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Ratio et res ipsa

Classical essays presented by former pupils to James Diggle on his retirement

edited by

PAUL MILLETT, S. P. OAKLEY AND R. J. E. THOMPSON

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RATIO ET RES IPSA:

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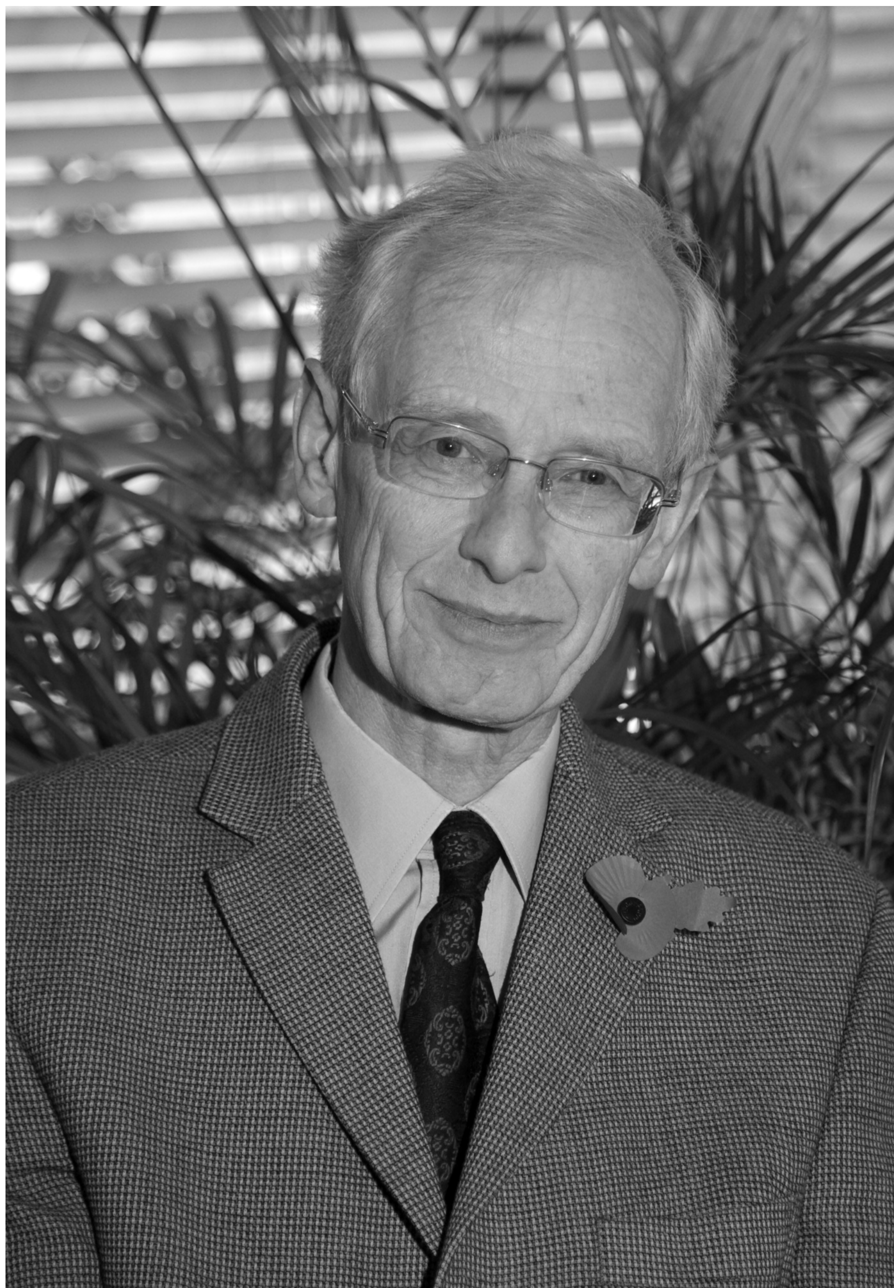
Nobis ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt …

‘For us, reason and the facts of the case are more powerful than a hundred manuscripts …’ (BENTLEY)



James Diggle in 2007. Photograph by Brian Callingham.

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Preface

Since James Diggle's teaching has made such an impression on so many, it seemed natural to the editors that his former pupils should contribute a *Festschrift* for him on his retirement. Our idea produced an enthusiastic response, and we are delighted to include offerings from fourteen scholars, who were taught by James over a period of more than forty years.

Production of a volume like this is necessarily expensive. We therefore wish to thank the Council of the Cambridge Philological Society and the Editors of the *Cambridge Classical Journal* for enthusiastically embracing our project. We are grateful indeed for generous financial support from the Finance Committee of the Faculty of Classics, the Colleges of which Oakley (Emmanuel), Thompson (Selwyn), Coo and Hopkinson (both Trinity) are Fellows, and Queens' College, of which James has been a Fellow for forty-five years, during which time he directed the studies of all three editors.

P.M., S.P.O., R.J.E.T.
Cambridge, February 2011

1

A life *in litteris*

Gracie Fields … Cyril Smith … The Co-operative Movement … James Diggle. Let it never be said that Rochdale has not played its part in fulfilling the varied needs of humankind: artistic, political, material and intellectual. Place names are common as surnames in this part of the world, indicative of family origins. Some miles east of Rochdale, beyond Oldham, is the village of Diggle; trains still cross the Pennines by what those in the know call the 'Diggle line'. This is the part of semi-industrial England into which James was born (in March 1944) and in which he grew up. Connoisseurs of regional pronunciation may still detect the solid South Lancashire substrate beneath half a century of Cambridge overlay.

Here, too, was where James had his first encounter with the Classics, attending Rochdale Grammar School (now Balderstone Technology College), a maintained school, which then offered both Latin and Greek. In a rare piece of written autobiography James records what he now dismisses as a 'schoolboy ambition'. 'Why, in 1962, the modest library of Rochdale Grammar School should have possessed a copy of Gow's memoir of Housman, I do not know. I do know that, from the moment I read it, I had one ambition: to wear Housman's mantle.'[1] What is surely significant is not that the school possessed Gow's memoir, but that a schoolboy should have chosen to read it. In retrospect, a more appropriate role model for the young Diggle might have been Richard Bentley, who two centuries earlier attended a grammar school on the other side of the Pennines in Wakefield, and whom James was eventually to follow to St John's College, Cambridge. In fact, one of James's earliest publications (1966) was a review in *Farrago*, the student classical journal, setting the record straight regarding R. J. White's, *Dr Bentley: A study in academic scarlet*. Few, if any, prisoners were taken.[2]

[1] Diggle (2009) 261.

[2] Nor were many taken subsequently; see, for example, the reviews (1971, 1974) of the volumes by Tuilier. But James has always been ready to give credit where due; a case in point is his lengthy review (1990) of Mastronarde's *Phoenissae*.

James entered St John's as a Scholar in 1962. The then Classical Fellows were R. L. Howland, an accomplished spotter of academic talent, and Guy Lee and John Crook, both outstanding as scholars and teachers. Their pupil's progress may be traced through a sequence of elections, awards and prizes: Pitt Scholar, Browne Scholar, Hallam Prize (for the best candidate in the University Classical Scholarships Examination), Members' Latin Essay Prize, Montagu Butler Prize, Browne Medals for Greek Elegy and Latin Epigram, Porson Prize and Chancellor's Classical Medal for Greek and Latin composition. James's legendary abilities as a composer in Greek and Latin afford a glimpse of Diggle-as-undergraduate in an anecdote told among Queens' classicists of the 1970s and 1980s. How passers-by in St John's were one day startled to see a window flung open, from which John Crook's head emerged, loudly announcing: 'Diggle's made a mistake! Diggle's made a mistake!' Even if untrue (there are those who stoutly maintain that James could *never* have made a mistake in composition), the story supplies incidental evidence of a lost Golden Age when even ancient historians taught prose composition.[3]

After graduating in 1965 with a 'Starred First' in Part Two of the Classical Tripos, James began his doctoral research on the surviving fragments of Euripides' *Phaethon*; the Ph.D. was duly awarded in 1969. The research was supervised by Denys Page, who became a colleague and friend, to whom James was jointly to present *Dionysiaca: nine studies in Greek poetry* (1978). Publication of *Phaethon* (1970) in the prestigious series of Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries launched James on his career to become in time the foremost Euripidean scholar of his generation. But that lay in the future.

