firm evidence to reject that it was the conventional or the alternative preposition and prefix that had been lost by the Classical Period (**§2.5**).

The lack of epigraphic evidence in the Archaic Period makes it difficult to judge whether ὑπά is hyper-Aeolic. What is clear, however, is that epigraphic Lesbian in general goes into decline in the mid-to-late Hellenistic Period under the influence of Koine, followed by a sudden resurgence in the late first century B.C. and onwards, perhaps inspired by the dialect of Lesbian monody. It may seem that we can use these late inscriptions for our examination of the literary dialect, but we are once again faced with problems in addition to (1), (2), (3) and (4):

> (5) There seems to have been no systematic approach to archaizing the dialect.
>
> Cassio speculates that local grammarians may have influenced the 'dialectal revival.'[56] If so,
>
> (6) Did these grammarians know the Lesbian dialect a few centuries before their time?
> (7) Did their contemporary dialect, which was influenced increasingly by Attic and Koine, affect and alter the dialect of the poems?
> (8) Was the Lesbian dialect in standardized Alexandrian texts the same as in locally transmitted texts?

Our speculation can go on endlessly. There is essentially no way to prove or disprove that forms that are potentially hyper-Aeolic were in fact genuine archaic Lesbian. Some can be categorized as hyper-Aeolic more confidently (see lines 8 and 12 in the commentary), but the case for ὑπά is not easy to judge. Despite not being totally persuasive, Hooker's judgment is at the moment more plausible than Bowie's, mainly because of the epigraphic evidence. Yet this view may change dramatically if an inscription, which is substantial in length and is from the Archaic Period, is discovered.[57]

Notes

1. I wish to acknowledge my considerable debt to my schoolteachers, James Burbidge and Katy Waterfield, as well as to Stephen Colvin, John Penney, Don Ringe, Matt Scarborough, John Taylor, Olga Tribulato and Jo Willmott for providing me with reading lists and for their indispensable suggestions. Without their generous help I would not have been able to complete my Extended Project.

2. It is impossible to reconstruct the 'everyday' speech of the ancient Mytileneans only through the written evidence. The 'dialect of Mytilene' in the project was the language of inscriptions from Mytilene in IG XII 2 and IG XII Supplementum, both of which are used in Hodot 1990 and are, where possible, dated (whether precisely or approximately). I concentrated on Mytilene because the city is where we believe both poets were active. Where it is appropriate and there is no comparable form in IG XII 2 and IG XII Supplementum, inscriptions from other Lesbian-speaking regions will be compared with the dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus. Where it is sensible, statistics from the whole of Lesbos and Asian Aeolis in Hodot 1990 will be used. All the numerations of the poets' fragments are those of Lobel-Page from the second edition of Greek Lyric I, Loeb Classical Library. Apart from one exception (see line 18 of the linguistic commentary), I have decided not to discuss any other form of direct, written documentation such as the curse tablets from Mytilene discovered in 1998, mainly because of the need to discuss the 'curser's bi-dialectism' (p.194) and 'vulgar' Greek in a depth that is beyond the scope of this article. For more on this topic, see *A Cypriot Curser at Mytilene*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 179 (2011), pp.189-198, by A.Dale and A.Ellis-Evans.

3. See Hooker 1977, p.18, Bowie, 1981, p.138, Colvin, 2007, p.218 and Blümel, 1982, §65 and §128.

4. An example of this may be the metrical corruption and partial Atticization in Artistophanes' *Wasps* 1234-1235, a parody of Alcaeus 141. Attic can also become corrupt because of non-Attic scribes; see for example Aristophanes *Frogs* 454-9, imitated in an inscription from Rhodes (1st century B.C.); ἡμῖν in line 454 is replaced by ἡμεῖν (cf. Stanford, 1958, pp.112-113). See also Hooker 1977 (p.31) to appreciate how Koine can influence the quoted lines of Sappho and Alcaeus in the manuscripts of grammarians.

5. For an example, see Hooker 1977, p. 47.

6. Cf. Hooker 1977, pp.39-43, p.48ff. and Bowie 1981, pp.60-69.

7. There has been much debate as to when this monetary agreement took place. Newton (quoted in Heisserer 1984, p.119) believes that the inscription 'is not later than the 96th Olympian' (396-392 B.C). Heisserer 1984 that this public decree is from 'the second half of the fifth century B.C., more specifically ca. 440 to 410 B.C.'(p.122). He comes to this conclusion through his observation of the letterforms that are similar to other 5th century Aeolic inscriptions (pp.119-120). Hodot 1990 takes Heisserer's paper into account and dates it to 426B.C. Figueira 2011 (p.488), however, seems to prefer to date it to the early fourth century, citing the study of the inscription's letter forms by other scholars who oppose Heisserer's observation. What is certain from all the related publications is that IG XII 2.1 is ascribed to sometime in the mid-Classical period. In the linguistic commentary below, references to the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus have been included where possible. Before translating the inscription, I read the following: Buck 1955, Colvin 2007 and Miller 2013.

8. Other reasons may include the nature of Lesbian monody that is often occasion-specific and personal.

9. See also **§2.3**.

10. I owe this point to my tutor.

11. Buck 1955, §109.3, supported by Blümel 1981, §266.

12. Note that ου in λύουσι is a spurious diphthong (cf. Buck 1955, §25).

13. In Attic, since ō cannot be lengthened any further in *-ōnsi*, simply became –ωσι.

14. Bowie 1981, pp.119-120 and p.122.

15. Examples include Locrian, Delphian, Elean. The argument put forward by García-Ramòn 1975 (p.84), who argues that the Aeolic migration from the mainland took place when both forms of the dative plural were used, and the borrowing of –εσσι by the neighbouring non-Aeolic dialects (cf. Finkelberg 2005, p.129) on the mainland, may question the theory put forward by Parker 2008. Parker in turn argues that there was no Aeolic migration from mainland Greece (the author also rejects the existence of an Aeolic dialect group).

16. However, as my tutor pointed out, -εσσι may have in fact originated from s-stem nouns through the analogical proportion model δοῦλοι : δούλοισι, πάντες : πάντεσσι (see also Sihler 1995, §276.6.a). To go into deeper analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but there is no doubt that the ending –εσσι is very problematic.

17. See also Hooker 1977, pp.30-31, Blümel, 1981, §86.

18. Miller 2013, p.251.

19. Cf. Miller 2013, p.251and Blümel 1981 §85. Hodot 1990 (p.71) suggests that it is 'une graphie inverse'.

20. Though ἦσι may be an epic borrowing.

21. Blümel, 1981, §85.

22. Miller, 2013, p.251.

23. Horrocks, 2010, p.25.

24. In other dialects, the end result of simplification is the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This is the observation that Parker 2008 develops in his attempt to reject Boeotian from Aeolic and to go on to question the coherence of 'Thessalo-Lesbian'. But see Finkelberg 2005, pp.109-139, for a persuasive account of the dialect geography of pre-historic Greece and the dialect continuum formed by Thessalian, Boeotian and Lesbian. Additionally, as my tutor pointed out, there is difficulty in knowing whether spelling represents the phonological reality.

25. But see Cassio 1986, p.138, where he quotes προαγρημμένω, found at Cyme in an inscription from the 3rd century B.C. As Colvin 2007, p.219, notes, 'it is odd that it [the double nasal] occurs only after η'. A further speculation for the explanation of the potentially hyper-Aeolic double nasal could be that in archaic Lesbian the eta was pronounced longer than (say) in Attic, and that this was represented by the double nasal.

26. Buck 1955, §162.2.

27. Miller 2013, p.251.

28. Colvin 2007, p.109. Before Heisserer 1984, it was considered to be an athematic present infinitive of κέρναμι (Buck 1995, §155.3).