Shortly before James arrived in St John's, Frank Goodyear had left the College (where he was a Research Fellow) to take up an Official Fellowship at Queens'. In 1966 he encouraged James to apply for a Research Fellowship at Queens' to which he was elected, just a few days after Goodyear's own appointment to the Chair of Latin at Bedford College London. As James puts it in his by turns amusing and moving obituary of Frank Goodyear: 'A bottle of wine was opened, and we drank to our good fortunes. After a few glasses we decided to edit the *Iohannis* of Corippus.' The *Iohannis* is a sixth-century account of campaigns by one Johannes Troglita against the Moors in North Africa. What follows tells as much about Diggle as about Goodyear. 'We decided, that same afternoon, by the toss of a coin, who should take responsibility for the even-numbered books, who

[3] When one of the editors as an eager young scholar recounted the story in the presence of both participants, it was denied, but the senior man said gracefully: 'He did not make many!'

for the odd. Postcards, often several a week, were exchanged between Cambridge and London, announcing a new emendation. Or the telephone would ring, and a voice would announce without preamble, "At 4.378 read *uoce* for *iure*". The edition, published … in 1970, was not without faults. Neither of us had sufficiently acquainted himself with other surviving poetry of late antiquity. And we knew in our hearts we were playing a game.'[4]

The editors were under no illusion about the qualities of their chosen text: 'Its literary merit is small; its historical interest a little larger.' But there followed a joint project of a very different stamp, nothing less than an edition of *The classical papers of A. E. Housman* (1972). Housman had in his will explicitly and emphatically expressed the desire that no such collection should be made. In their Preface, Diggle and Goodyear offer (as they put it) no apology but rather their reasons for defying Housman's wishes: lest others should publish the papers 'in a hasty or slipshod manner or otherwise than in their entirety'. The resulting three volumes, painstakingly edited, have proved an invaluable asset for scholars. They are also amongst the finest productions of the Cambridge University Press, awarded the silver medal at an exhibition in Leipzig in 1973 of 'The Most Beautiful Books in the World'.[5]

There is a tailpiece to this collaboration. It was with trepidation that the editors of *The classical papers* approached the formidable A. S. F. Gow, Housman's friend, colleague and literary executor, now aged and infirm, to present him with copies of their edition, of which he had hitherto been kept deliberately in the dark. James tells of the encounter in Trinity: '… we found him in his sitting room, muffled up, in a bathchair. Burbidge [a senior officer of CUP] handed him the three volumes. He turned the pages slowly, and at length looked up and said "Within the limits of my disapproval I congratulate you".' James writes of having 'silently treasured' this story 'for nearly forty years'.[6] Not quite. He certainly told it to at least one suitably impressed undergraduate at the end of a supervision, shortly after the actual event. Another supervision was made more than usually memorable by the introduction of Housman's cap and pen; yet another (appropriately on Homer) by our being shown Housman's own copy of Matthew

[4] Diggle (1988) 363.

[5] The editors ended their Preface by noting that: 'If we had felt free to prefix a dedication to this edition of Housman's papers, we should have dedicated it to Professor C.O. Brink.' Charles Brink, the Kennedy Professor of Latin, was another influential Cambridge figure in James's development as a scholar, for whom in 1989 he jointly edited a *Festschrift*. Goodyear's premature death in 1987 prevented any further collaboration; in 1992 James jointly published his collected papers on Latin literature.

[6] Diggle (2009) 261.

Arnold's *On translating Homer*, the selfsame 'thin green volume' of which he had spoken so warmly in his London inaugural lecture of 1892.

In 1970, James's promise as a young academic was recognised by the University with an Assistant Lectureship, converted to a full Lectureship in 1975. Along with the university post went an Official Fellowship at Queens', where he had been Director of Studies in Classics since 1966, building on the work of Frank Goodyear to develop a strong classical side in the College.[7] It is from this point that the editors and contributors for this volume begin to enter the story: several of them undergraduates and graduates at Queens'. It is therefore appropriate to speak here about some characteristics of James's teaching.

James's older pupils are familiar with his original set of rooms in the eighteenth-century range of Walnut Tree Court in Queens', flanked by the College's old and new chapels. The creaking and somewhat austere wooden staircase to the first floor hardly prepared supervisees for the light and space of James's 'keeping room': elegantly and appropriately decorated and furnished with tables, chairs, bookcases and *objets d'art*. Over the fireplace was a view in oils of the Acropolis, early enough for Athens to appear as no more than a village. Also on display was a scale wooden model, demonstrating a possible arrangement (now seen as incorrect) for rowing a trireme. There was a bookcase with a complete set of Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*; rumour had it that James had read it right through, for a wager. That someone should actually live like this!

Teacher and pupil sat in opposing easy chairs with small tables to hand for texts and even the occasional glass of sherry during an evening supervision. Handwritten essays on literature that survive from the early seventies ('Compare and contrast the three Electra plays'; 'What are the major means of characterization in the *Odyssey*?' 'What are the chief comic techniques employed by Aristophanes?') are marked up with sparing but incisive marginal comments. Misspellings are silently corrected: a spur to heroic feats of proof-reading for the future. If James did not actually quote 'Accuracy is a duty and not a virtue', it was certainly strongly implied. Discussion of written work was typically measured, dispassionate, and (above all) practical. Fragmentary comments remain in the mind: 'Do quote in Greek; it's so much more memorable'; 'Guy Lee would approve of this, juxtaposing Ovid with Donne'; 'Ancient critics of Homer are almost entirely lacking in merit, but none so bad as Professor ****.' Those tackling unseens might be invited to improve on the printed text through

[7] It is good to report that the President and Fellows of Queens' have felt able to create a fixed-term Fellowship in Classics to secure the immediate future of the subject in the College.

conjectural emendation: 'If you can identify and correct the error, it will be a feather in your cap.' It seldom was.

For prose composition, supervisees were invited into the inner sanctum, an impressively booklined study. The experience was memorable, particularly for those who were more or less compositionally challenged. One observed with apprehension the pursed lips, the slightly furrowed brow; then: 'I don't think I'm familiar with this particular form of the verb.' A silence would follow, long enough and sufficiently charged to have Pinter in a corner screaming for mercy, while the supervisee wondered what on earth possessed him or her to write *faciebatur*. Eventually and falteringly: 'I think I've made … a mistake, Dr Diggle.' 'Ah! A mistake! Well ...'; which adds point to the earlier anecdote. Along the way, a great deal was learnt about human psychology and the Greek and Latin languages.[8]

Memorable in other ways was supervision for Part Two papers in textual criticism: compulsory for those opting for Greek and Latin literature until relatively recently. Here James was truly in his element, sharing with pupils his encyclopaedic knowledge of both Greek and Latin, the intricacies of manuscript traditions, and the insights (or otherwise) of other scholars. He was able through his enthusiasm to communicate something of the fascination and satisfaction of the work of the textual critic. Entering into the spirit, on one occasion two students, both contributors to this volume, recruited James (without his knowledge) to fight a kind of academic proxy-war with the lecturer on a particular Part Two text. James's pupil and the lecturer's pupil fed their respective teachers each other's views on their own readings and emendations. Both very approximately said: 'I cannot understand where such remarkable ideas can come from …'.

As a lecturer, James was, and is, utterly distinctive, with a controlled yet forceful delivery that held the attention and left no doubt as to his intended meaning. His annual set of lectures for the Faculty on Greek and Latin metre may be singled out as a particular *tour de force*. James's lecturing is a prime piece of what has come to be called 'performance culture'. With hindsight, his appearance in the lecture theatre echoed that of Theophrastus in the Lyceum. In James's own translation of his biographer Hermippus, Theophrastus would arrive for his lectures 'punctually, smart and well dressed, then … deliver his lecture, in the course of which he would use all sorts of movements and gestures'.[9] Particularly in his earlier appearances in the more formal atmosphere of the Mill Lane Lecture

[8] Presumably the case with at least two of the editors: one of whom has become University Orator and the other the Kennedy Professor of Latin.

[9] Athenaeus 21B; quoted in the introduction (15) to James's exemplary edition of Theophrastus' *Characters* (2004).

Rooms, James was always strikingly well dressed, complete with gown, suit, bow tie, and plenty by way of dramatic gesture from the podium. The proof of the pudding is in the eating: sets of undergraduate lecture notes that reflected in some measure at least the lucid argument of the original. Like his supervision, James's lecturing is eminently practical in its aim and effect.

Queens' and the Classical Faculty have been the twin bases for a scholarly career of the highest attainment. Of course, the crowning achievement of James's research to date has been his work on Euripides: three volumes of Oxford Classical Text (1981*a*, 1984, 1994*b*), which will surely hold the field as the definitive texts for the foreseeable future. Associated monographs include *Studies on the text of Euripides* (1981*b*), *The textual tradition of Euripides' Orestes* (1991), *Euripidea: Collected essays* (1994*a*), and *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta selecta* (1998*a*).

Lest this seem somewhat one-sided, it should be emphasized that James has researched and published on a range of authors. Aside from Corippus, his edition of Theophrastus' *Characters* (2004) has placed a powerful tool in the hands of researchers into that intriguing text. An incomplete list of authors attracting James's attention would include: Achilles Tatius, Aelian, Aeschylus, Antiphon, Ausonius (with E.J. Kenney, the fruits of a meeting of the Queens' Classical Society), Catullus, Critias, Greek lyric poets, Juvenal, Menander, Ovid, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Sallust, Sophocles, Stesichorus and Xenophon.[10] The scope of his reviewing testifies to a breadth of interest and expertise well beyond textual criticism.[11] Much of this material appears scattered in periodicals; some scholarly benefactor should emulate Diggle and Goodyear with a collected edition. Taken together they amply demonstrate James's key qualities in the editing and restoration of texts: above all, mastery of language, combined with controlled imagination and logic of argument.

Characteristic is a relatively early discussion of passages in Ovid (1972). With reference to *Ars am*. 3.627–30, James asks how a letter might be made 'with the point of moist flax' (*acumine lini*), demonstrates that it cannot be so made, and therefore ends by replacing *acumine* with *semine*: 'with the seed of flax'; that is, linseed oil. Along the way, he exposes the errors of earlier commentators, reports on practical experiments in secret writing on beeswax with charcoal and linseed

[10] Homer should be added to the list. James's contribution to R. Bittlestone, J. Underhill, J. Diggle, *Odysseus unbound: The search for Homer's Ithaca* (Cambridge, 2005) led to his being heard reciting Homer on the 'Today Programme' on BBC Radio 4. There are also several forays into classical reception (1968, 1998*b*, 2002, 2005, 2007).

[11] To take a year almost at random, 1981 saw reviews (all in *Classical Review*) of studies of unwritten law and tragedy in *Antigone* and dramatic focalization in Aeschylus' *Persae*, the Teubner edition of *Andromache*, a biography of Housman, and a speculative reading of Euripides' largely lost Trojan trilogy.

oil, and concludes by offering a footnote to the history of technology: advancing by almost 1,500 years the early printers' technique of blending charcoal with linseed oil. As an added bonus, a couple of pages further on and with reference to *Her*. 6.100, James rises to a direct and very personal challenge from two of his critics. They are met point by linguistic point, complete with quotations from Terence, Virgil (*crimine ab uno disce*) and an allusion to *David Copperfield*.[12]

All this intellectual endeavour has been reflected in deserved academic recognition, with a Readership in 1989 and a Personal Chair in 1995. It should be noted that the Professorship is in Greek and Latin in acknowledgement of James's contribution in both languages. In his *annus mirabilis* of 1985 he was awarded the Litt.D. and elected a Fellow of the British Academy. Indicative of his international reputation was his election in 2002 as a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Athens.

What is remarkable to colleagues is how James has combined his teaching and research with more than his fair share of the burden of administration. For Queens', where he is at present Senior Fellow, he has Directed Studies, served as Fellow Librarian and continues to act as Praelector. For the Faculty, in addition to sitting on the usual committees, he has chaired boards of examiners, been Academic Librarian, Joint Editor of Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, and proved a shrewd Chairman of the Faculty Board. At the time of writing, he is heavily involved as Joint Editor of the Faculty's Greek Lexicon Project. Special mention must be made of James's eleven-year tenure of the post of Orator for the University, during which he composed and delivered 102 speeches acclaiming recipients of honorary degrees. We are fortunate that fifty of these speeches, celebrating honorands as diverse as David Attenborough, Iris Murdoch and Helen Suzman, have been collected and published with a fascinating introductory essay.[13] The crafting apparent in each oration bears witness not only to James's Latinity but also his ingenuity and wit, as do the more-than-just translations. His Demosthenic delivery in the Senate House earned the admiration of no less a practitioner than Sir Alec Guinness.

The orations are dedicated *Satiuolae uxori carissimae*, for reasons warmly set down at the end of the introduction (p. xvi). James is surely to be congratulated

[12] In the event, all turned out happily, with the critics concerned becoming valued Cambridge colleagues.

[13] Diggle (1994*c*). The frontispiece offers Orator Diggle in full academical fig. A complete list of his Orations is given at the end of the 'Published writings of James Diggle'. Researching and composing at least eight orations in the course of a year might seem to approach a full-time job. James records in his introduction (xiv) Housman's refusal to stand as Orator: 'Not if the stipend were £150,000 instead of £150 would I be Public Orator. I could not discharge the duties of the office without abandoning all other duties and bidding farewell to such peace of mind as I possess.'

on achieving the almost impossible: maintaining a balance between the unstable triad of College, Faculty and (potentially most problematic) family. To those who knew him at Queens' in the sixties and early seventies, he seemed settled in College, enjoying what he has himself termed 'the relaxed and convivial atmosphere and comfortable life of a bachelor don'.[14] His pupils (and possibly his colleagues) were therefore surprised and pleased when, in 1973, he announced his impending marriage. Pleasure turned to delight on making the acquaintance of Sedwell, a frequent partner of aspects of James's classical labours. There are three sons, none of whom (perhaps wisely?) seems to have shown any marked interest in a classical career. It is surely significant that James's entry in *Who's Who* lists his sole recreation as 'family life'.