29. Colvin 2007, p.109.

30. Hodot 1990, p.148: 'la forme ἀπό ne figure pas dans les fragments des Lyriques'. See footnote 55.

31. Cf. Hodot 1990, p.148: 'on s'accorde généralement à reconnaître que ἀπύ et ἀπό precèdent de deux variantes d'âge indo-européen…les deux variants aient toujours coexisté en Lesbien…dans les conditions que les maigres données dont nous disposons pour les Ve-IVe s. ne laissent pas préciser'.

32. Some examples are listed in Buck 1955, §22, and in greater depth in Blümel 1981, §47. This sound change is not regular either in inscriptions or in poetry, as Blümel 1981 (§47) writes: 'auf den Inschriften und in der literarischen Überlieferung des Lesbischen schwankt die Schreibung für [o] vor [m] am Wortanfang zwischen [o] und [υ].' In general, older Lesbian inscriptions have [υ], and Hellenistic inscriptions have [o]; this can be explained by the increasing influence of Attic-Ionic and Koiné. See also **§2.2**.

33. This statement is based on the fact that in Greek **h2* does not have an aspirating effect.

34. Cf. Chantraine 1968.

35. Hodot, 1990, p.144.

36. For example, Horrocks 2010, p.52, Buck 1955, §135.3. In Miller 2013, p.257, it is simply described as 'poetic'. Blümel 1981 and Tribulato in Cassio (ed.) 2008, which is the most up-to-date survey of the dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus in relation to the epigraphic dialect, make no mention of this preposition. Colvin 2007 (p.218) does not include any epigraphic evidence from Lesbos/Lesbian-speaking area.

37. Hooker 1977, pp.25-26.

38. Bowie 1981, p.86.

39. Cf. Sihler 1995, §406.8. Greek and Italic evidence suggest **supo*, but this is not supported by other languages.

40. See **(§2, 2)**.

41. Buck 1955, §135.3.

42. Bechtel 1921, p.119.

43. Dunkel 2014, Vol. 1, p.99.

44. *(h)upu* is recorded only once in IG 14.871 from Cumae, dated to the 5th century B.C.

45. I owe this point to my tutor.

46. Cf. Horrocks 2010, p.77, and Colvin 2007, p.108.

47. Although it is nowadays agreed that Lesbian was psilotic, some have denied it or explained the absence of initial aspirates by orthographic reasons. Cf. Hooker 1977, pp.16-17.

48. See Hodot 1990, p.139.

49. See also **§2.4**.

50. Bubenik 1989, p.68.

51. Hooker 1977 (p.11) raises the possibility that the papyri had 'a purer doctrine about the dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus'. But all the papyri fragments of the poets are also much later than the Archaic Period, therefore they may be corrupt as well. At any rate, the probability of corruption in papyri fragments is possibly lower, as they have avoided further transmission in manuscripts.

52. Hodot 1990, p.149. The inscription is IG XII 2.70. This inscription is a 'fragment à des cultes'.

53. Some are found with the accusative, and as a prefix only rarely.

54. This combination would mean that the two forms co-existed in the time of the two poets, but not by the time of our epigraphic evidence.

55. It appears as though prepositions are highly susceptible to the influence of Koine, as Hodot would certainly agree in the case of ἀπύ, cf. Hodot 1990, p.148: 'il est indéniable que c'est l'influence de la koinè qui explique la totale disparition de ἀπύ aux IIIe-IIe s.' Even so, ἀπύ begins to reappear in the 1st century A.D., unlike ὐπά́. It is highly intriguing that, supposing that the dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus did have a profound influence on the dialect of later inscriptions (as Hodot supposes, still in p.148: 'c'est l'influence des Lyriques qui réintroduisit ἀπύ sous l'Empire'), ὐπά́ was never reintroduced but once. However, Hodot is often thought to be exaggerating the influence of the literary dialect on the epigraphic dialect: see Cassio 1986 (pp.139-140) for a critique of Hodot's assumption that the poets' dialect affected the language of inscriptions before the Imperial Period. The extreme rarity of ὐπά́ in inscriptions possibly indicates that Sappho and Alcaeus were not the absolute dialectal models in the Imperial Period, and hence not every dialectal feature of their poetry was used.

56. Cassio 1986, pp.141-3.

57. I would like to thank my tutor Evert van Emde Boas and the editors of *Persephone* for their kind help on this article. I am fully responsible for any factual mistakes and others forms of error.

Bibliography

F. Bechtel, 1921. *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Weidmann, Berlin.

W. Blümel, 1982. *Die aiolischen Dialekte: Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*, Vandenhöck& Ruprecht, Göttingen,

A.M. Bowie, 1981, *The Poetic Dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus*, Arno Press, New York.

V. Bubenik, 1989. *"Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area"*, Amsterdam.

C.D. Buck, 1955. *The Greek Dialects*, The University of Chicago Press.

D.A. Campbell, 1990. *Greek Lyric I*, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard, second edition.

A.C. Cassio, 1986. *Continuità e Riprese Arcaizzanti Nell'Uso Epigrafico Dei Dialetti Greci: Il Caso Dell'Eolico D'Asia*, Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione linguistica 8, pp.131-146.

P. Chantraine, 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris.

S. Colvin, 2007. *A Historical Greek Reader: Mycenaean to the Koine*, Oxford.

G.E. Dunkel, 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*, Heidelberg.

T. Figueira, 2011. *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire*, The University of Pennsylvania Press.

M. Finkelberg, 2005. *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition*, Cambridge.

J.L. García-Ramòn, 1975. *Les origines postmycéniennes du groupe dialectal éolien*, Salamanca.

A.J. Heisserer, 1984. *The Monetary Pact between Mytilene and Phokaia*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Ephigrafik 55, pp. 115-132.

R. Hodot, 1990. *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie: La langue des inscriptions, VII e s. a.C.–IV e s. p.C.*, Recherche sur les civilisations, Paris.

J.T. Hooker, 1977. *The Language and Text of the Lesbian Poets*, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck.

G.C. Horrocks, 2010. *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, Wiley Blackwell, second edition.

D.G. Miller, 2013. *Ancient Greek Dialects and Early Authors*, De Gruyter.

H. Parker, 2008. *The Linguistic Case for the Aiolian Migration Reconsidered*, The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Volume 77, pp. 431-464.

W.B.Stanford, 1958. *Aristophanes: Frogs*, Bristol Classical Press.

A.L. Sihler, 1995. *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Oxford.

O. Tribulato, 2008. *La lirica monodica*, in A.C. Cassio (ed.), *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*, Le Monnier Università, pp.145-173.

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

AMPHION'S WORTHLESS WALLS: CAPANEUS AND THE DEFEAT OF POETRY IN STATIUS' THEBIAD

By Nathan May, University of Pennsylvania

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 43-45.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/amphion%E2%80%99s-worthless-walls-capaneus-and-defeat-poetry-statius%E2%80%99-thebaid

Amphion's Worthless Walls:
Capaneus and the Defeat of Poetry in Statius' *Thebaid*

Nathan May
University of Pennsylvania

Near the end of his *Ars Poetica*, Horace includes a famous description of poetry's social value: "Orpheus, who was a holy man and interpreter of the Gods, deterred the men of the forests from killing… This is why he was said to tame tigers and rabid lions." Turning to a similar figure, the son of Zeus and Antiope, he continues: "This too is why Amphion, the founder of the city of Thebes, was said to move rocks where he wished by the sound of the lyre and coaxing prayers."[1] In this well-known moment, the poet popularized what would become a commonplace in the history of literary theory: the belief that poetry bears with it a civilizing power. Both Orpheus and Amphion, in Horace's depiction, spark the transition from wildness to civilization, from savage discord to harmonious humanity. Equipped with lyres and rhetorical facility, the pair brings about concord, order and peace. Poetry, as they use it, becomes something of inestimable social value.