James Diggle's international reputation as a scholar has been mentioned. But more than that, in the best sense, and among those who matter, he has become (as they say) a legend in his own lifetime. This does not refer back to his stylish appearances on television in the 1980s, when Queens' was the subject of an early 'fly-on-the-wall' documentary (though Clive James in the now defunct *Listener* did single out 'Dr Diggle' as a 'Hero for our time'). Rather, it relates to the way in which James, through distinctiveness of character, has always stimulated the speculative interest of those around him, beyond his role as teacher and researcher. Symbolic of this is the invention by his pupils of the adjective 'Diggelian' (pron. 'Digg*ay*lian'). 'That comment was almost Diggelian in character.' 'Your solution seems positively Diggelian.' The term is as hard to pin down as 'Pickwickian', but high-minded, uncompromising intellectuality comes close. It is, in fact, not so far from Bentley's *ratio et res ipsa*, which the editors thought appropriate as the title for this collection, reflecting James's way with problems in general and corrupt texts in particular.[15]

The contributors to this volume do not in any way constitute a 'school of Diggle', which, were it possible, would not be desirable. Being a one-off, he can have no successful imitators. But all would agree to have taken away something positive from their engagement with James, for whom this *Festschrift* is a token of their collective respect, admiration and affection.

P.M

[14] James on the collegiate life enjoyed by Frank Goodyear at Queens' (as above, 362). By all accounts, the 'game of poker' listed as one of Goodyear's 'only vices' (alongside the pleasures of food and drink) was frequently played out in James's company.

[15] Bentley's comment on Horace, *Carm*. 3.27.15: 'Nobis ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt …' ('For us, reason and the facts of the case are more powerful than a hundred manuscripts …').

PART I: GREEK LITERATURE

2

Wrestling with Aphrodite: a re-evaluation of Sophocles fr. 941*

Lyndsay Coo

The fragmentary dramas of Sophocles form a collection as frustrating as it is tantalising. Of the plays for which we possess some text rather than a title alone, only about a fifth have more than a dozen individual fragments, and the great majority of fragments are excerpted snippets quoted in other ancient authors rather than longer papyrus remains. With this dearth of direct contextual evidence, the student of Sophocles' fragments must look continually to other texts to fill in the wider picture. A case in point is fr. 941,[1] an exposition of the nature and power of Aphrodite. At 17 full lines it is the longest Sophoclean fragment to survive excluding the papyrus material; this alone would have justified its inclusion as one of only three fragments from unidentified Sophoclean plays in the Oxford *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta selecta* (Diggle 1998*a*), were it not also that the lines are a particularly striking treatment of their theme. Hitherto fr. 941 has received only limited critical attention, and discussions have sought both to resolve the passage's numerous textual difficulties and to trace similar representations of Aphrodite in tragedy and Homeric epic and hymns.[2] My contribution aims simply to shed more light on fr. 941 by illustrating that Sophocles' representation of Aphrodite is remarkably unusual in ways not yet fully appreciated, and by briefly considering the speech in relation to several extant and fragmentary dramas.[3]

* It is a great pleasure to offer this study as a small token of my gratitude and affection to James Diggle, who has been the wisest and most patient of doctoral supervisors. My warmest thanks also to Patrick Finglass for invaluable comments and criticism.

1 Tragic fragments are enumerated according to the series *TrGF*.

2 Discussions of the fragment are few. Alongside the indispensable commentary of Pearson (1917) 3.106–10 and Radt (1999) 589–91, fr. 941 is also the subject of a short note by Pralon (1993); in Bittrich (2005) 36–7, a monograph on Aphrodite and Eros in tragedy, it receives barely over a page and only slightly more in Pironti (2007) 119–22, with brief mentions in e.g. de Romilly (1976) 310 n. 3, Oudemans and Lardinois (1987) 141–2, Griffith (2006) 67, Jouanna (2007) 675–6, none of whom consider it in any detail. The most extensive and helpful study is that of Pattoni (2003), although I disagree with a number of her conclusions.

3 Translation is mine, with selective apparatus drawn from Radt (1999), Diggle (1998*a*).

ὦ παῖδες, ἥ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον, 1
ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.
ἔστιν μὲν Ἅιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βία,
ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανιάς, ἔστι δ' ἵμερος
ἄκρατος, ἔστ' οἰμωγμός. ἐν κείνῃ τὸ πᾶν 5
σπουδαῖον, ἡσυχαῖον, ἐς βίαν ἄγον.
ἐντήκεται γὰρ †πλευμόνων ὅσοις ἔνι
ψυχή·† τίς οὐχὶ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πόρος;
εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτῷ γένει,
ἔνεστι δ' ἐν χέρσου τετρασκελεῖ γονῇ, 10
νωμᾷ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι †τοὐκείνης πτερόν.†

* * *

ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω.
τίν' οὐ παλαίουσ' ἐς τρὶς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν;
εἴ μοι θέμις – θέμις δὲ τἀληθῆ λέγειν – ,
Διὸς τυραννεῖ πλευμόνων, ἄνευ δορός, 15
ἄνευ σιδήρου· πάντα τοι συντέμνεται
Κύπρις τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλεύματα.

Stob. 4.20.6 | Plut. *Mor*. 757a 'ὦ – μανιάς'

2 πολλῶν Plut.: παντῶν Stob. || **3** βία codd. (μία Stob. A[1]): βίος Bothe || **4** μανιάς Porson: μανίας Plut., μαινάς Stob. || **6** σπουδαῖόν ἐστι, γαῦρον, ἐκ βίας ἄγον F. W. Schmidt || **7–8** πλευμόνων – ψυχή inter cruces pos. Diggle, solum πλευμόνων Lloyd-Jones || **8** ψυχῇ Hartung, πνοή Meinecke | οὐχὶ Grotius: οὔτι codd. | πόρος Hartung: βορός codd. || **10** χέρσου δ' ἔνεστι ἐν Nauck || **11** τοὐκείνης SA: τοῦ κείνη M, που κείνη Jebb, τοὐκείνων tent. Pattoni | τοὐκείνης πτερόν inter cruces pos. Diggle, solum τοὐκείνης Pattoni | lac. post 11 indic. Radt || **12** del. Herwerden, post. 8 trai. Diggle || **13** βροτῶν fortasse scriberem || **14** μα (pro μοι) M, μὴ A | λέγεις A

O children, the Cyprian is not only the Cyprian, but she is called by many names: she is Hades, she is unperishable violence, she is mad frenzy, she is undiluted longing, she is lamentation. In her there is all energy, all tranquillity, all that leads to violence. For she melts deeply †into the lungs of all those who have life†; who is not a passageway for the goddess? She enters into the swimming race of fish, she is in the four-limbed offspring of the land, and she directs †her wing† among the birds … among beasts, among mortals, among the gods on high. Which of the gods does she not throw three times when they wrestle? If it is right for me – and it is right to speak the truth – she rules over the lungs of Zeus, without a spear, without iron; Cypris cuts down all the plans of men and gods.

This speech from an unidentified tragedy[4] presents the reader with a multitude of textual decisions. My discussion will be centred around two main questions: first, what is the exact nature of the catalogue at vv. 3–5? And second, how does Sophocles envisage Aphrodite's interactions with animals, humans and gods; in particular, what is meant by v. 13? This enquiry will reveal Sophocles' distinctive presentation of Aphrodite as a frightening, dangerous goddess, something which others have briefly noted, but rarely explored in any detail.[5]

'She is called by many names': βία or βίος?

Much depends on what we make of the catalogue at vv. 3–5, a list of events, emotions and abstract concepts to which erotic desire can lead. The choice between the transmitted reading of βία at v. 3 and Bothe's conjecture βίος[6] is crucial as they lend divergent readings to the whole passage. ἄφθιτος βίος would stand in opposition to Ἅιδης in the same sentence, thus creating a list of antithetical elements designed to emphasise the comprehensiveness and variety of the goddess's attributes. However, should we be looking for a play of contrasts throughout vv. 3–5? The first, third and fifth items listed (Ἅιδης, λύσσα μανιάς, οἰμωγμός) are unambiguously negative. The assumption that the fourth, ἵμερος ἄκρατος, is desirable would then justify reading βίος, since the resulting sequence would alternate between 'bad' and 'good' aspects.[7] Yet upon closer inspection a more troubling picture of ἵμερος ἄκρατος emerges. This is no pleasurable, romanticised 'desire'; as Faraone (1996) 82 notes, 'the Greeks, in the archaic period at least, maintained a hostile or at best a suspicious attitude towards erotic

[4] *Contra*, see Dobree (1833) 54 ('E dramate satyrico', without elaboration), Griffith (2006) 67 ('possibly, but not certainly, satyric'). While erotic love is a stereotypically satyric topic, its representation here is not, since the lines stress the destructive nature of Aphrodite rather than the sexually pleasurable. Pattoni (2003) 226–7 with n. 8 argues that the reference to death (v. 3) precludes the play from having been satyric, perhaps foreshadowing the occurrence of death within the plot itself; note also the close similarity to the tragic fr. 684 (discussed *infra*) and numerous parallels with other tragic fragments.

[5] E.g. Oudemans and Lardinois (1987) 142: 'It is clear that in this fragment Sophocles considers Cypris to be more than just love … She comprises all aspects of the power of desire and destruction. As Euripides maintains, such forces are ineluctable for maintaining life and civic order … But at the same time they undermine it through their excessive nature'; Pralon (1993) 129: the goddess is 'loin de la douceur amoureuse, du côté de la violence, du déchaînement, de paroxysme, de l'affliction'; Pironti (2007) 121: 'au lieu d'évoquer l'inquiétante ambiguïté d'Aphrodite, Sophocle choisit ici d'en dévoiler le visage le plus violent et destructeur'.

[6] The adoption of βία is justified by Pralon (1993) 129, Pattoni (2003) 232–5, Bittrich (2005) 36 n. 125 and Pironti (2007) 120 n. 59. Pearson (1917) 3.106 classed βίος among the 'instances of thoroughly bad conjectures' but it has found favour in recent editions, being printed by both Radt (1999) and Diggle (1998*a*).

[7] So Radt (1983) 216 describes vv. 3–7 as made up of 'entgegengesetzten Prädikate', and indeed it is a very common trope to characterise love as 'bitter-sweet', a mixture of the pleasant and the painful (see e.g. Calame (1999) 14–19).

seizure (usually signalled by the attack of *eros* or *himeros*) in stark contrast to our own more romantic views of erotic desire as a positive, liberating emotion'.

A well-known example of this more sinister side to desire may be found in the *Iliad*, where erotic ἵμερος is established as one of Aphrodite's defining properties and plays a key role in the Διὸς ἀπάτη, Hera's deceptive seduction of Zeus in book 14. This ἵμερος is a tool of subjugation. At *Il*. 14.197–8 Hera demands δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε συ πάντας | δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους. She is given Aphrodite's breast strap fashioned of θελκτήρια πάντα (*Il*. 14.215) which possesses powerful magical properties: *Il*. 4.216–17 ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλοτής, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς | πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.[8] The bewitching charms of this object enable the manipulation of even the most powerful Olympian through uncontrollable sexual desire, and is a notable instance of Aphrodite 'ruling over the lungs of Zeus'. The Διὸς ἀπάτη also recalls *Iliad* 3, where Aphrodite intimidates an initially reluctant Helen into sexual union with Paris and the latter is overcome with lust: both Paris and Zeus declare that they have never been so taken by love, and demand sex by stating καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ (*Il*. 3.446 = 14.328). Even the goddess herself is led astray. When Zeus wants to take revenge upon Aphrodite in the *Homeric hymn*, it is ἵμερος with which he clouds her judgement: γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ (*Hymn. Hom. Ven*. 45, 53), ἐκπάγλως δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος εἷλεν (57). He thus turns back against the goddess her own means of mastering others (*Hymn. Hom. Ven*. 2–3 ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσεν | καί τ' ἐδαμάσσατο ...), and makes her fall shamefully in love with a mortal.

Sexual ἵμερος is therefore an invasive external force, able to 'seize' a person or be 'thrown into' them; as in the Διὸς ἀπάτη and the *Homeric hymn*, it can be used to overcome an individual's good sense and lead to complete loss of judgement. Despite being inherently pleasurable (when it appears among the bewitching θελκτήρια of Aphrodite's breast strap it is clearly intended as such), it has the potential to become dangerous. In fr. 941, it is the specification of the longing as ἄκρατος which clinches this latter interpretation over a more positive or neutral one: this is not a moderate desire, but one which is sheer, excessive and intoxicating. The metaphor comes from wine, since to drink it neat was a sign of ignorance and/or barbarity.[9] Aphrodite's ἵμερος is 'undiluted' and hence especially

[8] Pattoni (2003) 224–8 sees these lines as a major influence upon fr. 941, providing a model not only for the catalogue's form, but also content (i.e. ἵμερος in both lists, ἔκλεψε νόον ~ λύσσα μανιάς).

[9] As at e.g. Hdt. 6.84.3, Pl. *Leg*. 637e, Theophr. *Char*. 4.6. See Diggle (2004) 212, Scott (2005) 309–10, Finglass (2007) 244–5. At Aesch. *Cho*. 578 and Soph. *El*. 786 the unmixed draught is one of blood, further heightening the sense of barbarity.

overpowering: so at Eur. *Cyc*. 577 a deliriously drunk Polyphemus, the most famous victim of unmixed wine, exclaims ἄκρατος ἡ χάρις, naïvely alluding to the very cause of his debilitating inebriation and imminent blinding.[10] Aphrodite's ἵμερος ἄκρατος must then denote a 'negative' aspect of the goddess: a desire far from the sensible moderation for which her devotees frequently pray. This is an irresistibly powerful force which, like neat wine, overcomes all self-control.[11]

With this in mind we can return to v. 3 and argue for retention of the paradosis, with ἄφθιτος βία fitting perfectly into the catalogue of other dangerous concepts and mental states at vv. 3–5, and, in a passage characterised by constant repetitions,[12] picked up again at the end of the first section by ἐς βίαν ἄγον (v. 6).[13] It is no surprise to find Aphrodite associated with violence: mythology abounds with examples of violent acts caused by erotic desire, and the chorus of *Trachiniae* similarly identify Aphrodite *with* force (Soph. *Trach*. 497 μέγα τι σθένος ἁ Κύπρις).[14] The case can now also be made for πολλῶν in v. 2. Stobaeus' παντῶν is preferred by Pralon and Pattoni,[15] who both argue that the appearances of v. 5 τὸ πᾶν and v. 16 πάντα indicate the passage's concern with Aphrodite's universality. We have seen that these lines do not illustrate the comprehensive range of Aphrodite's attributes, but rather focus solely on her threatening aspects.[16] The whole catalogue then stands in opposition to Κύπρις, a name given to the Homeric Aphrodite only in *Iliad* book 5 where she is at her most ineffectual and least

[10] For Pralon (1993) 129 the wine metaphor coupled with the preceding reference to madness evokes Dionysus, while βία suggests Ares, and the funereal οἰμωγμός looks back to Hades (v. 3). Furthermore, ἄκρατος when used in symposiastic contexts is associated with μανία: see further Pattoni (2003) 234 n. 34, who understands ἵμερος ἄκρατος as an extension of the idea contained in the λύσσα μανιάς. I suggest that it also leads into οἰμωγμός, since ἵμερος occurs in a non-erotic sense in Homeric epic of the urge to weep.