Written some one hundred years after Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Statius' *Thebaid* engages significantly with this trope, in both implicit and explicit ways. Concerning itself with the infamously gruesome final chapter of Thebes's history, the epic focuses on Amphion, the erector of the city's famous walls. Throughout the work, the founder's Horatian resonances are very much evident; once again, he is conceived as a figure of civilization and order. In the context of a violent war, he represents a gentle and humane alternative.

And yet, in Statius's unrelentingly bellicose universe, this alternative is also fiercely rejected. In fact, the most brutish of the epic's warriors, Capaneus, openly mocks it in an episode to which I will return. Here as elsewhere, Amphion, and all that he stands for, is derided as effeminate, unwarlike, and idle. Ultimately, violence overtakes the humane ethos he represents; it is the bestial lust for blood, rather than the gentle, civilizing impulse, that ultimately reigns supreme. In many of the epic's episodes, but in particular those featuring Capaneus, Statius depicts the defeat of an Amphion or Orpheus figure. He undoes the vision of lyre-induced concord, so famously outlined by Horace in 19 BCE.

Before turning to Capaneus, who will most explicitly bring about Amphion's defeat, I would like to consider a crucial reference to the wall-builder in Book 2. Tydeus, who will become one of the Seven against Thebes, has been sent by Polyneices to remind Etiocles that he must give up his rule. On the terms of the brothers' agreement, it is now time to hand over control of the city. Etiocles, vehemently refusing, provokes a fiery response from Tydeus: "…You *will* surrender! / You will surrender *power*! If iron walls / encircled you, or if Amphion sang / a second song and mounded triple ramparts, / not fire or sword could save you!... Our armies will defeat you!" (2.452-459).[2] Introducing a notion that will reappear, Tydeus portrays Amphion's civilizing force as utterly powerless in the face of martial might. When confronted with the fury of fraternal strife—a force that lies at the *Thebaid*'s core—Amphion is tragically ineffectual. As Tydeus would have it, the musician/poet's constructive power is shattered in the face of inherently destructive civil war. At this moment and throughout the epic, the sunny Horatian vision is powerfully torn asunder.

In the *Thebaid*'s portrayal of Amphion's defeat, no character is more central than Capaneus, the most alarmingly brutish of the Seven. More than any other figure, he represents

the savagery against which Horace's harmonious vision is measured. The warrior's subversion of Amphion throughout the epic first appears in a significant way toward the end of Book 6, as he participates in the Nemean games. In the midst of a fight with Alcidamas, a young and comparatively small Spartan, Capaneus unleashes a terrifying fury: "No lion or speared tiger ever raged / as he did as he pushed Alcidamus / backward until the youth lay on the ground. / His teeth made awful noises as he spun / and multiplied his blows…" (6.786-790). In what will become a reoccurring use of animal imagery, Capaneus is compared to wild predators, and, by extension, to the inhumane creatures that preceded an Amphion or Orpheus figure. Indeed, the warrior comes to resemble what Horace calls the murderous "men of the forests"[3] and what George Puttenham labels "the very brute beasts of the field."[4] Throughout the fight, Capaneus is an embodiment of brute rage, the kind of bestial discord that precedes a lyre-induced peace.

His opponent, by contrast, exemplifies a more gentle and civilized alternative. Whereas Capaneus, "hurried in with everything" during the match (768), Alcidamus "dodged some blows and ducked others" (770). While the Argive acts upon a primal urge, the Spartan employs careful consideration and acquired skill. Taking these two approaches into account, one can detect an opposition between civilized and savage modes of fighting. What is more, when Capaneus insists on destroying his opponent, he invokes what could be thought of as a kind of anti-Amphion or anti-civilization sentiment: "Let me alone! Let me destroy those cheeks / with which that sissy curries minons! I'll / turn them to bloody pulp…" (6.819-821). The idea of a "sissy currying minions," an attractive persuader, is not very different from Amphion or Orpheus, figures who draw in others with their beautiful music and poetic skill. For Capaneus, it is an angering vision, one that serves as a complete inversion of his brutish individualism. Where he acts on his primal urges without regard for community, Eunaeus gains people's favor; while Capaneus acts upon an unrestrained lust for blood, the young Spartan embodies a more civilized alternative. Such a conflict, moreover, is firmly resolved as Capaneus scores his ultimate victory. As in the epic's scenes of actual warfare, it is the force of barbarity, rather than humanity, that so violently comes out on top.

In one such depiction of warfare, Capaneus's slaying of Eunaeus in Book 7, this pattern powerfully manifests itself. At the episode's outset, Statius takes pains to stress the vulnerability of the young Theban: "…Whom can / you terrify? The cover of your shield / is vulnerable and crowned with wreathes of pale / Nysaean ivy; your javelin is vine wood, / wound with white flounces; hair obscures your shoulders; / soft down is on your cheeks" (7.652-657). Just as in the fight at the Nemean games, Capaneus' opponent is portrayed as smaller and possessing much less physical strength. Moreover, he is also associated with the Amphion myth; imploring the Argive forces to restrain themselves, he exclaims, "Stones rolled here of their own accord, so spare them" (7.665).

In addition, Capaneus is once again associated with bestial violence: "He's like a lion in a cave who wakes / to first wrath in the morning; when he sees / a deer or hornless bull, he roars for joy; / intent upon his prey, he scorns the wounds /of hunters and their spears. So Capaneus / exalted that the conflict was unequal…" (7.670-675). All civilized behavioral convention—most importantly here the aversion to unequal conflicts—Capaneus resolutely eschews. In this scene as before, the Argive rejects humane practices in favor of unabashed savagery. And, once again, it is he who decisively wins.

Capaneus' most explicit defeat of Amphion and all that he stands for, however, comes near the end of Book 10, as the warrior attacks the walls of Thebes. His previous acts of violence—the wrestling match with Alcidamus and his slaying of Eunaeus—anticipate this

moment in several important ways. In all cases, the object of Capaneus' destruction, whether it is either of the two young men or the Theban walls, is described as inherently vulnerable and weak. Ultimately, these examples each serve as effeminized victims of the warrior's savagely masculine might. Indeed, we see this pattern very clearly in the climax of Book 10, as Capaneus lets out a defiant exclamation: "Are these the worthless walls Amphion built- / the walls that followed his unwarlike chants / according to the ancient Theban fable / told shamelessly for simpletons? How hard / a task to ruin walls built by a lyre?" (10.875-879). Insulting at once the Theban walls, the *fabula* that lies behind them, and the primordial lyre, Capaneus utterly negates Horace's sunny vision, for Amphion, and all that he stands for, is derided as irritatingly feminine and weak. Furthermore, by calling the myth of construction a "fable," he levels against poetry the familiar accusation of falsehood. In this sense, there seems to be a kind of grand homology between his anti-poetic sentiment and his denial of the Gods' existence.

With all of this spite revealed—the opposition to poetry, femininity, civilization, and peace—Capaneus destroys the walls as thoroughly as he destroyed Eunaeus: "He… with hand and foot / fiercely destroys the mortar work and layers / of masonry that block him. Stone supports / slip under trembling houses. Bridges crumble. / He redeploys the pieces he dislodges, / hurls broken fragments down on homes and temples / and breaks its own high walls to wreck the city" (10.877-882). In the face of such destruction, the dream of poetical peace is lost irretrievably. The promise of Horace's Amphion, at this pivotal moment, is utterly undone.

In the fierce world of the *Thebaid,* poetry, and its civilizing power, is repeatedly shown to be an impotent force. The Amphion figure, beyond being ignored, is actively defeated in the severe Statian universe. As Capaneus' victories make clear, the epic's world is one in which Horace's "men of the forests" and Puttenham's "rude and savage peoples" ~~actively~~ destroy the agents of peace. Just as Alcidamas, Eunaus, and the walls of Thebes remain completely helpless in front of Capaneus, so does the cause of civilization stand no chance against the forces of bloodlust and strife. The social function of poetry, so influentially illustrated by Horace in 19 BCE, becomes tragically irrelevant.

Notes

1. Horace, "Ars Poetica" *Oxford World's Classics: Classical Literary Criticism,* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), 108.