[11] There may also be the underlying idea of a particularly strong magical spell: as an early example of ἵμερος in explicit connection with wine, note the so-called 'Nestor's Cup' (late eighth century BC), whose inscription states that, for whoever drinks it, 'straightaway desire will seize him (hίμερος hαιρέσει; cf. Homeric ἵμερος αἱρεῖ) for beautifully crowned Aphrodite'. The spell functions by envisaging ἵμερος as present within the wine drunk from the goblet (see Faraone (1996), Breitenberger (2007) 71–8). Perhaps a similar idea is at work in fr. 941; to literalise the metaphor, desire becomes a strong, undiluted magical potion.

[12] Pattoni (2003) 232.

[13] Pattoni (2003) 232–5 reaches the same conclusion, but for different reasons, seeing ἄφθιτος βία as 'il "vigore inestinguibile della dea" che si trasmette negli impulsi che essa imprime in ogni manifestazione della vita' (233), 'l'impulso vitale genuino e indomabile' (234). This interpretation foists on βία its Aristotelian conception as a kinetic impulse ('(life) force' rather than 'violence'), so that it stands in subtle opposition to Ἅιδης. However, as we have seen, vv. 3–5 is not a catalogue of contrasts, but instead illustrates only one side of Aphrodite's nature.

[14] I follow the interpretation of Stinton (1976) 126–8 (i.e. 'Mighty strength is the Cyprian').

[15] Pralon (1993) 128 n. 10, Pattoni (2003) 231–2.

[16] The reading found in Plutarch is also supported by the parallel of Eur. *Hipp*. 1–2 <u>πολλὴ</u> μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι <u>κοὐκ ἀνώνυμος</u> | θεὰ <u>κέκλημαι</u> Κύπρις οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω with its similar emphasis on the goddess's name and her potency among both men and gods. See further Pattoni (2003) 231–2.

threatening, as she invades the battlefield only to be sent packing by Diomedes.[17] The train of thought behind the opening section then, is this: 'Cypris (whose name seems to denote pleasurable/non-threatening things) is not only called by that name, but is also called many other (less attractive) things.'[18] This text contrasts with the more appealing catalogue of the goddess's properties at *Il*. 14.216–17, φιλότης, ἵμερος, ὀαριστύς and πάρφασις. A similar model occurs at Hes. *Theog*. 205–206, which describes Aphrodite's allotted share from both gods and men: παρθενίους τ' ὀάρους μειδήματά τ' ἐξαπάτας τε | τέρψίν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε μειλιχίην τε. The Homeric and Hesiodic passages contain a mix of straightforwardly 'good' elements and also more ambivalent ones – πάρφασις is said to rob the wise of their senses, while ἐξαπάτας refers to the deception involved in love affairs. Yet both lists, for the greater part, portray the actions associated with the goddess as gentle and delightful, throwing into sharper contrast the disturbing Sophoclean one of Ἅιδης, βία, λύσσα μανιάς, ἵμερος ἄκρατος and οἰμωγμός: this is an Aphrodite to be feared.

'All of those who have life …'

At vv. 9–11 the goddess's influence over animals is subdivided into the classes of fish, land creatures and birds, the enumeration of which becomes a standard way of expressing the totality of love's power.[19] However, something is missing: Aphrodite's control of the animal world is only one element in a further tripartite system, since her power extends ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω (v. 12). Yet the middle of these categories is mentioned again only at v. 17 τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλεύματα, with no further elaboration. Furthermore, v. 12 does not follow on seamlessly from v. 11, which should refer to the birds alone. Various solutions have been proposed. Radt posited a lacuna after v. 11, which would have contained the verses relating to the human world, and the first half of the

[17] See Pirenne-Delforgue (1994) 310–12: 'Piètre combattante, c'est ainsi qu'apparaît Aphrodite lorsque le poète [i.e. Homer] le désigne sous le nom Κύπρις' (312).

[18] The catalogue form changes slightly at vv. 5–6. Whereas vv. 3–5 had focused only on negative aspects, these lines are more nuanced: σπουδαῖον forms a contrast to ἡσυχαῖον, while ἐς βίαν ἄγον seems to be the opposite of ἡσυχαῖον. So Pattoni (2003) 234 writes that 'l'aggettivo ἡσυχαῖον corregge σπουδαῖον ed è a sua volta corretto (ma in una direzione diversa rispetto alla correzione precedente) da ἐς βίαν ἄγον'. But σπουδαῖον and ἡσυχαῖον are mutually exclusive in a way that ἡσυχαῖον and ἐς βίαν ἄγον are not: an action cannot be both σπουδαῖον ('zealous', 'energetic') and ἡσυχαῖον ('quiet', 'gentle'), but something ἡσυχαῖον could ultimately lead ἐς βίαν. Perhaps the implied sense of vv. 5–6 is this: 'in her is everything – both energetic and peaceful – which leads to violence.'

[19] See Barrett (1964) 394, Faulkner (2008) 74: in Homer and Hesiod, Aphrodite influences gods and humans, but at *Hymn. Hom. Ven*. 4–5 and in later literature animals are included also.

sentence ending in v. 12. Herwerden deletes v. 12; the line may well have the appearance of a gloss on the catalogue as a whole, but it is unobjectionable in style.[20] Diggle's transposition of v. 12 to after v. 8 is more attractive.[21] It then becomes a proleptic summary rather than a bridging line between the animal and immortal world, and the resultant question formed with v. 8 prepares the audience for the idea that the lungs of v. 7 are not just human, but those of all living beings. However the suggestions of Herwerden and Diggle still do not resolve the fact that the human sphere of Aphrodite's power remains conspicuously absent. Whenever such lists are used to express the totality of nature, they never pass directly from gods to animals (or vice versa), but always include men as an intermediary stage; when only two of the three classes are mentioned, we find the collocation of animals–men and men–gods, but never gods–animals.[22] Let us return to this problem in due course.

Vv. 7–8 are textually unsound.[23] The sense must be that Aphrodite 'melts deeply into' the lungs of living beings, the metaphor being taken from a molten substance poured into a mould. The idea of melting is frequently associated with erotic desire, in particular through the 'melting' look of an amorous eye (Alcm. 3 fr. 3 *col*. ii.61–2 *PMG* (of man) λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι , τα̣κ̣ε̣ρώτερα | δ' ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω πο̣τ̣ι̣δέρκεται, Ibyc. 287.2 *PMGF* (of Eros) τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος) but also of individuals melting with or into love (Ibyc. 282C xiv.3 Campbell = *P Oxy*. 3538 frr. 29 and 31 (of Eros' heart; see M. L. West (1984) 30) τα̣κερᾷ φρεν̣[ὶ, Pind. fr. 123.10–11 Snell–Maehler ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τᾶς [i.e. Aphrodite] ἕκατι κηρὸς ὣς δαχθεὶς ἕλα | ἱρᾶν μελισσᾶν τάκομαι,[24] Soph. *Trach*. 463 ἐντακείη τῷ φιλεῖν, Theoc. *Id*. 1.82 Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὺ τάκεαι; (here of 'wasting away' with love)), and is found of Eros himself (Anac. 459 *PMG* τακερὸς δ' Ἔρως). In fr. 941 however, we do not find the lover melting with desire, but the more unusual image of Aphrodite herself melting into other living beings. A related idea, also of love as a liquid entering the body, is found at Eur. *Hipp*. 525–7 Ἔρως, Ἔρως, ὁ κατ' ὀμμάτων | στάζων πόθον, εἰσάγων

[20] See further Pattoni (2003) 251.

[21] First proposed in Diggle (1996) 16 n. 23.

[22] Pattoni (2003) 252 n. 103.

[23] See Pearson (1917) 3.107, Pattoni (2003) 235–9, Craik (2003) 52–3. There have been many attempts to construe them: e.g. ὅσων γὰρ ἐν πνεύμοσιν ἐντήκεται ἡ Κύπρις, τούτων τίς ψυχὴ οὐ γίνεται τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ βορά; (Brunck (1786) II Part III 38), 'It sinks deep into all who have in them the breath of the lungs' (Pearson; cf. Jouanna (2007) 676), 'Car elle se coule dans tous ceux des poumons où est | Une âme' (Pralon), 'For she sinks into the vitals of all that have life' (Lloyd-Jones), 'Pentra infatti, aderendo ai polmoni, in coloro in cui c'è | respiro vitale' (Pattoni).

[24] For melting wax images as a symbol or magical spell for someone melting with love, cf. *Anacreont*. 11, Theoc. *Id*. 2.28–9.

γλυκεῖαν | ψυχᾷ χάριν οὓς ἐπιστρατεύσῃ. It is striking that the goddess's point of entry is the lungs, since the eyes are a far more traditional channel.[25] Sophocles' visceral portrayal of love as pouring into the inner organs rather than entering through the eyes again emphasises the aggressive, invasive nature of Aphrodite. Pattoni (2003) 236 is probably right to discern here the implication of a fatal wound, since '[u]n'aggressione ai polmoni era percepita come un'aggressione mortale' (also suggested by Craik (2003) 53). This Aphrodite is *inside* living beings (cf. v. 9 εἰσέρχεται of fishes, v. 10 ἔνεστι δ' ἐν of land animals)[26] and thus utterly irresistible: we become merely her πόροι.[27] Although the stated extent of Aphrodite's power – over fish, animals, and birds – is formulaic and conventional, the manner in which that control is envisaged is anything but.

Even less conventional, and yet seldom remarked upon, is the metaphor at v. 13. The use of wrestling imagery itself is common, and Sophocles himself was supposed to have been a practitioner of the sport. With that said, the statement of the *Vita* that the young poet won crowns in both wrestling and music is suspiciously similar to other ancient biographical accounts which ascribe both great physical prowess and early career changes to a number of poets.[28] These details could have been extrapolated from the writers' employment of wrestling imagery and terminology, since the metaphorical language of wrestling and other athletic pursuits is very frequently found in all three major tragedians;[29] Sophocles also appears to display a particular interest in the narration of actual athletic events, exemplified in the extant dramas by Heracles and Achelous' match at *Trach*. 497–530 and the detailed report of Orestes' fictional chariot race at *El*. 680–763. The fragmentary evidence indicates that this was a trend throughout Sophocles' corpus: the plays *Alexander*, *Larissaei* and *Oenomaus* treated myths

[25] Calame (1999) 19–23.

[26] What is Aphrodite doing among the birds? See Pearson (1917) 3.108, Pattoni (2003) 241–50. πτερόν is unlikely to be a metaphor for 'influence', as understood by Jebb and Pearson, but must refer to the birds' wing rather than Aphrodite's. Winged Eros is common but we would not expect to find an Aphrodite who is herself winged, although the goddess is frequently associated with birds and can appear riding directly upon them, or (more rarely before Roman poetry) in a bird-drawn chariot, as at Sapph. fr. 1.9–12 L–P (see Hutchinson (2001) 153–4, Cyrino (2010) 120–3). Pattoni (2003) 243 persuades me that the birds' πτερόν parallels the means of locomotion specified for the other two classes, swimming (πλωτῷ) and walking on four limbs (τετρασκελεῖ) (cf. also Aesch. *Supp*. 1000 καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ, in relation to Cypris' influence over nature), but I am less sure that her τοὐκείνων is the solution.

[27] Hartung's emendation is preferable to the MSS' βορός: the point, in keeping with the overall tone, is not that everyone hungers for her, but that, even when they should know better, living beings are simply unable to resist her.

[28] T A 1.3 = *FGrH* 334 F 35. Plato was also a wrestler, and Euripides won a victory in combat sports before turning to poetry (T A 1.2): see Lefkowitz (1981) 91 with n. 20.

[29] See Poliakoff (1980) and especially Larmour (1999) 92–133.

in which athletic competitions played a fundamental role.[30] The oddity of a wrestling *Aphrodite*, however, is masked by Jebb's translation[31] which refers throughout to 'Love' rather than 'the Cyprian'/'she', rendering v. 13 as 'Where is the god that Love, wrestling with him, cannot thrice overthrow?' Indeed fr. 941 is widely quoted as an example of 'Love wrestling' without noting the crucial Eros/Aphrodite distinction, and it often makes an appearance in commentaries cited as a parallel to the commonly found imagery of Eros engaged in various athletic pursuits, whether as a boxer[32] or wrestler.[33] Numerous artistic representations of the fifth and fourth century BC depict Eros in pursuit of, or awarding prizes to, male athletes; a few show wrestling Erotes usually identified as Eros and Anteros.[34] Although ancient texts naturally envisaged Eros and Aphrodite as closely associated and in some cases as more or less interchangeable,[35] the athletic context of v. 13 indicates that in this instance the

[30] *Alexander* probably covered similar ground to the identically named Euripidean tragedy, namely Paris' triumph at the funeral games organised in his own honour (cf. Hyg. *Fab*. 91): see fr. 93, which tells of a herdsman defeating townsmen, and Collard *et al*. (2004) 35–87. *Larissaei* told the story of Perseus' accidental killing of Acrisius during a discus-throwing competition (see frr. 378, 380), while the fragments of *Oenomaus* suggest that it dramatised the chariot race between Oenomaus and Pelops. In general, the appearance of athletic contests is more common in satyr drama than in tragedy (Sutton (1975)). Sophocles' satyric *Amycus* evidently told of the boxing match between Amycus and Polydeuces (cf. fr. 112). A satyric play preserved on papyrus seems to have featured an athletic competition between the satyrs themselves: at Soph. fr. 1130.9–11 a chorus of satyrs offer themselves as potential suitors and boast of their skill in 'fighting with the spear, contests of wrestling, horse-riding, running, boxing, biting, ball-twisting'. The fragment is classed by Radt among the *dubia et spuria*, but Lloyd-Jones (1996) 419 considers it 'highly probable that this fragment is from an *Oeneus* by Sophocles' and Diggle (1998*a*) prints it as Sophoclean. If the title is indeed *Oeneus*, then the contest would have been over his daughters Deianeira and/or Perimede, but it is also possible that the play's title is *Schoeneus*, the father of Atalanta who was similarly won as a bride through athletic competition (Sutton (1980) 57–8).

[31] Pearson (1917) 3.110.

[32] Soph. *Trach*. 441–2, Anac. *PMG* 396.2. Most likely Eros is also the opponent at Anac. *PMG* 346 fr. 4.1 χα]λεπ̣ῶι̣ δεπυκτάλιζ̣[

[33] Theoc. *Id*. 1.97–8, Meleager *Anth.Pal*. 12.48 = 4078–81 Gow–Page, Lucian *Dial. D*. 11.3. Cf. Soph. *Ant*. 781 Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, Eur. fr. 430 Ἔρωτα, πάντων δυσμαχώτατον θεόν (from *Hippolytos Kaluptomenos*, and almost certainly spoken by Phaedra about her passion for Hippolytus). See further Pearson (1917) 3.109, Gow (1950) 2.162–3, Easterling (1982) 128, M. Davies (1991) 130 with references. Easterling adds the example of Eros playing with a purple ball at Anac. *PMG* 358, but, as noted by Diggle (2004) 246, 'for the Greeks ball games were diversions, no part of athletic training'. Eros' ball games are thus to be categorised apart from his combat sports, the youthful god 'playing' with people's hearts rather than the more violent metaphor of 'wrestling' with desire.