2. Statius, P. Papinius. *The Thebaid: Seven against Thebes*. Trans. Charles Stanley Ross. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004).

3. Ibid, 108.

4. George Puttenham, "The Art of English Poesy" in *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. Gavin Alexander, (London: Penguin Books), 60-61.

Bibliography

Horace, "Ars Poetica" *Oxford World's Classics: Classical Literary Criticism,* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.)

Puttenham, George. "The Art of English Poesy" in *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. Gavin Alexander, (London: Penguin Books, 2004.)

Statius, P. Papinius. *The Thebaid: Seven Against Thebes*. Trans. Charles Stanley Ross. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004).

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

THE ADONIS COMPLEX: RESOLVING FRAZER AND SEGAL'S INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ADONIS MYTH

By Carman Romano, Haverford College

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 46-59.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/adonis-complex-resolving-frazers-and-segals-interpretations-adonis-myth-0

The Adonis Complex:
Resolving Frazer's and Segal's Interpretations of the Adonis Myth

Carman Romano
Haverford College

Overview

In their analyses of the Adonis myth, Sir James George Frazer and Robert A. Segal cite numerous ancient variants of Adonis' myth and evidence of the *Adonia*, a ritual that commemorated Adonis' death, as evidence for their respective readings. Each emphasizes the evidence which best agrees with his own interpretive method; evidence which is itself informed by presuppositions about myth and ritual. Frazer assumes that myth should be rationalized and universalized, and believes the ritual dependent on it. He equates Adonis to Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris, other deities whose death and rebirth, he argues, represent the decay and renewal of vegetable life. Because of these presuppostions, Frazer downplays those variants of Adonis' myth in which the deity dies a "final" death and emphasizes ritual evidence, arguing that the *Adonia* reenacts Adonis' death annually.[1] Segal, by contrast, presupposes the relevance of myth to psychology and ritual's ability not to reenact, but to express those same ideas present in myth. He thus employs a Jungian interpretive method, believing Adonis a Greek manifestation of the *puer* archetype whose myth must end in "premature death" and whose negative exemplar "dramatizes the prerequisites for membership in the *polis*."[2] Segal's interpretive method requires that Adonis die a "final" death, and he prefers those variants of the myth which suppose Adonis' death and insists that the *Adonia*, rather than reenact myth, expresses its ideas of sterility and immaturity. Thus, Frazer and Segal analyze this myth with differing interpretive methods, informed by their presuppostions regarding the function of myth and ritual, and it is the abundance of this myth's variants and ritual evidence that allows each interpreter to analyze that evidence which best agrees with his own methods. First, I will outline Frazer and Segal's interpretative methods more fully, then discuss the versions of the Adonis myth and ritual evidence available to these interpreters. Next, I will explore first Frazer's and Segal's interpretations of the myth of Adonis' birth, then Frazer's analysis of Adonis' life and death followed by Segal's interpretation.

Frazer and Segal's Variant Interpretative Methods

Both Frazer and Segal's presuppositions regarding the functions of and relationship between myth and ritual inform their respective interpretative methods. Frazer, on one hand, imagines that the meditations of many peoples on seasonal change led them to perform magical rituals that could hasten or delay that change, and then to believe in "some mightier power" who controlled seasonal shifts. These new believers, Frazer claims, then attempted to aid that deity "in his struggle with the opposing principle of death" through imitative ritual. According to Frazer, many of these struggling seasonal deities developed especially "in the lands which border the Eastern Mediterranean," and he claims that not only Adonis, but Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris "represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead."[3] Frazer presupposes that

Adonis' myth must be reenacted in ritual, the *Adonia*, annually, as, in the minds of Adonis' "primitive" worshippers, their ritual imitation of Adonis' death aided the deity and the vegetation which he symbolized to revive again. Frazer's discriminating selection of variants of the events of Adonis' birth, life, and death, and evidence of the *Adonia* allows him to best argue for his analysis of Adonis' myth and its ritual reenactment as symbolizing the death and revival of vegetation. Frazer strategically chooses those variants of Adonis' birth which allow rationalization, and those of his life and death which allow his universalization into a dying-and-reviving-type god who symbolizes vegetation and whose death is reenacted annually in ritual.

Segal's own presuppostions likewise inform his Jungian interpretative method and, in turn, his selection of variants and his treatment of ritual evidence. For Segal, Adonis is a specifically Greek manifestation of the universal *puer* archetype, allied with that of the Great Mother, "who initially is identical with the unconscious as a whole," and whom Aphrodite and Persephone represent.[4] According to Segal, to live as a *puer*, "the way Adonis does, is to live as a psychological infant and, ultimately, as a fetus. The life of a *puer* in myth invariably ends in premature death, which psychologically means the death of the ego and a return to the womblike unconscious," that is, to the Great Mother. Adonis never forms an independent ego, develops psychologically, or resists any smothering female; he never marries or works, and he dies young because of his attachment to the Great Mother.[5] Adonis, although imbued with a personality and agency, as a *puer* acts "out of blindness, not boldness" and "is oblivious to what being human"—developing psychologically and participating in *polis* life—means.[6] Segal aims to argue for Adonis' status as *puer*, and, because of this psychological immaturaity, his "sterility": Adonis cannot function as an adult who can produce offspring or participate in *polis* life. Segal presupposes that ritual expresses those ideas present in myth, and so assumes that the *Adonia* likewise expresses political and psychological sterility. Segal's presupposition that myth explains psychological phenomena and that its related rituals express these same phenomena inform his chosen variants of the Adonis myth and ritual evidence.

Variant Forms of the Adonis Myth and Evidence of the *Adonia*

Frazer and Segal each engage with those variants of Adonis' myth and ritual evidence which agree best with his own interpretive method. No single mythographer retells Adonis' myth in its entirety. Rather, the tellings of Panyasis, Ovid, Hyginus in his *Fabulae*, Fulgentius, the First and Second Vatican Mythographers, and Antonius Liberalis record the myth of Adonis' birth.[7] Apollodorus and Hesiod each supply alternate parentages for Adonis;[8] the variants of Apollodorus and Hyginus in his *De Astronomica* record Adonis' life;[9] and those of Panyasis, Apollodorus, Bion, and Ovid record Adonis' death.[10] Aristophanes, Plutarch, Lucian, and Theocritus supply evidence of the *Adonia*.[11] Although Panyasis' and Apollodorus' versions of Adonis' death imply that his goring is fatal,[12] the versions of Bion, Ovid, and Sappho mention the *Adonia*, allowing for some ambiguity between the myth proper and its related ritual.[13]

Each mythographer who discusses Adonis' birth affirms that Smyrna or Myrrha, Adonis' mother, first develops a passion for her own father. The cause of Myrrha's incestuous desire, however, varies between mythographers: in Panyasis' variant, Aphrodite curses Smyrna who had not properly honored the goddess, while in Ovid's, Fate curses Myrrha. Hyginus relates that Venus, angry at Smyrna's mother for bragging that Myrrha's beauty excelled Venus' own, curses Myrrha; and neither Antonius Liberalis, Fulgentius, nor the Vatican Mythographers

provide the cause of Myrrha's lust.[14] In each of these variants, Myrrha, with her identity concealed, then sleeps with her father. In the tellings of Panyasis, Antonius Liberalis, and Fulgentius, Myrrha's father, having discovered his daughter's incestuous pregnancy, attempts to kill her, but Myrrha transforms into a myrrh tree before he can. In these accounts, as well as in Ovid and Hyginus' *Fabulae*, Adonis is born from the tree, while in Antoninus Liberalis' variant, Myrrha gives birth to Adonis before her transformation. In two completely alternate versions, Apollodorus states that Cinyras marries Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, and begets Adonis and his four siblings, while Hesiod relates that Phoinix and Alphesiboea beget Adonis.[15]

Hyginus, in his *De Astronomica*, and Panyasis tell the story of Adonis' life.[16] In each account, both Aphrodite and Persephone desire to possess Adonis, but Panyasis alone provides the circumstances of their dispute. Panyasis says that, just after Adonis' birth, Aphrodite hides him in a chest and gives the chest to Persephone for safe-keeping. But when Persephone opens the chest and sees Adonis, she refuses to return it to Aphrodite. In both accounts, Zeus must mediate the situation. Hyginus records that Calliope mediates on Zeus' behalf, dividing the year into two parts and allowing each goddess to spend half with Adonis; in Panyasis' version, Zeus himself splits the year, allowing each goddess to spend one third of the year with Adonis, and Adonis chooses to spend the remaining third with Aphrodite. In Hyginus' variant, Aphrodite, angered by Calliope's decision, causes maenads to rip her son, Orpheus, to pieces.

Apollodorus, Panyasis, Ovid, and Bion relate the story of Adonis' death. Apollodorus relates that a boar, due to Artemis' wrath, kills Adonis in his boyhood.[17] Similarly, Panyasis says that a boar gores Adonis.[18] Ovid, Bion, and Sappho each refer to the *Adonia* in their accounts of Adonis' death, and it is these accounts' slippage between Adonis' "final" death in myth and this deity's annual death in ritual that Frazer interprets as reenactment. Ovid gives the most detailed account of Adonis' death, recording that, after Eros' arrow accidentally cuts Venus, she falls in love with Adonis and warns him against hunting.[19] Adonis ignores Venus' advice, and is gored by a boar. Venus laments, promising that every year the *Adonia* will commemorate his death and her own grief. In this account, Ovid refers to the ritual: "Memorials of my sorrow, / Adonis," Venus laments, "shall endure; each passing year / Your death repeated in the hearts of men / Shall re-enact my grief and my lament." Here, Ovid explicitly states that Venus intends the *Adonia* to "re-enact" her own sorrow at Adonis' passing yearly. For Adonis' worshippers, then, the god dies each year in ritual. Bion, in his "Lament for Adonis," and Sappho also imply a relationship between Adonis' death in myth and the *Adonia*.[20] Bion, in his ritual lament, "transfer[s] the lament from female worshipers at a ceremony to the goddess herself at the moment of Adonis' death […]"[21] In Bion's variant, after a boar's tusk stabs Adonis' thigh and he dies, Aphrodite/mourners lament.[22] Adonis descends to the underworld, and the "Moirai summon Adonis back from the dead, 'Adonis!' / and sing spells over him, but he does not obey them."[23] But, says Bion, "[y]ou must weep again, again shed tears in another year." Here, as in Ovid, Adonis, for his worshippers, dies annually, lamented by Aphrodite/mourners.[24] Sappho too transfers the mourning of female worshippers onto Aphrodite, a mythical personage who partakes in a ritual event: the female worshippers' mourning of Adonis' death.[25] Sappho implies again that, for Adonis' worshippers, Adonis dies annually in ritual. Because Ovid, Bion, and Sappho blur Adonis' "final" death in myth with his ritual death, perceived by his worshippers as annual, this deity's death is not unambiguously "final." Thus, the event can be interpreted two ways: either as an unambiguous "final" death, as in the versions of Panyasis and Apollodorus,

who do not mention Adonis' annual death during the *Adonia*, or as ambiguous, as in the variants of Ovid, Bion, and Sappho, who note that, for Adonis' worshippers, the god dies each year.[26]

Aristophanes, Plutarch, Lucian, and Theocritus relate evidence of the *Adonia*.[27] In his *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes depicts the *Adonia* as drunken and loud with dancing, and comprising of "luxurious rites" during which Adonis is "wept to death on the terraces […]" In his *Alcibiades*, Plutarch relates that during the ritual, women carried "images like dead folk" to burial, and then "mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges." Plutarch describes a similar scene in his *Nikias*, saying that "in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women […]" At Byblos, Lucian says in *De Dea Syria* 6, "[t]hey assert that the legend about Adonis and the wild boar is true, and that the facts occurred in their country, and in memory of this calamity they beat their breasts and wail every year, and perform their secret ritual amid signs of mourning through the whole countryside." Lucian reaffirms the Byblians' mourning for Adonis' yearly demise in *De Dea Syria* 8, but does not explicitly state, as in *De Dea Syria* 6, Adonis' subsequent resurrection. He relates that the yearly reddening of a river named 'Adonis' "announces their time of mourning to the Byblians," whose "story is that during these days Adonis is wounded, and that the river's nature is changed by the blood which flows into its waters; and that it takes its name [Adonis] from this blood." Theocritus' depiction of the *Adonia* in *Idyll* XV communicates that the *Adonia* begins in celebration of Adonis' annual return to Aphrodite, but ends when the women bear Adonis to the shore and mourn his death. The *Adonia*, then, memorializes the death of Adonis, a mythical event which, when blurred with its own commemoration, as in the variants of Ovid, Bion, and Sappho, recurs yearly.

Rationalizing and Psychoanalyzing Adonis' Birth

Frazer and Segal each interpret Adonis' birth, but their selected variants differ according to their respective interpretive methods. Frazer, presupposing that "primitive" rationale underlies myth, aims to rationalize Adonis' birth. He chooses those variants which best lend themselves to rationalization. Segal, meanwhile, presupposing that psychology underlies myth, aims to prove that the circumstances of Adonis' birth explain Adonis' *puer* status, and so he selects those variants in which Adonis is smothered by an overbearing mother figure. For instance, Frazer explains that Adonis' birth from a tree connects him to plant life and that "[a] faint rationalistic colour was given to the legend by saying that his mother was a woman named Myrrh, who had been turned into a myrrh-tree soon after she had conceived the child."[28] As sources for Adonis' birth from a myrrh tree, Frazer cites the versions of Panyasis, the scholiast on Theocritus, Antoninus Liberalis, Ovid, Hyginus in *Fabulae* 58 and 164, Servius on the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, and Fulgentius. Frazer mentions no other detail of Adonis' birth until later in his analysis, when he interprets Ovid's version,[29] in which Cinyras "is said to have begotten his son Adonis in incestuous intercourse with his daughter Myrrha at a festival of the corn-goddess […]," with whom Frazer identifies Demeter.[30] This variant allows Frazer to link Cinyras to the tradition of matriarchal succession on Paphos, which dictated that if a king's wife died, he could retain power only by marrying his own daughter.[31] Apollodorus' variant, in which Cinyras and Metharme beget Adonis, also supports Frazer's claim that Cinyras depended upon female hereditary lines for his power.[32] By locating Cinyras' incest within his imagined historical progression from matriarchy to patriarchy, Frazer rationalizes this aspect of Adonis' birth:

Cinyras must commit incest in order to retain his kingship. Frazer, then, relates those variants of Adonis' birth which best allow him to employ his rationalizing interpretive method.

Segal, by contrast, emphasizes the unusual circumstances of Adonis' birth, as this event explains Adonis' *puer* status, a key point for this interpreter's psychoanalytic analysis. Although he does not cite them by name, Segal relates the variants of Fulgentius, Ovid, Hyginus, and Panyasis: their collective assertion that Myrrha transforms into a myrrh tree before giving birth to Adonis reflects Myrrha's reluctance, as a smothering female, to allow Adonis independence. Segal argues that Myrrha's behavior informs Adonis' later actions, and so Segal cites the variants of the First and Second Vatican mythographers, Fulgentius, Ovid, Panyasis, Antonius Liberalis, and Hyginus in *Fabulae* 58, who each confirm Myrrha's incestuous conception of Adonis, which itself occurs because of Myrrha's own *puella*-like desire for absorption into the father archetype, a desire which prefigures Adonis' own desire for absorption into the Great Mother archetype, represented by Aphrodite and Persephone later in the narrative.[33] Segal interprets Myrrha's incest as prefiguring Adonis' desire for absorption and her transformation as disallowing Adonis' separation from his mother, behaviors that confirm Adonis' status as *puer*. Because Segal's psycho-political interpretive method requires that Adonis manifest the *puer* archetype, he deliberately relates only those variants of Adonis' myth in which Myrrha commits incest and those in which she transforms into a tree before Adonis' birth. In interpreting the events of Adonis' life, both Frazer and Segal select those variants which lend themselves best to their respective interpretive methods, which are themselves informed by each interpreter's presuppositions regarding myth.