[34] For the association of Eros with the eroticised space of the wrestling school and gymnasium, see Calame (1999) 101–5, Scanlon (2002) 199–273. Statues of Eros were often erected in gymnasia, and Pausanias (6.23.5) knew of a relief displayed in an old wrestling school at Elis which depicted Eros and Anteros struggling over a palm branch.

[35] e.g. Barrett (1964) 262–3 on Eur. *Hipp*. 545–64: 'the switch [between Eros and Aphrodite] is easy at any time (personification and Olympian are scarcely more than two indifferent ways of conceiving the same thing, reconciled often … by making Eros Aph.'s helper or agent)'. There is extensive literature on the association of Eros and Aphrodite: see e.g. Bittrich (2005), Breitenberger (2007), Pironti (2007).

gender difference between the two personifications of love is highly significant, since Eros the youthful male god fits far more naturally into this athletic imagery than his female counterpart.[36] While Aphrodite is notably present at the wrestling match between Heracles and Achelous at Soph. *Trach*. 515–16, she is not herself a contestant, but the umpire.[37] It is one thing to extol the goddess' strength and ability to win victories in language with agonistic undertones (as at Soph. *Trach*. 497 μέγα τι σθένος ἁ Κύπρις · ἐκφέρεται νίκας ἀεί), but quite another to say that Aphrodite herself is the one engaged in the athletic competition, even if the sense is clearly metaphorical.

Aside from special all-female religious events for unmarried girls, female athletic activity was characterised by the Athenians as abnormal and transgressive. Female athleticism appears as a mythological motif to demarcate overly 'masculine' girls, usually characterised by rejection of love and marriage.[38] Atalanta, who both out-wrestled Peleus at the funeral games of Pelias and raced against her suitors as a means of avoiding marriage, is the example par excellence and at the same time appears exceptional in actually overcoming her male opponents.[39] Notorious husband murderers, the Danaids are described as enjoying chariot racing and hunting (Melanippides *PMG* 757) and even 'arm themselves'

[36] Cf. the effect of Soph. *Ant*. 781 Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, 799–80 ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίζει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα. Both gods are 'unconquerable', but for different reasons. Eros is ἀνίκητος: when you try to fight him, you will not win. Aphrodite, on the other hand, is ἄμαχος: undefeatable because you do not fight her to begin with (reinforced by ἐμπαίζει: she is engaged in games, not war).

[37] M. Davies (1991) 144 comments that 'Athena overlooks Heracles wrestling various adversaries (especially Antaeus or Achelous himself […]) on numerous vases, and holding her spear she does rather resemble a ῥαβδονόμος. But the inspiration for Aphrodite in this role is Sophocles' entirely, her appearance as umpire utterly unexpected'. However this image finds a near parallel in contemporary iconography: two vessels by the Washing Painter of *c*.430 BC show the figure of Aphrodite presiding over a wrestling contest between Eros and Anteros. On one, an Attic red-figure pyxis (*ARV*[2] 1133.196, *LIMC* s. v. Aphrodite 1251 = Eros 388), the Erotes are watched on either side by a goddess holding an umpire's staff, the standing figure on the left being probably Peitho, and the seated figure on the right Aphrodite. The second, a fragment of an Athenian red-figure lebes gamikos (*ARV*[2] 1127.6(bis), *LIMC* s. v. Aphrodite 1250 = Eros 389), preserves a pair of wrestling Erotes being watched by two women, one of whom holds the umpire's staff and is tentatively identified as Aphrodite; see further Robertson (1992) 227–8, Scanlon (2002) 260–4, with the latter commenting on the use of the wrestling Eros and Anteros as a metaphor for 'internal struggle, lover struggling with beloved, and rival lovers contesting for a beloved' (263). It is not surprising that Aphrodite might be thought of as an appropriate onlooker at such a struggle, whether internal or external.

[38] For a discussion of women and Greek sport, see Arrigoni (1985), Lee (1988), Scanlon (2002) 98–198. The famous counter-example is Sparta, where girls were trained in running and wrestling. In a well-known diatribe at Eur. *Andr*. 595–601, Peleus witheringly ascribes the promiscuity of Spartan women to their thigh-revealing tunics and sharing of running tracks and wrestling schools with their male peers (which need not be taken to indicate that Spartan girls actually competed *against* boys). Whatever the exact veracity of this claim, Euripides' attack, couched in the terms of the notoriously scrupulous Peleus, illustrates the general hostility with which such female exercise was viewed (Cartledge (2001) 114, Ducat (2006) 234–7).

[39] See further Barringer (1996), especially 66–76, Scanlon (2002) 175–98.

at *Danais* fr. 1 Bernabé. When other women, not otherwise known for their passion for sport, are said to wrestle, the context is explicitly erotic, and they are defeated through violent coercion: so Cassandra recalls her encounter with Apollo at Aesch. *Ag*. 1206 ἀλλ’ ἦν παλαιστὴς κάρτ’ ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν,[40] and Creusa’s rape by Apollo at Eur. *Ion* 939 is an ἀγῶνα δεινόν. Peleus’ forceful union with a resistant Thetis is described at Soph. *Troilus* fr. 618 using the verb συμπλέκειν, a wrestling term frequently used in non-athletic erotic contexts which conveys ‘simultaneously the notion of wrestling and sexual encounter’ (Poliakoff (1982) 84): Sommerstein (in Sommerstein *et al*. (2006) 231) rightly sees this fragment as portraying Peleus’ actions ‘almost like a rape’.

When mythological females are associated with sporting events, they are not usually participants but prizes. We find Pelops winning Hippodamia by defeating her father Oenomaus in a chariot race, Heracles wrestles with Achelous for Deianeira (Soph. *Trach*. 497–530) and with Death himself for Alcestis (Eur. *Alc*. 846–9, 1140–2; cf. the fictional athletic contest at which Heracles ‘wins’ her at 1025–32) and the Danaids, now reconciled to the idea of wedlock, are married off to the runners in a foot race whose finishing position determined the order in which they chose their new brides (Pind. *Pyth*. 9.111–16).[41] These examples suggest that Aphrodite’s appearance as a wrestler here is doubly surprising, since (*a*) we do not expect to find a female engaged in this activity, and (*b*) the few who do are usually distinguished by their rejection of erotic love.

Even when divorced from specifically sexual contexts, the action of wrestling itself was characterised as erotic. The language of wrestling appears often as a metaphor for sexual activity, while wrestling schools were notorious as places to scout out beautiful young men.[42] The idea of a wrestling Aphrodite is thus overtly sexual, and even in danger of shading into comedy. In Aristophanes the language of wrestling is employed as a comic euphemism for violent sex, as at *Ach*. 274–5 where the rape of a servant girl is envisaged in wrestling terminology, and *Pax* 894–904, a passage dense with double entendres purporting to describe a series

[40] Interpretation of this line has vexed critics – did Apollo (*a*) metaphorically ‘struggle’ for Cassandra’s sexual favours or (*b*) literally wrestle with her, or (*c*) is this simply a euphemism for sex? Fraenkel (1950) 1207 was correct to see a reference to actual physical grappling; as illustrated by the example of Heracles and Achelous, interpretation (*b*) would only make sense if Apollo had to overcome a rival. Whether or not sexual intercourse took place is less clear. Kovacs (1987) has argued that it did, and that Cassandra’s words at 1208 ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην refer to reneging not on her consent, but to the bearing of children. For the most recent argument in favour of a virginal Cassandra, see Debnar (2010). Either way the union clearly involved an element of force, but whether this was coercion into intercourse or merely the extraction of its promise, is uncertain.

[41] More examples listed in Nimas (2000) 225–8.

[42] Henderson (1991) 169–70, García Romero (1995), Fisher (1998) 94–104, Scanlon (2002) 199–273; many examples of wrestling as metaphor for sex illustrated in Poliakoff (1982), particularly at 101–36.