Universalizing and Reenacting Adonis' Life and Death

In analyzing Adonis' life, Frazer aims to universalize it, equating this deity to Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris, other dying and reviving gods who represent vegetation and whose rituals, Frazer believes, reenact their myths. By universalizing Adonis' life events, equating this deity to other dying and reviving gods, Frazer garners support for his interpretation of Adonis' death as annual, reenacted by ritual. Frazer's presupposition that myth is universal and that ritual reenacts myth informs his selection of variants of Adonis' life and death and his prioritization of ritual evidence. Thus, Frazer relates that Aphrodite hides Adonis in a chest and gives it to Persephone for safe-keeping. Persephone, however, refuses to give the chest back even "though the goddess of love went down herself to hell to ransom her dear one from the power of the grave." Zeus then mediates, allowing each goddess one part of the year with Adonis.[34] This retelling emphasizes Adonis' annual exchange between the goddesses, as this annual cycle of descent and ascent supports Frazer's hypothesis that Adonis symbolizes vegetation and its yearly cycle of death and renewal.[35] Frazer cites Bion, Panyasis, and Ovid as sources for his retelling, although none of these versions mention Aphrodite's descent to Hades. In the myth of Tammuz, however, Ishtar and Eriškigal dispute over that deity—much as Aphrodite and Persephone dispute over Adonis—and Ishtar descends to hell to ransom Tammuz.[36] In his retelling, Frazer splices these two myths to blur the distinction between them and further his own claim that Adonis is equivalent to Tammuz, a dying and reviving god who represents vegetation. In relating the events of Adonis' life, Frazer exercises his universalizing interpretive method to further his claim that Adonis symbolizes vegetation, like other dying and reviving gods, whose myths he relates because they accord with his universalizing presupposition.

Frazer, in relating Adonis' life events, also chooses variants on which he can employ his myth-ritualist interpretive method. He explains in terms of ritual both Probus' version, in which Adonis reigns as king on Cyprus,[37] and Apollodorus' claim that Pygmalion's daughter Metharme with Cinyras begat Adonis and that Adonis' three sisters, by Aphrodite's wrath, "cohabited with foreigners."[38] Frazer argues that the Phoenician kings of Cyprus took 'Adonis' as a title and that, as suggested by Cinyras' connection with Pygmalion, observed a "ceremony of sacred marriage in which the king wedded the image of Aphrodite, or rather Astarte." Further, since King Cinyras founded religious prostitution on Paphos and his daughters observed it, Frazer says "that at certain festivals each of [the kings of Paphos] had to mate with one or more of the sacred harlots of the temple, who played Astarte to his Adonis."[39] These two interpretations stress that ritual reenacts myth: if the kings of Paphos—each called Adonis—in ritual mated with sacred prostitutes—each representing Astarte/Aphrodite—then they do so to reenact Pygmalion's marriage to an "image of Aphrodite" and Adonis' union with the goddess of love. Frazer here chooses to explicate the variants of Probus and Apollodorus because they can be explained in terms of ritual, a reading which supplies evidence that myths of Adonis and Aphrodite were reenacted in ritual. His myth-ritualist interpretation of Adonis' life—as well as Frazer's choice of variants and emphasis on ritual evidence—will serve to bolster Frazer's hypothesis that the *Adonia* reenacts the final portion of the Adonis myth—his death, since Adonis never suffers a "final" death, but, for his worshippers, dies annually—as a symbol of vegetative life, as a dying and reviving god—even after his goring.

In his discussion of Adonis' death, Frazer, presuposing that ritual reenacts myth and that Adonis is equivalent to other dying and reviving gods, engages at more length with ritual evidence than with his selected variants of Adonis' myth and accepts Bion and Ovid's implication that, for the *Adonia*'s participants, Adonis dies annually. Frazer, in his main retelling of the myth, says that a boar, or Ares in disguise, kills Adonis and Aphrodite laments her lover's death.[40] Although Frazer mentions plainly Adonis' "final" death as an aspect of the myth, the performance of Adonis' death in ritual—as implied by the versions of Bion and Ovid, to which Frazer refers—for Frazer, "overwrites" Adonis' goring: Frazer presupposes that the *Adonia*'s annual reenactment indicates that, in the minds of his worshippers, Adonis dies and revives eternally. Aside from the variants of Panyasis, Ovid, and Bion, Frazer cites the ritual evidence supplied by Plutarch in his *Alcibiades* and *Nikias*, Zenobius, Theocritus' *Idyll* XV, and Eustathius on the *Odyssey*, who say that "[a]t the festivals of Adonis, which were held in Western Asia and in Greek lands, the death of the god was annually mourned, with bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him, dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to burial and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places," says Frazer, citing Lucian's *De Dea Syria* 8, Origen's *Selecta in Ezechielem*, and Jerome's commentary on *Ezekiel*, "his revival was celebrated on the following day." Similarly, the worshippers of Adonis in Byblus, according to Lucian's *De Dea Syria* 6, mourned Adonis one day, but on the next witnessed his rise to heaven. The female worshippers would then shave their heads or else "had to give themselves up to strangers on a certain day of the festival, and to dedicate to Astarte the wages of their shame." At Alexandria, however, "[t]he marriage of the lovers [Aphrodite and Adonis] was celebrated one day, and on the morrow women attired as mourners, with streaming hair and bared breasts, bore the image of the dead Adonis to the sea-shore and committed it to the waves. Yet," Frazer significantly points out, "they sorrowed not without hope, for they sang that the lost one would come back again." Frazer emphasizes those rituals during which

worshippers followed their mourning for Adonis with either a celebration of—or hope for—his revival, yet also accepts those sources which record only that Adonis' worshippers annually mourned his death: although during these festivals worshippers do not explicitly celebrate Adonis' revival, their annual occurrence implies, for Frazer, that Adonis must rise yearly, even if only in order to die again. Frazer, employing his myth-ritualist interpretive method, informed by his belief that ritual reenacts myth, prioritizes ritual evidence, his discrimination allowed by the Adonis myth's abundance of variants.

Frazer's presuppositions that ritual reenacts myth and that myth is universal support each other circularly: he argues that Adonis' status as a dying and reviving god and symbol of vegetation itself supports his myth-ritualist interpretation. These circular presuppositions inform Frazer's decision to emphasize the variants of Bion and Ovid, which mention the annual *Adonia*, and to relate certain versions of the related myths and rituals of other dying and reviving gods. The summertime date of Adonis' festivals proves that "the ceremony of the death and resurrection of Adonis must also have been a dramatic representation of the decay and revival of plant life."[41] Further, Frazer equates Adonis' rites to those of Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris, since Adonis' equivalency both to vegetation and to these other dying and reviving gods supports his myth-ritualist view that Adonis' festivals reenact his myth. He cites *Ezekiel* 8.14, in which Ezekiel "saw the women of Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz at the north gate of the temple," providing evidence for Adonis' similarity to Tammuz through the women's "melancholy rites."[42] Further, Frazer cites an account "given by an Arabic writer of the tenth century" that characterizes "Tammuz or Adonis"—here, Frazer directly equates the figures—as a corn-spirit whose annual death comes at the hands of harvesting men: in mid-July, during the festival of el-Bûgs , women mourn for Tammuz, "because his lord slew him so cruelly, ground his bones in a mill, and then scattered them to the wind."[43] Frazer connects this festival to the gardens of Adonis, baskets in which women, "chiefly or exclusively," planted vegetables which grew rapidly, but without roots, quickly withered, "and at the end of eight days were carried out with images of the dead Adonis, and flung with them into the sea or into springs."[44] For Frazer, this ritual recalls laments for Tammuz "which liken him to plants that quickly fade."[45] That the rites of Adonis and those of Tammuz both symbolize the decay and revival of vegetation renders their rites—and these deities' symbolism—substantially equivalent. Likewise, Attis "was to Phrygia what Adonis was to Syria. Like Adonis, he appears to have been a god of vegetation, and his death and resurrection were annually mourned and rejoiced over at a festival in spring."[46] Again, although Adonis' myth and ritual bear little resemblance to those of Attis, because both describe the death and revival of vegetation, Frazer equates these figures' symbolism. Similarly, Frazer proves the equivalence of Osiris to Adonis through the rites of Egyptian farmers, who mourned at midsummer when the harvest had passed and then again in November during sowing.[47] "Yet," writes Frazer, "they sorrowed not without hope, perhaps a sure and certain hope, that the seed which they thus committed with sighs and tears to the ground would yet rise from the dust and yield fruit a hundredfold to the reaper," in March, April, or May; but, as the reapers necessarily destroyed the corn-god in order to reap him, their joy remained secret.[48] The equation of Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris with Adonis supports Frazer's interpretation of Adonis as a symbol of vegetation who never experiences a "final" death: rather, each year, Adonis dies and revives, this portion of his myth reenacted in ritual. Frazer's assumptions—that ritual reenacts myth, which can be universalized and rationalized—inform his selection of the variants of Adonis' life and death. He downplays those variants of Adonis' myth which imply Adonis'

"final" death, like those of Apollodorus and Panyasis, instead emphazing the versions of Bion and Ovid, which suggest that Adonis, for his worshippers, dies annually, like the vegetation to which Frazer desires to liken Adonis. Frazer's presupposition that myth is universal likewise informs his decision to relate the myths and rituals of those dying and reviving deities to which Frazer aims to equate Adonis. These presuppositions bolster each other, and inform Frazer's selection of evidence.

Psycho-politicizing Adonis' Life and Death

Segal, because of his different presuppostions, chooses the variant of the myth of Adonis' life which best supports his own psychological and, later, political analysis of the myth. Unlike Frazer, Segal cites only Panyasis' version because in this version, Aphrodite hides Adonis in a chest, demonstrating her desire as a smothering Great Mother to restrict Adonis' independence: re-enclosing Adonis, according to Segal, effectively undoes his birth. This maternal reading of Aphrodite's reaction to Adonis' birth allows Segal to downplay any sexual aspects of the relationship between Aphrodite and Adonis, as Segal argues that Adonis' relationship to the goddesses is filial. Segal again accepts only Panyasis' version of Zeus' mediation, as in Panyasis' variant alone Zeus allows Adonis to choose how he will spend the final third of each year.[49] Because Segal insists that myth must impart a lesson to its readers, he presupposes that mythical figures maintain agency, as without agency, one acts mechanically.[50] Moreover, that Adonis chooses to accord Aphrodite the final third of his year in this version demonstrates Adonis' inability to exist without the goddesses, and this choice thus furthers Segal's argument that Adonis, as a *puer*, desires absorption into the Great Mother archetype rather than differentiation from her. That Adonis desires this absorption shows Adonis' "psychological retardation," which "entails political retardation: to fail to become an adult"—that is, to become separate from the Great Mother—"is to fail to become a citizen" and to live in "political infancy: tyranny." Thus, Panyasis' version permits Segal, presupposing the psychological significance of myth, to analyze this myth psychologically, which, in turn, allows him to insist on the political relevance of Adonis' myth by establishing this figure as a specifically Greek version of an archetype. Further, Segal notes, Adonis fails both to marry and to reproduce; and, says Segal, one must first establish a "settled family life" before achieving citizenship.[51] For Segal, the events which do not occur in Adonis' myth are as important as those that do: Adonis' lack of adult action, in addition to his abundance of childlike action, disqualify him from *polis* citizenship. Thus, Adonis evinces through his negative example the requirements for the attainment of citizenship.[52] Segal, then, selects Panyasis' version of the myth of Adonis' life because its plot proves Adonis' subjugation to the Great Mother. This subjugation proves Adonis a *puer*, which in turn proves that Adonis' myth teaches, through his negative example, the requirements for *polis* citizenship. Segal selects Panyasis' variant, which lends itself to a Jungian analysis, because of his presuppostion that myth is best interpreted psychologically and then located within a culture's specific political landscape.

Segal's presuppostion that pscyhology and political agenda underlies myth continues to inform his interpretive method and selection of evidence in his analysis of Adonis' death. Because Segal assumes that Adonis embodies the *puer* archetype, Adonis must endure a "final" death, not reenacted annually in ritual. He, unlike Frazer, thus rejects Bion, Ovid, and Sappho's implication that Adonis himself, for his worshippers, dies annually. Instead, Segal presupposes

that ritual expresses those ideas expressed in their related myths. In ritual context, Segal believes Adonis' gardens to merely symbolize Adonis, and that this botanical symbolism supplies a metaphor "for the tie between humans and politics," as "[f]or Hesiod, Theognis, and others, loyalty to the *polis* yields political fruit and disloyalty political barrenness."[53] The *Adonia* expresses Adonis' fruitlessness, his political sterility and lack of citizenship; it does not reenact myth, as Frazer presupposes, but expresses its ideas, as Segal assumes. Segal's presupposition that myth is psychological and political leads him to privilege those unambiguous variants of Adonis' death, as, for this interpreter, that Adonis dies specifically because of his failure to hunt demonstrates his lack of adult masculinity and sterile *puer* status. Adonis, in dying a very "final" death, not even reenacted in ritual, demonstrates that Adonis "dies not because he is a poor hunter but because he is none at all […] So enveloped is he in the Great Mother that he actually wants to be killed in order to return wholly to her," and he "unconsciously" courts the danger of the hunt.[54] Segal here privileges Ovid's telling of Adonis' death, as in this version alone Aphrodite warns Adonis not to hunt; Adonis' disregard for her warning signals his "blindness" to—or even his courtship of—danger, and thus his *puer* status. That Segal assumes that psychological, political meaning underlies myth informs his selection of variants of the Adonis myth and his treatment of its related ritual evidence.

Conclusions

Each interpreter's presuppostions regarding the function of myth and its relationship to ritual informs Segal and Frazer's selection of the Adonis myth's variants and treatment of ritual evidence. While Frazer believes ritual a reenactment of myth, itself a narrative of "primitive" peoples able to be rationalized and universalized, Segal believes that ritual and related myths express the same ideas, which are psychological and, ultimately, political, in nature. These different presuppositions require each interpreter to engage different interpretative methods—Frazer employing rationalizion, universalization, and myth-ritualist methods, Segal using psychoanalysis located in a specifically ancient Greek socio-political context. These differing interpretative methods, informed by their equally different presuppostions regarding myth and ritual, likewise inform which variants of Adonis' myth and evidence of the *Adonia* each scholar chooses to analyze. Thus, Frazer's presuppositions and interpretive methods, employed on his preferred evidence, result in his assertion that Adonis, equivalent to other dying and reviving gods, represents vegetation, and that the *Adonia* annually reenacts this deity's death, and that "primitive" peoples believed this ritual to aid the growth and decay of this god and the plant life that he symbolized. Meanwhile, Segal's very different presuppositions and methods, employed on his own preferred evidence, yield a psycho-political analysis, in which Adonis embodies the *puer* archetype and dies sterile, unable to participate in *polis* life as an adult, his ritual expressing these same ideas. These interpreters' variant presuppositions, allowing their two totally variant analyses to coexist.

Notes

1. In the accounts of Bion (Bion, "Lament for Adonis") and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 10.716–39), the authors equate Aphrodite's role in the myth of Adonis' death with that of the mourning worshippers observing the *Adonia.* These authors blur the distinction between myth and ritual, implying that Adonis dies and revives annually in an eternal cycle. Apollodorus, however, does not imply Adonis' resurrection (*Bibliotheke* 3.14.3–3.14.4). Frazer focuses on the former sources while Segal prefers the latter.

2. Robert A. Segal, "Adonis: A Greek Eternal Child," in *Theorizing about Myth* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 110, 106, 99.

3. Sir James George Frazer, *The New Golden Bough: A New Abridgment of the Classic Work*, ed. Dr. Theodor H. Gaster (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), 283–85.

4. Segal, "Adonis," 110.

5. Ibid., 106-107.

6. Ibid., 105.

7. Panyasis in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.284–529; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 58; Fulgentius, *Mythologiae* 3.8; The First Vatican mythographer, 2.197; the Second Vatican mythographer, 45; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoseon Synagoge* 34.

8. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3; Hes fr 139 MW.

9. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4; Hyginus, *De Astronomica* 2.7.3.

10. Panyasis in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3–3.14.4; Bion, "Lament for Adonis"; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.684–739.

11. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 436; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18.3; Plutarch, *Nikias* 13.7; Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 6, 8; Theocritus,
Idyll XV.

12. Panyasis in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3–3.14.4.

13. Bion, "Lament for Adonis"; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.684–739.

14. Servius, in his commentary on Vergil's *Eclogues*, mentions that Helios causes Myrrha's lust, but he gives no reason for Helios' wrath (Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,1993), 730).

15. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3; Hes fr 139 MW.

16. Hyginus, *De Astronomica* 2.7.3; Panyasis in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4.

17. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3.

18. Panyasis in Apollodrous, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.4.

19. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.284–529.

20. Bion, "Lament for Adonis."

21. Stephen Trzaskoma, R. Scott Smith, and Stephen Brunet, eds., trans. *Anthology of Classical Myth: Primary Sources in Translation* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004), 73.

22. Bion, "Lament for Adonis" 7–12, 19–27, 45–50.

23. Ibid., "Lament for Adonis" 94–6.

24. Ibid., "Lament for Adonis" 98.

25. Sappho *LP* 140.

26. This ambiguity will allow Frazer, presupposing that ritual reenacts myth, to interpret Adonis' death as annual and cyclical.

27. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 436; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18.3; Plutarch, *Nikias* 13.7; Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 6, 8; Theocritus, *Idyll* XV.

28. Frazer, 290–91.

29. Ibid., also cites the versions of Hyginus in *Fabulae* 58 and 64, Fulgentius, Lactantius Placidius, Servius on the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives*, and the scholiast on Theocritus. Hyginus and Fulgentius do not include this detail in their retellings.

30. Ibid., 300. In Ovid's version, Myrrha sleeps with her father while her mother celebrates the Thesmophoria, a festival of Demeter (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.408–67).

31. Ibid., 300–1.

32. Ibid., 301.

33. Segal, 110, 109.

34. Later in his analysis, Frazer cites Hyginus' version as well, in which Adonis spends two-thirds of the year with Aphrodite and one-third with Persephone (Frazer, 291).

35. Ibid., 291.

36. Stephanie Dalley, ed., trans. *Myths of Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 155–61.

37. Probus' version appears in his scholia to Vergil's *Eclogues*, as cited by Frazer, 302.

38. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.14.3.

39. Frazer, 302.

40. Ibid., 286. Frazer cites the versions of Panyasis, Ovid, and Bion, none of whom mention Ares' culpability.

41. Ibid., 290. Frazer also cites certain versions of the Adonis myth in which anemones spring from his blood, as well as variants in which Aphrodite's blood dyes white roses red, both of which suggest a summertime date.

42. Ibid., 286.

43. Ibid., 292.

44. Ibid., 293.

45. Ibid., 285.

46. Ibid., 309.

47. Ibid., 329.

48. Ibid., 331–32.

49. Segal, 110.

50. Ibid., 105.

51. The circumstances of Adonis' birth too bar Adonis' from citizenship, as "he is the child of incest, not marriage, and his father tries to kill his mother" (Segal, 112).

52. Segal, 112–113.

53. Ibid., 112.

54. Ibid., 112–113.

Works Cited

Apollodorus. *Bibliotheke*. Sir James George Frazer, trans. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921. Perseus Digital Library.

Aristophanes. *Lysistrata*. Jack Linsday, ed. Perseus Digital Library.

Betz, Hans Dieter, ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Dalley, Stephanie, ed., trans. *Myths of Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Frazer, Sir James George. *The New Golden Bough: A New Abridgment of the Classic Work.* Dr. Theodor H. Gaster, ed. New York: Criterion Books, 1959.

Fulgentius. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Leslie George Whitbread, trans. Ohio State University Press, 1971.

Gantz, Timothy. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica. Translated by H. G. Evelyn-White. Loeb Classical Library Volume 57. London: William Heinemann, 1914.

Lucian. *De Dea Syria.* Herbert A. Strong and John Garstang, trans. 1913. http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/luc/tsg/tsg07.htm.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* A. D. Melville, trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Pepin, Ronald E. *The Vatican Mythographers.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2008.

Plutarch. *Plutarch's Lives.* Bernadotte Perrin, trans. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916. Perseus Digital Library.

Sappho. *The Poetry of Sappho.* Jim Powell, trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Segal, Robert A. "A Greek Eternal Child." In *Theorizing about Myth.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Theocritus. *The Idylls.* Translated by J. M. Edmonds. http://www.theoi.com/Text/TheocritusIdylls3.html#15.

Trzaskoma, Stephen, R. Scott Smith, and Stephen Brunet, eds., trans. *Anthology of Classical Myth: Primary Sources in Translation.* Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004.

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

THE POPLAR FIELD: THE CHANCELLOR'S PRIZE 2014 POETRY TRANSLATION

By Daniel Schwennicke, Merton College Oxford

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2016 p. 60.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/poplar-field-0

The Chancellor's Latin Prize 2014: Prose

Quid mea carmina possunt?

Populeum nemus excisum est; frondosa valeto
umbra columnarum! nec iam stridentibus alis
ludunt in foliis Zephyri gelidoque susurro
cantant nec specie fluvialis lympha renidet.
gramine non oculos bis sex labentibus annis
iuvit ager nostros. iam iam qua consita ripa
en arbusta iacent passim deiecta per herbam
atque sedile coma est cuius sub tegmine sedi.
et merula e mediis coryleti ut quareret umbram
aestibus effugit, nidum procul inde locavit,
et nemus omne silet quondam dulcedine plenum
nec iam blanda meum pertemptant carmina pectus.
sed velut arboribus fugit inreparabile tempus
et nobis, humili requiescam in funere semper:
ante caput lapis infelix, in pectore siccus
caespes erit dum silva loco nova surget eodem.
talia conspiciens hominis mecum ipse voluto
gaudia quae pereunt: sua vita simillima sommo est;
at tanto brevius quo gaudeat esse videtur.

The Poplars are fell'd, farewell to the shade
And the whispering sound of the cool colonnade,
The winds play no longer and sing in the leaves,
Nor Ouse on his bosom their image receives.
Twelve years have elapsed since I last took a view
Of my favourite field and the bank where they grew,
And now in the grass behold they are laid,
And the tree is my seat that once lent me a shade.
The black-bird has fled to another retreat
Where the hazels afford him a screen from the heat,
And the scene where his melody charm'd me before,
Resounds with his sweet-flowing ditty no more.
My fugitive years are all hasting away,
And I must e'er long lie as lowly as they,
With a turf on my breast and a stone at my head
E'er another such grove shall arise in its stead.
'Tis a sight to engage me if any thing can
To muse on the perishing pleasures of Man;
Though his life be a dream, his enjoyments, I see,
Have a Being less durable even than he.

WILLIAM COWPER
THE POPLAR FIELD